Affecting Civil War: The Poetics of Fear in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

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AFFECTING CIVIL WAR: THE POETICS OF FEAR IN LUCAN’S BELLUM CIVILE

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Classics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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ABSTRACT

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Advisor: Ronnie Ancona

This dissertation argues for the importance of fear in the Bellum Civile, Lucan’s Neronian epic narrating the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (49 – 48 BCE). Previous scholars have acknowledged the centrality of fear in Lucan’s poetic program, having related it to the Aristotelian theory of pity and fear (catharsis) and to the use of affective rhetorical devices in historiographic writing. However, there has been no extended analysis on the programmatic role of fear in Lucan’s historical epic. I examine therefore how Lucan represents fear in its multifaceted forms and analyze how the representation of these forms complicates Lucan’s goals for his work. My dissertation also investigates reasons for the aesthetic and thematic prioritization of fear in the Bellum Civile to promote a psycho-political reading of the text, one that Lucan’s engaged, affective style might have guided an ideal reader to accept. My conclusion emphasizes the epic’s innovative representation of fear as a domineering human emotion, one intimately tied to the cycles of violence and civil strife that underlie Roman history.
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Introduction

Fear as a human emotion is a response to an actual or perceived danger in the present or the anticipation or expectation of a threat in the future. This dissertation argues for the thematic importance of fear in the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan’s Roman epic written in the reign of the emperor Nero. The poem narrates several famous campaigns in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (49 – 48 BCE). Previous scholars have acknowledged the centrality of fear in Lucan’s poetic program, having related it to the Aristotelian theory of pity and fear (catharsis) and to the use of rhetorical devices in historiographic writing. These devices aim to promote reader engagement with historical events. However, there has been no extended analysis of the programmatic role of fear in Lucan’s historical epic. This project therefore examines how Lucan represents fear in its forms and how the representation of these forms supports Lucan’s goals for his work.

The Emotional Turn in Classical Studies

My dissertation explores how Lucan conceives of fear as a Roman response to political conflict. In particular, the emotion of fear is central to Lucan’s dramatic reimaging of the Late Republican conflict between Julius Caesar and Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great). This dissertation supports the reevaluation of post-Augustan Epic (sometimes called Silver Age or Imperial Epic) and contributes to the emerging subfield of Cognitive Classics, which in recent decades has introduced new theoretical models for approaching the ancient world. The field of cognitive science uses interdisciplinary methods of inquiry and investigation to examine the mental processes of perception, evaluation, and judgment. Cognitive emotion theory uses the methods of cognitive science to examine how these human mental processes contribute to the conception and expression of human emotion. This interest in human cognition and the process of human reasoning has resulted in an “emotional turn” in the scholarly direction of many fields, including Classical Studies. Francesca D’Alessandro Behr summarizes this effect.
Since the seventies the emotions have been intensely studied and attention has been directed to the fact that anger, pity, grief, etc., are not merely irrational feelings or passive psychophysical reaction. Emotions are not only intentional but tightly connected to the representational and evaluative acts of those undergoing them. Involving cognition, evaluation and judgment, the emotions can be understood as a function of reason.\(^1\)

The “emotional turn” in Classical Studies witnesses an increase in scholars drawing upon cognitive theory to publish on a wide range of emotions in ancient literature. This increase has produced several studies on emotion in Roman society, including Braund and Gill’s *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature* (1997), Kaster’s *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (2005), and Kaster and Caston’s recent *Hope, Joy, and Affection in the Classical World* (2016). In drawing perspective from historiography, philosophy, literary theory, and cognitive science, my dissertation extends this interest in ancient emotion to the literary age of Neronian Rome.

I also engage in the current zeitgeist of employing interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Classical texts. In developing my own approach to reading Lucan, I have borrowed from theories of cognitive linguistics, narratology, and the psychology and political science of fear and anxiety. It is my hope that this dissertation will be useful to a wide range of Classical scholars, including philologists and literary scholars interested in the Latin lexicon of fear and social-cultural historians interested in literary responses to Neronian Rome. In addition, this project will appeal to general scholars of human emotion seeking psychological evidence in ancient literary texts. The emotion of fear displays universal qualities, which connect the diverse peoples of our global community across distance and through time. As the realities of our modern era, including political and military threats, bring fear to the forefront of news and policy, this dissertation advances the contemporary relevance of Classical literature on topical issues and current events.

\(^1\) Behr 2007: 201 n. 59.
The *Bellum Civile* and Its Literature

Lucan’s ten-book poem *de Bello Civili* (“on the Civil War”; also, the *Pharsalia*, here the *Bellum Civile*) is the only extant epic from the literature of the Neronian Age and the first to follow upon Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. For this reason, it is considered a standard of Silver Age literature and Neronian Age aesthetic. In detailing Caesar’s campaign against the Republican forces under Pompey and Cato in the years 49 - 48 BCE, the poem treats the horrors and crimes of civil war as well as the emotional toll of civil war on all those who both willingly and unwillingly participate in the conflict. In addition to its historical context and its nods toward epic convention, the *Bellum Civile* shares many stylistic similarities with the genre of rhetoric. Yet despite Lucan’s pithy *sententiae*, famously noted by the first century rhetorician Quintilian, Lucan’s style has not always found fans, and even some translators, including Duff and Graves, have sprinkled their introductions with critiques reproaching the poet’s perceived immaturity, overindulgence in poetic device, and immoderate delight in the grotesque.

Only in the last forty years or so have scholars championed a reprisal of Lucan’s unique poetics. Early proponents of this movement such as Frederick Ahl (1976) began by analyzing specific passages in the *Bellum Civile* that exemplified their own personal admiration for the poet’s craft, often to advance Lucan’s merit as a poet by any standard. From these early attempts to rehabilitate general and scholarly interest in Lucan developed the academic questions that would dominate Lucanic studies into the new millennium. These questions centered on the poem’s relation to its Augustan predecessors (Narducci 1979), the poem’s problematic protagonists (Johnson 1987), and the tension between the poem’s narrator and narration (Masters 1992). Many early articles that served as forerunners to these monographs, along with more recent contributions, have been gathered in companions by De Gruyter (2005), Oxford and Wiley-Blackwell (2010), and Brill (2011). In addition, topical treatments of theme, style, and ideology have done much at once to broaden and deepen the scope of scholarly literature on Lucan. As part of this effort to clarify readings of the *Bellum Civile*, while at the same time
expanding toward new interpretations of the text, my dissertation examines fear and anxiety within the *Bellum Civile* and explores how Lucan’s creation of affective poetry complicates his poetic program.

**The Structure of the Dissertation**

Fear is endemic to the martial landscape of the *Bellum Civile*. It affects the majority of the poem’s characters as they participate willingly or not in the Roman civil war. Fear also affects the poem’s readers, and Lucan is explicit in his desire to evoke fear in his audience to engage these readers emotionally with the events of Roman history. It is therefore useful to examine the literary psychology of fear in Lucan’s historical epic, that is, to analyze the author’s construction of what motivates the way his characters perceive their environment, evaluate their circumstances, and judge their own actions and those of their fictive world.

My dissertation examines the representation of fear in the *Bellum Civile* and analyzes the influence of its presence on elements of the narrative. This examination progresses through six chapters, outlined below.

1: Histories of Fear: Lucan’s Epic and the History of Fear in Greco-Roman Thought
2: Representing Fear through Language: Part 1 – Vocabulary
3. Representing Fear through Language: Part 2 – Imagery
4: Caesarian Fear: Embodiment and Engagement
5: Pompey and the Problem of Hope in Lucan’s Epic
6: *Spesque Metusque*: Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* of Emotion

In Chapter 1, entitled “Histories of Fear: Lucan’s Epic and the History of Fear in Greco-Roman Thought,” I consider the *Bellum Civile* to be a “history of fear” in epic verse. I begin this chapter by previewing the programmatic role of fear in Lucan’s text to first establish why fear is a central concern for Lucan, his characters, and by extension his readers as well. Next, I situate Lucan’s preoccupation with fear in the broader Greco-Roman tradition, revealing a literary interest in fear located at the intersection of tragedy, rhetoric, and historiographic writing and technique. I then identify Lucan’s poetic goals in regard to invoking reader emotion and uncover this affective τέλος in the prophecy of the seer Arruns (1.584-638), the inserted narrative of the
Roman elder (2.67-233), and the epic’s second proem (2.1-15). As stand-ins for the poet, Arruns and the Roman elder announce Lucan’s emotional theme, one of fear and apprehension, which through the remaining books of the *Bellum Civile* distinguishes this Roman epic as a poem composed as much on the subject of fear as on the topic of civil war.

In Chapter 2, “Representing Fear through Language: Part 1 – Vocabulary,” I examine the Latin vocabulary of fear in the *Bellum Civile* to demonstrate how Lucan rises to the linguistic challenge of representing fear. Here, I focus on the many Latin words for “fear” in Lucan’s text and seek to analyze this psychological vocabulary for what it reveals about the nature of fear and how it operates in the world of the *Bellum Civile*. By studying the vocabulary of fear in the *Bellum Civile*, we are able to define its character, identify its forms, and ultimately examine its role in the narrative at large. I conclude that the fundamental divide in this semantic set lies between fear derivative of concrete, physical causes and the fear of abstractions, such as the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death. While the word families of *horror* and *pauor* primarily reflect the physical dimension of fear as a bodily response, abstract fear is denoted by the word family *timor* and enforced by Lucan’s use of the word families *formido*, *uereor*, *metus*, and *terror* to emphasize the irrational causes of human thought and action as well as the perversity of human priorities in civil war. In all, the tendency of Lucan’s vocabulary to connote this latter, abstract form of fear demonstrates the poet’s interest in emotional verisimilitude and in representing fear in its multifaceted forms as they present themselves in the epic’s landscape of civil war.

Chapter 3, “Representing Fear through Language: Part 2 – Imagery,” completes my 2-part examination into Lucan’s use of language to represent fear and to construct a literary psychology around the deeper concerns and realities of civil war. Whereas my focus in Chapter 2 is on how Lucan uses vocabulary to articulate the nature of fear, Chapter 3 moves from words to images to argue that Lucan also employs metaphoric language to construct a similar portrait of fear as a ubiquitous emotion. My primary focus is the poem’s more graphic imagery, specifically
depictions of natural and man-made calamities, and I examine how Lucan employs this imagery to represent fear and to arouse fear in his ideal Roman audience. Specifically, I examine the *Bellum Civile* for images of calamity that serve as concrete illustrations of abstract fear, dividing the chapter into three parts. In the first, I analyze a scene from Book 1 in which the Roman senators abandon the city (1.486-504) to introduce the basic mechanics of Lucan’s representation of fear through visual language. In part two, I next suggest that we interpret depictions of extreme bodily mutilation in Lucan’s text, exemplified by the double spearing of the soldier Catus (3.585-91), as concrete illustrations of abstract fear. Finally, in part three, I analyze Lucan’s imagery of extra bellum calamity, which I define as depictions of injury and disaster unrelated to battle and warfare. The individual images I examine in part three are of fire, collapse, and shipwreck. I am interested in showing how Lucan transforms these images of concrete and reasonably frightening experiences into metaphors of abstract emotion that would appeal to a contemporary, Neronian audience. Overall, I argue that Lucan manipulates images of calamity to represent an evocatively “Roman” form of fear, a type of anxiety imbedded in cycles of Roman history and civil conflict.

Chapter 4 is entitled “Caesarian Fear: Embodiment and Engulfment.” In Chapters 1-3, I demonstrate how the nature of fear in the *Bellum Civile* is characterized through vocabulary and imagery. I demonstrate now how this same nature applies to Lucan’s Julius Caesar. I begin Chapter 4 with the example of Caesar entering Rome from Book 3 to illustrate how Caesar can be viewed as an agent of fear and an embodiment of fear’s character. By “embodiment” I invite us to imagine Caesar as personifying the nature of fear to the extent that he represents the emotion in an incarnate form and both possesses and performs its characteristic traits, namely the ability to motivate perversity and irrationality in others. I argue that in line with Lucan’s program to illustrate abstract emotion through concrete metaphor, Caesar serves as the poem’s flesh-and-blood representation of fear’s aggressive nature, ubiquitous power, and indiscriminate, destructive effect. I next extend this argument by examining the assimilation of
the figure of Caesar to the emotion of fear through the conflation of their natures and the ways in which Lucan casts Caesar as the embodiment of fear and in particular timor. I then examine the fire and lightning imagery through which Lucan first associates and then ultimately conflates the nature of fear and the personality of Caesar. In the remainder of Chapter 4, I also consider how the poet’s conflation of Caesar and fear casts Caesar as a physical representation of the engulfing effect of fear upon the epic’s landscape of civil war, and how fear is in turn cast as uictor, in other words, as one emotion in successful opposition to another emotion. In establishing the engulfing effect of fear, I analyze the motivations and actions of two of Lucan’s characters, Appius in Book 5 and Sextus Pompey in Book 6, before concluding Chapter 4 with a preliminary investigation into how the poet’s conflation of fear and Caesar with the word uictor reveals another layer, an emotional layer, of civil war in the text.

From examining Caesar and fear in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 proceeds to examine “Pompey and the Problem of Hope in Lucan’s Epic.” In a modern sense, hope is a cognitive emotion like fear, meaning it results from a process of perception, evaluation, and judgment. Up to this point in my dissertation, I have demonstrated how the emotion of fear in the Bellum Civile falls under the influence of Caesar. I examine now how hope too is “hijacked,” or coopted, in support of the uictrix causa, the winning side in the Roman civil war. I argue that hope is a problematized emotion as it is represented in Lucan’s poem. The problem of hope in the Bellum Civile is that it exists in a world already overrun with fear. My analysis in Chapter 5 is based on Lucan’s vocabulary and imagery of hope. The term spes, for example, is often qualified in such a way as to undercut or subvert notions of hope as a positive, productive emotion, in turn complicating interpretations of the Bellum Civile as a poem to provide “hope for the fearful” (citing 2.15). In Chapter 5, I also return to my discussion of Lucan’s use of walls as affective images from Chapter 3 to demonstrate how the image of a wall in the Bellum Civile has the potential to symbolize hope, but that the way this image is employed in the narrative problematizes the nature of hope in the text. Overall, Chapter 5 examines how the ubiquity of fear in the Bellum
*Civile* complicates the basic notion of hope in Lucan’s epic and consequentially undercuts Pompey’s ability to convincingly represent or champion hope, as Caesar does fear. Without a strong champion, hope in Lucan’s epic falls victim to the same engulfing effect to which Appius, Sextus Pompey, and Pompey himself succumb.

Chapter 6, “*Spesque Metusque: Lucan’s Bellum Civile of Emotion,*” has three goals: 1) to examine reasons for the aesthetic and thematic prioritization of fear in the *Bellum Civile*, 2) to review from Chapter 1 Lucan’s affective aims as expressed in Book 7 (205-213), arguing how the representation of fear in the *Bellum Civile* has complicated these aims, and 3) to promote a psycho-political reading of the *Bellum Civile*, one that Lucan’s engaged, affective style might have guided an ideal, contemporary reader to accept. Overall, Chapter 6 argues that Lucan’s poetics of civil war are reinforced by an analogous representation of hope and fear (*spesque metusque*, 7.211) as concomitant yet oppositional forces. In advancing this interpretation, I approach the role of fear in Lucan’s epic from two perspectives: fear in the context of an historical epic about civil war and fear as a literary aesthetic of Neronian Rome and as a reaction to Neronian rule. Next, I examine how the poem’s implicit and explicit establishment of emotional expectations for its readers is a source of contradiction and tension within the narrative, which in turn produces emotional anxiety in both the poem’s characters and the poet’s narrating persona. This authorial anxiety then affects the ability of Lucan’s readers to navigate the poem’s emotional landscape and to achieve the poet’s expectations of his readers. Lastly, I argue that the prioritization of fear in Lucan’s epic and its complex opposition with hope advance a psycho-political commentary on the future of Rome and Rome’s relationship with the imperial Caesars, the “heirs” of Caesarian Fear.
Chapter One

Histories of Fear: Lucan’s Epic and the History of Fear in Greco-Roman Thought

This dissertation is about fear, particularly as it pertains to many elements of Lucan’s historical
epic, the Bellum Civile. For Lucan, a poet of the Neronian age, the fear embedded in Rome’s
past is central to a retelling of that history. The Bellum Civile thus becomes a poem about
political fear, an epic dedicated to the complex depiction of both soldiers and civilians in a time
of civil crisis and uncertainty. It is nonetheless easy to overlook the nuanced portrayal of
humanity that emerges from the text, overshadowed as it is by the intensity of the poem’s
subject matter and Lucan’s inimitable style. This chapter therefore aims to expose the
intersection of fear, politics, and civil war at the core of the poem and the cycles of war and
emotion represented and recreated by the narrative of Lucan’s epic.

The Romans conceived of fear as a response to an actual or perceived danger or threat or
the anticipation or expectation of such. Moreover, fear is inherently related to violence, and
Lucan’s epic is perhaps best known for its depiction of civil war through a variety of violent
extremes. Scholars have noted already how “the pathos of defeat, doom, and death” animates
Lucan’s narrative and provides much of his poetic material. Nonetheless, the role of fear in
Lucan’s epic is often overlooked in favor of other wartime emotions, such as pity, anger, and
grief. In arguing for the importance of reading into the nature and role of fear into the Bellum
Civile, it is my goal in this chapter and those that follow to examine how Lucan represents fear
as a powerful and ubiquitous force, to demonstrate how fear motivates humans in a landscape of

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2 My opening is a nod to the introduction of Corey Robin’s Fear: The History of a Political Idea
(orig. 2004), which has greatly informed my reading of Lucan.

3 Poetry and history were not always viewed as compatible. In the Poetica (1451a-b), Aristotle
draws a distinction between poetry, which tends to decorate generalized truths, and history,
which narrates a progression of facts. This distinction is notably absent from Lucan’s poem.

civil war, and to analyze how characters such as Pompey and Julius Caesar either succumb to this fear or come to embrace it.

In Chapter 1, I consider the Bellum Civile to be a “history of fear” in epic verse. I base this interpretation on the programmatic role of fear in Lucan’s text as established at the end of Book 1. Here, fear is made the centerpiece of Lucan’s poetic program through a triple prophecy placed in the mouths of three characters. One is a raving matrona, who rushes through the streets of Rome foreshadowing the poem’s plot (1.673-95). There is also the astrologer Nigidius Figulus (1.639-72), who forecasts a martial theme for the poem (1.663). Yet the prophecy that most chiefly previews the epic’s emotional theme comes from the haruspex Arruns (1.584-638). Described as a vates (1.585), a conventional stand-in for the poet, Arruns speaks in place of Lucan and through the powers of extispicy is granted the ability to discern moments and events still to come in the poet’s narrative. What Arruns discerns is a future shadowed by one emotion, fear. He states, non fanda timemus | sed uenient maiora metu, “we fear unspeakable things | but things greater than fear will come” (1.634-35). The whole of Arruns’ vatic monologue suggests great fear for the future, with the worse, as is said, yet to come. The seer’s words are therefore a warning to all audiences, both those involved in the narrative and those engaged with it as readers, that the eponymous civil war of the Bellum Civile will be one defined by fear and apprehension.

Arruns’ foreshadowing is a programmatic announcement, or in other words, a metapoetic moment where the poet communicates to his readers the emotional program for his poem while at the same time setting the affective stage for the rest of his epic. This chapter begins the

5 On characters in the Bellum Civile who stand-in for the poet, see Masters 1992.

6 Translations from Lucan are my own. All text of the Bellum Civile is from Housman (1927, second edition).

7 Arruns is unwilling to articulate this future clearly: flexa sic omina Tuscus | inovluens multaque tegens ambage canebat, “thus the Tuscan was speaking winding omens, obscuring them and covering them with much ambiguity” (1.637-38).
examination into this emotional program by demonstrating how fear functions as both subject matter and theme for Lucan’s poem. I first situate Lucan’s preoccupation with fear in the broader Greco-Roman tradition, revealing a literary interest in fear located at the intersection of tragedy, rhetoric, and historiographic writing and technique. I then move forward to identify the poem’s emotional goals and uncover this affective τέλος in the prophecy of Arruns and the inserted narrative of the Roman elder (2.67-233), as well as the epic’s second proem, which bridges these two episodes (2.1-15). Together, Arruns and the Roman elder announce Lucan’s emotional theme, one of fear and apprehension, which through the remaining books of the *Bellum Civile* will distinguish this Roman epic as a poem composed as much on the subject of fear as on the topic of civil war.

1. The Development of Fear in Greek and Roman Thought

Lucan’s epic situates itself in a long tradition of Greco-Roman literature expressly concerned with understanding and representing fear as a human emotion. The motives that instigated this literary tradition were likely aligned with an innate desire to understand humanity, since fear has played a fundamental role in the evolution of humankind. In many modern research fields, which take a more scientific approach to the study of fear, an important point of departure is the notion that humans have always been afraid, that as long as the world has been a dangerous place its inhabitants have been forced to avoid physical danger or face their own extinction.\(^8\) For these early humans, fear was an instinct of survival, an emotion that was chiefly a function of self-preservation. Yet in preserving the future of humankind, fear has played a key role in the evolution of humanity, and as such has left an indelible mark on the humanities as literary and artistic expressions of life.\(^9\) It is then no surprise that fear has captivated the interest of ancient

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8 The biological-evolutionary origin is a common opening to many handbooks and encyclopedias on fear and anxiety; see Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett 2008: 710–11.

9 Ancient Greco-Roman poetry in particular is valued for its literary representations of human emotion and for the emotions it in turn arouses in audiences; it is itself a study and reflection of
Greek and Roman authors from Aristotle to Seneca to Lucan. By tracing the development of their ideas through discussions of tragedy, rhetoric, and history, we can better understand how the emotion of fear comes to play a significant role in Lucan’s epic.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{Aristotle}

Beneath its highly rhetorical stylistics the \textit{Bellum Civile} reveals a basic way of thinking about fear that derives, albeit indirectly, from an Aristotelian tradition.\textsuperscript{11} There is no evidence that the ideas about fear that come to be represented in the \textit{Bellum Civile} were directly influenced by those of Aristotle,\textsuperscript{12} but it is demonstrable that Lucan takes an interest in describing fear in its multifaceted forms, both physical and mental. For this reason, it is worth tracing the development of this interest as it originates in Aristotle’s works.

The development of fear in Greco-Roman thought originates with the notion of πάθος, which etymologically derives from the Greek verb meaning “to suffer” or “to experience.”\textsuperscript{13} This idea of suffering and the question of why people suffer are essential to understanding Lucan’s literary interest in fear. From its origins in Homeric epic, Greek literature reveals a human existence, in no way different than philosophy, rhetoric, or religion in this regard, each discipline producing its own definitions of human emotion. On this belief, see introduction to Dion 1993: 10.

\textsuperscript{10} For Greek medical and philosophical interpretations of fear, see Hall 1974.

\textsuperscript{11} Plato mentions fear as the expectation of evil, whereas hope is the expectation of good (\textit{Lach.}). Aristotle’s conception of fear follows this belief that the universe operated in pairs, naming fear as the opposite of confidence. Yet in comparison to Plato, it is the “precise formulation” of Aristotle’s ideas about fear that has earned him the recognition as the founder of this tradition; see Hall 1974: 822.

\textsuperscript{12} Levene in Braund and Gill 1997: 130; Behr 2007: 197 n. 8.

\textsuperscript{13} Cf. OED s.v. “pathos.” The Greek term πάθος is a cognate of the Latin verb \textit{patior} as both derive from a prehistoric stem *\textit{pa}- meaning “suffer.” It should be noted in addition that the conception of fear in ancient Greek thought is chiefly value-neutral, meaning it does not necessarily carry a negative connotation. On πάθος, see Konstan 2006: 3–4.
determination to define and represent human experience through a fascination with fear. In particular, ancient Greek tragedy reflects an etiological interest in defining and representing the causes (aetia) of human fear in its more abstract forms. Tragedy interprets this abstract fear, i.e. fear that is not the direct cause of some immediate, life-threatening event, onto the stage. This is to say that tragic plots center on reversals of fortune and other causes of mental anguish and human suffering beyond the chiefly physical. Tragedy therefore provided the ancient Greeks with a mimetic vehicle by which to acknowledge and comprehend personal fears via the sympathetic experience of catharsis.

Aristotle’s discussion of catharsis offers the earliest literary treatise that deals with fear. The fourth century BCE Poetica includes a partial treatment of fear in epic literature. Although the full treatment is non-extant, some comments that Aristotle makes in his section on tragedy are applicable to epic poetry as well. Most pertinent to our interest in Lucan is Aristotle’s notion that tragedy and epic share the same poetic goal, or τέλος (1462b12-15). Aristotle states that both tragedy and epic are genres that strive for affective or evocative representations of life achieved through distinct elements of composition. As in tragedy, the τέλος or endpoint of epic is to arouse a specific set of cathartic emotions in the audience. These emotions, one of which is fear, are to be provoked by means of the poet’s craft. Their successful arousal in others is therefore a mark of poetic distinction.

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14 On fear in the Homeric epics, see Zaborowski 2002.

15 See Aristot. Rh. 1386a on this relationship.

16 A plot is divided into three parts: ἀρχή καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος (Aristot. Poet. 1459a19). See Nyusztay 2002: 84-5 on the translation of τέλος in Aristotle’s Poetica; also Poet. 1450b25-31. The Aristotelian idea of τέλος can be understood as a temporal moment within the sequence of a plot, i.e. the ending, and as the overall goal to be achieved through each of these moments.

17 Aristot. Poet. 1447a. Aristotle here refers to poetry as μίμησις. Aristotle also refers to epic poetry using the phrase περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἐξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς (“of the mimetic in hexameters,” Poet. 1449b20).
ἐστιν μὲν οὖν τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁμφως γίγνεσθαι, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅπερ ἐστι πρότερον καὶ ποιητὸν ἰμείνονος. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὀρῶν οὕτω συνεστάναι τὸν μύθον ὅταν τὸν ἀκούοντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ φρίττειν καὶ ἐλεειν ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων: ἀπερ ἂν πάθοι τις ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Ὀιδίπου μύθον.

There is then, on the one hand, the existence of fear and pity from the spectacle (ἐκ τῆς ὁμφως), and on the other hand from the very arrangement of the events [within the plot], which is preferred and indicative of a better poet. For it is necessary to arrange the plot of the story in such a manner that, even without seeing it, the one hearing the events unfold both shudders in fear and feels pity from what is happening. So might someone feel hearing the story of Oedipus.18

For Aristotle, the mark of a good poet is the ability to arouse in an audience the type of emotion that makes one bristle with fear (φρίττειν).19 This fear is in part produced by the arrangement of events within the plot and in part by their spectacle, being their arrangement before the eyes of the audience (ἐκ τῆς ὁμφως). For instance, in recounting the story of Oedipus, the poet must strive for a vivid and engaging style of storytelling that draws the audience into the events of the tragedy to such a degree that these spectators feel they have become eyewitnesses to the life of Oedipus and so react to his misfortunes with genuine emotion. Aristotle’s Rhetorica states more explicitly this same association between vividness and fear: ἔστω δὴ ὁ φόβος λύπη τῆς ἑ ταραχῆ ἐκ φαντασίας, “let fear be some pain or disquiet arising from an impression” (1382a21). The theory of effecting immersive vividness, and the corresponding technique of φαντασία, is central to achieving an emotional τέλος in epic and will be central as well to Lucan’s highly rhetorical poetic style.

In addition to articulating an affective stylistic theory, Aristotle also inaugurates a tradition of talking about fear that blends philosophy and literature in a manner widely considered the origin of the modern cognitive theory of emotion. Fear as a cognitive emotion affects the way people reason and form judgments, perceive themselves in any given situation,

18 Aristot. Poet. 1453b. Translations from Aristotle are my own.

19 For Aristotle, the evocation of pity is also the mark of a good poet. These emotions φόβος (fear) and ἐλεος (pity) are famously outlined in Aristotle’s discussion of catharsis. See Poet. 1449b25-29.
and think through problems and challenges. Fear and other emotions are discussed in the *Rhetorica* in the context of persuasion, oratory, and rhetorical technique.

> ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάθη δι᾽ ὁσα μεταβάλλοντες διαιφέρουσι πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις οἷς ἔπεται λύπη καὶ ἠδονή, οίων ὀργή ἔλεος φόβος καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία.

The emotions are those sorts through which people change their minds in respect to their judgments, upon whom accompany pain and pleasure, such as anger, pity, fear and all those similar sorts of emotions, and their opposites.

To understand how fear affects people’s patterns of thinking is to possess the ability to change their opinions and manipulate their judgments, as is often advantageous in certain situations pertaining to government and law. It can therefore be somewhat frustrating that Aristotle’s definition of emotion is tantalizingly incomplete; mainly, he provides no elaboration on the “similar sorts of emotions” or explanation regarding “their opposites.” There is therefore no way of knowing whether if by ὁσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα Aristotle is referring to physical and mental responses commonly categorized under fear such as panic, shock, and anxiety.

Since Lucan distinctly represents panic, shock, and anxiety in the *Bellum Civile*, it is likely that his poetic presentation of these emotions was influenced consciously or otherwise by sources beyond Aristotle, as Aristotle does not address these distinct forms of fear in his discussions of emotion in *Rhetorica* 2.1, or of fear in section 2.5 discussed below. Panic, shock, and anxiety in particular are forms of fear recognized and discussed in the works of later Greco-Roman authors, but were either not yet present or not yet fully differentiated in Aristotelian thought. Or else it can be argued that the differentiation of panic, shock, and anxiety fell outside the immediate context of the *Rhetorica*, which was to discuss how one might influence others through the manipulation of emotion through speech. It is necessary to keep this rhetorical context in mind when extracting Aristotle’s views on fear from what is essentially an oratory handbook.

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21 Aristot. *Rh.* 1378a20-23. Aristotle’s interest in fear and the role it plays in mental processes anticipates the modern field of cognitive psychology.
In addition, Aristotle does not focus at length on the etiology of fear, i.e. discussing why people are afraid and illustrating the many reasons and causes for their fear, a pursuit that will play a significant role in Lucan’s poetry. Aristotle does however include a brief consideration of why some evils and misfortunes are frightening and why others are not.

Let fear be some pain or disquiet arising from an impression of an approaching evil (μέλλοντος κακοῦ) that is destructive or painful: for not all evils do people fear...but the sort capable of great pain or destruction, and if not far off these appear, but near so as to be imminent.22

The Aristotelian definition of fear is of an impression or mental image of some future event that is close at hand (ἐὰν μὴ πόρρω ἄλλα σύνεγγυς ὥστε μέλλειν, “if not far off these appear, but near so as to be imminent”). In addition, this future event has the potential to do evil, harm, or injury. When defined in this manner, the causes of fear are limited, meaning that Aristotle’s definition of fear does not appear to acknowledge things that people fear that are indefinable or hypothetical in respect to the threat they pose. In other words, fear to Aristotle is primarily, if not exclusively, a rational, well-reasoned response to a genuine, concrete threat. However, we know people do possess irrational fears, and in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation I demonstrate Lucan to be well adept at representing this abstract side of fear.

Another limitation of Aristotle’s definition is that it suggests fear is mainly the result of humans as threats to other humans. For example, Aristotle describes how we might perceive other humans as being greater than ourselves in terms of social or military station, and thereby fear the harm they might do us from their position of superiority. In other words, the causes of fear in the Rhetorica are chiefly presented as other living things, not things inanimate or intangible. Non-human and non-animal stimuli largely do not play into Aristotle’s definition of fear, yet their role as causes of human fear is not entirely discredited. As David Konstan has

22 Aristot. Rh. 1382a21-25.
suggested, Aristotle’s definition of fear “does not exclude the possibility that one may fear an overhanging boulder” for instance. In this example, we should consider the boulder, though inanimate, an object of fear since it satisfies the definition of a “danger.”

Danger is a concept closely associated with fear because κίνδυνος is the sense or sign of the approach of objects worth fearing (φοβερά). This definition emphasizes the proximity (πλησιασμός) of the threat and its closeness in relation to both time and space. The Aristotelian definition of danger has some interesting consequences, such as the notion that death is not a cause of fear in humans: τὰ γὰρ πόρρω σφόδρα οὐ φοβοῦνται: ἵσατι γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἀποθανοῦνται, ἀλλ᾽ ὃτι οὐκ ἐγγὺς, οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν (for people do not fear violent things very far off: all people know that they are mortal, but since their death is not at hand, they do not give heed). By this same argument an inanimate object, such as the overhanging boulder, does in fact qualify as a cause of fear because it is an approaching evil (μέλλοντος κακοῦ) and thus an imminent threat (that looms in the literal sense). In the Bellum Civile, Lucan colors his poetic world with fear by filling it with similar physical dangers such as wildfire and storms. But what makes these natural dangers the more frightening is the underlying threat of death they harbor and the resultant death anxiety they provoke. As these ideas about death and anxiety do not

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24 Aristot. Rh. 1382a25-32. Pity is defined similarly in Rh. 2.8 as pain caused by the proximity of something destructive or harmful.

25 Aristot. Rh. 1382a25.
present in Aristotelian thought, we continue to trace the philosophy of fear as it develops to identify the sources that more directly influenced Lucan’s literary conception of fear.

**Epicureanism**

A generation after Aristotle, Epicurus (341 – 270 BCE) famously philosophized that there could be nothing worth fearing in not being alive.\(^{26}\) While this particular tenet is scarcely represented in the *Bellum Civile*, it is still important to consider how Lucan was influenced by the Roman Epicurean Lucretius and representations of fear in the *De Rerum Natura*. Specifically, Lucan may have adapted his representations of mental anxiety from Lucretius, who is known for extending the Hellenistic discussion on φόβερα into both Roman thought and language.

In particular, Lucretius uses poetry as a medium through which to conceptualize aspects of fear that were not addressed by Aristotle’s respective definition in the *Rhetorica*.\(^{27}\) Aristotle does not discuss the possibility of what modern psychology terms “generalized anxiety.” According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* of the American Psychiatric Association, the term “anxiety” may denote “apprehensive anticipation of future danger or misfortune accompanied by a feeling of dysphoria or somatic symptoms of tension.”\(^{28}\) This definition shares a certain similarity with Aristotle’s definition of fear, to recall, as some pain or disquiet arising from the impression of an approaching evil. The point of difference to be noted once more, however, is that for Aristotle these evils are chiefly concrete and caused by

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\(^{27}\) On the possibility of fear in the absence of a perceived cause in Aristotle, see Konstan 2006: 149, 321 n. 31.

\(^{28}\) DSM-IV Text Revision (2000: 820). In the most recent fifth edition (2013), the DSM-IV category for anxiety was split to separate anxiety disorders from obsessive-compulsive disorders and trauma and stressor-related disorders. In the DSM-V, anxiety disorders include separation anxiety disorder, selective mutism, specific phobia, social phobia, panic disorder, agoraphobia, and generalized anxiety disorder.
human agents; likewise, individual fears are conscious and rational and acknowledged as such by the one who is afraid.

Yet it is unconscious, irrational fear that Lucretius’ epic on the natural world explicitly aims to combat.²⁹ Epicureans in general were noteworthy for addressing the deeper causes of unacknowledged fear in humans, chiefly the fear of death, but Lucretius is exceptional for addressing the complexities of fear and anxiety in hexameter (the meter of didactic epic and Lucan’s poem as well).³⁰ The *De Rerum Natura* was lauded by a young Epicurean Vergil for this philosophical contribution; Vergil praises Lucretius as *felix* (lucky, blessed) not only for knowing the causes of things but in particular because he *subiecit pedibus* (trampled underfoot) the fear of Acheron.³¹ Acheron, a river of the Underworld, is here and elsewhere in Greco-Roman literature symbolic of death and all its uncertainties. It is the fear of this uncertainty that Lucretius targets, anticipating the field of modern thanatology.³²

If Lucan’s conception of fear reveals a similarity to that of Lucretius, then he too must be credited for playing an important role in the history of the philosophy of fear. Lucretius’ epic demonstrates that even by the first century BCE the ancient Romans had a conception of anxiety

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²⁹ For an overview of the Epicurean theory of emotion, see Braund and Gill 1997: 9–11; Konstan 2006: 149.

³⁰ Olberding suggests that Lucretius “better honors the complexity of human experience” than Epicurus. Summarizing Lucretius’ philosophical contribution, Olberding states: “The capacity of this doctrine to alleviate anxiety realizes its fullest expression when we apprehend that our own rational powers are the instruments of our liberation. For through rational investigation of the natural world, we provide ourselves a lens of objective understanding through which to contextualize our personal experiences of the world and thereby distance ourselves from them” (2005: 115). The pleasure (*suave*, “it is pleasing”) of this liberation begins Lucretius’ second proem (2.1-14).


³² For a survey of thanatological theory, see Moore and Williamson 2003: 3; Hoelter and Hoelter 1978; Segal 1990: 238–39. In essence, Lucretius’ aim both as poet and philosopher is to eliminate his reader’s death anxiety, an umbrella term common to the interdisciplinary field of thanatology, or death studies.
with enough nuance to rival modern theory. As Charles Segal advances in his study *Lucretius on Death and Anxiety*, “for Lucretius, as an Epicurean thinker, death is a scientifically understood process, the dissolution of atoms. But death has another, darker side, hidden in the shadows: the fear of the painful process of dying through massive physical injury and fears about annihilation, the total extinction of one’s self, dissolution into nothingness.” Segal’s overall focus on death and anxiety in the *De Rerum Natura* supports the argument for Lucretius’ coherent integration of poetry and philosophy. While Lucretius’ didactic technique is more “shocking” than that of Epicurus, it is also meant to arouse the audience’s anxiety about death for the purpose of then distancing readers from this fear. The seemingly paradoxical nature of this didactic τέλος once led some scholars to view Lucretius and his work as pessimistically morbid, inconsistent, and self-questioning, and similar critiques have been levied against Lucan. In support of Lucretius’ style, however, Segal’s analysis of the *De Rerum Natura* examines how the use of figurative language to achieve metaphorical descriptions of death works to convey the dark side of fear that underlines human anxiety. Lucretius’ poem therefore ultimately epitomizes the conjoining of a didactic and affective τέλος within a single poetic work and demonstrates the strength of emotional expression made possible within the limits of the Latin language, which was at that time continuing to develop a vocabulary to represent and redefine Greek ideas about fear.

33 Psychologists Hoelter and Hoelter, for example, in a 1978 study testing a possible causal relationship between delineated fears and generalized anxiety in humans, discovered a positive correlation between individual fears about death (such as the fear of premature death and the fear of the dead) and feelings of general anxiety. These results suggest that, contrary to Aristotle’s notion, death is a significant cause of fear and anxiety in humans.

34 Segal 1990: 12.

35 See Segal 1990: 8 on the “anti-Lucretius in Lucretius.” For critique on Lucan’s style, see Martindale 1993: 66.

36 Segal 1990: 12.
Stoicism

During the mid-Late Republic, Cicero contributed to the growing interest in Stoicism at Rome with the *Tusculanae Disputationes*. Around the time of Lucretius, the Roman statesman had turned to philosophy and in particular toward an interest in the categorization of emotion. Though perhaps better known for his political and courtroom speeches, Cicero composed the five books of the *Disputationes* on types of emotions both harmful and helpful to one wishing to live a happy and virtuous life. It was Cicero’s *Disputationes* that transferred many Stoic terms for fear and anxiety into the Latin lexicon. Because this vocabulary presents itself prominently in Lucan (as examined in Chapter 2), I examine it now in the context of the development of Greco-Roman ideas about fear.

Books 3 and 4 of Cicero’s *Disputationes* consider the nature and proper management of human emotions, particularly the strong sort that may negatively affect one’s life. Throughout the dialectic treatise Cicero equates emotion to a *perturbatio animi* (disturbance of the mind). All emotion is then divided into four main categories, two of which are fear (*metum*) and mental distress (*aegritudinem*).

*ita esse quattuor, ex bonis libidinem et laetitiam, ut sit laetitia praesentium bonorum, libido futurorum, ex malis metum et aegritudinem nasci censent, metum futuris, aegritudinem praesentibus; quae enim venientia metuuntur, eadem adficiunt aegritudine instantia.*

Thus, there are four [emotions], those they think arise from good things being desire and gladness, so that gladness is of present good things and desire of future ones, and those from bad things fear and distress, fear for future things, distress for things at present; for

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37 Book 3 covers the topic of grief and mental distress. Cicero writes in response to his own experience with intense grief after the death of his daughter Tullia in 45 BCE. The premise of Book 4 of the *Disputationes* is that even a wise man cannot be free of every emotion (*Tusc*. 4.8.7-8).

38 Graver provides a note on her translation of the term: “Cicero’s phrase *perturbatio animi*, which I regularly render ‘emotion,’ is literally ‘a disturbance of mind,’ and the force of the metaphor is never entirely absent...*perturbatio animi* is also his standard rendering for Gr. *pathos*, naming the class to which fear, desire, grief, and anger belong, and is as close to a standard usage as was in existence in Republican Latin” (2002: xxxviii–ix).
the things that are feared as they approach are the same things, once upon us, that affect us with distress.\textsuperscript{39}

Cicero’s delineation of fear and distress exemplifies the redefinition and translation of Greek ideas about fear into the vocabulary of the Latin language.\textsuperscript{40} The phrases above \textit{ex malis metum} and \textit{metum futuris} appear together as an attempt to translate the fundamental idea behind the Greek participial phrase \textit{μέλλοντος κακοῦ} that was used by Aristotle in defining fear (\textit{Rh. 1382a21-25}). What Cicero here redefines is the Aristotelian idea that fear is chiefly a response to threats that are imminent, or in Cicero’s Latin \textit{instantia}.\textsuperscript{41} Cicero therefore expands upon the Aristotelian conception of fear by distinguishing future fear and present fear and differentiating \textit{aegritudo} (distress), which might be likened to an in-the-moment feeling of panic, from \textit{metus} based on the criterion of time (anticipatory future versus affected present).\textsuperscript{42} I believe this differentiation demonstrates a growing nuance in the conception of fear in Greco-Roman thought as Aristotle does not address a conception of \textit{metum futuris} or what is essentially the

\textsuperscript{39} Cic. \textit{Tusc. 4.11}. Translations from Cicero are my own.

\textsuperscript{40} Cicero states this intention at \textit{Tusc. 1.15}: \textit{dicam, si potero, Latine, scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine} (I will speak, if I am able, in Latin. For you know me to be no more accustomed to speak Greek in a Latin conversation than Latin in a Greek one).

\textsuperscript{41} Consider in comparison the idea and imagery of the sword of Damocles: \textit{satisne videtur declarasse Dionysius nihil esse ei beatum, cui semper aliqui terror impendeat?} “Does Dionysius not seem enough to have declared that nothing is blessed for anyone for whom some terror is always over head?” (Cic. \textit{Tusc. 5.62}). Damocles was a sycophant in the court of Dionysius II, the fourth century BCE tyrant of Syracuse. Modern references to the sword of Damocles, particularly in political contexts, have adopted the meaning of “impending calamity,” as in U.S. President Kennedy’s 1961 address to the U.N. General Assembly on the topic of nuclear war:

\begin{quote}
    Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{42} Cicero’s claim \textit{quae enim venientia metuuntur, eadem afficiunt aegritudine instantia} is more similar to Aristotle’s definition of danger than of fear: \textit{ἔγγος γὰρ φαίνεται τὸ φοβερόν: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστι κίνδυνος, φοβερὸν πλησιασμός} (\textit{Rh. 1382a32}).
possibility of anxiety about hypothetical events in the future. By separating distress (**aegritudinem praeSENTibus**) from a distinct notion of fear as **metum futuris**, Cicero is refining the one philosophical definition by clarifying its divergence from the other. When Cicero states in the following section (**Tusc. 4.14**) that **metus opinio imPendentis mali** (fear is the expectation that a bad thing is impending), he aims to refine both “fear” and “danger” – Aristotle’s κίνδυνος – using the vocabulary of the Latin language.

This refinement of terminology reemerges more distinctly in subsequent passages in the *Disputationes*, in which Cicero catalogs words in Latin for different aspects of fear according to Stoic theory (**Tusc. 4.16**).

> Sed singulis perturbationibus partes eiusdem generis plures subiciuntur, ut aegritudini invidentia [...] aemulatio, obtrectatio, misericordia, angor, luctus, maeror, aerumna, dolor, lamentatio, sollicitudo, molestia, adlictatio, desperatio, et si quae sunt de genere eodem. sub metum autem subiecta sunt pigritia, pudor, terror, timor, pavor, exanimatio, conturbatio, formido.

But for individual emotions there are many parts of the same type under it, as envy is to distress and [...] rivalry, detraction, pity, anxiety, grief, sorrow, weariness, heartache, weeping, worry, annoyance, pain, despair, and if there are any of the same kind. Moreover, under fear are classified sloth, shame, terror, fright, alarm, intense terror, disquiet, and dread.43

Cicero’s vocabulary of fear and distress is adapted from lists of Stoic species-emotions, so called as they are organized under a genus term, such as **metus**. These lists of categorized emotions were originally written in Greek and produced and collected by rhetorical theorists (an example from Aristotle can be found in **Rh. 2.1-11**). Stoic authors then reshaped these lists for their own purposes.44 However, a number of the emotion terms found in *Disputationes* Book 4 do not appear in the lists of corresponding Stoic vocabulary, while some emotions excluded in Cicero


44 For Cicero’s sources, see Graver 2002: 142. Graver notes that the emphasis on distress is more marked in Cicero’s list than in the corresponding Greek versions, possibly reflecting the importance of grief and suffering in the Roman literary tradition in addition to Cicero’s own personal interest.
are included in the Greek sources. The Greek term *ekplêxis* is a noteworthy omission from Cicero’s Latin; it connotes “shock” and represents the technique of “shocking” vividness in the composition of affective literature. Though missing from Cicero’s list above, the term *ekplêxis* reappears in rhetorical treatises dealing with the arousal of fear as an audience emotion and is a device Lucan is fond of using in the *Bellum Civile*.

Many other emotions listed in Cicero will be represented in Lucan’s text, including *timor, terror,* and *formido*. Some terms, such as *dolor*, will be represented in such a manner as to prioritize a sense of anxiety or fearful uncertainty over other semantic possibilities (e.g. pain, grief). It is therefore important to understand the Republican conception of these terms as represented by Cicero before investigating their usage in Lucan’s imperial epic. As I will argue over the course of several chapters, Lucan’s interest in representing the multifaceted dimensions of fear in the *Bellum Civile* is largely etiological, an impetus I credit as inherited from his Republican predecessors; just as Lucretius attempted with poetry to illustrate the causes of human anxiety, we witness Cicero too grappling with the lexical expression of philosophical notions of fear within the traditions and limitations of his prose genre. Cicero’s *Disputationes* offers a good glimpse into the development of these lexical expressions.

Quae autem subiecta sunt sub metum, ea sic definiunt <…> terrorem metum concutientem, ex quo fit ut pudorem rubor, terrorem pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus consequatur, timorem metum mali adpropinquantis, pavorem metum mentem loco moventem, ex quo illud Ennius: “tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat,”47 exanimationem metum subsequentem et quasi comitem pavoris, conturbationem metum excitentem cogitata, formidinem metum permanentem.

But those [genera] placed under “fear,” they defined them so <…> terror, the fear that strikes together, from which it happens that blushing follows shame, but paleness and trembling and the chattering of teeth accompany terror; *timor* is fear of approaching evil, *pavor* is fear that moves the mind from its place, from which Ennius says that, “then fear drove all wisdom from my terrified breast”; *exanimatio* is fear that follows after

45 Graver 2002: 146.

46 I have chosen to transliterate rhetorical Greek terms to prioritize the technical definition.

47 Enn. *A lc.*, fr. 14. This verse is also cited in Cic. *De or.* 3.218.
pavor like a companion, conturbatio is fear that rattles the thoughts, formido is long-lasting fear.\textsuperscript{48}

The complexity of Cicero’s vocabulary reveals a conspicuous interest in differentiating the many causes and effects, both physical and abstract, of human fear and anxiety, representing a marked development from the limited Aristotelian definition. Nevertheless, there is continuity of thought. From the examples above, one definition of fear has undergone a remarkably linear conceptual development: Aristotle’s participial μέλλοντος κακοῦ ([fear] of approaching evil) is preserved in Cicero’s definition of timor as mali adpropinquantis, and remains as timor futuri in the philosophical prose of Seneca’s Epistulae.\textsuperscript{49} This is only one example, albeit one most illustrative, to demonstrate the steady development of ideas about fear from Aristotle to the Stoics of Lucan’s age.

There are other noteworthy developments in this passage too. Types of fear responses have been classified according to their strength and duration (such as formido), their physical effect (such as terror), and their effect upon the mind (conturbatio, pavor and examinatio, literally “out of one’s senses”). Additionally, a hierarchy of fear emerges here as well, with examinatio (extreme terror) following pavor (fear that moves the mind from its place) in intensity. This intensified form of terror (exanimatio) is further described poetically as the “companion” of pavor, though this poetic flourish should not surprise us, nor the fact that Cicero cites the poets to support his philosophical notions of fear. Cicero’s reference to Ennius, the forefather of Latin epic, in this largely philosophical passage, resonates with Lucretius’ efforts to articulate through verse the anxiety about future events that afflicts humankind, namely the fear of death.\textsuperscript{50} Cicero’s direct quotation of Ennius also suggests that the distinction

\textsuperscript{48} Cic. Tusc. 4.19. This passage is preceded by a lacuna in the text.


\textsuperscript{50} Lucretius praises Ennius despite his promotion of an afterlife: etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templ a | Ennius aeternis exposit versibus edens, “even yet if that the realms of
between imminent (concrete) fear and future (abstract) fear was present in Roman thought as early as Ennius' lifetime (239 – c. 169 BCE). It will be especially motivating in the following chapter to examine how Lucan differentiates these linguistic forms of fear in his own work and whether these Ciceronian distinctions are preserved in their representation in the Bellum Civile.

The influence of Stoic emotion theory on the Bellum Civile should not be understated. Though both Epicureans and Stoics were deeply interested in articulating complex ideas about human emotions, Stoicism was the more popularized philosophy at Rome during Cicero’s time and was well represented in the Neronian age by Seneca the Younger, Lucan’s uncle. Stoic emotion, i.e. the passion of human emotion, is chiefly an ethical concept. This means fear assumes a negative connotation as a turn away from reason. Stoics represented fear and other emotions “as conceptual errors” that are chiefly “conducive to misery.” It was a tenet of Stoic theory that in accordance with the idea of assent, people must essentially agree to let an affectus (emotion) rule their rational senses. In other words, the emotion of fear only adapts an ethically

Acheron exist | Ennius claims in eternal verses” (DRN 1.117-21). The incorrect belief in the Underworld was according to Lucretius a cause of anxiety and unnecessary fear in humans.

51 Stoicism was a school of thought begun by Zeno of Citium (335 – 263 BCE), whose definition of emotion Cicero cites verbatim at Tusc. 4.11 and defends at 4.47. Cicero’s translation of the Greek πάθος into Latin pertubatio appears widely as the Latin affectus in Seneca (e.g. De ira), from where ultimately the English “affect” is derived.

52 Seneca’s theory of emotions was influenced by social context, as Konstan suggests of Aristotle’s (2006:133). These philosophical notions of fear therefore viewed the emotion as “a socially conditioned response,” rather than an evolutionary aversion to harmful threats. For an overview of the innate response v. social construct debate regarding fear, see Moore and Williamson 2003: 3–4.

53 The idea here is repeated at Cic. Tusc. 4.13: est igitur metus a ratione aversa cautio (thus fear is caution that has turned away from reason).

54 Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett 2008: 5.
detrimental dimension once it has advanced beyond an instinctual impulse. Accordingly, there can be no cowardice attached to fear in the face of danger to one’s life.

Yet life in imperial Rome for the elites and those close to the emperor offered a range of unique threats, and both Seneca and his nephew Lucan, impelled to commit suicide in 65 CE, fell victim to the temperamental whims of the emperor Nero. The anxiety of living under the autocratic successors of Julius Caesar, in a world “out of control and beyond any reasonable expectations,” undoubtedly affected ideas about fear held by philosophers, as well as poets, in the latter half of the first century and into the second. In the next chapter and those that follow, I continue therefore to consider how present fear was in the mind of Lucan as he composed the Bellum Civile.

2. Phantasia, Enargeia, and Ekplêxis: The Art of Arousing Fear

Ancient Greek and Roman rhetorical theorists promoted a set of practical techniques and devices to arouse specific types of emotion from both literary and oratorical audiences. It was noted earlier, for instance, that Aristotle mentions the technique of φαντασία in the context of defining what fear was and how it could alter human judgment as a tool of persuasion. Since

55 “The Stoic theory of passions posits a distinction between instinctive reaction and rational assent. When confronted with appearances, even those generated by poetry or painting (Sen. Ira 2.2.5-6), a human being, even the wise man, will receive an involuntary ‘impulse’ (ictus) that will make him react involuntarily. But the impulse is not a passion (pathos/eductus): the latter arises only when the receiver of such an impulse gives to it rational assent (Sen. Ira 2.3.1)” (Behr 2007: 91). See also A. Schiesaro in Braund and Gill 1997: 105–7; Inwood 2005: 57–58.

56 The Stoic view of affectus plays a prominent role in the modern philosophy of emotion, which credits to Stoicism an emphasis on cognition and the social formation of human judgment: “But the world of Roman society was not a happy or a particularly rational place...and as the Stoics saw the world they lived in as out of control and beyond any reasonable expectations, they saw the emotions which imposed such expectations on the world, as misguided judgments about life and our place in the world” (Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett 2008: 5).

57 On the aesthetic of horror in Seneca and its relation to empire and imperial politics, see Marti 1964; Slaney 2016. Marti suggests that “the horror which many Latin authors expressed at some aspects of their own history and civilization” is an original contribution of imperial literature (177–78).
the generic stylistics of rhetoric and historiography too are represented in the *Bellum Civile*, it is necessary to consider the non-philosophical milieu that may have influenced Lucan’s literary representation of fear.

Psychology and literature overlap in the modern study of narratology, which advances the idea of narrative empathy, the sharing of feeling and perspective between characters and readers. Such empathy is induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another’s situation and condition. One of the key features of narrative empathy is “high levels of imagery inviting mental stimulation and immersion.” In other words, subjects in laboratory settings have given reports of feeling “transported” and leaving reality to fully immerse in a fictive world.58 This immersive reading process has been theorized by modern scholars of literature, philosophy, and psychology, but was already articulated in Greco-Roman thought. Matthew Leigh’s study on *Spectacle and Engagement* in Lucan is a salient example of the work that has been done in regard to what is essentially narrative empathy in a Classical context. His main topic is the manner in which the poet invites his readers to visit the fictive historical world of the *Bellum Civile* and, being present, to engage more intimately with the characters, events, and situations of the poem. In the following section I explore the theories and devices that a poet such a Lucan might employ to draw his audience into his epic world, revealing the close association in Greco-Roman thought between history, spectacle, and fear.

Fear in the Aristotelian tradition possessed a strong literary relevance and was considered a desirable affect upon the audience or reader. Orators, for example, aimed to arouse emotions in their speeches in hopes of ultimately persuading jurors and legislators.59 Despite the

58 See Keen “Narrative Empathy” in Hühn et al. 2014 for full discussion. Narrative empathy differs from the related but distinct phenomenon of sympathy, for which the reader feels for a character but does not also share that particular feeling with the character (521-22).

59 Levene in Braund and Gill 1997: 131. In even many modern societies, fear is a legally recognized tool of persuasion. Black’s Law Dictionary (10th ed. 2014) defines coercion as the “compulsion of a free agent by physical, moral, or economic force or threat of physical force.”
inherent subjectivity surrounding emotions in general and the diversity of human experience, rhetorical schools were able to teach the art of arousing emotion with precision because audiences responded with a high level of predictability to certain affective rhetorical devices. These devices encourage the audience to identify with the participants or characters in the events being narrated. However, every emotion is not to be evoked in the same way. The arousal of fear requires the devices of phantasia, enargeia, and ekplēxis.

