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Guilt in Vergil's 'Aeneid' and Lucan's 'Bellum Civile'

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Graduate Program in Classics

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Abstract

This study is a comparative analysis that focuses on the portrayal of guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. I use Greek and Roman concepts of emotions and modern theories from psychology and psychoanalysis to argue that many of the emotions that seemingly pervade these poems, such as anger and despair, should be read as being partly related to a hero's experience of guilt. I examine different types of guilt, namely legal and psychological guilt, to better understand how Vergil and Lucan use guilt to develop the emotional landscapes of their poems and how they represent the psychological processes and effects that this emotion elicits in their characters.

I also argue that Vergil and Lucan make the characters' psychological guilt manifest by utilizing specific literary devices. I analyze episodes that describe the intervention and influence of the gods in the *Aeneid* and *Fatum* and *Fortuna* in the *Bellum Civile*. I demonstrate that one of the roles these divinities maintain is directly associated with the heroes' experience of guilt because they act as promoters, preventers, and alleviators of guilt and actions that will incur guilt. Finally, I examine dream accounts and appearances of ghosts and apparitions to show how the poets use these mechanisms to make their characters' latent psychological struggle with guilt manifest to the reader because they represent external embodiments of this emotion.

Keywords: guilt; Vergil's *Aeneid*; Lucan's *Bellum Civile*; ancient literary representations of emotions; emotions in Vergil's *Aeneid*; emotions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*; dream narratives in Latin epic; ghosts and apparitions in Latin epic; Fate and Fortune in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*; the gods in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

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I dedicate this work to my grandparents, Leslie and Anna Sugar. Vos simul in pace inter sidera requiescatis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A person's experience of guilt can be expressed in many ways and it can affect his overall mental disposition and world view. In the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, the theme of guilt influences character development and it provides the opportunity for Vergil and Lucan to explore the created psychological content and emotional struggle of their characters. Both poets use specific poetic *topoi*, namely the appearance of divinities, ghosts and apparitions, and dream accounts, to subtly call attention to the importance of guilt for the emotional landscape of their poems. This study will discuss how, in the *Aeneid*, the theme of guilt influences the narrative as Aeneas contends with his perceived culpability for his role in Troy's fall and his inability to protect his city and his entire family. In the *Bellum Civile*, guilt pervades the epic because Caesar and Pompey's engagement in civil war is the ultimate crime, which transgresses moral, religious, and legal boundaries. In each poem, guilt exists in legal and psychological contexts and it plays a part in determining not only what actions a character undertakes, how he interacts with others, and what feelings he has, but it also shapes the progression of the narrative overall.

Roman authors frequently advocate for the repression or elimination of emotions because they are irrational, they disrupt human functioning, and they compel a person to assent to false beliefs about how it is right or wrong to act.¹ Vergil captures this idea in the *Aeneid* when Aeneas realizes that the Greeks have penetrated the walls of Troy. Aeneas is out of his mind with anger (*amens*, *Aen.* 2.314), which overtakes his reason

¹ Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.9-13; Sen. *De Ira* 1.1-12, 2.12-13; Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* 3.461, 3.140-142, 3.31-90; Ov. *Met.* 8-18-21.

(*furor iraque mentem / praecipitat, Aen. 2.316*) and compels him in to rush to battle even though he knows he will die (*Aen. 2.317*).² Vergil, however, is subtle in his explanation of why this emotion seems to pervade Aeneas' mind so often.

In the *Aeneid*, and in Latin epic more generally, many scholars tend to focus on anger and discuss its role as the predominant emotion for the determination of plot progression and character development.³ Anger is a reactive emotion, in that it occurs as an instinctual response,⁴ which in the above example explains Aeneas' rush in to battle to make a last stand. But where does a character's anger originate? Before he recalls his violent reaction to the Greek invasion, Aeneas expresses his perceived culpability for Troy's fall to Dido (*et quorum pars magna fui, 2.6*). Modern theorists in psychology and psychoanalysis maintain that a person feels culpable for a certain event or action after he has made a cognitive judgment about an external stimulus, or the traumatic event that led to his acceptance of fault.⁵ As a result, he often reacts with aggression,⁶ which is sometimes channeled toward revenge,⁷ as a way to cope with his perceived inability to prevent this event from occurring.⁸ If we examine Aeneas' statement to Dido (2.6) and his reaction to the Greek invasion (2.313-317) through this lens, the emotion that Aeneas seems to experience when he realizes that the Greeks attack Troy is not necessarily anger, but guilt. Aeneas' guilt results from his negative judgment of himself because of his

² Elsewhere in the poem, Vergil also portrays Aeneas' bouts of intense anger (cf. *Aen. 2.575-576; 2.668-667; 10.513-517; 10.821-824; 12.946-947*).

³ For more information on the role of anger in Vergil's *Aeneid* see Galinsky (1988), Putnam (1990), Wright (1997), Gill (2003) and Nelis (2015); in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* see Fantham (2003); and for anger in epic more generally see Braund and Gilbert (2003).

⁴ Tracy and Robins 2006: 1339-1340.

⁵ Lewis 1971: 30; Solomon 1980: 33; Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 49-78.

⁶ Carroll 1985: 1985: 9.

⁷ MacHardy 2008: 2-5.

⁸ Clifton et al. 2017: 10.

failure to protect his city and his entire family. By applying modern theories of psychology and psychoanalysis to Aeneas' expression of rage, aggression, and other reactive emotions, such as despair and sadness, therefore, we can examine how Vergil might implicitly suggest to his reader that Aeneas experiences guilt and we can discern how he subtly portrays Aeneas' psychological struggle with this emotion throughout the course of the poem.

Similarly, in the *Bellum Civile*, *furor* seemingly rules the narrative because it is synonymous with civil war (*quis furor, o cives*, BC 1.8). Lucan implies that *furor* clouds sound judgment and that it is the reason the world plummets *in commune nefas* (1.6). Like Vergil, Lucan indicates that *furor* originates from guilt. Lucan says that it is only after people give in to luxury and their lust for crime that *furor* makes them mindless and drives them to commit more actions that will incur guilt (BC 1.161-182). In the *Bellum Civile*, however, *furor* is no longer a reactive and temporary disposition, as it was for Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, but it is a permanent condition that results from a perpetual desire for crime and guilt (*multosque exhibit in annos / hic furor*, BC 1.668-669). *Furor*, then, is not only a person's response to guilt, but is also ensures that the characters will achieve victory by committing actions that will incur more guilt, which is an idea that is evident in Caesar's actions during the Battle of Pharsalus (BC 7.557-559): "Here Caesar, the frenzy and goad of fury for the people, wandering goes around the troops and adds fires to their burning souls, lest crime dies out in some part of his own army."⁹ Although Vergil and Lucan depict their characters' experience and expression of guilt somewhat

⁹ *Hic Caesar, rabies populis stimulusque furorum, / ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum / it vagus atque ignes animis flagrantibus addit.*

differently, in both poems this emotion rules the narrative and it helps them to articulate the positive and negative qualities of their heroes.

In this study, I will argue that the emotions that Vergil and Lucan portray in the *Aeneid* and *Bellum Civile*, such as anger, despair, and sadness, should not be read as being isolated from one another, but rather that the emotions each character experiences are partly related to and originate from his experience of guilt. I will use theories from psychoanalysis and psychology to illuminate this psychological aspect of the characters that has not yet been fully explored. I will also examine different types of guilt, namely legal and psychological, to determine how Vergil and Lucan use guilt to develop the emotional landscapes of their poems and how they represent the psychological processes and effects that this emotion elicits.

I will argue that we can use Aeneas' expression of other reactive emotions, especially anger and despair, to determine how Vergil implicitly suggests that Aeneas psychologically struggles with guilt. Lucan's poem, on the other hand, differs from Vergil's because the narrator frequently and overtly assigns legal guilt to his characters.¹⁰ I will show that Lucan engages with Vergil's model by continuing to emphasize the role that guilt has in determining not only the actions, reactions, and development of his characters, but also the narrative sequence and the outcome of the poem overall. Finally, I will explore the devices and mechanisms both poets use to make their characters' psychological content and experience of guilt manifest to the reader, namely the characters' interactions with the gods or semi-divine figures, their experience of dreams, and their interactions with ghosts and apparitions.

¹⁰ *BC* 1.6; 5.198-210; 7.387-459; 7.550-559; 7.847-872; 8.823; 10.1-6.

I hope to show that, by applying modern theories of guilt to explore what guilt is and what form it can take, how a person copes with guilt, and what other emotions are byproducts of guilt, a reader of the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile* can attain a new perspective on the emotional landscape of these poems. It is my aim to contribute to the understanding and study of Latin epic by gaining access to the created consciousness and rationale of these heroes as they grapple with human emotion and thought processes. These poems not only explored the trials, sufferings, and journeys of men, but they also were important social and cultural teaching tools in the education of young Romans for behavior, morality, and the management of emotions.¹¹ If we can analyze these poems through this lens, we can also gain greater insight into the thoughts of the Roman people and Roman culture more generally.

Ancient and Modern Theories of Guilt

Before an analysis of Vergil's and Lucan's representation of guilt in the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, I will first explore the nature of guilt and its relationship with other emotions, how psychologists and psychoanalysts characterize and categorize guilt in legal and psychological contexts, and how guilt resembles and differs from shame.¹² Next, I will outline Roman concepts of the negative emotions, and guilt in particular. To do this, I will survey the Latin terms for guilt to show how the Romans, like us, conceived of and categorized guilt based on its legal and psychological qualities.

¹¹ Keith 2000: 8-35.

¹² I will discuss the relationship between guilt and shame further in Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion (pp.13-20).

Guilt is innate in each of us and it is a fundamental component of all human beings.¹³ This emotion affects our interactions with others, it plays a part in determining how we place ourselves in the world, and it even incites us to purchase products from advertisements we see.¹⁴ Within the last few decades, many scholars in various fields, such as social psychology and psychology¹⁵ and psychoanalysis,¹⁶ have attempted to discern how guilt differs from other emotions and how people experience and express guilt.

A person's experience of guilt is largely based on cognitive and evaluative judgments.¹⁷ Guilt is centered upon the assessment of the self in a way that instinctual and reactive emotions, such as anger and fear, do not always adhere to and, unlike these emotions, guilt's behavioral and physical manifestations are often much more muted. Such judgments and assessments prompt an internal moral and psychological struggle that compel the agent to analyze and evaluate himself and his actions in a way that is different from other emotions. Due to the importance of self-evaluation and self-reflection for the production of guilt, modern psychologists often classify it as a 'self-conscious' emotion, rather than as a 'basic' or 'biological' emotion, like anger and fear. A 'self-conscious' emotion involves this process of self-evaluation and a reflection of one's 'stable self-representations,' which makes it different from 'basic' reactive or instinctual emotions.¹⁸ Defining features of a 'self-conscious' emotion are the experiencer's continual assessment and evaluation of his anticipation or committal of an

¹³ Carroll 1985: 9.

¹⁴ Huhmann and Brotherton 1997: 36.

¹⁵ McGraw (1987); Tangney (1990); Baumeister, Stillwell, and Heatherton (1994).

¹⁶ Fingarette (1955); Hughes (2008); Carveth (2013).

¹⁷ Lewis (1971); Greenspan (1995); Tangney and Dearing (2002); Tracy and Robins (2006).

¹⁸ Tracy and Robins 2006: 1339-1340.

action, how this deed affects him and others around him, and what type of appraisal he places on it. As a result, ‘self-conscious’ emotions are extremely social in nature,¹⁹ they address the place of the ‘self’ within society, and they determine how a person interacts with others.

Tracy and Robins (2006) use cognitive theories of emotion to emphasize the importance of appraisal in the experience of a ‘self-conscious’ emotion.²⁰ They argue that a person experiences ‘self-conscious’ emotions, especially shame, pride, embarrassment, and guilt, only after an appraisal takes place.²¹ For ‘self-conscious’ emotions, appraisal is based upon an evaluative judgment of the self and these appraisals can focus on various events, agents, or objects.²² These appraisals, in turn, initiate immediate punishment or reinforcement of a behavior, thus enabling the ‘self-conscious’ emotions to “function as an emotional moral barometer, providing immediate and salient feedback on our social and moral acceptability.”²³ Tracy and Robins argue that a person must first identify the ‘causal locus,’ or the action or event that leads to the experience of an emotion, and then determine whether this action or event is caused by factors internal or external to the individual. After this appraisal process, the causal locus will determine which emotion is experienced. If the locus can be attributed to an internal cause, it will produce a ‘self-conscious’ emotion but, if the locus is attributed to an external cause, a non-self-conscious emotion, such as anger, will follow.²⁴ To Tracy and Robins, guilt is a ‘self-conscious’ emotion because it involves the appraisal of the ‘causal locus’ of an

¹⁹ Parrott 2004: 136.

²⁰ Cognitive theories of emotion will be discussed further in Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion (pp.37-39).

²¹ Tracy and Robins 2006: 1339-1341; 1348-1349.

²² Parrott 2004: 137

²³ Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek 2007: 22.

²⁴ Tracy and Robins 2006: 1340.

action as attributable to an internal cause and it forces the experiencer to evaluate the locus's implications for his own identity.²⁵ The emphasis, therefore, is not on the causal locus itself for the creation of guilt but *how* these events are appraised and evaluated by the experiencer.

This study will use theories, such as Tracy and Robbins', to argue that, in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is plagued by guilt at his inability to save Troy and his wife Creusa, which is the 'causal locus' for his guilt. We see examples of Aeneas' appraisal of the causal locus in Book 1 when he views the frieze at the Temple of Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.464-493) and in Book 2 when he recounts the Fall of Troy in Carthage to Dido. Aeneas's negative evaluation of these events results in the reactive emotions of despair and sadness,²⁶ which suggests that he may experience guilt when recalling these events. Likewise, in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, the 'causal locus' for the creation and prominence of the heroes' guilt is centered upon the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Throughout the poem, Caesar, Pompey, and Lucan himself appraise and evaluate the actions of this war and Lucan assigns guilt to everyone who takes part in it (*BC* 1.6).

Also useful for an analysis of Vergil's and Lucan's presentation of guilt, and for a study of guilt in general, is the examination of the associated reactions and emotions that guilt elicits after the initial judgment and evaluative stage. A person often experiences emotions such as fear, anger, and grief, which will be discussed more later, when he tries to cope with or make amends for his wrongdoing. In addition to the production of reactive emotions such as these, other behavioral and psychological byproducts, such as

²⁵ Tracy and Robbins 2006: 1349. For more information on appraisal and evaluation see Lazarus 1991.

²⁶ Sadness and despair as reactive emotions will be discussed further in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

anxiety, are also common symptoms of guilt. Although Vergil does not explicitly state that Aeneas experiences guilt in his poem, a reader can discern Vergil's implicit suggestion that he does when he depicts Aeneas' intense grief and despair (*Aen.* 1.208-209; 2.594; 6.699), fear (*Aen.* 2.486-490; 2.559; 2.735-736; 6.806-807), and bouts of anger and *furor* (*Aen.* 2.575-576; 2.668-667; 10.513-517; 10.821-824; 12.946-947).

The prominence of such internal anxieties and crises of conscience, then, make guilt an emotion that psychologists characterize both as a "special form of anxiety experienced by humans in society, the warning tension of life principles violated...of the self being destroyed,"²⁷ and as an evaluative reaction accompanying "a deed which has violated certain norms."²⁸ When such a deed is perceived to have violated personal or social norms, one of two categories of guilt is produced: legal guilt or psychological guilt.²⁹ In the legal sense, guilt accompanies the completion of an action that breaks a society's set of laws and is followed by a judgment from a person's peers. Legal guilt is focused on the payment of a penalty and punishment, which varies from case to case. A person's punishment for a specific action, however, is concerned only with the legal guilt incurred from the action committed, rather than as a judgment or conviction of his character or qualities.³⁰ Legal guilt is different from psychological guilt because a person may be found to be guilty in the legal sense but fail to experience guilt on a psychological

²⁷ Stein 1968: 15.

²⁸ Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 498.

²⁹ This study will focus primarily on psychological guilt and its effects and the poets' representations of it through their depiction of the characters' expression of other emotions, the gods, dreams, and ghosts. I will, however, occasionally discuss legal guilt where necessary, such as in Lucan's explicit assignment of legal guilt to his characters, especially in his apostrophes, and in Dido's charge of legal guilt against Aeneas when he abandons her and severs their marriage in *Aeneid* 4.

³⁰ Taylor 1985: 89.

level with the evaluation and judgment of his actions and the associated experiences of remorse, resentment, and anxiety.

Psychological guilt, on the other hand, encapsulates the various types of guilt that a person may experience at different periods in his life and it is concerned with the cognitive focus on the self. The study of psychological guilt attempts to decipher the persistent inner mental struggle and anxiety that guilt produces after a specific action has been undertaken or completed. Carroll (1985) categorizes the kinds of psychological guilt that a person may experience as moral guilt, dispositional guilt, and persecutory guilt. Moral guilt, or theological guilt as it is sometimes referred to,³¹ occurs after a person has breached his own or his culture's moral or religious code of conduct. This code of conduct and moral standards incorporate universal moral laws and also those that are culturally specific and variable and dependent on age, gender, and status.³² Moral guilt often involves a person's perceived transgression of boundaries or the acknowledgement and regret of causing harm to another person by committing, or failing to commit, a specific action. Once this action or failure has occurred, the agent often turns aggressive feelings and judgments onto his own conscience and this aggression results in internal anxiety and guilt.³³ A common aid in the alleviation of moral guilt is the act of feeling remorse and one of the only methods of ridding oneself entirely of moral guilt is through reparation,³⁴ which is the need to make up for past actions and to make amends for the wrong that was committed.

³¹ Stein 1967: 21-24.

³² Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek 2007: 22-23.

³³ Carroll 1985: 9.

³⁴ Carroll 1985: 17.

Conversely, dispositional guilt, as Carroll argues, is deeply embedded in a person's character and "it is as if the individual were born with it; it is as inseparable as the colour of his eyes. It infuses what he is and everything he does."³⁵ Dispositional guilt is concerned with one's proneness to feel this emotion and it is not dependent on a specific situation or action. Rather, dispositional guilt embodies the anxiety that is innate and unchangeable in each person. A person who experiences dispositional guilt may have guilt feelings at any point for any reason, even if a situation is not directly associated with him, such as feeling guilty for a car crash on the highway even if he is not involved in the accident whatsoever.

As argued by Freud, in *The Ego and the Id* (1923), dispositional guilt is 'unconscious guilt' and it is strongly associated with the Oedipus Complex.³⁶ Freud argues that 'unconscious guilt' is a cognitive function, which occurs when the innate impulses or moral standards of the id or ego clash with that of the narcissistic 'authority figure' that is the superego. Guilt, to Freud, is "the expression of a condemnation of the ego by its critical agency."³⁷ As a result of this unconscious quality, a person may not recognize this emotion as guilt per se, but he will associate the discontent and unhappiness at the anxiety of the need for punishment for an unspecific action.³⁸ Such anticipation of punishment and one's growing sense of dispositional guilt results in less regard for oneself and an increased sense of fear and anxiety.³⁹ Because of such a need for punishment and the anxiety and fear that accompany it, there is often no means to

³⁵ Carroll 1985: 10.

³⁶ Freud 1923: 52.

³⁷ Freud 1923: 51.

³⁸ Kahn 2002: 146.

³⁹ Westerink 2009: 203.

alleviate dispositional guilt, which makes it more dangerous than moral or other types of psychological guilt.