Rightly speaking, ekplēxis is the end result of the immersive process induced through the use of phantasia and enargeia. Enargeia is best understood as “imagination” and is therefore closely related to the theory behind the technique of phantasia. The technique of phantasia has a long history, emerging in Aristotle’s definition of fear in the Rhetorica: ἔστω δὴ ὁ φόβος λίπη τῆς ἡ ταραχή ἐκ φαντασίας, “let fear be some pain or disquiet arising from an impression” (1382a21). The English corresponding “impression” suggests that phantasia is the art of making that which is not there, seem there, by using language to “impress” a concrete image upon the mind of the recipient. This was the fundamental theory carried down through the second century CE, when the Roman rhetorician Quintilian defined the Greek term for a Latin audience: quas φαντασίας Graeci vocant, nos sane visiones appellemus, per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo, ut eas cernere oculis ac praeentes habere

60 Webb in Braund and Gill 1997: 112.

61 “Enargeia often performs a central role here: the vivid description breaks down the barriers between the audience and the characters and encourages the former to share the viewpoint of, and hence to empathise with, the latter” (Levene in Braund and Gill 1997: 131).

62 There is some definitional overlap among the three theories, even in ancient sources. See Leigh 1997: 14. In referencing Longin. Subl. 15.2, Leigh cautions that phantasia and enargeia are not always able to be distinguished.

63 The most thorough definition of enargeia is found in the discussion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the rhetorical style of Lysias (Lys. 7). According to Dionysius, enargeia is a stylistic effect that turns the listener into an eyewitness to the events he is hearing about, allowing him to vividly and realistically picture the narration. See also related ideas of demonstratio (Ad Herenn. 4.55.68) and inlustris oratio (Cic. Part. or. 6.20). Also, Quint. Inst. 6.2.32, 9.2.40. For discussion, see Zanker 1981.
videamur, “the things the Greeks call φαντασίας, let us reasonably call visions, through which images of absent things are represented in the mind so that we seem to discern them with our eyes and hold as present” (Inst. 6.2.29). In short, phantasia involves the skill of an orator or rhetorically inclined poet to make narrated events appear before the eyes of the audience, and to do so in such vivid detail that the audience responds accordingly, either in pity, pleasure, or fear.64 Strabo, for example, suggests that a story can produce pleasure and thus enchant an audience toward a particular action, or conversely arouse fear to deter certain behavior.65 Yet when fear is the cause of this pleasure, Strabo seems to suggest that this is altogether a singular effect, which he terms ekplèxis.

This word ekplèxis, in its adjecival form ekplèktos, corresponds in the Latin glossaries to the adjective attonitus, which primary denotes being stunned or struck by lightning but commonly reflects the English sense of “astonishment.”66 A good illustration of the emotions involved in the production of this literary astonishment occurs in Bellum Civile Book 7. Here Lucan makes the authorial claim that all those who read his epic (omnes...legent, 7.212-13) will come away feeling attoniti (7.212). The famous apostrophic sequence (7.205-12) begins with the poet addressing the great men of Rome, then pivots outward to acknowledge the audience of readers before refocusing with an appeal to Pompey Magnus, one of the epic’s central protagonists.

o summos hominum, quorum fortuna per orbem
signa dedit, quorum fatis caelum omne uacauit!
haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum,

64 Webb in Braund and Gill 1997: 112.

65 The Greek geographer Strabo (64 or 63 BCE – c. 24 CE), whose work according to Behr “shows a strong alignment with Stoic sources,” including views on poetry, uses the term ekplèxis to denote specifically the fear aroused through poetry; cf. Strabo 1.2.8; Behr 2007: 78, 90–91; de Lacy 1948. See also Longin. Subl. 1.4.

66 OLD s.v. 1a and b; s.v. 2 “stupefied, dazed, etc. (by various emotions);” related to the Latin tonare, “to thunder,” as does Jupiter Tonans. For attonitus corresponding to ekplèktos, see Leigh 1997: 15 and TLL ii. 1154.35ff.
siue sua tantum uenient in saecula fama
siue aliquid magnis nostrī quoque cura laboris
nominibus prodesse potest, cum bella legentur,
spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt,
attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata,
non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

O greatest of men, whose fortune produced signs
across the world, whose fates all heaven took mind of!
These wars even among later peoples and our posterity,
whether they will enter the ages by their own fame alone
or whether to some extent the care of my labor can too
be useful to great names, when my wars are read
they will move hopes and fears, and at the same time wishes that will come to nothing,
and all astonished will read these wars like events to come,
not those having passed, and still, Magnus, they will favor you.

Commenting on the passage as a whole, Leigh notes how Lucan’s “ambitions” as expressed in
these lines are clearly related to “the rhetorical theory of ἐνάργεια and its cognates,” 67 i.e.
phantasia and ekplēxis. This is to say that Lucan is clear to assert that the success of his affective
aims, chiefly to render his readers attoniti, is rooted in vividness, imagery, and emotion; his
poem of civil war (bella, 7.210) will effectively “move” readers to experience certain emotions
and form specific opinions about the historical events that are transpiring in the text. What is
more, in the spirit of narrative empathy, Lucan also asserts that his readers will be drawn into
his poetic world to such an extent that these events will unfold as if before their eyes. This is the
idea expressed by the phrase ueluti uenientia fata, non transmissa (7.212-13). 68 Through the
power of enargeia and its related devices, readers can feel as if they are eyewitnesses to history
and react accordingly in a deeply affective manner.

All this is to say that Lucan is highly rhetorical in the style through which he treats an
historical topic, which prompted Quintilian to suggest him as a model more useful for orators to
imitate than for poets. This evaluation was in part inspired by the emotional, subjective style


68 “That Lucan’s readers will be rendered present at the battle is expressed temporally rather
than locally in the assertion that they will treat what they read as ‘like fates that are coming and
not yet past’ (veluti venientia fata, non transmissa)” (Leigh 1997: 13).
with which Lucan composes epic, for which he is also described by Quintilian as *ardens et concitatus* (fiery and passionate). The perceived passion of Lucan’s verses has faced critique as inappropriate for epic despite the fact that the arousal of strong emotion was encouraged in the treatment of historical topics. According to Plutarch, for example, the use of *ekplêxis* and *enargeia* are fundamental for tragic historiography, in which battles and events are described as ὡς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, “as not being of the past but the present” (*Vit. Artax. 8.1*). As scholars have noted, the striking similarity between Plutarch’s comments on Xenophon’s narrative of the Battle of Cunaxa (401 BCE) and Lucan’s *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe on Pharsalus (7.205-13) is apparent from a comparison of the Greek and Latin. We might even gloss Lucan’s challengingly concise phrase *ueluti uenientia fata, non transmissa* (7.212-13) as Plutarch’s ὡς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, so close is the syntactic similarity.

However, I wish to suggest another comparison for *uenientia fata*, one that returns us to Cicero’s discussion of fear in the *Disputationes*. There Cicero differentiated fear for future events (*metum futuris*) from distress caused by present circumstances (*aegritudinem praesentibus*), stating in conclusion, *quae enim venientia metuuntur, eadem adficiunt aegritudine instantia* (*Tusc. 4.11*). If we recall further, *timor* was the distinct form of fear in relation to these *venientia*, the fear *mali adpropinquantis* (of approaching evil), a definition that then in turn recalled in terms both lexical and conceptual the participial μέλλοντος κακοῦ (approaching evil) from Aristotle’s *Rhetorica*. The emphasis on the future in these discussions of

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69 Quint. Inst. 10.1.10: Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poeitis imitandus (Lucan is fiery and passionate and most famous for his *sententiae* and, to say what I think, one who must be imitated more by orators than by poets).

70 See bibliography in Leigh 1997: 37–38. For commentary on this comparison, see ad. loc. Lanzarone 2016.

71 Lucan uses similar phrasing at 4.474-75: *tum sic attonitam uenturaque fata pauentem / rexit magnanima Vulteius uoce cohortem*, “then thus Vulteius with a brave voice directed his crew, who were paralyzed and frightened of the coming fates.”
fear therefore reveals a tradition of ideas in Greco-Roman thought that crossed the boundaries of philosophy, rhetoric, and historiographical writing. The following sections will illustrate this intersection within the Bellum Civile and examine how it motivates Lucan’s poetic aims.

3. Attonitique Omnes: Defining Lucan’s Audience

Identifying Lucan’s audience is the first step toward examining how the poet aims to render them attoniti. There are clues in the text of the Bellum Civile to the identity of these readers. It has already been demonstrated about Lucan’s Magne, fauebunt apostrophe (7.205-13) that the poet explicitly asserts the primacy of ekplêxis in his epic. In communicating his intention to leave readers attoniti, Lucan signals the presence of these readers as witnesses to the events of his narrative. This signaling is effected through meta-textual markers. The phrases bella legentur (7.210), and again omnes...legent (7.212), are meta-textual and more specifically meta-poetic in referencing the creation and consumption of poetry within the actual text of a poem.

Furthermore, when Lucan uses the word bella (7.210) to refer to the battles and events within his narrative, he creates a self-referencing allusion to the beginning of the poem: bella per Emathios... (1.1). This verbal allusion allows the poet to refer to his text within the narrative of his text. The poet’s goals can therefore be communicated even when the passage (7.205-13)

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72 In general, when I am referring to a reader of Lucan’s text, I am not referring to an actual, physical reader but rather an abstract, implied one. The implied reader is often synonymous with the “ideal” reader in that he or she has the perfect ability to interpret the literary and cultural cues imbedded in the poet’s narrative. This is to say that the implied reader will understand instances of allusion, irony, paradox, and humor, and conceivably even the most obscure geographical reference. To do so the implied reader must share the same spheres of knowledge with the poet, meaning that these inter- and intratextual references are capable of being understood mutually by both poet and reader. In Lucan, these references encompass historical, political, literary, geographical, and philosophical contexts. For modern readers, the aid of a hefty commentary can bridge the inevitable gap between the knowledge possessed by an actual reader and the knowledge expected of the reader the poet has envisioned. See Wolf Schmid, “Implied Reader,” in Hühn et al. 2014.

73 Cf. Pharsalia nostra | uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo (Luc. 9.985-86), another famous apostrophe by which the poet discusses his poem with his readers. However, the Magne, fauebunt apostrophe more explicitly suggests an emotional response for these readers.
does not embody the recipient audience in an abstract sense through a second-person address. Lucan nevertheless grants his readers a certain in-narrative corporeality by indicating their presence to the character of Pompey: *attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata, | non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, faebunt*, “and all astonished [they] will read these wars like events to come, | not those having passed, and still, Magnus, they will favor you.”

The verbs *legent* and *faebunt* are deictic, from the Greek word δεῖξις, indicating a demonstration or “pointing out.” Deixis is a linguistic phenomenon for which certain words in conversation or written discourse require additional or external contextualization before their meaning can be fully understood. In Lucan’s *Magne, faebunt* apostrophe, the identity of the third person “they” that is implied in the syntactic forms *legent* and *faebunt* remains uncertain without additional indexical, or deictic, referencing. It is through this indexical referencing that Lucan’s readers are permitted a presence on the sidelines of the narrative. In other words, the epic’s readers are the “they” assumed by the third-person *legent* and *faebunt*, and so “they” – the readers – must exist in and of the narrative to the extent that Lucan can point them out to Pompey in his apostrophic address.

Additionally, the fact that *legentur* is a passive verb demands the existence of an agent, i.e., someone to do the reading. The fact that within this passage the poet uses the passive *legentur* (7.210) first and the active *legent* second suggests that Lucan is primarily inviting any and all potential readers to imagine he is addressing them. I mean to suggest that the phrase *bella legentur* signals the reader’s attention without putting any limitations on the identity of this reader (except of course that he or she can read Latin), while at the same time placing the emphasis on the *bella* rather than the reader, who remains in the background of the passage. It is not until it is read to the end of the apostrophe and we encounter the deictic *adhuc* (7.213) that it becomes apparent that Lucan has a more specific, ideal reader in mind.

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74 On Lucan’s extensive use of apostrophe, see Behr 2007.
The Latin *adhuc* is a temporal adverb meaning “still” or “up to this point.” As a deictic marker, *adhuc* requires additional context before one is able to understand the precise sense of “when” being referenced. The adverb functions in the above apostrophe to lend an unqualified temporal aspect to the identity of Lucan’s reader, working to achieve this effect alongside other tense markers in the passage and a strong emphasis on the future in general. For example, in addition to several future tense verbs and a reference to *uenientia fata* (events to come), the poet emphasizes the notion of future generations with the plenastic *seras gentes populosque nepotum*, “later peoples and our posterity” (7.207). The *Magne, faubunt* passage therefore reveals that Lucan’s readers are Roman, literate, and contemporary (reading *adhuc* as “up to our point in time”), or else they are simply knowledgeable of Roman history, able to read Latin, and part of the *seras gentes*, the later generations. The open-ended question of how much later, which is inherent in the relativity of the temporal adverb *adhuc*, makes Lucan’s implied reader perpetually recurrent.76

4. Fear as Audience Response in Lucan: The Elder’s Tale as Model (2.67-233)

Lucan’s careful crafting of meta-textual markers serves to lower the barrier between poet and reader and allows the poet to address his audience, whoever and whenever they are, directly and without the need to shift indexical references and address them with an explicitly deictic “you.” The poet uses this mode of address to establish expectations regarding how his readers should perceive, evaluate, and respond emotionally to upcoming events within the narrative (*uenientia fata*). In this way, Lucan, as Quintilian notes, is particularly rhetorical. In the *Bellum Civile*, the rhetorical notions of *enargeia*, *phantasia*, and *ekplêxis* unite to create spectacle in epic, a vividness of storytelling that sets events “before the eyes,” echoing Aristotle’s claim that fear as

75 See Comm. Bern. *ad. loc.*, for which *populos nepotum* is glossed as *populus nascientium* based on similar use in Verg. *G.* 2.58.

76 Fratantuono reads *adhuc* as referencing “the enduring favor Pompey will enjoy from posterity” (2012: 279).
an emotion can in part be aroused from this spectacle: ἔστιν μὲν οὖν τὸ φοβερὸν...ἐκ τῆς ὁμεος γίγνεσθαι (Poet. 1453b). It is therefore a reasonable expectation that elements of spectacle in the *Bellum Civile* have the ability to generate a certain level of fear in Lucan’s readers, granted that the emotion of fear has an intrinsic connection to themes of history and civil war that are central to the text.77

The close association between history, war, and fear is best demonstrated by the elder’s tale, an inserted story-within-a-story set at the beginning of Book 2. Following the foreboding extispicy of the seer Arruns at the end of Book 1, a crowd of aged veterans gathers at Rome to discuss the worrisome omens both witnessed and reported (2.64-66). The mood in the city is tense with the uncertainties surrounding the imminent approach of conflict between Caesar and Pompey. In their despair, the elders scour their history for examples of a time before when things at Rome felt similarly apprehensive (*magno...exempla timori*, 2.67). Suddenly, someone from the crowd steps forward (*aliquis*, 2.67); he is not given a name and is therefore only identifiable as “the Roman elder,” the one who recalls to his fellow elders the fear that had settled over the city a generation prior in the time of Marius and Sulla. He then narrates his tale, which he remembers in vivid detail, having lived as an eyewitness through Rome’s last great political conflict (2.67-233).

At the end of the elder’s tale, the crowd responds to the tale with unanimous fear and grief (2.232-33). It is near this conclusion that the elder reflects:

Haec rursus patienda manent, hoc ordine belli
ibitur, hic stabit ciuilibus exitus armis.
quamquam agitant grauiora metus, multumque coitur
humani generis maiore in proelia damno.

These things again remain to be suffered, through this succession of warfare there will be a passing, this outcome will remain for civil arms. Nevertheless, my fears arouse worse things, and at a much

77 On the prevalence of fear in Greek literature about war and the military, see Konstan 2006: 148–49. On the prioritization of fear in Lucan’s epic, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.
greater loss of humankind is there a convening in war. 

In serving the affective goals of the epic at large, the elder’s tale emphasizes the emotional toll of Rome’s cyclic history of civil strife. Even in this short passage, there is programmatic significance surrounding the elder’s admission of fear (metus, 2.225), which begins with the dynamism between consistency (manent, 2.223) and reiteration (rursus, 2.223); the appointed outcome of civil war (hic stabit ciuilibus exitus armis, 2.224) is that it is destined to repeat in succession (hoc ordine belli, 2.223). With such a statement, one might expect the elder to accept the violent cycles of history and find some peace in that acceptance. And yet, and let us note the abrupt adversative adverb quamquam (2.225), the elder admits that he possesses a certain anxiety about the destructive potential of this current reiteration of Roman violence, that this war between Pompey and Caesar is likely to amount to a greater loss for humanity than any such conflict before it (multum...maiore...damno, 2.225-26). This anxiety, this apprehension – this metus that forebodes grauiora – is the resultant emotional outcome (τέλος) of the elder’s cognitive process of evaluation and judgment. The Roman elder (1) considers the patienda (“suffering,” 2.223) in Rome’s future, then (2) remembers the events of the past, then (3) predicts the future of humanity (humani generis, 2.226). This is the same process undergone by a reader of Lucan’s epic. The reader, in his or her present, relives the civil wars of Rome’s past and then proceeds to make predictions about the future outcome of characters and circumstances within the world of the narrative (and perhaps even about his or her own world as well). This is the affective τέλος of Lucan’s epic, modeled through the elder’s tale.

Ancient Roman social customs and attitudes towards emotion are part of an ideal set of knowledge shared by poet and reader. Lucan can expect his reader to react in a specific way to...

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78 Luc. 2.223-26.

79 On historic cycles and Lucan’s dynamic of repetition, see Dinter 2012: 125–27.

80 “Greater perils await from the current civil war; what the old man saw in his younger years will be eclipsed by the actions of Caesar and Pompey” (Fratantuono 2012: 66).
his text because he understands, as a participant in the reader's society, the way in which their shared community constructs emotion; in other words, the Roman poet understands the cultural psychology of Rome.\textsuperscript{81} In studying the ethics of upper class Romans, Robert Kaster has suggested that scholars view the lexical aspect of a particular ancient emotion, i.e. the word *metus*, as not simply a word but rather shorthand for a cognitive process that remained relatively constant throughout the history of Roman society. This process involves “a sequence of perception (sensing, imagining), evaluation, (believing, judging, desiring), and response (bodily, affective, pragmatic, expressive).”\textsuperscript{82} This emotional process, or script, can be studied in the forms in which it appears represented in the various genres of Roman literature, including epic.\textsuperscript{83} A poet such as Lucan who is able to master the representation of these scripts is then able to manipulate the emotional responses of his readers. All this is possible because readers are not random in their responses,\textsuperscript{84} and an ideal reader will respond to fictive stimuli with the same mental and bodily responses as if these evocative representations were not merely literary.\textsuperscript{85} Therefore readers, both ideal and actual, can be guided to respond affectively to a text by the author.

\textsuperscript{81} On the social (and social-psychological) construction of reader response, see Castle 2013: 158.

\textsuperscript{82} Kaster 2005: 8.

\textsuperscript{83} On this methodology, which is consistent with current thought on the nature of emotions and has been developed over a range of disciplines, see Kaster 2005: 8–9.

\textsuperscript{84} On the non-arbitrary nature of reader response, see Castle 2013: 158.

\textsuperscript{85} Examining the representation of fear, including the poet’s depictions of its causes and effects, allows me to make claims about the emotions of a reader who belongs to a culture different from my own and helps me avoid oversimplification or projection. Simplification entails “reducing the emotion to a convenient lexical package in our own language,” while to project is to make assumptions based on the emotions we might feel in a similar circumstance (Kaster 2005: 6). To avoid these pitfalls, it is therefore useful to conceptualize emotion in terms of scripts, the set of both mental and physical behaviors that accompanies a given term signifying emotion. In the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan employs these scripts for his readers to guide their affective response.
This script modeling is detectable in the same elder’s tale mentioned above. As an overview of the episode, the Roman elder is recounting the conflict between Marius and Sulla to a crowd of fellow veteran citizens. This crowd presumably already knows the story, just as Lucan’s readers are expected to already be familiar with the historical events surrounding Caesar and Pompey’s civil war. But the elder’s tale serves more than simply to recall Rome’s history of internal conflict to the epic’s readers. It also serves as a taste of the emotional experience a reader can expect from reading the whole of the poem. At the start of the elder’s tale, Lucan introduces several faceless characters and next has one from the crowd initiate a narrative about civil war, which is in turn part of a much larger narrative about civil war – a definite story-within-a-story. This inserted tale is then addressed to both the internal audience of Roman elders and the external audience of ideal Roman readers. The elder’s tale therefore models fear as an affective τέλος, which is to say that it models to Lucan’s audience how they should ideally react emotionally to reading the Bellum Civile. This modeling is effective because the Roman elder is cast in the role of a stand-in or proxy reader, thus casting his emotional reaction as the ideal reader reaction. The elder is cast as a proxy reader in the first line of the elder’s tale by means of his introduction as a nameless representative (aliquis, 2.67). In addition, at the end of the episode, the Romans are collectively homogenized along with the elder as a single group (senectus, 2.232). Lucan then states that this group experiences collectively the same emotional response to the elder’s tale: sic maesta senectus | praeteritique membr flebat metuensque futuri, “so the sad elders lamented, remembering the past and fearing the future” (2.232-33). With this reaction, the Roman elder, as one of this collective group of elders, models the emotional response to civil war for Lucan’s readers.

A successful response requires two important capabilities on behalf of the reader: memory and emotion, or more particularly, knowledge of the history behind the Bellum Civile

86 Mark Thorne suggests that Lucan here offers an example of people who remember the past, but only selectively, which has trapped them in a cycle of civil war and fear, perhaps exemplifying the idea of “failing to learn from the past” (Asso 2011: 374).
and the ability to formulate affective extrapolations about the future based on this past. The
dynamic juxtaposition of past and future serves the poet’s affective τέλος by prompting the
reader to form emotion-based expectations about what is to come, or to recall the *Magne,
fauebunt* apostrophe, to form *spesque metusque simul perituraque uota*, “hopes and fears, and
at the same time wishes that will come to nothing” (7.212-13). In addition to emotion, memory is
also expected of Lucan’s reader, memory not only of the history requisite to reading the *Bellum
Civile* but also of previous verses within the epic’s narrative. Lucan’s reader ought to possess
the ability to recall certain lexical markers from earlier scenes, which are placed by the poet to guide
reader interpretation, affective or otherwise, of events still to come (i.e. *uenientia fata*, 7.212). In
the case of the elder’s tale, the poet places strong lexical markers at the beginning and end of the
story and uses this authorial framing to guide the reader’s interpretation of the miniature
*Bellum Civile*.

In the closing lines of the elder’s tale the poet models the script for *metus* as an
emotional response to recalling the past and forming opinions about the future. Of the internal
audience of Romans listening to the elder’s tale the poet writes, *sic maesta senectus | praeteritique
memor flebat metuensque futuri*, “so the sad elders lamented, remembering the
past and fearing the future” (2.232-33). Here grief and fear emerge as an affective result of
memory, specifically memories of civil war. In particular, fear of the future (*metuensque futuri,
2.233*) is exemplified by the whole of the elder’s tale. If we recall from earlier in this same
chapter, fear of the future was a specific philosophical notion that steadily developed through
the periods of Greek and Roman thought. Aristotle’s participial phrase μέλλοντος κακο (fear
of approaching evil) was preserved in Cicero’s definition of *timor* as *mali adpropinquantis* and
in Seneca as *timor futuri*. Now in Lucan we see the same idea developed not only as the phrase
*metuens...futuri* (2.233) but through the elder’s tale as a whole. The tale’s prelude in particular
establishes the apprehension associated with an uncertain future at Rome (2.64-66).
at miserōs angit sua cura parentes, 
oideruntque grauis uiuacia fata senectae 
seruatosque iterum bellis ciuilibus annos.

But concerns, each to their own, weigh down upon wretched parents, 
and they hate the long-lived fate of grievous old age 
and that they had preserved their years for civil wars again.

The Roman elders lament the fact that they have lived long enough to see a second civil war (iterum bellis ciuilibus, 2.66), “civil war” recalling the poem’s opening line (bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos). This lexical allusion signifies to the reader that the elder’s tale is in effect an abridged version of the epic they are reading. When the elder’s tale begins proper, it is presented in oratio recta, direct speech as signaled by inquit, to enhance the vividness of the narrative.

atque aliquis [the elder] magno quaerens exempla timori 
“non alios” inquit “motus tum fata parabant 
cum post Teutonicos uictor Libycosque triumphos 
exul limosa Marius caput abdidit ulua.”

And someone seeking precedents for this great fear said “not otherwise then was the commotion the fates prepared when after triumphs over Teutoni and Libyans, victorious Marius in exile hid his head in swampy sedge weed.”

Lucan’s choice to report the elder’s tale as oratio recta imparts onto the reader a sense of presence and immediacy by blurring the distance and distinction between past, present, and future among the many levels of narrative. In this moment, there is achieved a dizzying effect, one of standing between two mirrors that face each other and staring through them into infinity; images and images that repeat forever like Roman tales of civil war. The motus (2.68) experienced by the elders is the same motus, or emotion, that they felt during the conflict between Marius and Sulla (magno... exempla timori, 2.67). It is also the same motus (timor) that Lucan expects his readers to experience from reading both the elder’s tale and the whole of the epic that contains it. It is therefore no coincidence that motus in the plural is a versatile

87 Luc. 2.67-70. Marius had hidden himself in Minturnae, a town in Southern Latium on the swampy banks of the Liris River.
noun translatable both as “civil disturbance” and “emotion.” Throughout his work, Lucan demonstrates great skill with word choice by turning lexical markers into emotional ones in service of his affective τέλος. And this is Lucan’s τέλος, provoking the mise en abyme emotions that lie between the mirrors that represent the past, the future, and their repeated cycles of civil strife. Like the elders who remember Sulla’s war, Lucan’s readers are compelled to relive Caesar’s war – and Sulla’s war within the epic of Caesar’s war – and so to stare into the grim infinity of mirrored history.

5. Fear as Lucan’s Emotional Theme
The same Roman elder I have been discussing above also serves as a stand-in for the poet as the individual who, assuming the role of narrator, compels others to remember Rome’s history of civil war. The inserted history of Marius and Sulla serves as a miniature, model version of the Bellum Civile; it is essentially the abridged story of two Roman political rivals who threaten peace and stability through countless acts of horror and bloodshed. The elder describes how Marius, having been expelled from Rome, returned with a bloody vengeance only to be quelled by Sulla’s even more gruesome reign of terror. As a mise en abyme, i.e. a story that imitates or mirrors the story in which it is contained, the elder’s tale typifies the imagery and language of the Bellum Civile and associates these scenic and lexical markers with the emotion of fear. In this way the elder’s tale serves Lucan’s affective τέλος by modeling for readers the appropriate or

88 OLD s.v. motus 9a. A motus animi equates in Roman thought to “emotion.”

89 This focus on gore and excessive violence becomes a motif in Lucan’s primary narrative. Some of the more vivid scenes in the elder’s tale, such as Sulla crossing the turbulent sea (2.88-89) and family members searching for the bodies of slain relatives (2.169-73), are expanded into larger episodes and reused in the epic’s main plot (in Book 5 and 3 respectively).

90 Fear and grief, perhaps in parallel to Aristotle's fear and pity. The story told by the Roman elder and the reaction of his fellow aged citizens recalls the ancient Greek dramatic trope of the chorus of old men and women lamenting the present and future circumstances of their city. On old age in Greek drama, see Falkner 1995. On Lucan’s adoption of “pathetic effects,” see Marti 1964.
ideal response to a narrative of civil war, demonstrating just how central a theme fear is to a narrative of civil war such as Lucan’s.

Like war and political conflict, fear too is as much a cycle of history. In the elder’s tale, a Roman veteran seeks precedents for the present state of fear at Rome (magno quaerens exempla timori, 2.67), and yet the story he tells causes him and the rest of the elders to fear both further and farther into time (metuensque futuri, 2.233). In other words, the elder’s fear-motivated efforts to interpret history result in a similar affective response in those around him. It is therefore not difficult to view the elder in this case as a stand-in for the poet; he is the voice in the crowd who comes forward to narrate a history of civil war. He is Lucan within Lucan.

As a character that stands in for the poet, the Roman elder in Book 2 is able to contextualize from within the narrative points of importance to those outside of it, i.e. the readers. This is to say that using a stand-in character is another way that the poet is able to address his audience without reverting to apostrophe, direct address, and indexical markers such as “you.” Such markers break the “fourth wall” of the narrative and this intrusion can work against the poet’s efforts to achieve an affective τέλος by appearing too forcefully didactic or overtly manipulative. Instead, the poet can use a “proxy poet” to guide his readers’ interpretation without pausing the narrative or overexerting this authority. The ideal reader whom Lucan envisions should be able to realize that the elder is a stand-in for the poet and perceive the thematic significance of the elder’s tale, which serves to launch Lucan’s affective program and to introduce the precise emotion at the center of this plan, i.e. fear, metus, in an array of nuanced forms.

In my judgment, the thematic significance of fear in the Bellum Civile is most clearly marked by the placement of the elder’s tale within the composition of Book 2. For a keen reader, this placement recalls the structure of Book 1’s opening and so enriches the elder’s tale with additional programmatic importance. Immediately following the introductory encomium to Nero (1.33-66) the poet announces: fert animus causas tantarum expomere rerum, “my mind
carries me to expound the causes of such great things” (1.67-68). The lines following serve to explain Lucan’s poetic drive as a determination to examine *quid in arma furentem* | *inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi,* “what pushed a people furious into arms, what shook peace from the world” (1.68-9). These are essentially the same questions the elder addresses in his tale, questions that send him searching for precedents (*quaerens exempla*, 2.67) in the conflict between Marius and Sulla. The elder’s search for *exempla* mirrors down to the exact line in Lucan’s text the poet’s own research in Book 1 into the causes of the conflict between Caesar and Pompey (1.67, cf. 2.67). This striking structural parallel reinforces our identification of the elder with the epic’s author, but also serves to cast the *Bellum Civile* as an etiological epic composed around the quest for *causas* (1.67) and *exempla* (2.67) of fear.93

The parallelism between the beginnings of Books 1 and 2 also works to recast the opening of Book 2 as the epic’s second proem.94 The first fifteen lines of Book 2 establish fear as the emotional theme of the *Bellum Civile* in continuing the tone of Arruns’ prophetic foreshadowing at the end of Book 1.95 As Book 1 ends with omens, now Book 2 begins with them, along with reports of signs of divine anger (*iamque irae patuere deum*, 2.1) and upheavals of

91 “Lucan’s epic is not merely diagnostic; rather in the manner of Lucretius, he attempts to put forth the *causas rerum* (1.67)” (Fratantuono 2012: 12–13). On this Lucretian influence, see also: Saylor 1999; Wheeler 2002b. On the Ovidian echo *fert animus* at Luc. 1.67, see Wheeler 2002b.

92 Lucan calls his task an immense project (*immensumque aperitur opus*, 1.68), echoing the introductions of ancient historians such as Thucydides, who appropriately found fear (*δέος*), along with honor and self-interest, to be a primary cause of imperialism, civil strife, and war (1.75.2-3).

93 On “Foundation and Aetiology” in Lucan, see Leigh 1997: 21–23. Leigh identifies an etiological drive in Roman epic also linked to Vergil and Propertius (Book 4).

94 Lucan’s second proem shares similarities of both content and structure with the opening of Lucr. Book 2. For the proem in the epic tradition, see Saylor 1999; Wheeler 2002a.

95 See Fantham (1992: 76–77) for a summary of the increasing terror at Rome covered in Book 1 and some of the verbal, rather than thematic, links between the proemium of Books 1 and 2. On the relation of Lucan’s second proem to Epicurean and Stoic theory, see Fratantuono 2012: 55–56.
nature involving portents of imminent war (2.1-4). Yet whereas at the end of Book 1 the poet speaks through Arruns, he now addresses the audience in his own voice to question who rules the universe, giving alternative descriptions of the Stoic belief in governance by a benign, divine providence (2.7-11) and the Epicurean view that random chance drives human lot (2.12-13).

The proem of Book 2 concludes with a wish for humanity in the face of this cosmic uncertainty: *sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri | mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timenti*, “whatever you prepare [rector, Olympi] may it come unexpected; and blind to future fate | may the minds of people be; may it be allowed for them, though fearful, to hope” (2.14-15). In these final lines, Lucan reveals his thematic interest in fear and his preoccupation with the integral role of emotion in Rome’s history. This preoccupation is so central to Lucan that it often comes at the expense of historical accuracy. As Berthe Marti has noted, Lucan “is more interested in the human reality than in the political and economic causes of events.” This is to say that Lucan’s interest in civil war is not so much as a topic for historical writing but as a backdrop for his investigation into why humans must fear and suffer uncertainty, questions set forth in the epic’s second proem. When we then read fear into the beginning of Book 2 and into Lucan as a whole, the *Bellum Civile* becomes a poem motivated by the quest for emotional precedents (*quaerens exempla, 2.67*), a search for examples through Rome’s history of the great apprehension that perhaps Lucan felt, even in his own time, Rome had failed to overcome.

6. Conclusion

The second proem of the *Bellum Civile* (2.1-15) directly follows the presentation of the triple prophets at the end of Book 1, continuing the tone of foreboding with which the seer Arruns and

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96 Compare Luc. 2.14-15 to Lucr. 2.14: *o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca* (O wretched minds of humans, o blind hearts!). Lucretius’ second proem (2.1-14) tackles similar questions of humanity and fear. Both proems are of similar length, reference natural disturbances, and mental distress, and conclude with an acknowledgement/lamentation/prayer to human blindness in the face of this anguish. On the affecting tone of Lucretius’ second proem, see Prosperi 2015.

others had foretold the future of Rome. Yet these characters also foreshadow the affective course of Lucan’s narrative, and like the Roman elder in the beginning of Book 2 they serve as stand-ins for the poet as he prepares his readers for the emotional experience of the *Bellum Civile*. Together Arruns and the Roman elder herald fear as both topic and theme for Lucan’s epic and preview, through their own fearful uncertainty for Rome’s future, the poet’s plan to render his Roman audience *attoniti*.

Chapter 1 has examined fear as Lucan’s subject matter and poetic theme by situating this literary preoccupation in the broader Greco-Roman tradition and in particular noting the influence of Aristotle, Lucretius, and Roman Stoicism. As I have aimed to demonstrate, Lucan’s own interest in fear is motivated by etiological purpose and situated at the intersection of tragedy, rhetoric, and theories of historiography. Drawing upon devices from across these genres, Lucan aims to achieve his own τέλος, effecting fear not only as the endgoal but as the means by which to compose affective poetry. This programmatic plan is evident in the model narrative of the elder’s tale (2.67-233), which demonstrates that the *Bellum Civile* is as much a dramatic presentation of fear as it is an investigation into the causes of human action, a showcase of rhetorical vividness, and an evocative reflection on Rome’s history of violence.
Chapter Two

Representing Fear through Language: Part 1 – Vocabulary

Chapter 1 explored fear as an ancient emotion by tracing its conceptual development through schools of Greek and Roman thought. In the first century BCE, Roman authors Lucretius and Cicero grappled with the lexical expression of philosophical notions of fear within the traditions and limitations of their respective genres. Their works reveal the evolution of a Latin fear vocabulary in the age of Republican Roman literature, alongside which emerged a literary interest in the realistic representation of fear in its multifaceted forms. My current chapter examines the vocabulary of fear in the *Bellum Civile* against the backdrop of Cicero and Lucretius to demonstrate how Lucan rises to the same linguistic challenge of representing fear through language.

Chapter 2 focuses on the many words for “fear” in Lucan’s text and analyzes this psychological vocabulary for what it reveals about the nature of fear and how it operates in the world of the *Bellum Civile*. By studying the vocabulary of fear in the *Bellum Civile*, we are able to define its character, identify its forms, and ultimately examine its role in the narrative at large. The fundamental semantic divide in Lucan’s vocabulary of fear lies between fear derivative of concrete, physical causes and abstract fears about the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death. The tendency of Lucan’s vocabulary to connote the latter demonstrates the poet’s interest in representing fear in its multifaceted forms as they present themselves in the epic’s landscape of civil war.

My examination into Lucan’s linguistic choices reveals a psychology of fear constructed particularly for the narrative of the *Bellum Civile*. Words connoting abstract fears about the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death are more prevalent than concrete fears in the

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98 For a brief bibliography of early twentieth century research on the vocabulary of fear in Latin literature, see Gernia 1970: 3.
Bellum Civile and remarkably so in light of the epic’s violent, military backdrop. In particular, words connoting anxiety and mental distress emphasize the ubiquitous nature of fear in a landscape of civil war and the susceptibility of all those involved both centrally and peripherally in such conflict to feelings ranging from doubt to terror. I ultimately propose that Lucan articulates his literary psychology through word choice and that the words chosen by the poet to denote fear construct a singular portrayal of the emotion and collectively serve to represent and reinforce this fear in the narrative. In addition, the frequency of the vocabulary of fear in the Bellum Civile to denote the emotion in its abstract, irrational, and extreme forms suggests a Lucanic literary psychology constructed chiefly around the emotional realities of civil war.

1. Latin’s Vocabulary of Fear

In the language of the Bellum Civile, words and phrases indicative of psychological behavior are important because they expose the inner motivations of characters as they act and react to the violence and extremes of Roman civil war. Lucan’s vocabulary of fear therefore emerges as a lexical representation of the invisible, emotional agents that motivate his poetic actors and permeate his historical world. The fundamental divide in Lucan’s semantic field of words denoting fear lies between the representation of fears derivative of concrete, physical causes and of abstract fears about the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death. The tendency of Lucan’s vocabulary to denote the latter demonstrates the poet’s interest in representing the multifaceted forms of fear as part of his program to illuminate the causes of human thought and action in the crucible of civil war.99 From an analysis of these denotations, as well as their connotations and additional nuances, I argue in this chapter that Lucan’s fear vocabulary

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99 This literary effort in Cicero and Lucretius – part philosophical, part didactic – had a significant influence on the works of Vergil and the representation of emotion in the Aeneid; see discussion in Dion 1993; Freudenberg 1987. Lucan’s own epic shares a similar drive with the work of Lucretius as notes Fratantuono 2012: 12–13. On this Lucretian influence, see also Saylor 1999; Wheeler 2002b.
replicates in the *Bellum Civile* a realistic psychological phenomenon, the ubiquity of fear in a landscape of civil war.

The prevalence of words for abstract fear in Lucan does much to color the *Bellum Civile* as an epic concerned with emotion in its full range of forms. These forms and their lexical equivalents were originally articulated by Republican authors, particularly Cicero in his adaption of Greek Stoic theory. As discussed in Chapter 1, Cicero defined fear by classifying it at the head of a family of related sentiments: *sub metum autem subiecta sunt pigritia, pudor, terror, timor, pavor, examinatio, conturbatio, formido* (*Tusc*. 4.16). The range of this set allows for a flexible amount of poetic expression and commonly more than one word for fear appears accumulated in a single line of poetry. The apparent redundancy of this linguistic phenomenon has fueled a scholarly interest in determining the degrees of semantic difference between individual words for fear in the Latin lexicon. This interest in semantic acuity, or the precise specificity of word meaning, is my focus this chapter. In addition, I comment on the accumulation of fear words in individual lines of Lucan and put forth my own interpretation regarding the purpose of this poetic effect in Section 6 below.

My analysis advances through seven word families, first those appearing infrequently in the *Bellum Civile* and then those more frequently occurring. A word family includes all related syntactic forms of a word that share a root in common; *timor, timeo*, and *timidus*, for example,

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100 Both modern scholars and ancient philosophers have attempted to clarify the distinctions among Latin’s various words for fear. In particular, the degree of synonymy between *metus* and *timor* remains a persistent question and forms the focus of Jean-François Thomas’ *Le vocabulaire de la crainte en latin: problèmes de synonymie nominale* (1999) and its companion investigation (2012). Thomas traces the linguistic development of fear through the periods of Roman literature. As Latin’s two most common words for fear, *metus* and *timor* are highly synonymous in the pre-Classical works of Plautus and Terence, but begin to reveal observable distinctions in both semantic sense and frequency of usage by the mid-first century BCE.

101 There are limits to what can be concluded about semantic difference and synonymy of terminology, and to what extent these definitional “rules” apply; see Thomas 2012: 164, 167.
are joined in my analysis as one family. Previous studies have generally divided Latin’s lexical field of fear into five word families: *metus, timor, pavor, formido,* and *terror.* These words are widely studied together for their commonality in respect to overlapping meaning.

To these five word families, I have added *horror* and *uereor,* as well as a grouping of non-fear words that nonetheless connote the mental dimensions of fear. I have included this latter grouping, which is comprised of *cura, agito, ango, dolor,* and *dubito,* so that its addition might better reflect the word choices available to Lucan in representing fear. Cicero’s list in the *Disputationes* exhibits only a sampling of the vocabulary available to represent fear in epic verse and does not include less technical, more poetic words that Lucretius, Vergil, and Ovid demonstrate in their hexameter poems were certainly viable options for connoting fear and anxiety. Comparing Lucan’s word choices in this regard to those of his epic predecessors therefore aids to articulate the literary psychology of fear in the *Bellum Civile.*

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102 The precise constitution of these lexical families differs among studies, sometimes resulting in different totals and frequencies reported for similar authors. In an effort to remain uniform in my comparisons, I have attempted to be explicit regarding these constitutions whenever possible.

103 There have been some important studies on fear vocabulary in Greek and Roman literature. A basic introduction is provided in Chapter 6 of Konstan 2006. Zaborowski’s *La crainte et le courage dans l’Iliade et l’Odyssée* has contributed to cataloguing the Greek vocabulary of fear in service of revealing a Homeric psychology. Zaborowski identifies 43 terms for fear from 22 distinct roots in a total of 1052 contexts. A corresponding study of the Latin vocabulary is provided by the 1970 monograph by Italian scholar Pier Carlo Gernia and offers a useful survey of *metuo, timeo,* and *uereor* in tracing their usage in Roman literature from Plautus through Ovid. Jeanne Dion’s *Les passions dans l’oeuvre de Virgile* (1993) is a single-author study more comparable to Zaborowski’s work on Homer, though Dion expands her focus to examine all four categories of Stoic emotion. In general, Gernia, Dion, and Thomas limit their analyses to five word families: *metus, timor, pavor, formido,* and *terror.* Their goal has been to outline some of the common characteristics presented by these lexical groupings in terms of sense and meaning. I follow their methodology closely.

104 The terms *timor, pavor, formido,* and *terror* function in a network of sense relative to that of *metus,* thus explaining their classification *sub metum,* cf. *quae autem subiecta sunt sub metum, ea sic definiunt* (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.18). The verb *uereor,* which does not appear in Cicero’s list, is often included in lexical studies representing a sixth word family.
2. Lucan’s Literary Psychology of Fear

My intention is to use an analysis of Lucan’s word choices to help piece together a clearer picture of a Lucanic literary psychology. I define literary psychology as the author’s construction of what motivates the way his characters perceive their environment, evaluate their circumstances, and judge their own actions and those of their fictive world. The way fear is conceived and functions in a fictive landscape differs text to text and does not necessarily obey the same principles of real-world psychology even if its literary representation is founded in verisimilitude (sometimes called psychological realism). Seeking psychological evidence in a literary narrative is nonetheless a valid and often fruitful form of inquiry as literature in general is about human actions and is itself a human act. As such, even a fictive narrative can provide glimpses into the poet’s social or historical reality and into more general human realities as well.

It has already been suggested that fear was heavy on the minds of Silver Age poets. In “the Vocabulary of Fear in Latin Epic Poetry,” Louis A. MacKay makes this claim based on a comparative study of fear vocabulary across Roman authors. Fear vocabulary is definable as a collection of word families both denoting and connoting the emotion of fear in its multifaceted forms, thus often including words evocative of both mental and bodily fear responses. As his

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105 Literary psychology is an arm of literary criticism concerned with analyzing psychological evidence in works of literature and is sometimes synonymous with psychoanalytic literary criticism, which is based on the theories of Sigmund Freud and views the text as a reflection of the author’s unconscious fears or desires. On the nature of literary psychology, see Edel 1981.

106 Literary theorists debate the extent of the universal associations between literature and emotion. In his study on affective narrative structuring, Patrick Hogan supports that “literary stories, especially the stories we most admire and appreciate, are structured and animated by emotions” (2009: 7). Hogan’s book makes the broader claim that emotional responses, including those outside the act of reading, are also guided by a standard set of narrative structures. Literature is therefore an apt medium for the study of human fear.

107 Perhaps a development unique to the literature of the Neronian age, as suggests MacKay 1961: 315. On horror and the Senecan aesthetic, see Slaney 2016: 31–33.

108 Words chiefly evocative of bodily fear responses, such as tremo, are excluded from this present analysis.
main analysis MacKay produces data tables on the “frequency, concentration, and diversity” of references to fear in the *Aeneid, Metamorphoses, Bellum Civile*, and post-Lucanic *Thebiad*. MacKay calculates the number of occurrences of fear words in Lucan and his immediate Augustan predecessors both in total and for an equivalent amount of lines, thus making comparison easier.  

109 For equivalent lines, the number of fear words used by Lucan is 500, in comparison to Vergil (333) and Ovid (373). However, these numbers are incomplete, as fear is represented only partly in the *Bellum Civile* through vocabulary. To consider in full the representation of fear in Lucan’s epic also requires a joint investigation into the poet’s use of imagery and metaphor to evoke fear without explicit fear denotation.  

111 Yet even with this caveat, MacKay’s figures are indicative of something singular at play within the psychology of the *Bellum Civile*. His study therefore serves as the point of departure for this current investigation.  

### 3. Words for Fear Infrequently Occurring in the *Bellum Civile*

In this section, I examine three infrequently occurring fear words in Lucan: *formido*, *horror*, and *uereor*. I begin with this set because these words exhibit higher acuity, or specificity of

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109 MacKay deems Lucan’s epic obsessed with fear based on the high frequency of this vocabulary. For instance, for 8,060 lines of text, Lucan uses some Latin word “evoking the idea of fear” 408 times, using 30 distinct words (1961: 308). The words MacKay examines are: *dirus*, *formido*, *horreo*, *metuo*, *palleo*, *paueo*, *periculum*, *terreo*, *timeo*, *tremo*, *trepidus*, *uereor*, and their composites and derivatives.

110 For reference, there are a total of 8,060 lines in Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, 9,896 in the *Aeneid*, and 11,995 in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. MacKay also reviews Statius, whose Flavian epic the *Thebaid* post-dates the Neronian *Bellum Civile*.

111 This phenomenon in Lucan will be explored in depth in Chapter 3, but the example of Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* will suffice for now, a text chiefly concerned with the depths of human anxieties and yet presents the words *metus* and *timor* only 32 and 22 times respectively (Dion 1993: 18).

112 On the overall elevated frequency of fear words in Lucan, MacKay concludes, “whether this reflects a change in the temper of the time, or a stage in rhetorical elaboration, can hardly be determined without more investigation in this and other areas of expression” (1961: 316).
meaning, than their more frequently occurring counterparts such as *metus* and *timor*. Infrequency, however, is not a sign of insignificance, and each of these words contributes to the articulation of Lucan’s literary psychology through its rarity and specificity of both usage and nuance. In particular, I suggest that the word families of *formido*, *horror*, and *uereor* each possess either a strong primary etymology or secondary meaning outside the semantic field of fear that strengthens the impact of their usage as fear words in Lucan’s text. In this way, *formido*, *horror*, and *uereor* exhibit distinct lexical identities and, though rare, are conspicuous, therefore making them effective tools in the construction of Lucan’s psychology of fear.

**Formido**

In the *Bellum Civile*, *formido* displays a wide range of nuances depending on its context. By nuance I mean a tone or shade of meaning that further characterizes a facet of the emotion as denoted by the term. For example, the Ciceronian definition of *formido* suggests a fear with a long-lasting character (*metum permanentem*). It is perhaps this sense of entrenched permanence (like a chill in the bone) that then associates *formido* with the cold, particularly in Roman epic. In Lucan’s epic, this association extends to a description of the atmosphere at Pharsalus, described poetically in reference to Styx, the chief river of the Underworld known in the Hesiodic tradition for its icy waters: *superam stygia formidine noctem* (7.770).

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113 There are 6 occurrences of *formido* in the *Bellum Civile*. The two instances of *formido* not mentioned in this chapter are Luc. 2.235 and 8.44.

114 We might wish to compare *formido* to the English-language notion of “cold terror” and the type of chilling, arresting fear that congeals the blood. The idea of “cold terror” is present at Verg. *Aen.* 3.30: *gelidusque coit formidine sanguis*; *Aen.* 3.259: *subita gelidus formidine sanguis*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.200, 4.802, 15.153. In the *Bellum Civile*, *pauor* also adopts this same association, cf. Luc. 1.246, *gelidos pauor occupat artus.*
Another nuance or characteristic of *formido* in the *Bellum Civile* signifies fear that is swift-striking yet ephemeral. It is a sense of meaning that at once appears at odds with its Ciceronian definition.\(^{115}\)

\[
et
cas
audax
spondere
secundos
mens
stetit
in
dubio,
quam
nec
sua
fata
timere,
nec
Magni
sperare
sinunt.
*Formidine*
mersa,
prosilit
hortando
melior
fiducia
uulgo.
\]

And bold to promise a favorable outcome
his mind stood in doubt, how neither his own fates allow him to fear,
no those of Magnus to hope. Yet with his fear having sunk low,
his courage leaps up, better for encouraging a crowd.\(^{116}\)

This example of *formido* reveals a nature contrary to that of Cicero’s *metum permanentem* (*Tusc.* 4.19).\(^{117}\) Here the emotion of fear (*formidine*) is not long lasting. Instead, it yields to allow for courage (*fiducia*) to spring forward within Caesar. The poet implies that fear must be swiftly replaced with courage, since *formido* is an unproductive, even cowardly emotion, and not one a general should display before his army (*hortando melior fiducia vulgo, 7.249*). In this scene, however, Caesar is confident, but also wary. His confidence in his abilities as a general (*sua fata, 7.247*) does not allow him to fear (*timere*) that he will be defeated in battle. However, the knowledge that Pompey is also a seasoned general, i.e. the [*fata* Magni (7.248)], does not allow Caesar to hope for an easy victory either. Caesar is consequently afflicted with doubt and hesitation (*mens stetit in dubio, 7.247*), and neither battle nor narrative can proceed until fear concedes (*formidine mersa, 7.248*).\(^{118}\) It is therefore necessary in characterizing Caesar as an

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\(^{115}\) Thomas 1999: 225. Thomas typifies this aspect as *subita formido*.

\(^{116}\) Luc. 7.246-9. For commentary, see *ad. loc.* Fratantuono 2012: 281; Lanzarone 2016. Lanzarone glosses Latin *fiducia* as *è l’eccessiva sicurezza di sé, l’audacia*.

\(^{117}\) One nuance of *formido* is a sense of long-lasting fear, “une durée intense et tragique,” states Thomas 1999: 226–27; Thomas 2012: 151. In Lucan, *formido* is the persistent anxiety that ruins a good night’s sleep (*tristes praesagia curas | exagitant; trepida quatitur formidine somnus, 8.43-44*).

\(^{118}\) Caesar’s resistance to fear is characterized as *audax*, cf. Curios’ speech at Luc. 4.702: *audendo magnus tegitur timor* (great fear is masked with daring).
effective and encouraging leader to portray him afflicted by only \textit{formido}, a form of fear that is swift-striking but not permanent.\footnote{Swift-striking” i.e. \textit{subita}, cf. Verg. \textit{Aen}. 6.290.}

A third shade of \textit{formido} in the \textit{Bellum Civile} involves its secondary usage as a hunting term to provoke a strongly solemn or tragic impression. In this regard, \textit{formido} is frequently used in epic similes for the purpose of provoking sympathy for a character. The similes commonly present a hunting sequence and employ \textit{formido} in its adaptation as “lure” or “scare” to describe the technical manner by which animals are hunted. The same word also denotes fear, evoking the desperation and panic of animals as they flee their pursuers.\footnote{The meaning of \textit{formido} as “lure” is a secondary usage of the same Latin word, cf. OLD s.v. \textit{formido} II 2b: “a rope strung with feathers used by hunters to scare game.” For examples of \textit{formido} in connection to deer/hunting, see Verg. \textit{G}. 3.371-72; \textit{Aen}. 12. 750-51; \textit{Ov}. \textit{Fast}. 5.173, \textit{Rem}. \textit{Am}. 203; also Gernia 1970: 109–10.} Lucan takes advantage of the dual usage of \textit{formido} to great effect. The following simile best typifies the use of \textit{formido} in the \textit{Bellum Civile} to achieve a sense of tragic sympathy for doomed soldiers.\footnote{Cf. Vergil compares Aeneas’ rival Turnus to a hunted deer at \textit{Aen}. 12.748-57.} In this memorable scene (4.402-581), a small detachment of soldiers under the Caesarian Vulteius is lured into an enemy trap as they sail along the coast of Illyricum. Lucan compares the soldiers to deer unsuspecting of the hunter’s trap.

\begin{quote}
\textit{sic dum pauidos formidine ceruos claudat odoratae metuentis aera pennae, ut dum dispositis attollat retia uaris uenator tenet ora leuis clamosa Molossi, Spartanos Cretasque ligat}
\end{quote}

Thus, until the hunter pens in the deer spooked by the scare, frightened by the smell of the scented feather, until he raises his nets from the bent posts he holds the noisy mouths of the swift Molossian dog, and leashes the hounds of Sparta and Crete.\footnote{Luc. 4.437-41.}
The soldiers’ rafts have become entangled by ropes (\textit{uincula}, 4.466) set hidden just under the surface of the water, an important detail that anchors the simile, since the noun \textit{formido} in Latin has a secondary usage as a type of hunting accessory. In this secondary sense, \textit{formido} is typically a feathery lure attached to a rope, or \textit{vinculum}, infused with the scent of a predator to spook the prey and flush it from its place of hiding. The ropes that trap the soldiers are therefore like those used in hunting deer (\textit{paudios formidine ceruos}, 4.437). Caesar’s troops are even called \textit{praeda} (“prey,” 4.435) before the simile begins. The polysemy of \textit{formido} in this passage amplifies the emotional tone of both scene and simile and foreshadows the eventual suicide of the trapped soldiers.\textsuperscript{123} The word family \textit{formido} therefore carries with its use throughout the \textit{Bellum Civile} an air of the tragic.\textsuperscript{124}

\textbf{Horror}

\textit{Horror} is primarily a standing on end or rigid bristling.\textsuperscript{125} It is an example of a word family with an etymology not directly related to fear that nonetheless serves chiefly to connote the emotion in the \textit{Bellum Civile}. The sense of its true etymology is however never completely lost. For example, when Caesar orders his men to enter and hew down a sacred grove near the besieged

\textsuperscript{123} On the Vulteius episode and the eventual mass suicide of the trapped Opitergian raft, see Ahl 1976: 119–121; Leigh 1997: 182–83, 218–19. In considering the sympathetic nature of the hunting simile, note its application to the Caesarian recruits, who are about to be ambushed by Pompey’s admiral, a choice that may appear contradictory or inconsistent with a pro-Pompeian reading of the text.

\textsuperscript{124} The reader is thus invited to view with tragic irony Caesar’s predicament at the epic’s conclusion, when trapped on a mole by Alexandrian forces he is suddenly encircled (\textit{subitus...cingitur}) by all the fearfulness of war (\textit{tota...formidine belli}, 10.536-37). Despite its versatile array of meaning, \textit{formido} is used in the works of Lucan’s poetic predecessors less frequently than \textit{metus}. Dion calculates that the noun \textit{formido} appears in Lucretius 11 times and in the \textit{Aeneid} 19 times, where Thomas maintains that its presence contributes to “une esthétique de la crainte et une psychophysiologie de la peur” (2012: 168). I suggest that for Lucan, \textit{formido} reflects the desperation and dire straits of Rome’s civil war.

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Horror} derives from Proto-Indo-European root *ghers- “to bristle, be surprised” and is related to Sanskit \textit{hrish}, “to stand erect, to bristle.” OLD s.v. \textit{horreo} 4b “to shudder, tremble (with fear or sim.); 4c “to be affected with dread.”
Gallic town of Massilia (3.298-452), his soldiers at first refuse, frightened by the eerie calmness of the *locus horridus* and discovering that the trees rustle without need of wind (*arboribus suus horror inest*, 3.411). This brief scene is typical; *horror* in this passage and elsewhere in Lucan is the sort of fear associated with eerie movements, like the rustling trees, but also with the unsettling lack of movement when a natural movement is expected. When there is no wind, but the trees still move, that is *horror*.