Finally, persecutory guilt arises from one's sense of having done something forbidden. Persecutory guilt is related to Freud's unconscious, or dispositional, guilt because it also results from the tension between the ego and superego. Persecutory guilt is, however, different from other two types because, while moral guilt and dispositional guilt usually result from the concern for another person, persecutory guilt is narcissistic and shows concern only for the agent.⁴⁰ Persecutory guilt is categorized by the need for self-punishment in the form of melancholia and harsh criticism or even, in some cases, self-mutilation or suicide.⁴¹ Modern psychologists and psychoanalysts suggest that the preoccupation with exacting punishment on oneself stimulates the eventual need for reparation and deep feelings of remorse, much in the same way as moral guilt.⁴² More often than not, however, the agent will project his anxiety and guilt onto an external object and channel his other emotions, especially anger and resentment, toward it so that it is away from his own conscience.⁴³ As a result, deep resentment and anger eventually overtake the person entirely and force him to remove himself from society.⁴⁴

The role of persecutory guilt will be especially significant in the analysis of Aeneas's guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*. As will be discussed later, especially in Chapter 3 ("The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*"), Vergil suggests that Aeneas experiences guilt in his representation of Aeneas' use of psychological projection (*Aen.* 2.54-55; 2.162-

⁴⁰ Carveth 2013: 29.

⁴¹ Grinberg 1992: 84.

⁴² Carroll 1985: 10. See also Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek (2007: 46).

⁴³ Carroll 1985: 35.

⁴⁴ Grinberg 1992: 85; 88.

163; 2.586-587; 2.601-620; 2.735-743; 12.946-947). Aeneas' guilt is also evident in his experience of intense anger, which many scholars name as the most prevalent emotion in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁵ We should not, however, view Aeneas' experience of anger and *furor* as isolated and unrelated to other emotions he experiences. Rather, Aeneas's anger and *furor* should be analyzed as direct consequences and byproducts of his persecutory and moral guilt, which result in his ongoing aggression and need to punish himself for his failures at Troy, much in the same way as his experience of grief, sadness, and remorse.

Another important feature of guilt is its resemblance to the other 'self-conscious emotions,' most notably to shame. Although guilt and shame are similar in many ways, and the Greeks and Romans tended to use one term that merged both concepts,⁴⁶ there are important differences between them. The most prevalent distinction between these emotions, especially in anthropological literature,⁴⁷ is whether a situation that produces shame or guilt occurs in the public or the private sphere. Guilt is different from shame because, as argued by Cairns (1993), it is a private experience that "relies on the internal sanctions provided by the individual conscience, [and] one's own disapproval of oneself."⁴⁸ Shame, on the other hand, is caused by fear of external judgment, especially the disapproval of one's peers, and it requires a real or imagined audience. The public-

⁴⁵ For more information on the role of anger in Vergil's *Aeneid* see Galinsky (1988), Putnam (1990), Wright (1997), and Nelis (2015).

⁴⁶ Konstan 2006: 92. I will discuss the Greek and Roman terminology for guilt and shame later in this chapter.

⁴⁷ For example, see Benedict (1946), Ausubel (1955), and Gehm and Scherer (1988).

⁴⁸ Cairns 1993: 15. Similarly, Darwall (2006: 71) argues that guilt is different from shame because guilt is "an acknowledgement of one's blameworthiness that recognizes both the grounds of blame and... the authority to level it" while shame is seeing oneself as "an object of the other's regard or 'gaze.'" I will primarily focus on guilt rather than shame because it is my goal to better understand Vergil's and Lucan's characters' inner turmoil and struggle to cope with guilt, instead of the expectation imposed from outside forces. Shame will inevitably be a factor and it will be addressed at some points since it is vital in understanding how it accompanies guilt, such as in the episode of Aeneas and Dido in *Aeneid* 4, but it is my aim to focus primarily on the internal representations of the characters.

private dichotomy between shame and guilt also includes the evaluation of the situation that elicits these emotions as a means of differentiating the two. Shame is a response to an event that merits public scrutiny and judgment and it occurs when someone is publicly exposed or disapproved of, while guilt is more private because it is experienced internally and arises from a self-produced crisis of conscience.

The focus on the individual through the lens of public view and criticism, rather than on one's own scrutiny of himself, is discussed by Ruth Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946). Benedict's arguments had a profound effect on the advancement of a deeper understanding of the differences between and qualities of shame and guilt. Benedict discusses the important division between the concepts of 'shame-culture' and 'guilt-culture' by focusing on Japanese and American cultures.⁴⁹ To Benedict, a 'shame-culture' relies on external sanctions and judgments for good behavior and, in these cultures, shame arises as a reaction to the criticism of others.⁵⁰ In a 'shame culture,' the mere transgression of societal norms or standards will cause the transgressor to experience shame.⁵¹ In her study, Benedict finds that, in the Japanese 'shame-culture,' shame is a marker of virtue and the anxiety of receiving public scrutiny for one's shortcomings and failures either creates the incentive to achieve one's goals or it propels him to be withdrawn from society.⁵² Conversely, in a 'guilt-culture,' good behavior depends on a person's internal conviction of wrongdoing and the possession of honor and virtue means living up to a

⁴⁹ Benedict argues that Japanese culture is a 'shame-culture,' whereas American culture is a 'guilt-culture.' Benedict (1946: 223-224) does, however, argue that, although the United States began as a 'guilt-culture,' the experience of shame, rather than guilt, is becoming more common than in previous generations and this change has been interpreted as resulting from a lack of personal morals.

⁵⁰ Benedict 1946: 223.

⁵¹ Fontaine, Poortinga, Setiadi, Markham 2002: 66.

⁵² Benedict 1946: 153.

person's own picture of himself, rather than one that others have prescribed for him.⁵³

These two definitions, then, primarily focus on the public and private aspects of shame and guilt, respectively.

In *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), E. R. Dodds applies Benedict's propositions to the realm of classical studies. Dodds analyzes the role of shame and guilt from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period and he focuses his study primarily on Greece in the time of Homer and the Archaic Age. By studying Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Dodds maintains that the world of the Homeric heroes is a 'shame-culture' because of their continual struggle to maintain honor, reputation, and glory amongst their peers. Dodds argues that Homer's heroes continually contend with their shame and that, when a hero commits a deed that will elicit a negative reaction or evaluation by his community, he attributes his actions to concepts such as *ate*, or another divine agent, in order to stave off any shame he might incur.⁵⁴ According to Dodds, at the beginning of the Archaic Age, the individual began to be highly anxious and he continually contended with divine hostility. With these developments, as well as the gradual relaxation of the family bond and the supremacy of the patriarch,⁵⁵ the Greeks began to see themselves as individuals with their own personal rights and responsibilities.⁵⁶ As a result, around the sixth century BCE, and continuing well into the era of Christianity, the Greek world slowly began to transition into and become a 'guilt-culture.' At the same time as this development, the individual and concepts such as morality, immorality, punishment, and

⁵³ Benedict 1946: 223.

⁵⁴ Dodds 1951: 17-18.

⁵⁵ Dodds (1951:46-47) argues that the general trend of the opposition to the patriarch also created anxiety, displayed through the many stories of a father's curse and its consequences, but that such an opposition was vital in the creation of the individual and the emergence of a 'guilt-culture' later.

⁵⁶ Dodds 1951: 34-48.

reparation were central to the rising feelings of one's own individual guilt. Dodds, like Benedict before him, focuses on the public and private dichotomy between shame and guilt in order to differentiate these two emotions and to allow for a better understanding of Greek culture in general.

While Dodds's theories alter the ways in which we read Homer's poems and they aid in the characterization of the types of cultures that emerged from the Homeric Age to the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the method of differentiating shame and guilt using the public-private dichotomy does pose some particularly interesting problems. This dichotomy may prove to be too stark of a distinction for defining these emotions in relation to one another. One of the most prevalent arguments that departs from the trend of defining shame or guilt as either public or private is found in Helen B. Lewis's *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (1971). Lewis uses the cognitive approach for the study of emotions, which is centered on the notion that aspects of thought, especially factual judgments and evaluation of a stimulus, determine which emotion will be roused. Lewis shows that the impetus for the creation of shame and guilt is not necessarily found in the situation that creates these emotions, such as public ridicule and judgment in the case of shame, or a crisis of inner moral conscience instigated by an event, as in the case of guilt. Instead, she argues that the fundamental differences between shame and guilt are the role of the 'self' during the situation in which these emotions are elicited and the cognitive judgment and evaluation the experiencer assigns to that event. Lewis defines the 'self' as "the experiential registration of the person's activities as his own" and a feature of a person that sets boundaries and depends on feedback from his sensory modalities, such as

vision, hearing, and touch.⁵⁷ Lewis argues that shame and guilt ought to be distinguished in the following manner:

The experience of shame is directly about the *self*, which is the focus of the evaluation. In guilt, the self is not the central object of negative evaluation, but rather the *thing* done or undone is the focus. In guilt, the self is negatively evaluated in connection with something but is not itself the focus of the experience.⁵⁸

According to this theory, both shame and guilt rely heavily on the evaluation of the circumstances and completion of an action. The key difference, however, is that a person experiences shame only when he evaluates himself in relation to his actions, morals, and character. The experiencer judges his ‘self’ as a whole, or his ‘global self,’⁵⁹ on the basis of his committal of, or his failure to complete, that action. With guilt, on the other hand, the action itself becomes the focus and it need not necessarily reflect on the ‘self’ whatsoever. When a person experiences shame, therefore, he sees his ‘self’ as defective or lacking in some way and he is both the agent and the object of disapproval (“*I did that horrible thing, and therefore I am an unworthy, incompetent or bad person*”).⁶⁰ Conversely, when a person experiences guilt, the focus is wholly on the action committed (“*I did that horrible thing*”) and this action does not necessarily affect one’s own core identity or conception of self.⁶¹ Lewis’s theory, therefore, articulates that the differences between shame and guilt do not wholly derive from public or personal judgment or criticism, but from the evaluation of an action committed and the subsequent judgment of one’s deed or the ‘self.’

⁵⁷ Lewis 1971: 30-35.

⁵⁸ Lewis 1971: 30.

⁵⁹ Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 498; Behrendt and Ben-Ari 2012: 1118.

⁶⁰ Tangney, Miller, Flicker, Hill-Barlow 1996: 1257.

⁶¹ Tangney and Dearing 2002: 19.

Since Lewis's foundational work, other psychologists have attempted to determine ways to distinguish shame from guilt apart from the focus on the public and private spheres. For Williams (1993), the quintessential feature that defines shame is the exposure associated with the completion of an action and the disadvantage, or loss of power, that accompanies it.⁶² Williams argues that, although shame involves sight and being seen and evaluated by others,⁶³ such a loss of power does not necessarily occur in the presence of an external watcher or gaze. Rather, there exists a process whereby a person internalizes the public gaze, which results in him placing judgment on himself, and thus the public dimension of shame is removed in some instances.⁶⁴ Williams also argues that the public and private aspects of shame can converge if a person experiences an 'imagined gaze' or an 'imagined other'⁶⁵ and that the anticipation of an imagined watcher will elicit shame.⁶⁶ The real or imagined watcher can be an invention or construct of the mind and it enables a person to judge himself and discern whether his actions adhere to or transgress social and moral norms. According to Williams, therefore, shame is not always produced in a public setting, but it can occur as a private and internalized response without the instigation or judgment of one's peers.

Several recent studies also show that if a situation, action, or event is public in nature, it does not necessitate that a person will experience shame rather than guilt.⁶⁷ Guilt can possess social and public dimensions because it is often related to and produced when a person commits an action that harms someone close to him and affects his

⁶² Williams 1993: 220-221.

⁶³ Williams 1993: 89.

⁶⁴ Williams 1993: 221.

⁶⁵ Williams 1993: 82.

⁶⁶ Williams 1993: 84-85.

⁶⁷ Tangney, Marschall, Rosenberg, Barlow, and Wagner (1994); Tangney, Miller, Flicker, and Barlow (1996).

interpersonal relationships.⁶⁸ A person might experience guilt as a response to an action or omission that causes others to be angry, resentful, or indignant towards him, thus lending it important social qualities. Furthermore, the agent's responsive need for reparation also points to the social aspect of guilt as critical for its production and manifestation.⁶⁹ In this way, guilt resembles shame in that it also has an important social function because it compels people to adhere to societal standards and norms lest relationships be broken or social criticism be attached to their actions.⁷⁰ When a situation produces guilt in a social or public setting, such as in relation to one's friends or peers, studies show that the public dimension actually plays a greater role in guilt than in shame. In these instances, there tends to be a greater sense of 'cooperative coping' amongst groups in a similar circumstance while, with shame, people are inclined to use 'competitive coping' as a means of protecting the self to alleviate feelings of helplessness and lack of self-control.⁷¹ Guilt also takes on a second public dimension because a person can use it to exercise control over another person or as a means of projecting and redistributing his guilt and emotional distress on to another party.⁷² Finally, Tangney and Dearing (2002) dispute the public-private dichotomy between shame and guilt because they believe that people can experience guilt in public situations and shame in private settings. In their study, Tangney and Dearing found that instances of 'solitary shame' are just as common as 'solitary guilt' and that the same situation, whether it occurred in the public or private sphere, could produce an equal chance for the experience of shame or

⁶⁸ Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 498.

⁶⁹ Williams 1992: 89.

⁷⁰ Anderson and Guerrero 1998: 79-82.

⁷¹ Behrendt and Ben-Ari 2012: 1124-1125.

⁷² Vangelisti and Sprague 1998: 126.

guilt.⁷³ These studies, therefore, not only illustrate the public and private aspects of shame and guilt, but they also show that both emotions can result from conflicts in interpersonal and social relationships or in a private situation as self-reflective and self-evaluative responses.

The Latin Vocabulary for ‘Guilt’

An analysis of the ways in which Vergil and Lucan represent and depict guilt in their poems is beneficial because it offers insight into how the Romans conceived of guilt more generally and how they viewed it and other emotions as threatening, difficult to control, and standing in direct opposition to *virtus*. The Latin vocabulary used to describe guilt reflects the various categories of guilt, as argued by Carroll (1985) above, namely psychological guilt, which is divided into moral, dispositional, and persecutory guilt, and legal guilt.⁷⁴ To the Romans, guilt also possessed legal and psychological manifestations and the type of guilt produced depended on the situation and its symptoms, such as anger, self-punishment, or remorse.

In the legal context, the Romans often use the words *crimen* and *delictum* to describe a transgression of a law, the accusation brought against the defendant, and sometimes the defendant himself. In court cases, *crimen* connotes serious crimes and *delictum* is reserved for private matters.⁷⁵ Also common is the word *fraus*, which refers to an action that someone commits against another person, usually by deceit or trickery and with the direct intention of injuring him or damaging his person or property.

⁷³ Tangney and Dearing 2002: 14-17.

⁷⁴ Cf. pp.9-12.

⁷⁵ Wolters 1954: 12.

Similarly, *iniuria* and *scelus* refer to violent actions, whether verbal or physical, that warrant harsh legal punishment.⁷⁶ Also prominent are *pecco/peccare* and *peccatum* ('to commit an error' and 'to do something wrong'). In court cases, these terms most commonly describe sexual offences, especially crimes against children, adultery, and infidelity between unmarried lovers.⁷⁷ *Pecco/peccare* can denote moral and non-moral transgressions, but the latter is the most common usage until the Christian authors use it primarily in moral terms.⁷⁸ In the *Bellum Civile* (5.260), Lucan uses *pecco* to refer to the legal culpability of Caesar's soldiers as they consider mutiny and they review their actions in the civil war. Lucan, however, writes that in a civil war, when many men commit crimes together, they are often unpunished later (*quidquid multis peccatur, inultum est*). Similarly, in the *Aeneid*, Vergil uses *pecco* to refer to legal guilt and its association with the adherence to and breaking of divine sanction and law. Venus implores her father to help the Trojans and she says that the Trojans' mission in Italy is not a crime, in the legal sense, because it is foretold and approved by Jupiter himself (*si sine pace tua atque invite numine Troes / Italiam petiere, luant peccata neque illos / iuveris auxilio, Aen.10.31-33*).

There are also many Latin terms that refer to psychological guilt, which suggests that the Romans also viewed it as distinct from legal guilt and as possessing strong moral undertones.⁷⁹ For example, the word *vitium* signifies some moral failing or vice that leads to the obstruction of *virtus* and results in the experience of psychological turmoil.

⁷⁶ Thome 1992: 76-77.

⁷⁷ For a more in depth analysis on these cases see Wolters 1954: 17-29.

⁷⁸ Thome 1992: 82.

⁷⁹ Thome 1992: 74. Thome argues that this trend is evident with the tendency in the late decades of the Roman Republic for legal words to develop from primarily objective to subjective vocabulary in order to incorporate the growing acknowledgement of guilt in the moral sense.

In the late Republic, especially in the works of Cicero, *vitium* is equated with the Greek *kakia* to refer to an instance of a single moral fault leading to guilt feelings.⁸⁰ In addition to *vitium*, perhaps the most common word to refer to psychological guilt is *culpa*. The Romans believed that *culpa* resides in the heart and that actions that incur *culpa* are entirely the responsibility of the person who commits them.⁸¹ This word is used for actions such as sacrilege, murder, incest, and infidelity and it stands in direct opposition to the ideals of *virtus*. *Culpa* embodies most closely what we think of as ‘guilt’ because it refers not only to the deed that incurs guilt, but also to the feeling and experience that correspond to this action and the psychological symptoms that result from it.

The last prevalent word that refers to psychological guilt is *nefas*. *Nefas* rarely occurs in legal contexts but it possesses strong religious and moral undertones and is used to refer to a horrific deed that defies moral and social norms.⁸² Vergil was especially fond of *nefas* to show the devastation and fallout of the Greeks’ action as Aeneas recounts the fall of Troy. For example, in his story to the Carthaginians, Aeneas says that Sinon tells the Trojans that the horse is an atonement for Greek *nefas* and all the crimes they committed against them (*hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso / effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret, Aen. 2.180*). Later, when Aeneas wishes to attack Helen after the city has fallen, he reasons that he will be praised for extinguishing such *nefas* and exacting the punishment he is owed (*exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis / laudabor poenas...., Aen. 2.585-586*). Aeneas also uses *nefas* to refer to moral

⁸⁰ Thome 1992: 81. Someone who has no morals and guilt whatsoever has *vitiositas*. For Cicero’s use of *vitiositas* see Cic.*Tusc.*4.34 (*virtutis contraria est vitiositas...*).

⁸¹ Wolters 1954: 38-43.

⁸² Thome 1992: 76.

guilt, which is a type of psychological guilt,⁸³ when he says that leaving his father in Troy would be *nefas* and would create unbearable psychological guilt for him later (*mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto / sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore, Aen. 2.657-658*). In the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan uses *nefas* in the proem to refer to the civil war as a whole and its power to bind everyone in common guilt because of the immorality and horrors that will take place (*et rupto foedere regni / certatum totis concussi viribus orbis / in commune nefas, BC 1.4-6*).⁸⁴ Lucan also names *nefas* as one of the causes of the war when he says that, because people give in to luxury and are no longer restrained by the threat of legal and psychological guilt, crime runs rampant and the stage is set for war (*inde irae faciles et, quod suasisset egestas, / uile nefas, magnumque decus ferroque petendum / plus patria potuisse sua, mensuraque iuris / vis erat, BC 1.173-176*).

The extensive range of words that differentiate guilt based on its legal, psychological, and moral aspects shows how the Romans perceived of guilt as highly variable and dependent on the action that was committed as well as the social, political, and psychological ramifications of undertaking it. Guilt could be incurred from an action that violated the legal, religious, or social norms or ideals and, depending on what offense occurred, a guilty person posed a threat not only to those around him, but also to himself. Because of these legal and psychological qualities, the Romans viewed guilt as a negative emotion, which threatened *virtus* and had to be checked and dispelled lest its symptoms continued to develop.

⁸³ Cf. p.10.

⁸⁴ Lucan also uses the word *nefas* to refer to the war in his dedication to Nero when he says that all the crimes and wickedness that take place are worth it if Nero will be emperor (*iam nihil, o superi, querimur; scelera ipsa nefasque / hac mercede placent, 1.37-38*).

Using these theories, this study will analyze the role of guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and it will examine how both poets make the experience of guilt integral to their respective narratives for the advancement of plot and the development of their characters. **Chapter 2** ("Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion"), will provide a brief survey of ancient and modern theories of emotions more generally. These theories will help to define and characterize emotions in terms of their cognitive, behavioral, and physical qualities in order to discern how emotions are produced, how they affect a person's mental disposition and well-being, and how guilt resembles and is different from other emotions.

Chapter 3 ("The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*") will explore how Vergil uses the gods to call attention to the important role that emotions play in his poem and how the gods are related to guilt and Aeneas' continual struggle with this emotion. This chapter will consider how Vergil subtly indicates that Aeneas experiences guilt with his depictions of Aeneas' anger, fear, and grief, his focus on the past, and his resistance of fate. I will also argue that the gods are directly related to Aeneas' experience of guilt because they frequently intervene during episodes in which Aeneas struggles with his reactive emotions and they are figures upon which he psychologically projects his guilt in an effort to alleviate his emotional turmoil at pivotal junctures in the narrative, especially in Book 2. **Chapter 4** ("Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*") will examine how Lucan engages with Vergil's model by continuing to make guilt a central theme. I will consider how Lucan diverges from Vergil's model by replacing the gods with *Fortuna*, who is the promoter of guilt, the patron of the guilty, and by using her influence to explicitly assign legal guilt to the characters of his poem. Finally, this

chapter will discuss how Lucan portrays guilt and Fortuna's association with it to differentiate the characters of Pompey and Caesar.

Chapter 5 ("Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*") will argue that Vergil uses dreams and ghosts to suggest that Aeneas experiences psychological guilt. This chapter will argue that Aeneas' dreams and the ghosts that appear to him function as embodiments of his guilt, they make his psychological struggle with this emotion visible, and they directly affect his subsequent actions. Ghosts and dream accounts occur only in the first half of the *Aeneid* and they are all directly related to the sack of Troy. **Chapter 6** ("Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*") will consider how Lucan adheres to Vergil's model by making the dreams and ghosts in his own poem function as implicit expressions of Pompey's and Caesar's psychological guilt. I will also argue that Lucan uses these episodes to illustrate the weaknesses in Pompey's character, because he is unable to alleviate and resolve it, and to highlight the monstrous character of Caesar, because of the guilt he incurs under the patronage of Fortuna.

Finally, **Chapter 7** ("Comparative Analysis – Guilt as a Theme in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*") will discuss how the *Bellum Civile* engages with the *Aeneid* by also making guilt and its psychological effects central to the action and progression of the narrative. Like Vergil, Lucan uses the mechanisms of dreams and appearances of ghosts to call attention to his characters' psychological guilt but, unlike Vergil, he disposes of the gods and makes the supernatural force in his poem an embodiment and promoter of guilt. By using the character of Fortuna and emphasizing the importance of her patronage, Lucan can show that in the world of the *Bellum Civile*, and in his own contemporary time, guilt is necessary for success and victory.

Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion

What Are ‘Emotions’?

What do we mean when we say the word ‘emotion’?⁸⁵ Are emotions physiological or psychological reactions? What makes an emotion different from a feeling? Many ancient and modern scholars have endeavored to answer such questions to more fully comprehend what emotions are and how they affect our lives. Kagan (2007), for example, defines emotions as reactions to a particular circumstance and as experiences that are dependent on a person’s history and biology.⁸⁶ Jackson (2009), on the other hand, does not conceive of emotions as responses to events or circumstances, but he argues that the experience of an emotion can exist in isolation and without an accompanying thought or action.⁸⁷ Most commonly, modern psychologists argue that emotions occur when a person becomes aware of significant positive or negative changes in his personal situation that affect his physical and mental wellbeing.⁸⁸ These changes result in a temporary interruption of one’s normative state and they signal that something needs attention. Our word for ‘emotion,’ which is derived from the Latin *moveo* (‘to remove’ or ‘to move out/away’), stresses both the disruption of something or someone from a specific location or situation after a person’s normative state is interrupted, and it also emphasizes the importance of the physical and psychological states of distress as

⁸⁵ Russell (2012: 337) shows the difficulty that modern scholars have in finding such an answer: “Emotion researchers face a scandal. We have not agreed upon definition of the term – *emotion* – that defines our field. We therefore do not know what events count as examples of emotion and what events theories of emotions must explain.”

⁸⁶ Kagan 2007: 2.

⁸⁷ Jackson 2009: 6.

⁸⁸ Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 13.

indicators of subsequent physiological, behavioral, and experiential reactions.⁸⁹ The following is a brief survey of ancient and modern theories that endeavor to discern what physiological, behavioral, and experiential qualities emotions possess.

Greek and Roman Theories of Emotion

The work of Aristotle describes the Greek principle of the expression of an emotion as justified if it is experienced in controlled amounts and in an acceptable circumstance.⁹⁰ Aristotle defines emotions as “those such things through which, by undergoing change, men differ in their judgment, and with which pain and joy follow, such are anger, pity, fear, and so many such others and their opposites.”⁹¹ To Aristotle, emotions occur when a person suffers a change to his normative state and they are ethically justifiable responses to a specific situation.⁹² Aristotle argues that emotions are connected to one another because a person’s experience of one emotion will inevitably produce another and that every emotion is accompanied by the sensation of pleasure or pain.⁹³ These pains and pleasures are aimed at a specific target and these targets are often people or objects that generate the circumstances for a person to experience a particular

⁸⁹ Averill 1996: 206.

⁹⁰ Gill (1997a: 7) argues that “Aristotle’s thinking represents a theorised version of the standard view of emotions in Greek society, one also expressed in the major series of genres of Greek poetry, epic and tragedy.”

⁹¹ “Ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάθη, δι’ ὅσα μεταβάλλοντες διαφέρουσι πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις, οἷς ἔπεται λύπη καὶ ἡδονή, οἷον ὀργή ἔλεος φόβος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία, (Arist. *Rh.* 2.1.1378a8-9).

⁹² Gill 1997a: 13.

⁹³ Sanders 2012: 163. Konstan (2003: 100) argues that Aristotle views the pains and pleasures that accompany emotions not as emotions themselves, but sensations, or *aisthēseis*, that arise from the perception that something has or has not happened or is anticipated to occur or not to occur. A person can not experience an emotion unless one or both sensations are present because, without them, the event would be inconsequential.

emotion in the first place.⁹⁴ In his description of anger, Aristotle outlines this theory (*Rh.* 2.1.1378b8-9-2.2.1380a27). Aristotle argues that a person experiences anger when an event occurs that affects his social status or his appearance to the outside world. After a person has been slighted (ὀλιγωρία),⁹⁵ he feels sensations of both pain and pleasure during his experience of anger; pain because a slight has been committed against him and pleasure at the anticipation of revenge. Then, when he exacts revenge or restores his social standing, his anger ceases and he returns to his normative state. Anger is justifiable, therefore, because this response indicates that an evaluation and judgment of a situation has been made and the correct type and degree of emotion has been applied to the deserving target.

The Greeks in general viewed emotions as valid responses to external stimuli, as long as they are moderated, experienced in the proper manner, and used to protect one's social status and reputation.⁹⁶ In the late fifth century and fourth century BCE, the ideal of *sōphrosunē* began to evolve into a term that incorporated the emotions and embodied the restraint and control needed for the assurance and protection of a person's position in society.⁹⁷ Emotions were deemed unacceptable if they prevented reason, sound

⁹⁴ Dow 2015: 157. Such recognition of a person or an object as a target is one of the three stages that Aristotle names in the creation of an emotion: "It is necessary to divide each of these [emotions] into three parts; I speak of such in regard to anger, both what the disposition of those who are angry is, and whom they are accustomed to be angry with, and upon which sorts of instances [they are likely to get angry]. For if we should have one or two of these [divisions], but not all of them, then it would not be possible arouse anger. And the same [applies] to the other [emotions]," (δεῖ δὲ διαίρειν τὰ περὶ ἕκαστον εἰς τρία· λέγω δ' οἷον περὶ ὀργῆς, πῶς τε διακείμενοι ὀργίλοι εἰσὶ, καὶ τίσιν εἰώθασιν ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ποίοις· εἰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἔν ἢ τὰ δύο ἔχοιμεν τούτων, ἅπαντα δὲ μή, ἀδύνατον ἂν εἴη τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμποιεῖν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Arist. *Rh.* 2.1.1378a9). For more information see Robinson (1996).

⁹⁵ For Aristotle's definition of a slight see *Rh.* 2.2.1378b3-6.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.646-648. Konstan (2006: 40) argues that the Greeks viewed emotions as "responses not to events but to actions, or situations resulting from actions, that entail consequences for one's own or others' relative social standing."

⁹⁷ Harris 2001: 342. *Sōphrosunē*, or 'good sense,' 'moderation, and 'self-control,' was regarded as an ideal virtue in the sixth to fourth centuries BCE.

judgment, and *sōphrosunē* because they could render the experiencer passive, lead to irrational behavior, and corrupt virtue.⁹⁸ The analysis and exploration of the qualities of emotions and their relationship with self-control was first explored in Greek drama, which displays the destructive effects of emotions if they are left unchecked,⁹⁹ and later primarily in philosophical works, especially those of Xenophon and Plato. Xenophon argues that emotions ought to be checked by a person's *sōphrosunē* and that a good leader has the ability to moderate and place a limit upon his emotions.¹⁰⁰ Plato, on the other hand, is one of the first to argue that, unless a person was able to maintain complete control over his emotions and moderate them with *sōphrosunē*, they must be eliminated altogether in favor of reason.¹⁰¹ After Plato, authors continued to focus on the necessity of restraining emotions and expressing them only in a moderated manner in order to preserve social position and to demonstrate self-control.

⁹⁸ Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 10.606d; *Phdr.* 237e-238a.

⁹⁹ The presentation of emotions onstage, by means of veils, masks, and body language, was a way to ritualize emotional behavior in the theater. Tragedy was didactic, in that it portrayed the consequences of uncontrolled love, such as in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, or anger and revenge, as in Euripides' *Medea* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Tragedy was an emotionally charged spectacle that not only taught the observer the potentially calamitous results of the emotions, but also implicitly suggested that he control his emotions to avoid a similar circumstance as the characters onstage. For more information on emotions and tragedy see Stanford (1983), Meineck (2011), and Cairns (2011: 21).

¹⁰⁰ In the *Agesilaus* (11.1-13), Xenophon portrays Agesilaus' experience of emotions such as fear (11.2), hatred (11.3; 11.6), anger (11.4), courage (11.9) and love (11.13) in a controlled manner and in appropriate degrees to a given situation by first using his judgment. To Xenophon, these traits made Agesilaus a paradigm of virtue, wisdom, and *sōphrosunē*. Similarly, in the *Hellenika* (5.3.7), Xenophon uses the Spartan king Teleutias as an example to warn against the dangers of destructive emotions, such as rage, and to urge people to control themselves until reason and *sōphrosunē* return to diffuse the situation.

¹⁰¹ In the *Republic* (10.606d), Plato rejects the epics of Homer and the plays of the tragedians because he believes that the characters behave immoderately, they are immoral, and they should not be held to the high standard that was typical in his contemporary society. Plato also explains that epic and tragedy urge the audience members to emulate and undertake the same actions as the characters, which results in the manifestation of the characters' emotions in the audience members' own behavior. To Plato, poetry panders to our emotions and our irrational sides and it stands in the way of reason, happiness, and *sōphrosunē*. Similarly, in the *Phaedrus* (253c-254e), Plato uses an allegory of a charioteer with two horses to argue for the supremacy of reason over emotion. For more information on Plato and the emotions see Johnson and Clapp (2005: 148) and Moss (2007: 432-443).

Later authors, especially in the Roman period, advocated for the repression or removal of emotions altogether since, even in moderation, they restricted judgment and reason. The Roman Stoics argued that emotions occurred as a result of an error in judgment and they regarded them as threats to virtue and the pursuit of wisdom because they are irrational, they disrupt human functioning, and they compel a person to assent to false beliefs and reasoning about how it is right or wrong to act.¹⁰² In his *De Ira* (2.2.5-4.2), Seneca argues that there are three stages that occur in the creation and experience of an emotion. The first stage is the experience of ‘pre-emotions’ (*propatheiai*), or the instinctive and involuntary reactions a person may feel, such as blushing or the experience of a sudden jolt of fear when someone hits you from behind. The second stage involves judgment and volition in the consideration of how to act. For example, in relation to anger, the second stage is when a person considers himself wronged and judges that it is acceptable to exact revenge. Finally, in the third stage, an emotion, if left unchecked, will destroy reason and venture outside of the experiencer’s control as it takes over the mind (*qui rationem evicit*, 2.4). The second stage, therefore, is the most crucial if one wishes to vanquish his emotions because it is here that reason plays the greatest role and control over the mind as it acts as a motivator or denier of action.

To aid in the identification and governance of the emotions, the Stoics classified four emotions as ‘generic,’ under which all others could be divided into sub-classes.

These emotions were distress, pleasure, fear and desire, so chosen because each pair (i.e.

¹⁰² Gill 1997a: 8-9. Cicero (*Tusc.*3.9-13) rejects the Aristotelian model of emotions and his belief that emotions are acceptable if they can be expressed in moderation: “If a thing is bad, it is bad also in a moderate amount,” (*omne enim malum, etiam mediocre, malum est*, 3.22). Similarly, Seneca rejects Aristotle’s theory (*De Ira* 1.1-12) and he maintains that Aristotle is incorrect to ascribe any function to the emotions whatsoever, especially for the maintenance of social standing (3.3).

distress with fear and pleasure with desire) describe ‘good’ and ‘bad’ emotions and fulfill the Stoic requirement for the judgment of an emotion as existing in the present or in the future.¹⁰³ To the Stoics, an emotional experience is the product of the underdevelopment of reason and rationality in one’s soul and the valuing of harmful objects instead of virtue.¹⁰⁴ All vulnerability to the emotions comes from lack of discipline and the failure to control the mind with reason. A person must learn to practice emotional detachment (*ἀπάθεια*) and to overcome his emotions entirely by means of wisdom and instruction until he can be trained to avoid them altogether.¹⁰⁵ The goal of the Stoic ‘wise man’ (*sapiens*), therefore, was to identify an emotion using these classifications and then to subsequently reject each emotion in favor of reason so that he could lead a peaceful life.¹⁰⁶

Like the Stoics, the Epicureans follow a ‘therapeutic’ approach to the emotions. The Epicureans maintain that ‘supreme good’ exists only in the absence of pain, which must be outweighed by mental and bodily pleasures, and that people must be taught how to achieve pleasure and happiness and avoid experiencing emotions.¹⁰⁷ To the Epicureans, emotions are akin to vices because they can control the mind and prevent

¹⁰³ Sorabji 2000: 30; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 3.24-26. Pleasure and desire are paired together because, as positive ‘generic’ emotions, pleasure occurs when someone receives something good in the present, while desire is directed to the future. Distress and fear, on the other hand, are negative ‘generic’ emotions and distress captures the impact of present ills, while fear is the anticipation of the same in the future. These ‘generic’ emotions fundamentally disrupt the pursuit of virtue and wisdom because of their inherent psychophysical manifestations when a person experiences them. For a detailed description of other emotions divided under these four genera see Graver (2007: 56).

¹⁰⁴ Erskine 1997: 43.

¹⁰⁵ The study and practice of philosophical discourse plays a crucial role in the training process because it acts as a type of therapy to counteract the emotions and it serves as the practice of expertise in utility. By perfecting these skills, a follower of the Stoic doctrine can identify a specific emotion and, by the utilization of wisdom and philosophical instruction as therapy, he has the power to expel it entirely from his mind and body.

¹⁰⁶ Seneca (*De Ira* 2.12-13) argues that, in order to free oneself from emotions altogether, the *sapiens* must train his mind to have full control over the body by means of discipline and constant practice.

¹⁰⁷ Gill 1997a: 10; Tsouna 2007: 217.

true pleasure. A person must therefore overcome his vices through therapy and cultivate virtues to achieve happiness. Like Aristotle and the Stoics, the Epicureans argue that emotions, which they divide into ‘healthy’ or ‘destructive’ types, are cognitive because they involve beliefs and judgments. In the first century BCE, Philodemus, in *On Anger*, describes how vices and emotions usually occur together, such as when arrogant people become angry or when greedy people experience envy, and he supports the idea that emotions exist in varying degrees.¹⁰⁸ Philodemus views emotions, such as anger, as either being ‘empty,’ in that they focus on harmful or incorrect beliefs, or as ‘natural,’ in that they depend only on true beliefs and are therefore philosophically valid.¹⁰⁹ Later, Lucretius similarly argued that ‘empty’ emotion is built upon beliefs that are socially taught, false, and created by the religious elite to gain power over humans by making them unhappy.¹¹⁰ In the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius argues that emotions, such as grief and fear, are diseases of the mind, just like sickness is to the body (3.461). The mind, which is fixed in a person’s chest (3.140-142), creates emotions and they result from a series of atomic reactions (3.288-309) and are then fueled by the fear of death (3.31-90). To the Epicureans, therefore, all emotions are destructive, accompanied by pain, and prevent a person from achieving true happiness.

Roman males more generally believed that the ability to suppress emotions was what differentiated them from the weak, namely women and barbarians.¹¹¹ The outward display of control over the body and the mind was embodied in the ideal of *virtus*

¹⁰⁸ Tsouna 2007: 219; 221.

¹⁰⁹ Annas 1989: 147-148; Konstan 2013. Cf. *Ep. ad Men.*127; *Phil.* xxxvii; *KD* 29 = *Diog. Laert.* 10.149.

¹¹⁰ Nussbaum 1988: 248.

¹¹¹ Wilson 1997: 59. Wilson uses the example of Seneca’s *Epistle* 63, in which he describes the legislation of the Romans’ ancestors (the *maiores*), who limited women’s grieving period to a year while men received no limit whatsoever. Men did not receive a limitation because they were expected not to show their grief at any time since such outward displays of strong emotions were not acceptable for any amount of time.

(‘virtue’). *Virtus* involves the possession of traits such as courage, temperance, and morality, much in the same way that the Greeks viewed *sōphrosunē* or *arête*, and it traditionally embodied ideals such as *labores* and *pericula*, both of which are incompatible with strong manifestations and expressions of emotions.¹¹² The environment of Roman society as a contest culture demanded that each person’s position and reputation was centered on his ability to remain in control and outwardly display his *virtus* when undergoing an ordeal (*discrimen, periculum, labor*).¹¹³ The control of emotions, therefore, fit into one’s maintenance and establishment of his position in society and was directly connected with how others perceived him.