In describing the grove, Lucan’s use of *horror* at a literal level works to subliminally set a more sinister tone for the episode of the Massilian grove. The soldiers, having been sent by Caesar to destroy the grove, are *attonitos* – paralyzed with fear – and unable to follow through with the general’s orders (3.415). The scene of the paralyzed soldiers therefore typifies the use of *horror* as the cause of strong physical and arresting responses in humans. Another scene that typifies *horror* in Lucan involves Caesar’s physical reaction to the specter of personified Rome on the banks of the Rubicon.

\[
\text{tum perculit horror} \\
\text{membra ducis, riguere comae gressusque coercens} \\
\text{languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa.}
\]

Then horror overpowered the general’s limbs, his hair stood erect and checking his gait a feebleness stopped his feet at the river’s edge.

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126 Braund 2009: 59. For analysis of the grove scene in Lucan, see Masters 1992: Chapter 3.

127 OLD s.v. *horreo* 3b “to have a dreadful, gloomy, etc., aspect or character.”

128 Cf. Cornelia’s paralyzed response: *attonitoque metu nec quoquam auertere uisus | nec Magnum spectare potest*, “and struck with paralyzing fear she was neither able to avert her gaze anywhere nor look upon Magnus” (Luc. 8.591-92).

The fear Caesar experiences, albeit momentarily, is enough to bring a man characterized by his lightning-like speed to a stand-still, once again reflecting the unnatural lack of movement when such movement is expected. In describing the general’s hesitation, the poet invokes a series of bodily responses seemingly ripped from the pages of a modern-day ghost tale: the fear seeping through the body (percultur...membra, 1.192-3), the dead-weight feel of the limbs (languor, 1.194), and a dragging, cautious gait that causes the one affected to stop dead in his tracks (tenuit uestigia, 1.194). In this physical sense, horror recalls its etymology; it is what makes hair “bristle and stand erect” with fear (cf. riguere comae, 1.193).

In total, there are 17 occurrences of horror in the Bellum Civile, and through its rarity horror becomes a leitmotif anchored in scenes of natural transgression. The stormy wave-tossed Adriatic, for example, is a niger horror as Caesar attempts to cross it in a small raft in the midst of a prohibiting storm (5.374-702). Together with the fording of the Rubicon and the felling of the Massilian grove, Caesar’s sea crossing exemplifies the transgression of natural boundaries and the horror of the (super-) natural resistance to these violations.

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130 On this description, see Day 2013: 121–22.

131 When Caesar sees the patriae...imago (1.186), he reacts in a notably Aristotelian manner, bristling (φρίττειν) at the alarming sight (ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως). See Arist. Poet. 1453b.

132 There are 9 occurrences of the word family horror as verb; 6 as noun; 2 as adjectives and adjectival compounds horridus and harrisonus respectively. In comparison, horror appears a total of 80 times in Vergil’s epic (MacKay 1961: 311–12; Dion 1993: 344–67). The high frequency of horror in the Aeneid may reflect an expanded use of the word to describe objects or entities as “bristling,” “shaggy,” or “savage” in appearance.

133 Cf. OLD s.v. horror 1b “the ruffling (of the surface of water.” Ironically, Caesar experiences the opposite difficulty earlier in the same book when a treacherously windless sea prevents his fleet from sailing (non horrore tremit, 5.446). On the horror of the sea, and its relation to the threat of shipwreck, cf. Luc. 5.564-65: niger inficit horror | terga maris. On the connection between the topos of sea storms and the horror of the sublime, see Day 2013: 143–155.
**Vereor**

_Vereor_, as a word connoting fear, is primarily translated in terms of awe and respect.\(^{134}\) For example, Alexander the Great is immortalized with an honorific description as _Partho...uerendus_ when Caesar visits his tomb in Egypt (10.46), which emphasizes the respect Alexander garnered through numerous conquests rather than any sort of frightening disposition.\(^{135}\) This is to say that the word family _uereor_ primarily infers a respect without fear, in other words, a respect based chiefly on a perceived sense of status inferiority in relation to other people or the gods.\(^{136}\) In this sense _uereor_ is a socially conditioned emotional response. Individuals learn who is _uerendus_, or conversely not worthy of respect, within the traditions of their society. Likewise, Lucan defines the objects of _uereor_ for his poetic Roman society and so constructs a modified psychology of _uereor_ particularly for the world of the _Bellum Civile_.

For example, when Caesar marches on Rome and enters the city, he aims for the public treasury to pay his army but finds his path blocked by the tribune Metellus, who standing in front of the doors of the temple of Saturn denounces Caesar's plan: *detege iam ferrum; neque enim tibi turba uerenda est, | spectatrix scelerum: deserta stamus in urbe*, “now draw your sword, there is no crowd for you to fear as witness to your crimes: we stand in a city deserted” (3.128-29).\(^{137}\) The entity to be respected (i.e. the subject of the passive periphrastic _uerenda est_)

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\(^{134}\) de Vaan s.v. _uereor_. The sense of _uereor_ is related to Roman social ideas invoked through the word _uerecundia_ (shame); see Kaster 2005. To the Romans, _uerecundia_ was marked not by the pallor of _timor_ and _metus_, but the blush of _pudor_ (19).

\(^{135}\) Lucan’s nod to the Parthian (_Partho_) may reference the surrender of the Parthian governorship of the Persian Phrataphernes to Alexander in 330 BCE, or else more generally invoke Alexander’s successes in the East. The purpose of the reference is to shame the fact that the peoples of the East feared Alexander more than they fear Republican Rome, as Romans have neglected foreign campaigns and turned instead to fighting each other in civil war (10.47-48).

\(^{136}\) Thomas 2012: 167. In addition, _uereor_ is marked by a certain distance between subject and object that consists of respect or measured apprehension between the one revering and the one being revered.

\(^{137}\) Here and _passim_ Lucan describes Rome as abandoned or deserted, cf. _ad. loc_. Hunink 1992: “this is, of course highly exaggerated...the poet uses the motif of 'deserted Rome', 'deserted Italy'
is the *turba*, the crowd of Roman citizens, which would have presumably gathered to oppose Caesar’s armed return to Rome. The reason the *turba* deserves respect is articulated by Metellus and Lucan’s choice of language: that which is a *spectatrix scelerum* (“witness to crime,” 3.129) is *uerenda* (deserving of respect).\(^{138}\) This is to say that *uerenda est* in this context is better understood as a verb of fearing, since one fears the shame that accompanies being caught red-handed.\(^{139}\) But there are no witnesses in this scenario, no *spectatrix*, no *turba*. Rome stands deserted, and so in Lucan’s landscape of civil war the respect connoted through *uereor* cannot always be enforced.

Another reason *uereor* cannot be enforced in the world of the *Bellum Civile* is due to the absence of the gods. Were they to be present, these traditional all-seeing witnesses to human action would serve as a *turba...spectatrix scelerum*, in other words, as constant objects of *uereor* to Lucan’s characters.\(^{140}\) In my judgment, the absence of the gods in Lucan’s epic may explain the low frequency of the word family *uereor*, which appears only 10 times. This sum is however not insignificant; it is noticeably higher than the word family *uereor* in the *Aeneid* (4) and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (7).\(^{141}\) It is possible that chiefly human agents, such as the Roman *turba*, Alexander the Great, and even Pompey, replace the gods in Lucan’s epic as objects of *uereor*, to emphasize with much pathos the devastating results and the absurd consequences of civil war.\(^{\prime}\)

\(^{138}\) The etymology of the word family *uereor* derives from the Proto-Indo-European root *wer-* (to note, sense) and is a cognate of the Greek verb ὀράω (to see).

\(^{139}\) Recall that in the *Disputationes*, Cicero defined fear by classifying it at the head of a family of related sentiments, one of which was *pudor*, shame); cf. Cic. *Tusc*. 4.16: *sub metum autem subiecta sunt pigritia, pudor, terror, timor, pavor, exanimatio, conturbatio, formido*.

\(^{140}\) Lucretius aims to refute the misplaced fear and awe of the gods (*superstitio*) in *DRN* Book 1.

\(^{141}\) Although MacKay suggests a wider investigation is needed to see if this shows a more universal lexical shift in common meaning (1961: 314–15). MacKay also notes without further discussion that Lucan employs 5 distinct meanings of *uereor* in his epic.
constructing a particular human-centric identity for this word family within the literary psychology of the *Bellum Civile*.\textsuperscript{142}

4. Words for Fear Frequently Occurring in the *Bellum Civile*

Next, I examine the principal words for fear in Lucan: *metus*, *timor*, *pavor*, and *terror*. Unlike *formido*, *horror*, and *uereor*, which make an impression because of their rarity and specificity of meaning, these frequently occurring words are striking due to their prevalence and semantic malleability, exhibiting a flexible range of nuances adaptable to a wide variety of emotional scenes and situations. Despite these semantic possibilities, the four word families *metus*, *timor*, *pavor*, and *terror* regularly connote in Lucan’s text abstract rather than concrete fears, particularly fears about the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death. In my judgment, the prevalence of these four word families, in conjunction with their tendency to represent abstract fear, reveals Lucan’s conception of anxiety in the constitution of his literary psychology and the ubiquity of this anxiety in the epic’s landscape of civil war.

**Metus**

*Metus* is Latin’s most basic term for fear, covering a broad range of meanings.\textsuperscript{143} It is the most frequently employed word for fear in the Latin vocabulary, but only the second most frequently

\textsuperscript{142}In considering Pompey as an object of *uereor*, cf. the poet's remarks on Pompey's makeshift grave: *quis busta timebit? | quis sacris dignam mouisse uerebitur umbra?* “Who will fear the tomb? Who will dread to have disturbed the shade worthy of honors?” (8.840-41). I believe that the reader is being led here to consider Pompey’s shade a divinity, and thus worthy of *uereor*. Caesar’s visit to the tomb of Alexander (10.1-52) initially suggests this interpretation, since the *uerendus* Alexander (10.46) and Pompey’s *umbram* (described *sacrīs digna*, 8.841) are similarly buried in Egypt and attended with honors.

\textsuperscript{143}What Thomas names “le plus fréquent” in the Latin fear vocabulary, therefore making *metus* Latin’s most common word for fear alongside *timor*; cf. OLD s.v. *metuo* 1 “to regard with fear (person, thing, god); 2 “to view a future contingency with alarm or apprehension.” See Dion 1993: 17; Thomas 1999: 218. Thomas translates “*les deux noms principaux*” as *crainte* (metus) and *peur* (timor).
occurring in the *Bellum Civile* (with 73 total occurrences; 36 as verb, 37 as noun). In general, *metus* translates a globalized notion of ordinary fear that is the rational response to an appropriate cause. In contrast to words connoting shock and panic, *metus* suggests the affective result of a lucid cognitive process rather than a purely physical impulse. Given the many irrational elements in Lucan’s narrative, however, I believe that the second place status of *metus* (to *timor*) reflects a prioritization of irrational fear over rational fear in the text.

An early illustration of *metus* as irrational fear occurs in Book 1 in a scene depicting Rome’s abandonment (1.466–522). Upon hearing rumors of Caesar’s march toward the city, many of Rome’s senators and citizens decide to leave the city. At first glance, their actions appear reasonable, seeming to reflect the realistic process of cognitive evaluation and threat perception that underlies fear as an emotional response. However, the senators and Roman people are simultaneously revealed to be acting blindly in that they do not possess a well-reasoned, thought-out plan; they are merely fleeing uncertainty and heading toward equal uncertainty: *quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquant | incerti*, “uncertain what safety they might seek and what things to be feared they might leave behind” (1.490–91).

In general usage, the word family *metus* denotes fear aroused by an impression of an actual threat, either in the moment or before it has appeared. In other words, *metus* reflects a definite state of fear experienced in the face of a real and present danger (*periculum*), or else

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144 Dion 1993: 19, 21; MacKay 1961: 312. There are 71 total uses of *metus/metuo* in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. In addition, *metus* is the most common word for fear in Lucretius (32) and the *Aeneid* (39).


146 I define irrationality as thinking or acting without appropriate or sufficient reasoning or logic in considering situations or circumstances present or approaching.

147 The gerundive form *metuenda* appears also at Lucr. 2.57 (*quae sunt metuenda*) and together with Lucr. 2.55–56 (*pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis | in tenebris metuunt*) typifies the indefinite uncertainty that is the primary semantic aspect of *metus* in Lucan. Observe too the compounding nature of fear and rumor (*uana...fama*) at Luc. 1.469: *uana quoque ad ueros accessit fama timores*, “empty rumor too added to verified fears.”
before an inevitably unpleasant but reasonably probable situation. Yet I suggest that Lucan employs the word family metus even for reasonably frightening situations to reveal the irrational or poorly-reasoned anxieties of his characters. On the eve of Pharsalus, for example, Pompey questions quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? (“what frenzy, o blind ones, of crimes?” 7.95) in reference to the perverse priorities of his soldiers: ciiulia bella | gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant, “they about to engage in civil war fear victory without bloodshed” (7.95-96). The soldiers do not fear dying, a reasonable concern before imminent battle, but instead fear winning too easily; they fear a loss of honor or the cowardice associated with clean hands in war. As another example, when Pompey’s wife Cornelia shares her anxieties about the war with her husband, she laments, et puppem, quae fata feret tam laeta, timebo | nec soluent audita metus mihi prospera belli, “even the ship which such happy news will bring, I will dread. Nor will good news dissolve my wartime fears” (5.781-82). Experiencing metus in the face of bad news is certainly reasonable, but in the face of possible good news Cornelia’s response is a symptom of the fear and irrationality imbedded in the epic’s landscape of civil war.

One final illustration to demonstrate how Lucan’s use of metus prioritizes fear of abstractions over fear of the concrete: in Book 8, after his defeat at Pharsalus, Pompey travels to Egypt hoping to secure the aid of the young Ptolemaic king, who was made senior ruler over his sister Cleopatra with Pompey’s support. Yet the shores of Egypt are where Pompey will be betrayed and beheaded. The scene is therefore structured around foreshadowing the moment of Pompey’s death. Lucan creates this ominous tone is by having Pompey’s fleet oversee the events


149 It emerges from this passage in particular that victory and defeat both harbor metus in Lucan’s civil war. For example, when a victorious Caesar mourns Pompey’s death, with crocodile tears he laments maiore profecto | quam metui poterat discrimine gessimus arma, “we waged war with greater consequence than had been possible to be feared” (9.1084-85). The feigned tears, however, signal this statement to be non-genuine.
like a spectating audience and indirectly voice their apprehension. However, it is not their
general’s life for which Pompey’s fleet is primarily concerned.

    stetit anxia classis
    ad ducis eventum, metuens non arma nefasque
    sed ne summissis precibus Pompeius adoret
    sceptra sua donata manu.

    The fleet stood anxious
    over the general’s fate, fearing not violence nor crime
    but that Pompey might with beseeching prayers beg before
    a scepter given with his own hand.\textsuperscript{150}

The crewmen express deep concern for Pompey as they watch him disembark (\textit{anxia classis},
8.592). However, they fear (\textit{metuens}, 8.593) not for the safety of their general (\textit{non arma
nefasque}, 8.593), but for a specific social-political situation, that it might occur to the loss of
their general’s honor. Again, the fear of lost honor outweighs the imminent threat of death as
Pompey’s men prioritize the apprehension that Pompey will bow before the Egyptian king
(\textit{adoret}, 8.594) above the fear of deceit or murder.\textsuperscript{151} I believe these examples demonstrate how
\textit{metus} in the \textit{Bellum Civile} is not used to reflect an instinctual self-preserving emotion but rather
the deliberative, evaluative sense of the word noted by MacKay, yet with a Lucanic emphasis on
the irrational and the perversity of priorities in civil war.

\textbf{Timor}

I also suggest that the word family \textit{timor} represents in the \textit{Bellum Civile} the cognitive dimension
of fear with a Lucanic emphasis on the irrational. In general, the word family \textit{timor} represents
the fear that is located solely in one’s head and that is based on the impression of some

\footnote{\textsuperscript{150} Luc. 8.592-95.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{151} The verb \textit{adoret} “makes plain a deep abasement of Pompey,” notes Mayer (1981: 155). The
primary fear is for loss of Roman \textit{dignitas}. See Fratantuono 2012: 335–36. See also Braund 2009: 88.}
theoretical danger. The stress here is on theoretical, whereas metus generally represents the fear of concrete, immediate, or at least highly probably threats. With 109 total occurrences, Lucan employs timor even more than metus to denote the ill-reasoned fear derived from irrational or ill-defined causes.

For example, when those at Rome first hear rumors of Caesar’s march toward the city, they begin to panic: quisque pauendo | dat uires famae, nulloque auctore malorum | quae finxere timent, “each with his fearing | gives strength to the rumor, and with no source of a threat | they fear whatever they have imagined” (1.484-86).

Here is an example of the accumulation of fear words; this one complete thought contains two words for fear, the first being used to explicate the reasons or “means by which” (ablative gerund pauendo) the second occurred (timent). This explication is necessary because timent is here representing an irrational and therefore less comprehensible form of fear. About this irrationality, Lucan is explicit: timor represents the fear based in unconfirmed rumor, rumor that causes panic and prompts people to imagine a worst-case scenario. It is thus an unproductive and often endangering emotion. For instance, before the battle at Pharsalus the poet warns: multos in summa pericula misit | uenturi timor ipse mali, “many into ultimate peril has sent | the fear itself of coming evil,” (7.104-05).

The timor ipse highlighted here exemplifies the irrational, unproductive nature of

152 Thomas 1999: 222.

153 With significantly more occurrences in its verbal form (83 times, including 1 as extimesco), in comparison to 23 times as noun and 2 as adjective timidus (MacKay 1961: 314; Thomas 1999: 223–24). In comparison, the timor family appears in Lucretius only 22 times, but in Ovid’s Metamorphoses 117 times (Dion 1993: 19, 21; MacKay 1961: 314). The high total of timor in Ovid remains unexplored.

154 For Caesar, fear, and the power of rumor in this episode, see Fratantuono 2012: 35. For Rumor/Fama in the Bellum Civile, see also Dinter 2012: Chapter 2.

155 On the mass hysteria timor is likely to arouse, the poet warns: semel ortus in omnes | it timor, “once arisen, fear spreads to everyone” (7.543-44).

156 Cf. Cicero’s definition of timor at Tusc. 4.19 as metus mali adpropinquantis.
fear that as such is widely warned against, from the Neronian philosopher Seneca – *scies nihil esse in istis terribile nisi ipsum timorem*, “you will know there is nothing frightening in this except fear itself”\footnote{Sen. Ep. 24.12. *Timor* is here qualified with the adjective *terribilis*, -e (cf. Latin *terror*), which appears 7 times in Lucan’s text. As a note of interest, this sense of “terror” is also common to Roosevelt’s speech cited below. On the danger in the expectation of fear, see also *Ep.* 13. 4-5: *ne sis miser ante tempus*, “don’t be distressed prematurely.”} – to that most famous advice of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, that “the only thing we have to fear is *fear itself*.”\footnote{“So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance,” Franklin D. Roosevelt, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933, as published in Samuel Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Volume Two: The Year of Crisis, 1933* (New York: Random House, 1938), 11–16.}

Semantically, the word family *timor* expresses the dread conceived wholly through expectant apprehension, what Seneca calls *timor futuri*, the fear defined primarily by uncertainties about the future.\footnote{Sen. *Ep.* 101.8.} In the *Bellum Civile*, these uncertainties arise chiefly from the realities of defeat and death in an environment of civil war. In fact, the fear of death (*metus leti*) is preeminent in Lucan’s literary psychology as the *maximus timorum*, greatest of fears (1.459-60). This association between fear and death becomes a pervasive motif in the epic signaled by the poet’s use of *timor*. For example, the episodes immediately following the battle of Pharsalus concern themselves largely with the emotional realities of military defeat. As Pompey flees from his loss at Pharsalus, he is *timentem* to the point of paranoia (8.7), jumping at the sound of the wind through the trees (*pauet ille fragorem | motorum uentis nemorum*, 8.5-6), and terrified by the very presence of his own companions (*qui post terga redit...exanimat*, 8.7-8). The accumulation of fear words here (*pauet, timentem, exanimat*) serves to set a tone of crushing, overwhelming emotion, each word adding a layer of nuance to the portrayal of Pompey in this moment: *pauet* evokes the sympathetic fear of the defeated, *timentem* depicts Pompey as
anxious about the consequences of his defeat, and the rare *exanimat*, used in all forms only 6 times in Lucan, highlights Pompey’s shock at realizing a true rarity has occurred; he has lost.\(^{160}\)

Pompey’s retreat is an overtly vulnerable scene colored by emotional complexity and verisimilitude; in defeat, the general presents himself as an ordinary individual submitting to fear under extenuating, calamitous circumstances. He is no longer exceptional, or larger-than-life. He is human because he is afraid. In the next episode, however, Pompey is characterized chiefly by his lack of fear and may be said to redeem himself before his death for his weak emotional state after Pharsalus. Having fled the battlefield and arrived in Egypt, the general leaves the safety of his ship. This fatal decision is explained by Lucan: *letumque iuuat praeferre timori*, “and it pleases him to prefer death to fear” (8.576). In other words, Pompey prefers the concrete reality of death to the abstract apprehension of it. A similar preference is expressed by Pompey’s soldiers during the Spanish campaign in Book 4. With Caesar having encircled and entrapped them on a waterless hill, the Pompeians, deeming themselves moribund, abandon hope and reject flight to rush upon their besiegers: *ut leti uidere uiam, conuersus in iram | praeципitem timor est*, “when they saw the path of death before them, their fear was changed to headlong anger” (4.267-68). The reader is thus invited to consider the soldiers’ actions courageous because they refuse to surrender to the *maximus timorum*, the fear of death.

The military backdrop of the *Bellum Civile* facilitates Lucan’s presentation of *timor* as an active emotional agent akin to a military opponent. In the example of the Pompeians in Spain, for instance, the soldiers on the hill must first defeat their fear-as-opponent before able to attack their human besiegers. Likewise, Caesar is besieged by fear in the closing scene of the epic: *tangunt animos iraeque metusque | et timet incursus indignaturque timere*, “both fear and

\(^{160}\) Note the emphasis placed on *exanimat* through striking enjambment. In his commentary, Mayer suggests that *post terga redit* is an idiom for “to be in flight” and so should be applied “to those who abandoned the field after Pompey and later joined him” (1981: 83–84).
anger touch his soul and he fears the attack and is angry that he does” (10.443-44). Here the noun *incursus* refers to the attack of the Alexandrians, but suggests too a joint and hostile “attack” from *metus* and *ira*. Caesar fears (*timet*, 10.444) this *incursus* with indignation (*indignaturque timere*, 10.444), and is uncharacteristically helpless in light of the assault, mirroring his situation with his Alexandrian attackers in exhibiting a passive emotional reaction in response to active (emotional) agents.

A hundred lines later, Caesar is still on the (emotional) defensive, and the *Bellum Civile* ends on a note of wavering uncertainty, which is entirely suggestive of the central role of *timor* in Lucan’s literary psychology. In the epic’s final scene, Caesar is backed into a seemingly hopeless corner (*captus sorte loci pendet*, 10.542) yet spies his champion Scaeva. The moment of salvation is however not narrated, and the poem ends frozen in permanent oscillation between Caesar’s only two options: to fear death or to pray for it (*dubiusque timeret | optaretne mori*, 10.542-43). The meaningful placement of this sentiment in the epic’s final lines therefore concludes the narrative as we have it on a note of *timor* and the apprehension it represents.

**Pavor**

So far, I have surveyed how Lucan’s usage of the word families *metus* and *timor* prioritizes notions of ill-reasoned or irrational cognition and threat appraisal. While continuing to expand upon this semantic theme, *pavor*, as a word frequently connoting fear in Lucan, mainly emphasizes the more instinctual and impulsive aspects of fear as a human emotion. In the *Bellum Civile*, *pavor* is generally employed to connote the mental delirium of being overwhelmed by fear and the resultant, instinctive “fight-or-flight” effect upon the body.162

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161 Day considers this moment in Book 10 to be the second of only two times when Caesar “has fallen to fear” in the poem (2013: 159). See also Ahl (1976: 225): “Yet the Caesar of *Pharsalia* 10 is Caesar at his most vulnerable.”

162 It is worth considering in the context of Lucan’s epic what distinguishes *pavor* from its more common relatives, *metus* and *timor*. In particular, *pavor* and *metus* often appear in close
There are 57 total occurrences of the word family *pavor* in the *Bellum Civile*, a greater sum than for the epics of both Ovid (42) and Vergil (Mackay reports 16, Dion 18). In my opinion, the frequency of *pavor* in Lucan’s epic reflects the centrality of irrationality in the constitution of Lucan’s literary psychology. Akin to irrationality are delirium, hysteria, mass panic and other forms of collective fear, each represented in the *Bellum Civile* with the use of *pavor*. Lightning, for example, frightens people (*populos...pauentes*, 1.153), while omens do the same (*pauidam...plebem*, 1.673); and when the general’s son Sextus Pompey seeks out the witch Erictho, her grisly lair makes him and his friends shake with fear: *pauidos iuenis comites ipsumque trementem* (6.657).

The deeper sense accessible through these examples is that those who are afflicted with *pavor* are likely to flee in desperation or confusion, oftentimes ironically in the direction of additional harm. This is why the word family *pavor* appears frequently in Lucan’s epic applied to pursued or hunted people or animals. I have already mentioned above the example of the Caesarian troops trapped on the raft; the poet depicts them as frightened deer (*pauidos formidine ceruos*, 4.437), employing a bit of wordplay, as the deer are frightened by a feathered *formido* (scare). Lucan’s use of *pavor* therefore links the instinctive “fight-or-flight” response of hunted or pursued animals to people in similar situations and often appears accumulated with other words for fear to add an addition tone of desperation. Take for example the retreating Caesarian forces at Dyrrhachium:

 proximity in Roman hexameter; cf. Lucr. 3.141: *hic exsultat pauor ac metus*; Verg. Aen. 2.685: *nos pauidi trepidare metu*; Ov. Fast. 2.822: *et caeco flentque pauentque metu*.

163 There are 57 total occurrence of the word family *pavor* in Lucan, including 3 as *expauoeo* and 22 as adjective *pauidus* (MacKay 1961: 312–13).

164 “Why Vergil apparently avoided this group,” MacKay is unable to guess, but he notes that “Lucan is more consistent, and his fairly copious use fits in with the pattern of preferring words of mental activity” (1961: 313). Despite the low usage of *pavor* in the *Aeneid*, Thomas suggests that along with *formido*, the use of *pavor* in particular contributes to an aesthetic of fear in Vergil (2012:168).
Caesaris ut miles glomerato puluere uictus
ante aciem caeci trepidus sub nube timoris
hostibus occurrit fugiens inque ipsa pauendo
fata ruit.

As Caesar’s army, conquered by the clotted dust
before the battle line trembling under a cloud of blind fear,
 fleeing comes face to face with the enemy and in fearing
rushes straight into ruin.\textsuperscript{165}

And consider too Scaeva’s earlier attempt to rally them back:

hic ubi quaerentis socios iam Marte relicto
tuta fugae cernit, ‘quo uos pavor’ inquit ‘adegit
inpius et cunctis ignotus Caesaris armis?
terga datis morti?’

Here, with battle now left behind, when his comrades
he sees seeking the safety of flight, he says “where has fear driven you,
base fear unknown in all Caesar’s ranks?
Do you turn your backs on death?”\textsuperscript{166}

And lastly, the hasty flight of Pompey’s warhorse as it carries him from Pharsalus:

tum Magnum concitus aufert
a bello sonipes non tergo tela pauentem
ingentisque animos extrema in fata ferentem.

Then, spurred on, the warhorse carries Magnus
from the battle, him fearing not the weapons at his back
and bearing his great spirits toward their final fate.\textsuperscript{167}

I have underlined the aspect of flight in the examples above to better illuminate the association
between confusion, delirium, and physical retreat connoted by the word family \textit{pavor}. In this
last example, the precipitous retreat of Pompey’s horse (\textit{concitus...sonipes, 7.677-78}) is
punctuated by the poet’s use of a \textit{pavor} word, which in this passage emphasizes the melee of the

\textsuperscript{165} Luc. 6.296-99.

\textsuperscript{166} Luc. 6.149-53. Housman excises verse 152.

\textsuperscript{167} Luc. 7.677-79. On these lines Fratantuono (2012: 297) comments: “His exit is marked with
admirable dignity and nobility; his sorrow is noble (\textit{verendus dolor}).” Thomas mentions that
both the transitive and intransitive uses of \textit{paveo} are common in Latin literature, and provides
the example of Luc. 7.677-79 for the transitive form. Intrans. OLD s.v. \textit{pavor} 1 “to be frightened
or terrified; to express fear”; trans. 2 “to be frightened or terrified at.” The intransitive form
suggests that no explicit cause is required for the fear response.
battlefield he leaves behind (i.e. tergo tela, 7.678). Pompey himself, however, is portrayed as non...pauentem (7.678), ennobling his retreat by stressing his fearlessness.

Conversely, Pompey is depicted at the start of Book 8 as full of fear (pauet ille, 8.5). His retreat is likened to that of a frightened deer through a lexical allusion to pauidos formidine ceruos (4.437). However, Lucan is careful to distance Pompey’s fear from that of a heedless animal and explains the general’s emotional state as the result of an abrupt reversal of fortune (8.14-18). This psychological description aligns with the meaning of pavor found in Cicero as a state of marked distress having been provoked by a sudden upset or brutal shock. The fear that is pavor is therefore endemic to the landscape of Lucan’s Bellum Civile, which is ripe with spontaneous upheavals and military setbacks, to which even Caesar is not fully immune: sed paruo Fortuna uiri contenta pauore | plena redit, “but [Caesar’s] Fortune returns in full, content to have frightened him just a little” (4.121-22). Lucan’s employment of the word family pavor thus portrays fear as a mental response often accompanied by a reaction of distress and marked with intense physical effects. In addition, as one might understand an animal’s instinctive urge to flee at slight provocation, so too does Lucan invite his readers to extend empathy or pardon to certain characters in frightening situations by portraying them as victims of pavor. Examine, for example, the way in which the poet excuses the abandonment of Rome by her people.

    danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum:
    Pompeio fugiente timent. tum, nequa futuri
    spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet, addita fati
    peioris manifesta fides...

    Yet pardon must be given, and granted, for such great fears:
    they fear because Pompey flees. Then, lest some
    hope for the future might at least alleviate their troubled minds,
    clear proof of worse fate is added...

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169 Luc. 1.521-24. Fratantuono on the dual cause of Rome’s panic: “Pompey is the reason the people were afraid, but Lucan is hasty to add that terrible portents confirmed the whole impending disaster (1.522 and following). Here, the poet is careful to give the rational cause first
The situation for the Romans is pitiable. They are oppressed by an onslaught of fears (note the plural *tantorum...pauorum*, 1.521) and hope (*spes*, 1.523) offers little relief against them. The repetition of *danda* (it must be given/granted) therefore brings the request for *uenia* (pardon) to the readers’ attention. In other words, the poet begs his audience’s empathy and requests understanding on behalf of the frightened Roman people. In this way, *pavor* is one of the most forgivable forms of fear in Lucan’s psychology.

**Terror**

In addition to *pavor*, *terror* is the other form of fear in the *Bellum Civile* that pertains to the mental delirium of being overwhelmed by fear and the resultant, instinctive bodily responses. *Terror* is *pavor* intensified and Lucan chiefly employs the word family *terror* to illuminate the intense fear motivating human action in civil war. In this section, I suggest that the fear connoted through *terror* embodies the most agency of any emotion in Lucan’s poetic landscape. This psychology is articulated explicitly when the poet states: *facilis sed uertere mentes terror erat*, “terror was adept at changing people’s minds” (2.460-61).

The semantic sense of Latin *terror* is much the same as in English: a strong, intense, often impulsive emotion that grips, compels, and drives humans to act and react. The specificity of its semantic identity is displayed somewhat paradoxically in the size of *terror*’s word family, in which compounds are prevalent. In the *Bellum Civile*, for example, *terror* is represented 10 times as a verb, 11 as a noun, 2 times as *absterreo*, 3 times as *conterreo*, 7 times as the adjective

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170. These motivating causes include portents and omens (*praesagia*, 1.673), the Delphic oracle (*limine terrifico*, 5.128), and the pervasive but indefinite fear of death (*uana specie...leti*, 9.612). Note how these agents are not necessarily concrete objects or definable dangers (*pericula*).

171. True to *terror*’s linguistic formation as an active “doer,” as represented by the -or Latin suffix, cf. Thomas 1999: 229–30. OLD s.v. *terror* 1c “(meton.) a person or thing that causes terror.”
terriblis, and once each as territo and terrificus (for a total of 35 occurrences).\textsuperscript{172} In keeping with the emphasis on irrational fear in his literary psychology, Lucan’s employment of the word family terror stresses the helpless concession of those afflicted to exhibiting impulsive or otherwise poorly reasoned responses. For example, in articulating the nature of pavor, Lucan qualifies the one emotion by including its cause, which in the following passage happens to be another form of fear. This fear emotion (terror) is in turn itself qualified with the adjective inanis (empty, hollow) to stress its irrational nature.

\begin{verbatim}
nec solum uolgus inani
percussum terrrore pauet, sed curia et ipsi
sedibus exiluere patres, inuisaque belli
consilibus fugiens mandat decreta senatus
\end{verbatim}

Nor only is the population afraid, struck by an empty terror, but the Curia and the senators themselves leapt out of their seats, and the dreaded declaration of war, as it flees, the senate entrusts to the consuls\textsuperscript{173}

The panic that has caused the Romans to flee (paue, 1.486) is sparked by inani...terrore (empty terror), i.e. fear based on unconfirmed and inappropriately reasoned causes (1.486-87). Unlike Lucan’s use of pavor, which often evokes understanding and pardon, the phrase inani...terrore suggests reproach, seemingly castigating the flight of the senators as an embarrassing overreaction (“they leapt out of their seats!”).\textsuperscript{174}

\begin{verbatim}
Lucan’s use of the term terror here as the emotional causa behind the senators’ abandonment of Rome corroborates the Republican Latin usage of terror as the resultant emotion that accompanies a strong or abrupt change in the situation or fortune of the affected, cf. Thomas 1999: 231; Thomas 2012: 144. Terror is “le terme qui exprime le trouble plus fort.”
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{172} MacKay 1961: 313. This total is low compared to usage in Vergil’s epic (54 times), and Ovid’s (64), but higher than usage in Lucretius (12) (MacKay 1961: 313). Dion reports a total of 65 for Vergil (1993: 19, 21).

\textsuperscript{173} Luc. 1.486-89. Consider too the mania as Caesar enters Rome: sic fatur et urbem | attonitam terrore subit, “so he speaks and enters the city | paralyzed with terror” (3.97-100). There are 19 uses of the word family attono in Lucan and this is one of the earliest. This word is used most programmatically at 7.212; cf. ad. loc. Hunink 1992: “attonitam [is] a strong word which can have connotations of religious awe or inner agitation. It is widely used in Latin poetry (Vergil has 10 cases; Ovid 42; Seneca’s tragedies including the Octavia, 26).”

\textsuperscript{174} MacKay 1961: 313. This total is low compared to usage in Vergil’s epic (54 times), and Ovid’s (64), but higher than usage in Lucretius (12) (MacKay 1961: 313). Dion reports a total of 65 for Vergil (1993: 19, 21).
pardon and reproach, achieved through Lucan’s use of both *pavor* and *terror* in the same passage, suggests a dynamic of emotions that complicates the overall nature of fear in the psychology of the *Bellum Civile*.

5. The Vocabulary of Anxiety in the *Bellum Civile*

Lastly, I examine an additional set of word families that carry the primary connotation of anxiety and mental distress in the *Bellum Civile*. For this analysis, I employ “mental” to denote the concordance of mind, heart, and soul in a person to contrast with “bodily.” Unlike *formido*, *metus*, *timor*, *pavor*, and *terror*, the grouping I examine of *cura*, *agito*, *ango*, *dolor*, and *dubito* has not received extensive scholarly attention. However, this group may help reveal a more complete picture of Lucan’s psychology of fear.

Specifically, the collective prevalence of this group reveals the conception of abstract fear in Lucan’s literary psychology and the ubiquity of this fear in the epic’s landscape of civil war. The noun *cura*, for instance, adapts its general Latin meaning to represent the specific emotional realities of civil war in the *Bellum Civile*. The epic provides several examples of this adaptation. At the battle of Massilia, as the odds of survival grow bleaker, the poet reveals: *non perdere letum | maxima cura fuit*, “the chief concern of the soldiers was not to waste their deaths” (3.706–7). Again, as the armies of Caesar and Pompey draw closer to Pharsalus: *maior cura duces miscendis abstrahit armis*, “a greater concern withdraws the generals from clashing in battle” (6.80). And as Caesar addresses his troops before the battle, he expresses concern should they lose, with the poet playing on the opposing meanings of *cura/secura*: *uestri cura mouet; nam me secura manebit | sors quaesita manu*, “concern for you moves me: for a secure

175 These words are present in the *De Rerum Natura* and their presence too in the *Bellum Civile* suggests that Lucan demonstrates an interest in representing the non-physical dimension of fear, taking an approach to representing anxiety similar to Lucretius in his explication of human emotion through its realistic depiction.

176 OLD s.v. *cura* 1 “anxiety (about anything), worry, care, distress.”
lot sought by the hand [i.e. suicide] will await me” (7.308-9). Caesar is of course victorious, and after Pharsalus he travels to Egypt, where in meeting Cleopatra becomes her paramour and so adds an amorous affair to his curis, his growing list of concerns (adulter | admisit Venerem curis, 10.74-75). The nature of these other concerns is of the moral, psychologically-troubling type, namely that Caesar sleeps in a palace haunted by the defeated (Pompeianis habitata manibus aula, 10.73), and furthermore while wearing the blood-guilt of Pharsalus (sanguine Thessalicae cladis perfusus, 10.74). Lucan here adapts the elegiac notion of cura as a romantic preoccupation in dynamic contrast to the cura of military responsibility.\footnote{177} This is to say, for Caesar, the anxieties denoted by cura are firmly grounded in the distressing realities of his victory at Pharsalus.

Similarly, the noun dolor (pain, grief) adapts its general meaning to represent the painful realities of civil war.\footnote{178} A few poignant examples will suffice to demonstrate Lucan’s use of dolor to connote the types of loss related to extended periods of fear, uncertainty, and political conflict. On the eve of Pharsalus, for instance: maeret et ignorat causas animumque dolentem | corripit, Emathiis quid perdat nescius aruis, “[every Roman] grieves, and knows not why, and scolds his grieving heart, unaware of what is being lost on Emathian fields [i.e. libertas]” (7.190-91). Lucan here represents dolor as a universal emotion, able to afflict people so removed from the actual fighting that they are unable to pinpoint the exact cause of what they feel (ignorat causas, 7.190). This same mixture of grief and fear affects the Roman people in Book 2. Back when civil war was only a rumor, the apprehension of the Roman people is validated through signs from the gods (2.1-15). Reading these signs as omens of approaching

\footnote{177} The nature of love and desire conveyed by Latin cura is often troubling and/or transgressive. In Hor. Carm. 1.22, the poet wanders in the woods “carefree,” the Latin curis...expeditis (“freed from curae,” 11) arguably a consideration if one can “bypass the transgressive nature of desire” (Ancona in Spentzou and Fowler 2002: 177). Consider also Catullus 2 (tristis...curas, 10), which plays off both connotations of cura as “mental anxiety” and “the object of erotic desire.”

\footnote{178} Despite the epic’s violent backdrop, Lucan prefers dolor in its secondary sense as mental anguish (rather than physical pain); cf. OLD s.v. dolor 2 “distress (of mind), anguish, grief.”
disaster, Rome undergoes a period of premature mourning (*per omnes | erruit sine uoce dolor*, 2.20-21). The poet likens this *dolor* to the grief of a household in mourning for a son; the bereaved mother no longer fears but does not yet feel grief (*necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus*, 2.27), occupying an emotional state between *dolor* and *metus* that emphasizes the underlying commonality of these two emotions.

The verb *agito* can also connote anxiety, an abstract form of fear. The use of the verb *agito* in the *Bellum Civile* often reflects specifically the active agency of fear to influence human thought and direct human action.\(^{179}\) For example, in the absence of an explicit cause for fear, Lucan stresses the active role of the emotion itself by making it the syntactic subject: *quamquam agitant grauiora metus, multumque coitur | humani generis maiore in proelia damno*, “nevertheless, my fears arouse worse things, and at a much | greater loss of humankind is there a convening in war” (2.225-26). Other times, Lucan stresses the mental dimension of fear by using *mens* (mind) or *animus* (heart, soul) as the subject of *agito*: *cunctos belli praesaga futuri | mens agitat* (a mind foreboding of the coming war troubles all people).\(^{180}\) Similarly, the word family *ango* includes Latin’s principal words for denoting anxiety, as in Lucretius’ turn of phrase, *anxius angor* (DRN 3.993, 6.1158).\(^{181}\) The noun *angor* does not occur in the *Bellum Civile*, and while the adjectival *anxius* is infrequent, it occurs all three times in reference to Pompey. On the night before Pharsalus, for instance, Pompey is restless and awake, mind

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\(^{179}\) OLD s.v. *agito* 6 “to arouse (the mind, emotion).” In close semantic relation to *agito* and *ango* is the adjective *sollicitus*, “moved, rattled, disturbed.” In Roman hexameter, *attonitus* and *sollicitus* reveal some degree of synonymy, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.681: *attoniti novitiate pavent*; Fast. 3.362: *sollicitae mentes speque metuque pavent*; Luc. 7.211-12.


\(^{181}\) *Angor* is primarily “a squeezing or suffocating compression,” cf. OLD s v. 1.
drifting to memories of happier times (\textit{anxia mens curis ad tempora laeta refugit}, 7.20).\footnote{Some MSS emend the line to \textit{anxia venturis ad tempora laeta refugit}. See discussion in Housman 1927: 186–87.}

After the battle, however, his wife Cornelia watches nervously (\textit{anxia}, 8.590) along with the fleet (\textit{stetit anxia classis}, 8.592) as her husband steps upon the treacherous Egyptian shores.\footnote{Consider the graphic language of Pompey’s anxiety: \textit{Pompeius…ora uidens curis animum mordacibus angit}, “seeing the shore Pompey strangles his mind with biting concerns” (2.680-81); cf. also: \textit{at miserios angit sua cura parentes}, “but concerns, each to their own, weigh down upon wretched parents” (2.64). Pompey’s peculiar relationship with fear and anxiety is examined in Chapter 5.}

Likewise, the word family \textit{dubito} in Lucan’s text is employed to represent abstract fear. The verb \textit{dubito} represents the universal atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty in Lucan’s fictive landscape, the construction of which is based in the realities of Rome’s history of civil war.\footnote{The uncertainty of Lucan’s landscape extends even to the literal land, as the poet describes the treacherous North African shoals as if they themselves are “in doubt” whether they are part land or part sea: \textit{in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit} (9.304).}

Character descriptions exemplified here by \textit{mens dubiis perculsa pauet} (6.595) and \textit{mens stetit in dubio} (7.247) are frequent throughout the \textit{Bellum Civile} and represent a pervasive atmosphere of doubt. This atmosphere of doubt persists even after the decisive battle at Pharsalus in Book 7; in the infamous snake episode of Lucan’s Book 9, for example, as the remnants of Pompey’s army attempt to cross the snake-infested North African desert, they seek some hope of salvation at a local oracle. But their leader, Cato, responds assuredly: \textit{sortilegis egeant dubii semperque futuris | casibus ancipites}, “may they have need of prophets, those doubtful ones who are always unsure of the future” (9.581-82).\footnote{The word family \textit{dubito} often shares the same semantic sense with Lucan’s use of the adjective \textit{anceps}, e.g. \textit{ancipites…animos} (9.46; 10.13). The two word families frequently appear in close proximity (cf. Luc 2.447-48; 4.470-71; 8.282; 9.581-82). OLD s.v. \textit{anceps} 7a “of uncertain issue, problematic, doubtful; (of issues or results) uncertain.”} Although he attempts to strengthen his army’s resolve, Cato speaks only for himself in declaring his self-assuredness and
lack of doubt. The rest of the epic’s world is gripped in uncertainty, a sure symptom of the ubiquitous presence and power of fear in Lucan’s narrative of civil war.

6. The Ubiquity of Fear in (Lucan’s) Civil War

Through word choice and the repetition of sentiment and language, Lucan represents and reinforces the ubiquitous nature of fear in his epic. By ubiquity, I mean that not only is fear a geographically widespread phenomenon, afflicting the world of the *Bellum Civile* from Rome to Pharsalus to the deserts of North Africa, but that fear affects all types of people in Lucan’s narrative, citizens and soldiers alike. My examination into Lucan’s linguistic choices has so far revealed a psychology of fear constructed particularly for the epic’s narrative of civil war. Words connoting abstract fears about the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death are more prevalent than concrete fears in the *Bellum Civile* and remarkably so in light of the epic’s violent, military backdrop. In particular, words connoting anxiety and mental distress work collectively to emphasize the ubiquitous nature of fear in a landscape of civil war and the susceptibility of all those involved in such conflict, both centrally and peripherally, to feelings ranging from doubt to terror. In this final section, I summarize this analysis through a concluding examination of Lucan’s use of vocabulary to articulate the ubiquitous nature of fear in the *Bellum Civile*.

**The Accumulation of Fear Words**

The fears associated with an uncertain future both in victory and defeat are represented in the narrative world of the *Bellum Civile* through the specificity of Lucan’s fear vocabulary and through its prevalence and accumulation. Word accumulation, or the piling of words related by sense and meaning to generate an emphatic, compounding effect, is Lucan’s primary method for representing fear’s ubiquity. Let us return to the episode of the Massilian grove for an illustration. In just a few lines we notice an excess of fear words.
ipse situs putrique facit iam robore pallor
atonitos; non uolgatis sacrata figuris
numina sic metuunt; tantum terroribus addit,
quos timeant, non nosse, deos.

The neglect itself and the pallid hue now from the rotting wood
makes them paralyzed; not so do they fear the sacred spirits
with their common forms: it adds only to the terror,
that they did not know the gods they should fear. 186

The redundancy of sense presented here by the underlined words is linguistically unnecessary
and so reveals intent to intensify the overall effect of their usage. In Lucan, this repetition of fear
words becomes a didactic tool, attracting the reader’s attention and emphasizing the active role
that fear plays in motivating the actions of the humans in the scene. It is not enough for Lucan
to state that Caesar’s soldiers fear the grove (non...sic metuunt, 3.415-16); he is determined to
show how their reaction is more nuanced and complex through the very nuance and complexity
of the language of the scene itself. The soldiers fear the ghastly hue of the trees (pallor, 3.414),
the rotten smell (putri robore, 3.414), and above all else, the epistemological uncertainty that
they do not know the nature or names of the gods of the grove whom they fear in the first place
(quos timeant, non nosse, deos, 3.417). It is therefore not simply the prevalence but also the
concentrated accumulation of fear words in the Bellum Civile that informs our understanding of
the nature and role of this emotion in Lucan’s narrative.

The Unavoidable Nature of Fear in Lucan’s Epic

Throughout the analyses above I have noted places in Lucan’s text where there is an
accumulation of fear words, suggesting this poetic device serves to set a tone of overwhelming
emotion. I now examine one implication of this pervasive tone. I demonstrate below how the
overall prevalence of fear vocabulary in the Bellum Civile functions to represent fear as a

186 Luc. 3.414-17. Day notes succinctly, “this passage is loaded with words connoting fear,”
(2013: 138 n. 83). Hunink 1992 notes that attonitos may refer to the local Gaulish people rather
than Caesar’s soldiers.
ubiquitous, near unavoidable emotion, so much so that those insusceptible to fear earn the modifier felix (lucky, blessed).\footnote{On the contrary, those stricken with fear are infelix, cf. Luc. 7.7-8 as Pompey is wracked with nightmares on the eve of Pharsalus: \textit{at nox felicis Magno pars ultima uitae | sollicitos uana decepti imagine somnos}; cf. also Ov. \textit{Fast.} 2. 97: \textit{forsitan, infelix, uentos undasque timebas}.}

There develop only three ways to avoid fear in Lucan: avoid involvement in civil war, inflict fear upon others, or die. These are bleak options. Firstly, to avoid the reach of the Roman civil war is equated to living in ignorance at the edges of the known world:

\begin{verbatim}
certe populi quos despicit Arctos
felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
maximus haut urget leti metus
\end{verbatim}

certainly, the peoples whom the Northern constellation look upon live happy in their ignorance, those whom the greatest of fears does not at all beset, the fear of death\footnote{Luc. 1.458-60. Fratantuono points out the Lucretian influence in Lucan’s thought: “The Druids...are wrong in their beliefs about reincarnation (1.459 \textit{errore suo}), but that they are fortunate in their ignorance (\textit{felices}), because they do not have the fear of death – the great point of Lucretius’ poem” (2012: 35).}

There is perhaps no greater reality in civil war than death, and the unavoidability of the fear of death for Lucan’s characters. Though incorrect in their views on death, at least the Northern Druids are blessed (∗felices, 1.458) in that false knowledge that allows them to live blindly without fear of death (∗\textit{ille timorum} | \textit{maximus}, 1.459-60). For those who must live closer to Rome, the city’s history of civil war fosters fears both past and present.\footnote{Cf. Luc. 1.244-49. The people of Ariminum lament being placed in the path of Caesar and civil war on account of their geographical location.} The Roman elders, for example, recall the horrors of the conflict between Marius and Sulla (2.67-223). The latter as dictator promulgated a reign of terror, avoiding retribution by Marius only by inflicting it doubly in revenge. For this he named himself Sulla Felix, the “Fortunate.”\footnote{Sulla’s cognomen is explained with harsh irony in the Roman elder’s tale: \textit{hisne salus rerum, felix his Sulla uocari, | his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo}? “Did not with these deeds Sulla deserve to be called the savior, the fortunate one? To raise a tomb for himself in the center}
modifier felix carries the connotation of “fortunate” in freedom from fear. So is Pompey described by Cato for having died shortly after his Caesarian defeat (O felix, cui summa dies fuit obuia uicto, “O fortunate one, whose final day met him defeated” (9.208). Pompey’s murder, in other words, spared him from living a frightened existence under the tyranny of Caesar (soceri...in regno, 9.210).191

The avoidance of fear therefore becomes a motif throughout the Bellum Civile. In Book 5, for example, when the Pompeian Appius visits the Delphic oracle, seeking to know the outcome of the war, the poet protests his efforts and explains how they are misguided. He warns Appius, nec te uicinia leti | territat ambiguis frustratum sortibus, “the nearness of death does not | frighten you, you having been deceived by vague lots” (5.224-25), and then more directly: nullum belli sentire fragorem, | tot mundi caruisse malis, praestare deorum | excepta quis Morte potest? “to sense nothing of the din of war, | to avoid so much evil in the world, who of the gods can fulfill this | except Death?” (5.228-30). A final example comes from Book 9, where Cato expresses this same sentiment more bluntly. Book 9 follows the remains of Pompey’s defeated forces as they are led in retreat by Cato across the Libyan desert. Assailed by both nature and the elements, Cato’s troops begin to despair and desire to seek consolation and guidance at a local desert oracle. But Cato refuses their request, responding: me non oracula certum | sed mors certa facit. pauido fortique cadendum est, “me no oracles assure, | only death, the only sure thing. Frightened, brave - men must die” (9.582-83). Though Cato’s words fail to alleviate his soldiers’ fears, they announce a truth about Lucan’s poetic world, that in the uncertain landscape of civil war the only certainty is death.

of the Campus?” (2.221-22). In addition to Sulla, the term felix is associated with Marius (2.74); Caesar (3.296; 5.699); Pompey (7.727; 8.126; 8.630; 8.706; 9.80; 9.208); and Alexander (10.21).

191 Caesar was Pompey’s socer (father-in-law), his daughter Julia having married Pompey in 59 BCE. Cf. Lucan’s remark as Pompey flees in retreat at 7.674-75: nequiquam, infelix: socero spectare volenti | praestandum est ubicunque caput, “in vain, o unfortunate one: to Caesar wishing to see it, wherever that may be, your head must be presented.”
7. Conclusion

This chapter began a two-part study into the representation of fear in the *Bellum Civile* so that we might be able to define its character, identify its forms, and ultimately examine its role in the narrative at large. In Chapter 2, I have sought to examine the many words for fear in Lucan’s text and have analyzed this psychological vocabulary for what it reveals about the nature of fear and how it operates in the world of the *Bellum Civile*. For my analysis, I surveyed the poet’s use of *formido*, *horror*, and *uereor*, as well as the more frequently occurring *metus*, *timor*, *pavor*, and *terror*. The fundamental divide in this semantic set lies between fear derivative of concrete, physical causes and the fear of abstractions, such as the future, loss of honor, and non-imminent death. While *horror* and *pavor* primarily reflect the physical dimension of fear as a bodily response, abstract fear is denoted by the word family *timor* and enforced by Lucan’s use of the word families *formido*, *uereor*, *metus*, and *terror* to emphasize the irrational causes of human thought and action and the perversity of human priorities in civil war.

Overall, there is a tendency for Lucan’s vocabulary to denote fear in its abstract, irrational, and extreme forms. This tendency suggests a Lucanic literary psychology concerned with the emotional realities of Rome’s civil war as they affect generals, soldiers, and civilians alike. Fear in Lucan is thus ubiquitous, and the poet’s use of *cura*, *agito*, *ango*, *dolor*, and *dubito*, words connoting anxiety and mental distress, serves to represent this ubiquitous nature and reinforce the susceptibility of all those involved in the epic’s civil war, both centrally and peripherally, to feelings ranging from doubt to terror. Above all, the fear of death and the willingness to avoid it are key motivators of character action, and Lucan’s word choice in the matter of representing his characters’ anxieties as they associate with the *maximus timorum*, the fear of death, suggests both a literary psychology constructed around the deeper concerns and realities of civil war and a didactic program to illuminate the complexity and agency of the
emotion of fear. Lucan’s audience is therefore invited to read the *Bellum Civile* as a commentary on fear, humanity, and the psychology of civil war.
Chapter Three  
Representing Fear through Language: Part 2 – Imagery  

Chapter 2 began a two-part examination into Lucan’s use of language to represent fear and construct a literary psychology around the deeper concerns and realities of Roman civil war. My focus in Chapter 2 was Lucan’s use of vocabulary to articulate the nature of fear. I concluded that Lucan favors the usage of words connoting fear at its most abstract, irrational, and extreme. I now argue that Lucan also employs imagery and metaphoric language to construct a similar portrait. In Chapter 3, my primary focus is Lucan’s more graphic imagery, specifically depictions of natural and man-made calamities. It is my intention to examine how Lucan manipulates these images into affective metaphors, i.e., poetic devices to arouse fear in his ideal Roman audience.  

I divide my chapter into three sections. In the first, I analyze a scene from Book 1 in which the Roman senators abandon the city (1.486-504) to preview the overall significance of these images and to introduce the basic mechanics of Lucan’s representation of fear through visual language. My aim here is to demonstrate how Lucan’s technique of affective imagery is based on the representation of an abstract (irrational) emotion through a comparison to a concrete (reasonably frightening) experience. In my second section, I define this technique further. I suggest that we interpret depictions of extreme bodily mutilation in Lucan’s text, as exemplified by the double spearing of Catus (3.585-91), as concrete illustrations of abstract fear. These illustrations are intended for Lucan’s audience to help them better comprehend the fear of the characters in the epic and to explicate the overall destructive nature of fear in a landscape of civil war, literary or historic. I further argue that Lucan depicts Catus’ blood as an emotional metaphor that represents in a concrete manner civil anxiety, or the abstract feelings of uncertainty and apprehension that arise from participation in civil war. My analysis here serves
as a preliminary examination of Lucan’s imagery of calamity before I progress to my main
analysis in section three.