An important aspect of being able to maintain and display self-control was by overcoming one’s initial reaction, or feeling, to any given situation so that it did not transform into a fully developed emotion. Roman males believed that the weak were roused to action upon the experience of feelings, such as sorrow, pity, and indignation, and that these immediate reactions were transformed into long-term passions, which could enslave men.¹¹⁴ Plutarch describes the process whereby an initial and temporary feeling is transformed into a long-term emotion in *On the Control of Anger* in the *Moralia* (454d-e). Plutarch argues that, when we experience powerful initial reactions, it is imperative to suppress these feelings so that the soul can remain firm and resist the long-term effects that a passion has on it. While Seneca’s and Plutarch’s views on the creation and experience of emotions differ, the view that there is a process by which initial feelings can transform and develop into emotions is likely why Seneca argues for

¹¹² Van Hoof 2007: 66.

¹¹³ Barton 2001: 35.

¹¹⁴ Dupont 1989: 241.

the total abolishment of any type of emotional reaction, whether it is a feeling or otherwise.¹¹⁵ Roman authors, especially those writing epic poetry, also warn against the dangers of allowing feelings to develop into emotions, especially anger¹¹⁶ and love.¹¹⁷ For example, Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses*, shows how emotions are responsible for compelling his characters to undertake unacceptable behavior.¹¹⁸ In his character of Medea, Ovid shows how her initial feelings of *amor* for Jason evolve into maddening desire, which makes her powerless, passive, irrational, and unable to control her *cupido* (*Met.* 7.18-21).¹¹⁹ In the Roman view, therefore, it was equally important to control the internal experience of emotions as it was to project this control to the outside world.

The Greeks and the Romans continually analyzed and interpreted the effects that the emotions could have on one's physiology, psychology, and position in society. The

¹¹⁵ For the differences between the philosophy of Plutarch and Seneca regarding anger see Van Hoof (2007).

¹¹⁶ For example, Juvenal addresses the harmful emotion of anger (*indignatio*) in *Satire* 13. Calvinus, who is sorely grieved by his financial loss after his friend neglects to return money that is lent to him, experiences initial feelings of anger at being slighted. As the poem progresses, Calvinus is consumed by anger and the desire for revenge. The poem begins as traditional consolation (*consolatio*) but it becomes more ironic because Calvinus is so overcome by anger that nothing proves beneficial in relieving it. Juvenal uses the theories found in Seneca's *De Ira* as inspiration for what happens when someone is consumed by anger and focused only on vengeance in order to provoke the audience's disgust and diminish Calvinus's character. For more information on this poem see Braund (1997: 85) and Jones (2007: 144).

¹¹⁷ Catullus, in poem 76, describes the dangers of falling in love and its devastating psychological effects. The lovers found in Roman elegy are defined by their enslavement to love (*servitium amoris*) and, although it should be a source of pleasure and joy, it causes nothing but grief and distress. As a result, the *personae* of elegy are often rejected by society because of their excessive emotion and because they reject the pursuit of *virtus* in favor of their mistress (*domina*). For more information on love, Latin elegy, and Catullus 76 see Booth (1997: 160) and Gutzwiller (2015: 27).

¹¹⁸ Nugent 2008: 153-155. For more information on these myths and the destructive power that the passions have on these characters see Nugent (2008). For each episode, Nugent illustrates various emotions that are manifest in many characters to show how Ovid uses passions as a means of delaying the actions and moral progress of each character.

¹¹⁹ "If I were able, I would be more of sound mind. But a new force drags me unwilling, reason advises this, and my mind advises that: I see the better [way to act] and I approve of it yet I pursue the worse," (*si possem, sanior essem; / sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido, / mens aliud suadet: video meliora proboque / deteriora sequor!*). Whereas in elegy the common description for the *amator*'s passion was *amor* 'love,' which connoted a close relationship involving affection, Ovid uses the word *cupido* or 'desire' to describe Medea's burning passion. By using this word, Ovid emphasizes Medea's experience of a more vicious type of love, since, as Gutzwiller (2015: 28) argues, *cupido* "renders the person childlike, absorbed in pleasure and indifferent to consequence."

work of Aristotle emphasizes the acceptability of displaying emotions if they are justified and experienced in controlled amounts for an acceptable reason. In the late fifth century and fourth century BCE, the ideal of *sōphrosunē* embodied the emotional restraint and control needed for the assurance and protection of a person's social standing and reputation. The argument for the complete abolishment of the emotions, which was first supported by Plato, continued and was encouraged by the Romans in the Late Republic and Imperial Period. The most fervent supporters of this ideal were the Stoics, who argued that the emotions were inhibitors of reason and the pursuit of a happy life. Similarly, the Epicureans viewed the emotions as preventers of happiness and akin to a disease of the mind. To the Romans, feelings, which developed into emotions, were incompatible with *virtus* and they prevented self-control and socially acceptable behavior. These ancient theories and concepts of emotions influence how modern psychologists and psychoanalysts conceive of the emotions and the effects they have on our minds, bodies, and behavior.

Modern Theories of Emotion

Major modern theories generally address one or more of the following three components essential to the experience and expression of an emotion: (1) the neurophysiological/biochemical; (2) the motor or behavioral-expressive; (3) or the subjective-experiential.¹²⁰ When such mental or physical states of distress occur on the psychological or physiological levels, emotions are expressed in

¹²⁰ Izard, Kagan, and Zajonc 1984: 3.

neurophysiological/biochemical terms because they promote neural activity and affect the nervous and somatic systems.¹²¹ Emotions are also experienced in motor or behavioral-expressive terms, when they cause the agent to change his movements, his facial expressions, or his behavior. Finally, a person can express emotions in subjective-experiential terms, when he uses his cognitive functions to assess a situation by means of judgment, evaluation, and appraisal and responds in an appropriate manner. According to all three of these components, emotional responses function in order to return the experiencer to his original condition before the event that produced an emotion occurred.

Although we now refer to such disturbing or disruptive states as ‘emotions,’ from approximately the eighth century BCE to the eighteenth century CE, it was common to refer to the emotions as ‘passions,’ deriving from the Greek *pathos* (‘state,’ ‘condition,’ or ‘experience’) and *paskho* (‘to suffer’ or ‘to be affected in a certain way’).¹²² These terms usually held a negative connotation since they imply that the individual is cannot change or control the passions he experiences.¹²³ Passions by definition, therefore, in respect to the biological, physiological and motor/behavioral expressions of emotions, render the experiencer passive and powerless since he has no control over his reaction to outside stimuli. As a result, many ancient and modern scholars view the emotions as negative reactions because they are seemingly “irrational, involuntary, and animal-like” and devoid of rationality altogether.¹²⁴ This argument, however, presents several

¹²¹ For more on the neurophysiological aspects of emotions see Posner (2009).

¹²² Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon “πάθος” and “πάσχω.” Both of these terms later influenced the Latin *patior* and held a related meaning.

¹²³ Konstan 2006: 4. Konstan (2003: 104) notes that this negative quality of the term ‘passion’ existed when emotions were seen primarily in physical terms, thereby ignoring the rationality and judgment of emotions altogether, before cognitive theories of emotions began to be prevalent in the nineteenth century.

¹²⁴ Averill 1996: 207.

complications if one considers the cognitive theories of emotion and the role of judgment, evaluation, and appraisal.

Cognitive Theories of Emotion

Cognitive theories of emotions address what Izard, Kagan, and Zajonc (1984) call the subjective-experiential aspect of emotion. Such theories refute the proposition that emotions are free from rationality and intellectual thought processes. Cognitive theorists argue that some aspects of thought, usually factual judgments and evaluation, are the central features that help us to recognize, define, and differentiate our emotions. According to cognitive theories, thought processes and the evaluation of the stimulus determine which emotion will be produced. Many cognitive theories place priority on two branches of argumentation: judgment theories and evaluative/appraisal theories.

Modern scholars continue to develop the work of Aristotle when supporting judgment theories of the emotions. In his *Rhetoric* (II.1378a), Aristotle was the first to explicitly analyze the role of judgment in the creation and manipulation of emotion.¹²⁵ Similarly, Robert Solomon (1980) argues that cognition is central for the creation and experience of emotion because a person's expression of an emotion indicates that he has made a particular judgment.¹²⁶ His example of someone stealing your car captures his idea well: if someone steals your car and you become angry, your experience of anger shows that you have judged that someone has wronged you and you have responded in a way that is appropriate for the situation. To Solomon, if you cannot judge that something

¹²⁵ Lyons 1980: 33.

¹²⁶ Solomon 1980: 257.

has or has not happened, you will not experience an emotion because the judgment *is* the emotion, which makes the act of judgment fundamental to your experience of it.¹²⁷

Judgments, therefore, are necessary for the assessment of which emotion to assign to a certain circumstance and they demonstrate the cognitive and rational qualities that emotions possess.

The second major branch of cognitive theories, or evaluative/appraisal theories, focuses on the evaluation of a specific stimulus. This theory supports the view that evaluations and appraisals of propositions occur as responses to external stimuli and that they are the primary ways emotions are created and differentiated.¹²⁸ Ben-Ze'ev (2000) argues for four basic components of emotions: cognition, which provides a person with the required information about a particular situation; evaluation, without which we would be indifferent to the situation and would not be able to distinguish one emotion from another; motivation, which concerns a person's desire to maintain or change present, past, or future circumstances; and feeling.¹²⁹ Evaluation is arguably the most important of these four basic components because it is during this stage that an emotion is produced. While cognition certainly plays a major role in one's experience of emotions, it is "not so much a source of knowledge about the world as an evaluation or appraisal of some part of the world *in relation to oneself*."¹³⁰ To this end, appraisal and evaluation affect how a person reads the situation and what emotion he assigns to it based on his

¹²⁷ Solomon 1980: 257-258. Nussbaum (2001: 44) also argues that "if the emotion is not there we are entitled to say that the judgments themselves are not fully or really there."

¹²⁸ Most of our emotions involve such propositions which, according to Salmon and Soames (1988: 1), are defined as "the sorts of things that are true or false" and they are "what we believe, disbelieve, or suspend judgment about...the object about your attitude is a proposition."

¹²⁹ Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 49-78. The difference between 'feelings' and 'emotions' will be discussed later in this section.

¹³⁰ Lyons 1980: 71.

own way of interpreting it.¹³¹ For example, a person may see an object that causes him to experience fear, perhaps because he has a negative memory or past experience with this object, while another person may feel indifferent or unaffected by the same object because he has evaluated and appraised it differently based on his own memories and experiences.¹³² Evaluation and appraisal, therefore, stem primarily from memory and past experiences and they help a person to distinguish what is ‘good’ from what is ‘bad.’¹³³ After a person has appraised a given situation, the motivational and feeling components follow in order to revert him back to his normative state. Evaluation, then, plays a fundamental role in the recognition and management of the emotions. Because of such evaluations and appraisals before or after a person experiences an emotion, this theory proves that emotions cannot be passive and devoid of any rationality.

Universal and Social Constructivist Approaches to the Emotions

If emotions can be classified based on their cognitive qualities of judgment, evaluation, and appraisal, it follows that they are culturally variable and that different cultures experience emotions differently. Because emotions are necessary for self-

¹³¹ Lyons 1980: 76. Lyons (85-89) notes, however, that not every emotion necessarily involves an evaluation or appraisal. With some emotions, such as anger, embarrassment, and fear, which he calls ‘reflex emotions’ (85), “there is not time for conscious evaluation because there is no time to form beliefs or gain knowledge.” Rather, for such emotions, Lyons posits that even if there is not time for evaluative judgments, they are not always necessary because the emotions expressed will be “part of our outlook, one of our natural dispositions” to react the way we do to a particular situation. Thus, “the evaluation once formed, long ago maybe, and reinforced, is now firmly embedded” and therefore does not require extensive evaluations or judgments.

¹³² Various reactions and emotional responses prove why subjectivity in appraisal is so important. Scherer (1997: 903) points out that subjective evaluation “explains why the very same event can provoke rather different emotions in different persons. This implies the existence of pronounced individual differences in the evaluation process, differences that are due to habitual appraisal tendencies or habits, which could be partly responsible for differences in emotional reactivity...”

¹³³ Lewis, Sullivan, and Michalson 1984: 266.

perception and they possess important cultural and sociological qualities,¹³⁴ it could be argued that a person who belongs to one culture will experience a different emotion from someone in another culture because he has been predisposed to different collective principles and values. There has been much debate surrounding the question of whether emotions and their manifestations are universal amongst human beings or whether their identification and expression are contingent upon societal and cultural factors.

Biological approaches to the emotions often argue for the universality of emotions by claiming that human beings possess some ‘basic’ emotions that are ‘hard-wired’ physiologically into our brain and nervous system, thus making them precultural, universal, and recognizable to all humans.¹³⁵ One of the main arguments for the universality of emotions by biological theorists is concerned with the recognition of emotions through facial expressions.¹³⁶ Russell and Fernández-Dols (1997) argue that universality requires these three propositions: (1) that the same patterns of facial movement occur in all human groups; (2) that observers in different societies attribute the same specific emotions to those universal facial patterns; and (3) that those same facial patterns are, indeed, manifestations of those very emotions in all human societies.¹³⁷ The first person who sought to prove that the universality of emotion existed was Charles Darwin. In his pioneering study of emotion, *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* (1872), Darwin set out to confirm that emotions possess universal qualities amongst sentient beings and that culture is not the deciding feature in the experience of

¹³⁴ Berenson 1992: 175.

¹³⁵ For more on the biological approaches of emotion see Ekman (1972) and (1973); Plutchik (1980); Izard (1991); Shaver, Wu, and Schwartz (1992); Reddy (1997).

¹³⁶ For example, Darwin (1872); Izard (1968); Izard (1971); Ekman (1973); Smith and Scott (1997).

¹³⁷ Russell and Fernández-Dols 1997: 14.

emotion. The Universality Hypothesis holds that every human being communicates six basic emotional states, happiness, fear, disgust, anger, sadness, and surprise, using the same facial expressions because of shared evolutionary and biological origins. Darwin sought to compare outward expressions of emotions and feelings to human beings' more primitive ancestors. Relating to his *The Origin of Species* (1859), he argued that human emotions, and the ways in which we express them, are not only universal, but also dictated by our evolution. Darwin argues that expressive and behavioral emotional responses to external stimuli correspond to specific emotions, regardless of one's culture.¹³⁸ At least some of the emotions, then, had to be universal and innate, since "certain expressive features in humans are as innate and universal as snarling is to dogs."¹³⁹ To prove this theory, Darwin meticulously studies, catalogues, and describes the expression of emotion, with a focus primarily on facial expressions, amongst infants,¹⁴⁰ mentally ill humans,¹⁴¹ animals,¹⁴² and human beings across various cultural regions.

¹³⁸ Huxley and Kettlewell 1965: 102. Darwin sums up his position on the universality of emotions in the following way (1872:12):

With mankind some expressions, such as the bristling of the hair under the influence of extreme terror, or the uncovering of the teeth under that of furious rage, can hardly be understood, except on the belief that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition. The community of certain expressions is distinct through allied species, as in the movements of the same facial muscles during laughter by man and by various monkeys, is rendered somewhat more intelligible, if we believe in their descent from a common progenitor. He who admits on general grounds that the structure and habits of all animals have been gradually evolved, will look at the whole subject of Expression in a new and interesting light.

¹³⁹ Konstan 2006: 8.

¹⁴⁰ Darwin 1872: 13.

¹⁴¹ Darwin 1872: 13. Darwin argues that it is important to study the mentally ill because they are "liable to the strongest passions and give uncontrolled vent to them."

¹⁴² Darwin 1872: 17. Darwin studied animals so that "we are not biased by our imagination" and because they afford "the safest basis for generalization on the causes, or origin, of the various movements of Expression."

Paul Ekman (1972; 1973; 1982; 1993; 2009) and Carroll Izard (1971; 1977) continue Darwin's work to argue for the universality of emotion across human cultures by analyzing facial expressions and their relationship with the emotions. Ekman conducts a study in which photographs of facial expressions suggesting happiness, fear, surprise, anger, disgust/contempt, and sadness are displayed to subjects across five different cultures – Japan, the United States of America, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, and also illiterate cultures.¹⁴³ Ekman found that facial expressions that communicated a certain emotion were recognizable to members of his test group regardless of their culture and, therefore, that these six emotions should be seen as being expressed similarly across different cultures.¹⁴⁴ Ekman concludes that there are some facial expressions that display emotion that are universal but that this does not account for every emotion a person might experience.

After the foundational work of Darwin and Ekman, psychologists and anthropologists continue to study the relationship between facial expressions and emotions and cultural universality or specificity.¹⁴⁵ For example, Boucher, a former student of Ekman, and Brant (1981) extended Ekman's studies by examining what they call antecedents, or the external stimuli leading to the experience of emotion. Using a

¹⁴³ Ekman 1973: 208-210. Izard (1968; 1971) conducted a similar experiment to that of Ekman and his colleagues. Izard focuses upon nine literate cultures: the United States, English, German, Swedish, French, Swiss, Greek, Japanese, and African. In this study, subjects are given a series of words corresponding to the description of an emotion and asked to connect them with a photograph of a facial expression. Izard found that the nine cultures almost always judged one facial expression as portraying a certain emotion and that these expressions were uniform across these cultures, thus further suggesting the similarity of facial expressions regardless of one's culture or language.

¹⁴⁴ Ekman 1973: 206. Ekman also sought to further Darwin's work by attempting to understand whether the study of facial expressions could allow someone to interpret the degree of a specific emotion based on their face and if such judgments of the intensity of an emotion was culturally variable. For more information see Ekman (1973: 208).

¹⁴⁵ For more on universality and facial expressions, see Zajonc (1985); Frijda (1986); Fridlund, Ekman, and Oster (1987); Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988); Buck (1988); Izard and Saxton (1988); and Brown (1991).

cognitive approach, they argued that “antecedent events are cognitively evaluated for meaning, and that it is the *meaning* of the event to the individual which is the stimulus for a particular emotion.”¹⁴⁶ By studying the emotions of anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise, Boucher and Brant found that “antecedent events can transcend cultural boundaries.”¹⁴⁷ This finding, therefore, suggests that emotions are universal and not dependent on or affected by cultural variations.

Conversely, social constructivist approaches refute the argument that emotions are precultural and chiefly physiological in nature by asserting that they are culturally specific and variable.¹⁴⁸ To social constructivists, emotions cannot be disconnected from the sociocultural meanings in which they are experienced and expressed because they are inherently connected to many cultural and social phenomena, such as language, social practices, and interactional processes, and, as a result, emotions can be described only in relation to other social phenomena.¹⁴⁹ Averill (1980) argues that emotions are social constructions and socially constituted syndromes and that the functional significance of emotional responses are found within one’s sociocultural system because how a person experiences an emotion is dictated by the society in which he lives.¹⁵⁰ Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, both acquaintances of Ekman, also reject the theory of the universality of emotions. Bateson argues that expressions of emotions are not tied to internal sensations and physiological activity.¹⁵¹ To Bateson and Mead, human behavior

¹⁴⁶ Boucher and Brant 1980: 273.

¹⁴⁷ Boucher and Brant 1980: 280.

¹⁴⁸ For more on social constructivist approaches to the emotions, see Rosaldo (1984); Harré (1986); Russell (1994); and Lyon (1995).

¹⁴⁹ McCarthy 1994: 268; Gordon 1981.

¹⁵⁰ Averill 1980: 305-320.

¹⁵¹ This debate is outlined by Ekman in his 1998 edition of Darwin’s *Expressions of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (pp. 367-372).

and emotions are malleable and each culture develops its own unique set of emotions, which make culture the decisive determinant of the expression and experience of emotions.¹⁵² Finally, Rosaldo (1984) argues that emotions and feelings are aspects of a social world since they are cognitive and bound to thought, which itself is produced and influenced by one's culture.¹⁵³ In these views, therefore, emotions and culture cannot be separated and, when attempting to understand how a person produces, expresses, and experiences emotions, it is equally important to consider their culture and society.

Although the social constructivist view offers valuable insight into the impact that a person's society and culture has on his psychological processes, it is reasonable to assume that there are identifiable emotions across different cultures and historical periods. When analyzing literature and archaeological evidence of past cultures, artistic and literary descriptions and representations of emotion are certainly identifiable to the audience, even if there are some slight variations. As readers and viewers of Greek and Roman literature, art, and architecture, we can notice and appreciate the angst and love of Latin elegy, the wit of Roman comedy, and the sadness of a grieving woman in a fresco. Even if the circumstance under which an emotion is generated is not directly identifiable and common to us, the experience and representation of this emotion must be similar or they would not translate to a modern audience.

¹⁵² Konstan 2006: 14; Workman and Reader 2014: 334.

¹⁵³ Rosaldo 1984: 137-157. For more scholars who support the social constructivist argument of emotions see Gergen (1985); Harré (1986); McCarthy (1989); Mukerji and Schudson (1991); Benton (1993); Marsh et al. (2003); and Jack, Garrod, Caldara, and Schyns (2012).

Emotions vs. Feelings and Behaviorist Theories of Emotion

Another important question in an inquiry of the nature of emotions concerns the behavioral, physiological, and expressive aspect of emotions and their relationship with feelings. When one says “I feel angry” or “I feel afraid,” does this mean the same thing as “I am angry” or “I am afraid”? To Ben-Ze’Ev (1987; 2000), feelings comprise only one of the four dimensions of emotions¹⁵⁴ and they are merely expressions of one’s state. Feelings, then, are modes of awareness about this state but they are not directed at a certain object.¹⁵⁵ Emotions, therefore, are definable and distinguishable by their reference to the feeling dimension.¹⁵⁶ The physical properties and manifestations of both emotions and feelings has been a topic of much discussion since the seventeenth century.

From the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century, the main theory of feelings and their relationship with emotions is proposed by Descartes, in *The Passions of the Soul* (1649), and was later called the Cartesian Feeling Theory. Descartes defines the passions as follows: “Perceptions or sensations or excitations of the soul which are referred to in particular and which are caused, maintained and strengthened by some movement of the [animal] spirits” (*Passions of the Soul* 27). Descartes envisions the body as a machine that is composed of parts working together, just as in a watch (*Passions of the Soul* 16), and incapable of thought or intellect whatsoever. Descartes argues that the soul, on the other hand, can be found in the pineal gland at the core of the brain (*Passions of the Soul* 31-33) and that it is responsible for the production of thoughts

¹⁵⁴ Along with the evaluative component, the cognitive component, and the motivational component (cf. pp.38-39).

¹⁵⁵ Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 64.

¹⁵⁶ Ben-Ze’ev 1987: 407.

and passions (*Passions of the Soul* 17). To Descartes, emotions are outward representations of a class of feelings elicited by external stimuli, which means that they are categories of actions and reactions.¹⁵⁷ Descartes's theory, therefore, is behaviorist because it implies that behavior and bodily feelings are necessary for the creation and experience of emotions.

An important question to consider, then, is whether behavioral and physiological responses precede psychological and cognitive processes in the production and experience of emotion or if they are produced only after an emotion is experienced. The James-Lange theory, or the somatic feeling theory, of emotion develops Descartes' view. Descartes grants that emotions involve a person's awareness of his or her bodily movements and physiological changes after the perception of something, such as a frightening animal.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, James and Lange (1884) show how emotions ought to be viewed as products of our physiological reactions to a given situation. Their argument can be summed up as follows: "My thesis on the contrary¹⁵⁹ is that *the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur is the emotion*. Common sense says, we lose our fortune, are sorry and weep; we meet a bear, are frightened and run; we are insulted by a rival, are angry and strike."¹⁶⁰ In this view, feelings produce emotions as a result of our physiological states, rather than from our cognitive processes.¹⁶¹ The difficulty with defining feelings

¹⁵⁷ Lyons 1980: 6; Konstan 2006: 12-13. For more information on Descartes' theory of emotions see Gorevan (2015). For more on the differences between emotions and feelings see Manstead et al. (2004).

¹⁵⁸ Lyons 1980: 7.

¹⁵⁹ To the argument that bodily expressions follow mental perception and the appearance of emotion, rather than preceding them.

¹⁶⁰ James 1884: 189-190.

¹⁶¹ For a more modern approach to the James-Lange theory see Damasio (1999). Damasio also sees emotional experiences as resulting in changes in the body called "somatic markers." He develops the James-Lange theory by expanding the range of bodily states, allowing for the possibility that an emotion

as reactions and precursors to emotions, however, is that it does not allow for the differentiation between emotions, since physiological functions, such as fear and anger, may have similar or identical feelings and physical manifestations, like shouting or shaking.¹⁶² Although many scholars contest this theory in favor of cognitive theories,¹⁶³ the feeling theories such as the ones proposed by Descartes and James and Lange do provide valuable insight into the relationship between the behavioral and expressive aspect of emotion and its relationship with feelings.

The last theory that will be discussed here is related to Descartes' and James and Lang's feeling theory because it also involves behavior and its relation to the experience and representation of emotions. Behaviorist theories began with J. B. Watson's work entitled, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* (1919). The goal of the behaviorist, as Watson states, is "the prediction and control of behavior."¹⁶⁴ For Watson, there are four categories into which all reactions and behaviors can be placed: (1) explicit habit responses, or the outward expression of habits and activities, such as opening a door or staying on good terms with members of our community; (2) implicit habit responses, or movements that are not easily observable without instrumentation or experimental aid, such as body language; (3) explicit hereditary responses, or our observable instinctive

can be created even if no physiological changes are visible, and arguing for the importance of cognition and evaluation along with physiological changes.

¹⁶² Seneca also refutes and rejects behavioral and physiological theories of emotion because he believes that a person does not actually experience an emotion if he only shows physical signs, such as tears or blushing, which he calls "disturbances of the body." Seneca argues that these physiological and behavioral responses occur during the first and involuntary 'pre-emotion' stage and that they are nothing more than the "preparation for a passion" (*preparatio adfectus*, *De Ira* 2.4).

¹⁶³ For the most notable objection to the James-Lange theory see Cannon (1927; 1931). See also Barrett (2012) who argues that, instead of physiological changes and feelings producing emotion, "emotions are, *at the same time*, socially constructed and biologically evident" (413) and that cognition is more significant than physiology because "an instance of emotion corresponds to an entire brain state – one that includes representations of the body and/or action AND the additional information that is necessary to create the new functions that make emotions real..." (423).

¹⁶⁴ Watson 1919: 1.

and emotional reactions, such as blinking, sneezing, or dodging a particular object; (4) and implicit hereditary responses, such as the inner workings of the body.¹⁶⁵ Watson argues that emotions belong in the explicit hereditary response category and that they are akin to a person's instinctive reactions. He defines an emotion as a "hereditary 'pattern-reaction' involving profound changes of the bodily mechanism as a whole, but particularly of the visceral and glandular systems."¹⁶⁶ Emotions, therefore, are physiological reactions, they follow a specific pattern, and they are inherited. Watson argues that there are three emotions, fear, rage, and love, which are a part of man's original nature.¹⁶⁷ Watson's theory does not, however, account for the differentiation of emotions and knowing whether an emotion really is an emotion or just a feeling, instinct, etc. Furthermore, a specific event could produce different responses in different people and Watson is not able to find a solution to this problem.¹⁶⁸ Watson's theories are influential, though, because they emphasize the relationship with between the production and expression of emotion and they offer a different way to analyze them.

B. F. Skinner continues and develops Watson's arguments about behaviorism and the emotions in *About Behaviorism* (1974). To Skinner, the way in which one behaves is primarily determined by his environment: "The environment made its first great contribution during the evolution of the species, but it exerts a different kind of effect during the lifetime of the individual, and the combination of the two effects is the behavior we see at any given time."¹⁶⁹ The examination of environment, therefore,

¹⁶⁵ Watson 1919: 14-15.

¹⁶⁶ Watson 1919: 195.

¹⁶⁷ Watson 1919: 199. Watson believed that we can only really study these three emotions in newborn children since hereditary patterns get broken up as a person ages and is influenced by other factors.

¹⁶⁸ For more criticisms of Watson see Lyons (1980: 17-21) and Power and Dalgleish (2016).

¹⁶⁹ Skinner 1974: 19.

allows for a better understanding not only of a person's physical attributes, but also of a "wide range of mentalistic expressions," including the emotions.¹⁷⁰ Instead of studying the physiological changes that exist in the experience of emotion, as Watson does, Skinner looks to "operant behavior," or behavior that produces a desired result and so tends to be repeated.¹⁷¹ Since emotions have an operant conditioning framework, "under different emotional conditions, different events serve as reinforcers, and different groups of operants increase in probability of emission. By these predispositions we can define a specific emotion."¹⁷² A key aspect in the concept of behaviorism, therefore, is that a rewarding outcome acts as positive reinforcement for that behavior, thus increasing its frequency,¹⁷³ even if it is not reasonable or justified.¹⁷⁴ When a person is angry, he will hit the table or pick a fight because he is more "predisposed to emit certain operants" than other types. His reactions are reinforced because they bring about his desired results, in this case frightening or offending the person who has made him angry, in order to produce a desired change in his own environment.¹⁷⁵ Lyons (1980), however, criticizes Skinner's view of behaviorism and emotions because he argues that sometimes a person will show little or no operant behavior, such as in the example of grief: "Grief, especially when it is about something irretrievably lost or dead, does not lead to much, if any, operant behaviour, because no behaviour can bring about any desired results...even angry people can be angry and not show it in operant behavior. That is, some people just are

¹⁷⁰ Skinner 1974: 19.

¹⁷¹ Lyons 1980: 21.

¹⁷² Holland and Skinner 1961: 213.

¹⁷³ Laird 2007: 127.

¹⁷⁴ Bedford 1957: 297.

¹⁷⁵ Holland and Skinner 1961: 214.

controlled, undemonstrative people.”¹⁷⁶ Although Lyons raises some good points against Skinner’s argument, an analysis of a person’s behavior, especially in literature, is useful when attempting to interpret and identify an emotional response as a reaction to an external stimulus.

Even though a definitive answer concerning the causes and expression of emotions cannot be provided with certainty, these theories offer valuable insight into how emotions are produced and how expressions of various emotions can act as indicators of their origin. In a study of guilt in Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, these theories pose important questions that must be kept in mind. If we can evaluate the thought processes and rationales that these poets give their characters using cognitive theories of emotion, find common qualities and differences between the Romans’ emotions and our own using the theories of universality and cultural variation, and study the behavior of the characters as they express their emotions verbally and physically, we can discover an emotional landscape in these poems that has not yet been fully explored.

¹⁷⁶ Lyons 1980: 22. For other criticisms of Skinner’s theory see Chomsky 1971); Natsoulas (1983); Stich (1984); Roediger and Goff (1998).

Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*

In the *Aeneid*, the gods promote, resist, or submit to the will of Fate, which remains invariable and ensures Aeneas' success when he arrives in Latium. Each god recognizes Fate's immutability and its importance for ensuring Rome's achievement of *imperium sine fine*. Although Fate's design remains unchanged in the poem, the gods meddle in human affairs and they alter the course of Aeneas' journey. The gods also help Aeneas in his emotional journey to cope with his guilt after the fall of Troy in that they extend their influence when he experiences intense psychological turmoil. The gods work within the confines of Fate to help Aeneas find a way to alleviate and cope with his emotional struggle with his guilt at various stages in the narrative. In the first half of the poem, Aeneas resists the gods' guidance and he uses them to temporarily relieve his guilt by projecting it onto them and blaming them for Troy's destruction. In the second half of the poem, however, Aeneas' view of the gods changes when he realizes that they work to promote his fulfillment of Fate and that they will help him achieve victory in Italy, which will offer absolution of his guilt through reparation.

The Role of Fate and the Gods in the *Aeneid*: Scholarship Review

Modern scholars often discuss the role of the gods and Fate in Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹⁷⁷

Many scholars argue that Vergil's gods resemble those found in Homer's *Iliad* and

¹⁷⁷ For example, see Thornton (1976) for the relationship between the coherence and hierarchy of the universe and the gods and Jupiter's role as the 'cosmic god' and the 'supreme god,' who presides over them; Williams (1983: 17-39), who argues that the gods are "figural concepts that operate in an apparently literal way on the surface of the poem but also have another meaning equally relevant to the poet and to the understanding of the poem," (17). Williams also argues that the gods function as figures who allow for authorial intervention as tropes for human motivation and the reconciliation of free will and that the divine

Odyssey,¹⁷⁸ because they meddle in human affairs to promote their own agendas and to influence the actions of mortals.¹⁷⁹ Some scholars also view divine intervention as bound to the plan of destiny and they argue that the gods' influence on humans is based on "their wishes or determination, conflicting with, and disturbing the operations of Fate."¹⁸⁰ The relationship between Jupiter and Fate has also been a topic of much scholarly discussion. To some, Jupiter promotes the design of Fate, but his will is subordinate to it and he has no control over it.¹⁸¹ To others, Aeneas' destiny is determined by the will of Jupiter alone. For example, Heinze (1993) argues that "Virgil leaves us in no doubt that Fate is really nothing else but the will of the highest god," and that Jupiter's will is identical to Fate's.¹⁸² Similarly, Feeney (1991) argues that Jupiter controls *fata* and he dictates Aeneas' future and Rome's foundation.¹⁸³ Working alongside, or in opposition to, the overarching superpowers of the poem are the other gods, who must contend with

machinery enables Vergil to interact with his predecessors, especially Euripides and Lucretius; Lyne (1987: 66-71), who argues that the gods work with humans to produce the ends they desire; and Feeney (1991: 152-155), who, amongst many other topics, explores the power struggle between the gods and the theme of divine violence, which he names as the main preoccupation of the *Aeneid*.

¹⁷⁸ Williams (1983: 21); Lyne (1987: 61-63; 65-66); Feeney (1991: 141-142), who argues that Vergil blends the gods of Homer, Ennius, Naevius, and the gods of various national cults and nature.

¹⁷⁹ Coleman (1982: 144); Ahl (2007: xxii). Feeney (1991: 182), on the other hand, argues that, in the *Aeneid*, divine intervention on the human level is rather rare when compared to other epics. To Feeney (1991: 181), what Vergil does emphasize is the "variance in [humans'] knowledge and ignorance of the divine processes at work in their world," which the gods play on to achieve their own ends.

¹⁸⁰ Matthaei 1917: 15. Heinze (1993:235) argues that the gods embody the all-embracing divinity of Fate, which directs the action of the entire poem.

¹⁸¹ MacInnes (1910); Matthaei (1917: 14-19); Woodworth (1930). Coleman (1982: 157) argues that Jupiter administers the operations of Fate, but Fate cannot be understood as emancipating from Jupiter. Lyne (1987: 73-75) argues that Jupiter's will is identifiable with Fate and that this relationship "differs radically from Homer."

¹⁸² Heinze 1993: 236. Heinze (1993: 236 n.36) argues that *sic fata deum rex sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo* (3.375) proves that Jupiter presides over Fate and that he determines its course. Heinze also uses the exchange between Jupiter and Venus to show that he controls *fata* and that, in this exchange, he tells Venus that "his *fata* have not changed; he has not changed his plan." This conversation, therefore, proves that "his will is identical with the predestined future" (236-237). At the same time, Heinze recognizes that "Jupiter himself feels that once something is *fatum* he is himself bound by it," (237). See also Bailey (1935: 204-240), who argues that the will of Jupiter is the same as the fates, and Otis (1964: 225-226) who argues that "Virgil's Jupiter is primarily the image of fate."

¹⁸³ Feeney 1991: 139-140. Feeney sees Vergil's use of the verb *fabor* at 1.261 to mean "that the *fata* ('things said') are what *he* 'says' (*fabor*, 261)."

or promote the plans of Fate and Jupiter. Vergil contrasts Jupiter's association with Fate to Juno's vehement opposition to it. Woodworth (1930) argues that there are two plots of the *Aeneid*. The first, or the 'main plot,' is controlled by Fate, which concerns Aeneas' departure from Troy and his mission to settle in Italy. The second, or the 'superplot,' surrounds Juno's anger and her role as the antagonistic force that opposes Fate and the 'main plot.' By structuring the poem in this manner, Woodworth argues that Vergil can emphasize the great feat of Aeneas in fulfilling his destiny: "The poet's purpose in the action of the superplot is to exalt the supreme power of Destiny, specifically as revealed in the high destiny of Rome, by prolonging the struggle and magnifying the opposing force over which it finally triumphs."¹⁸⁴ Although Juno accepts that she cannot control Fate, she is resentful that she, the consort of Jupiter, is limited by it.¹⁸⁵ As a result, Juno takes pleasure in delaying Aeneas and exposing him to sufferings, which Vergil enumerates in the 'superplot' of the narrative.¹⁸⁶ The gods and Fate work together because Aeneas' destination is fated, but the course by which he arrives at his destination is determined by Juno, who also dictates the action of the narrative.¹⁸⁷ The gods in the *Aeneid*, therefore, contribute to the progression of the narrative and they influence Aeneas' decisions and undertakings in an effort to promote or delay Fate, which is the driving force behind the action of the poem.

¹⁸⁴ Woodworth 1930: 115.

¹⁸⁵ Heinze 1993: 237.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Aen* 7.313-316.

¹⁸⁷ Coleman 1982: 158.

Emotions, Fate, and the Gods in the *Aeneid*

In the proem, Vergil emphasizes the importance of the gods and their position as dictators of Aeneas' actions (*Aen.* 1.1-7):

*Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
Litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
Vi superum, saevae memorem Iunois ob iram,
Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
Inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.*

Arms and the man I sing, who, exiled by fate, came first from the shores of Troy to Italy, and to the Lavinian banks, that man was tossed about much on both land and sea by the power of the gods, and by the mindful anger of savage Juno, suffering much in war, at last he founded a city and introduced his gods to Latium, from which place rose the Latin race, and the Alban fathers, and the walls of lofty Rome.¹⁸⁸

Vergil immediately tells his reader that Aeneas' sufferings and his journey are attributable to Fate (*fato profugus...Italiam*), but that these sufferings will ultimately lead to his victory in Latium and the foundation of a new Troy. Vergil closely correlates the design of Fate with the gods, who also contribute to Aeneas' sufferings (*multum ille et terris iactatus et alto / vi superum*). Although Fate remains unchangeable, Vergil shows that the gods can try to alter the course of events that lead to its fulfillment.¹⁸⁹ Vergil defines the *vi superum* at 1.4 as the *saevae memorem Iunois ob iram* to associate the gods with Fate and to introduce the 'superplot' of his narrative.¹⁹⁰ Vergil again accentuates Fate as the overarching force of his poem when he explains that Juno's 'mindful rage' is

¹⁸⁸ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁸⁹ Otis (1964: 223) argues that one of the three levels of conflict in the *Aeneid* is between Fate, which Jupiter embodies, and Counter-Fate, which Juno represents. The other gods work within this conflict as supporters of either Jupiter's cause or Juno's. Similarly, Thornton (1976: 152) argues that "the plot is then shaped by the theme of the relationship between Jupiter and Juno, not their mutual relationship in itself, but their antagonism or harmony concerning Aeneas and his task."