Section three contains the chapter’s main examination of Lucan’s imagery of *extra
bellum* calamity, which I define as depictions of injury and disaster unrelated to battle and
warfare. My purpose in examining these depictions is to argue that Lucan manipulates this
imagery to represent an evocatively “Roman” form of fear, a type of anxiety imbedded in cycles
of Roman history and civil conflict. I further argue that Lucan’s imagery of calamity reveals the
poet’s program to arouse civil anxiety in the epic’s audience. By this I mean that these images of
calamity work to lower the barrier between historical narrative and historical reality and to
arouse fear in the poem’s ideal readers, not only in empathy for the epic’s characters but in
genuine concern for their own contemporary reality. The individual images I examine in Section
3 are of fire, collapse, and shipwreck – visual motifs that recall genuinely frightening scenarios
of urban fires, earthquakes, and storms at sea. It is my belief that these three images form the
core around which Lucan constructs his emotional metaphors and that the majority of the
poem’s other images are able to be categorized under these three. I am interested in showing
how Lucan transforms these images of concrete and reasonably frightening experiences into
metaphors of abstract emotion.

I ultimately propose that Lucan employs the imagery of *extra bellum* calamity to
illustrate to his audience the role that fear plays in the following: the irrational motivations of
human action in civil war, the perversity of human priorities in civil war, and the destructive
effects of civil war on the stability and greatness of the Roman state. Overall, the imagery of fear
in the *Bellum Civile* serves not only to represent but also to illustrate and thus explicate the fear
of Lucan’s characters, in so doing highlighting the perversity of civil war as it distorts Roman
priorities and destabilizes the governing state. In my fourth and final section, I conclude
Chapter 3 by reiterating how Lucan’s use of emotional metaphors is part of a broader program
for the *Bellum Civile* to not only represent fear but also to illustrate how fear functions within
the poem at its most abstract, irrational, and extreme, the three forms of fear Lucan portrays as most endemic to Roman civil war and most detrimental to the actors involved in this conflict.

1. Representing Fear through Visual Language
Lucan uses language both to enrich the composition of the Bellum Civile with evocative scenes and to illustrate to his readers the role that fear plays as a motivator of human action in a landscape of civil war. Fear in Lucan’s poetic world comes in two forms: those physical reactions that are chiefly instinctive responses to legitimate threats, and those unfounded fears or ill-defined anxieties that commonly drive Lucan’s characters into extreme and ill-reasoned action. As discussed in Chapter 2, the world of the Bellum Civile is primarily defined by the latter type of fear, abstract fear, but this hardly means that Lucan foregoes the chance to visually represent both types in his work.

Visual Motifs of Physical Fear
The prevalence of words in the Bellum Civile that denote or connote fear is matched by the wealth of affective imagery in Lucan’s poem. At a basic level, Lucan represents fear visually though the use of individual images. These images are then combined and expanded to form the basis of larger scenes and episodes identifiable by their striking, visually descriptive elements. When repeated throughout the epic’s many evocative and fear-focused episodes, these images become a visual motif with strong affective power.

For Lucan, there appears to be no difficulty in visually representing the physical dimension of fear, meaning those outward responses that the body is likely to exhibit under emotional duress. Frequent descriptions of these outward responses form a visual and affective motif throughout the Bellum Civile in that an ideal reader is likely to empathize with the physical experience of Lucan’s distressed characters and share, even if to a lesser extent, their affected point of view. In general, motifs are a common device of narrative used to establish a
theme through the repetition of an idea, object, image, or scene. There are several motifs at play in the *Bellum Civile* that evoke fear and therefore serve to support Lucan’s emotional theme. Crying, shivering, paleness, and psychologically-induced paralysis are bodily responses that form an affective motif as they are commonly joined together in the description of characters in situations of extreme fear.\(^{192}\) For example, the seer Arruns pales (*palluit attonitus*, 1.616), the Delphic priestess physically hesitates (*limine terrifico metuens consistere Phoebas*, 5.128), and Pompey’s wife Cornelia is paralyzed with worry for her husband’s fate: *attonitoque metu nec quoquam auertere uisus | nec Magnum spectare potest*, “and struck with paralyzing fear she is neither able to avert her gaze anywhere nor look upon Magnus” (8.591-92). Such strikingly visual and realistic emotion makes it easy for a reader to identify with these frightened characters.

I suggest then that these motifs are empathetic in effect, meaning they work chiefly to evoke the audience’s fear through the readers’ connection with the character in emotional distress. As literary spectators to the events of the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan’s readers are engaged in the epic’s narrative of civil war and as such are vulnerable to the same emotions as Lucan’s characters. As discussed at length in Chapter 1, the lowering of the barrier between reader and character is the theory behind the rhetorical and historiographic use of *phantasia* and *enargeia*; these devices encourage the audience to closely identify with the participants or characters in the events being narrated.

In Lucan, however, descriptions of fearful situations, and not necessarily of the characters in these situations, also appeal to the emotions of an audience. These evocative descriptions function by providing a more concrete context (and therefore explanation) for the characters’ abstract thoughts and motivations. In addition, these descriptions, which are frequently expanded through metaphoric language, allow the poet to evoke fear without the

\(^{192}\) For a survey of motifs of fear in the Vergilian corpus, see Dion 1993: 34. For how a feeling’s physiological effects stand in for the feeling itself, see Lakoff 1987: 380–415.
recourse of lexical signaling. By this I mean that an image connoting fear can replace a word denoting the same, and so an episode can be coded as effectively “frightening” without needing to invoke the vocabulary of fear. A scene involving both images of fear and words for fear would essentially therefore be working double duty upon the emotions of the audience. In my judgment, this two-pronged approach is the basis of Lucan’s affective technique.

**Illustrating Fear: The Example of Rome’s Abandonment (1.486-504)**

To encourage the identification of the reader with a specific character or set of characters, Lucan explicates both the cause and effect of a character’s emotion through illustrative comparison. The mechanics of these comparisons are most clearly revealed by the following programmatic scene from Book 1. In narrating the abandonment of Rome in the face of Caesar’s march toward the city, Lucan uses the “sacked-city” topos as a backdrop for establishing a portrait of Rome’s senators as emotionally erratic and unable to suppress their fear in service to Rome’s greater needs and defense.

\[
\text{tum, quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquent incerti, quo quemque fugae tulit impetus urguent praecipitem populum, serieque haerentia longa agmina prorumpunt.}
\]

Then, uncertain what safety they might seek and what things to be feared they might leave behind, wherever the rush of flight has driven each, they urge on the headlong people, and swarming in a long progression they rush forth in columns.\(^{193}\)

This description of Rome’s senators, the city’s preeminent political body, is marred by their flightiness and extreme fear. Specifically, Lucan has characterized the senators chiefly through their irrational and unfounded fear (“irrational” because it anticipates a confirmed threat). In addition, Lucan depicts the senators as the promulgators of Rome’s mass panic. Panic is a form of irrational fear, and rather than a deliberative body, able to remain calm, cool, and collected in the face of a political threat, the senators are senseless animals in their fear: *agmina*

\(^{193}\) Luc. 1.490-93. Housman notes that some MSS read *urquet* for *urguent* (1.491).
prorumpunt, “they rush forth in columns [like herds of animals]” (1.493). While the noun agmina also may refer to ordered columns or military ranks, it will become clear at the conclusion of the following passage that these agmina are not so disciplined.

credas aut tecta nefandas
corripisse faces aut iam quatiente ruina
nutantes pendere domos, sic turba per urbem
praecipiti lymphata gradu, uelut unica rebus
spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros,
inconsulta ruit. qualis, cum turbidus Auster
reppulit a Libycis inmensum Syrtibus aequor
fractaque ueliferi sonuerunt pondera mali,
desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister
nauitaque et nondum sparsa conpage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit, sic urbe relict\a in bellum fugitur.

You would think that either wicked torches
had seized their roofs, or that now in quaking collapse
their swaying homes totter, so did the crowd through the city
rush frenzied with hasty step, as if the only hope
for their affliction was to leave their ancestral walls,
without second thought. Just as when the turbulent South Wind
has pushed back the immense sea from the Libyan Syrtes,
and the fractured weight of the sail-bearing mast has resounded,
and the helmsman leaps into the waves, the ship deserted,
and each sailor, though not yet has the ship’s joint scattered,
a shipwreck for himself makes, so with the city abandoned
is there a fleeing toward war.\footnote{Luc. 1.493-504.}

If the senators are truly to be considered an army (cf. agmina, 1.493), then they are one that ironically flees in preparation for war (\textit{in bellum fugitur}, 1.504). I therefore read agmina as “herds” while at the same time pointing to the irony of agmina as “ranks.” In reading the above passages together, I make two more points. Firstly, fear vocabulary does play an important role in the scene as a whole (1.490-504), but that this vocabulary is only part of Lucan’s overall affective technique. The poet’s use of metuenda (1.490), for instance, stands out from the words

\footnote{L&S s.v. agmen A “in gen., a train, i.e. a collected multitude in motion or moving forwards; of things of any kind, but esp. (so most freq. in prose) of men or animals”; B “the train, procession, march, progress of an army.”}
around it because of the strong sense of obligation implicit in the gerundive form. The placement of metuenda at the top of the scene, as marked with tum (then), serves to frame the entire episode, including what will follow these lines, as an explication of “things to be feared.” What is important to realize is that the senators expressly do not know the exact nature of these metuenda; in their decision to abandon the city, they are revealed to be acting blindly in their actions in that they are merely fleeing toward equal uncertainty (1.490-91). Thus, the scene of Rome’s abandonment (1.490-504) chiefly describes fear in an irrational form as blind panic. This blind, irrational form of fear is in part represented by the very urgency of the vocabulary: quo quemque fugae tuit impetus urquent | praecipitem populum, “wherever the rush of flight has driven each, they urge on | the headlong crowd” (1.491-92). But vocabulary is not Lucan’s only tool for representing fear; the panic of the Roman people is also represented through the technique of illustrative comparison (1.493-504).

credas aut (1) tecta nefandas
corripuisse faces aut (2) iam quatiente ruina
nutantes pendere domos, sic turba per urbem
praecipiti lymphata gradu, uelut unica rebus
spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros,
inconsulta ruit. qualis, (3) cum turbidus Auster
reppulit a Libycis inmensum Syrtibus aequor
fractaque ueliferi sonuerunt pondera mali,
desilit in fluctus desertae puppe magister
nauitaeque et nondum sparsa conpage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit, sic urbe relicta
in bellum fugitur.

This passage is a prime example of Lucan’s technique of show, not tell. Here the vocabulary of fear is subordinated to fear imagery; after metuenda at the top of the passage (1.490), there is not a single additional word denoting fear in the remaining lines. And yet these same lines concern themselves squarely with all that is implied through the word metuenda. They include a comparison of the senators’ fear to the fear (1) of those whose homes catch fire, (2) of those in an earthquake, (3) and of those aboard a ship foundering at sea. The combination of situational metaphor and explicit simile illustrates in a more concrete, visual manner the emotions
surrounding Rome’s abandonment. Lucan’s affective technique can therefore be defined as “showing” *metuenda*, of illuminating the emotional experience through imagery and both explicit and implicit comparison.

Secondly, I argue from an analysis of the above scene that the fear experienced by the senators (and by extension the Roman people who follow them) is depicted as fundamentally abstract in nature. Abstract fear is typified by ill-reasoned or ill-defined mental responses to objects of fear that present neither a life-threatening nor imminent threat. We know the fear at Rome is abstract because it originates in an earlier scene from an abstract cause, *uana...fama* (1.469), the unconfirmed rumors that float after Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon. Lucan’s addition of the adjective *uana* explicitly portrays the *fama* as an unfounded threat ungrounded in fact, i.e. unreasonable. This is to say that while the initial threat of possible civil war is reasonable enough, the reactions of the Romans spiral out of control into mass panic and hysteria. With Caesar gathering his forces, *uana...fama* provokes the spread of false information (*uelox properantis nuntia belli | innumeras soluit falsa in praeconia linguas*, “swift news of the fast-approaching war | loosened countless tongues into false heralding” 1.471-72). This misinformation in turn causes the Roman people to add unreasonable fears to reasonable ones (*uana quoque ad ueros accessit fama timores*, 1.469). Such is the causal anatomy of Rome’s fear.

As we might therefore conclude from the above episode of Rome’s abandonment, irrational causes lead to irrational effects in terms of how fear works in Lucan’s epic. This is in fact the lesson that I suggest is illustrated by the above simile of the sailors (1.498-504). The

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196 Lucan highlights the causes of fear as they affect human motivation and action. These causes, both abstract and concrete, include omens, blood, natural phenomena, apparitions, and *fama*. When those at Rome first hear the rumors of Caesar’s march on the city: *quisque pauendo | dat uires famae, nulloque auctore malorum | quae finxere timent*, “each with his fearing | gives strength to the rumor, and with no source of a threat | they fear whatever they have imagined” (1.484-86). *Fama* also increases fear in the Massilian grove: *iam fama ferebat | saepe causas motu terrae mugire cauernas*, “already rumor reported that often the hollow caverns bellowed with the movement of the earth” (3.417-18).
sailors in the simile abandon the ship before it has truly foundered, just as the senators flee Rome before it has been conquered, besieged, or attacked by Caesar. The simile at its core is this: as sailors jump ship in a storm, in like manner do the senate and Roman people flee Rome (1.503-4). The helmsman in the simile (magister, 1.501) equates to the Roman senate, which “helms” the Roman state, and the sailors who follow the helmsman’s lead are the Roman people: quo quemque fugae tuit impetus urguent | praecipitem populum, “wherever the rush of flight has driven each, they urge on | the headlong people” (1.491-92). Both in the simile and in the narrative proper, Lucan describes the actions of the sailors and the senators as premature in anticipating a genuine, confirmed threat; the senators abandon Rome before any threat has been defined and the sailors leap from the ship before it has begun to break apart (nondum sparsa conpage carinae, 1.502). The senators (and sailors) are therefore driven to irrational action by their irrational fear.

But what purpose does the simile play beyond delaying the narrative with an extended literary comparison? I believe the simile serves as an explicatory aside for the benefit of the epic’s readers. Fear in the face of concrete and imminent realities such as shipwreck or armed siege is rational and reasonable, but the fear of the Roman senators is entirely the opposite, and the perversity of their premature flight from Rome may thus appear incomprehensible to the epic’s audience. In particular, Lucan’s audience of contemporary Roman readers may not have been fully able to envision the emotional atmosphere that motivates the senators’ actions, being removed from the historical reality of Caesar’s civil war by nearly a century. This distancing effect may also have hindered Lucan’s audience from empathizing with the senators and the Roman people who follow them in abandoning the city. The simile of the sinking ship is therefore for the benefit of Lucan’s readers, ideal or otherwise, to help them better comprehend and therefore empathize with the actions of the senators by comparing the emotional atmosphere at Rome under Caesar’s shadow to the mayhem aboard a ship in a storm. In short, the mechanics of Lucan’s affective illustrations are this: a situation fueled by abstract emotion is
explicated through a comparison to a more relatable, but equally-frightening experience. Since the notion of Rome’s own people (not to mention senators!) abandoning the city, unconquered, uncompelled, and without confirmation of an immediate or imminent threat, is incomprehensible without explanation, some form of rationalizing example is required therefore if Lucan’s ideal readers are to understand the motives of these historical Romans.

This I believe is the program underlying Lucan’s use of affective imagery, these illuminating visualizations of abstract fear that aim to engage the emotions of the epic’s audience through simile, metaphor, and other more tacit comparison. The Roman senators, in their flight from the city, may feel as if they are *inundated* by the uncertainties surrounding Caesar’s intentions, but their circumstances are only comparable in the abstract to the realities of a ship caught by a dangerous wave. This comparison is however enough to inspire an empathic connection between character and reader. The purpose of the simile of the sailors, being an explication of the senators’ actions, is not to justify their actions, nor to pass judgment on the reasonability of their decision to leave Rome, but to illustrate the nature of their abstract, irrational, and extreme fear and to represent the motivating power of that abstract (irrational) emotion through a comparison to a ship in a storm, i.e., a concrete (reasonably frightening) experience.

2. Defining Lucan’s Technique: The Death of Catus (3.585-91)

Having previewed Lucan’s representation of fear through visual language and having introduced the basic mechanics of Lucan’s technique of affective imagery, providing an example from Book 1 of how the poet represents abstract (irrational) emotion through comparisons to concrete (reasonably frightening) experiences, I now further define this technique through a case study analysis of the death of Catus, a soldier from the naval battle in Book 3. Although the battle itself is an extensive episode, what Master deems “the earliest extant full treatment of a sea battle in
Latin poetry,” the death of Catus is a brief scene, and one of many similar scenes in the poem’s Massilian campaign. At first glance, the scene below does not appear overly significant, but it is my judgment that Lucan’s depiction of the death of Catus is a good illustration of how the poet transforms images to be affective, or evocative of fear and anxiety. The scene of Catus’ death will serve as a preliminary examination before I progress to my main analysis of Lucan’s imagery of calamity below in Section 3.

The naval battle of Massilia is perhaps one of Lucan’s most memorable episodes (3.453-762). The sequence begins when Caesar’s fleet clashes with the pro-Pompeian Massilians on the open sea off the coast of the South Gallic town. The lengthy description of the battle is graphic to the point of macabre, but just below the conspicuous illustration of the horrors of warfare lies a metaphor evocative of deeper anxieties concerning the divided state, or in Catus’ case, the divided body politic.

Cuius dum pugnat ab alta
puppe Catus Graiumque audax aplustre retentat,
terga simul pariter missis et pectora telis
transigtur: medio concurrit corpore ferrum,
et stetit incertus, flueret quo uolnere, sanguis,
donec utrasque simul largus crur expulit hastas
diuisitque animam sparsitque in uolnera letum.

Catus, while he fights from the tall rear deck and boldly holds onto the Greek ornamental stern, back and front by spears having been launched at the same time is pierced through: the metal runs together in the middle of his body, and uncertain through which wound it should flow, his blood stood until the abundance of gore expelled both the spears simultaneously and divided his life force and sprinkled death into the wounds.\textsuperscript{198}

The double spearing of Catus is not an isolated metaphor but is rather related to the larger account of the battle of Massilia, a battle between Caesar’s Romans and Pompey’s Roman

\textsuperscript{197} Masters 1992: 11.

\textsuperscript{198} Luc. 3.585-91.
sympathizers.\textsuperscript{199} The battle is therefore a representation of the entire civil war. This is not a new observation; in his analysis of Lucan’s composition of the battle, Masters concludes that “every pattern of death imitates in some way Lucan's civil-war imagery.”\textsuperscript{200} What Masters says about Lucan’s depictions of soldiers’ deaths in the Massilian episode suggests that there is a greater program on behalf of the poet motivating these graphic depictions. Masters’ conclusion also prompts the consideration that Lucan’s most grotesque scenes may be even more skillfully crafted than critics have credited. The \textit{Bellum Civile} is the only extant epic from the literary works of the Neronian age and the first to follow upon Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses}. For this reason, it has been considered a standard of Silver Age literature and Neronian Age aesthetic, which tends toward the excessive. The scenes of Petronius’ \textit{Cena Trimalchionis} or the vengeful dinner in Seneca’s \textit{Thyestes} are notable examples of this exaggerated literary style. This Neronian aesthetic takes particular form in all of Lucan’s extended battle episodes, but most famously in the long, drawn out nightmare of Massilia. With the above scene of Catus’ death, I wish to suggest that these graphic scenes imitate civil war, as Masters maintains, specifically by transforming the physical, mutilated body into a concrete representation of an abstract emotion, namely civil anxiety.

The graphic nature of the depiction of Catus’ death can be interpreted as an illustrative technique to represent in a concrete manner the abstract feelings of fear that arise from participation in civil war. As I discuss in Chapter 1, civil war is an integral part of Rome’s cyclic history of conflict and violence. As the Roman elders from Book 2 exemplified, remembering the war between Sulla and Marius and fearing the imminent conflict between Caesar and Pompey, Lucan portrays the participants of Roman history as suffering from this civil anxiety and

\textsuperscript{199} This double spearing represents a Lucanic “literary innovation,” cf. \textit{ad. loc.} Hunink 1992: “Homer and Vergil describe wounds in either the chest or the back, and even double wounds, the second one dealing the mortal blow, but no such simultaneous wounds.”

\textsuperscript{200} Masters 1992: 42.
experiencing extreme apprehension about their involvement in the civil crises of the Roman state. As Romans themselves, Lucan’s ideal, contemporary readers should too be considered participants in this same cyclic history of conflict and violence. I therefore maintain that Lucan’s transformation of the mutilated body of Catus into an emotional metaphor is aimed at helping this audience engage with their own civil anxiety.

The study of the body in Lucan has been a trend for some decades. The mutilated body in particular has been widely examined from a variety of perspectives. In an important study entitled *Anatomizing Civil War* (2012), Martin Dinter completes a comprehensive investigation into the different forms of “body” and “embodiment” in Lucan’s text, including an examination of how the text itself reflects a mutilated literary corpus.\(^{201}\) Earlier, Matthew Leigh’s work on *Spectacle and Engagement* (1997) also examined how Lucan’s poetic technique creates amphitheatrical “spectacles” of carnage with which the reader is compelled to engage. In “Reading Death and the Senses in Lucan and Lucretius” (2013), Brian Walters examines the processes of death and dismemberment with a focus on the uncertain line between feeling and not feeling, life and death. Walter’s article is important to my current examination because it analyzes Lucan’s graphic depictions of mutilation in juxtaposition to similar depictions in Lucretius’ text, suggesting an avenue for comparing the affective styles of the two authors. In Lucan’s text alone, however, there are many exemplary scenes of bodily mutilation. One has only to consider the eyeball of Caesar’s champion Scaeva, plucked from its socket with arrow attached (6.213-16), or the witch Erictho as she bites body parts off cadavers (6.564-69). Similarly, is it difficult to overlook the bloated and putrefied victims of Cato’s snake-infested march through the Libyan desert (9.587-937).

The double spearing of Catus may not rank as memorable as these scenes, but it is nonetheless important as an example of Lucan creating an emotional metaphor evocative of

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abstract fear from the depiction of a concrete calamity. Emotional metaphors help people to better understand and empathize with vague or abstract feelings. As discussed in the example above of the abandonment of Rome (1.490-504), Lucan uses a comparison to a concrete (reasonably frightening) experience (there a storm at sea) to represent the abstract (irrational) emotion of fear. This process is identified with the creation of emotional metaphors. In their influential study, *The Metaphors We Live By*, cognitive linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson define literary metaphors as linguistic expressions of cognitive conceptions of everyday realities. In other words, the metaphors habitually encountered in literature are not merely a “characteristic of language” or a “device of poetic imagination.” Instead, these literary metaphors are based on real-world conceptions and comparisons that people regularly employ, consciously and otherwise, to make sense of the world around them. Emotional metaphors, such as “drowning in sorrow” or “burdened with grief,” therefore help people to map abstract feelings onto more concrete (and thus comprehensible) physical experiences. This is the technique of Lucan’s affective use of metaphoric language, using illustrative comparisons to help his audience comprehend the irrational thoughts and ill-reasoned actions of his characters as they struggle to preserve themselves in the epic’s landscape of civil war.

This technique is central to Lucan’s description of the death of Catus. The first point to make about this brief scene is that the soldier’s body represents the Roman state, and the spears represent the opposing factions in Rome’s civil war. The body as a metaphor of the body politic is not a new association, but I contend that that in the *Bellum Civile*, where language reflects theme as Masters notes above, the intensity of the metaphor reflects the intensity of the civil war and also most aptly the strength of the fear that motivates so much of Lucan’s epic. By intensity

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202 Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3–6. The modern Western conceptual system (which Lakoff and Johnson suggest is fundamentally metaphoric in nature) plays a central role in defining everyday realities. Lakoff and Johnson stress that language is an important source of evidence for what the human conceptual system is like, something individuals are not usually aware of, since, like thought and action, humans use metaphors in their daily lives more or less automatically. On metaphor and cognitive linguistics, see also Croft and Cruse 2004.
I specifically mean the graphic nature of the depiction. The death of Catus is depicted in step-by-step detail as if time has been slowed lest the reader miss a single terrible moment. From a position of height and confidence, connoted by such phrases as *ab alta puppe* and *audax* (3.585-86), Catus is cut down, caught bodily in the middle (*medio...corpore*, 3.588) of two spears. The spears are depicted as equal (*simul, pariter*) yet opposite (*terga simul pariter missis et pectora telis | transigitur*, “back and front by spears having been launched at the same time | [Catus] is pierced through”) (3.587-88). This depiction of the spears as equal yet opposite recalls the opening of the epic, in which the opposing sides of the civil war are portrayed through symbols of warfare: *infestisque obuia signis | signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*, “and standards opposing hostile standards, | eagles matching eagles and spears threatening spears” (1.6-7). Rightly a *pilum* is the javelin of the Roman legion, but it may easily be glossed as “spear,” linking the *pila* of the epic’s opening to the *missis...telis* (launched weapons) that kill Catus. Although easy to overlook, the metaphor is explicit; Catus, representing the integral body of the Roman state, is destroyed by the symbols of equal, yet opposite warring factions. I do not believe that the metaphor intends to condemn opposing views in Roman politics, only to illustrate that the destruction of Rome is precipitated when these opposing viewpoints meet in violent conflict (*concurrit*, 3.588) and divide the state as the life force of Catus is divided (*diuisitque animam*, 3.591).

There is however another aspect to this brief scene relating to metaphor, and that is the form and nature of the fear that Catus’ death illustrates. Why does Lucan see it necessary to describe how Catus’ blood reacts to the trauma of his injury? And why with such endoscopic detail? Perhaps it is also a curious observation that whereas Catus was the grammatical subject (3.585-88), the *sanguis/cruor* (blood) becomes the new point of view (3.589-91). This leads to my second point. In the scene of the death of Catus, the blood acts in a similar way as fear in general operates in the world of the *Bellum Civile*, and consequentially, the graphic nature of Lucan’s description is an illustration of how fear (and not the warring factions that the spears
symbolize) is rightfully the underlying cause of “death” for Rome. Death in this case can be considered either the death of the Republic or more generally the destruction of Roman stability and greatness. In short, the “death” of Rome is mapped onto the death of Catus. Let us look at the second half of the passage again.

et stetit incertus, flueret quo uolnere, sanguis
donec utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas
divisitque animam sparsitque in uolnera letum.

and uncertain through which wound it should flow, his blood stood
until the abundance of gore expelled both the spears simultaneously
and divided his life force and sprinkled death into the wounds. 203

I have underlined in this passage my evidence for construing Catus’ blood as an illustration of Roman fear. Note how the *sanguis* is portrayed as *incertus* (“uncertain,” 3.589), as if it embodies a human’s ability to evaluate and form judgments. Uncertainty, associated with apprehension and doubt, is a mental reflection of anxiety, a form of abstract fear. The blood is uncertain of which hole to flow out (*flueret quo uolnere, 3.589*), again like a human might hesitate to support a side in civil war. The wounds through which the blood hesitates to flow are caused by the two spears, which I have already argued are symbols of Caesar and Pompey’s opposition. The blood then attempts to stand between the two options (*stetit, 3.589*) until the pressure of its indecision displaces the spears and causes the death of Catus (3.590-91).

Again, to say the blood “stood uncertain” is a peculiarly personified way to describe physical trauma. I believe this personified portrayal of Catus’ blood is intended to make clear the metaphor to Lucan’s readers that the blood represents the anxious Roman populace. The reader is invited in effect to view the ultimate destruction of the Roman state not as the result of the “spears” – the opposing warring factions – but as consequence of the expulsion of blood, a metaphor for the destructive effects of civil anxiety. I define civil anxiety as the abstract feelings of fear that arise from participation in civil war. Part of this anxiety involves the apprehension

203 Luc. 3.589-91.
and uncertainty about whether to participate in the war at all, and if so, then which side to support. It is this aspect of civil anxiety that Catus’ blood represents, standing as it does in uncertainty between the spears of Caesar and Pompey, hesitating through which wound to follow. This decision - *flueret quo uolnere* – is one that the majority of Lucan’s characters must face in the course of the epic as participants, willing or not, in civil war.

3. The Imagery of Fear and Calamity in the *Bellum Civile*

This far we have considered how Lucan creates affective imagery and emotional metaphors to represent the frequently irrational effects of fear on individuals in times of political uncertainty and to evoke these same fears from his ideal, Roman audience. This section attempts to demonstrate how Lucan represents fear by using in particular the *extra bellum* imagery of calamity to illustrate three things: the irrational causes of human action in civil war, the perversity of human priorities in civil war, and the destructive effects of civil war on the stability and greatness of the Roman state. The individual images I examine in this section are of fire, collapse, and shipwreck – visual motifs that recall genuinely frightening scenarios of urban fire, earthquake, and a storm at sea.\(^{204}\) My aim in this final section of Chapter 3 is to demonstrate how Lucan transforms these images of concrete and reasonably frightening experiences into metaphors of abstract emotion.

In describing Rome’s abandonment in the passage discussed above (1.493-504), Lucan uses three reasonably-frightening scenarios to illustrate the less-reasonable fear of Rome’s

\(^{204}\) It is my belief that images of fire, collapse, and shipwreck form the core around which Lucan constructs his emotional metaphors. The majority of the poem’s images are able to be categorized under these three (or a combination of these three). In Chapter 4, for example, I examine the hot and dry Libyan desert as an image of “fire,” while here in Chapter 3 I discuss Lucan’s imagery of stars under the heading of “collapse” and the sea under “shipwreck.”
senators. These extra bellum scenarios invoke urban fire, earthquake, and a storm at sea. From these scenes of non-military calamity emerge three distinct images: uncontrollable fire (tecta nefandas | corripuisse faces, 1.493-94), collapsing structures (nutantes pendere domos, 1.495), and a ship in distress (fractaque...pondera mali...sparsa conpage carinae, 1.500-2). I suggest that these three images, which I will refer to as simply fire, collapse, and shipwreck, are the core around which Lucan constructs emotional metaphors.

Specifically, I argue that Lucan employs images of extra bellum disaster to illustrate, somewhat paradoxically, the irrationality of Roman civil war, and overall the perversity of human priorities and the destructive effects of civil war on the Roman state. The illustrations are paradoxical because the poet adapts visual cues from situations of rational fear to represent irrational fear. Since irrational fear and anxiety are inherently vague and ill-defined emotions, to understand these feelings more clearly (or to prompt others to do the same) requires the aid of these visualized conceptual frameworks. This is the work that the imagery of calamity performs in Lucan’s text.

205 Though not the first appearance of the imagery of calamity in the Bellum Civile, the Roman elder’s account in Book 2 of the Sullan proscriptions introduces the same images and highlights the programmatic importance of their connection to civil conflict (Luc. 2.198-201).

tot simul infesto iuuenes occumbere leto
saepe fames pelagique furor subitaque ruinæ
aut terræ caelique lues aut bellica clades
numquam poena fuit.

That so many young people together fall in hostile death
often famine and the rage of the sea and unexpected collapses
or a plague of earth and sky or wartime slaughter
was [the cause], never revenge.

206 “Cue” in this instance can be equated to “metonymy,” which as Lakoff defines, “is one of the basic characteristics of cognition. It is extremely common for people to take one well-understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it” (1987: 77).
**Uncontrollable Fire (and Fear)**

Fire in the *Bellum Civile* is the natural incarnation of those dominant characteristics that drive the perverse passion for civil war. In addition, fire in Lucan’s epic represents the uncontrollable and destructive power of civil war on the Roman state and the negative repercussions, emotional and otherwise, of civil war on people and country. I therefore propose we read fear into the presence of fire in Lucan’s epic by considering the emotional overtones of fire imagery, one of Lucan’s most prevalent and provoking visual motifs.

Lucan associates the element of fire with the characteristics of *furus, nefas*, and the destructive nature of civil war as it destroys the Roman state. These associations are crystallized within the image of the lightning bolt, a simile for Caesar’s fiery personality.²⁰⁷

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qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen
aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
emicuit rupisque diem populosque pauentes
terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
in sua templa furit, nullaque exire uetante
materia magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens
dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.
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Just as a bolt of lightning sent out by the winds through the clouds with the sound of stricken aether and the clash of the world has shot out, and split the sky and terrified the panicked people grazing their eyes with its sideways flame: it rages against its own precincts, and with nothing checking its exit, both falling and returning great devastation it creates and collects again its wide-scattered fires.²⁰⁸

Following the poet’s description of the inevitable collapse of the cosmos (1.72-80), the simile of the lightning bolt is the epic’s first suggestion of the metaphoric role fire will play in the collapse of the Roman state. Yet in commenting on this introductory simile, scholars have missed the

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²⁰⁷ On Lucan’s characterization of Caesar through the lightning simile, see Nix 2008 and Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

²⁰⁸ Luc. 1.151-57. Earlier than this simile is Lucan’s description of cosmological conflagration (1.72-80). For the imagery of cosmic dissolution in Lucan’s contemporaries, see Lapidge 1979. In Stoic cosmology, the universe ends in an all-consuming conflagration as the world’s elements dissolve into primordial fire (*ἐκπύρωσις*); cf. the implosion of the Zodiac in the finale of Sen. *Thy.* (836-75).
opportunity to associate the nature of fire with the nature of fear as Lucan portrays it. For example, the lightning bolt, a traditional symbol of Jupiter, rages in Lucan’s simile against its own *templum* (*in sua templura furrit*, 1.155). The word *templum* does not necessarily refer only to specific temple buildings but to the areas and lands around these consecrated precincts. The entire city of Rome can therefore be implied by the word *templum* in this passage. As a whole, the phrase *in sua templura* is key; to attack one’s own is to commit an act evocative of civil war. In addition, the verb *furo* (to rage) recalls its noun *furor*, the force of which fuels irrational violence and perversity in civil war: *quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri...bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos*, “what frenzy, o citizens, what so great license of the sword...that you decided to wage wars that would bring no triumphs?” (1.8-12). Yet the simile of the lightning bolt takes an emotional turn with the description *rupitque diem populosque pauentes | terruit*, “split the sky and terrified the panicked people” (1.153-4). These lines construct both a verbal and thematic foreshadowing of the irrational panic at Rome later in Book 1, when during the episode of the abandonment of Rome, the city’s citizens fulfill their role as *populosque pauentes* (1.153) when Lucan describes their panic with the phrase *terrore pauet* (1.487).

In this same scene, Lucan compares the fear of the Roman people in the face of Caesar’s approach to the fear that afflicts people in general when an outbreak of fire in an urban area threatens to raze the city (1.493-94). What is most interesting to note in this comparison is how specific Lucan is to describe the fire even though its mention is hardly a verse long; the fire that consumes the Romans’ *tecta* has been caused by *nefandas...faces* (“wicked torches,” 1.493-94). In my judgment, these *faces* are symbols of civil war. The modifier *nefandas* explicitly invokes the association between fire and *nefas*, a destructive force closely related to that of *furor* as mentioned above. The reason the torches are *nefandas* is that they are in a sense engaging in civil war; *faces* (man-made torches) suggests that someone – a Roman someone – has set fire to Roman *tecta* (1.493). The fire is therefore cannibalistic; like the lightning bolt (*in sua templura furrit*, 1.155), the *faces* consume the structures of their own people. In addition, Lucan’s
invocation of the *nefandas faces* is more than simply literary adornment, since fire was a legitimate danger and a constant concern for the crowded, urban population of Rome. The devastating power of fire would therefore have certainly been on the minds of both Lucan and his contemporaries. Historical accounts of Nero’s Great Fire of 64 CE have even suggested that the fire was spread at Nero’s own command, the emperor having people set *nefandas faces* to their own city.\(^{209}\) The appearance of fire in the *Bellum Civile* therefore serves the dual function of supporting and evoking the poem’s dual themes of civil war and fear.

Another vivid example of the poet’s thematic use of fire imagery occurs as the backdrop of the Massilian naval battle in Book 3. At one point Lucan breaks away from narrating the general carnage to focus on a particularly devastating type of calamity (*clades*).

nulla tamen plures hoc edidit aequore clades
quam pelago diuersa lues. nam pinguibus ignis
adfixus taedis et tecto sulphure uiuax
spargitur; at faciles praebere alimenta carinae
nunc pice, nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera.
nec flamas superant undae, sparsisque per aequor
iam ratibus fragmenta ferus sibi uindicat ignis.
hic recipit fluctus, extinguat ut aequore flammas,
hi, ne mergantur, tabulis ardentibus haerent.

Yet no plague produced more calamity on this water than that hostile to the sea. For the fire joined to the oily torches and enlivened by hidden stores of sulphur was spread about; but the ships easily provided kindling and now through pitch, now through pure wax they seized the fires. And the waves do not overcome the flames and with boats scattered across the water the wildfire now claims the wrecks for its own. This one takes in the waves in order to extinguish the flames with sea. These ones, lest they drown, cling to burning bits of board.\(^{210}\)

Lucan’s description of this *clades*, fire that breaks out among ships out at sea, functions as a metaphor for civil war in two ways. Firstly, the fire is portrayed as a military opponent, being a pestilence *diuersa* to the water. The OLD defines *diuersa* as meaning “of the opposing side in

\(^{209}\) On the suspected causes of the Great Neronian Fire of 64, see Dio Cass. 62.16-18; Tact. *Ann.* 15.44.

\(^{210}\) Luc. 3.680-688.
war or other activities.” This meaning of *diversa* stresses the aggressive agency of fire and fear and the centrality of both in the scene of the burning ships. In these lines, the human players are sidelined, since when Lucan does reference the soldiers, he does so only obliquely through demonstrative pronouns such as *hic* and *hi* ("this one" and "these ones"). In other words, the forces of nature supplant the deeds of people in that the fire becomes an active agent and *uiuax* (alive, spirited) uses its agency to exact vengeance for itself on the sea (*ferus sibi uindicat ignis*, 3.686). In addition, Lucan describes how the waves are unable to conquer the flames (*nec flammass superant undae*, 3.685), employing a meaning of the Latin verb *supero* from a register of military engagement. Since both fire and water are natural elements, their opposition can be interpreted as a mirroring of the Caesarian-Pompeian conflict on an environmental plane.

Secondly, the fire – meant to be a controlled military tactic – turns against its handlers and destroying their ships and the opponent ships as well. Like the *faces* above, again the elements that cause the fire to grow out of hand are man-made: torches (*taedis*, 3.682), hidden supplies of sulphur (*tecto sulpurer*, 3.682), and the ships themselves (*alimenta carinae*, 3.683). The fact that the fire destroys the ships of both the Caesarian and Pompeian armies is symbolic of the universal, yet self-inflicted destruction civil war promulgates. This association is carried throughout the epic; for example, during the Alexandrian siege in Book 10: *nec puppibus ignis | incubuit solis; sed quae uicina fuere | tecta mari longis rapuere uaporibus ignem*, “nor did the fire fall upon only the ships, but those houses that were nearby the sea caught fire from the far-reaching heat” (10.497-99). This is an unambiguous example of the fire of war spilling its devastation over into the civilian sphere.

Like fire, fear cannot be easily controlled once it has begun to spread, a fact made explicit in the poet’s own words: *semel ortus in omnes | it timor*, “once arisen, fear spreads to everyone” (7.543-44). In addition, fear and fire alike possess an all-affecting, all-consuming nature that
does not acknowledge sides or discriminate between soldiers and civilians.\footnote{Lucan is persistent to emphasize the damage fire does to homes (cf. tecta 1.493, 10.499), and when raging on the Massilian sea, fire devastates the tecta (ships) of both Caesar and Pompey. For the poetic use of pinea tecta in reference to decked ships, cf. Ov. Met. 14.530.} The reader is not allowed to forget that these fires are man-made, the perversity of this self-inflicted calamity symbolized through reference to torches (faces, 1.494; pinguibus ignis | adfixus taedis, 3.681-82). Through these associations, Lucan constructs images of fire to be highly evocative of a particular Roman fear, i.e., civil anxiety about the self-inflicted destruction of the state.

**Structural and Building Collapse**

Lucan also employs the imagery of collapsing buildings to evoke a fear indicative of the destabilization of the Roman state. In the *Bellum Civile*, common reference to collapsing buildings describes tottering or otherwise precariously unstable homes and city walls (cf. aut iam quatiente ruina | nutantes pendere domos, 1.494-95). These structures in their undemolished form are symbolic of a peaceful or stable political state, an association made explicit in its inverse application. An early example appears in the invocation to Nero, which serves as both an extended proem and encomium of the Roman emperor. The imagery here is of dilapidated walls and ruined houses.

\begin{verbatim}
 at nunc semiruris pendent quod moenia tectis
 urbibus Italiae lapsisque ingentia muris
 saxa iacent nulloque domus custode tenentur
 rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat...
\end{verbatim}

But now the fact that walls sway with their half-demolished roofs in Italy’s cities and with their walls collapsed huge stones lie about and the houses are held by no watchman and rarely does an inhabitant wander in the ancient towns...\footnote{Luc. 1.24-27.}

Here images of swaying walls and collapsing roofs combine with an evocative description of the Italian countryside as a Neronian ghost town. Lucan has exaggerated the extent of the neglect, heaping up phrases such nullo... custode (1.26) and rarus... habitator (1.27) to paint a portrait of
what in reality was likely a country landscape less idyllic, but hardly less populated. Yet Lucan’s narrative landscape is both modeled off and mapped onto this historical reality, and as such Lucan’s exaggerated depiction of the Italian countryside cannot be written off a mere falsification of history.\textsuperscript{213} I believe we should read this passage as a whole, if not literally, then as a visual representation of the detriment of civil war. This reading is supported by what is implied by the poet himself: if the neglect and depopulation of Italy’s towns be true, then it was worth it that Nero should become emperor.\textsuperscript{214} Despite the poet’s sentiment, sincere or not, nevertheless his description of swaying walls and collapsing roofs works as a concrete visual to represent all that was lost and destroyed in the wake of the Caesars’ rise to power, including a loss of population, stability, and a sense of Republican idyllicism. This is to say that the swaying walls and collapsing roofs serve as evocative references to the physical reality of the poet’s contemporary political climate under the Julio-Claudian Nero, serving as symbolic of a country destabilized by nearly a century of civil war from Sulla to Caesar to Octavian, the first Julio-Claudian. The imagery of collapse thus contributes to the primary theme of the \textit{Bellum Civile} by visually representing the destruction of the Roman state through political conflict and by metaphorically illustrating the lasting effects of this damage.

The opening books of Lucan’s epic frequently present images of swaying walls and collapsing roofs to set a tone of decline and degeneration for the rest of the work. In particular, Lucan associates Caesar’s march on Rome with an overall structural-political destabilization of Italy at both its center and periphery. Consider, for example, the precise fears of Rome’s citizens.

\begin{verbatim}
sic fatur et urbem
attonitam terrore subit. namque ignibus atras
creditur, ut captae, rapturus moenia Romae
sparsurusque deos.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{213} Braund suggests that Lucan has “falsely” depicted “the towns and lands of Italy as ruined because of the civil wars” (2009: 31).

\textsuperscript{214} Cf. Luc. 1.33-34: \textit{quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni} \textit{| inuenere uiam}, “but if the fates found no other way for your coming, Nero.”
So he speaks and enters the city paralyzed with fear. For with black fires it is believed, as if the city had been taken captured, he would raze Rome’s walls and scatter her gods.\textsuperscript{215}

And compare this to the concerns of the rural Italian towns.

\begin{quote}
tunc urbes Latii dubiae uarioque fauore ancipites, quamquam primo terrore ruentis cessurae belli, denso tamen aggere firmant moenia et abrupto circumdant undique uallo...
\end{quote}

Then the cities of Latium hesitating and waver ing in support of one side or the other, though at the first threat of the ruinous war on the verge of surrendering, nonetheless enforce with thick rampart their walls, and encircle them on all sides with a steep palisade...\textsuperscript{216}

Here the metaphor is well articulated: like wavering structures, the Italian towns are “waving” in their allegiance (\textit{urbes Latii dubiae uarioque fauore} | \textit{ancipites, 2.447-48}). This is to say that they are uncertain which side to support in Rome’s imminent conflict. This uncertainty is represented on a concrete level by the actions of the townsfolk, who, in an attempt to protect themselves and their city by remaining neutral in the approaching war, quite literally wall themselves off (\textit{moenia et abrupto circumdant undique uallo, 2.450}). The Italian towns then proceed to reinforce these walls with ramparts and entrenchments and supply the towers along it with slings and projectile stones (2.451-52). For the people of Italy, a wall that is secure, robust, and intact rather explicitly represents civil peace, which Caesar’s actions threaten.\textsuperscript{217}

The visual imagery of collapse, however, is not limited in application to physical structures. Lucan, for example, uses the motif in characterizing Pompey, the general and champion of the Republican cause in the epic’s civil war. In his introductory simile as a grand, but aged oak, Pompey is compared to a decrepit tree on the verge of collapse: \textit{et quamuis primo nutet casura sub Euro}, “even though it \textit{totters about to fall} at the first gust of the East Wind”

\begin{footnotes}
\item[215] Luc. 3.97-100.
\item[216] Luc. 2.447-50.
\item[217] For my analysis of walls as symbols of hope and resistance in Lucan, see Chapter 5, Section 3.
\end{footnotes}
(1.141). Here the imagery of collapse serves to foreshadow Pompey’s defeat (in Thessaly, east of Rome) and with his death (east again, in Egypt) the symbolic collapse and end of the Roman Republic. The dissolution of the universe, described by Lucan in terms of the apocalyptic Stoic conflagration, also adapts the imagery of collapse on a cosmic level. This association occurs early in the epic in a position of programmatic significance immediately following the epic’s extended proem and invocation to Nero. In considering the causas of the civil war (1.67-69), Lucan implicates the collapse of several factors, both cosmic and mundane (1.70-72): as great forces buckle under their own weight (graues sub pondere lapsus), so too does Rome fail to bear her own greatness (nec se Roma ferens). Ultimately, Lucan links the inevitability of this political collapse to the inescapable doom of the universe: inuida fatorum series summisque negatum | stare diu, “the envious chain of fate and the denial to superlative things to stand for a long time” (1.70-71).

Yet to return to our focus on fear, an explicit association between the imagery of collapse and the emotion of fear occurs in a pair of speeches between Brutus and Cato, which are linked by the keyword inconcussus (unshaken). Early in Book 2, Marcius Junius Brutus is introduced as a fearless man: at non magnanimi percussit pectora Bruti | terror et in tanta pauidi formidine motus | pars populi lugentis erat, “but fear did not strike at the heart of noble Brutus | and in such great fear of panicked turmoil, he was not part of the mourning people” (2.234-36). Elaine Fantham has noted that non...percussit (2.234) shows Brutus to be inconcussus, “immune to emotion,” but the exact language of Brutus’ introduction stresses his resistance to

218 The motif of cosmic collapse is first established at Luc. 1.74-77; for full discussion, see Lapidge 1979. In Lucretius, the toppling building is used as metaphor for the universe according to the conception of those who believe it lacks a rational structure (cf. West 1969: 64–65). Lucretius draws didactic illustration from the imagery of building and construction tools (Lucr. 5.345-47), a rickety house (4.865-76), and his “most elaborate building image” (69), a building on fire (4.513-21).

219 Cf. Luc. 1.82: in se magna ruunt. See also, Dinter 2012: 100–101.

220 Fantham 1992: 123.
one emotion in particular. The hyper-accumulation of fear words (*terror, pauidi, formidine*) strengthens Brutus’ portrayal as *non...percussit* to the singular emotion of fear.

The scene that follows Brutus’ introduction proceeds like a philosophical dialogue with two players conversing on a topic and using illustrations to advance their perspectives. The second speaker is Cato, Lucan’s third protagonist after Caesar and Pompey. In contrast to Brutus’ signature lack of anxiety, Cato is depicted as suffering from insomnia-inducing worry over Rome’s future: *inuenit insomni uoluentem publica cura | fata uirum casusque urbis cunctisque timentem | securumque sui, “he found Cato turning in sleepless worry about the public | fates of men and the fortunes of the city and fearing for all people, | for himself untroubled” (2.239-41). I believe that the anxiety denoted here by *cura* is civil anxiety. I have previously mentioned civil anxiety in relation to the scene of Catus’ death, and defined it above as the abstract feelings of uncertainty and apprehension that arise from participation in Rome’s civil war. As Brutus has come to Cato to discuss just this, their participation in the civil war, it is expected that their speeches contain verbalized images of abstract emotions (emotional metaphors) to illustrate their feelings and opinions about the Roman civil crisis. The use of emotional metaphors is especially common in conversation when the goal is to convey one’s feelings to another and have the other person comprehend those feelings and be able to empathize with them. This is the reason it is important to note that Brutus and Cato are engaged in dialogue throughout this scene, because this scene thus provides the opportunity to examine overt emotional metaphors in Lucan’s text.

Both the imagery of collapse and emotional metaphors in general play a prominent role in the dialogue between Brutus and Cato in Book 2 about the impending Roman civil war. Brutus persuades Cato to preserve himself from the wickedness of civil conflict, to which end he invokes the imagery of cosmic tranquility.

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melius tranquilla sine armis
otia solus ages, sicut caelestia semper
inconcussa suo uolhuntur sidera lapsu.
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You will better spend your tranquil leisure without arms
and alone, just as the heavenly stars forever
unshaken are turned in their own gliding.\footnote{Luc. 2.266-268.}

Brutus supports his plea for neutrality (\textit{sine armis}, 2.266) and the peaceful life
(\textit{tranquilla...otia}, 2.266-67) by invoking a comparison to the eternally untroubled stars (\textit{semper
inconcussa...sidera}, 2.267-68). The perfect participle \textit{inconcussa} in this case serves as a lexical
signifier of non-anxiety (i.e. tranquility), and through Brutus’ own words \textit{inconcussa} becomes a
keyword signifying the opposite of civil anxiety (i.e. civil tranquility). Slightly earlier in the same
scene, this civil tranquility is equated to peace by Brutus.

\begin{verbatim}
  pacemne tueris
  inconcussa tenens dubio uestigia mundo,
  an placuit ducibus scelerum populique furentis
  cladibus inmixtu cuiile absoluere bellum?
\end{verbatim}

Do you guard peace
holding to your unshaken steps in an uncertain world,
or have you decided to justify the civil war
along with the leaders of the crimes and the slaughter of a raging people? \footnote{Luc. 2.247-50. Brutus is only willing to follow Cato as leader (Luc. 246-47).}

That this passage shows the word \textit{inconcussa} as civil peace (i.e. the opposite of civil anxiety) is
made clear by the apposition of \textit{pacem} (“peace,” 2.247) to the phrase \textit{inconcussa tenens dubio
uestigia mundo} (“holding to your unshaken steps in an uncertain world,” 2.248). By equating
peace with \textit{inconcussa...uestigia} (unshaken steps), Brutus implies that the opposite of peace is
cnotated by the word family \textit{concutio}. In Lucretius, the word family \textit{concutio} is used to evoke
the anxieties of a principally mortal existence, cf. \textit{concutitur sanguis}, “shaken blood” (DRN
3.249), in contrast to the eternally undisturbed homes of the blessed gods: \textit{sedes quietae, quas
neque concutiant venti}, “peaceful residences, which the wind does not shake” (DRN 3.18-19).\footnote{For discussion, see Segal 1990: 52–59.}

In the \textit{Bellum Civile}, however, peace is threatened by the civil war. In the above passage, note

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In the \textit{Bellum Civile}, however, peace is threatened by the civil war. In the above passage, note
how *inconcussa* is opposed to words evocative of *ciuile...bellum* (2.259), such as *ducibus* (generals, leaders), *scelerum* (wickedness, *nefas*), and *populi...furentis* (the Roman people, *furor*, 2.249). Each of these civil war “keywords” represents a contribution to the civil anxiety at Rome. It is Cato, speaking in the passage below, who reinterprets Brutus’ use of *inconcussa* (as a modifier with *sidera* and *uestigia*) as a reference to *mental* peace, i.e. freedom from civil anxiety.

> sidera quis mundumque uelit spectare cadentem<br> > expers ipse metus? quis, cum ruat arduus aether,<br> > terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi,<br> > complossas tenuisse manus?<br>

Who would wish to look upon the stars and the crumpling world
he himself free of fear? Who, when the lofty aether falls ruined,
[and] the earth totters from the weight of the world collapsing
would wish to have held his arms crossed [and do nothing]? 224

Cato’s use of the phrase *expers...metus* (“free of fear,” 2.290) challenges Brutus’ notion of what can be considered peace (*pacem*, 2.247) during a civil crisis. Moreover, Cato expressly uses the word *metus* (fear) to acknowledge the emotions that motivate human actors either to participate or not during a civil crisis, the crisis itself illustrated through images of collapse (*mundum...cadentem*, 2.289; *terra labet*, 2.291).

The speeches of Brutus and Cato resonate in that both employ this imagery of collapse as a rhetorical tool of persuasion. From the schools of ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric to today, the emotional power of imagery continues to be studied. According to Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of cognitive linguistics, a cross-cultural phenomenon that might be aptly applied to Roman literature, images such as collapsing homes, walls, and even stars take advantage of a class of orientating metaphors that use spatial relevance to categorize abstractions, such as emotion. Happiness, for instance, is spatially conceived as “up,” while sadness is commonly described through metaphors invoking the direction “down.” Collapse (a falling down) is

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224 Luc. 2.289-292.
therefore an orientating metaphor to represent a depressed emotional state, such as anxiety, a chronic form of fear. Lakoff and Johnson in addition identify these metaphors of “down” with irrational emotional states in contrast to “up” for rational ones. Lucan’s narrative world, entrenched in civil war and imbued with fear in its most irrational forms, is therefore always tending downwards toward inevitable collapse.

**Ship(wreck) of State**

Lastly, I examine Lucan’s adaption of shipwreck imagery to construct emotional metaphors for the anxiety surrounding the decline and destruction of the Roman state. The distressed ship is one of Lucan’s most important affective images; in the three-part illustration of the abandonment of Rome (1.493-504, discussed above in Section 1), Lucan dedicates seven lines to the simile of the distressed ship (1.498-504), whereas the examples of fire and earthquake (1.493-95) are mere mentions in comparison. The simile of the sinking ship is an explicit illustration of irrational fear and a commentary on the broader implications of such emotion as it motivates human actions in times of civil war. Just as the crew abandons the distressed ship prematurely before it has sunk (nondum sparsa conpage carinae 1.502), so too do Rome’s senators abandon the distressed city before the rumors of Caesar’s intentions have been confirmed (nulloque auctore malorum, “and with no source of a threat,” 1.485). When the poet states at the end of the simile naufragium sibi quisque facit (“a shipwreck each for himself makes,” 1.503), the metaphor is made explicit; as the sailors dismantle pieces of the ship in an

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225 Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14ff. Lakoff and Johnson point out that typically drooping posture is associated with sadness and depression and erect posture with a positive emotional state.

226 Lakoff and Johnson study orientating metaphors from the perspective of modern Western society: “In our culture people view themselves as being in control over animals, plants, and their physical environment, and it is their unique ability to reason that places human beings above other animals and gives them this control. CONTROL IS UP thus provides a basis for MAN IS UP and therefore RATIONAL IS UP” (1980: 17).

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effort to save themselves, so too do the senators, in fleeing Rome in fear, destabilize the Roman state.\footnote{227} Two metaphoric conceptions support Lucan’s simile of the distressed ship: ship as state and ship as mind. Since the lyric poetry of Alceus, the ship has been associated through allegory with the well-governed political state, the stormy sea therefore symbolic of the many civil troubles through which a good leader must steer the country.\footnote{228} In this sense, shipwrecks become symbols of political upheaval.\footnote{229} Ships also serve as symbols for the mind, with a foundering ship symbolic of a mind overwhelmed and in distress.\footnote{230} A most famous example is Lucretius’ philosophical simile of the tranquil bystander that opens Book 2 of the \textit{De Rerum Natura}.\footnote{231} Here it is \textit{suave} (“pleasant,” 2.1) to watch from land the distress of another on the sea.

\footnote{227} A literal dismantling of a ship occurs in the battle of Massilia, cf. Luc. 3.674: \textit{in pugnam fregere rates}. The soldiers in the midst of their naval battle pull apart pieces of their ship to use as weapons (cf. Getty 1984: 97).