¹⁹⁰ Fratantuono (2007: 3) sees Vergil's mention of Juno's wrath so early in the epic, and his mention of her near the poem's closing, as an indication that she is "a crucial deity in the *Aeneid*" and that her *ira* is meant to contrast with Aeneas' *pietas* (1.10).

rooted in another plan of Fate, which denies Carthage supremacy over the world and demands that Trojan successors conquer the city (1.12-23).¹⁹¹ The proem, then, precisely reveals the scheme of Fate and labels Juno as the opposing force to its realization.

Another feature of the proem is Vergil's emphasis on the power that emotions maintain for shaping the narrative and his depiction of Aeneas' experience of them.¹⁹² Vergil says that Aeneas' sufferings originate from the loss of his city and his exile (*profugus*, 1.2), his endurance of the anger of Juno (*multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*, 1.3), and his experiences in the past battle at Troy and the future war in Italy (*multa...bello passus*, 1.4). Vergil's use of these passive participles suggests that Aeneas is unwilling and is compelled to suffer the trials that Fate dictates (*fato*, 1.2) and those the gods thrust upon him (*vi superum, saevae memorem Iunois ob iram*, 1.4).¹⁹³ His apparent passivity encourages scholars, such as Clausen (1964), to argue that Aeneas' resistance to his destiny and the will of the gods proves that he is not a typical epic hero because he is merely an instrument of Fate and he is devoid of passion and personality. To Clausen, Aeneas is a passive, "fate-driven wanderer," who "does not so much act as endure" the trials that the gods and Fate force on him and he is a likeable hero only because he elicits sympathy from the reader.¹⁹⁴ Because Vergil emphasizes the immutability of Fate, and

¹⁹¹ Vergil articulates the divide between the wishes of Juno (*hoc regnum dea gentibus esse, / si qua fata sinant*, 1.17-18) and their conflict with Fate's design (*hinc populum late regem belloque superbum venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas*, 1.21-22). Otis (1964: 93) notes: "[Juno] stands for the losing side of the conflict on which all history was to depend, both for Carthage and for *furor*, the ultimate irrationality that resists fate." As will be explored later in this chapter, Aeneas must also resolve his emotions, and especially guilt, which is also an opposing force to his fate in the same manner as *furor*.

¹⁹² Otis 1964: 223.

¹⁹³ Perkell (1999: 32) argues that, unlike Odysseus' wanderings, which Homer alludes to in the *Odyssey*'s proem, Aeneas' sufferings do not have the same intellectual dimension. Rather, Aeneas' success is not dependent on his ability to understand their cause, but in his ability to endure.

¹⁹⁴ Clausen 1964: 141. Similarly, Parry (1963) argues that Aeneas does not assert himself in the same manner as a Homeric hero and that he is a hero solely driven by Fate: "Aeneas from the start is absorbed in his own destiny, a destiny which does not ultimately relate to him, but to something later, larger, and less

Fate as the primary factor that dictates the course of the narrative and the future of Rome more generally, we should not assume that he makes his hero a passive victim, who is entirely controlled by external forces and devoid of feeling, as Clausen argues. Rather, Vergil uses Fate and the gods to explore real human emotions as Aeneas struggles with these external forces and Vergil empowers his hero by portraying Aeneas' gradual subjugation and resolution of his negative emotions.

The emotions that Vergil portrays include anger, grief, love, and guilt and they are all relatable to ancient and modern readers and, as a result, they provide a new dimension to his epic.¹⁹⁵ The emotional battle that accompanies Aeneas' gradual acceptance of his fate encourages us to identify with him during a series of emotional episodes.¹⁹⁶

Duckworth (1956) believes that the reader sympathizes with Aeneas precisely because he has free will and because he gradually accepts his task as the narrative progresses.

Duckworth also argues that Aeneas is not a mere puppet of the gods because he chooses to subordinate his feelings to their demands and those of Fate, and this makes his heroism even more extensive.¹⁹⁷ Emotions, and Aeneas' battle with them, are therefore fundamental to the *Aeneid* because they provide another means by which Vergil can glorify his hero and make him more identifiable to his audience.

Vergil's expression of the psychological dimension of his characters, and his departure from the Homeric model, proves that emotions and psychological struggles are important elements that contribute to his hero's successes or failures. Vergil also stresses

personal," (72). As a result, Aeneas "is successively denied all the attributes of a hero, and even of a man" (76).

¹⁹⁵ Harrison 2007: 3. Conte (2007) argues that Vergil appeals to the reader's emotional sensibility by focusing on the feelings of individual characters. As a result, the *Aeneid* is an 'epic of pathos.'

¹⁹⁶ Farron (1993: 61-63) argues that "the main purpose of the *Aeneid* is to arouse the reader's emotions" by means of these emotional episodes.

¹⁹⁷ Duckworth 1940: 6.

the prominence of emotions because they enable him to insert his own emotions and his ‘subjective style’ into the narrative.¹⁹⁸ Vergil is “conscious of himself inside his characters, he thinks through them and for them,” and, as a result, the reader can discern a “psychological identification” of the poet in them.¹⁹⁹ The plot engages with the reader’s emotions and he sees “consistent injection of emotional sensibility, expressed by the author through his engaged framing of the narrative and by showing the points of view of the characters.”²⁰⁰ By directing the reader’s focus toward the emotions of his protagonist, Vergil creates a new type of epic,²⁰¹ which engages with real human emotions, and he humanizes his heroes and makes them more identifiable.

One of the ways in which Vergil calls attention to the role of emotions is through his portrayal of the gods. The gods appear to Aeneas during moments in which he experiences intense inner conflict and emotional turmoil. Aeneas commonly psychologically projects his guilt onto the gods to alleviate his struggle with it. If we view appearances of the gods as episodes that indicate Aeneas’ unsettled psychological state, which results from his struggle with his guilt, their importance as characters in the poem becomes even more prominent. Furthermore, Vergil’s correlation between episodes that describe intense experience of emotion and instances of divine intervention enables him to promote the idea that, although the gods and Fate are important parts of the epic, Aeneas is still an autonomous hero with relatable human qualities and his

¹⁹⁸ Otis (1964: 41-96) argues that Vergil writes in a ‘subjective style’ and that he implicitly express his own feelings, which is evident in his choice of verb tense, caesurae, and vowel sounds, and explicitly with apostrophes and his representation of his characters’ internal feelings. His ‘subjective style’ differentiates his epic from the Homeric ‘objective style,’ which gives the impression that the characters speak for themselves and that no semblance of the author is discernable through his writing.

¹⁹⁹ Otis 1964: 49. Otis argues that the ‘real storm’ of the *Aeneid* is not the one sent at the request of Juno, but rather it is “human and psychological,” (94).

²⁰⁰ Conte 2007: 1-2.

²⁰¹ Otis 1964: 220.

actions are not motivated solely by his interaction with the gods.²⁰² The gods, on the one hand, must ensure that Aeneas' emotions do not consume him so that they can guarantee that he fulfills his destiny by departing Troy and settling in Italy. Aeneas, on the other hand, uses the gods to cope with his emotions, especially through projection, so that he can alleviate their psychological effects. The gods intervene, especially through dreams, as instigators of psychological motivation,²⁰³ but it is ultimately up to Aeneas to make the choice to progress and continue his mission to Italy.

The Symptoms and Expressions of Aeneas' Guilt

Although many scholars focus on anger and grief,²⁰⁴ guilt maintains an equally important position in the emotional landscape of the *Aeneid* and it binds its two subjects, *arma virumque* (1.1).²⁰⁵ The guilt that Aeneas contends with is rooted in his negative self-assessment because of his inability to save Troy and his wife, Creusa.²⁰⁶ In the first

²⁰² Duckworth (1956: 358) argues that "divine machinery was a necessary part of such an epic, but Vergil's interest in human emotions and the psychology of his characters made it impossible for him to explain human action entirely by the working of Fate or divine interference." For more information see Woodworth (1930) and Coleman (1982).

²⁰³ Duckworth (1956: 358); Coleman (1982: 145). Lyne (1987: 66) argues that: "The gods do effect a change, but it is in degree rather than kind. To put it another way: they *play on emotions already present*; they *work with* susceptible humans to produce, or to try to produce, the ends they desire."

²⁰⁴ For discussions on anger in the *Aeneid* see Otis (1964: 95); Thorton (1976: 159-163); Galinsky (1988); Putnam (1990); Wright (1997); Gill (2003); and Nelis (2015). For a more general discussion on anger in antiquity see Harris (2001). For discussions on grief and mourning in the *Aeneid* see Johnson (1976); Farron (1993); and Panoussi (2009: 145-173).

²⁰⁵ Perkell (1999: 30) argues that the double subject of the poem suggests two ideas. The first is that the *Aeneid* will engage with and rival its Homeric predecessors, *arma* being assimilated to the *Iliad*'s 'wrath' and *virum* as akin to the *Odyssey*'s *andra*. The second idea is that the reader is meant to explore *arma virumque* the interrelationship between these two themes and to analyze Aeneas' difficult discovery of his mission after the fall of Troy. Perkell's second idea is interesting for a reading of the *Aeneid* through the lens of guilt because it encourages us to consider Aeneas' experiences in the aftermath of the war at Troy and during his time in Italy and to explore the internal struggles that Vergil assigns to him because of these conflicts.

²⁰⁶ As discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.6-8), guilt is a 'self-conscious emotion,' which forces the experiencer to continually evaluate, or 'appraise,' himself based on his action or inaction, which is called the 'causal locus.' Appraisal and evaluation are important components in the creation of emotion because

half of the poem, Aeneas' negative self-assessment prompts a heightened cognitive focus on the self, which results in his experience of psychological guilt, specifically persecutory guilt and moral guilt, and it produces feelings of remorse, self-punishment, and self-criticism.²⁰⁷ Carroll (1985) argues that "guilt is like a disease in that it may be known only by its symptoms" and that one's experience of guilt drives his conduct and actions.²⁰⁸ Although Vergil does not explicitly tell us that Aeneas experiences guilt, this chapter will show that Vergil does in various ways imply that Aeneas experiences and suffers from guilt by describing Aeneas' expression of the symptoms of this emotion.

The first way that Vergil shows Aeneas' experience of guilt is in his creation of episodes in which Aeneas suffers intense and mindless rage (*furor*) and despair (*dolor*), which often result in his desire for revenge and his emotional isolation. Although Aeneas' outbursts of anger and sadness can be read in various ways, an analysis of modern studies concerning the psychological effects of trauma and an examination of how guilt is produced and expressed after trauma occurs both offer a different way to

they affect how a person reads a particular situation and what emotion he assigns to it (cf. Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion, pp.37-39, for more on cognitive theories of emotion). For Aeneas, the causal locus is his inability to protect his city and his family. Aeneas' appraisal of his actions results in a negative assessment of himself, which influences and impedes his actions in the first half of the poem, and produces the experience of guilt as a response. For more information on guilt as a self-conscious emotion that produces negative self-assessment after one's evaluation of the causal locus see Tracy and Robins (2004). For more information on appraisal see Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek (2007) and Lazarus (1991).

²⁰⁷ As discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.10-12), persecutory guilt and moral guilt are types of psychological guilt. Persecutory guilt occurs as a response to negative self-assessment when a person believes that he deserves punishment after an action or inaction. For more on persecutory guilt see Carveth (2013) and Grinberg (1992). Moral guilt occurs when a person believes that he has breached his own code of conduct and he has harmed others because of his action or inaction. For more on moral guilt see Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek (2007) and Carroll (1985). As will be discussed later in this chapter, in Books 1-6, the gods encourage Aeneas to overcome his negative self-assessment by showing him that he is not to blame for Troy's fall and they assist him when he appears to be unable to cope with and resolve his guilt so that he can fulfill his destiny in the second half of the poem.

²⁰⁸ Carroll 1985: 15.

interpret Aeneas' experiences of *furor* and *dolor* and their relationship to his psychological struggle with his guilt from Troy.

Anger and sadness are related to guilt because they are reactive emotions, which manifest during periods of severe psychological struggle. When someone experiences guilt, he will often respond with extreme aggression or despair as a reaction to it. The type of reactive emotion that is produced depends on whether the reaction is directed outwards or inwards against the self; aggression and rage result from energy being directed outwards,²⁰⁹ while depression, or *dolor*, low self-esteem, and sadness result from the reactive energy being directed inwards against the self.²¹⁰ In this way, Aeneas' anger, sadness, and depression should not be viewed as isolated emotions that are separate from his experience of guilt. Rather, they should be viewed as feelings, or reactions to or expressions of, Aeneas' experience of guilt. Ben-Ze'ev (1987) argues that emotions are definable and distinguishable by their reference to the feeling dimension.²¹¹ Feelings are modes of awareness about a particular state²¹² and they are usually physiological, such as crying or hitting a table with your fist.²¹³ The *furor* or *dolor* that Aeneas feels, then, does not necessitate that he experiences the emotions of anger or sadness. Rather, we can

²⁰⁹ Carroll 1985: 28. Wilson et al. (2006: 126) argue that, when a person experiences posttraumatic guilt, anger is a common symptom, which, if left dysregulated, will develop into intense rage. Similarly, Clifton et al. (2017) argue that a person's experience of guilt and anger are also heightened after a traumatic event and that these reactions are often linked to higher posttraumatic stress disorder severity. See also Pivetti, Camodeca and Rapino (2016) for a study that draws correlations between guilt and anger.

²¹⁰ Ratcliffe (2010) argues that intense experiences of guilt can lead to depression and grief. See also Kim and Thibodeau (2011) and Grinberg (1992) for more on the relationship between guilt and its depressive symptoms.

²¹¹ Ben-Ze'ev 1987: 407. For more on the difference between emotions and feelings see Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion (pp.45-46).

²¹² Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 64.

²¹³ There are various theories about whether emotions are produced from these physiological reactions/feelings or if the physiological reactions produce the emotion. For more information see Descartes' Cartesian Feeling Theory and the James-Lange theory, or the somatic feeling theory, in Chapter 2: Ancient and Modern Theories of Emotion (pp.45-47).

view Aeneas' *furor* and *dolor* as feelings that result as reactions to his experience of guilt. This chapter, then, will explore how the anger and despair Aeneas feels, such as in his deceptive speech to his soldiers in Book 1, his murderous rampages in Book 2 and 10, and the death of Turnus in Book 12, ought to be viewed as indicators that Vergil uses to subtly imply that Aeneas experiences guilt because they are symptoms of and emotional reactions to it.

Aeneas' desire to exact revenge on various characters, such as Helen and the Greeks in Book 2 and Turnus in Book 12, also indicates that he experiences guilt and that this reaction is motivated by his feelings of *furor* and *dolor*. Aeneas' longing for revenge shows that he experiences guilt because it offers him a 'second chance' to act differently and to make up for his previous failures.²¹⁴ In this way, Aeneas' need for revenge shows that he wishes to achieve a balance and 'get even' for the physical, emotional, and mental turmoil he experiences.²¹⁵ We can therefore analyze episodes in which Aeneas' intense anger or grief, and episodes in which he is driven by the desire for revenge, to better understand how Vergil portrays Aeneas' experience of guilt.

Another way that Vergil indicates that Aeneas experiences guilt is in his depiction of Aeneas' interaction with the gods, his negative view of them, and his tendency to psychologically project this emotion onto them in the first half of the poem, especially during his interaction with Venus in Book 2 and Mercury in Book 4. Laplanche and Pontalis (1973) define psychological projection as "the operation whereby a neurological

²¹⁴ Speziale-Bagliacca (2004: 17) argues that revenge is a "response deferred in time, a kind of 'descendant' of a failed response or one made impossible by the circumstance."

²¹⁵ McHardy (2008: 2-6) argues that revenge is associated with the idea of 'achieving a balance,' that this image of payment and exchange is especially prevalent in ancient Greek terminology (τίσις), and that by exacting revenge, a person can equalize the exchange and 'get even.' In this way, revenge allows a person to restore his self-esteem, which makes it a defense mechanism akin to psychological projection, and it contributes to the alleviation of psychological conflict.

or psychological element is displaced and relocated in an external position.”²¹⁶ This defense mechanism was first proposed by Freud (1915/1961), who believed that it offered the ego a way to defend itself against internal events or emotions that it regards as unacceptable, especially impulses that are sexual or aggressive in nature.²¹⁷ The external object that the agent can project onto can be a person, group, divinity, or cosmic force.²¹⁸ Aeneas’ use of psychological projection allows Vergil to portray Aeneas’ initial attempts to cope with and alleviate his guilt by projecting it onto an external object and away from his own consciousness.

Aeneas’ experience of guilt is also apparent because, in the first half of the poem, he remains fixated on the past and he resists the future and his fate, which the gods promote. Ratcliffe (2010) argues that, when a person experiences guilt, he becomes preoccupied with the past because he cannot assign possibilities to the future and he becomes obsessed with the deeds that led to his guilt.²¹⁹ Aeneas’ false starts in Books 3 and 4 and his attempts to rebuild Troy in any location without accepting his future in Italy show that his mind is preoccupied with the deeds that led to his guilt and that his guilt

²¹⁶ Laplanche and Pontalis 1973: 349. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas displaces his guilt, or the psychological element, onto an external object, primarily the gods. Holmes (1978: 677) defines psychological projection as a “defense mechanism with which persons can reduce their anxiety concerning their possession of undesirable traits” or their completion of or failure to commit a specific action.

²¹⁷ Freud (1915/1961) argues that psychological projection allows an individual to avoid recognizing a threatening trait or emotion in himself, especially sexual desires. Modern psychology, however, diverges from Freud’s theory by focusing less on the sexual and aggressive uses for projection as a defense mechanism and more on projection as a way to protect self-esteem. Aeneas’ projection of his guilt onto the gods, therefore, is a defense mechanism that his mind uses to avoid or delay accepting his guilt and culpability for Troy’s fall and Creusa’s death. For more on psychological projection see Newman et al. (1997) and Baumeister et al. (1998).

²¹⁸ Carroll 1985: 35.

²¹⁹ Ratcliffe 2010.612-613. As a result, when a person thinks about the deeds that led to his experience of guilt, he views the deeds as “closed, completed, estranged from our aspirations,” and they do not allow him to look to the future but they compel him to remain transfixed on these deeds in the past.

compels him to focus on the past, rather than accepting the assistance of the gods and looking to the future.

Aeneas' preoccupation with the past also compels him to seek reparation after the fall of Troy and it is the primary focus of the second half of poem.²²⁰ Reparation is associated with guilt because it represents a person's need to make up for past actions and to make amends for the wrong he has done.²²¹ Aeneas initially focuses on reparation in Books 3 and 4, when he attempts to rebuild Troy, but he is unsuccessful. It is not until Book 6, when he hears Anchises' prophecy in the Underworld, that Aeneas finally recognizes that true reparation is only possible by accepting the assistance and intervention of the gods and by striving to fulfill his destiny in Italy, which will offer him absolution. In Books 7-12, Aeneas' experience of guilt is apparent because he uses this emotion and the guidance and intervention of the gods as motivation to achieve reparation, to win the war in Italy, and to fulfill the plan of Fate so that the fall of Troy and the loss of his wife will not have been meaningless. When viewed this way, it becomes clearer that guilt, and Aeneas' struggle with this emotion, impacts the progression of the narrative because it influences Aeneas' actions.