\footnote{228} The “ship of state” motif appears early in the archaic Greek lyric poet, Alceus (frs. 6, 208, 249), as well as most notably in Plato’s \textit{Republic} Book 4 (488e–489d). On the influence of the (political) storm in Horace’s \textit{Carm.} 1.14 in Lucan, see Saylor 1999. The metaphor can also take on a cosmic dimension; in Lucr. (2.552-64), the dissolute scattering of the universe’s atoms is compared to the scattered remains of a shipwreck (\textit{quasi naufragiis magnis}...).

\footnote{229} As exemplified in the famous Vergilian simile of Neptune calming the sea as a politician calms a turbulent mob, cf. Verg. \textit{Aen.} 1.124-156; also, Hershkowitz 1998: 230.

\footnote{230} Ships and naval journeys were also a Classical metaphor for poetic composition, cf. Horace’s \textit{propempticon} for Vergil as commentary on the undertaking of epic (\textit{Carm.} 1.3). For the \textit{Bellum Civile}, Masters suggests that Lucan combines the poem-as-sea-voyage and poem-as-building topos as prominent in the extended Massilian episode of Book 3, cf. Masters 1992: 34 n. 59.

\footnote{231} The man on the shore is at peace as he watches the drowning man struggle out at sea. For full discussion, see de Lacy 1964. In Lucretius (\textit{DRN} 2.1-6), the tranquility of the man on the shore is achieved through his distance from the man on the sinking vessel. In Lucan, however, this distance is denied to the reader due to the lowered barrier between audience and narrative as effected through the poet’s use of \textit{phantasia} and \textit{enargeia}. In other words, Lucan’s highly vivid and rhetorical style serves the effectiveness of his affective imagery.
and recall that such troubles are not one's own. Easily then does the sinking ship come to represent these troubles.\(^\text{232}\)

The sea too is an important conceptual metaphor and Lucan is keen to take advantage of its oftentimes stormy and dangerous nature to represent the turbulence of anxiety and mental distress.\(^\text{233}\) In the Roman imagination, the sea represents the vast unknown, a convenient representation in literature of the deep anxieties of the human consciousness. In Book 3 of the *Bellum Civile*, for example, Lucan enumerates Pompey’s eastern allies and mentions Iolcos, from where Jason and the Argonauts set sail on their quest for the Golden Fleece. The poet then laments the creation of the Argo, the world’s first ship, crediting it not for its heroic transversal of the sea but rather for its audacity to have ever left the safety of shore: *inde lacesstitum primo mare, cum rudis Argo | miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes*, “from [Iolcos] the sea was first assailed, when the fresh-made Argo | reviled the shore and mixed people from strange lands” (3.193-94).\(^\text{234}\) The daring of seafaring is here equated to the daring – and danger – of probing the unknown world.

In real life, ontological metaphors like the sea are necessary frameworks that allow people to attempt to comprehend and rationalize events in the world around them.\(^\text{235}\) The descriptor “ontological” refers to one’s sense of being and self-presence, and those afflicted with

\(^{232}\) It is worth noting in the context of fear vocabulary that the adjective *anxius*, rare in Lucan’s usage, appears twice repeated in the space of a few lines and both times in reference to ships: *prima pendet tamen anxia [=Cornelia] puppe* (8.590); *stetit anxia classis* (8.592).

\(^{233}\) Sea storms are a staple of the epic tradition, hindering heroes from Odysseus to Aeneas; cf. Segal 1990: 36–37, and Huxley’s “every epic must have a storm” (1952: 117).

\(^{234}\) Lucan mentions the Argo three times: 2.709-725; 3.190-198; 6.395-401. On these passages, see Murray in Asso 2011. The Argo’s legacy is the invention of shipwreck, a new type of death: *fatisque per illam | accessit mors una ratem*, 3.196-97, cf. 3.633-34: *multaque ponto | praebuit ille dies uarii miracula fati*. There are two reasons men go to sea, both manifestations of human greed – money and war, which according to Huxley characterize the act of seafaring as one of transgressive impiety (1952: 117).

\(^{235}\) According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 2), who provide an extensive list of examples to demonstrate that the range of ontological metaphors used for such purposes is enormous.
ontological anxiety, the fear of losing one’s self and one’s identity, might seek out concrete examples to rationalize and describe this highly abstract form of fear.\textsuperscript{236} In psychiatric studies, ontological anxiety has been reported to manifest through sensation-based metaphors of engulfment, implosion, or petrification, physical experiences metaphorically evocative of abstract fear.\textsuperscript{237} Lucan’s narrative, overrun with fear and the perversities of civil war, is highly susceptible to these rationalizing ontological metaphor. \textsuperscript{238} Together, the distressed and foundering ship of state upon the ontological sea forms a powerfully metaphorical image. I, however, seek to demonstrate how Lucan manipulates this traditional metaphor to illustrate, if not promote, the irrationality and fear that is the \textit{status quo} in his narrative world.

This manipulation is evidenced in Book 5 in two consecutive scenes. The first scene is of Caesar’s army attempting to cross the sea and the second forms the central episode of Book 5 with Caesar’s similar attempt during a terrible storm (5.504–702).\textsuperscript{239} I begin with the latter scene, a striking example of how Lucan’s manipulates the metaphor of the ontological sea to

\textsuperscript{236} The term often applied to this feeling is ontological insecurity, as famously described in the 1960s by psychiatrist R.D. Laing in the seminal study, \textit{The Divided Self}. Literary scholar Simon Du Plock uses Laing’s theories of ontological insecurity as a method of interpreting the works of Henry James. This approach focuses on the author’s life and would appeal to scholars of Lucan who advocate biographic readings of the \textit{Bellum Civile}.

\textsuperscript{237} These ontological metaphors are taken from the notes of Laing as cited in Segal (1990).

There are many images used to describe related ways in which identity is threatened, which may be mentioned here, as closely related to the threat of engulfment, e.g. being buried, being drowned, being caught and dragged down into quicksand. The image of fire recurs repeatedly. Fire may be the uncertain flickering of the individual’s own inner aliveness. It may be a destructive alien power which will devastate him. Some psychotics say in the acute phase that they are on fire, that their bodies are being burned up. A patient describes himself as cold and dry. Yet he dreads any warmth or wet. He will be engulfed by the fire or the water, and either way be destroyed (R.D. Laing, \textit{The Divided Self}, 47).

\textsuperscript{238} I explore this idea more in Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{239} Caesar ventures to cross the Adriatic Sea during a massive storm in an impulsive attempt to unite with Antony’s troops in Brundisium. The storm does cause Caesar to turn back. On epic adaption and innovation in Lucan’s episode of the storm, see Matthews 2008.
characterize Caesar as resistant to fear. Ontological anxiety is the fear of losing one’s self or identify to an engulfing force and as such can be mapped onto experiences of drowning and being lost at sea, Segal’s “infinite, all-swallowing ocean of non-being.” In a more metaphorical sense, however, the sea in Lucan’s Book 5 represents uncertainty, so much so that Amyclas, Caesar’s hesitant and wary steersman, nescitque magister | quam frangat, cui cedat aquae, “does not know | which wave to break and which to ride” (5.645-46). Even in the midst of the storm, Amyclas warns Caesar to turn back:

“gurgite tanto
nec ratis Hesperias tanget nec naufragus oras:
desperare uiam et uetitos conuertere cursus
sola salus. liceat uexata litora puppe
prendere, ne longe nimium sit proxima tellus.”

“In such a maelstrom
neither ship nor shipwrecked will reach the western shores:
to give up hope for the journey and to change our prohibited path
is our only salvation. May it be allowed with this shaken skiff the shore
to grasp, lest the next land be too far off.”

The chief uncertainty here is one of life or death, of whether or not the ship will sink and the storm defeat Caesar. These questions reveal the narrative uncertainty produced by the storm episode, a form of anxiety that directly affects readers in the form of suspense. Suspense is a thematic function of the narrative that accompanies the anticipation surrounding a reader’s uncertainty about what will happen in a text. Lucan’s skill is generating this narrative uncertainty when it is known to the poem’s audience that the historical Caesar survives the

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240 Segal draws a clear connection between body anxiety and ontological anxiety (1990: 21). Body anxiety can be defined as concerns (conscious and otherwise) about the violation or mutilation of the physical body (as opposed to the abstract, ontological ‘self’).

241 Luc. 5.572–76.

242 Suspense is especially successful in narratives of intrigue, i.e. mysteries, because the delay of information and its resulting anxiety confounds the reader’s ability to interpret textual clues and to predetermine correctly the outcome of the plot. Thus, narrative anxiety, which includes suspense, can interfere with the transmission and reception of an authorial interpretation of a text (Baroni 2007: 125, 254).
expedition. This suspense is achieved through Lucan’s manipulation of the sea as an ontological metaphor. As constructed by the poet, the real ontological threat of the sea is represented by its ability to not only end Caesar’s life but annihilate his life’s accomplishments, his future potential, and the immortal glory he hopes to one day achieve. The Caesar of Lucan’s epic has not yet risen to the political heights from which he is to be cut down in 44 BCE. It is therefore the anxiety of lost greatness, not death, which afflicts Caesar in the center of the storm and so fuels the scene’s suspense.

When the general returns from his failed mission, he is cautioned against attempting another risky endeavor and becoming a felix naufragus (5.699), that is, against squandering the favoritism of Fortune by dying at sea (5.695-99). Hershkowitz argues that Caesar, in ignoring these warnings, shifts the significance of the phrase felix naufragus from describing someone lucky to be alive after a storm at sea (a “fortunate shipwreckee”) to exalting someone as being blessed with the power to destroy the ship of state (a “fortunate shipwrecker”). In my judgment, the phrase felix naufragus is tinted with irony. In other words, Caesar is never a true naufragus at all, he is only mistaken for one by Amyclas: “quisnam mea naufragus” inquit | “tecta petit, aut quem nostrae fortuna coegit | auxilium sperare casae?” “what shipwrecked soul | seeks my home, or whom has fortune driven | to hope for help at my hut?” (5.521-3). This is the same irony I sense in Book 2, when the Roman elder explains Sulla’s cognomen: hisne salus rerum, felix his Sulla uocari, | his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo? “Did not with these deeds Sulla deserve to be called the savior, the fortunate one? To raise a tomb for himself in the center of the Campus?” (2.221-22). Sulla’s cognomen was previously mentioned in Chapter 1 in my analysis of the elder’s tale and in Chapter 2 in my examination of Lucan’s use of the word felix to connote “freedom from fear.” On a broad level, the modifier felix in Book 5


244 In contrast, Pompey is unambiguously portrayed as a naufragus in the form of a conquered sailor: ut uictus violento nauita Coro (Luc. 7.125).
associates Caesar with Sulla Felix, the “Fortunate.” There is however a more specific association now to be made between Caesar as a felix naufragus (5.699) and Sulla Felix. The Roman elders remember Sulla as a violent tyrant. In recalling this violence, they employ the imagery of collapse and shipwreck.

ux erit ulla fides tam saeui criminis, unum
tot poenas cepisse caput. sic mole ruinae
fracta sub ingenti miscentur pondere membra,
nec magis informes ueniunt ad litora trunci
qui medio periere freto

Hardly will there be any belief for such savage criminality, that one person took so many tortures. Thus, broken by the huge mass of a collapsed building, limbs are mashed together under the huge weight, not more formless do the trunks [of drowned men] reach the shores, which have perished out at sea.245

The extent of the violence inflicted human-against-human (poenas) during the Sulla-Marius conflict is so incomprehensible (ux erit ulla fides, 2.186) that the Roman elder must use illustrative, comparative examples throughout his historical account. This rhetorical technique is mirrored at large in Lucan’s epic of the Caesar-Pompey civil war. As Sulla’s murderous portrayal in the elder’s tale is meant to foreshadow Caesar’s wicked journey through the Bellum Civile, so too does Sulla’s resistance to fear map onto the personality of Caesar in the Book 5 storm episode. The Sullan cognomen felix carries throughout Lucan’s epic the connotation of “fortunate” in freedom from fear (as argued in Chapter 2).246 Like Sulla and his reign of terror against his Marian rivals, Caesar’s characteristic resilience to fear is partly based on his ability to afflict it doubly on others. Should he die at sea, and his body never be found, Caesar is content that he will at least become feared more in death than in life: ‘lacerum retinete cadauer’ |

245 Luc. 2.186–190; cf. repetition of images at 2.198-201. The Latin word ruina has a primary meaning associated with the collapse of building structures, cf. L&S s.v. “In partic., of buildings, a tumbling or falling down, downfall, ruin.”

246 An Epicurean trope, cf. Lucr. 5.1194: o genus infelix humanum; Verg. G. 2.490-92: felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, | atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum | subiecit pedibus strepitudumque Acherontis auari.
fluctibus in mediis, desint mihi busta rogusque, | dum metuor semper terraque expecter ab omni,‘“leave my mangled corpse | in the midst of the waves, let there be no tomb or pyre for me, | provided that I might be feared always and awaited from every corner of the land” (5.669-71).

The juxtaposition above of the verbs metuo (to fear) and expecto (to await, to hope for) is striking; while not an entirely irrational desire, Caesar’s megalomanic hope for fear is entirely perverse, a twisted tyrannical expectation that as a naufragus he will become a specter to haunt even his own country in the same manner as Sulla, who himself was rumored to have appeared as a ghost in the Italian countryside, an omen of civil war: e medio uisi consurgere Campo | tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes, “seen to rise from the middle of the Campus, | Sullan ghosts pronounced sad omens” (1.580-81).247 Consider too Caesar’s attitude as he marches toward Rome post Rubicon: gaudet tamen esse timori | tam magno populis et se non mallet amari “he nevertheless rejoices to be of such great fear to the peoples and would not prefer that he be loved” (3.82-83). Through Caesar, therefore, Lucan manipulates the associations invoked by naufragus to represent the immortal fear imbedded in the trauma of Rome’s civil war, a fear that outlives specific moments of civil conflict to reappear in reincarnated forms throughout history and terrorize the Roman people.

I now return to the earlier Book 5 scene of Caesar’s army attempting to cross the sea. In this scene, Lucan’s manipulation of the associations of sea and shipwreck serves to emphasize the irrationality of emotion and perversity of motivation in a landscape of civil war. Before Caesar has set out to sea (the above passage), his army finds itself uncharacteristically stationary, trapped immobile on a windless sea.

illinc infestae classes et inertia tonsis
aequora moturae, grauis hinc languore profundi
obsessis uentura fames. noua uota timori

247 The ghost of Marius is also seen: tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas | agricolae fracto Marium fugere sepulchro, “and Marius, raising his head amidst the icy waves of the Anio, the farmers fled, his tomb cracked open” (1.582-83). On Sulla’s orders the body of Marius was thrown into the Anio River. See ad. loc. Getty 1984: 107–108.
sunt inuenta nouo, fluctus nimiasque precari
uentorum uires, dum se torpentibus unda
excutiat stagnis et sit mare. nubila nusquam
undarumque minae; caelo languente fretoque
naufragii spes omnis abit.

On one side were ships, hostile and about to rouse
with oars the unmoving sea, on the other, for them by the calm of the sea
besieged, severe famine about to come. New wishes in new fear
were found, they prayed for excessive waves
and the powers of winds, provided that a wave
might shake itself off from the stagnant weather and the sea be a sea proper. But
nowhere a cloud or even the threat of a wave; with calm sea and sky
all hope of shipwreck left.248

Here the emotions of fear and expectation (cf. *metuo* and *expecto* from above, 5.669-71) are
again juxtaposed to emphasize a perverse hope for fear, or in the case of Caesar’s army, the hope
for calamity in the form of a shipwreck. Specifically, Lucan juxtaposes a positive feeling (*spes*)
with a negative experience (*naufragii*) to more clearly illustrate the emotions of Caesar’s army
as a result of becoming stalled on the open sea (*inertia...aequora*, 5.448-449). As the poet
states, this is a reasonably frightening experience, as Caesar’s army risks exposure to enemies
and starvation while unable to fill their sails and move from their current position (5.448-450).
However, the army does not react to this reasonably-frightening experience with reasonable
emotion: Caesar’s army wishes for any movement at all, by wind or wave (5.451-52), even should
a violent storm arise and wreck their ship. In other words, if the ship sinks, at least it has moved!
This is the army’s *naufragii spes* (“hope of shipwreck,” 5.455), and this paradoxical phrase is the
key to interpreting the scene of Caesar’s stalled army as an illustration of the perverse fear and
overall anxiety of civil war. Instead of composing that the calm sea and sky prohibits the army
from sailing, and stating that this is reasonably the army’s chief concern in the face of hostile
enemies and starvation, Lucan instead expands the scene by focusing more on how the extreme
*reasonability* of the army’s danger prompts extremely unreasonable wishes. This is what is

248 Luc. 5.448-55.
meant by the phrase: *noua uota timori...nouo* (5.450-1), the modifier *noua* here meaning “strange” as much as “new.”

Overall, there are two ways to interpret the phrase *naufragii spes* in this scene. Firstly, the army on the ship can be connected to the senators I mentioned above from Book 1. Though not an explicit metaphor, the scene of Caesar’s stranded army is depicted as a perverted shipwreck, a ship in distress although it neither battles the sea nor sinks below it. Nonetheless, Caesar’s soldiers conceive of their predicament as a calamity, as evidenced by the army’s prayer for salvation. The army, however, has extended this prayer beyond the rational in the desire for any sort of movement from the sea, even the sort that sinks ships. In comparison, the Roman people pervert themselves and their priorities by extending their fear beyond the rational, as demonstrated in Section 1 with the example of the senators’ flight from Rome. Secondly, we should interpret the army on the distressed ship as metaphorical of the Roman people on the Roman ship of state and in turn connect both positions to the body of Catus, discussed in Section 2 above, as it is caught between the two spears of Rome’s opposing factions. Lucan depicts both Catus’ body and the ship that Caesar’s army are stalled upon as immobile in hesitation, yet tottering on the brink of death. Like the solider Catus pierced front and back, his body fixed in place between the two spears symbolizing opposing factions, the army here in Book 5 are fixed in the same static in-between, unable to navigate away from the

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249 Lucan’s references to shipwreck are not limited to the sea. In Book 4, when Caesar’s troops are hindered by heavy rain and flooding, the poet describes their circumstances through a particularly morose oxymoron: *iam naufraga campo | Caesaris arma natant*, “Caesar’s troops now swim, shipwrecked on land” (4.87-88). The reader is compelled to transfer all the traditional associations of *naufraga* to a new setting, including the fear and emotions provoked by such an experience.

250 Debra Hershkovitz reads the irrationality of the army’s fear in respect to Caesar’s shifting of the significance of *naufragus*: “Caesar (who has persuaded the army to go to sea) forces his men to desire and to see as beneficial exactly the opposite of what they would under normal circumstances” (1998: 230 n. 130). She concludes that “Caesar transforms the concept of shipwreck into something positive, so long as it occurs in support of his cause.” I agree with her reading of this scene, and explore more in Chapter 4 how Lucan depicts Caesar as able to employ fear as an ally to his cause.
danger on both sides: *ille infestae classes et inertia tonsis | aequora moturae, grauis hinc languore profundi | obsessis ventura fames* (5.448-50). Caesar’s soldiers are metaphorically trapped between the universal destruction of civil war and the ubiquitous emotion of fear. In this sense, they are also frozen in place by the doubt and apprehension of civil anxiety just as Catus’ blood “stood uncertain” (*incertus…stetit, 3.589*). The body of Catus and the ship of Caesar’s army are therefore affective illustrations of the Roman state in civil war.

4. Conclusion

My focus this chapter has been Lucan’s more graphic imagery, specifically depictions of natural and man-made calamities. My intention was to examine how Lucan employs this imagery to represent fear in the poem and to address how Lucan uses these images as metaphoric tools to arouse fear in his ideal Roman audience. In Section 1, I analyzed the scene from Book 1 in which the Roman senators abandon the city (1.486-504) and extracted the template by which Lucan in general represents fear through visual language. I argued that Lucan’s technique of affective imagery is based on the representation of an abstract (irrational) emotion through a comparison to a concrete (reasonably frightening) experience. In Section 2, I used the death of Catus from Book 3 as a case study of this technique. I suggested that critics of Lucan’s graphic style interpret depictions of extreme bodily mutilation as purposeful illustrations of abstract fear. These illustrations are intended for Lucan’s audience to help them better comprehend the fear of the characters in the epic and to explicate the overall destructive nature of fear in a landscape of civil war. In support of this thesis, I demonstrated how Lucan depicts Catus’ blood as an emotional metaphor that represents in a concrete manner civil anxiety, or the abstract feelings of uncertainty and apprehension that arise from participation in civil war.

This discussion about civil anxiety carried over into Section 3 where I completed an examination of Lucan’s imagery of calamity. In particular, I focused on Lucan’s imagery of *extra bellum* calamity, which I defined as depictions of injury and disaster unrelated to battle and
warfare. My purpose in examining these depictions was to argue that Lucan manipulates this imagery to represent an evocatively “Roman” form of fear, a type of anxiety imbedded in cycles of Roman history and civil conflict. I ultimately proposed that Lucan employs the imagery of extra bellum calamity to illustrate to his audience the role that fear plays in the following: the irrational motivations of human action in civil war, the perversity of human priorities in civil war, and the destructive effects of civil war on the stability and greatness of the Roman state.

Lucan reveals an interest in illustrating the motivations and emotions of these human actors, employing the imagery of calamity to represent the complexities of fear at its most abstract, irrational, and extreme. In particular, the visual motifs of fire, collapse, and shipwreck both individually and collectively serve to illustrate the consuming, corrupting, and detrimental power of fear in the epic's landscape; fire embodies the self-inflicting nature of civil war, collapsing buildings reflect the destabilizing effects of this damage, and in Lucan's hands the ship(wreck) of state becomes a symbol of the perversion of priorities in civil war.

Through its striking vividness and often graphic intensity, Lucan’s imagery of calamity functions to lower the barrier between the historical narrative of the Bellum Civile and the historical reality of its Roman audience. It aims to arouse civil anxiety in the poem’s ideal readers, not only in empathy for the uncertain world of the epic's characters but in genuine concern for their own. Lucan’s readers are therefore not only invited to read the Bellum Civile as a commentary on fear, humanity, and the psychology of civil war, but are impelled by the epic’s illustrative imagery to engage with the anxieties of their own contemporary reality.
Chapter Four

Caesarian Fear: Embodiment and Engulfment

Fear in Lucan’s epic displays a strong nature that might even be called a distinct personality. Although the emotion of fear in not expressly personified in the text, fear does find a physical equivalent in the figure of Julius Caesar. Up to this point in my dissertation, I have aimed to demonstrate how the emotion of fear in the Bellum Civile is characterized through vocabulary and imagery as a ubiquitous, aggressive, and indiscriminately destructive force. In addition, I have aimed to demonstrate how the emotion of fear inspires perversity and irrationality in Lucan’s characters, fuels the civil war, and ultimately precipitates the destabilization of the Roman state. In this chapter, I proceed to demonstrate how these traits are embodied in the figure of Lucan’s Caesar by examining how Lucan assimilates Caesar to fear and the implications of their conflation.

Caesar is considered Lucan’s main protagonist as the narrative follows the Roman general and his exploits from the crossing of the Rubicon through the midst of the Alexandrian War (49 – 48 BCE). Critics of the Bellum Civile have noted how Lucan portrays the figure of Julius Caesar as generally larger-than-life, that is, as a character whose personality assumes traits characteristic of the natural world and who exhibits a degree of daring and drive akin to entities both supernatural and divine. Others and the same have read Lucan’s Caesar as the embodiment of destructive abstract forces such as anger (ira) and rage (furor), emotions which both destabilize the cosmic order and propel Rome’s civil war.251 These discussions, however, do not address the full extent to which Lucan’s Caesar mirrors the emotion of fear in nature, power, and effect. As the figure of Julius Caesar assumes a prioritized position in Lucan’s epic (even so, as Masters has argued, against the design of the poet), it is my priority this chapter to consider in full the personality and portrayal of Rome’s formidable general.

251 I discuss Ahl 1976; Lapidge 1979; Nix 2008; Tutu 2012 in this chapter.
Examining the similarities between the nature of Lucan’s Caesar and the nature of fear in Lucan is a step toward constructing a more complete portrait of the epic’s captivating protagonist. In this chapter, I examine the assimilation of the figure of Caesar to the emotion of fear through the conflation of their natures and the ways in which Lucan casts Caesar as the embodiment of fear and in particular timor. Caesar’s personality, centered on the traits of ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction, mirrors the nature of fear as it has been examined in Chapters 2 and 3 so far. I therefore begin Chapter 4 with the example of Caesar entering Rome from Book 3 to illustrate how Caesar can be viewed as an agent of fear and an embodiment of these traits. By “embodiment” I invite us to imagine Caesar as personifying the nature of fear to the extent that he represents the emotion in an incarnate form and both possesses and performs its characteristic traits, namely the ability to motivate perversity and irrationality in others. I argue that in line with Lucan’s program to illustrate abstract emotion through concrete metaphor, Caesar serves as the poem’s flesh-and-blood representation of fear’s aggressive nature, ubiquitous power, and indiscriminate, destructive effect.

I next examine the fire and lightning imagery through which Lucan first associates and then ultimately conflates the nature of fear and the personality of Caesar. In the remaining sections of Chapter 4, I also consider how the poet’s conflation of Caesar and fear casts Caesar as a physical representation of the engulfing effect of fear upon the epic’s landscape of civil war, and how fear is in turn cast as uictor, in other words, as one emotion in opposition to another. In establishing the engulfing effect of fear, I analyze the motivations and actions of two of Lucan’s characters, Appius in Book 5 and Sextus Pompey in Book 6, before concluding Chapter 4 with a preliminary investigation into how the poet’s conflation of fear and Caesar with the word uictor reveals another layer, an emotional layer, of civil war in the text.
1. Caesar, Terror, and the Sublimity of the Lightning Bolt

In both Chapters 2 and 3, I referenced the episode at the start of Lucan’s Book 1 in which the Roman senators flee the city having heard rumors of Caesar’s imminent arrival. I now focus on the scene at the beginning of Book 3 when Caesar has at last arrived. This scene illustrates how Caesar can be viewed as an agent of terror and consequently an embodiment of fear in Lucan’s text. The terror that Lucan comes to represent and embody in the *Bellum Civile* is most clearly evidenced from the general’s own point of view. Before the scene in which Caesar enters Rome and marches toward the treasury (3.97-100), the general first surveys the city from a hillock and contemplates the cause of its abandonment. Caesar is unable to comprehend how the city could be deserted with her people *non ullo Marte coacti*, “not having been compelled by any war [to leave]” (3.91). The irony of this statement is that Caesar does not recognize himself as the agent of fear that has led to the city’s desertion. But while Caesar remains oblivious, the poet has given his audience a clear indication toward how to interpret the historical figure of Julius Caesar. Caesar does not bring the fear; he is the fear.

The similarity of natures between Caesar and fear is apparent once we examine how Caesar manifests as an agent of terror in Lucan’s text. In Chapter 2, I first mentioned Caesar in a discussion on Lucan’s use of the modifier *felix* (lucky, blessed). Caesar emerges from the *Bellum Civile* as one of the few characters who is *felix*, that is, able to demonstrate an extreme degree of resistance to the fear that affects so much else in Lucan’s poetic landscape. Critics have also noted how Caesar remains above many of the emotional uncertainties and moral hesitations that afflict Lucan’s other characters. But Caesar’s near immunity to fear is the result of more than just overconfidence or an iron will. One explanation for Caesar’s preternatural personality is his adoption of non-human (i.e. natural, cosmic, or divine) elements or traits. The poet himself promotes this interpretation by choosing to compare Caesar to a lightning bolt in Book 1 (I discuss this simile at length in Chapter 3). The lightning bolt simile introduces the protagonist Caesar to the narrative and explicitly serves as a metaphoric illustration of the general’s
personality. With it, Lucan guides his audience to view Caesar as a superhuman, cosmic persona.

Part of what makes Caesar's persona a cosmic one is the fact that Caesar adopts the qualities of abstract forces, particularly those forces that are dissolutive of cosmic order and hostile to Roman stability. The poet places the dissolution of the universe as the final result of the chaos Caesar has unleashed on the world through the civil war. In the universe of the epic, nature echoes the civil chaos of the primary narrative. Sarah Nix maintains that “Lucan presents not one civil war, but manifold layers of discord.” One of these “layers of discord” in Lucan’s text concerns emotions. These emotions, mainly *ira* (anger) and *furor* (rage) in Nix’s argument, are symbolized by the lightning bolt, and by extension are embodied in the figure of Julius Caesar. The Latin word *foedera* (1.80) both refers to the cosmic *conpages* (linking structures) and also to the bonds of fraternity among the Roman citizens. It is specifically Caesar’s defining characteristics, his *ira* and *furor*, which are able to destroy these *foedera*. In this way, Caesar’s personality, his core being, is the root cause of Rome’s civil war.

But *furor* and *ira* are not the only emotional components of Caesar's personality. Presently, I argue that fear is also an important ingredient in the composition of Caesar’s cosmic persona. I begin by drawing a connection between the gods as sources of sublime terror, and the manner in which Lucan portrays Caesar as a god, to show how Caesar becomes an agent of fear and terror in the poet’s narrative. I am here using the English term “terror” as a shorthand for an intensely frightening aesthetic experience that may result in a reader feeling *attonitus*

\[252\] Ahl 1976: 199.

\[253\] Nix 2008: 281.

\[254\] In his 1979 article, “Lucan’s Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution,” Michael Lapidge concludes “that ‘furor’ is the force which destroys the natural concord of the state and the stability of the universe, and leads, if unchecked, to ‘nefas’ and ‘chaos’” (in Tesoriero 2010: 314).
(astonished), as discussed in Chapter 1. By “agent,” I mean to say that Caesar inspires fear in others whenever he is present (and is even able to do the same when he is not). As W.R. Johnson has succinctly put, fear is Caesar’s “dominion,” while Jonathan Tracy observes that “rule by fear” is Caesar’s “modus operandi.” To recall now from Chapter 3, the fear that drove the senate to abandon Rome (1.486-504) was sparked by rumors only of Caesar’s approach (1.471-72). The mere idea of Caesar is therefore enough to create panic and motivate the senators to abandon the city prematurely, before the confirmation of a threat. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 2, even in death Caesar fully expects to maintain a dominion over fear (5.669-71). In short, instilling terror in Romans is what Caesar does best, often without even trying, whether he intends to or not, whether he is present or not. As Johnson observes, “Rome, now and forever (so he [Caesar] believes), is in the grip of this fear, the fear of Caesar.” I wish to push this assertion further in arguing not for “the fear of Caesar,” but that fear is Caesar, as it is more useful to read Caesar not so much as human, but as a godlike agent of terror in Lucan’s poem.

As an agent of terror, Caesar is sublime. Often when fear is brought into discussions of Caesar’s portrayal in the Bellum Civile it is done so with respect to what can be called the “Caesarian sublime,” to borrow the title of Chapter 3 of Henry Day’s Lucan and the Sublime (2013). The sublime in general is a literary aesthetic that extols the creation of beauty and awe through terror in literature. The Bellum Civile holds a significant, somewhat under-recognized, position in the development of the sublime aesthetic, as Lucan’s poetry is in conversation with Longinus’ theory of sublime terror as well as Aristotle’s theory of affective poetics. Centuries removed from Aristotle, however, Longinus rejoins elements of fear and spectacle in his

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255 The arousal of this literary astonishment in his readers is a primary goal for Lucan (cf. 7.210-12).


257 Johnson 1987: 106.

258 As discussed in Chapter 1.
discussion of the literary sublime. Longinus was a literary critic whom scholars date to the first
century CE; his authorship is attributed to the text On the Sublime (or, Peri Hupsous,
“concerning loftiness”), which Day notes “focuses upon the power of language to provoke
sublime experience.” Longinus’ text is relevant to this overall investigation for its theory of
affective literature. For Longinus, the placement of images (phantasia) is conducive to the
production of the sublime in literary art. A modern theory of the sublime, which is based on
these ancient ideas, began to emerge after Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux published a French
translation of Longinus in 1674, thus making the Greek text more widely accessible. In 1757,
Edmund Burke published A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime
and Beautiful, a seminal study on the association between fear, terror, and the sublime.

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say,
whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a
manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the
strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.

This particular passage is relevant to our current discussion of Lucan’s Caesar, as by Burke’s
definition “whatever...operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime.”


260 Lucan’s epic and Longinus’ text may have been influenced by the same literary culture, one
which took an interest in manipulating the emotions of the reader in a manner akin to the
modern theory of narrative empathy, as mentioned in Chapter 1 (see Day 2013: 37-38, 42; De
sub. 15.9 and 39.1). Henry Day frames his study of Lucan in terms of the sublime partly due to
the potential contemporaneity between Lucan and the author of the treatise On the Sublime.
Day suggests a reading of Peri Hupsous “beyond purely the rhetorical” in drawing attention to
Longinus’ claim that the effect of a sublime text is “not to persuade those listening but rather to
displace them from their own bodies” (οἱ γὰρ εἰς πειθὸ τοὺς ἀκροαμένους ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐκστάσιν ἄγει
tὰ ὑπέρφυτα, De sub. 1.4). In other words, the sublime is an “ecstatic” experience in the literal
sense of “standing outside” one’s body.

261 Burke’s treatise was followed by Kant’s Critique of the Power of Judgment (1790, revised
1793). Its analysis of the sublime, according to Day, “has overshadowed all subsequent attempts
to theorise the concept” (2013: 52).

262 Burke 1757: 1.7.
Caesar is a source of the sublime in Lucan’s text because not only do his actions as a general produce terror in respect to warfare, but also his very personality is analogous to terror.

We may ask ourselves however what this terror is exactly. In Burke, Cicero’s definition of terror as a hard-hitting fear (metum concutientem) accompanied by trembling and chattering teeth (pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus, Tusc. 4.19) is combined with Lucretian notions of pain and mental anguish to define “terror.” In Homeric epic, the gods are often objects of sublime terror, physical entities that Day calls “terrifying forces” in their abstractions as “personifications of nature.” As Caesar is granted godlike “quasi-Jovian” traits, as Nix has argued, Lucan’s Caesar therefore can be seen to adopt the same sublime terror as Homer’s gods and to occupy the vacuum created by their absence in Lucan’s text. Lucan portrays Caesar as a “quasi-Jovian force” by comparing him to a lightning bolt (1.151-57). Moreover, critics of Lucan’s Caesar, including Nix, Lapidge, and Tutu (2012), have already recognized that fire in the Bellum Civile is a natural incarnation of those traits that fuel civil war and destabilize the Roman state. It will nonetheless be useful to reconsider these arguments when the natural element of fire is first linked to fear.

In Chapter 3, I interpreted fire imagery in the Bellum Civile as an attempt on behalf of the poet to concretely illustrate fear, its abstract nature, and how it operates in a landscape of civil war. Expanding my argument further, I here propose in Chapter 4 that Lucan’s Caesar is himself a metaphoric representation, or rather a physical embodiment, of not just fire and

263 “Things that cause terror generally affect the bodily organs by the operation of the mind suggesting the danger,” Burke 1757: 4.3; see also, Day 2013: 50-52. Lucretius is also frequently cited as an example of the sublime in ancient text.

264 Day 2013: 141–42.

265 The Jovian lightning bolt is a famed symbol of sublime astonishment. As Day explains, the image is lifted from Lucretius’ attempt to explicate lightning as a natural phenomenon and not a punishment sent from wrathful gods (and thus an object of terror) (2013: 54).

266 Nix 2008: 281.
lightning, but of the ubiquitous, aggressive, and indiscriminately destructive nature of fear that fire and lightning represent. In the section below, I examine the ways in which Lucan not only portrays Caesar as an agent of fear and terror, but also assimilates the character and nature of these two powerful forces.

2. Caesar as Fire; Fire as Fear: The Assimilation of Caesar to Fear

Lucan invites his readers to interpret Caesar as a sublime agent of terror by conflating their natures through the imagery of fire. In Chapter 3, I discussed at length how fire is one of Lucan’s physical metaphors for the nature and power of fear. Presently, I demonstrate how Lucan assimilates Caesar to fear through these associations. Lucan introduces Caesar as a man born for a sole purpose: war and destruction, unable to stand still and more than capable of creating ruin in his wake (1.143-50). Because the poet’s description of the general’s personality is placed before the simile of the lightning bolt (1.151-57), it follows that the second set of seven lines offers a concise visual for understanding the first. In other words, the adjacent placement of these passages (1.143-50 and 1.151-57) suggests that the simile of the lightning bolt is central to Caesar’s characterization and that in the poem the character of Caesar can and should be granted all the power, drive, and destructiveness displayed by the lightning bolt.

It is therefore useful to interpret Caesar as an actual lightning bolt as he is closer to a force of nature than a man in motivation and destructive power. For this reason, Henry Day observes that “Lucan portrays Caesar as a larger-than-life, hyper-kinetic, awe-inspiring source of destruction, a literally superhuman force.”267 Day’s observation concerning the “literal force” of Caesar’s personality suggests the possibility of interpreting Caesar’s comparison to a lightning bolt in a manner more literal than figurative. Pompey, for instance, is certainly not himself an oak tree, to which he is compared in a strictly figurative manner (1.129-143). And yet Caesar is

267 Day 2013: 106.
more convincingly a lightning bolt in human form, that is to say, a literal embodiment intensifying a figurative comparison. I suggest that Lucan conceptualizes Caesar as a literal lightning bolt in the sense that the general is portrayed throughout the epic demonstrating the same abilities as this supernatural force, namely the power to create chaos and destruction on a scale beyond the conceivable abilities of a mere human. In my judgment, these godlike traits also mirror the nature, power, and effect of fear in Lucan’s text.

Caesar’s larger-than-life personality makes him a suitable flesh-and-blood stand-in for an abstraction such as fear. Nix is not the first to have observed elements of the abstract, supernatural, and divine in Caesar’s portrayal and personality. Frederick Ahl calls Caesar’s power “superhuman,” and goes on to state that “Caesar is energy incarnate, a Zeus-like being whose attacks wither and destroy all in their way.”268 These Zeus-like traits – ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction – are in fact, as I have argued, the defining traits of fear in Lucan’s text. As Johnson notes additionally, “...Lucan’s Caesar, in his ephemeral glory, in the violence of his feeding frenzy, surrounded by the crowds who create him, stands as a brilliant, suitably grotesque, suitably terrifying symbol.”269 In this current section, I aim to further demonstrate how Lucan depicts Caesar as a “terrifying symbol” by assimilating the general’s personality first to the nature of fire and next to the nature of fear.

I will be treating the trait of ubiquity in-depth below in Section 3. As for the traits of aggression and indiscriminate destruction, the poet himself associates the personality of Caesar with these qualities in the programmatic simile of the lightning bolt. As I have already discussed this simile in Chapter 3 and above, I will only mention here that Lucan depicts the lightning bolt as exemplary of the aggressive and indiscriminately destructive power of nature through the

same phrases that associate it with fire (as a particularly fiery natural phenomenon). This core nature of lightning/fire is then mapped onto Caesar via the simile of the lightning bolt (1.151-57), as this simile implies that Caesar’s personality mirrors the nature of other aggressive and destructive forces, cosmic, earthly, and otherwise. As I have argued in Chapter 3, fire is a representation of the nature of fear in Lucan’s text, and therefore by analogy Caesar is like fire is like fear.

It is not only the poet as narrator who aligns Caesar with the element of fire; the general is also a force of nature by his own decree. In Book 3, Caesar compares himself to wind and fire in an address to his soldiers in which he assures his troops that even on campaign to a larger engagement in Spain there is time to wage battle along the way in Massilia.

quamuis Hesperium mundi properemus ad axem
Massiliam delere uacat. gaudete, cohortes:
obuia praebentur fatorum munere bella.
uentus ut amittit uires, nisi robore densae
occurrunt siluae, spatio diffusus inani,
utque perit magnus nullis obstantibus ignis,
sic hostes mihi desse nocet...

Although we hasten to the western region of the world there is time to destroy Massilia. Rejoice, soldiers: these wars that we meet with are offered by the gift of the Fates. As the wind diffused by the empty space loses its powers unless they oppose the timber of the dense wood, and as a great fire perishes with nothing standing in its way, so does a lack of enemies harm me...

The simile of the lightning bolt (1.151-57) also associates Caesar with the god Jupiter, cf. Luc. 1.155: in sua templa furit, “it rages against its own precincts/temples.” Nix uses the templa line to align Caesar with Jupiter, arguing that as Jupiter, Caesar rages against himself in another layer of civil war (2013: 283).

On several occasions in Lucan’s poem Caesar is associated with fire, heat, or the fiery cosmic disturbance of lightning. Sarah Nix (2008: 282 n. 4) has catalogued these occurrences: 1.154 (flamma), 157 (ignes), 527 (flammis), 530 (fulgura), 531 (ignis), 534 (fulmen, ignem), 606 (fulminis, ignis); 2.445 (igni); 3.364 (ignis); 7.154 (fulmina), 155 (igne), 157 (fulgure), 240 (flagrans), 458 (fulminibus), 559 (ignes), 798 (igne), 804 (ignem), 805 (flammis), 812 (ignis).

Tutu 2012: 90.

Luc. 3.359-65. The juxtaposition of perit magnus (3.364) possibly foreshadows the death of Pompey (Magnus). This is supported by the addition of ignis at the end of the line, “fire” being a
It speaks to the perversity of priorities in civil war that Caesar considers a lack of enemies to be a personal injury, if not an insult to his capabilities as a general. This sentiment in particular makes it possible to interpret Caesar’s rallying remarks as the ravings of a megalomaniac, of a warmongering general who views the slaughter of kinsmen as a gift from the Fates rather than a bitter necessity that must be suffered for some greater good. But to interpret this scene in such a way is to apply human reason and morality to a superhuman being. Rather, in the passage above, Caesar assimilates himself to the natural element of wind, using the example of how wind is invigorated through ordinary opposition with natural obstacles such as trees to explain his own eagerness for war. Fire is the second natural element Caesar invokes for this same purpose, again to illustrate how a lack of resistance is harmful to him (sic hostes mihi desse nocet, 3.365). Similarly, fear – so like fire in its own nature – cannot be controlled once it has begun to spread. This is the meaning of the poet’s later observation regarding the Pompeian troops: semel ortus in omnes | it timor, “once arisen, fear spreads to everyone” (7.543-44). Lucan’s choice to use the word timor here should be noted for later discussion.

In the passage above (3.359-65), the poet places the assimilation of Caesar to fire squarely in the mouth of Caesar himself, unlike the simile of the lightning bolt from Book 1, which the poet presents directly to the reader. The comparison, nevertheless, is similar. In Book 1 the poet describes Caesar as inpellens quidquid sibi summa petenti | obstaret gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina, “one who attacks whatever hindered him from seeking highest aims | and who rejoices to have carved a path of ruin” (1.149-50). This characterization has not changed, as here in Book 3 Caesar declares his delight at the opportunity to face any opposition, here the enthusiastic imperative gaudete (“rejoice!” 3.360) recalling gaudens in Book 1 (“rejoices,” 1.150). Consider too Caesar’s attitude as he marches toward Rome post Rubicon: gaudet tamen stand-in for Caesar. Although rightly magnus...ignis are joined syntactically, they are set apart (in opposition?) by nullis obstantibus.
esse timori | tam magno populis et se non mallet amari, “he nevertheless rejoices to be of such great fear to the peoples and would not prefer that he be loved” (3.82-83). Both Caesar and fear have the ability to arouse intense feelings of uncertainty and doubt in others, and both are able to motivate Lucan’s characters into extreme and irrational action (most significantly, engagement in civil warfare). But what the repetition of gaudeo reveals in these descriptions of Caesar’s personality is the conscious fulfillment that Caesar experiences from being not just an agent of fear, but an enabler of fear, and thus a motivating and effecting force such as fear itself. I therefore argue that Lucan’s Caesar does not simply evince fear but embodies it through to the very core of his being, and that the assimilation of the general’s nature to the nature of fear is effected through the poet’s numerous comparisons of Caesar to gods, superhuman entities, and natural phenomena like lightning. Lucan’s Caesar is therefore a physical manifestation of not just fire and lightning, but of the aggressive and indiscriminately destructive nature of fear that fire and lightning represent. In the following section, I examine how Caesar also embodies the ubiquity that is so characteristic of fear in the Bellum Civile and how both Caesar and this fear, one and the same, come together to engulf the whole of Lucan’s narrative.

3. facit omne timendum: Caesar, Timor, and the Engulfing Effect of Fear

I now turn my focus to the third trait shared by both Caesar and fear, ubiquity, and the way in which this ubiquity manifests in Lucan’s epic through an engulfing effect. In Chapter 2, I defined the ubiquity of fear as the susceptibility of all those involved in the Roman conflict, both centrally and peripherally, to feelings ranging from doubt to terror. Presently, I propose we read Caesar’s character as an embodiment of this ubiquitous fear and fear’s engulfing effect upon the epic’s narrative world and its characters.

274 The phrase oderint dum timeant (let them hate so long as they fear) is attributed to a quotation by Lucius Accius; see, Accio 303 R. in Schauer 2012: 203. The same phrase reappears in various forms, e.g. oderint dum mutuant (Sen. Ira. 1.20), and was reported by Suetonius to be a favorite saying of the emperor Caligula.
Lucan’s very language reflects the ubiquity of his main protagonist. In Chapter 3, I examined how fear manifests in the language of Lucan’s text through an analysis of the poet’s graphic depiction of the death of the soldier Catus. I now present another example of how the language of the Bellum Civile both represents and reflects the fear within the narrative: the prominent repetition of a single idea related to Caesar - omnia Caesar erat (“Caesar was everything,” 3.108). The statement omnia Caesar erat appears early in Book 3, following the passage mentioned above of Caesar overlooking the abandoned city. Caesar then enters Rome. The majority of the senate has fled the city, yet despite this reality Caesar calls a meeting of the curia, so that “in the absence of any legitimate senior magistrates,” Tracy explains, “... ‘Caesar was all things.’” Tracy further notes that the way Lucan frames Caesar’s power through the statement omnia Caesar erat equates the general to a godlike figure who is “coextensive” (i.e. having the same boundaries or sharing the same jurisdiction) with the universe, specifically pointing out how the poet chooses to describe Caesar as omnia (all things, everything) rather than omnes (all people, everyone), “which would have suggested Caesar’s replacement merely of people (the magistrates), as opposed to the totality of things in general.” In my opinion, this distinction Tracy makes is important for framing Caesar as a physical manifestation of fear for two reasons. Firstly, it is better understood that Caesar’s ubiquitous influence is not the result of his superlative human qualities but that he is, as Tracy states, “coextensive” with forces omnia, not omnes; superhuman, not human at all. Secondly, through being coextensive with “all things,” Caesar’s power is understood to encompass the same jurisdiction or area of influence that is held by the emotion of fear, which affects “all things” in Lucan’s narrative. This is to say

275 There are reiterations of this phrase at Luc. 3.296: acciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar; 4.143-44: omnia fatis | Caesaris; 6.3-4: capere omnia Caesar | moenia Graiorum; 7.776: omnes in Caesare manes; 10.488-89: adest defensor ubique | Caesar.

276 Tracy 2014: 138 n. 92.

277 Hardie reads omnia Caesar erat in terms of the absorption of the “traditional organs of state into the one body of Caesar” (1993: 7–8).
that the full extent to which Lucan’s Caesar mirrors the emotion of fear in nature, power, and effect creates an overlap between what fear is able to achieve in Lucan’s poetic landscape and what Caesar is able to. This conclusion supports Johnson’s observation above that fear is Caesar’s “dominion.”

In expanding upon Tracy’s reading of omnia Caesar erat, I now suggest that this phrase has even broader implications when we read “Caesar” and “fear” synonymously. In other words, what is the effect on the narrative and its characters if omnia erat timor? I use the word timor here in place of Caesar for two reasons. Firstly, of the three times that Caesar is noticeably fearful in the epic, two of these scenes employ the word family timor to describe the event.²⁷⁸ I believe this suggests that timor is a fundamental component of Caesar’s character. Secondly, timor is the form of fear that Caesar best embodies in terms of sharing similar traits. The ability to instill abstract fear in the form of uncertainty, doubt, and apprehension in others is the defining trait of both Caesar and timor. As discussed in Chapter 2, timor is also one of the more destructive forms of fear in Lucan’s epic as it drives humans to act without full or correct knowledge. Actions within the Bellum Civile motivated by ill-reasoned fear tend to overextend themselves into the irrational or perverse, and it is this over-extension of ill-reasoned timor that results in the extreme ubiquity of fear in Lucan’s epic (as discussed below). In short, however, Caesar is able to provoke in others the same irrational fear that timor denotes.

For example, in Book 9 Cato is in retreat with the remains of Pompey’s defeated army. Whenever the army spies a ship offshore, they grow anxious (ancipites) that it ferries Caesarian troops (9.45-47). Lucan then states: praeceps facit omne timendum | uictor, “the hasty victor makes everything worth fearing” (9.47-48). The omne (everything) here is comparable to the omnia above (omnia Caesar erat, 3.108), which represented Caesar’s usurpation of Rome in the absence of a full senate. The gerundive timendum (9.47) also recalls Book 1 when the senate

²⁷⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2; cf. tangent animos iraeque metusque | et timet incursus indignaturque timere (10.443-44); dubiusque timeret | optaretne mori (10.542-43).
flees the *metuenda* (“things to be feared,” 1.490) at Rome. This use of *metuenda* stood out from the words around it because of the strong sense of obligation implicit in its grammatical form, the neuter plural *metuenda* (things) suggesting an anticipation of the “everything” of *omnia Caesar erat* (3.108). This trend, using neuter-gender descriptors to reference Caesar, supports the interpretation that Caesar is hardly a masculine, human entity in Lucan’s text.

Instead of a human, I therefore argue for the interpretation of Caesar as a physical representation of how fear (*timor* or otherwise) affects the characters in Lucan’s epic. I suggest that the phrase *facit omne timendum* (9.47) should be understood to include the narrative as part of the *omne*, as Lucan’s Caesar is “coextensive,” quoting Tracy again, with the whole of Lucan’s narrative landscape. A more general idea of narrative engulfment has been previously studied by Jamie Masters, who promotes the “Caesarian poetics” of Lucan’s text. Masters argues that the poet, in his treatment of the material, replicates Caesar’s defining traits, namely his promulgation of wickedness and his inability to endure *mora* (delay). This translates to the poet’s inability, even against his own narrative design, to remain silent on the topic of Caesar’s successes throughout the poem, no matter how gruesome or impious, thus enacting the epic as “a celebration of evil,” of “a world where madness and crime have taken hold.”279 Masters also discusses the dominating effect of Caesar’s personality on the *Bellum Civile*, mainly how Caesar’s thoughts and actions become the priority of the epic’s characters and of the poet himself.280 In my opinion, *praeceps facit omne timendum* | *uictor* (9.47-48) does much to summarize Masters’ thesis. In this phrase, the word *uictor* is delayed through enjambment, placing a strong emphasis both on the word *uictor* and on its modifier *praeceps*. In a literal sense, the Latin adjective *praeceps* means “head first,” making it an appropriate word to lead

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280 Masters 1992: 1–10. Masters views the poet as a counterpart to his protagonist Caesar and describes the poet as “Caesarian in his ambition to recount, and thus recreate, the horrors of civil war” (8-10).
the above phrase. In addition, the modifier *praeceps* covers a range of meanings from “headlong” and “hasty” to “rash” and even “dangerous.” Each of these meanings can be applied to Caesar, and so in Lucan’s text, *praeceps* becomes the quintessential word to summarize Caesar’s personality. Moreover, the word *praeceps* describes Caesar’s influence on the epic, in the sense that the modifier *praeceps* joined with *uictor* can refer both to the eagerness of Caesar to engage in warfare and to the eagerness of the poet to narrate these victories. In other words, Caesar as *praeceps uictor* makes the events of the epic “frightening” (*omne timendum*) for the poem’s characters, as well as “frightening” for the audience to engage with in the process of reading. Moving forward, I wish to argue that the ubiquity of Caesar’s presence, as well as the fear it inspires, comes to engulf Lucan’s narrative world. I am therefore reimagining Masters’ thesis when the figure of Caesar has been fully assimilated to the nature of fear and am interpreting Lucan’s Caesar as both the cause and the embodiment of this engulfing effect.

**Reading Caesar as Fear and Engulfment into Lucan’s Libyan Desert**

In the section above, I mentioned the anxiety of Cato’s men (*ancipites*) in their retreat (9.45-47). This is the same passage in which the poet declares *praeceps facit omne timendum | uictor* (9.47-48), the emphatic enjambment of *uictor* pointing to Caesar’s recent victory at Pharsalus as narrated in Book 7. It is soon after this statement that the poem begins to narrate the extended episode of Cato and his army crossing the Libyan desert toward Leptis Magna (9.218-949). It is my contention that the Libyan desert, the prominent backdrop of much of Book 9, can be interpreted as an environmental representation of the engulfing effect of fear.

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281 Leigh 2000: 96. Pompey flees Pharsalus to Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia waits for him. They travel to Egypt, where Pompey alone tests the faith of the Ptolemy boy-king. Pompey is beheaded (8.560–691), and Cato collects and ferries the remaining Republican army to the shores of North Africa. Here, in late 48 BCE, Cato and around 10,000 men march through the Libyan desert from Cyrenaica and winter in Leptis to join Varus and Metullus Scipio in Utica.
In general, it is useful to read Lucan’s text with an eye for metaphors for fear because they help to reveal new ways to interpret some of Lucan’s most gruesome or bizarre scenes, the majority of which Lucan constructs around evocative images of fear (discussed in Chapter 3). Scholars, for instance, would benefit from reading fear into Lucan’s infamous snake episode (9.511-86), a passage so overtly gruesome that Johnson notes, “critics generally avoid this passage, mostly because it confounds all criteria for intelligent criticism.” I maintain that searching for representations of fear (timor and otherwise) in the desert snake episode opens a new and fruitful avenue of criticism. In addition, I suggest that we consider the entire episode of the Libyan desert in Book 9, including the bizarre snake episode, as an extended metaphor for a specific form of fear termed *ontological anxiety*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the descriptor “ontological” refers to one’s sense of being and self-presence, and those afflicted with ontological anxiety, the fear of losing one’s self and one’s identity, might seek out symbols or concrete metaphors to illustrate or otherwise articulate their feelings. Metaphors of “engulfment” are therefore a category of ontological metaphors by which a feeling of being “engulfed” by a concrete threat reflects a deeper insecurity about the loss or annihilation of one’s abstract self. These representations of ontological anxiety are easily applicable to Lucan’s hellish landscape of civil war.

It is my argument that the Libyan desert is a representation of this engulfing feeling of ontological anxiety and by extension a representation of Caesar’s ubiquitous power to produce

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283 Considering ontological symbols and metaphors in Lucan’s epic may allow us to decode the bizarre episode of the Libyan snakes. The infamous snakes of Book 9 represent Caesar’s harassment of Cato and his men, which has caused them extreme amounts of fear and anxiety. In Laing’s study of ontological insecurity (discussed in Chapter 3), intense yet indefinite anxiety manifests as concrete sensations of engulfment, implosion, or petrification of the body. We might then read Lucan’s grisly depictions of the effects of poisonous snakebites as representations of Laing’s manifestations of ontological insecurity. See, for example, Lucan’s description of the soldiers’ deaths at 9.769, 9.787-88, and 9.800-1. On literary ontological metaphors, see the work of cognitive linguists Lakoff and Johnson (1980).
Lucan’s Libyan desert is itself an embodiment of fire, as the desert’s extreme climate and heat are conceptualized as “fires.” In Book 9, Lucan provides some background for Cato’s decision to lead his troops through the Libyan desert (9.374-77). The wintertime has closed the sea to them, forcing Cato to take a land route through North Africa. The soldiers are concerned about the extreme climate of the desert, but there is a hope that the season might offer some rain to temper the heat of the African desert: *et spes imber erat nimios metuentibus ignes*, “and the rain was a hope to those fearing excessive fires” (9.375). The soldiers do not fear literal *ignes*, since *nimios...ignes* figuratively refers to the immoderately dry and hot climate of the desert.

The wildness and inhospitality of the Libyan desert is well established in the Greco-Roman literary imaginary and Lucan pulls from this tradition not only to color his description of the desert for his readers but also to use the desert as material for the sophisticated allegory of Cato’s “battle” against Caesar.\(^{285}\) Rallying his troops in Book 3, Caesar there had equated himself to both wind and fire (3.359-65); now the desert, composed of wind (desert storms) and fire (thirst and heat),\(^{286}\) “battles” the remains of Pompey’s army just as Caesar in Books 3 and 4 battled the Pompeian forces in Massilia and Spain.\(^{287}\) The Libyan desert is described as lacking

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\(^{284}\) Dunstan Lowe (in Tesoriero 2010: 119) observes that “although Libya is indeed a wild and threatening place, its threat is not only embodied by snakes and other native Libyan beings. It is also embodied by certain Romans themselves, above all Julius Caesar.” This observation can be expanded by considering the role of fear (and in particular ontological anxiety) in the episode of Cato’s desert march.

\(^{285}\) On the allegory of Cato’s desert march, see Fantham 1992: 98; Papaioannou in Walde 2005; Leigh 2000: 95.

\(^{286}\) The desert’s extreme heat (*calor*) and thirst (*sitis*) assault Cato’s men; cf. Luc. 9.498-50.

\(^{287}\) Cato’s struggles against Caesar are represented by natural obstacles in the Libyan desert. It is appropriate that Lucan opposes Cato and Caesar as Cato too is a superhuman figure: *Roma...factura deum es*, “Rome...you will make him a god” (9.601-4). He also speaks with a divine voice (2.285) and is said to be “full with the god” during the desert march when he denounces the army’s desire to seek out the oracle of Ammon: *ille deo plenus tacita quem mente gerebat | effudit dignas adytis e pectore uoces*, “[Cato], full with the god whom he bore in his secret mind, poured out voices from this chest worthy of a sacred shrine” (9.564-65).
springs (9.421) and as being beyond the care of the gods (9.435-36); its dangerous climate includes snakes, extreme thirst, and hot sands (serpens, sitis, ardor harenae, 9.402). These forces actively oppose Cato like a hostile military enemy. In addition, the Libyan desert exemplifies the fiery chaos (ἐκπύρωσις) that awaits the universe in accordance with Stoic philosophy. The effects of this universal instability and cosmic fire are therefore concentrated within (but also constrained by) the boundaries of the desert.

Elaine Fantham asserts that “the core of Lucan’s ninth book, virtually a book in itself, is Cato’s struggle to lead his men, not against the Caesarian enemy but against the forces of Nature.” I will argue in extension that Lucan represents the forces of nature in such a way that they become the Caesarian enemy, or rather that the Libyan desert becomes a representation of Caesar, who is the enemy. I mention above how Lucan associates Caesar with the natural forces of Libya (wind and figurative fire). This association allows us to read Caesar as present/omnipresent during the Book 9 desert march; as Cato’s men struggle against the desert’s forces, they are struggling against Caesar, and when they fear the forces of the desert, the true cause of their fear is Caesar. This fear is ontological because Caesar/the desert has surrounded them, engulfed them, and threatens to annihilate them – to erase their very presence from the earth. When Cato tells his army that Jupiter is all around them (Iuppiter est quodcumque uides, quodcumque moueris, “Jupiter is whatever you see, whatever moves you,”

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288 The poet describes the effects of the South Wind (Auster), which assaults Cato’s men (9.467-68). The South Wind and the Libyan desert are also referenced together in Lucan’s description of the senators fleeing Rome: qualis, cum turbidus Auster | reppulit a Libycis immensum Styrtibus aequor, “just as when the turbulent South Wind | has pushed back the immense sea from the Libyan Syrtes...” (1.498-99).

289 The poet hints that Libya will eventually gain the upper hand in this conflict (inuasit Libye securi fata Catonis, 9.410) as historically Cato dies in Utica in North Africa.

290 Lucan’s uncle, the Stoic Seneca, describes a cosmic conflagration with the same fiery imagery as used in the Bellum Civile, cf. Cons. Marc. 26.6.

9.580), what the soldiers see around them is the engulfing desert landscape of Libya, which is a representation of Jupiter, just as Lucan has associated Caesar as “quasi-Jovian,” to echo again Nix, through association with the lightning bolt.

4. Appius and Sextus Pompey: Victims of Caesarian Fear

Chapter 4 now explores the implications of Lucan’s assimilation of Caesar to fear by demonstrating how this assimilation casts Caesar as a ubiquitous force of fear that engulfs the entire world of the Bellum Civile. In measuring this effect, I have chosen to analyze the motivations and actions of two of Lucan’s more prominent secondary characters. I consider these characters to be victims of Caesarian Fear as they attempt but ultimately fail to confront and overcome their own fears concerning Caesar as praeceps uictor. In this current section I examine two such victims, Appius (Book 5) and Sextus Pompey (Book 6). Their actions in attempting to circumvent civil anxiety, or the abstract feelings of uncertainty and apprehension that arise from participation in civil war, reveal the extent to which the world of the Bellum Civile is so saturated, so engulfed in fear, that seeking to alleviate this fear results only in its increase and promulgation.

Alongside the episode of Caesar and the storm, Appius’ visit to the Delphic oracle is the narrative node of Book 5 (64-236). Appius is a Pompeian, and his introduction marks him as a singularly fearful man: quae cum populique ducesque | casibus incertis et caeca sorte pararent, | solus in ancipites metuit descendere Martis | Appius euentus, “but though both peoples and their leaders prepared [for war] in the face of uncertain fortunes and blind lot, Appius alone feared to descend to the dubious chances of war” (5.65-68). The Roman senators were so afraid of impending conflict that they abandoned Rome in Book 1, and here in Book 5

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292 For a close examination of Appius and the Delphic oracle, see Masters (1992) Chapter 4.

293 Appius Claudius Pulcher (97 BCE – 49 BCE), a consul in 54 and censor in 50. He had fled Rome with Pompey and joined the relocation of the senate in Epirus. For a critique of the historical accuracy of Lucan’s account of the meeting of the senate, see Masters 1992: 101-2.
even the rest of the world has accepted that the future is uncertain (5.65-66). Yet Appius is singled out (solus, 5.67), in that the poet suggests with the phrase in aicipites...descendere Martis...euentus (5.67-68) that Appius’ fear (metuit, 5.67) derives from a place of selfish concern for his own sense of honor, since the Latin verb descendere is able to denote “stooping down” or otherwise “being demeaned.”294 Below I discuss further how Appius’ anxiety regarding the war derives from a frustrated desire to take political and monetary advantage of the civil crisis (5.227), and in this sense his anxiety derives from a fear of lost honor. To recall from Chapter 2, the fundamental divide in Lucan’s semantic set of fear words lies between fear derivative of concrete, physical causes and the fear of abstractions, such as the future, non-imminent death, and loss of honor. In my judgment, Appius suffers from the fear of all three of these abstractions.

Firstly, Appius is driven to the oracle by a fear of lost honor. In this case, “honor” can be considered the wealth and status Appius hopes to secure in Euboea, as he has a plan to take advantage of the chaos of the civil war to seize some land in Greece. Appius is therefore unwilling to trust the success of this plan to the vicissitudes of war. His motivation for visiting the oracle is to remove the aicipites element from the Martis...euentus and ultimately to confirm the likelihood and success of his future fortunes. When Appius reaches the oracle, however, he at first finds it closed for business.295 Appius nevertheless forces the oracle to reopen and the priestess Phemonoe to foretell the outcomes of the war (cf. Martis...euentus, 5.67-68). The priestess of Apollo, however, and by extension Apollo himself, are hesitant to reveal the future, referencing vague oracles about the fates of empires, generals, and kings.

294 L&S s.v. 2B “to lower one’s self, descend to an act or employment, etc.; to yield, agree to any act, esp. to one which is unpleasant or wrong.”

295 It is worth noting in the context of my earlier discussion on timor that the Delphic oracle has been closed for some time, expressly because of this form of fear: postquam reges timuere futura | et superos uetuere loqui, “after kings feared the future and forbad the gods to speak” (5.113-14).
Here the poet provides a menu of the sorts of things people usually inquire about when visiting the oracle: the fates of generals, kings, and kingdoms (5.200-202). But the only reason that Appius wants to know about any of these things, in respect to the Roman civil war, is for his own interests, and so Lucan is again clear to portray Appius’ fear as rooted in anxieties about his potential loss of honor. Although Appius is ostentatiously a Pompeian, having fled Rome with Pompey as narrated in Book 1 (466-522), he seeks to know the outcome of the civil war for his own hopes, not for those of Pompey or for the senate’s cause. Appius is therefore motivated to visit the oracle to alleviate the fear that events might not turn out in his favor, with no sincere regard for the fates of Pompey or the Republic.

The second reason Appius is motivated to visit the oracle is fear of non-imminent death. By this I suggest that Appius is unreasonably concerned with non-imminent, theoretical outcomes, versus more imminent, realistic, or likely ones. This point is emphasized through the use of apostrophe, a narrative device exemplified by the Magne, fauebunt apostrophe in Book 7 (205-13). Lucan’s use of apostrophe here in Book 5 has a similar effect; the poet pauses the narrative not only to provide commentary on the narrated events but also to offer pointed advice or perspective to his characters. For example, in concluding the episode of Appius and the oracle, the poet addresses Appius with dramatic irony, knowing the future that Appius does not,
and chiding both Appius’ selfish reasons for visiting the oracle and his incorrect interpretation of the oracle’s words.

nec te uicinia leti
territat ambiguis frustratum sortibus, Appi;
iure sed incerto mundi subsidere regnum
Chalcidos Euboicae uana spe rapte parabas.

Appius, the nearness of death does not
terrify you, you deceived by vague lots;
but you were preparing, with the law of the world uncertain, to settle a kingdom
at Chalcis in Euboea, seized by vain hope.297

What is most interesting about this apostrophe is the disapproving tone of the poet’s address. The poet’s tone can hardly be considered consolatory in the face of Appius’ selfish anxieties about the war. Instead, the poet’s disapproving tone is Lucan’s acknowledgement of the irrationality of Appius’ fear, as his apostrophe introduces Appius’ second motivation for visiting the oracle: a fear of non-imminent death, or rather in this particular case, a lack of any fear of death, imminent or otherwise, as well as a lack of concern regarding the rational fears surrounding war and warfare. Appius is instead concerned with the desire to take political and monetary advantage of the civil crisis by seizing land in Euboea and establishing a dominion (subsidere regnum | Chalcidos Euboicae...parabas, 5.226-27). With his apostrophe, the poet attempts to stress the irony of the oracle’s response to Appius, which is to say that the only peace Appius will find in Euboea is the peace of death (5.194-96), as he will die and be buried there (5.230-36). It so emerges, rather paradoxically, that for once the more rational fear is actually the irrational fear (the fear of death), at least relative to Appius’ more immediate fear about trusting his fortunes to the changes of war (Martis... eventus, 5.67-68).

Appius’ third motivation for visiting the oracle is the fear of the future, his most dominant emotional motivator. The point I wish to make here is that this fear of the future, of Appius and later of Sextus Pompey too, results from an environment rooted in anxieties about

297 Luc. 5.224-27.
Caesar as *victor*. I do not mean to suggest that Appius visits the Delphic oracle specifically to ask if Caesar will be *victor*. Instead, I argue that Appius is motivated to ask the oracle about the future because Caesar’s actions have made that future invariably uncertain, essentially by threatening his hope for Euboea. As both Pompey and Appius are soon to die (Appius in 49 and Pompey in 48 BCE), this hope is ultimately in vain (cf. *uana spe*, 5.227). The remaining chapters of this dissertation address further this frustration of hope in Lucan’s landscape of fear. For now, I conclude my analysis of Appius by reiterating that his actions at the oracle are motivated by three types of abstract fear, fear of the future, of non-imminent death, and of loss of honor, three fears that are fundamentally derived from an environment of anxiety produced by the possibility and reality of Caesar as *victor*. Appius is consequently a victim of Caesarian Fear because he attempts but ultimately fails to confront and overcome his fears concerning the war that have been provoked by Caesar’s actions. In forcing the Delphic oracle to reopen and the priestess of Apollo to speak, Appius reveals through his fear-motivated actions the extent to which the world of the *Bellum Civile* is engulfed in fear.

In fact, the world of Lucan’s epic is so engulfed in fear that seeking to alleviate this fear results only in its increase and promulgation. The episode of Appius and the Delphic oracle discussed above is a salient illustration of how one person’s uncertainty initiates an extending or ripple effect by which anxiety and other abstract fears are compounded and diffused. In Book 5, the effect works like this: first, Appius, wishing to know the outcome of the war, forces the priestess Phemonoe to speak. She in turn dreads the violent influence of the oracular god Apollo: *limine terrifico metuens consistere Phoebas | absterrere ducem noscendi ardore futura | cassa fraude parat, “fearing to stand on the terrifying threshold the priestess of Apollo prepares with vain deceit to discourage Appius from the desire to know the future”* (5.128-30).

The progression of fear in this episode can be traced though parallelisms in vocabulary and syntax: first Appius is described with *metuit…descendere* (5.67) and then the priestess with *metuens consistere* (5.128). This parallel is reinforced further by a reference to gods in the same
respective lines (*Martis*, 5.67; *Phoebas*, 5.128). In reference to Appius, Mars personifies war and Phoebas references knowledge as bestowed upon the oracular Phemonoe by Phoebus Apollo. Appius’ fear of trusting his fate to Mars (War), that is to the *Martis... euentus* (5.67-68), leads him to force Phemonoe to take the inspiration of the god Apollo into her breast. Phemonoe however demonstrates a fearful reluctance to initiate this process, “reluctance” because she physically hesitates on the temple threshold (*consistere*, 5.128) and “fearful” because the object she hesitates upon (*limine*), in a literal sense, is able to “make fear,” in this case *terror* (*terrifico* = *terreo* - *facio*, 5.128).

Moreover, in an effort to prevent the consultation altogether, Phemonoe attempts to discourage Appius with what is described as futile deceit (*cassa fraude*, 5.130). Recall from Book 1 that the spread of false reports and fake rumors was a central cause of the mass panic at Rome in the wake of Caesar’s actions at the Rubicon: *uelox properantis nuntia belli | innumeris soluit falsa in praeconnia linguas*, “swift news of the fast-approaching war | loosened countless tongues into false heralding” (1.471-72). Now in Book 5, the oracle’s actions are replicating the same effect. In the context of her fearful reluctance, the compound verb *absterrere* (“discourage,” 5.129; literally “to terrify away”) reflects the willingness of the priestess to employ fear in an effort to prevent fear. The root of the verb *terreo* echoes the *terror* produced by the temple’s threshold (*limine terrifico*, 5.128). From the threshold of the god Apollo, to Phemonoe, to Appius, the cycle of *terror* so progresses.

In Book 6, we witness a similar progression of fear with the character of Sextus Pompey, another exemplary victim of Caesarian Fear in Lucan’s text. Like Appius in Book 5, Pompey’s son enters the narrative in Book 6 to learn the outcome of the war from a supernatural source, in this case the witch Erictho (413-830). In addition to Caesar, Lucan also portrays the witch Erictho as a larger-than-life superhuman figure who not only demonstrates an immunity to the

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298 For Erictho as prototypical literary witch, see Johnson 1987: 19–20 n. 19.
fear endemic in the epic’s landscape but who also excels in producing fear in others. Erictho is introduced in Book 6 as a necromancer with the ability to raise the dead and compel them to foretell the future (6.770-73). In this way Erictho’s role parallels that of Phemonoe in Book 5. Like Appius seeks the Delphic oracle, Erictho is sought in her Thessalian lair by Sextus Pompey wishing to know the outcomes of the civil war. But Erictho is better compared to Caesar than the reluctant and frightened Phemonoe as both Erictho and Caesar derive benefit and profit from the civil war. This comparison has been noted by Johnson, who in discussing the “divine machine” of Lucan’s world gone mad (cf. discors machina, 1.79-80), identifies Erictho (along with Caesar) as a character able to profit from the epic’s world of madness and civil war.

Moreover, Johnson observes that Erictho is “enormously pleased” with the discors machina, and that she seems to delight in fear as well. However, this comparison can be pushed further. Recall from Section 2 above that Caesar also rejoices in fear (gaudens, 1.150; gaudete, 3.360), the same verb Lucan employs to describe Erictho’s delight in desecrating funeral pyres and corpses (gaudet, 6.526; 6.541). Furthermore, as both Erictho and Caesar thrive in a world engulfed by fear, they also benefit from it. Erictho in particular finds a way to profit from the civil war; not only do people anxious about the war like Sextus seek out her divinatory services but the constant slaughter of the battlefield provides Erictho with a steady supply of corpses for her infernal magic (6.583-85). Like the emotion of fear, which motivates humans towards extreme and irrational action, and Caesar who so centrally motivates the civil


300 Johnson 1987: 9–10, 15–19. Johnson describes Lucan’s depiction of the discors machina as a “careful perversion of Stoic sympatheia” and a stand-in for the epic’s lack of deorum ministeria, the conventional divine machinery of epic poetry (18).

war, Erictho is able to manipulate worldly outcomes, or in Johnson’s words, to “pervert the workings of the universe.”

As for Sextus Pompey, Lucan characterizes him as the Appius of Book 6, particularly in respect to his fear-motivated actions. Although Appius visits a sanctioned oracle, the one at Delphi, while Sextus secretly visits a necromancer, both seek out forms of prophecy and supernatural consultation to alleviate their anxieties about the civil war. Sextus is the son of the great general, but he is introduced to Lucan’s narrative as a lesser man and an unworthy son (cf. Pompei ignaua propago, 6.589). It is interesting in addition that Sextus’ initial description is largely based on emotional qualities. For example, Sextus is described as turbae sed mixtus inerti | Sextus erat, “mixed with the helpless crowd” (6.419-20) and is implied to possess a “base mind” (degeneres... animi, 6.417) and to lack emotional fortitude (6.413-419). Lucan is furthermore quite direct in attributing fear as Sextus’ chief motivator: qui stimulante metu fati praenoscere cursus, | inpatiensque morae uenturisque omnibus aeger, | non tripodas Deli, non Pythia consult antra, “who with goading fear to foreknow the courses of fate, and impatient of delay and ill-at-ease about all to come, not the tripods of Delos, nor the caves of the Pythia did he consult...” (6.423-25). Here I underline the parts of Sextus’ introduction that best describe the nature of his fear as abstract. In the participial ablative construction stimulante metu (“with goading fear,” 6.423), the generalized term metus occludes the exact nature of Sextus’ fear. However, the additional statement that Sextus is uenturisque omnibus aeger (“ill-at-ease about all to come,” 6.424) clarifies the point that Sextus’ chief motivation is an anxiety about the future and accordingly an abstract fear.

The parallel to Appius is now explicit; as Appius seeks out the priestess Phemonoe, so does Sextus seek out the witch Erictho to alleviate his fears about the war. But Sextus’ fear is

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302 Johnson 1987: 28. Like Caesar, Erictho is a producer and promulgator of fear in Lucan’s world; as Caesar produces fear in the living, Erictho’s power of necromancy allows her to bring fear to the living and, as I demonstrate later in this chapter, to the dead as well.
more intense than that of Appius since it comes across as more visceral in Lucan’s description. Whereas Appius’ fear manifests as outward anger and violence against the oracle’s silence, Sextus’ fear manifests internally as mental anxiety. In addressing Erictho, he begins: mens dubiis perculsa pauet rursusque parata est | certos ferre metus, “my mind, stricken with doubts, is afraid, and in turn has been prepared to endure certain fears” (6.596-97). The certos...metus (certain fears) that Sextus attempts to assure Erictho he is ready to face are the horrors of her necromantic powers, which he requests in service of alleviating the many doubts that afflict him (mens dubiis perculsa pauet, 6.596). Sextus’ syntax here, making mens...perculsa (stricken mind) the subject of his statement, reveals how utterly his sense of being and personhood – his ontological conception of himself – has been engulfed by fear and doubt. Sextus is, in a sense, anxiety personified, so much so that Erictho doubts his resolve when she perceives his body language.

\[\text{ut pauidos iuenis comites ipsumque trementem}\]
\[\text{conspicit exanimi defixum lumina uoltu,}\]
\[\text{'ponite' ait 'trepida conceptos mente timores:}\]
\[\text{iam noua, iam uera reddetur uita figura,}\]
\[\text{ut quamuis pauidi possint audire loquentem.'}\]

When the youth’s frightened companions and Sextus himself trembling she observes, Sextus having lowered his eyes with a pale face, she says “place aside the fears conceived by a nervous mind: soon a new life, in true form, will be returned [to the dead man], so that although frightened, they may be able to hear him speaking.”

It is somewhat ironic that Erictho that feels compelled to put Sextus at ease before beginning the necromancy. Her words, perhaps consolatory in another situation, are reproachful and condescending in the mouth of this powerful witch. Yet her exact advice to ponite...timores (“place aside your fears,” 6.659) resonates with some sincerity given how visibly frightened the young Sextus is. This bodily, visible fright is why Sextus and his companions are appropriately described as pauidos by the poet (6.657) and pauidi by Erictho herself (6.661). In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how the word family pavor in Lucan emphasizes the more instinctual and

\[303\text{Luc. 6.657-61.}\]
impulsive aspects of fear as a human emotion. The scene above is a prime example: the trembling of Sextus Pompey and his downcast eyes and pale, lifeless face construct an empathetic portrait of youthful apprehension as the after-effect of a rash and ill-reasoned decision, in this case the decision to seek the aid of a formidable witch. In the moment, the reader is inclined to forget that Sextus has come to the witch voluntarily, and likewise is subjecting himself (of his own free will) to such a frightening experience. Therefore, when Erictho calls Sextus and his companions ignaui (faint-hearted, spiritless), the reproach comes across as a genuine warning that Sextus and his companions are in over their heads.

In attempting to circumvent his fear, Sextus reveals the extreme reach of fear's rippling effect. Erictho questions him: quis timor, ignaui, metuentis cernere manes? “What fear [do you have], faint-hearted ones, to see the dead fearing?” (6.666). The implied object of the participial metuentis...manes is Erictho herself (fearing me); the dead fear Erictho, because she has the power to reverse the finality of death through necromancy. In Chapter 2, I had suggested that Lucan portrays death as the only sure remedy for fear and the only sure end to the anxiety and uncertainty that fear propagates. In Book 6, for instance, the Delphic oracle speaks to Appius, seemingly assuring him that he will find peace from the civil war. But the only true peace is the peace of death that awaits Appius in Euboea. The poet himself openly reproaches Appius for failing to recognize this truth (5.224-25), that there is no peace from civil war if not through death: tot mundi caruisse malis, praestare deorum | excepta quis Morte potest? “To avoid so much evil in the world, who of the gods can fulfill this except Death?” (5.229-30). The poet seems to draw some consolation from this statement, however bleak it might be, that in this one regard fear is not entirely ubiquitous. Yet the episode of Erictho undermines the certainty with which the poet invokes the god Mors (Death), since Erictho as a

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304 From the passage above, we see that Sextus is surrounded by a group of companions who, following Sextus in his quest to alleviate his own fear, become overcome with fear themselves. In short, seeking to alleviate fear results perversely in its increase and promulgation.

305 As suggested ad. loc. Canali (1997).
necromancer holds a mastery over death. When she reanimates the dead soldier so that he might foretell the future to Sextus, she temporarily restores the man to life. However, the ghost materializes terrified if not traumatized by its sudden return to the land of the living: *exanimis artus inuisaque clastra timentem | carceris antiqui*, “fearing the lifeless limbs and hated confinement of its old prison [i.e. its body]” (6.721-22); as well as: *pauet ire in pectus apertum | uisceraque et ruptas letali uolnere fibras*, “it fears to enter the open chest | and the innards and entrails broken open by the mortal wound” (6.722-23). The ripples of Caesarian Fear therefore reach as far as the Underworld, as the dead man’s fear (*timentem, pauet*) is a direct result of Sextus’ desire to gain certainty in an uncertain world.

The dead man whom Erictho resurrects should therefore be included in the tally of victims of Caesarian Fear, since like Phemonoe, and to some extent Erictho as well, he is caught up unwillingly in a cycle of fear that Appius and Sextus Pompey promulgate but that originates with Caesar. The Sextus episode in Book 6 is but a short arc of a much longer cyclic effect, but even this smaller cycle of fear comes full circle at the end of the episode. Here Sextus is sent away unsatisfied, his fear unalleviated. All the dead man is able to reveal to the son of Pompey is that the cycle of Roman conflict continues in the Underworld (6.776-802) and that while they are still part of the civil war of the living, Sextus and his father must live an existence dictated by fear: *Europam, miseri, Libyamque Asiamque timete*, “fear, wretched ones, Europe and Libya and Asia” (6.817). In short, there is no freedom from fear anywhere in the world, including the Underworld. The importance of the dead man’s prophecy is therefore that it confirms this fact, that the influence of civil war and fear, and the influence of Caesar who is the producer and promulgator of both, has permeated the domains of both the living and the dead.

What the episodes of Appius and Sextus therefore reveal to be true for the world of Lucan’s epic is that the cycle of Roman history is intimately bound to concurrent cycles of fear and anxiety for the Roman people. The dead of Rome’s past still fight in the Underworld: *effera Romanos agitat discordia manes* (“wild discord rouses Roman ghosts,” 6.780). Note the use of
the verb *agitāt* here, since in Chapter 2 I argued that the use of the verb *agito* in the *Bellum Civile* reflects the active agency of fear to influence human thought and direct human action. The use of *agito* here in Book 6 therefore injects a fear element into the *effera discordia* of the Underworld. Meanwhile, there is no alleviation from fear for the living, particularly in looking to the future. The fear of the present civil war, Caesarian Fear, is thus the same as the fear of an uncertain future, which both Sextus and Appius angle to avoid, and in turn the same as the fear rooted in Rome’s past history of civil violence. The present is therefore “the hour of wanhope,” as Johnson remarks.\(^{306}\) This despairing hour is precisely what the Delphic priestess Phemonoe and Erictho as vatic characters herald. These prophetic characters strengthen and intensify the foreboding tone that permeates the *Bellum Civile* by failing to alleviate the fear of Appius and Sextus Pompey. Why there can be so little certainty, consolation, and hope in Lucan’s world will be considered in the remainder of this dissertation, but must be considered in light of Caesar’s assimilation to fear as discussed in this chapter. This assimilation not only casts Caesar as a ubiquitous force of fear, a force that engulfs the entire world of the *Bellum Civile*, but also promotes both Caesar and fear, one and the same, as *uictor* within the epic.

### 5. Caesar, Fear, Victor

Having considered how Lucan’s assimilation of Caesar to fear casts Caesar as an embodiment of the nature and engulfing effect of fear upon the narrative world and its characters, I conclude this examination by emphasizing how this assimilation of fear (*timor* and otherwise) to Caesar in turn casts fear as *uictor*, in other words, as one emotion in successful opposition to another. This portrayal of fear as *uictor* has important implications for the interpretation of Lucan’s epic. In my judgment, the poet’s conflation of fear and Caesar with the word *uictor* reveals another layer, an emotional layer, of civil war in the text.

\(^{306}\) Johnson 1987: 32.
I discussed above Caesar’s character as the embodiment of fear’s ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction. These traits are responsible for Caesar’s many successes in the *Bellum Civile*, for which reason they should be considered key components of what makes Caesar a *uictor* in Lucan’s epic. Fear is also portrayed as *victorious* through its association and conflation with the character of Julius Caesar. As mentioned earlier, the association between Caesar and fear is made explicit when the poet writes: *praeceps facit omne timendum | uictor*, “the hasty victor makes everything worth fearing” (9.47-48). This phrase does well to summarize Lucan’s poem and articulate Caesar’s role within it as the embodiment of fear. As the epic’s landscape is dominated by Caesar’s presence, as demonstrated through the phrase *omnia Caesar erat* (3.108), so too is the *Bellum Civile* engulfed in fear. There is also the fact that Caesar is rarely himself afraid (and rarely loses). There are three noticeable exceptions, and two of them occur in Book 10 during the Alexandrian assault (10.443-44; 10.542-43). Neither scene exhibits Caesar’s fear to any considerable extent; the reader is not allowed to believe that Caesar will succumb to his fear or be trapped in such a mental state for long. Even in Book 4, when Fortune alone is able to frighten the general, it is only a little scare (*paruo...pauore*, 4.121), and again this fear is a temporary emotional state. All in all, Caesar is immune to fear, and if Caesar is *uictor*, then it is useful to interpret fear as victorious as well.

**6. Conclusion**

The domineering nature of fear in Lucan’s epic is mirrored in Caesar’s superhuman personality to the extent that it is useful to interpret Caesar’s character as the personified embodiment of fear. This embodiment is achieved through an assimilation of natures, for both Caesar and fear display a nature that is ubiquitous, aggressive, and indiscriminately destructive. In addition, fear inspires perversity and irrationality in Lucan’s characters, fuels the civil war, and ultimately precipitates the destabilization of the Roman state. As I have demonstrated, so does Caesar. The benefit of interpreting Caesar and fear as entities one and the same is the revelation of an
additional layer of civil war in Lucan’s text. Running concurrent to the human rivalry of Caesar versus Pompey is an emotional conflict where fear is coded as uictor due to its ubiquitous domination and engulfing effect. As Masters has argued, the victory of Caesar becomes the concern of the poet, and the Bellum Civile becomes a celebration of the evil that has engulfed the Roman world and precipitated this victory. It is therefore my conclusion that the phrase praeceps facit omne timendum | uictor (9.47-48) does well to summarize Lucan’s poem and articulate Caesar’s role within it as the embodiment of fear.

Chapter 4 has progressed from demonstrating Caesar as an agent of fear to promoting Caesar as an embodiment of this same emotion. I examined in Sections 1 and 2 how Lucan portrays the historical Julius Caesar as a larger-than-life figure, that is to say, as a character whose personality assumes traits characteristic of the natural world and who exhibits a degree of daring and drive akin to entities both supernatural and divine. Starting from the conclusions of critics who have argued for Caesar as the embodiment of destructive abstract forces such as anger (ira) and rage (furor), emotions which both destabilize the cosmic order and drive Rome’s civil war, I next suggested that Lucan’s Caesar also mirrors the emotion of fear in nature, power, and effect. I demonstrated the similarities between the nature of Lucan’s Caesar and the nature of fear in Lucan by examining the assimilation of the figure of Caesar to the emotion of fear through their joint conflation with the nature of the lightning bolt.

In transitioning from Section 2 to 3, I explored how Lucan casts Caesar as the embodiment of fear itself (timor), discussing how Caesar’s personality, which is centered around the traits of ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction, mirrors the nature of abstract fear denoted by the world family timor. The ability to instill abstract fear in the form of uncertainty, doubt, and apprehension in others is the defining trait of both Caesar and timor. It is also my judgment that timor is one of the most destructive forms of fear in Lucan’s text, driving humans into irrational thought and action and often into situations of even more peril and fear. This is the engulfing effect of fear as discussed in Section 3. Fear in Lucan’s epic
frequently extends beyond the reasonable or rational, resulting in the extreme ubiquity of fear in the world of the *Bellum Civile*. In Section 4, I therefore examined how Caesarian Fear, that is fear rooted in Caesar’s central role in provoking and promoting the civil war, ripples outward in this process of over-extension and enacts an engulfing effect upon the narrative world and its characters. My analysis of two of Lucan’s secondary characters, Appius in Book 5 and Sextus Pompey in Book 6, reveals on a micro-level how this engulfing effect plays into cycles of both fear and civil war and therefore supports on a macro-level Lucan’s thematic interest in the cyclic history of Roman civil conflict.

Finally, Section 5 previewed how Lucan’s conflation of fear and Caesar with the word *uictor* reveals another layer, an emotional layer, of civil war in the text. When fear is interpreted as *uictor*, there is the logical implication that the one emotion, fear, has been conceived in successful opposition to another emotion. It is my judgment that through the representation of Caesar as a physical embodiment of ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction, Lucan conflates the entities Caesar and fear to guide his readers to interpret *fear as victorious*. The question of “victorious over what?” will be addressed in the following chapter.
Chapter Five

Pompey and the Problem of Hope in Lucan’s Epic

Chapter 5 continues to examine the implications of fear on the narrative world of the Bellum Civile when the nature of that fear is conflated with the personality of Lucan’s Caesar. We begin from those questions that concluded Chapter 4. For one, if the emotion of fear in the Bellum Civile is coded as “victorious” through its conflation with the uictor Julius Caesar, then what is fear conquering? Furthermore, if Caesar is aligned with fear in Lucan’s epic, then what emotion is Caesar’s rival Pompey likely to represent? And how does Lucan portray this emotion as “Pompeian” and consequently “defeated”? Finally, if hope is conceived as the opposite of fear in the Bellum Civile, then what is the role of hope in an epic dominated by fear? These questions frame the discussion in Chapter 5.

There has been a lack of scholarly attention toward the role of hope in Lucan’s text. This may be explained by hope’s elusive and enigmatic representation in the Bellum Civile. My examination reveals a nuanced, but deeply problematized emotion. The chief problem of hope in the Bellum Civile is that it exists in a world dominated by Caesarian Fear. In this environment, hope is “hijacked,” or coopted, in support of the uictrix causa (1.128), the winning side in the Roman civil war. In addition, Pompey’s relationship with fear undercuts his ability to convincingly represent or champion hope as Caesar does fear in the poem. While Caesar’s confident persona helps to define the nature of fear in Lucan’s text and support its ubiquity in the epic, the emotional portrayal of Pompey in the Bellum Civile does not support a convincing interpretation of Caesar’s rival as a “hopeful” character. Without a strong champion, hope in Lucan’s epic therefore falls victim to the same engulfing effect to which Appius, Sextus Pompey, and Pompey himself succumb. This in turn problematizes readings of the Bellum Civile as a politically or ideologically “hopeful” poem composed to provide “hope for the fearful” (liceat sperare timenti, 2.15).
The ubiquity of fear in the *Bellum Civile* complicates the very notion of hope in Lucan’s epic and consequently problematizes its relationship with Pompey and its overall role in the poem. In Chapter 5, I demonstrate how the nature of hope in the epic’s landscape of civil war is characterized in particular by defeat and unviability. The poet’s efforts to inject hope into an epic about civil war results in a “programmatic paradox,” so I argue, for which hope in Lucan’s poem ultimately serves Caesar and supports the *victrix causa*, the winning side. The implications of this paradox are explored in Chapter 6.

1. Caesarian Fear in the Pompeian Ranks

I discussed at the end of Chapter 4 some ways in which fear is coded as *uictor*. To recall from that discussion, I argued that Caesar’s character is the embodiment of fear’s ubiquity, aggression, and indiscriminate destruction. As these traits are responsible for Caesar’s many successes in the *Bellum Civile*, they are also key components of what makes Caesar a victorious general in the epic.

Fear is also coded as *uictor* in Lucan’s text because Caesar’s main rival, Pompey, is particularly susceptible to the emotion. Although Lucan introduces Caesar to the narrative with equal consideration as to Pompey, as is demonstrated by the paired similes of the oak tree and the lightning bolt in Book 1, the poet is however clear to portray the generals as ill-matched (*nec coiere pares*, 1.129).307 This inequality applies as well to their emotional endurance. Except for brief moments in Books 4, 5, and 10, Caesar remains self-assured throughout the epic. Pompey, however, is vulnerable to severe bouts of doubt and uncertainty, often at the most critical of times.

This anxiety is portrayed as resulting directly from the threat of Caesar’s hasty (*praeceps*) military actions, as argued in Chapter 4. I wish to emphasize again that Caesar need

307 Luc. 1.129-157. Caesar and Pompey are given an introductory simile of seven lines each. For more on these similes, see Rosner-Siegel in Tesoriero 2010.
not be present to be the main cause of anxiety in a scene, as he is omnia (everything) and thus everywhere (3.108). For example, rumor of Caesar alone is enough to incite fear in the Pompeian ranks: sensit et ipse metum Magnus, placuitque referri | signa nec in tantae discrimina mittere pugnae | iam uictam fama non uisi Caesaris agmen, “even Pompey himself sensed [his troops’] fear, and it was decided that the standards be returned | and not to send into the crisis of so great a fight | an army already conquered by the rumor of Caesar unseen” (2.598-600). Here uictam (“conquered,” 2.600) can be taken to mean that the agmen (Pompey’s army) has been emotionally defeated by their own fear, the cause of which is rooted in fama...non uisi Caesaris (“the rumor of Caesar unseen,” 2.600). Pompey’s army, and Pompey himself, is therefore affected by Caesarian Fear.

Pompey’s contentment in regard to avoiding a confrontation with Caesar/Caesarian Fear is underscored in this passage by the impersonal verb placuit (“it was decided,” 2.598). The impersonal use of placuit here cannot be divorced from the sense of pleasure and agreeableness denoted by the verb placeo.308 This is to say that Pompey’s decision to not confront Caesar is motivated by some pleasure, agreeableness, or emotional relief in delaying a confrontation with Caesar. This relief, in turn, is an indication that not even the venerated Pompey is immune to the fear that Caesar embodies, thus foreshadowing Pompey’s inevitable defeat by both Caesar and Caesarian Fear.

pauidum...ducem: Pompey’s Relationship with Fear

As mentioned above, one of the reasons why fear becomes coded as uictor in Lucan’s text is that the character of Pompey in the Bellum Civile is particularly susceptible to the emotion of fear. As Caesar’s political and military rival, Pompey is Lucan’s second main protagonist. However, Pompey is afflicted throughout the poem by fear in all its forms, as evidenced by his bodily and mental responses in tense or uncertain situations. Pompey’s most primary bodily response is

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308 L&S s.v. 1 “to please, to be pleasing or agreeable, to be welcome, acceptable, to satisfy”; 2 “in perf., placuit, or placitum est, it is decided, resolved, determined.”
retreat (cf. referri above). In Book 1, for example, the poet explicates the abandonment of Rome by revealing the senators’ flight from the city as a reaction to Pompey’s flight. Although the reference to Pompey’s flight is brief, merely two words of an ablative absolute construction, the sense of causation is clear: *Pompeio fugiente timent,* “they fear because Pompey flees” (1.522). Like the first domino, which falls and triggers a chain reaction, Pompey’s physical actions set off an *emotional* chain reaction at Rome. Once Pompey flees, so do the senators, and the Roman people follow.\(^{309}\)

Although the poet does not expressly state that Pompey flees Rome because he is afraid, this is the conclusion that Caesar himself later makes. Standing on the hillock outside Rome, Caesar surveys the deserted city at the start of Book 3 and interprets Pompey’s flight from Rome as an act of cowardice. He quips: *habenti | tam pauidum tibi, Roma, ducem fortuna pepercit, | quod bellum ciuile fuit,* “to you having | so frightened a leader, Roma, fortune showed consideration that there was a civil war” (3.95-97). In other words, it is a fortunate thing that Rome is at war with her own citizens (*bellum ciuile, 3.97*), because Rome would not be victorious against a foreign enemy with a *pauidum...ducem* (“frightened leader,” 3.96) like Pompey leading the troops. There are two points to make here. Firstly, the poet’s use of the word family *pauor* to describe Pompey is echoed in the description of Pompey in retreat from Pharsalus (*pauet ille, 8.5*). In particular, Pompey’s retreat is likened to that of a frightened deer through a subtle allusive comparison to an earlier simile from Book 4, a comparison anchored by the word family *pauor* (cf. *pauidos formidine ceruos, 4.437*). As examined in Chapter 2, Lucan’s employment of the word family *pavor* portrays fear as a mental response often accompanied by a reaction of distress and marked with intense physical effects, namely flight

\(^{309}\) Cf. Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 31: οὕτω γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥώμης σκενάσαντες ἐαυτούς διὰ φόβου υπεξῆθεν, “for so they readied themselves on account of fear and stole away from Rome.” Fear is present as a motivating force in Plutarch’s account of the civil war. While its power is not personified, fear is given a chief role in characterizing both Caesar and Pompey. This suggests that fear is a primary consideration in the writing of Roman history. In Chapter 6, I argue that the underlying historiographic nature of Lucan’s text contributes to the prioritization of fear in the epic.
and retreat. The word family *pauor* therefore provides the most appropriate collection of fear words to describe Pompey as a leader.

Secondly, Caesar’s remarks regarding Pompey at the start of Book 3 establish an opposition between victory and fear, suggesting that to be victorious, one cannot be fearful, and consequentially coding Pompey as both “fearful” and thus “defeated” (i.e. not victorious). Later in this same chapter I will return to this passage to discuss Caesar’s perverse views on victory in the context of hope in Lucan’s epic, but at the moment I make the point that the first three books of the *Bellum Civile* establish Pompey as a *pauidum...ducem* (a frightened general). This is not a reputation that Pompey is able to shake leading up to his death. Unlike Caesar, Pompey is not able to absorb the fear of others, and pass it on in turn, while remaining immune himself to that same fear. Though below I will argue that Pompey is a promulgator of fear in others, he is not an inherent producer of fear like Caesar is, as it is Caesar and not Pompey who is the root cause of the fear endemic in the epic’s landscape of civil war. Despite being a veteran general, Pompey is hardly more immune to this fear than any other of Lucan’s characters.

For these reasons, Pompey is to be considered another one of the epic’s victims of Caesarian Fear, perhaps even the primary one. Whatever emotion Pompey comes to represent or champion in Lucan’s text, if any, is therefore to be coded as “defeated” by “victorious” fear in the same way that Pompey is defeated by the *victor Caesar* at Pharsalus in Book 7.

Even before Book 7, however, Pompey fights a losing battle with fear. This emotional “battle” is layered atop the epic’s central military conflict. I have already mentioned the opening of Lucan’s Book 8, a scene in which fleeing from his loss at Pharsalus, Pompey is described as *timentem* to the point of paranoia (8.7), jumping at the sound of the wind through the trees (8.5-6), and terrified by the very presence of his own companions (8.7-8). The accumulation of fear words at the start of Book 8 stresses the intense mental aspect of Pompey’s fear, while the emphasis on movement, not just of Pompey in retreat but also the movement of the trees (*motorum... nemorum*, 8.6), highlights the physical side of fear as well. The opening scene of
Book 8 is emotionally jarring not merely because we witness Pompey at his lowest point politically, fresh from his defeat at Pharsalus, but also because we see Pompey at his low emotionally. He is mentally overwhelmed and in flight like the deer in the simile mentioned above from Book 4. To witness Pompey in both physical and emotional retreat is alarming as his fear is visceral, instinctive, and animalistic. In fear, Pompey becomes less of a human, while through fear Caesar ascends to superhuman status.

The intense fear that animates Pompey's retreat in Book 8 is an echo of the fear that motivates the general's committed entrance into the civil war. This decision is narrated at the beginning of Book 3.\(^{310}\) The episode starts with Pompey in flight from Italy and sailing to Dyrrachium across the Adriatic. In abandoning Rome, he has *de facto* accepted a civil war with Caesar. On route, he is visited in a dream by the ghost of his late wife Julia (3.9–35). Julia is the daughter of Caesar, whom Pompey married in the days of the First Triumvirate to formalize the alliance. Lucan himself describes how the alliance dissolves after the death of Julia in 54 BCE (1.111–120). This passage suggests that had Julia lived, she could have held the hostility between husband and father at bay. Accordingly, the dream passage is often studied from the point of view of Julia.\(^{311}\) However, it is useful for this study of fear in the *Bellum Civile* to consider this emotional episode from Pompey's point of view, as Julia's appearance in a dream can be interpreted as Pompey's anxiety-induced nightmare.

The dream ends with Julia foretelling Pompey's defeat and death: *bellum | te faciet ciuile meum,* “the civil war will make you mine” (3.33–34). To such a dire dream Pompey's troubled reaction is expected.

\[ \text{ille, dei quamuis cladem manesque minentur,} \]
\[ \text{maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum,} \]

\(^{310}\) For commentary, see Hunink 1992. Pompey had fled Italy to spare Rome from war (cf. Luc. 6.327), but is committed to war after his dream of Julia.

\(^{311}\) Julia is chiefly upset that Pompey has remarried to Cornelia (Luc. 3.21-23). Her appearance has been compared to the rising of a fury, as she angrily rebukes Pompey because the civil war has disturbed her in death (3.12-14). For further discussion, see Mills 2005.
et 'quid' ait 'uani terremur imagine uisus?
aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum
aut mors ipsa nihil.'

Though gods and ghosts threaten slaughter,
he rushes more strongly to arms with a mind certain of misfortunes [to come],
and he says “why am I frightened by the sight of an empty vision?
Either nothing of sensation is left to souls by death
or death itself is nothing.”

Since the episode of Pompey’s dream of Julia does not serve to advance the plot (civil war was inevitable, no extra motivation needed), it is important to consider its purpose instead in advancing the characterization of the general. I argue that this episode at the start of Book 3 serves to define Pompey’s relationship with fear and to solidify his portrayal as a pauidum...ducem. In the passage above, which concludes the dream sequence, Lucan offers his readers an innovative glimpse into Pompey’s inner psychology and decision-making processes while at the same time employing conventional elements of Homeric double motivation to narrate Pompey’s decision to rush into war. Double motivation, also called double determination, recognizes the gods of epic as external manifestations of internal instigators of human action, such as emotion. In other words, “divine prompting for human impulse.”

With Pompey’s dream, Lucan reworks this epic convention to prioritize the power of fear as a character motivator in his poem. In the passage above, Homer’s gods have been substituted with Julia’s ghost acting as spokesperson for the collective dei...manesque (“gods and ghosts,” 3.36). As Caesar’s daughter, Julia appropriately represents the political anxiety in Pompey’s mind. Her lifelike appearance in Pompey’s dream is a manifestation of this anxiety. This is where the double motivation applies. On the one hand Pompey feels that supernatural forces, including Julia’s ghost, are threatening him: dei quamuis cladem manesque minentur, “although gods and ghosts threaten disaster” (3.36). On the other hand, Pompey attempts to

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312 Luc. 3.36-40: “he rushed still greater into battle.” Hunink 1992 ad. loc. reads maior as a play on Pompey’s name, Magnus.

313 Quoted from Silk in Fowler 2004: 40.
conceive of Julia’s visit as no more than a dream that has unsettled him, like a night terror (cf. *terremur*, 3.38). Pompey rationalizes his dream, sanitizing the supernatural elements and recognizing his dream as a manifestation of his own anxieties about the inevitable civil war.

In the end, Pompey talks himself out of his fear, choosing not to acknowledge Julia’s ghost as real. He calls her an empty vision (*uani ...uisus*, 3.38) and dismisses his dream and his late wife’s ghost with a Lucretian-like rationalization (note the logical correlative *aut...aut*, 3.39-40). This process results in a steeling of the mind (*certa cum mente*, 3.37) for the coming war (*malorum*, 3.37). Pompey’s reasoning thus assures that his commitment to civil war, which follows the appearance of Julia’s ghost, is the result of rational deliberation rather than rash and superstitious impulse. Still, it is believable to consider Julia’s ghost, and Pompey’s troubled sleep, as manifestations of anxieties about Caesar’s and Pompey’s own role in Rome’s future calamities. In other words, Pompey is aware, at least on a subconscious level, that he shoulders blame for the war. Part of this blame is Pompey’s role in spreading the panic of war to his own people. This is to suggest that Pompey is a wheel within the wheel of the machinery of fear in Lucan’s epic. His actions promulgate fear in others and through others, even as he himself is afflicted.

As a main character, Pompey is the primary participant in the overall engulfing effect of fear upon the narrative landscape of the *Bellum Civile*. The effect of Pompey’s promulgation of fear is exemplified best in the character of his (new) wife Cornelia. Cornelia’s anxiety bookends the battle of Pharsalus; she worries about her husband going off to battle and only worries more when he returns in defeat: *sollicitam rupes iam te uictore tenebunt, | et puppem quae fata feret tam laeta timebo. | nec soluent audita metus mihi prospera belli,* “after your victory, the cliffs [of Lesbos] will hold me anxious, | even the ship which such happy news will bring, I will dread. Nor will good news dissolve my wartime fears” (5.780-82). In her own words, Cornelia’s extreme worry (*sollicitam*, 5.780) transforms her into a restless spirit who will figuratively haunt the cliffs of Lesbos (*sollicitam rupes...tenebunt*, 5.780) should, on the one hand, Pompey
win at Pharsalus (*te uictore, 5.780*). On the other hand, the evocative language of *sollicitam* (anxious) and *rupes* (cliffs) together suggests that news of Pompey’s loss will drive an already emotionally unstable Cornelia over the cliffs, and that her suicide might transform her into an actual ghost, rather than a figurative one. Even alive, however, Cornelia’s haunting actions as she waits on the cliffs for news of her husband liken her to the ghost of Pompey’s former wife Julia. Cornelia is therefore a victim of her own fear, which springs from Pompey’s uncertainties about the war, ultimately making her an exemplary victim of Caesarian Fear.

Pompey’s own relationship with fear is one characterized by helplessness and defeat. As an aggressive, emotional entity, fear afflicts Pompey with little resistance and uses him as its promulgating vessel. This is to say that Pompey does the most of any character in the *Bellum Civile* to promulgate fear unwillingly. Unlike the epic’s primary producers of fear, Caesar and Erictho, who pass fear onto others but remain immune to its effects themselves, Pompey is both afflicted by fear and then passes this fear to others, such as to Cornelia as mentioned above. He is essentially a cog in the fear-producing machine of Lucan’s poetic world, but a cog of central importance, since with other characters, such as Appius and Sextus Pompey, the rippling effect of their fear is somewhat limited, as their respective episodes in Book 5 and 6 are self-contained in terms of narrative and isolated in terms of geography (Appius at Delphi; Sextus Pompey in the witch’s Thessalian lair).

But the central importance of Pompey as the chief rival of Caesar makes him the central cogwheel by which fear and anxiety is rippled outward through a far-reaching extending effect. In other words, fear in the *Bellum Civile* is compounded and diffused through Pompey to the greatest extent, thus making him the ultimate pawn of Caesarian Fear, and its ultimate human victim. For this reason, critics must be wary to state any degree of association between the character of Pompey and the emotion of hope in Lucan’s text without a closer examination into the nature of hope as represented in the *Bellum Civile*.
2. Hope: Lucan’s Subverted Sentiment

Positive emotions, such as hope, have recently gained attention in the field of Classics (cf. Caston and Kaster 2016). As regards Roman epic, the “idealized hope” of Vergil’s *Aeneid* has been well recognized, yet there has been no significant consideration of hope in Vergil’s epic successor, Lucan. This may be explained by hope’s elusive, enigmatic, and frankly pessimistic representation in Lucan’s text. Behr has suggested that the emphasis and representation of “hope” in the *Bellum Civile* is inherited from “Lucan’s attentive reading of the *Aeneid*.” It is true that Lucan is known for adopting many conventions and literary elements from his epic predecessors and then adapting these to the theme of civil war, or else subverting them to construct a more pessimistic commentary on the rise of Caesarian rule. Marti, for example, states that for the *Aeneid*, “its key-note is hope,” but he frames this remark with the observation that “the anxious concern which is at times felt in the *Aeneid*...has in the *Pharsalia* become hopeless despair and the fearful expectation of slavery and destruction.” What is it then about the setting, theme, or style of the *Bellum Civile* that turns Vergilian hope into Lucanic despair?

Here in Section 2, I expose Lucan’s construction of hope to be of a nuanced, but problematized emotion. Like fear, the portrayal of hope in the *Bellum Civile* is tied to the historical reality that backgrounds the epic. Yet the main reason for the unviability of hope in Lucan’s epic, as I will argue below, is that hope lacks the type of advocate that fear boasts in

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314 On the innovation (and inspiration) of Vergilian hope, see conclusion to Quinn 2000. In critique of a unifiedly “hopeful” narrative, subscribers to the “Harvard School” of interpretation promote a more layered, pessimistic reading of the *Aeneid*.

315 Behr 2007: 78. Behr interprets Aeneas’ reading of the images on the Temple of Juno as “hopeful” (*Aen.* 1.450-52) and suggests that Lucan has a plan to construct a similar hopeful reading of Roman history for his readers. However, as Paul Roche has noted in his review of Behr’s book, Aeneas is deluded in his interpretation of the images (Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2007). Hope in the *Aeneid* should therefore be reexamined more closely in comparison to its nuanced portrayal in Lucan’s poem.


Caesar. This is to say that Caesar’s rival, Pompey, is likely to evoke emotions such as pity or sympathy more often than hope throughout the poem.\textsuperscript{318} While Caesar’s confident persona helps to define the nature of fear in Lucan’s text, and support its ubiquity in the epic, the emotional portrayal of Pompey in the \textit{Bellum Civile} does not support a convincing interpretation of Caesar’s rival as a “hopeful” character.

**Hope in a Classical Context**

Before exploring what hope is and how it manifests in Lucan’s epic, it must first be established why a discussion of hope is warranted in a study about fear. A natural response is that hope is the opposite of fear, and that in an epic such as Lucan’s, constructed around various layers of discord and civil war, if fear is to have an adversary the most likely candidate is hope. While I argue as much in this chapter, I begin with two caveats: firstly, that the nature of Lucan’s civil war does not permit black and white oppositions, whether that be Caesar versus Pompey or fear versus hope, and secondly, that as much as fear is ubiquitous to Lucan’s epic, hope is elusive. The indefinite nature of hope in the \textit{Bellum Civile} complicates simple conclusions such as “hope is a good emotion” or even “hope is a useful emotion,” which again might seem a likely assertion.

While the reasons for this elusiveness most certainly have thematic implications, to be explored below and furthermore in Chapter 6, there is also the consideration that the nature of hope was not as clearly defined as that of fear in ancient Greek and Roman thought. Aristotle’s definition of the emotions in the \textit{Rhetorica} does not explicitly define hope as he does the other emotions such as fear. Aristotle considers the primary emotions to be those of anger, pity, fear, and their contraries (\textit{Rh. 2.8}), but remains largely silent on the exact nature of these contrary

\textsuperscript{318} On tragic elements in Lucan, see Marti 1964. On Pompey as a tragic figure, see Behr 2007: 80–87.
emotions, therefore not directly equating hope as the opposite of fear.\textsuperscript{319} Aristotle does observe that “[the young] are more courageous, for they are spirited and hopeful (ἐυĕλπιδές), and the former of these makes them not fear, the latter makes them be brave, since no one fears who is riled up, and to hope for something good is of good courage.”\textsuperscript{320} Here, however, it is hope that makes people courageous, not fearless, meaning the emotions fear and hope are not conceived as direct opposites. One must be careful, therefore, to define “hope” merely as the antonym of “fear.”

Modern cognitive theory may better illuminate the nature of the emotion a modern reader would identify as hope. Charles R. Snyder, a principal scholar in the study of positive emotions, defines hope as the “\textit{mental willpower + waypower for goals}.”\textsuperscript{321} In this sense, hope is not the same as optimism,\textsuperscript{322} because “hope is a process constantly involving what we think about ourselves in relation to our goals.”\textsuperscript{323} In this sense, hope, like fear, is defined by the cognitive process of reasoning and evaluation, which complements Aristotle’s extended remarks on fear: “but it is necessary that there be set down some hope of salvation, around which men [in war] rally. A sign of this is that fear makes people deliberate, whereas no one deliberates over

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  \item \textsuperscript{319} In addition, Aristotle’s discussion of audience emotion in the \textit{Poetica} mentions fear and pity, not fear and hope.
  \item \textsuperscript{320} Aristot. \textit{Rh. 2.12.9}: καὶ ἀνδρεῖότεροι, θυμώδεις γὰρ καὶ εὐελπιδές, ὃν τὸ μὲν μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ δὲ θαρρεῖν ποιεῖ: οὕτε γὰρ ὀργιζόμενος οὐδεὶς φοβεῖται, τὸ τε ἐλπίζειν ἄγαθὸν τι θαρραλέον ἔστιν.
  \item \textsuperscript{321} Snyder 1994: 14. We must remember that modern definitions derive from modern perspectives. They do not necessarily reflect the way the ancient Greeks and Romans conceived of hope in their respective societies. For example, in collecting metaphors for hope in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry, Cairns (in Caston and Kaster) has found that Greek hope (ἐλπίς) “does not always focus on the positive outcome.” Instead, \textit{elpis} can simply mean “to expect” or “to suppose that X will happen” (2016: 17).
  \item \textsuperscript{322} Snyder 1994: 14–16: “In this sense, optimism leads us on to expecting the best, but it does not necessarily provide any critical thinking about how we are going to arrive at this improved future.”
  \item \textsuperscript{323} Snyder 1994: 14. See also Cairns in Caston and Kaster: “Hope, by contrast, seems to combine the strong desire that the outcome should happen with a sense that it might well not” (2016: 17).
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things that are hopeless (ἀνελπίστων).”\textsuperscript{324} This is to say that hopeless matters, at least to Aristotle, are not worth a second thought, as an outcome without hope of occurring is not a reasonably viable expectation.