²²⁰ Aeneas' goal of reparation shows that he experiences guilt rather than shame. Brown et al. (2008) argue that guilt and shame have different consequences for reparation. When a person experiences guilt, he focuses on the wrongdoing and its consequences for the other person, whereas for shame, the focus is on the effect of the wrongdoing on one's self-concept. Aeneas' motivation for reparation stems from his mission to be victorious in Italy and establish a future for his son, Ascanius, whom Creusa implores him to protect in Book 2. Aeneas experiences guilt instead of shame because of his focus on the effect that his failures at Troy, and the fall of the city itself, had on his family and his fellow exiles, and this focus motivates him to seek reparation in the second half of the poem.

²²¹ Carroll 1985: 9. Graton, Ric, and Gonzalez (2016) also argue that guilt motivates a desire to repair the actions or inactions that led to the incurrance of guilt. Similarly, Graton and Ric (2017) argue that a person's experience of guilt activates the goal of reparation and it compels him to increase his attention toward reparatory stimuli. For more on the association between guilt and reparation see Tangney et al. (1996).

Books 1-5: Aeneas' Experience of Guilt After Troy

In Books 1-5, Vergil portrays Aeneas' struggle to cope with his moral and persecutory guilt in the public sphere, which he incurs primarily from his inability to save Troy, and his guilt in the private sphere, which results from the death of his wife Creusa. Vergil constructs various speeches, most notably Aeneas' address to his soldiers in Book 1 (198-207) and his narrative of the fall of Troy to Dido in Book 2, to portray Aeneas' experience of guilt by describing his grief, rage, and his use of psychological projection. At various stages in the first half of the poem, Aeneas attributes his psychological struggle to the gods and he shows how they act as contributors to his guilt. As a result, in Books 1-5, Aeneas' view of the gods is not wholly positive; they are the primary players in the fall of Troy, they demand things that Aeneas often ignores or is unwilling to undertake, and he rebukes them for subjecting him to such extensive misfortune.

Aeneas' use of psychological projection, however, is necessary because it represents an initial stage in his attempt to cope with his guilt and to gradually transform it into a motivating force that will compel him to look to the future and seek reparation by accepting his fate and the assistance of the gods.²²² In this way, the gods are necessary for the progression of the first half of the poem because they represent "symbolic actors

²²² Otis (1964: 93; 224-225) argues that the first half of the poem represents Aeneas' psychological journey to accept *pietas*, which is his acceptance of his fate, over *furor*, which is the main opponent to it. Aeneas must willingly and gradually submit to his fate and look to the future, but this process cannot occur if he is not truly *pius*: "The voyage to Latium was, as it were, the test and symbol of the hero's willingness to give up the past for the future, to submit and piously submit to fate," (225). This idea is also visible in the character of Juno. Juno, whose anger is unbreakable because it is firmly rooted in the past (*saevae memorem Iunois ob iram*, 1.4), cannot acknowledge the necessity of Aeneas' journey to Italy and his future foundation of Rome. It is only when she resolves her anger in Book 12 (841-842) that she seemingly realizes the importance of his mission. Related to Aeneas' acceptance of *pietas* over *furor* is Aeneas' acceptance and resolution of his guilt. Guilt, like *furor*, is also opposed to fate because it requires the agent to constantly be mindful of the past. The reader, therefore, ought to see guilt as another force that Aeneas must overcome so that he can accept his *pietas* in the first half of the poem.

in the struggle for and against Fate,”²²³ and without their assistance Aeneas could not cope with his guilt, discover a means for reparation, and the second half of the narrative might not occur as does.

Feigned Hope: Aeneas' Address to his Soldiers in Book 1

When the reader first meets Aeneas, his negative psychological disposition is clear. Vergil immediately describes his hero's mental state when he articulates Aeneas' desperation for death, even if it is inglorious.²²⁴ Having endured so many misfortunes and having experienced another attack by Juno and the storm, Aeneas wishes to die to relieve his oppressive emotions (1.92-101) and he expresses his inner despair as a survivor of Troy (1.92-101).²²⁵ When he addresses his men, however, Aeneas' disposition seems to have changed (1.198-207). Aeneas' words to his men echo the proem when he describes their sufferings (*neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum / o passi graviora*, 1.198-199).²²⁶ Aeneas then promises that an unknown god (*deus*, 1.199) will relieve them of their misfortunes and he urges them to be patient because the Fates will eventually provide them with a place to rebuild Troy (1.205-207).²²⁷ When Aeneas concludes, Vergil reveals that Aeneas says these words to his men, not because he

²²³ Woodworth 1930: 126.

²²⁴ Otis 1964: 231. Otis compares Aeneas to Odysseus, who wishes for a glorious death and a burial at Troy rather than drowning.

²²⁵ Otis (1964: 231) argues that Aeneas' outburst expresses not just the physical calamity after the storm, but the storm is only a "trigger" that amplifies his despair and he uses the occasion to "reveal his fundamental nostalgia...the real tragedy is that he is not and cannot be an Odysseus. He can never go home." Otis (1964: 232) also argues that Aeneas' speech shows that he continues to yield to *furor* and that he distrusts *fatum* but, after the storm is calmed, Aeneas' *pietas* returns.

²²⁶ *passi graviora*, 1.199; *multa...passus*, 1.5; *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, 1.204; *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*, 1.3.

²²⁷ Aeneas' use of the adjective *quietas* at 205, however, reveals to the reader that he is unaware of the prolonged trials that await him once he reaches Italy, while the proem foreshadows a war there (*bello passus*, 1.5).

himself believes them, but only so that he can relieve their cares: “He said such things with his voice, and burdened by great cares he feigned hope with his face, and he suppressed the deep pain in his heart,” (*talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger / spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, 1.208-209). Vergil’s revelation that Aeneas conceals his real anxieties and emotions (*premit altum corde dolorem*) reinforces the notion that Aeneas suffers alone and that his emotional isolation is a result of his psychological struggle.

Ratcliffe (2010) argues that one of the symptoms that indicates the presence of guilt is a person’s tendency to isolate himself from others because he believes that his actions cannot be compensated for and that others will negatively judge him for his wrongdoings.²²⁸ Aeneas’ emotional isolation, then, suggests that he experiences guilt and it compels him to conceal his true feelings from his companions because he does not want to reinforce their negative assessment of his ability as their leader. Ratcliffe also argues that, after a person internalizes his guilt and accepts the moral judgment of others, he usually tries to compensate for his perceived failures.²²⁹ Aeneas compensates for the loss of Troy and his role in its fall, when he pretends to be confident and hopeful (1.208) and he tells his men that they will rebuild Troy and end their sufferings (1.204-207). Aeneas’ feigned confidence, however, hints that he himself doubts whether he can fulfill this promise. Aeneas’ efforts to compensate also contribute to his heightened feeling of responsibility for his men, which is another indicator that he experiences guilt and he

²²⁸ Ratcliffe 2010: 612. Ratcliffe’s argument shows how, as discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.16-20), the public-private dichotomy between shame and guilt is not true for every experience of guilt because guilt, like shame, can also occur in a public setting as a response to the anxiety of external judgment and criticism.

²²⁹ Ratcliffe 2010: 606; 612. Ratcliffe argues that, when someone experiences guilt, he focuses on the “irrevocable effects” of his deeds and he tries to compensate for them in any way possible, even though they cannot be undone. See also Elster (1999: 152-153).

attempts to cope with it. Graton and Ric (2017) show that guilt increases one's sense of responsibility toward others and that this focus often leads to an increased attention toward reparation.²³⁰ At this stage of the narrative, Aeneas is not sure that he will be able to deliver on his promises (*spem voltu simulat*) but his heightened sense of responsibility for his men and his family will compel him to search for a means of reparation, which will preoccupy him in the second half of the poem.

Aeneas' sadness (*dolor*) is another way for Vergil to imply that Aeneas struggles with the effects of his guilt. Despair and sadness commonly accompany guilt and a person's experience of depression and guilt often increase in the aftermath of a traumatic event.²³¹ Grinberg (1992) argues that guilt does not always appear in the field of consciousness and that it can be repressed on the unconscious plane and manifest itself indirectly in various ways, particularly depression.²³² Grinberg also argues that guilt produces depression because depression is the result of the ego's conflict with the superego and it embodies the former's weakened state after this conflict concludes.²³³ When Vergil says that Aeneas experiences depression (*curisque ingentibus aeger; altum...dolorem*), then, we should not view this emotion as isolated from his experience of other emotions, especially guilt. Rather Aeneas' depression and sadness are partly related to, and are produced because of, his guilt.²³⁴ The association between guilt and

²³⁰ Graton and Ric 2017: 344; 350-351. Baumeister et al. (1994) argue that a person's guilt sometimes arises from his relationships with others and that his guilt is affected by these interactions.

²³¹ Clifton et al. 2017: 9.

²³² Grinberg 1992: 47.

²³³ Grinberg 1992: 61. As noted in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.11-12), Freud defines guilt as the contention between the ego and the superego.

²³⁴ An agent will often experience these types of behavioral or psychological symptoms as byproducts of his guilt because he is unable to cope with the guilt he suffers. Aeneas' despair suggests that he experiences persecutory guilt because his despair is a means by which he can punish and criticize himself for the events which incurred guilt.

depression is also apparent in Aeneas' inability to experience positive emotions, such as hope (*spem voltu simulat*). Ratcliffe (2010) argues that guilt that produces severe depression begins to affect every experience a person has: "Hope, pleasure, interpersonal connection, curiosity, goal-directed action and a host of other ways of experiencing things are gone."²³⁵ The severity of Aeneas' depression and his inability to be truly hopeful for the future, even though he conveys hopefulness to his men, shows that he experiences guilt.

If we read the passage this way, it becomes clearer that Aeneas' anguish, emotional isolation, feigned hopefulness, and sadness do not presuppose a weakness in his character or heroism, but that he experiences guilt when the poem begins and that this emotion will affect the subsequent narrative action. At the beginning of the poem, Aeneas' artificial confidence and emotional struggle show that he has not yet discovered a means to cope with his guilt and that at this point he does not believe that the gods will help to alleviate his sufferings, which is also expressed in his vague reference to the gods' help at 1.199 (*dabit deus his quoque finem*). Although Aeneas conveys a positive outlook for the future, his mind remains fixated on the past and he experiences intense psychological trauma after the fall of Troy.

²³⁵ Ratcliffe 2010: 612-613.

Reliving Trauma: Aeneas' Account of the Fall of Troy in Book 2

When Aeneas reaches Carthage, he gives an account of the events that took place during the fall of his city, immediately after he has relived his trauma by viewing the frieze in the temple of Juno (1.418-493).²³⁶ Aeneas' retrospective narrative to Dido offers a firsthand account of the event that initiated his experience of guilt and it portrays not only how Aeneas himself believes these events occurred, but also how he wishes others to remember them.²³⁷ The first-person style of the narrative allows Aeneas to explicitly express his emotions and psychological turmoil and to "lay bare the dark corners of his mind, where, unconsciously, his dreamwork has caused his fears and his self-hatred to manifest themselves."²³⁸ This type of account also encourages the reader to analyze the elements that Aeneas chooses to include or omit and to discern why he might choose to do so. If we examine the speech in this manner, we can see that the way Aeneas recalls the fall of Troy is partly influenced by his struggle with and his experience of guilt.

When he begins, Aeneas' guilt and his psychological struggle are clear. He tells Dido that, by remembering and narrating these events, he is forced to relive 'unspeakable pain' (*infandum...dolorem*, 2.3)²³⁹ and he admits that he is partly culpable for the city's

²³⁶ Viewing the frieze in Carthage results in a resurgence of Aeneas' emotions and it shapes the narrative he will tell Dido and the Carthaginians. Although Aeneas experiences *dolor* when viewing the frieze, it is a necessary first step in his confrontation of his emotions. Yoder (2005: 54) argues that artistic representations of trauma, including art, music, and drama, are important tools for the expression of grief after the traumatic event occurs. Although viewing the frieze reinforces, and perhaps heightens, Aeneas' experience of guilt, viewing the event as an art form aids in his gradual healing and focus on the future. For more information on the frieze in the temple of Juno see Williams (1960).

²³⁷ Vergil does, however, warn his reader about the validity and truthfulness of Aeneas' speeches, as most prominently shown in his speech to his soldiers in Book 1. Although the events may not have transpired exactly how Aeneas describes them to Dido, his account shows how he himself wants others to view these events and the role that he played in them.

²³⁸ Johnson 1999: 53.

²³⁹ For more on the relationship between emotions and memory in the *Aeneid* see Schiesaro (2015).

demise (*et quorum pars magna fui*, 2.6).²⁴⁰ Aeneas' story is fundamental to the mourning process because it allows him to articulate his emotional struggle and work through his trauma.²⁴¹ Aeneas' experience of guilt is also apparent because he carefully constructs his account in such a way to convince his audience, and himself, that he is not wholly to blame for the fall of the city and the death of his wife.²⁴² Aeneas frequently projects his guilt onto an external object, namely the gods, in an effort to remove it from his consciousness and to show his audience that he was powerless to prevent the events that occurred.

Aeneas blames the gods for his and the Trojans' failure to recognize the Greeks' trickery and foil the attack on the city. Aeneas assimilates Minerva to Greek treachery when he says that the Trojan horse was made by "the divine art of Pallas," (*divina Palladis arte*, 2.15) and he describes the horse as "the fatal gift of unwed Minerva,"

²⁴⁰ In his speech, Aeneas now reveals the *dolor* that he keeps hidden from his companions in Book 1 (*premit altum corde dolorem*, 1.209). Aeneas expresses his feelings of grief, which is a symptom of his guilt, by his frequent use of nouns and adjectives that connote pain and sadness at the beginning of his speech (cf. *dolorem*, 2.3; *lamentabile*, 2.4; *miserrima*, 2.5; *lacrimis*, 2.8; *luctuque*, 2.12). Johnson (1993: 53-54) argues that Aeneas' *dolor* is magnified by his most recent misfortune, the storm sent by Juno: "When the hero, fresh from his latest catastrophe in Book 1, the loss of so many of his ships and comrades, comes to Carthage, still feeling guilty and still feeling himself a failure, in exactly the mood and the state to recount what Vergil needs him to recount about defeat and escape and diasporic sorrows, he is, though he does not know it, poised to enter upon a crucial new stage of his new life." Johnson also notes that Aeneas' mental disposition, created by the loss at Troy and the recent storm, shapes the tone and mood of his narrative and, because of Aeneas' vulnerability and his intense emotions, he presents himself in a manner that is not traditional in epic.

²⁴¹ Schick 2011: 1849. Schick argues that a person's narration of the event that incurred trauma is part of the 'working through' process, which is described by LaCapra (2014: 148-149) as involving going back to the problem or event, contemplating it, and attempting to transform one's understanding of it. Aeneas' narration of the fall of Troy helps him to address and begin to lessen his feeling of emotional isolation, which is apparent at the beginning of Book 1, and it begins the healing process of his guilt and trauma. For more on story-telling and healing, see Yoder (2005) and Nutkiewicz (2003).

²⁴² Ahl (1989: 25-30) stresses that it is important for the reader to remember that Aeneas is the narrator and that he has a particular message that he wants to convey to his Carthaginian audience. Aeneas "responds to implicit suggestions of impropriety without ever actually acknowledging them" and every detail of his account contributes to the message and emotional appeal that he wishes to convey to his audience.

(*innuptae donum exitiale Minervae*, 2.31).²⁴³ He blames Minerva again when he recounts Sinon's treacherous speech and he says that Minerva's support ensured that the Greeks would be victorious ("Every hope of the Greeks and the confidence of the beginning of war always depended on the aid of Pallas," *omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli / Palladis auxiliis semper stetit*, 2.162-163). Then, when Laocoön warns the Trojans not to accept the horse into the city, Aeneas blames the gods and the Fates for not providing a better warning for them and not letting the Trojans be of sound mind to recognize the trick ("If the fate of the gods, if our minds were not unlucky, he would have incited us to strike the Greek hiding place with steel," *si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat ferro Argolocas foedare latebras*, 2.54-55).²⁴⁴ To Aeneas, it is because of the gods that the Trojans were fooled by the Greeks and they effectively conquered their own city when they allowed the horse to enter it.²⁴⁵ Aeneas' emphasis on Minerva and the gods in the first part of his speech, then, shows his first attempts to exculpate himself and his Trojans by explaining why they admitted the horse into Troy.²⁴⁶ Next, Aeneas says that the Greeks commenced their final attack while the city's citizens were sleeping, and again Aeneas projects his guilt for his inattention in the night to the gods ("It was the time when rest first begins for weary mortals and as the sweetest gift of the gods it

²⁴³ Aeneas also articulates his negative view of *fatum* when he calls the Trojan horse *fatalis machina* at 2.237.

²⁴⁴ Heinze (1993: 11) argues that the gods, not the Greeks, destroy Troy and they must be responsible because it is "the only way to silence the reproach that the Trojans were stupid" when they ignored Laocoön's warning. By blaming the gods, Aeneas can suggest to his audience that "the Trojans are overcome by a higher power which no mortal could understand," so they are not wholly to blame for admitting the horse into the city.

²⁴⁵ "We part the defenses and we open up the walls of the city," (*dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis*, 2.234).

²⁴⁶ Aeneas also reproaches the gods early in his tale when he describes Cassandra being taken from the temple of Minerva and the goddess failing to help her (2.402-406) and he says, "Alas one cannot trust anything if the gods are unwilling," (*heu nihil invitis fas quemquam credere divis!*, 2.402).

spreads over them,” *tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono divom gratissima serpit*, 2.268-269). Finally, during his account of the battle, Aeneas creates an atmosphere of frenzy and confusion. Although he tries to save the city (2.316-317; 355-401), he says that his efforts were ineffective, not because of his inability as a soldier, but because the gods had already decided that Troy should fall (2.336; 2.351-352; 2.431-434).

Aeneas continues and he describes the battle for the palace (2.438-485), which is one of the climactic scenes of his narrative because it signifies a shift in focus away from his public duties and it introduces the next facet of his guilt, namely guilt in the private sphere. To emphasize this shift, Aeneas separates the action at the palace from the battle in the rest of the city (“Here is a great battle indeed, as if the rest of the war were nothing, as if no others were dying throughout the whole city,” *hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam / bella forent, nulli tota morentur in urbe*, 2.338-339). Aeneas also contrasts the scene of the noisy fighting outside (2.440-485) with the fearful and saddened domestic scene inside the palace before Pyrrhus and the Greeks invade (2.486-490).²⁴⁷ He witnesses the deaths of Priam, Hecuba, and their son Polites (2.506-558) and he thinks of his own family (2.559-564). This event drives him into a fit of rage and he desires to exact revenge on Helen, whom he sees hiding in Vesta’s shrine.