Later in this same chapter, I will demonstrate this same unviability of hope in the landscape of Lucan’s epic, as it is ironically this idea of hopelessness, which Aristotle mentions above, that first introduces hope to Lucan’s epic. In Chapter 1, I briefly discussed Lucan’s “second” proem, so called because these first fifteen lines of Book 2 institute fear as the secondary theme of the epic, after that of civil war. This second proem concludes with the poet’s wish for humanity in the face of cosmic uncertainty: sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri | mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timenti, “whatever you prepare [rector, Olympi] may it come unexpected; and blind to future fate | may the minds of people be; may it be allowed for them, though fearful, to hope” (2.14-15).

In reading these lines, Francesca D’Alessandro Behr notes their programmatic nature and has gone as far as to suggest that writing a poem to “allow the fearful to hope” is Lucan’s ultimate goal.\textsuperscript{325} It is certainly a tempting thought, that Lucan has a plan to guide his readers through the overwhelming fear that saturates the poetic landscape of the Bellum Civile, not to mention much of Roman history. But part of what complicates this interpretation is the very nature of hope in Lucan’s epic. Here in Section 2, and continuing into Section 3, I examine the ways in which Lucan represents hope, a rational expectation, in the irrational world of the Roman civil war, arguing through an analysis of the vocabulary and imagery of hope that hope is represented as an unviable emotion in Lucan’s text.

**Hope and the Emotional Landscape of Lucan’s Epic**

\textsuperscript{324} Rh. 2.5.14: ἀλλὰ δεῖ τινα ἠλπίδα ὑπείναι σωτηρίας, περὶ οὗ ἄγωνισθιν. σημεῖον δὲ: ὁ γὰρ φόβος βουλευτικὸς ποιεῖ, καὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέποτε βουλεύεται περὶ τῶν ἀνελπίστων.

\textsuperscript{325} Behr 2007: 9.
Douglas Cairns has put forth a standard definition of the modern English conception of hope, quoting the influential psychologist Richard Lazarus: “to hope is to believe that something positive, which does not presently apply to one’s life, could still materialize, and so we yearn for it.” As Cairns then explain, yearning implies desire and motivation, making hope a cognitive (non-impulsive) emotion because it implies deliberation in the form of an appraisal of goals relative to a present and future state of affairs. Hope therefore has a natural place in Lucan’s epic, in which so many characters are troubled by the present and future state of Roman affairs. As discussed in Chapter 1, Lucan continually prompts his readers to form expectations about Rome’s future. The elder from Book 2, for instance, leads by example. In his retelling of the civil conflict between Marius and Sulla, the Roman elder first (1) considers the patienda (“suffering,” 2.223) in Rome’s future, then (2) remembers the events of the past, then (3) predicts the future of humanity (humani generis, 2.226). This is the same process Lucan prompts his audience to undertake through the process of reading the epic. The reader, in his or her present, relives the civil wars of Rome’s past and then proceeds to make predictions, wishes, and even hopes about the future outcome of characters and circumstances within and beyond the world of the narrative.

We must also recall the reaction of the Roman elder to the process of forming these expectations about Rome’s future. At the end of his tale, the elder and the crowd that has been listening to his tale react with fear and grief: sic maesta senectus | praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri, “so the sad elders lamented, remembering the past and fearing the future” (2.232-33). The Roman elders, having lived through one civil war, have lost the ability to hold out hope for the future. The antonym of hope is therefore closer to despair than fear, since in a state of despair an individual lacks Snyder’s “willpower” to conduct an appraisal of goals for the future. In this sense, hope and optimism can in fact be interchangeable, or they can remain

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distinguished. “It makes perfect sense to say that one is pessimistic, but still hopeful, or hopeful, but not optimistic,” states Cairns. He continues:

Hope has a closer tie to desire, but also to uncertainty, and a looser tie to rational evaluation. But if it had no tie whatever to rational evaluation it would be no more than fantasy, and if it had no tie to action it would not have the motivating force with which it is typically credited.

In defining hope, Cairns touches on several phrases that can be used to describe the emotional landscape of Lucan’s epic; “uncertainty” and “a looser tie to rational evaluation and practical action” are traits we can ascribe to characters such as Appius and Sextus Pompey in that their hope, i.e. their desire to alleviate their fears about the civil war, leads them into extreme behaviors and away from rationality and practicality. Therefore, when I discuss below the role of hope in Lucan’s epic, I am addressing its role as a “motivating force,” echoing Cairns, just as I examined fear as a motivating force in Chapter 4.

**Spes in Lucan**

Compared to the many words for “fear” in Latin – *timor, metus, pauor*, to name just a few – there is a significantly smaller set of words to denote hope. The standard Latin denotation for hope is *spes*. It is derived from a Proto-Indo-European stem suggesting “increase,” “ripening” and “prosperity” and is semantically related to the Latin word family *expecto* and the sense of expectation, explaining why the Latin *insperans* means “unexpected.”

The word *spes* appears in two programmatic passages in the *Bellum Civile*: the conclusion of the second proem (*liceat sperare timenti, 2.15*) and the *Magne, fauebunt*

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\[^{327}\] In Caston and Kaster 2016: 17.

\[^{328}\] On Cicero’s use of *spes*, see Gernia 1970: 30.

\[^{329}\] de Vaan s.v. *spes*. In total, the word family *spes* appears fewer than a hundred times in Lucan’s epic: *spes* (37); *spero* (25); *despero* (3); see The *Concordance of Lucan*, Deferrari and Sullivan (1940).
apostrophe (spesque metusque, 7.211). In both cases, spes, as a word for hope, appears alongside a Latin word for fear. Although words for hope and fear often appear juxtaposed in Lucan, they are not necessarily opposed. For example, a clear opposition exists among the following examples: metus hos regni, spes excitat illos, “the fear of tyranny rouses these, the hope of it those” (7.386); et spes imber erat nimios metuentibus ignes, “and the rain was a hope to those fearing excessive fires” (9.375). However, hope and fear also appear in Lucan’s epic closely concomitant, for instance: ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus spemque metumque ferunt, “a few, with strength taken up to meet uncertain fates, experience both hope and fear” (6.419). And if the sense of expectation rooted in the etymology of spes is extended to the Latin word family expecto (to expect, await), another example of concomitant hope and fear is added: ‘lacerum retinet cadauer | fluctibus in mediis, desint mihi busta rogusque, | dum metuar semper terraque expecter ab omni’ “leave my mangled corpse | in the midst of the waves, let there be no tomb or pyre for me, | provided that I might be feared always and awaited from every corner of the land” (5.669-71). Overall, the repeated appearance of hope/fear juxtapositions in Lucan’s text compels us to consider the relationship of hope and fear in the Bellum Civile and to recognize the fundamental complexity of this relationship.

To this end, the remainder of this section examines the nature of hope in the Bellum Civile as represented through vocabulary and language, treating how Lucan represents hope through imagery in Section 3. Here in Section 2, I suggest that Lucan gives the word spes particular significance by qualifying its meaning. By “qualify” I mean that the word spes is modified by other words in the sentence, usually additional adjectives or adverbs. This qualification works to restrict or narrow the range of meaning or connotation for spes as well as to diminish the force and effect of spes as “hope.” The frequent qualification of spes in Lucan’s

330 Both passages are discussed in Chapter 1 and are discussed further in Chapter 6.

331 As I explore further in Chapter 6, the associated nature of hope and fear in Lucan’s text is symptomatic of the epic’s oppositional theme of civil war.
text makes it difficult for us to define what hope really is in the world of the *Bellum Civile*, since, as I argue below, any kind of qualification undercuts a unified portrayal of the emotion as viable, practical, or otherwise worthwhile. Consider, for example, how the viability of *spes* is doubly undercut in the episode of Rome’s abandonment.

> danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum: Pompeio fugiente timent, tum, nequa futuri spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet, addita fati peioris manifesta fides...

Yet pardon must be given, and granted, for such great fears: they fear because Pompey flees. Then, lest some hope for the future might at least alleviate their troubled minds, clear proof of worse fate is added...332

In the passage above, the phrase *nequa futuri | spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet*... (1.522-23) contains the epic’s principal word for hope. The genitive singular *futuri* (of the future) specifies the type of hope referenced in this moment (hope of the future), while the combination of *nequa... saltem* (lest any...at least) diminishes, that is to say undercuts, the full force and effect of hope to “alleviate troubled minds” (*trepidas mentes leuet*, 1.523). Furthermore, this passage as a whole undercuts the poet’s later prayer, *liceat sperare timenti* (2.15). Here in Book 1, however, the Romans are explicitly denied this very hope. In context, therefore, the combination of *nequa...saltem* suggests that hope of the future (*futuri spes*) is an emotion of last resort, the last consolation that might comfort the Roman people, although a form of consolation that is hardly to be considered viable in the first place.

In comparison to the phrase *nequa...saltem*, the phrase *uix spes quoque mortis honestae* (10.539) suggests the same qualification of hope with *uix...quoque* (hardly...even) diminishing the viability of the expectation (*spes*), which here is specified to be a hope for a noble death (*mortis honestae*). It is worth noting that this complete phrase (*uix spes quoque mortis honestae*) appears nearly identically in Book 3 as *uanam spem mortis honestae* (3.134) during the scene when Metellus attempts to defend the treasury from Caesar. Here, the adverb *uix*

332 Luc. 1.521-24.
(hardly, barely) has been replaced with the adjective uanam (empty, vain, false), both words suggesting degrees of unviability. The adverb uix also portrays spes as an emotion of last resort. This is the same portrayal evinced by the phrase spes una salutis (one hope of salvation), a phrase repeated twice in Lucan’s text (2.113; 5.636). The word salutis specifies the type of hope (hope of salvation) while una simultaneously diminishes its force and ubiquity (one, one alone), portraying spes as not just the “one hope of salvation” but the “last hope of salvation.”

In regard to the repetition of phrases involving spes, I believe this repetition has something to reveal about the nature of hope in Lucan’s epic. Repeated mentions of spes in the Bellum Civile become stock phrases that emphasize the presence but ultimate hollowness and unviability of the emotion of hope in the epic’s landscape. In other words, Lucan’s artful selection of word choice and construction of verse serves to define but also complicate the nature and role of hope in the poem. We should note that these frequent, repeated qualifications do not widely occur with words for fear in the same text. On the contrary, words denoting fear in the Bellum Civile are quite diverse, and indeed many are often accumulated in the same sentence, sometimes with one word for fear clarifying the cause or effect of another, but not undercutting it. Rather, the device of accumulation intensifies the presence of fear in the epic, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Yet Lucan’s use of the word spes is characterized not by intensification, as with words for fear, but by a limiting effect, one that diminishes hope’s presence and the viability of its influence and effect. There is therefore a commentary on the nature and role of hope in Lucan’s epic hidden here in both language and word choice.

Surveying the language of spes in context also reveals a close association between hope and defeat in Lucan’s epic. In Book 5, the poet describes the spes inrita (“disappointed hope,” 5.469) that Pompey and Caesar did not rise to the opportunity to set aside the wickedness of civil war. The descriptor inrita denotes the qualities of ineffectiveness, uselessness, and invalidity; certainly not the characteristics of a “victorious” emotion like fear. Moreover, hope becomes associated with defeat in the context of the Republican opposition to Caesar as uictor.
This is best evidenced in the extended episode of the senate’s meeting after Pharsalus in Book 8. The scene begins with the scattered senate reconvening around the recently defeated Pompey to determine the cause’s next steps, namely where to seek aid and raise more troops. At first take, this scene appears to champion the liberty (libertas) of free speech, open debate, and the senate-backed Republican freedom that Caesar’s actions in the war threaten (cf. 8.454-455). Yet, as explained below, it is this same libertas that leads Pompey to his death and in turn to the defeat of the Republican cause.

The senate’s debate in Book 8 hinges on a choice of allies: Libya, Parthia, or Egypt. Pompey is distrustful of the Egyptian boy-king and voices an opinion in support of Parthia (8.279-82). However, the pro-Egypt opinion, backed by a former consul named Lentulus, carries the vote. The senate adopts Lentulus’ opinion over the opinion of Pompey and as consequence Pompey goes to Egypt and is murdered. Thus, despite its efforts to save what prospects remain for Rome after Pharsalus, the senate sends its leader to his death, condemning the Republican cause in a manner both frustrating and ironic.

The irony is that the senate’s hope led to its defeat. The hope central to this scene is in the form of spes...libertatis; the poet laments to the senate, quantum, spes ultima rerum, | libertatis habes, “how much freedom you have, the last hope of things” (8.454-455). Here libertas (8.455) is the right of open debate, and spes (appositional to libertas) is the expectation of being able to speak one’s mind (the idea of “expectation” being ingrained in the etymology of spes). However, the defeat of Pompey’s opinion in this open debate is described using militaristic language: uicta est sententia Magni, 8.455. Lucan’s use of the verb uicta est shifts

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333 For a detailed discussion of the senate’s debate in Book 8, see Tracy (2014) Chapter 1. For a close reading of the entire episode, see Fratantuono (2012) Chapter 8.

334 Again, we notice spes qualified, restricted by the context of libertas and coded as an emotion of “last resort” (ultima rerum, 8.454).

335 de Vaan s.v. uinco, “to conquer, overcome,” thus passive uicta est, “defeated”; cf. uictor “winner, conqueror.”
the semantic register of this scene from the political to the military, an artful shift that transforms the lexical into the thematic by highlighting how the civil war has infected the senate and tainted the meaning of libertas, the core of Roman republicanism. The use of uicta est in Book 8 is an echo of Lucan’s use of the same word family in Book 1: uictrix causa dei placuit sed uicta Catoni, “the victorious cause was pleasing to the gods, but the defeated cause pleased Cato” (1.128). When we recall from Chapter 4 the many ways in which Caesar (uictor) is associated with the emotion of fear, then fear can be interpreted as the winning emotion of the uictrix causa. Conversely, hope, specified as spes (libertatis) in the senate passage above, is the emotion of the defeated, the uicta causa. Again, the irony is that not only is free speech characteristic of the republican cause, but that this same free speech “defeats” Pompey’s opinion. In turn, the consequence of Pompey’s uicta sententia is most damning to the republican cause, since Lentulus’ uictrix sententia is that the senate send Pompey to Egypt, a fateful decision that leads to Pompey’s death, his ultimate defeat.336

The landscape of Lucan’s epic, entrenched in both civil war and the fear that conflict engenders, therefore complicates simple interpretations of “hope” and its role in the Bellum Civile. Even spes (libertatis), a phrase likely to tempt some towards a consistent pro-Republican reading of the Bellum Civile, reflects in examination a subverted sentiment in Lucan’s hands.337 It is my contention that the main reason for this subversion of “hope” in the world of the Bellum Civile is that the emotion is hijacked by Caesarian Fear for the cause of Caesar, the uictor. Caesar has a close association with hope, or rather, the subverted notion of hope that is presented by Lucan’s epic. Take for instance a brief bit of exposition in Book 9, in which the poet

336 If the Lentulus of Book 8 is Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus (consul in 49 BCE), then he too will be murdered in Egypt.
337 Consider also a reference to “hope” from Book 7. Here Lucan invents a bit of history, that the same Brutus destined to stab Caesar dresses up as a common soldier during the battle of Pharsalus in an attempt to do the same. The poet emphatically calls Brutus, spes o suprema senatus, “last hope of the senate” (7.588).
provides some background for Cato’s decision to lead his troops through the Libyan desert. The wintertime closes the sea to them, forcing Cato to take a land route through the desert, but there is a hope that the season might offer some rain to temper the extremes of the North African climate (9.374-77): *et spes imber erat nimios metuentibus ignes*, “and the rain was a hope to those fearing excessive fires” (9.375). Here *spes* might better be translated as “pleasant or timely expectation,” a meaning in line with its etymology. Recalling the associations between fire and Caesar in Lucan’s epic allows one to interpret this *spes*, this expectation for rain, as a hope in opposition to Caesar, and consequently in opposition to fire and thus fear. Note that the hope of rain consoles those soldiers who are *metuentibus ignes*, “fearing fires,” or metaphorically fearing Caesar.

This hope is subverted, however, because there is no rain in the desert. I mean to suggest that the landscape in and of Lucan’s epic affects emotion, causing fear to thrive and hope to wither. The desert landscape, for instance, represents the ubiquity of Caesar, and just as it is the character of the desert (hot and dry) that prohibits the viable expectation for rain, it is the character of Caesar (*praeceps* and fire-like) that prohibits the viability of hope in Lucan’s poetic landscape of fear. This is because everything Caesar influences in the epic’s landscape, including emotions such as fear and hope, becomes perverted by the environment of civil war. Chapter 4 has already dealt with the effects of Caesar’s influence on the emotion of fear, and I explore the implications of Caesar’s influence on *spes* in the following section of this current chapter, though already it has begun to emerge that there can be no viable hope against Caesar in an epic dominated by Caesarian Fear.

### 3. *spes inproba*: Problematizing Hope in Lucan’s Epic

Chapter 5 has so far addressed some ways in which Lucan complicates the notion of *spes* in his epic, focusing on the vocabulary of hope in the *Bellum Civile* and the way that this *spes* is undercut through semantic qualification. I have also touched upon how hope in Lucan’s epic has
the ability to represent an anti-Caesarian, pro-Republic sentiment as exemplified by the phrase *spes* (*libertatis*) and the expectation of free speech during the senate’s debate in Book 8. However, the term *spes* in Lucan’s epic is often qualified in such a way as to subvert this interpretation, and we may begin to wonder how the poet, who seemingly aims to write a poem to provide “hope for the fearful” (2.15), can achieve this goal when the nature of hope in his own poem is characterized by defeat and unviability.

The quest for a solution to what I will call Lucan’s “programmatic paradox” is aided by an examination into symbols of hope in Lucan’s text. I draw a connection in particular between walls and hope. I argue that the image of a wall has the ability to symbolize hope in Lucan’s text, but that the way this image is employed in the narrative complicates the nature of hope in the *Bellum Civile* and so problematizes the role of hope in the overall epic. While walls have the ability to symbolize hope, as I explain below, critics instead must be careful to examine these images *in situ*, i.e. within the landscape of civil war, fear, and irrationality in which they are placed. As a physical element within the epic’s landscape, the image of a wall is not immune to those abstract elements that comprise this poetic landscape, namely civil war and fear. In Chapter 3, for example, I examined how the poet manipulates images of fire, collapse, and shipwreck, common literary metaphors, in service to the poem’s thematic interest in civil war. These images help illustrate, and thus represent, the abstract and irrational side of fear. Walls, as objects of potential collapse, are no exception.

Walls have the ability to symbolize hope in Lucan’s epic. Recall from Chapter 3, for example, the concerns of the rural Italian towns as rumors begin to spread that Caesar’s actions at the Rubicon are precipitating war.

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tunc urbes Latii dubiae uarioque fauore
ancipites, quamquam primo terrore ruentis
cessurae belli, denso tamen aggere firmant
moenia et abrupto circumdant undique uallo...
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Then the cities of Latium hesitating and wavering in support of one side or the other, though at the first threat of the ruinous war
on the verge of surrendering, nonetheless enforce with thick rampart their walls, and encircle them on all sides with a steep palisade...\textsuperscript{338}

The abstract uncertainty of which side to support in civil war, Pompey’s or Caesar’s, is represented here on a concrete level by the actions of the townsfolk, who in an attempt to protect themselves and their city by remaining neutral in the approaching war, quite literally wall themselves off (2.450). The Italian towns then proceed to reinforce these walls with ramparts and entrenchments and supply the towers along it with slings and projectile stones (2.451-52). For the people of Italy, a wall that is secure, robust, and intact thus rather explicitly represents civil peace, which Caesar’s actions threaten. The idea that walls symbolize hope is thus based on a fairly rational equation: if a collapsing wall represents fear, namely the anxieties and uncertainties about civil war that Caesar brings to the epic’s landscape in the form of Caesarian Fear, then an integral, inviolable wall represents the resistance to that war; it becomes a symbol of hope. One might say that the bigger the wall, the greater the hope, and the stronger the resistance to Caesar and civil war. This equation of course assumes that fear and hope are unilateral opposites, but that is not its greatest flaw. What this equation neglects to factor in is the environment of irrationality of the epic’s narrative world, which in Chapter 4 I demonstrate to be the result of the engulfing effect of Caesar and the fear that Caesar embodies. In short, an object of hope in a world of fear cannot be integral and inviolable, because the ubiquity of fear in the \textit{Bellum Civile} undercuts, subverts, and ultimately hijacks hope in service of the \textit{uictrix causa}, the winning side of Caesar.

The thematic role of walls in Lucan’s epic has been explored by Charles Saylor, who has observed, among others, how elements of the epic’s physical topography can be read as symbols of the nature of civil war. Saylor analyzes Lucan’s account of the battle of Dyrrachium in Book 6 (1-322), suggesting that the theme of walls forms a “governing principle” which gives the

\textsuperscript{338} Luc. 2.447-50.
episode unity. Saylor’s investigation is relevant here because he touches upon, though lightly, the association between emotion and walls. The central issue at Dyrrachium is a large wall that Caesar’s forces have built around Pompey’s army. As Saylor notes, Caesar calls this wall a *spes inproba* (6.29), which I suggest can be interpreted both as an “immoderate [design in] anticipation of war” since Caesar is impressed by the wall’s defensive nature and the sheer size of its perimeter, and as a “greedy hope for besieging Pompey,” here having the nature of the wall echo Caesar’s own *auidam...mentem* (eager, greedy mind).

Both readings of *spes inproba* complicate the idea of walls as a symbol of hope in Lucan. In short, the adjective *inproba* reveals right away that the image of the wall has been coopted by the wrong side, that is, not the side of Caesarian resistance. Unlike the wall of the neutral Italians in Book 2, quoted above, here in Book 6 the wall belongs to Caesar, and Caesar is not the side of the resistance; his is the side of the instigating aggressor. Caesar is first and most famously characterized as the instigating aggressor when he fords his army across the Rubicon against the wishes of *Roma* herself, and it is worth noting that the poet describes the specter of *Roma* in this scene from Book 1 as wearing a turreted (walled) crown: *turrigero canos effundens uertice crines*, “spilling white hair from the top of her turret-bearing head” (1.188). It is my suggestion that this walled representation of *Roma* can be read as a symbol of a Roman state “defeated” by Caesar, since the apparition of *Roma* fails to forestall Caesar from crossing the Rubicon. Therefore, to call the wall at Dyrrachium a *spes inproba* is not to align it with the Republican cause as a “hopeful” symbol of anti-Caesarian resistance, but to remind the audience that the *uictrix causa*, the side of Caesar, will triumph.

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339 Saylor 1978: 243. Saylor focuses on the walls (physical and symbolic) that Caesar builds around Pompey and argues that Caesar’s champion Scaeva represents “man as wall.”

340 Luc. 6.29-31: *hic auidam belli rapuit spes inproba mentem | Caesaris, ut uastis diffusum collibus hostem | cingeret ignarum ducto procul aggere ualli*. Saylor (1978: 246) takes *belli* with *spes inproba*, rather than with *auidam...mentem*, cf. Duff and Braund translations. I have attempted to accommodate both readings in my translation below.
Returning to Book 6, note too how the words *spes inproba* (6.29) are placed in the context of Caesar’s inner thoughts: *hic auidam belli rapuit spes inproba mentem | Caesaris, ut uastis diffusum collibus hostem | cingeret ignarum ducto procul aggere ualli*, “here an immoderate hope seized the mind of Caesar, greedy for war, that he might encircle his enemy spread out across vast hills with a remote extended mound of wall without him knowing” (6.29-31). The descriptor *inproba* in this context can mean “excessive, immoderate” or “wicked, shameless, morally unsound,” and it should not be overlooked that both semantic sets serve to summarize Caesar’s character quite well. The entire range of meanings for *inproba* serves to qualify the noun *spes* (hope), and so, in my judgment, explicitly represents *spes* in Lucan’s epic as “Caesarian.” If a wall is a wall, call it a wall; but Lucan chooses to call the wall that Caesar surveys at Dyrrachium *spes inproba*.

Moreover, the scene at Dyrrachium is the second passage for which the poet uses the phrase *spes inproba*. The narrator in Book 6 borrows the phrase previously spoken by Phemonoe, the priestess of the Delphic oracle, in Book 5. Appius’ visit to the Delphic oracle continues to be of great importance in the *Bellum Civile*. In Chapter 4, I used this episode as an example of the engulfing effect of Caesarian Fear. Now it highlights the improbity of hope in Lucan’s epic.

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lime terrifico metuens consistere Phoebas
absterrere ducem noscendi ardone futura
 cassa fraude parat. ’quid spes’ ait ’inproba uerite, Romane, trahit?’
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fearing to stand on the terrifying threshold the priestess of Apollo prepares to discourage Appius from the desire to know the future with vain deceit, “What excessive hope,” she says, “of truth draws you here, Roman?”

I have already suggested in the current chapter that this repetition of phrases involving the word *spes* (here *spes inproba*) has something to reveal about the nature of hope in Lucan’s epic, that repeated phrases become stock phrases that emphasize the ultimate hollowness of the emotion

341 Luc. 5.128-31.
of hope in the epic’s landscape. There are several other points to be made about the passage above in which the priestess Phemonoe addresses Appius’ motivation for visiting the oracle. The first point, as I have mentioned at length in Chapter 4, is that Appius’ motivation is fear, namely an anxiety about committing his fortunes to the vicissitudes of civil war. He comes to the oracle seeking certain answers, not out of some great concern for Pompey and the Republic, but for his own fortunes in Euboea. This selfish motivation is partly what makes Appius’ spes – as Phemonoe names it – *inproba* (5.130), and so it is concluded that Appius is driven to the oracle by a dual motivation: fear and hope.

But it is a perverted hope that draws Appius to the oracle, which brings me to my second point, which is that this *spes inproba*, i.e. Appius’ reason for visiting the oracle and aggressively requesting Phemonoe services, is a symptom of the engulfing effect of fear in the epic that originates with Caesar’s actions in initializing the civil war. This fear, which I termed Caesarian Fear in Chapter 4, is the force that motivates the majority of Lucan’s characters. In the scene above from Book 5, Appius’ fear brings him to Phemonoe, whose own fearful reluctance drives her to use fear as a tactic back against Appius (*absterrere ducem*, 5.129). As I have already mentioned, this outward rippling effect of fear is rooted in Caesar, and we can also consider the *spes inproba* of Appius a symptom of this effect as well. This is to say that the motivating power of Caesarian Fear is contained in the phrase *spes inproba*, as Appius’ desire to alleviate his anxieties creates in him a *spes inproba* to overcome this fear through extreme means.

This brings us to my third point. The reason Appius’ *spes* is indeed *inproba* is because it is both excessive and immoderate and at the same time wicked and shameful. Like Sextus’ desire to consult Erictho, Appius’ actions to overcome fear – his *spes* – can be considered extreme and excessive. Their actions are also wicked in the sense that in promulgating fear in others and through others, both Sextus and Appius align themselves with the primary traits of Caesar, the promulgator of the civil war. The descriptor *inproba* unites in meaning the keywords of Lucan’s civil war, namely *nefas* (wickedness) and *plus quam* (more than, i.e. excessive). In my judgment,
the fact that the descriptor *inproba* is twice linked to *spes* in Lucan testifies to the corruption of the very idea of hope in the *Bellum Civile*. And this is my final point: hope in Lucan’s poem is not a prayer for peace or a pro-Republican ideal; hope in Lucan’s poem serves Caesar; it has been hijacked by the civil war for the *uictrix causa*. Overall, hope in the *Bellum Civile* is an integrally problematic expectation conceived in a world dominated by Caesarian Fear. I argue below that this Caesarian hijacking of hope in the *Bellum Civile* results in a perversion of *spes*.

4. *spem ducis*: Caesar and the Perversity of Hope in Lucan’s Epic

In Section 3, I examined the problematization of walls as a symbol of hope in the *Bellum Civile*, mentioning how Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon against the wishes of a turreted *Roma* make walls in Lucan’s epic as much a symbol of submission to Caesar as they are a symbol of resistance to Caesar. At the beginning of Book 3, walls again play this double role. Lucan describes the terror at Rome as the fear of a city fallen to an invader, one who now threatens to destroy the city’s walls and temples, the definable heart and soul of an ancient town (3.97-100). An intense emotional response to such a calamity can only be expected, yet the fact that it is not a foreign invader in Rome’s case, but the Roman-born Caesar at the gates, demonstrates the effect of Caesar’s influence upon elements of the narrative, since Caesar in Book 3 effectively coopts the sacked-city topos. By reorienting the traits of the “foreign invader” around himself, Caesar redefines for the people of Rome what it is to fear for their city. I examine here in Section 4 how Caesar similarly redefines what it means to hope by promoting perverse priorities and expectations in civil war.

The scene of Caesar on the hillock at the start of Book 3 exemplifies the perversity of hope and expectation in Lucan’s epic. Let me return to my earlier discussion of Pompey as a *pauidum...ducem*, according to Caesar. To recall, upon discovering Rome abandoned, Caesar quips: *habenti| tam pauidum tibi, Roma, ducem fortuna pepercit, | quod bellum ciuile fuit* (3.95-97). The perversity of this outlook is the belief that a civil war could ever be the better or
more fortunate option, while the irrationality of Caesar’s statement is the suggestion that if Rome is to have a fainted-hearted leader, better that Pompey lead Romans against Romans than against a foreign nation. This scene demonstrates the warped reality through which Caesar views the civil war; he credits external forces such as Fortune but denies the fear he himself creates as a motivating force in precipitating the divisive war.

Caesar invokes *spes* in an analogous manner elsewhere in the text. In Book 2, for example, Caesar spares Domitius Ahenobarbus, telling the Pompeian that he should go on living to be a *spes* (hope) for his defeated compatriots: ‘*uiue, licet nolis, et nostro munere* dixit | *cerne diem. uictis iam spes bona partibus esto | exemplumque mei,*’ “Live,’ Caesar said, ‘although you wish against it, and because of my gift | see the light of day. Be now a good hope for the defeated factions, | and an example of me [i.e. of my mercy]” (2.512-14). I have already demonstrated in the above sections how hope is coded throughout the epic as “defeated” (cf. *uictis...spes bona partibus*, 2.513), but the fact that there is anything truly “good” in what Caesar calls *spes bona* (2.513), i.e. his self-serving act of mercy, derives from Caesar’s warped interpretation of *clementia*, and also of *spes*.

The idea of “hope for the defeated” is nonetheless carried throughout the *Bellum Civile*. In Book 3, the phrase becomes almost programmatic, combining the theme of walls and expectation with that of *spes* as an emotion of last resort. At Massilia, the pro-Pompeian Greeks had hoped their walls would protect them: *summa fuit Grais, starent ut moenia, uoti,* “to the Greeks, that their walls would stand was the height of expectation” (i.e. “all they hoped for,” 3.497). At first, this *summa uoti* is realized, as Caesarian troops are unsuccessful at breaching the walls and must therefore draw forth the Massilians to engage in a battle at sea. The poet then states: *spes uictis telluris abit, placuitque profundo | fortunam temptare maris,* “hope on land

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342 Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was a Roman senator and consul in 54 BCE. While spared in Book 2, his death at Pharsalus is narrated in Book 7.

for the defeated left, and it was decided | to try their luck on the sea” (3.509-10). Here, the juxtaposition of spes uictis refers to the Caesarian side, “defeated” by the Massilian walls, and yet the ultimate victory at Massilia goes to Caesar. This conclusion is foreshadowed through the poet’s introduction of the general in charge of Caesar’s fleet, Brutus Albinus, who rides in a towered “walled” boat (turrigeram...carinam, 3.514). The image of walls, at first the pro-Pompeian symbol of favorable expectation and resistance to Caesar, is thus in a matter of lines coopted by the winning side. The spes of the Caesarians, authoritatively referred to as spes uictis (3.509), is therefore tinged with perverse irony, since the Caesarians find no “hope” on land but then instigate a nightmarish battle at sea, and are in the end victorious.

The phrase spes uictis telluris abit (3.509) is itself echoed in Book 5. The spes...abit of Book 3 is repeated as naufragii spes omnis abit, “all hope of shipwreck left” (5.455) in a scene I analyzed in Chapter 3. In describing the stagnation of Caesar’s army on the windless sea, again Lucan uses the phrase spes...abit in reference to the Caesarian side. The perversity of hope is here reflected in the army’s “hope of shipwreck” (naufragii spes, 5.455). In particular, their perverse expectation is for any movement at all, by wind or wave (fluctus nimiasque precari | uentorum uires, 5.451-52), even if a storm should violently arise and wreck their ship. When no storm appears, this hope is therefore lost (spes...abit). The underlying message carried through these two scenes (Book 3 and Book 5) and anchored by the phrase spes...abit is that there are indeed those in the epic who harbor spes for the de-escalation of conflict and chaos, such as the rural Italian townsfolk in Book 2 and the Massilian Greeks in Book 3. These people are generally Pompeian allies or at least, in the case of the rural Italians, Caesarian-resistant. However, when Caesarians hope in Lucan’s epic, such as Caesar’s army in Massilia in Book 3 and those trapped at sea in Book 5, these people are hoping for more destruction and more chaos. At Massilia, Caesar’s army seeks success in a bloody and fiery sea battle and in Book 5 they wish for a shipwreck, the very thing most seafarers wish away. These Caesarian “hopes” are therefore perverse, revealing the warped expectations provoked by civil war.
Again, when Caesar comes to Amyclas later in Book 5, needing a helmsman willing to brave the tempestuous sea, the general’s use of the word *spes* reveals his warped perception of the danger: *dux ait 'expecta uotis maiora modestis | spesque tuas laxa, iuuenis;’ “the general said, ‘expect things greater than your modest wishes | and broaden your hopes, young man’”* (5.532-533). Here, Caesar uses both the verb *expecto* and the noun *spes* in an effort to coax Amyclas to undertake the perilous journey; he essentially tells the man that his conception of hope is too narrow, and that his expectations are not ambitious enough, urging Amyclas to *expecta...maiora* (5.532) and *spes...tuas laxa* (5.533). As witnessed in Caesar’s address to Domitius in Book 2, however, there is no sense of good expectation (*spes bona*, cf. 2.513) when it is offered from Caesar’s perspective.

An example from Book 7 further demonstrates this point. On the eve of the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar addresses his troops, asking their favor (*ueniam date*, 7.296) for delaying the final engagement with Pompey. Caesar excuses his delay by sharing his feelings about the imminent battle. It is fitting that Caesar does not confess fear or anxiety, a negative, cowardly trait for a general or soldier to possess before battle. However, fear is a positive, empowering trait when coopted by Caesar, and so Caesar expresses his hopes for the battle with Pompey in terms of fear: *spe trepido* (“I am anxious with hope,” 7.297). Note the striking juxtaposition of a word denoting hope (*spe*) and a verb connoting fear (*trepid0*). In my opinion, this juxtaposition of hope/fear vocabulary reflects how Caesar hijacks hope for his own cause. He states to his troops: *haud umquam uidi tam magna daturos | tam prope me superos; camporum limite paruo | absumus a uotis*, “not ever have I seen the gods about to give things so great, | so close to me; by a small strip of battlefield we are away from our goals” (7.297-99). Caesar is anxious (*trepido*, 7.297) because he cannot fully believe how close he is to achieving all he has wished for (*uotis*, 7.299). The word *uotis* in this scene should be understood to mean things “yearned for” or “expected,” or in other words “hoped for.” However, as Caesar’s desires and expectations in the context of Book 7 primarily refer to defeating the Pompeian army and exacting the slaughter
of kinsman and fellow citizens, there is again here no sense of good expectation (cf. *spes bona*, 2.513) in Caesar’s invocation of *uotis*.\(^{344}\)

Let us also note how Caesar implicates his troops in his perverse redefinition of hope.\(^{345}\) In the example above of Caesar’s address, he begins by focusing on himself (*prope me*, 7.298), but tends the thought by stating collectively to his troops *camporum limite paruo a absunmus a uotis* (7.298-99), using the first-person plural *absunmus*. We can therefore interpret (*uotis*, 7.299) as “our hopes,” meaning the collective hopes of Caesar and his army. There is no doubt that his troops feel some sort of fear or anxiety on the eve of a divisive battle, against their own kin especially, but Caesar takes it upon himself to redefine his soldier’s expectations for battle in reference to his own perverse hopes for victory.\(^{346}\) The *spes* of the Caesarians is therefore coopted by Caesar and his *uictrix causa* in a manner similar to the hijacked *spes* of the Pompeians, as argued in Section 2.\(^{347}\)

It emerges that all hope in the world of the *Bellum Civile* is hijacked by Caesar’s cause, meaning there can be no real “good hope” in Lucan’s epic, since expectations in the Roman civil

\(^{344}\) Lanzarone (2016: 278) connects Caesar’s vision of “hope” with a desire for *regnum* (tyranny).

\(^{345}\) Cf. Luc. 7.759-60: *cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae | decipitur quod castra rapit*, “since [Caesar’s army] promised everything [to him] with the hope of Rome as a prize, it is frustrated to pillage a camp.” Caesar’s army feels cheated after Pharsalus to sack only Pompey’s camp and not Rome. Sacking Rome is characteristically Caesar’s goal, cf. his attempt on the Roman treasury in Book 3.

\(^{346}\) Consider another example in the same scene. Here Caesar is already imposing his perverse view of hope on his army: *nec sanguine multo | spem mundi petitis*, “with not much blood | you seek the hope of the world” (7.269-70). In this context *spem mundi* loosely translates to “the world you hope for,” since with his speech Caesar implicates his soldiers in his own desires, stating also: *non mihi res agitur, sed, uos ut libera sitis | turba, precor gentes ut ius habeatis in omnes*, “it is not my stakes that matter, but, that you might be a free people, I pray that you may have rule over all people” (7.264-265). I touch upon Caesar’s perversion of *ius* in Section 4 below.

\(^{347}\) For example, Caesar after Pharsalus contemplates the (warped) silver lining of Pompey’s defeat, stating that in defeat *nunc tempora laeta | respexisse uacat, spes numquam inplenda recessit; | quid fueris nunc scire licet*, “now he has the time to have looked back on happy times, hope, never to be fulfilled, has passed; what he was, now he can know” (7.687-89).
war are constantly being reoriented around the *spem ducis*, Caesar’s definition of hope. This phrase, *spem ducis*, is lifted from a scene in Book 5 during which some of Caesar’s troops attempt to rouse a mutiny. Their complaints address the rejection of *pietas* (piety) and *fides* (loyalty) that Caesar’s leadership promotes among the soldiers, and in particular the mutineers lament the redefinition of hope: *quando pietasque fidesque destituunt moresque malos sperare relictum est*, *finem civili faciat discordia bello*, “since both piety and loyalty leave and it is left to hope for bad behaviors, let strife [mutiny] make an end to civil war” (5.297-299).

There are several narrative echoes in this one passage. The mutineers’ complaints reinforce the poet’s portrayal of Caesar as an embodiment of *nefas* (wickedness), and the specific point that the only hope (*sperare relictum est*) under Caesar is an expectation of wickedness (*mores…malos*, 5.298) speaks to Caesar as a promoter of perversity. This is demonstrated at the end of the same scene when the rest of Caesar’s soldiers quash the mutineers’ complaints and appease their general’s fear of insurrection by expressing an eagerness to execute the mutineers.

The idea of *spes* is again invoked to frame the conclusion of the mutiny episode: *ipse pauet ne tela sibi dextraeque negentur ad scelus hoc Caesar: uicit patientia saeui spem ducis, et iugulos, non tantum praestitit ensis*, “Caesar himself fears that his soldiers’ weapons and hands will be denied to him for this crime [putting down the mutiny]: but their tolerance [for savage acts] surpassed the expectation of their cruel general, and it offered up not merely the weapons of execution, but those to be executed” (5.368-370). This passage does the most in the epic to define (*saeui*) *spem ducis*, Caesar’s definition of hope, as something both wicked and immoderate (cf. *spes inproba*). Firstly, the poet states that Caesar is involving his troops in wickedness (*ad scelus hoc*, 5.369); the “crime” in this scene is the execution of the mutineers, who are not simply fellow Romans but fellow soldiers. This scene in Book 5 can therefore be interpreted as a civil war in miniature. On one side, the mutineers lament the corruption of *spes* (a pro-Republican stance invoking traditional Roman *mores*), while on the other side, those soldiers who are loyal to Caesar are willing to hand over the mutineers for punishment, thus
symbolizing a betrayal of the Republic. When Caesar’s soldiers implicate themselves in their
genral’s *scelus* to execute the mutineers, they are symbolically and voluntarily (re)enlisting
themselves in the wickedness of Caesar’s civil war. We are then reminded of the epic’s opening
lines, which is my second point: *bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos* | *iusque datum
sceleri canimus*, “of wars through Emathian fields, wars more than civil, | and of right given
over to wrong I sing” (1.1-2). The phrase *iusque datum sceleri* (right given over to wrong) is a
summary of the mutineers’ complaints (5.297-299), and in truth a summary of their own fate, as
they are “given over” to Caesar for execution. Lastly, the key phrase *plus quam* from the epic’s
opening, which in Section 3 I linked to Lucan’s portrayal of the wall at Dyrrachium as a *spes
inproba*, here in Book 5 does well to describe the soldiers’ *patientia* (“tolerance” for savage acts,
5.369), which is *plus quam* in exceeding Caesar’s expectation (*spem*).

My examples in Section 4 show that Caesar demonstrates a fundamentally perverse view
of what hope is. I conclude with a final example. In Book 10, under siege by Ptolemaic forces in
Alexandria, Caesar is driven to desperation: *cogunt tamen ultima rerum* | *spem pacis temptare
ducem*, “yet the extreme situations compel | the general to try for the hope of peace” (10.467-
68). In a world that harbors *spes inrita* (5.469), a disappointed hope that Caesar and Pompey
can negotiate an end to the war, Caesar considers peace to be the ultimate last resort. There can
then be no viable hope for peace in an epic where Caesar is rarely afraid and is rarely driven into
the sort of despairing circumstance he finds himself in at the end of Book 10.348 Similarly, there
is not even the viable expectation of peace in Lucan’s epic, as demonstrated by another scene
from Book 10. While being hosted in Alexandria, Caesar asks the court priest Acoreus to narrate
the origins of the Nile River (172-331).

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348 The poet’s use of *ultima rerum* (10.467) to describe these rare despairing circumstances
recalls the *spes ultima rerum* that was *libertas* during the senate’s debate in Book 8 (453-455).
There is nothing to indicate that Caesar is anything but serious in his offer to abandon the civil war if he could only for himself learn the location of the fabled Nile wellspring. What a jarring realization, that after ten books of terrible war the crisis of Rome means nothing that is not worth setting aside for some sightseeing! Yet perhaps the joke is on us, the readers; if spes is nothing more than an unviable expectation in the world of the *Bellum Civile*, then there is no such thing as spes...certa (“sure hope,” 10.191), and thus there is never really any certain hope that Caesar will in truth set aside the civil war, or that Rome can set aside her history of civil strife and break free from her cycle of violence. Overall, the Romans of the *Bellum Civile*, and those who form Lucan’s ideal audience, are not even allowed the hope of hope, and it is this “no hope” characteristic of Lucan’s epic that problematizes interpretations of the *Bellum Civile* as a poem to allow the fearful to do just that.

5. Conclusion

Chapter 5 has probed the implications of the nature of fear in the *Bellum Civile* when that nature is conflated with the personality of Lucan’s Caesar. In particular, I examined the question of if Caesar is aligned with fear, then what emotion is Caesar’s rival Pompey likely to represent. That emotion is hope, and Chapter 5 outlines how hope in the *Bellum Civile* is portrayed as “Pompeian” and consequently “defeated” by the “victorious” Caesarian Fear. In Section 1, I analyzed the character of Lucan’s Pompey as a pauidum...ducem (“frightened leader,” 3.96), arguing that Pompey’s own relationship with fear undercuts his

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349 Luc. 10.188-192.
ability to convincingly represent or champion hope as Caesar does fear. Without a strong champion, hope in Lucan’s epic falls victim to the same engulfing effect to which Appius, Sextus Pompey, and Pompey himself succumb, making hope the ultimate victim of Caesarian Fear in the emotional conflict of the *Bellum Civile*. I concluded Section 1 with a caveat, that since fear in the *Bellum Civile* is compounded and diffused through Pompey to the greatest extent, critics must be wary to state any degree of association between the character of Pompey and the emotion of hope in Lucan’s text without a closer examination into the nature of hope as represented in the *Bellum Civile*.

Sections 2 and 3 therefore proceeded with an examination of the vocabulary, imagery, and language of hope in Lucan’s epic. The term *spes* in the *Bellum Civile* is often qualified in such a way as to undercut or subvert the interpretation of Lucan’s epic as a consistently pro-Republican work. Here I explored the connotations of *spes* in the senate’s meeting in Book 8 and next focused on walls as a symbol of hope in Lucan’s text. An analysis of two instances of *spes inproba* (5.130; 6.29) suggested that walls come to represent the corruption of the idea of hope in the *Bellum Civile*. Together, Sections 2 and 3 served to problematize interpretations of the *Bellum Civile* as a poem to provide “hope for the fearful” (citing 2.15), since I argue that the nature of hope in the epic’s landscape of civil war is characterized by defeat and unviability. The poet’s efforts to inject hope into an epic about civil war therefore result in a “programmatic paradox” in which hope in Lucan’s poem ultimately serves Caesar and supports the *victrix causa*, the winning side.

Section 4 concluded Chapter 5 by examining how the Caesarian hijacking of hope in the *Bellum Civile* results in the perversity of *spes* in Lucan’s epic and the redefinition of what it means to “hope” in civil war through the lens of Caesar’s own perverse expectations. Through demonstrating how the *spes* invoked by Caesar’s troops at Massilia in Book 3 and at sea in Book 5 expresses a desire not for the de-escalation of the war but for an increase in chaos and destruction, I argued that the *spes* of the Caesarians is coopted by their general and his *victrix*
causa in a manner similar to how the *spes* of the Pompeians is tainted by the civil war. I also examined the failed mutiny among the Caesarian ranks in Book 5 to demonstrate how there can be no real “good hope” (*spes bona*, cf. 2.513) in Lucan’s epic, since expectations in the Roman civil war are constantly reoriented around the *spem ducis* (5.370). Overall, hope in the *Bellum Civile* is a problematic expectation conceived in a world dominated by Caesarian Fear, which is to say that the problem of hope in the *Bellum Civile* is that it exists in a world conquered by fear.
Chapter Six

_Spesque Metusque: Lucan’s Bellum Civile of Emotion_

I have so far aimed not simply to expose the verisimilitude of emotional representation in the _Bellum Civile_ but to argue that this representation serves a greater program. Previous chapters have demonstrated the ways in which Lucan makes individual elements of his poem, such as vocabulary, imagery, and character portrayal, resonate with the intensity of his poetic themes. My final chapter now examines the effect of fear on the narrative of the _Bellum Civile_ and Lucan’s (meta-)poetics of fear. In particular, I argue that Lucan’s poetics of civil war are reinforced by the representation of hope and fear (_spesque metusque_, 7.211) as concomitant yet oppositional forces. In turn, this “civil war of emotion” produces a form of a tension within the narrative that affects the poem’s characters, narrator, and readers as well. Chapter 6 therefore concludes with a consideration of Lucan’s contemporary audience and my own psycho-political reading of the text.

Reader experience with the _Bellum Civile_ is affected by the prioritization of fear in respect to both the events of the narrative and its composition. As the conclusion of my dissertation, Chapter 6 has three goals: 1) to examine reasons for the aesthetic and thematic prioritization of fear in the _Bellum Civile_ as has been so far demonstrated, 2) to review Lucan’s affective aims as expressed in Book 7 (205-213) and demonstrate how the representation of fear in the _Bellum Civile_ has and has not served these aims, and 3) to promote a psycho-political reading of the _Bellum Civile_, one which Lucan’s engaged, affective style might guide a reader to accept. This is to ask, what is the purpose of affecting civil war? And how might a reader from Neronian Rome, or Nero himself, have interpreted the fear in Lucan’s epic?

Here in Chapter 6, I put forth my ideas on how Lucan’s contemporaries might have interpreted the prioritization of fear in the _Bellum Civile_. I suggest an interpretation for which _libertas_ in Lucan’s poem, representing a freedom of the mind from fear, is constructed in
conflict with Caesar and the emotion of fear the Roman general so closely embodies (as argued in Chapter 4). In building this interpretation, I first approach the role of fear in Lucan’s epic from two perspectives: fear in the context of an historical epic about civil war and fear as an aesthetic of the literary culture of Neronian Rome and as a reaction to Neronian rule. Next, I examine how the poem’s implicit and explicit establishment of emotional expectations for its readers is a source of tension in the narrative that contributes to emotional anxiety in both the poem’s characters and the poet’s narrating persona. In turn, this authorial anxiety affects the ability of Lucan’s readers to navigate the poem’s emotional landscape and to achieve these expectations. Lastly, I argue that the prioritization of fear in the poem, and especially in its complex opposition with hope, prompts us to interpret the Bellum Civile as psycho-political commentary on the future of Rome and Rome’s relationship with the Caesars. In particular, I explore Lucan’s construction of Nero as the “heir” of Caesarian Fear, suggesting that the invocation to Nero offers the key to interpreting the poem’s conflict between hope and fear as its own bellum civile of emotion.

1. The Prioritization of Fear in Lucan’s Epic

I define the prioritization of fear in the Bellum Civile as the sum total of how Lucan represents “fear” in his epic through vocabulary, imagery, and character portrayal. Chapters 2-5 of this dissertation have examined how fear becomes a primary motivator in the civil war and assumes a personality of its own. My final chapter now examines how fear transcends the poem’s

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On defining libertas in Lucan: “Libertas is not the equivalent of the modern word ‘liberty’. We may discern two forms of Libertas in BC: on the political level it reflects the ideal of senatoria libertas, a basic respect for the views of the Senate. On the personal level it represents the spiritual freedom of the sapiens” (Hunink 1992: 84). My interpretation redefines this “spiritual freedom” as a mental freedom from fear.

Lintott interprets the Bellum Civile as Lucan’s reaction to the “less-agreeable consequences” of life under the Julio-Claudians (Tesoriero 2010: 239).
narrative and affects the poet and his readers, in part playing into the poet’s affective aims for his epic but also in part undermining this τέλος.

Theme and Genre

Having examined in previous chapters how fear can be measured as a ubiquitous, engulfing presence in the poetic world of the Bellum Civile, I begin my last chapter by suggesting why that is. In his chapter article on pity and fear in historiographic writing, David Levene comments upon the general importance of fear for a Roman historian. He cites Sallust’s focus on examples of “good fear” throughout Roman history, this “good fear” being the type of fear that compels Romans to embody true Roman virtues in times of crisis and threats against the Roman state. This fear Sallust names metus hostilis, fear of the foreign enemy. Both Sallust’s Bellum Jugurthinum and Livy’s Ab Urbe Condita are historical chronicles of metus hostilis and the heights of greatness that Rome has reached in times of foreign aggression.352

But Lucan’s epic tells a different story. What happens when the enemy of Rome is himself Roman? What then of metus hostilis? And how must it be redefined?353 Here in Section 1, I address how Lucan’s epic tackles this question in its own way. In addition, I offer some reasons why I believe that fear is a significant focus in the Bellum Civile from the perspective of the poem’s theme and genre and given the context of an historical epic about civil war. My main suggestion is that the historical background of the Bellum Civile brings fear to the forefront of the narrative, and that Lucan’s artful use of literary techniques adapted from other genres,

352 Sallust suggests that the fall of Carthage, and with it the end of metus hostilis, was the cause of Roman decline (Iug. 41.2–5). See also Jacobs 2010. Jacobs demonstrates how both Sallust and Silius Italicus (post-Lucan) link the removal of Rome’s metus hostilis with the transition from bellum externum to bellum civile and, ultimately, the decline of the Roman state and the fall of the Republic.

353 Sallust’s Bellum Catilinae can be interpreted as a redefinition of metus hostilis since Catiline was himself a Roman citizen who conspired against the state (63 BCE).
namely tragedy and historiography, aid to transform fear from an historical subject to a poetic theme.

In examining the intersection of poetry and historiography, Levene states that “for the Roman historians, no passion is more prominent than fear.” While some may feel that Lucan’s use of verse disqualifies him as a true historian, it is undeniable that the Bellum Civile is a dramatic envisioning of historical events, to the extent that some scholars, such as A.W. Lintott, have diligently investigated how and to what extent Lucan’s dramatization of history diverges from other more traditional historical accounts. Lintott’s study concludes that Lucan’s version of Caesar’s civil war is a step between Caesar’s own account (Commentarii de Bello Civili) and those of Plutarch, Appian, and Cassius Dio. Lintott also concludes that despite its historical inaccuracies, the Bellum Civile is “a milestone in the development of Roman ideas about the fall of the Republic.” Here in Chapter 6, I invite us to consider how Lucan’s prioritization of fear in his epic contributes to this milestone achievement.

Conte is among many scholars to have remarked that the opening lines of Lucan’s epic demonstrate an obsession with the fall of the Roman Republic and the theme of civil war. In my own opinion, this obsession with civil war on both a topical and thematic level is the strongest reason for the prioritization of fear in the Bellum Civile. The inseparable nature of civil conflict and the fear that motivates this conflict is deeply set in the collective memory of Roman history. This is evidenced by the moving, yet unsettling, account of the elder’s tale in Book 2, discussed more below, and from the invocation to Nero that opens the epic (1.33-66). In the invocation, the poet expresses (with begrudged acceptance) that Rome’s civil wars were


356 Tesoriero 2010: 239.

357 Conte in Tesoriero 2010, passim.
justified, *si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni* | *inuenere uiam*, “if the fates found no other way for your coming, Nero” (1.33-34). To me, this passage reveals a poet grappling with history, even as he composes an historical epic.\(^{358}\) Was there no other explanation for a century of horror and conflict, except that all that horror put Nero on the throne? Though he is not quite certain, I believe that the poet uses the invocation to Nero to state what he *wishes* to be true. I will return to the idea of the poet’s wishes at the end of this chapter, outlining what they are and how they motivate the poem’s affective program.

In writing explicitly about civil war, Lucan has selected to compose on (perhaps less intentionally, though perhaps not) the topic of fear as a human emotion and the role of fear in civil war. In this manner, Lucan’s poem is indeed an early milestone achievement. In the present age, the relationship between emotion and civil conflict, what is sometimes called “psychopolitics,” is studied across many fields. In particular, the association between fear and politics remains a pressing concern as the realities of our present era, such as terrorism and threats of impending warfare, bring fear to the forefront of news and policy.

Yet this concern is hardly new. For the ancient Greeks and Romans, literature provided a medium through which to address this same intersection of ideas. Consider Thucydides’ analysis of the Peloponnesian War, which concluded that fear (alongside honor and self-interest) was a primary cause of inter-state conflict. Consider also Tacitus’ accounts of the anxiety felt by Roman senators under the new imperial regime. Lintott reminds us that epic, tragedy, and history often share the same theme but adapt different approaches to the execution of that theme.\(^{359}\) This framework is useful for interpreting the *Bellum Civile* as both an emotional tragedy about the fall of the Republic and a history of Roman fear in epic verse.

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\(^{358}\) Which would perhaps explain the insincerity that scholars have sensed from the invocation’s tone. On “The Dedication to Nero and the Augustan Rhetoric of Foundation,” see Leigh 1997: 23–26.

\(^{359}\) Tesoriero 2010: 240.
With a civil war as its narrative setting, the *Bellum Civile* takes as its theme humanity under pressure. Lucan’s poem addresses the fear of the Roman people in the crucible of political turmoil and civil strife that was the late Republican period. By looking back to the conflict of Marius and Sulla, while at the same time following episodes in the war between Caesar and Pompey, the *Bellum Civile* acknowledges a cycle of Roman violence and promotes the idea of this cycle’s endlessness. In this sense, the poem foreshadows the violence between Antony and Octavian and establishes the reign of the Caesars as an “age of anxiety.”

**Literary and Political Culture**

Lucan adeptly approaches psycho-political themes from various generic angles, doing so within a single poetic work. In particular, Lucan draws upon the affective techniques of tragedy and historiography to achieve his emotional vision. These generic elements provide a reason for the prioritization of fear in Lucan’s epic. Berthe Marti has rightly called the *Bellum Civile* a “tragic history,” in part because of the role of emotion in the poem. Alessandro Schiesaro, for example, has examined the role of fear in the tragic dramas of Seneca, Lucan’s contemporary, arguing that emotion in general is the driving force behind not only the actions and behaviors of Seneca’s characters but also the tragic genre itself. Schiesaro argues that for Seneca’s tragedies, passion is the plot. This means that emotions like fear are what drive characters like Medea and Oedipus forward in their actions, advancing the events of drama.\(^{360}\) The comparable nature of fear in the works of Seneca and Lucan prompts us to consider the general role of fear in the literary and

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\(^{360}\) See “Passion, reason and knowledge in Seneca’s tragedies” in Braund and Gill 1997: 92-94. For Seneca’s *Oedipus* in particular, writes Schiesaro, “overwhelming fear is the real motor of the tragedy, as Oedipus is spurred by it to engage in his painful search for truth through a tortuous path.” The overwhelming fear that pushes Oedipus to search for truth, continues Schiesaro, brings him into confrontation with frightening prophecies and the very truth he is afraid to know. This is much the same situation, I would argue, for Lucan’s Appius in his motivation to visit the Delphic oracle, or for Sextus Pompey in his quest for answers from Erictho. There is reason enough here to reexamine Lucan’s Appius and Sextus Pompey alongside the main players of Seneca’s tragedies, though such a study lies beyond the scope of this current project.
political culture of Neronian Rome. Below, I outline some reasons why fear is a focus in the *Bellum Civile* from the perspective of literary and political climate. I suggest that the anxieties of elite Roman life under the emperor Nero provoked an emotional reaction from those within the imperial court that manifested in a horror aesthetic as exemplified by the literary works of Lucan and his uncle Seneca.

In representing extreme and irrational fear as a negative trait, Roman historians viewed fear much in the same way as the Stoics. Seneca is often the exemplary representative of Stoicism at Rome. Even as portrayed in popular culture, Neronian Rome is a period in Roman history that was “out of control and beyond any reasonable expectations,” as one psychology handbook states. While Seneca’s Stoic works take the spotlight for their contributions to modern emotion theory, Lucan’s epic also has much to offer in terms of defining an age, which Marti describes as “an atmosphere of deepest gloom” with a taste for “blood and thunder.” Yet Marti goes on to clarify that these literary “orgies of despair,” as exemplified by both Seneca’s dramas and Lucan’s epic, suggest more than simply a popular sensationalized literary theme and in fact reveal “a profound disturbance in the Roman mind.”

Many have remarked upon the peculiar aesthetic of the Neronian age, a combination of the macabre and downright gruesome, with a tendency toward the excessive and sublimity through horror. This aesthetic takes particular form in Lucan’s extended battle episodes, but

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361 However, fear in Stoicism is not always considered a negative trait and is often attributed to characters in neutral contexts “without any obvious indication that it is a defect” (Levene in Braund and Gill 1997: 129).

362 Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett 2008: 5.

363 Marti 1964: 177.

364 Marti 1964: 177. Similarly, Bartsch considers the Neronian fascination with the grotesque a psychological response to social change, war, and a “shared sense of the absurdity of life and the absence of God” (1997: 46–47).

365 Recently, Slaney 2016.
most famously in the drawn-out nightmare at Massilia. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated using the scene of Catus’ death how Lucan’s graphic images of bodily mutilation imitate civil war by transforming the physical, mutilated body into a concrete representation of an abstract emotion, namely civil anxiety. This dissertation has therefore worked to reveal a connection between the macabre Neronian aesthetic and the construction of affective poetry. If by the principles of Aristotelian poetics, the grim tragedy of Oedipus’ self-blinding is considered an artful narrative device in the service of achieving cathartic fear and pity, then it is useful as well to consider how Lucan’s graphic literary style also works to evoke emotion (and perhaps we may consider it artful as well). To this end, I state below what I view to be the purpose of Lucan’s affective poetry, which in the following section I introduce as the core of Lucan’s poetics of fear.

2. Lucan’s Poetics of Fear: A Program of Paradox and Tension

While scholars acknowledge the “horrific school” of Neronian literature, the role of fear in driving this aesthetic has been understated. It is therefore important to talk about “the poetics of fear” in Lucan’s epic to emphasize the artfulness and intention of the various ways that Lucan, through the techniques and mechanics of poetic composition, represents fear in his epic, and on an even more basic level, to recognize the ways in which Lucan understands the complexity of human emotion and reflects these nuances in verse.

The paradox of Lucan’s poetics is how the poet manages to represent minute nuances of fear through grandiose expressions of literary excess. Lucan’s adept use of vivid description (enargeia), a rhetorical technique related to phantasia, has been criticized as overindulgent and touted as evidence of the poet’s “fondness for grotesque violence and horror, for ‘rhetoric’ and hyperbole and bombast, [and] for lack of all Vergilian ‘restraint.’” But should we not rather

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367 Martindale 1993: 66. Chapter 3 of Redeeming the Text summarizes the critiques against Lucan and promotes counter perspectives.
consider these scenes examples of Lucan’s skill in composing affective poetry? If they make us as readers uncomfortable is that not the poet’s goal? The paradox at the core of Lucan’s poetics of fear is therefore that the poet’s “horrific” affective style works to engage the reader emotionally and empathically with events and characters, yet with an extreme intensity that is distressing and disengaging. In short, Lucan’s representation of fear within an already realistically horrific landscape overshoots its mark. The Bellum Civile aims for a degree of emotional verisimilitude that is, in a sense, too real (and often too much, even for modern readers).

On the topic of engagement in Lucan’s text there has been much interdisciplinary discussion. Shadi Bartsch (1997), Leigh (1997), and Behr (2007), for example, employ theories of audience engagement and alienation in their examinations of the Bellum Civile.\textsuperscript{368} Behr argues overall that Lucan’s style “discourages the reader from uncritically accepting what his characters are suggesting.”\textsuperscript{369} Bartsch too argues for elements of alienation in Lucan’s text, admitting a tension between Lucan’s desire for alienation and the reality of his engaging style, stating “we [the readers] are riven in the middle,” “divided between distance and detachment, embeddedness and alienation.”\textsuperscript{370} It is the dynamic duality of these two narrative forces, both Bartsch and Behr agree, which guides the reader through the process of reading the poem and interpreting the text. Bartsch concludes that

Our alienation is supremely important for Lucan: it ensures that we will find it difficult to become emotionally embedded in the narrative, that we will feel a sense of

\textsuperscript{368} The theorist often referenced in these discussions is twentieth century German dramatist Bertolt Brecht, who promoted alienation in place of engagement and criticized Aristotle’s aesthetics of tragedy that in his view fostered unexamined empathy with the characters on stage. Behr frames her use of Brecht by arguing for a similarity between the techniques Brecht employed in his epic theater and Lucan’s narrative style.

\textsuperscript{369} Behr 2007: 73. For a psychological perspective on personal alienation, see Laing 1969.

\textsuperscript{370} Bartsch 1997: 39. On reader alienation via the grotesque, a central component of Neronian aesthetic, Bartsch continues: “I am arguing here that such alienation is not a side effect of narratorial hijinks but a necessary and standard feature of the grotesque, which relies on the conflicting reactions it arouses in the reader for it uniquely disturbing effect.”
detachment from the events at hand that makes it impossible for us to truly pity the fate of any character mowed down in war.\footnote{Bartsch 1997: 39.}

And yet here is the tension. If our alienation is Lucan’s goal, as Bartsch suggests (“our” referring to the recurrent, ideal reader), then Lucan’s affective poetic style undermines this goal. As I have aimed to demonstrate in Chapter 3, Lucan’s affective technique relies on evoking personal and even unconscious anxieties in his readers through the use of evocative images of fire, collapse, and shipwreck, not to mention outright scenes of bodily mutilation. The effectiveness of these images depends on them being empathetic representations of real human emotions. Since empathy suggests the opposite of detachment, tension emerges from the disharmony between Lucan’s “supremely important alienation,” which “ensures that we will find it difficult to become emotionally embedded in the narrative,” and the poem’s narrative empathy, which promotes the sharing of feeling and perspective between characters and readers.\footnote{Bartsch and Behr’s discussion of alienation and engagement seems to suggest that Lucan promotes a middle-ground sympathy, rather than empathy, for characters such as Pompey. Sympathy is a related but distinct phenomenon, for which a reader feels for a character but does not also share that particular feeling with that character.}

Bartsch and Behr suggest that this tension, that being “riven in the middle...between distance and detachment, embeddedness and alienation,” is conducive to the poet authorizing an interpretation of his own poem, what Masters calls a “single, true reading” of the text.\footnote{Masters 1992: 81.} I, however, am not so convinced. To me, alienation may be Lucan’s plan, but engagement, and in particular emotional engagement, is the reality of the \textit{Bellum Civile}. This reality is promoted by the prioritization of fear in the poetics of the text. In other words, fear dominates the narrative to the extent that Lucan’s readers, both contemporary and modern, may themselves become engulfed by fear through their engagement with the text. Feeling anxious or distressed, they...
might then stop reading altogether.\textsuperscript{374} This is quite the paradox between intention and reality. In the following sections, I examine how this paradox forms and the type of tension it creates, arguing that this tension affects the poet’s ability to promote a “single, true reading” of the text.

\textbf{Implicit and Explicit Emotional Expectation}

I build my argument by first explaining how I distinguish between the intended affective plan of the poet and the emotional reality of his poem. I return to the episode of the elder’s tale first discussed in Chapter 1 to reveal how there exists a tension between what Lucan makes explicit to his readers to be the affective aims of his poem and what the elder’s tale implicitly establishes these aims to be. I argue that the disharmony of these aims produces a tension within the narrative of the \textit{Bellum Civile} that is typified by the anxious and uncertain nature of some of the poet’s apostrophes. The presence of contradictions in the poem’s voice is a phenomenon that has been identified by scholars of Lucan since Ahl. Viewing the issue from the perspective of emotion sheds a new light on this discussion.

The prelude of the elder’s tale establishes the apprehension associated with an uncertain future at Rome (2.64–66). As a representative for the collective Roman people, the elder laments the fact that he has lived long enough to see a reiteration of the conflict between Marius and Sulla (\textit{iterum bellis ciuilibus}, 2.66). By examining the emotional expectations established by the elder, a stand-in for the poet, we can come to a clearer understanding of the affective aims of the \textit{Bellum Civile} as a whole. The quest for \textit{exempla}, argued in Chapter 1 as central to Lucan’s poetic program, is a feature of the historiographic genre. Livy, for instance, conceives of history as episodes of good and bad human behavior, which Livy highlights as positive and negative examples of the type of values and behaviors that a Roman should embody.\textsuperscript{375} I want to suggest

\textsuperscript{374} Consider this a reason for the relatively lethargic scholarly \textit{Nachleben} of Lucan’s epic.

\textsuperscript{375} On “Livy’s Exemplary History,” see Chaplin 2000.
that with the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan is doing something similar, drawing upon historiographic elements to compose an epic on a psycho-political topic. Another way to look at the *Bellum Civile* is to interpret the poem as a dramatized investigation into specific episodes of Roman fear as either good or bad *exempla*. This literary program is made explicit by the elder’s tale in Book 2, which is a *mise en abyme* representation of the poem within the poem. The Roman elder takes the place of Lucan as the creator of a civil war narrative. The elder then recounts the civil war between Sulla and Marius in the same manner that Lucan (under Nero) is looking back on the civil war of Caesar and Pompey. Even more so, the elder’s tale explicitly frames the purpose of this retrospection as a quest for *exempla* of fear (*magno...exempla timori, 2.67*).

\[
\text{atque aliquis [the elder] magno quae} & \text{rens exempla timori} \\
\text{“non alios” inquit “motus tum fata parabant} \\
\text{cum post Teutonicos uictor Libycosque triumphos} \\
\text{exul limosa Marius caput abdidit ulua.”}
\]

And someone seeking precedents for this great fear said “not otherwise then was the commotion the fates prepared when after triumphs over Teutoni and Libyans, the victor Marius in exile hid his head in swampy sedge weed.”

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the key to interpreting this passage is the double meaning of *motus*, which carries connotations of both “civil disturbance” and “emotion.” This one word reveals the symmetry of the elder’s narrative and Lucan’s broader narrative: the *motus* (2.68) experienced by the Roman elders is the same *motus*, or emotion, that they felt during the conflict between Marius and Sulla. It is also the same *motus* (*timor; magno...exempla timori, 2.67*) that Lucan guides his readers to expect to experience from reading both the elder’s tale and the whole of the epic that contains it. It is therefore important to revisit the episode of the elder’s tale since it establishes an emotional expectation for the poem’s readers. This expectation, in my judgment, is disharmonious with the expectation expressed in the *Magne, faubunt* apostrophe in Book 7. In Book 2, Lucan communicates indirectly with his readers, using the Roman elder as his stand-

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376 Luc. 2.67-70.
in. In Book 7, however, Lucan speaks directly to his readers through the uses of apostrophe. The tension between these pronouncements arises not simply from their variant modes of address but from the fact that each passage promotes a different combination of emotions as the expected result of engaging with (by reading or listening to) a narrative about civil war.

Why are these passages comparable? Both passages reference narratives that are explicitly about civil war and as such are self-referential. In Book 2, the Roman elder is recounting his own version of a collective memory of a past civil war (*iterum bellis ciuilibus*, 2.66). This is the same endeavor Lucan undertakes if we consider his poem also as as affective account of a collective Roman memory, namely the war between Caesar and Pompey. The poet even states in the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe: *cum bella legentur* (“when my wars are read,” 7.210). The word *bella* here works on two levels. Firstly, it self-categorizes Lucan’s poem as an epic, since wars (*bella*) were the traditional subject matter of epic since Homer’s *Iliad* set a precedent. Secondly, when Lucan uses the word *bella* to refer to the battles and events within his narrative, he creates a self-referencing allusion back to the beginning of his own poem: *bella per Emathios*... (1.1). In this way, *bella* is a reference to the *Bellum Civile* as a whole. For this reason, the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe can be read as an explicit declaration of the poet’s affective aims and his emotional expectations for his readers, that is, what sort of emotional reaction he expects they should ideally experience as a result of reading (*legentur*, 7.210) about *bella*.

Yet the elder’s tale establishes its own implicit expectations. In Book 2, the elder seeks precedents for the present state of fear at Rome (*magno quaerens exempla timori*, 2.67). The elder’s efforts, however, to interpret history, result in a fear-rooted response in those listening to his account: *sic maesta senectus | praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri*, “so the sad

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377 Augustan Age poets are known for employing *recusatio* as a respectful refusal to write on certain topics traditional to epic, namely wars and kings. This convention is adapted from the proem of Callimachus’ *Aetia*.
elders lamented, remembering the past and fearing the future” (2.232-33). This result does not entirely align with the poet’s expectations in Book 7. As first discussed in Chapter 1, Lucan’s epic τέλος, that is what he aims for his readers to take away from his poem, is primarily affective in nature, as these emotional goals are expressly announced (i.e., made explicit) in the Magne, fauebunt apostrophe. Here Lucan makes the authorial claim that all those who read his epic (omnes...legent, 7.212-13) will come away feeling attoniti (7.212).

cum bella legentur,
spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt,
attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata,
non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

when my wars are read
they will move hopes and fears, and at the same time wishes that will come to nothing, and all astonished will read these wars like events to come, not those having passed, and still, Magnus, they will favor you.³⁷⁸

What is made explicit here is that Lucan’s poem of civil war will effectively “move” readers to experience certain emotions and form specific opinions about the historical events that are transpiring in the text. What is more, in the spirit of narrative empathy, Lucan also asserts that his readers will be drawn into his poetic world to such an extent that these events will unfold as if before their eyes. What the poet states here is a desire to engage, not alienate, his readers emotionally. This is the idea expressed by the phrase ueluti uenientia fata, non transmissa, “like events to come, not those having passed” (7.212-13).

In this same passage, Lucan makes the claim that all those who read his epic (omnes...legent, 7.212-13) will come away feeling a mix of hope and fear in the form of feeling attoniti (7.212). If the nature of this “astonishment” is deduced from its context, to be attoniti can be equated to a combined emotional experience: spesque metusque simul perituraque uota (7.211). Notice the double conjunction of spesque metusque as well as simul (“at the same time”)

³⁷⁸ Luc. 7.210-13.
that links these paired emotions, hope and fear, to the emotional experienced connoted by *peritura uota*. These are the three components of Lucan’s affective τέλος. 379

Yet the harmony of emotion expressed here with *spesque metusque* (7.211) is disharmonious with the grief and fear felt by the Romans as a result of the elder’s tale. In particular, the fear felt there by the Roman elders was a type of *metus* that caused the Romans to disengage with history; remembering the past, they feared for the future (2.232-33) and are therefore ultimately unable to form any sort of hopes or expectations about the future, excepting those rooted in fear. Recall from my discussion in Chapter 1 that the Roman elder ends his tale: *haec rursus patienda manent, hoc ordine belli | ibitur, hic stabit ciuilibus exitus armis. quamquam agitant grauiora metus*, “these things again remain to be suffered, through this succession of warfare | there will be a passing, this outcome will remain for civil arms. | Nevertheless, my fears arouse worse things” (2.223-25). Here anxiety concerning *grauiora* (worse things) is the result of this *metus*. In turn, this *metus* is the emotional result of remembering the past: *praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri* (2.233). The Roman elders may then be said to disengage from history. The ultimate result of the Romans’ collective engagement with a narrative of civil war (in this case, listening to a personal account) is the lost desire or ability to form hopes or expectations about the future. These hopes and expectations might even be called *spes*, and though the word itself is not used here at the end of the elder’s tale, the episode’s ending evokes the poet’s use of *peritura uota* (7.211).

This is to say that the Roman elders, in disengaging from history because of what has been demonstrated to be an extreme apprehension about the future, attempt but do not complete the cognitive process of evaluation and judgment that was explained in Chapter 5 to define the emotion of hope. This process would require that the Roman elders (1) consider the *patienda* (“suffering,” 2.223) in Rome’s future, (2) remember the events of the past, and then

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(3) predict the future of humanity (*humani generis*, 2.226) in a hopeful or optimistic manner. Because the elders do not complete Step 3, but instead come away from the experience of “remembering the events of the past” with an increased sense of fear and apprehension, the Roman elder’s tale is an implicit pronouncement that the expected result from engagement with Roman history is fear, not hope.

However, hope in the form of *spes*, and positive expectations in the form of *uota*, are two of the three components of Lucan’s affective τέλος as expressed in the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe. There then exists a disharmony in the poem’s emotional expectations for its readers. On the one hand, there is an explicit expectation (*spesque metusque simul perituraque uota*, 7.212) that promotes hope and fear together as the balanced emotional result of engagement with a narrative of civil war. On the other hand, there is an implicit emotional expectation (*praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri*, 2.233), which promotes fear to the exclusion of hope. Because both passages have programmatic elements, this disharmony of expectation creates a divergence of affective aims and ultimately produces tension in the narrative of the *Bellum Civile*.

**Peritura Vota: Lucan’s Divergent Affective Aims**

It is time to recall the poet’s “wishes” as introduced above in discussing the invocation to Nero. One can view the *Bellum Civile* as Lucan’s investigation into why Neronian Rome appeared to be hopelessly entangled in a cycle of conflict and violence. The prioritization of fear in the *Bellum Civile* leads me to conclude that in composing his poem, Lucan found an answer. Fear is the insidious machine that powers and propels Roman history. Its portrayal in Lucan’s epic is therefore both innovative and incisive. Thus, for all the artful skill and intention that my dissertation as a whole has hoped to assign with some conviction to Lucan as a poet, it may seem disharmonious in itself that I now introduce the idea of a divergence of affective aims in Lucan’s plan for his poem. A divergence of affective aims would seemingly undercut what Bartsch, Behr,
and others have advocated to be the possibility of an authoritative interpretation, a single reading of Lucan’s text as conveyed by an authorial voice with a “persuasively eloquent persona.”\textsuperscript{380} Rather, a divergence of affective poetics would suggest a poetic narrator who embodies a confused emotional psyche, hardly “persuasive” or “eloquent,” instead more in line with the “schizophrenic” Lucan of John Henderson.\textsuperscript{381} Two key questions therefore frame this section of Chapter 6: how do divergent affective aims contribute to the poetics of fear in the \textit{Bellum Civile} and what can be said about the inevitable tension caused by these diverging aims?

To understand the affective message of Lucan’s \textit{Magne, fauebunt} apostrophe is to understand better the whole of Lucan’s poetics.\textsuperscript{382} It provides a recipe for what Lucan expressly considers the appropriate emotional response to his epic. The keyword here is \textit{attoniti}, or “literary astonishment.” In her commentary on Book 5, Monica Matthew clarifies that “the adjective [\textit{attoniti}] signifies various types of mental disturbance (fear, stupefaction, alarm, madness, grief) caused by a sudden impact of some kind.”\textsuperscript{383} With its use in Book 7, Lucan suggests that \textit{attoniti} signifies \textit{spes, metus,} and \textit{peritura uota}. Two of these three words (\textit{spes, uota}) do not seem to qualified as “mental disturbances.” The Latin \textit{uota} can denote vows or prayers (de Vaan), or wishes, desires, and “things longed for” (L&S), thus connoting some

\textsuperscript{380} Behr 2007: 3.

\textsuperscript{381} Henderson 1987, passim. Scholars have sensed a “tension” in Lucan’s narrative and narrating persona, aiming to define and explicate this tension from different perspectives, usually in support of a specific interpretation of Lucan’s text. Masters summarizes this ongoing discussion regarding the “...divided unity, \textit{concordia discors}, that has produced this split in the authorial, dominating, legitimising persona, this one poet many poets, this schizophrenia, the fractured voice” (1992: 90). Masters suggests that Lucan’s focus on the divided Roman people incites disunity between his own priorities as a poet. It is this same “mimicry of civil war,” I believe, that also rouses disharmony and opposition between the emotions of \textit{spes} and \textit{metus} in the \textit{Bellum Civile}, even though they are concomitant in the programmatic \textit{Magne, fauebunt} apostrophe.

\textsuperscript{382} “Un passaggio fondamentale per cogliere il senso della poetica lucanea” (Lanzarone 2016: 252).

\textsuperscript{383} Matthews 2008: 44–5.
degree of hope, optimism, or positive expectation. In this way, Latin *uota* has a connection to *spes*. It must be noted, however, that in this particular passage, *uota* is qualified by the modifier *peritura*, the future participle of the Latin verb meaning, “to pass away, come to nothing, vanish, disappear, be lost” (L&S). These meanings of *peritura* suggest that Lucan’s *uota* are not so optimistic after all. How are we then to define *uota* in the context of Lucan’s epic? And what relationship do these “wishes” have with *spes* and *metus*?

In the *apparatus criticus* to Housman’s 1927 edition of Lucan’s text, Housman attempts to clarify the language in the *Magne, fauebunt* passage by rearranging the word order: *haec apud seras gentes cum bella leguntur, spes et peritura uota mouebunt* (7.207-211). Does the absence of *metus* in this summary indicate a reading in which *metus* is glossed as *peritura uota*? In the 1658 edition of Lucan edited by Jean Elzevier, *peritura uota movebunt* is explained as *id est, desiderabunt frustra lectores, ut Pompeius uictor futurus fit*, “i.e., the readers will desire in vain that Pompey would have won.” This reading suggests rather that *peritura uota* is more akin to yearning (*desiderabunt*) and irrational expectation (*frustra*). In combination, yearning and expectation are more a characterization of *spes* (hope) than *metus* (fear).

This is to say that the phrasing of Elzevier’s *desiderabunt frustra* for *peritura uota* can gloss *spes* as a largely unviable emotion. The word *spes* in Lucan’s text, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, is often qualified by adjectives or adverbs that undercut the emotion’s presence or effect. Its use in the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe is perhaps the ultimate example; the phrase *peritura uota* is a qualification of both *spes* and *metus*, yet one which reinforces and strengthens the nature of fear in the epic, but diminishes and undercuts the power of hope and its ability to achieve the very hopeful expectation that the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe attempts to convey. The phrase *peritura uota* is therefore the key to understanding the dynamic relationship

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384 Lanzarone (2016) also understands *peritura uota* as Italian *desideri* (252) and glosses the use of *pereo ad. loc.* as *essere frustrato* (253).
between hope and fear in Lucan’s text. It helps us conceptualize the poem as a “civil war of emotions” and ultimately suggests its own interpretation of the *Bellum Civile*.

**Spesque Metusque: Concomitant Opposites in Reflection of Civil War**

The word families of *spes* and *metus* reappear elsewhere in conjunction, as pointed out in Chapter 5. These examples reveal a dynamic of concomitancy and opposition that mirrors the Roman civil war, a conflict that has forced relatives and compatriots (concomitants) to fight against each other (in opposition). A clear opposition of *spes* and *metus* exists in the following examples: *metus hos regni, spes excitat illos*, “the fear of tyranny rouses these, the hope of it those” (7.386); *et spes imber erat nimios metuentibus ignes*, “and the rain was a hope to those fearing excessive fires” (9.375). However, the emotions hope and fear appear also in the poem closely concomitant, for instance: *ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus spemque metumque ferunt*, “a few, with strength taken up to meet uncertain fates, experience both hope and fear” (6.419). The parallelism of *spes* and *metus* in the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe should therefore be read as oppositional, even as the presence of double *que*- (both...and...) suggests that hope and fear as emotions are concomitant.

How to interpret the combination of *spes* and *metus* is not apparent from a cursory reading of the *Magne, fauebunt* apostrophe, but perhaps this lack of clarity is meaningful in itself. In other words, is there something to say about the fact that Lucan’s emotional expectations for his readers are ambiguously stated? I believe that this ambiguity is thematic, and on a grander scale, programmatic. It is the ambiguity that has crept into Lucan’s poetry as a result of the poem’s very subject, civil war, which at a thematic level draws elements of the poem into opposition with each other, including *spes* and *metus*. In this sense, the poetics of fear in Lucan subsume the poetics of hope in that the portrayal of hope as a diminished, unviable emotion throughout the *Bellum Civile* is the result of the prioritization of fear in all elements of the poem. This prioritization, however, as effected through the poem’s vocabulary, imagery, and
in the portrayal of its characters, is a disservice to the poet’s explicit affective aims. At the same time, it reinforces the implicit aims established by the elder’s tale in Book 2. Conflict and tension in Lucan’s epic can therefore be examined from an emotional perspective as a narrative byproduct of the poem’s divergent affective aims.

The volatile combination of *spes* and *metus* is programmatic in the sense that it replicates the poem’s central theme of civil war on an emotional level. This is best illustrated from a scene after the *Magne, Faebunt* apostrophe when the armies of Caesar and Pompey clash at Pharsalus: *ergo utrimque pari procurrent agmina motu | irarum; metus hos regni, spes excitat illos,* “therefore from both parts the battle columns rush forward driven by equal fervor; the fear of tyranny rouses these, the hope of it those” (7.385-86). These lines play off the usage of *motus* as both “civil disturbance” and “emotion” to establish hope and fear as opponents in a “civil war” of “emotion.” The phrase *pari...motu irarum* (by equal fervor) represents concomitancy as both sides experience the same emotion (*ira*), yet in the same verse there is a clear opposition of emotion: *metus hos,* but *spes...illos.* The divergence of the demonstratives *hos...illos* (these...those) underscores the reality of the Roman populace divided by civil war, not only in respect to the generals they support but also in respect to their motives for supporting them.385 Therefore, in a poem about civil war, *spes* and *metus* become thematically opposed, being two emotions unable to be evoked in parallel without creating a tension as conflicting as civil war itself.

### 3. Interpreting the Emotion in Lucan’s Epic: A Psycho-Political Reading

In this final section of Chapter 6, I offer my interpretation of *Bellum Civile* based on the prioritization of fear in the epic. I advance this interpretation as one that Lucan’s engaged, affective style might have guided his ideal readers to accept and consider this interpretation an

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385 See Levene in Braund and Gill 1997 on fear as motivator in Tacitus.
expression of how Lucan’s contemporaries living under the emperor Nero might have read the *Bellum Civile*. In addition, I suggest a way that readers today might draw perspective from Lucan’s treatment of hope and fear in his poem. Ultimately, I posit a reading of the *Bellum Civile* for which *libertas*, representing the freedom of the mind from fear, is in conflict with Caesar and the emotion of fear he so closely embodies. Lucan’s prioritization of fear, and in particular his representation of fear in its complex opposition with hope, constructs a psychopolitical commentary on the future of Rome and Rome’s relationship with the imperial Caesars, the “heirs” of Caesarian Fear.

**The Failure of Consolation: From Trope to Tension**

Elements of tension and contradiction in Lucan’s text have been discussed by Bartsch, Masters, Behr and others. A contradictory or fractured narrating voice is a meta-poetic concern because it affects the poet’s ability to convey a single, true reading of his text and to guide his readers to accept this reading. Yet this discussion can be advanced by viewing the issue from the perspective of emotion. Below, I argue that the disharmony between the poet’s expressed emotional expectations and the emotional reality of his poetic world affects the poet narrator by making him susceptible to the same fear that engulfs the narrative and its characters. This fear undermines the poet’s authorial voice by producing a tone of self-doubt and uncertainty. In turn, this uncertainty reveals a poet who aims to evoke fear in his poem, but who struggles to counteract this emotion with the consolation provided by hope. This prevalent “failure of consolation” trope in Lucan’s epic, explored below, exposes the emotional disharmony of the poet and the fractured nature of his authorial voice.

A good illustration of the general atmosphere of uncertainty within Lucan’s epic occurs in his description on the eve of Pharsalus. Both camps await the decisive battle (*summique grauem discriminis horam, 6.415*). The sense of uncertainty is so ubiquitous in this scene that both sides of the conflict are depicted as equally unsettled. The poet informs us that everyone
cunctos, 6.414) is anxious (mens agitat, 6.415). Amid this anxiety, hope is mentioned, again expressly in conjunction with fear: ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus | spemque metumque ferunt, “a few, taking up strength amid dubious fates, endure both hope and fear” (6.418-19). This combination of hope and fear is presented in a positive light, as a rare state of mind that only a few (pauci) can achieve. The emotion of these few soldiers (spemque metumque) prefigures the spesque metusque of the epic’s readers in the Magne, faebunct apostrophe. There is no explicit sense in the apostrophe that the poem’s readers are likewise a select “few,” but there is the sense in both the Magne, faebunct apostrophe and the scene before Pharsalus that to achieve this balanced combination of spesque metusque requires some degree of “strength against odds” (ad dubios...praesumpto robore casus, 6.418). In the scene above, however, few soldiers actually achieve the balance of hope and fear that Lucan aims to promote. As the poet desires reconciliation between the divided Roman camps, so too may he express a desire that spes and metus be concomitant reader emotions. However, the realities of the narrative, affected by the realities of civil war, confound the poet’s attempts and demand that the praeceps uictor – fear and Caesar – be victorious in the end.

These fear-based realities produce a prevalent trope in Lucan’s text, the “failure of consolation” trope. Throughout the Bellum Civile, Lucan’s characters in times of uncertainty are motivated by their fears and anxieties to seek guidance from oracles, haruspices, constellations, and necromantic witches. But these potential sources of consolation fail to produce answers or else return frightful omens, causing more fear rather than alleviating it. Recall from Chapter 1, for example, the baleful triple prophecy at the end of Book 1. First, the raving matrona, foreshadows the battle at Pharsalus (1.673-95). Then the astrologer Nigidius Figulus consults the constellations and forecasts the oncoming war (1.639-72). Finally, the haruspex Arruns reveals: uenient maiora metu, “things greater than fear will come” (1.635). However, the failure of consolation in Lucan’s epic is best exemplified by the failure of Appius in Book 5 and Sextus Pompey in Book 6 to alleviate their fear after seeking consolation from supernatural sources.
The failure of Appius to find true answers from his Delphic consultation with Phemonoe and the failure of Sextus Pompey to receive a satisfactory prophecy from Erictho’s resurrected corpse highlights the overall failure of the meta-poetic vates, the poet, to provide a similar certainty of knowledge and to provide consolation and emotional guidance in his own poetic world. This is to suggest that Lucan’s emotional apostrophes during scenes of intense character anxiety reveal a poet narrator who fails to rise above the emotions he is narrating. The failure of consolation in Lucan’s epic is therefore both symptomatic of factors internal to the narrative, i.e. Caesar and the civil war that has made the future invariably uncertain, and factors external to the narrative, i.e. the poet narrator affected by the fear in the poem he narrates.

This is also to say that the poet, in narrating fearful events, becomes trapped in the same cycles of engulfing fear as his characters. In Chapter 4, I employed Appius’ visit to the Delphic oracle in Book 5 to demonstrate this engulfing effect. This effect, however, expands even to the one narrating these events. From Appius, to Phemonoe, a cycle of fear is initiated until the poet must intercede by addressing Apollo himself through an extended apostrophe (5.198-208). The poet, in ironic fashion, himself suspends the narrative to ask a series of entities why the world’s fate is held in suspense, and why the oracle therefore gives no proper answer to Appius’ question. The poet questions the earthly oracles (5.198-99), the god Apollo (5.199), the gods in general (5.203), and finally the very stars (dubitabantibus astra, 5.204). Lucan’s commentary here on the nature of uncertainty in his own poetic universe demonstrates how the poet becomes trapped in the same cycles of fear and doubt that affect his characters. In the epics of Homer and Vergil, the authority of the gods is conferred upon the poet through the knowledge of the Muse. This divinely inspired knowledge provides a certainty of Fate and circumstance to the epic’s narrative. This certainty in turn allows the poet to remain distant and detached from the events he narrates.\footnote{On conventions of divine inspiration and motivation in the epic proem, see Wheeler 2002a. On Lucan’s proem in particular, see Conte in Tesoriero 2010.}
Such detachment is however unattainable in narrating the *Bellum Civile*, since the lack of divine presence and intervention in the poem contributes to Lucan’s lack of objectivity. Without divine authority, the poet must assert his own authority through frequent and intrusive apostrophes, doing the work of providing some degree of narrative certainty and emotional consolation to both characters and audience.³⁸⁷ In this manner, a poem composed to be emotionally engaging for the reader engages the poet too. Lucan’s apostrophic outbursts therefore reveal a poet who strongly desires the same thing as Appius and Sextus Pompey, relief from the doubt and uncertainty caused by Caesar (and as I suggest below, by extension Caesarianism), but who struggles to provide this consolation to his characters and to himself.

The poet’s susceptibility to the same fear he narrates affects his ability to guide the poem’s readers through its numerous episodes of doubt, uncertainty, anxiety, and fear. This lack of guidance, in turn, undermines the poet’s ability to pass on to his readers an authorial interpretation of the text. As Schiesaro says about Seneca’s dramas, but which I believe is true also for Lucan’s epic, “the relationship between passions and poetry...implies a remarkable shift in responsibility from the author to the audience. To be sure, the author is responsible for his intentions, and should be judged accordingly. But, whatever these intentions, the real burden of interpretation falls on the audience and ultimately lies outside the sphere of influence of the author himself.”³⁸⁸ Schiesaro here acknowledges the gulf between the poet’s intention and the reality of the text, particularly when emotions play a central role in the work. The wider this gulf, that is to suggest, the more intense the emotions, the more the author loses control over how these emotions will affect his audience and in turn affect the interpretation of the work.

³⁸⁷ On Lucan’s intrusive use of apostrophe, see especially Asso 2009.

³⁸⁸ Braund and Gill 1997: 107. Schiesaro makes a case for Seneca’s inability to control the moral lesson of his tragedies and argues for the “impossibility of Stoic tragedy.”
A Psycho-Political Reading of the *Bellum Civile*

No fair treatment of Lucan’s epic can ignore the emotions at play beneath the surface of the primary narrative. I contend that the prevalence of fear elements in the *Bellum Civile* and the intensity by which these elements are represented in the poem exposes the distress and frustrations of a poet who is seeking *exempla* of fear from the past (i.e. the time of Caesar and Pompey) from a present state of fear at Rome (i.e. under the emperor Nero). The poet of the *Bellum Civile* therefore conveys a psycho-political message to his readers.

Psycho-politics at its most basic is the intersection of human psychology and politics. It is a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework for investigating relationships between political variables such as party affiliation, approval of leaders, and hopes and fears concerning a national future. Using this framework allows me to advance a fear-based reading of the text. Fear is employed in Lucan’s epic to comment on historical figures and events from a pivotal moment in the rise of the Caesarian dynasty at Rome. For Lucan, writing under Nero, the heir of this dynasty, composing an epic on Caesar’s civil war was a manner through which to address the renewal of fear at Rome nearly a hundred years later. There are many forms of fear represented in Lucan’s epic and together they represent a collective Roman fear that would appeal to a contemporary reader of the *Bellum Civile*. This Roman fear is political. As political scientist Corey Robin explains:

...political fear [is] a people’s felt apprehension of some harm to their collective well-being – the fear of terrorism, panic over crime, anxiety about moral decay – or the intimidation wielded over men and women by governments or groups. What makes both

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389 Future research will hopefully explore how the anxieties of Neronian Rome manifest themselves in other works of the age, particularly in the philosophical prose of Seneca and in his dramatic works as well. The *Octavia*, for example, a pseudo-Senecan *praetexta* play featuring both Seneca and Nero as characters, contains this striking confession from the mouth of the emperor himself: *deceit timeri Casearem*, “it is fitting that Caesar be feared” (457). Even if this text is not authentic to the Neronian Age, the author seems to have desired to invoke the culture of Nero’s reign by bringing fear to the forefront. In addition, *praetexta* plays were a dramatic subgenre that dealt specifically with historical events, suggesting an inherent relationship between Roman history and fear.
types of fear political rather than personal is that they emanate from society or have consequences for society.\textsuperscript{390}

From the perspective of political fear, Lucan’s epic is a commentary on the future of Rome and Rome’s relationship with the Caesars. The collective political fear of the Roman people is defined through the whole of the elder’s tale, discussed throughout this dissertation. What the elder’s tale reveals about the political nature of fear in Lucan is that fear has the potential to unite. In listening to the elder’s tale and coming together to commiserate afterwards, Rome’s citizens are united through fear even as fear motivates the civil war that divides them. Since fear demonstrates such potential to unite, why then does fear divide and destroy rather than strengthen and stabilize? How did the Sallustian \textit{metus hostilis} become this divisive form of fear?

The answer is Caesar. It is a case of psycho-political \textit{cui bono}? In analyzing Rome’s violent past, we must ask ourselves who in Roman society had the most to gain from fear. Lucan’s Caesar redefines \textit{metus hostilis}; he is Rome’s \textit{Roman} enemy, and the key to his status as \textit{victor} is the emotional forces (fear and hope) that he is able to hijack for his own cause. Robin explains further how fear is “...a political tool, an instrument of elite rule or insurgent advance, created and sustained by political leaders or activists who stand to gain something from it, either because fear helps them pursue a specific political goal, or because it reflects or lends support to their moral and political beliefs – or both.”\textsuperscript{391} In Caesar’s case, fear reflects both moral and political belief, since Caesarian Fear is political fear, and the weapon of Caesarianism. This “Caesarianism” is defined in the epic by Caesar’s own troops, who mutiny in protest against the rejection of \textit{pietas} (piety) and \textit{fides} (loyalty) that Caesar’s leadership promotes. The mutineers state: \textit{quando pietasque fidesque | destituunt moresque malos sperare relictum est, | finem ciuili faciat discordia bello}, “since both piety and loyalty | leave and it is left to hope for bad

\textsuperscript{390} Robin 2004: 2.

\textsuperscript{391} Robin 2004: 16.
behaviors, let strife [mutiny] make an end to civil war” (5.297-299). The phrase *sperare relictum est* (it is left to hope) echoes the poet’s own wish, *liceat sperare timenti*, “may it be allowed for them, though fearful, to hope” (2.15). This parallel suggests two important conclusions. Firstly, that the concept of “hope” for Lucan is aligned with the yearning for an end to civil conflict and the desire for anti-Caesarian resistance. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it suggests that this hope is highly optative - “if only.” This is to say that the poet’s hopes are likely never to be realized.

Yet despite how it is presented as an unviable emotion within the epic’s landscape, hope can be considered a commendable emotion in the *Bellum Civile*, I believe, if we define it in a specific manner. This commendable hope is an expectation, wish, or even desire for the future of the Roman state. It is a yearning that Rome might break free from the cycles of violence, strife, and fear that allows leaders like Sulla, Augustus, and Nero – predecessors and heirs of Caesar – to weaponize fear and use it to further enslave Rome to her history.392 For Lucan, who grew up at court close to the emperor Nero,393 it is likely he composed the *Bellum Civile* having witnessed himself this hope arise at the auspicious start of Nero’s reign, only to watch it disappear as Nero grew to become an unmanaged and unpredictable ruler.394 It is for these reasons that I believe that the *peritura uota* (wishes soon to perish), which Lucan aims to arouse alongside *spes* and *metus* (7.212), belong equally to the poet as to his contemporary readers.

392 Lucan’s conception of a Roman cycle of fear is validated by the reign of Domitian, yet another heir of Caesarian Fear. There is evidence too that the Neronian aesthetic of fear persisted into the Flavian dynasty. Publishing in 91 – 92 CE under Domitian, Statius wrote the *Thebaid*, an epic retelling of the *Seven Against Thebes* myth, also on the topic of civil war. Lucan would surely have approved of such verses from Statius as *consumpsit uentura timor*, “fear has consumed things to come” (*Theb*. 10.563).

393 Our main sources for the life of Lucan are two Vitae (Lives) attributed to Suetonius and Vacca, a sixth century grammarian. The death of Lucan is narrated by Tacitus (*Ann*. 15.48-70).

394 Nero became emperor at age seventeen. There was hope for the young emperor, particularly in the first five years of his reign, cf. Sen. *Clem*. It was after the death of his tutors Sextus Africanus Burrus (62 CE) and Seneca the Younger (65 CE) that this hope disappeared.
Two questions then remain: what are these *uota*? And what is Lucan’s unviable *spes*? In his commentary on Lucan’s text, Lee Fratantuono offers an answer.

In *Augustus* - the end of history – Rome finds itself trapped in a terrible repeating cycle, a nightmare where one wakes ever anew to a new *princeps*, a new expectation (we should say hope) that with imperial death and deification there will be a peace such as the world never knew (i.e., enduring serenity) ...the cycle is seemingly endless (until final dissolution) without hope of escape...” 395

As the rise of Caesar after the wars of Sulla confirmed to the elders in Book 2 that Rome’s cycle of violence would not soon end, the succession of power from Caesar to Augustus was a significant blow against the hope Fratantuono mentions above, a hope of peace. The *Bellum Civile* therefore suggests that, for Lucan, this hope remained unrealized. At the conclusion of Book 4, Lucan indicts the line of Caesar’s house (*Caesareae domus series*, 4.823) as promulgators of Roman bloodshed in the footsteps of Sulla, Marius, and Cinna, accusing the Caesars of using the sword (*ensis*, 4.821) against “us” (*in iugulos nostros*, 4.821). 396 With this violence also comes fear, and though peace was promised by Augustus and his heirs, Lucan’s text suggests that Nero revealed himself to be the true heir of this imperial legacy through the fear and anxiety he promulgated among the Romans. 397

A taste of this imperial anxiety is illustrated in Lucan’s Book 8. As the scattered senate rejoins its defeated leader, this once venerable Republican body struggles to find its place in the shadow of Caesarian domination. Despite its efforts to advise Pompey, and to save what

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395 Fratantuono 2012: 12.

396 Matthew Roller has suggested that Lucan’s “us” (*in iugulos nostros*, 4.821) reflects Lucan’s “contemporary audience, but also earlier generations who were the contemporaries of each Caesar in the line” (2001: 37–38).

397 This “imperial anxiety” is a recurrent theme into the Late Empire. In 2015, the Capitoline Museum in Rome hosted an exhibition entitled “The Age of Anxiety” (*L’età dell’Angoscia*). It featured busts of emperors from the years 180 to 305 CE, from Commodus to Diocletian. This period in Roman history is known for political crises and growing economic instabilities that would signal the final decline of the Roman Empire. The exhibition ran at the Musei Capitolini, Rome, from January 28, 2015 – October 4, 2015. I visited summer of 2015 with the Classical Summer School of the American Academy in Rome. For a review of the exhibition and overview of the collection, see Marlowe 2016.
prospects remain for Republican Rome after Pharsalus, the senate sends Pompey to his death. The senate condemns its own cause in a manner both frustrating and ironic, since the decision to send Pompey to Egypt was supported by Republican libertas, in the form of free speech (8.454-455). The descendants of this Republican libertas are therefore Lucan’s intended readers.

The collective Roman state under Nero is particularly front and center in this ideal audience. The rule of Nero represents a time in Rome when the great Republican metus hostilis had been replaced with the anxieties of the imperial court. Behr stands correct in her assertion that Lucan is writing “for the fearful,” though I would add, for the politically fearful. When Lucan writes, sit subitum quodcumque paras (“whatever you prepare [rector, Olympi] may it come unexpected,” 2.14), it is questionable that he should address Jupiter, a god in a poem without gods. I believe that rector (2.4) instead should be interpreted as a nod toward Nero in his role as the heir of Caesarian Fear. The epic’s second proem can then be read as a psycho-political prayer for ignorance, if there cannot be stability, and for blindness if there cannot be hope.

**Libertas: Freedom from Fear**

This is all quite bleak, however. What message of hope can Lucan’s poem attempt to convey to his contemporary readers living in an age of imperial anxiety? The answer, I conclude, lies in the allegory of Lucan’s civil war. As Lintott has expressed, the *Bellum Civile* is not merely about two factions destroying each other; it is also about the state destroying itself. To these two points I add a third, that Lucan’s epic is about individuals destroying themselves through fear, particularly the forms of fear that are extreme or irrational. A strictly ideological reading of the

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398 The invocation to Nero assures that the emperor is also part of Lucan’s intended audience.

399 Tesoriero 2010: 265.
*Bellum Civile* concludes that the Republic was destroyed by Caesar, since Caesar represents the death of Republican virtues and *mores* such as *libertas*. Yet by reading fear and emotion into Lucan’s epic, another interpretation emerges, that the fear of Caesar won the war for Caesar, thus precipitating the decline of the senate’s authority and the fall of Republican Rome.

This is to say that our understanding of how fear is constructed thematically in Lucan’s epic prompts a redefinition of the poem’s central “civil wa,” not as war between Pompey and Caesar, or Caesar against the senate, but as a conflict between Caesar and everyone else. Caesar defeats all peoples participating in the civil war, both centrally and peripherally, since aside from the exemplary exceptions of Erictho and Cato, all participants are to some extent affected by Caesarian Fear. When we acknowledge the centrality of fear in Lucan’s account of history, we realize the truth of civil war, that there are no winners. Caesar too, in the last lines of what we have of Book 10, has only two options: to fear death or to pray for it (*dubiusque timeret* | *optaretne mori*, 10.542-43). Caesarian Fear thus engulfs even Caesar, subsuming its host by afflicting him (even if temporarily).

Ultimately, there are no winners in Lucan’s version of history, because Lucan’s version of history is highly emotional. Fear, for Lucan, is the ultimate, unavoidable enemy. This is to say that Lucan’s epic compels us to consider how the civil war was lost not on a battlefield, but on an emotional plane, at the level of individuals. The *Bellum Civile* therefore prompts a reexamination of the fall of the Republic and the rise of the imperial Caesars from the perspective of socio-cultural and political emotion. In light of the centrality of fear in Lucan’s vision of history, for example, how might we define Republican *libertas*, that standard of Roman

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400 The recurrent Roman conflict between freedom and autocracy is based on the poet’s famous apostrophe at the height of Pharsalus: *par quod semper habemus, libertas et Caesar*, “the pair we always have, libertas and Caesar” (7.695-96).

401 The poem’s final mention of fear is also one last example of the cooption of hope by fear, discussed in Chapter 5. Caesar’s options are *timeret* and *optare* (10.542-43). The verb *opto* denotes “to desire, pray for” (de Vaan 2008) recasting Caesar’s options as fear and hope. In this case, however, both the “fearful” option and the “hopeful” one are inarguably bleak.
freedom? Recall from Chapter 5 the discussion of libertas in the senate’s debate after Pompey’s defeat at Pharsalus (Book 8). The scene appears at first to take to champion the liberty of free speech and the senate-backed Republican freedom that Caesar’s actions in the war threaten (cf. 8.454-455). But it is this same libertas that leads Pompey to his death. Then Cato takes over the Republican charge and the epic’s central conflict shifts from Pompey versus Caesar to Caesar versus this Republican value of libertas. Cato opposes Caesar in this allegorical conflict through his Book 9 desert march (see Chapter 4). He states explicitly that the form of liberty that died with Pompey (9.192-93) was only a shade of what was in truth destroyed by Marius and Sulla (9.204-6), but that he will still believe in and follow old Republican values (9.210-11). Yet this insistence on libertas again foreshadows a Republican defeat, in this case, Cato’s suicide at Utica, the symbolic death of the Republic, and the final defeat of libertas by Caesar. There is thus another layer to Lucan’s libertas and the conflict between the values that Caesar embodies and libertas conveys. Replacing the character of Caesar with the concept of Caesarian Fear, that is, by opening the poem’s primary conflict into a secondary, emotional plane, reveals a new way to interpret Republican libertas. It is not only a collective Roman freedom but also an individual emotional fortitude. As Lintott has suggested, the “moral of the poem” is not a political program, but a “prescription to the individual,”402 which is to agree with Charles Martindale that Lucan suggests an individual freedom of mind may be more important than a collective freedom of state.403 The Bellum Civile is thus an historical epic about how individuals waged battles within themselves between hope and fear, reasonability and irrationality, and how fear won.

402 Tesoriero 2010: 265.

403 Tesoriero 2010: 281.
Conclusion

The three goals of this project have been to examine reasons for the aesthetic and thematic prioritization of fear in the *Bellum Civile*, to assess the poet’s affective aims, and to promote a psycho-political reading of the text, one that Lucan’s engaged, affective style might have guided an ideal, contemporary reader to accept. The individual chapters of this dissertation have built upon each other in support of these goals, and as a coda to this project I highlight below how my work in Chapters 1-5 led to the conclusions of Chapter 6.

My conclusion emphasizes the epic’s innovative representation of fear as a domineering human emotion, one intimately tied to the cycles of violence and civil strife that underlie Roman history. Like a cycle itself, my dissertation ends where it began, with a discussion of fear in Lucan as subject matter, theme, and a feature of reader response. In Chapter 1, “Histories of Fear: Lucan’s Epic and the History of Fear in Greco-Roman Thought,” I rooted my project in the programmatic importance of fear that Lucan promotes through “proxy poets,” i.e. characters who stand in for the poet. I focused first on the *haruspex* Arruns (1.584-638). Described as a *vates* (1.585), a conventional stand-in for the poet, Arruns “spoke” as Lucan, warning all audiences, both those involved in the narrative and those engaged with it as readers, that the civil war of the *Bellum Civile* would be one defined by fear. Next, I situated this fear in the broader Greco-Roman tradition, revealing a literary preoccupation located at the intersection of tragedy, rhetoric, and historiographic writing and technique. Lastly, I identified Lucan’s emotional goals for his poem by uncovering the epic’s τέλος in the inserted narrative of the Roman elder (2.67-233). Together Arruns and the Roman elder herald fear as both topic and theme for Lucan’s epic and preview, through their own fearful uncertainty for Rome’s future, the poet’s plan to render his Roman audience *attoniti*.

My next step was to better define the nature of fear as it is represented in the *Bellum Civile*. Chapter 2, in conjunction with Chapter 3, surveyed how Lucan uses language to represent
fear. In “Part 1 – Vocabulary,” I surveyed the poet’s use of *formido, horror,* and *uereor,* as well as the more frequently occurring *metus, timor, pavor,* and *terror,* determining that the fundamental divide in this semantic set lies between fear derivative of concrete, physical causes and the fear of abstractions. While the poet’s use of *horror* and *pavor* primarily reflected the physical dimension of fear as a bodily response, abstract fear was denoted by the word family *timor* and enforced by Lucan’s use of the word families *formido, uereor, metus,* and *terror* to emphasize the irrational causes of human action and the perversity of human priorities in civil war. I also determined there was a tendency for Lucan’s vocabulary to connote abstract fears, namely anxieties about the future, loss of honor, or one’s non-imminent death. Later in Chapters 4 and 5, I examined how these abstract fears motivate Lucan’s characters, including Appius, Sextus Pompey, and Pompey himself.

Chapter 3 built upon Chapter 2 by arguing that Lucan composes affective poetry, i.e., poetry that intends to provoke a specific emotional response from its readers, through a combination of words and images. I was particularly interested in how Lucan uses metaphoric language to evoke fear *without* the recourse of lexical signaling, thus coding a scene as effectively “frightening” without needing to invoke the vocabulary of fear. In “Part 2 – Imagery,” I argued that Lucan’s technique of affective imagery is based on the representation of an abstract (irrational) emotion through a comparison to a concrete (reasonably frightening) experience. I then applied this model to depictions of extreme bodily mutilation in Lucan’s text and three images of *extra bellum* calamity, i.e., depictions of injury and disaster unrelated to battle and warfare (e.g. fire, collapse, and shipwreck). I determined that Lucan uses images as illustrative tools, evoking strong emotion as a technique to draw the reader more fully into the poem’s historical narrative.

Chapter 3 uncovered Lucan’s affective program to represent an evocatively “Roman” form of fear, one imbedded in cycles of Roman violence and civil conflict. This fear was identified as civil anxiety, foreshadowing my conclusions about Lucan’s psycho-politics in
Chapter 6. Furthermore, Chapter 3 anticipated my discussion of Caesar as the root of civil anxiety by demonstrating how fear in the *Bellum Civile* is characterized through vocabulary and imagery as a ubiquitous, aggressive, and indiscriminately destructive force. Chapter 4 then suggested we read Lucan’s Caesar as an embodiment of this force, and as another representation of fear in the text. I argued that as the emotion of fear inspires perversity and irrationality in Lucan’s characters, fuels the civil war, and ultimately precipitates the destabilization of the Roman state, in essence so does Caesar. Chapter 4 therefore analyzed the fire and lightning imagery through which Lucan first associates and then ultimately conflates the nature of fear and the personality of Caesar. I also considered how the poet’s conflation of Caesar and fear cast Caesar as a physical representation of the engulfing effect of fear upon the epic’s landscape, and how fear was in turn cast as *victor*, in other words, as one emotion in opposition to another.

Chapter 5 explored my interpretation of Caesar and Pompey, and hope and fear, as concomitant, yet oppositional forces. Hope in this opposition is “defeated” by the “victorious” fear, championed by Caesar, making the chief problem of hope in the *Bellum Civile* that it exists in a world already dominated by Caesar and the fear he embodies (Caesarian Fear). In this environment, hope becomes “hijacked,” or coopted, in support of the *victrix causa* (1.128), the winning side in the Roman civil war. In addition, Pompey’s relationship with fear undercuts his ability to convincingly represent or champion hope, as Caesar does fear in the poem. This in turn problematizes readings of the *Bellum Civile* as a politically or ideologically “hopeful” poem composed to provide “hope for the fearful” (*liceat sperare timenti*, 2.15), leading me to promote a different interpretation in my final chapter.

Chapter 6 examined the poem’s implicit and explicit establishment of emotional expectations for its readers. The resulting disharmony becomes a source of contradiction and tension within the narrative, which in turn produces emotional anxiety in both the poem’s characters and the poet’s narrating persona. This authorial anxiety then affects the ability of Lucan’s readers to navigate the poem’s emotional landscape and to achieve the poet’s
expectations for them. In addition, Lucan constructs Nero as the heir of Caesarian Fear, making the emperor’s invocation in Book 1 the key to interpreting the epic’s thematic conflict between hope and fear as its own bellum civile of emotion. We should then interpret the prioritization of fear in Lucan’s epic, and especially fear’s complex opposition with hope, as Lucan’s psycho-political commentary on the future of Rome and Rome’s relationship with the Caesars.
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