The Helen episode depicts one of Aeneas’ first attempts during the fall of Troy to cope with his guilt and emotional trauma by channeling his rage onto an external object. Helen becomes the target of Aeneas’ anger and guilt and he demands punishment from her: “Fires blazed in my heart, rage rose to avenge my fallen fatherland and to exact

²⁴⁷ Although Aeneas spatially separates the areas of conflict, the events that take place at the palace symbolize the fall of the entire city. For more information see Austin (1964) and Estevez (1981).

penalties for these crimes (*exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem / ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas*, 2.575-576).²⁴⁸ Aeneas' *ira* is somewhat different from *furor* because it is directed toward a specific external object, who embodies the source of his guilt. Aeneas' *ira* is a "multidimensional state of antagonism toward someone or something that is perceived to be the source of an uncomfortable subjective experience," and it is produced during or after a traumatic event that will likely result in intense guilt and posttraumatic distress disorder (PTSD).²⁴⁹ Like *furor*, which will be discussed later in this chapter, however, Aeneas' *ira* indicates that he experiences guilt because both of these reactive emotions commonly occur after a traumatic event when a person wishes that he acted differently. In this scene, Aeneas' experience of *ira* also results in his desire to exact revenge on Helen. Speziale-Bagliacca (2004) argues that a person's need for revenge implies that his mind demands a second chance to restore his self-esteem after he has failed to act or he has acted incorrectly.²⁵⁰ After he witnesses the death of Priam, Aeneas confirms that Troy has fallen, which compels him to direct his perceived failures onto Helen (2.581). Aeneas views Helen as the source of the trauma and guilt he experiences and as the reason for the Greek invasion (2.586-587). Aeneas channels his rage towards revenge in an effort to to alleviate his initial psychological struggle with his guilt and to cope with the trauma that Helen is responsible for (*sceleratas sumere*

²⁴⁸ Aeneas' articulation of his unrestrainable anger towards a weakened and helpless figure invites comparison to the palace scene with Priam, who also helplessly takes refuge at a religious shrine, and Neoptolemus, who kills him without compassion. Aeneas' un-Homeric and new heroism is evident, therefore, when he, unlike Neoptolemus, conquers his passions when Venus intervenes. Many scholars, however, consider this episode to be inauthentic. For more information on the authenticity of the 'Helen episode' see Austin (1961; 1964), Otis (1964: 243-244), Estevez (1981: 326), Goold (1990), and Heinze (1993: 26).

²⁴⁹ Clifton 2017: 9.

²⁵⁰ Speziale-Bagliacca 2004: 17.

poenas).²⁵¹ Even though Aeneas knows killing Helen would be unjust (*namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen / feminea in poena est*, 2.583-584), his failure, which is reinforced by the death of Priam, compels him to seek revenge to alleviate his guilt from his inability to act correctly and effectively (*animumque explesse iuvabit / ultricis flammae*, 2.586-587).

Venus

Venus intervenes as a direct response to Aeneas' initial struggle with guilt and his experience of its symptoms. Venus' main function after the death of Priam and his interaction with Helen is to redirect Aeneas' efforts away from the public sphere toward the private sphere and to alleviate his guilt for doing so.²⁵² Aeneas suggests that he experiences guilt for abandoning his civic duties when he describes Venus' intervention and he uses her to justify his actions, to exculpate himself, and to outwardly project his guilt.²⁵³ When Venus first appears, she comments on her son's uncontrollable anger and

²⁵¹ As will be discussed later in this chapter, in Book 12 Aeneas's guilt produces the experience of intense rage (*furiis accensus et ira terribilis*, 12.946-947) and the focus on revenge to alleviate his struggle with his guilt before he murders Turnus (*poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*, 12. 949).

²⁵² Heinze (1993: 26) argues that "the death of Priam forms the turning-point. It puts an end to the battle for the city, and it instigates Aeneas' flight," and, instead of experiencing fury and despair, Aeneas experiences fear (2.559) when he sees the death of Priam and Hecuba because he anticipates similar deaths of his own family members. Otis (1964: 241-245) argues that Aeneas' final attempts to save the city and his reaction to the death of Priam show the need for his progression from the old-Homeric and "defective" hero, possessed by *furor* and *dolor*, to a new type of hero, fueled by familial *pietas*, who can realize the destiny before him. Aeneas must therefore rid himself of these negative emotions, which are fueled by guilt, in order to save his family and to evacuate the city and the death of Priam reinforces the necessity of doing so. For more on the death of Priam and the shift in the narrative see Austin (1964), Mills (1978), and Bowie (1990).

²⁵³ Aeneas' account of the appearance of ghost of Creusa, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5: Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*, functions in a similar manner to the appearance of Venus because both figures temporarily alleviate Aeneas' psychological struggle so that he can continue on to his next task.

she reminds him of his familial duties now that the Greeks have taken the city (2.594-600):

*Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
Quid furis, aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
Non prius aspicias, ubi fessum aetate parentem
Liqueris Anchisen; superet coniunxne Creusa,
Ascaniusque puer? Quos omnes unique Graiae
Circum errant acies, et, ni mea cura resistat,
Iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.*

My son, what great passion excites your unconquerable rage? Why do you rage, where has your care for me gone? Will you not first search for where you left your father Anchises, worn out with age, or whether your wife Creusa lives, and young Ascanius? From all sides the Greek ranks surround them, and, if my love did not stop them, the flames would have caught them before now and the enemy sword would have devoured them.

In the first part of her speech, Venus acknowledges Aeneas' symptoms of persecutory guilt, namely his unbridled grief (*quis...tantus dolor*), anger (*furis*), and his need to exact revenge (*indomitas...iras*). Venus urges her son to shift his focus away from revenge and toward his familial duties. She also creates a sense of urgency and anxiety when she says that, if it were not for her protection, his family would have already died because of his inattention (2.598-600). Her words also recall Aeneas' previous description of his family when he witnesses the death of Priam and they further reinforce the urgency of the situation (2.559-563):

*At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
Obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago
Ut regem aequaevum crudele vulnere vidi,
Vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa
Et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.*

Then for the first time a wild terror took possession of me. I stood amazed: the image of my dear father came into my mind when I saw the king, equal to him in age, with a terrible wound, breathing away his wife; and the image of a deserted Creusa came into my mind, and my plundered house and the fate of little Iulus.

By recalling this passage, Aeneas imagines his family dying like Priam's family if he continues to engage in battle and fails to protect them. Aeneas uses similar vocabulary in

his description of the palace and the appearance of Venus²⁵⁴ to emphasize the necessity of abandoning his effort in the public sphere, to justify this shift in focus, and to temporarily relieve the guilt he experiences for doing so.

Next, Aeneas says that Venus stresses the futility of attempting to continue fighting and she reveals the true cause of the destruction of Troy (2.601-620):

*Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisâ Lacaenae
Culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divom,
Has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.
Aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
Mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum
Caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis
Iussa time, neu praeceptis parere recusa):
Hic, ubi disiectas moles avolsaque saxis
Saxa vides mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum.
Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque a sedibus urbem
Eruit; hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
Prima tenet, sociumque furens a navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat.
Iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
Insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.
Ipse pater Danais animos viresque secundas
Sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitât arma.
Eripe, nate, fugam, finemque impone labori.
Nusquam abero, et tutum patrio te limine sistam.*

It is not for you to hate the face of the Spartan daughter of Tyndareus or blameworthy Paris, but it is the mercilessness of the gods, the gods, that topple down Troy's power and cast it down from its heights. Look (for I will tear away all the mist, which, concealing mortals from seeing, dims your power of sight and darkens everything around you with moisture; do not be afraid of any commands of your mother, and do not refuse to yield to my orders): here, where you see shattered structures and rocks torn from rocks and smoke swelling with dust. Neptune batters the walls and he beats the foundations removed with his mighty trident, and he plucks the whole city from its base; here Juno as the leader is master of the Scaean gate, and raging she summons her allied line (of Greeks) from their ships with her sword. Now, look, Tritonian Pallas, flashing with her rain cloud and with her savage gorgon (shield), lingers on the highest towers. The father (of the gods) himself strengthens the spirits of the Greeks and he supports their fortunate forces and he himself calls the gods to arms against the Dardanians. Take flight, son, and put an end to

²⁵⁴ In both scenes, Aeneas presents the same order of characters, Anchises, Creusa, and then Ascanius, and he considers their fate. Aeneas thinks about the age of his father in both episodes (*fessum aetate fessum*, 2.596; *aequaevum*, 2.561) to emphasize Anchises' reliance on his son for safety. Similarly, Aeneas stresses Ascanius' young age to make the same point (*Ascaniusque puer*, 2.598; *parvi...Iuli*, 563).

your suffering! In no place will I be away from you and I will place you safe at your father's threshold.

This passage is perhaps the most explicit example of Aeneas' use of psychological projection in the poem. Aeneas describes Venus as directly naming the *inclementia* of the Olympian gods as the sole reason for the fall of Troy, which indirectly removes blame from his own consciousness.²⁵⁵ Aeneas' position as the narrator in this scene is especially important. His choice of the word *inclementia* adds a further dimension to the gods' culpability because he portrays them as a destructive evil.²⁵⁶ Just as Venus cleared the mist, which restricts mortals from seeing (2.603-606), from Aeneas' eyes, so too does the narrator lift the veil away from his audience's eyes in an attempt to convince them, and himself, that he was powerless to create a different outcome for his home.²⁵⁷ Aeneas' portrayal of Venus' explicit naming of the gods also conveys his negative perception of them in the first half of the poem.²⁵⁸ Then, when Venus says that even Jupiter condemns the fall of the city, Aeneas again emphasizes his blamelessness because naming Jupiter confirms that all hope is lost.²⁵⁹ Finally, Venus orders Aeneas to flee the

²⁵⁵ Cf. *Il.* 3.164-165, when Priam addresses Helen: (οὐ τί μοι αἰτὴ ἐσσί, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν / οἱ μοι ἐφόρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρον Ἀχαιῶν, "To me you are not at all to blame, to me the gods, who roused this tearful war of the Achaeans against me, are to blame).

²⁵⁶ Fantham 2003: 236. Austin (1964: 233) notes that the word *inclementia* was coined by Vergil in the *Georgics* (*subeunt morbi tristisque senectus / et labor, et durae rapir inclementia mortis*, 3.667-68) and that this word appears only once in the *Aeneid*. Ahl (1989: 29) argues that, by blaming the gods and exculpating Aeneas, Venus also implicitly associates herself with the divine inclemency, because she awarded Helen to Paris.

²⁵⁷ Heinze (1993: 31) argues that this scene is necessary because Venus must show Aeneas the true cause of the destruction of Troy so that he can begin to cope with this loss and move on.

²⁵⁸ Harrison (1990: 46-47) argues that Aeneas also implicitly blames Vulcan when he describes the destruction of Deiphobus' and Ucalegon's house (2.310ff.). Harrison argues that Venus, however, does not explicitly name Vulcan because Vergil wants to make Vulcan a pro-Trojan deity, associated with the pro-Trojan Venus, elsewhere in the poem (ex. *Aen.* 8.370ff.). Harrison also notes that Venus' implication of Jupiter recalls the *Iliad* because in Homer's poem (15.69ff.), Zeus says that when Hector dies he will side with the Greeks.

²⁵⁹ Heinze (1993: 31): "It is only when the Almighty Jupiter himself supports the enemies of Troy that all hope is lost."

city (*eripe...fugam*), which mirrors Hector's commands earlier in the book (2.289).²⁶⁰

Aeneas' recollection of Venus' intervention, therefore, implies that he experiences guilt because he uses her speech to try to cope with his guilt through psychological projection as he reflects back on the fall of Troy.

The Flight from Troy and the Death of Creusa

After he recalls his interaction with Venus, Aeneas remembers the event that led to his experience of guilt in the private sphere, namely the death of his wife Creusa. In the second half of his story, Aeneas makes an emotional appeal to his audience and he more explicitly articulates his emotional struggle than he did in the first half.²⁶¹ Aeneas expresses his guilt when he describes his failure to save his family and when he continues to psychologically project guilt onto the gods and even Creusa herself, whom he aligns with the gods because he presents her as a semi-divine figure (*nota maior imago*, 2.773).

As soon as the flight sequence begins, Aeneas shows his hostility toward the gods in his depiction of Anchises. Anchises blames the gods for his weakness and uselessness and he says that, because of their hatred of him and their role in the fall of Troy, he refuses to flee the city (2.638-649).²⁶² *Furor* takes a hold of Aeneas again when his

²⁶⁰ The function of Hector's ghost, and its relationship with guilt, will be discussed in Chapter 5: Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

²⁶¹ Ahl 1989: 30. Ahl argues that Aeneas narrates the story of the loss of Creusa so that he can make an emotional appeal to his audience and so that he can explain why, according to some traditions, he was in Troy after its fall.

²⁶² Anchises says that he is hated by the gods (*invisus divum*, 2.647) and that he was punished by Jupiter (2.648-649) because he boasted of his love of Venus.

father's response incites him to renew battle and seek revenge (2.668-670).²⁶³ Creusa, who resembles the figure of Venus in this episode, appeals to Aeneas to end his anger and she implores him to remain with his family rather than fight.²⁶⁴ A portent sent by Jupiter confirms Creusa's words and this prompts Anchises to agree to flee and to ask the gods to save his household and his grandson (*servate domum, servate nepotem*, 2.702).²⁶⁵ Aeneas' re-telling of the portent scene enables him to indirectly blame the gods for the events that take place during their flight, especially Creusa's death, because he suggests that the gods approve of their actions before her death occurs.

In his recollection their departure, Aeneas' guilt for his role in Creusa's death and disappearance is evident. Aeneas describes the confusion and chaos of the exiles' flight to suggest that these factors contributed to the loss of his wife. By shaping his narrative this way, Aeneas indirectly expresses his struggle with his guilt and he tries to alleviate it when he implies that he was helpless to prevent her death.²⁶⁶ To do this, Aeneas projects his guilt onto the gods and Creusa herself. Aeneas begins by blaming the threat of another Greek attack and the gods for his inattention ("At this, some unknown unfriendly divine power snatched my confused mind away from me in my fear," *hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum / confusam eripuit mentem*, 2.735-736).²⁶⁷ Aeneas,

²⁶³ *Numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*, 2.670. As discussed above, in the 'Helen episode,' a similar rage seizes Aeneas when he sees no other course of action than to seek revenge on Helen (*subit ira cadentem / ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas*, 2.575-576).

²⁶⁴ Creusa's plea also recalls the figure of Hecuba, who also appeals to her husband to remain with the family (2.519-524).

²⁶⁵ Aeneas' re-telling of Anchises' speech foreshadows the death of Creusa. In Creusa's own plea at 2.675-769, she mentions herself amongst the people who rely on Aeneas to be saved from the invasion but, in Anchises' speech, Aeneas' father does not mention her.

²⁶⁶ Johnson (1999: 55) argues that Aeneas' account moves from being linear and logical to more 'decentered' and that it becomes 'prey to the vehement swirl' of his memory because of the painful emotions they evoke.

²⁶⁷ Venus' speech, in which she names various Olympians as responsible for the fall of the city, suggests to the audience that any of the Olympians could be to blame for Aeneas' mindlessness and inattention.

then, implies that all the events that occur thereafter are attributable to the gods because he was not of sound mind and, if they had not clouded his judgment, salvation for his entire family might have been possible. By stating this at the beginning of his account, he indirectly blames the *male numen amicum* for all the events that take place thereafter, namely his neglect of his wife and his failure to look back to confirm that she is with the group (“Nor did I look behind at her being lost and I did not cast a thought behind me, until we came to the mound of ancient Ceres and her sacred place,” *nec prius amissam respexi animumque reflexi*,²⁶⁸ / *quam tumultum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam / venimus*, 2.741-473).

Aeneas then considers other possible explanations for Creusa’s disappearance (2.738-740):

*Heu, misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
Substitit, erravitne via, seu lassa resedit,
Incertum.*

Alas, it is uncertain whether my wife Creusa, having been snatched by miserable Fate, stopped, or went astray on the road, or, being fatigued, collapsed.

Here Aeneas again projects his guilt onto divine forces when he names Fate as the possible *male numen amicum* responsible for his wife’s disappearance (*coniunx fatone erepta Creusa*, 2.738). Aeneas also imagines Creusa going astray on the road or slowing down and losing the fugitives because of fatigue. By constructing these scenarios, Aeneas projects his guilt for failing to ensure Creusa’s safety by making her responsible for her separation from the group. Later in his narrative, Aeneas does this again (2.743-744): “Here she alone was separated from the rest of us gathered all together, and she

²⁶⁸ Jordan (1999: 70) notes that the repeated *re-* emphasizes the direction that Aeneas’ eyes and mind should have taken. Looking back on these events, Aeneas implicitly expresses his regret that he did not look back earlier to confirm that his wife was with their group.

escaped the notice of companions, both child and husband,” (*hic demum collectis omnibus una / defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit*). Here Aeneas also implies that Creusa isolated herself from the group (*collectis omnibus una*) and that she neglected to save herself (*defuit*).²⁶⁹ Furthermore, Aeneas’ use of the verb *fefellit* might also insinuate that she is to blame for her disappearance, rather than him.²⁷⁰ By analyzing Aeneas’ projection, it becomes apparent that, although he tries to convince his audience of his innocence, his use of this defense mechanism shows that her disappearance contributes to his psychological trauma during the aftermath of Troy’s destruction.

As readers, we cannot be certain whether Aeneas’ Carthaginian audience would have found this argument convincing or if they would have faulted Aeneas for his inattentiveness. What is important, however, is the cathartic aspect of Aeneas’ telling of his tale. Aeneas’ psychological projection implies that he experiences guilt,²⁷¹ and his mental turmoil and intense experience of emotions is clear throughout his entire recollection of these events. Aeneas’ projection onto Creusa does not mean that he is callous or uncaring, but it shows that he contends with such intense guilt from this traumatic event that he must rely on any means necessary to alleviate it. Aeneas himself states that Creusa’s disappearance was the worst event in the entire war (*aut quid in*

²⁶⁹ The verb *desum* here is usually translated as “to be absent” or “to be missing” but it can also mean “to fail,” “to desert,” or “to neglect” a person or a thing. When read with these other meanings, Aeneas’ statement makes it seem that Creusa failed in her duties to keep up with the group and she neglected or deserted the rest of its members, thus making her responsible for her disappearance.

²⁷⁰ At 6.691, Anchises uses *fefellit* to mean “to fail” (*nec me mea cura fefellit*). Perkell (1981: 208) argues that we should read *fefellit* as ‘disappointed’ or ‘deceived’ and that Aeneas’ use of this word shows that he implicitly blames her. Similarly, Johnson (1999: 56) argues that we should read *fefellit* as ‘to cheat’ or ‘to disappoint,’ thus projecting the blame from himself. Finally, Grillo (2010: 54-56) argues that, in the *Aeneid*, Vergil never uses the verb *fefellit* to mean ‘to escape the notice’ of someone. Rather, “it indicates the disappointment arising from the breaking of a covenant (Sychaeus and Palinurus), the delusion of hope or expectation (Anchises and Cacus), or an intentional deception (Pan, Ilioneus and Juturna).” When Aeneas uses this word in reference to Creusa, therefore, he “expresses discontent at her deception of him,” (56).

²⁷¹ Carroll (1985); Newman et al. (1997); Baumeister et al. (1998).

eversa vidi crudelius urbe?, 2.746) and his narrative as a whole makes his emotions manifest to his audience and to the reader. Aeneas therefore alternates his blame of the gods and his blame of Creusa, and he looks for any outside source to project it onto (*quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque*, 2.745).

At the end of the episode, the ghost of Creusa appears to Aeneas and she reveals who is truly responsible for her demise (2.777-779):

*Non haec sine numine divum
Eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
Fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.*

Not without the will of the gods do these things come to pass; it is not fated that you take Creusa as your companion from this place, nor does that ruler of high Olympus permit it.

Like Venus' revelation that the gods are to blame for Troy's fall, in Aeneas' account of the appearance of the ghost of his wife he directly assigns responsibility to them.²⁷²

Aeneas implies that the *male numen amicum*, which impaired his judgment and ability earlier in his story, is in fact attributable to the gods (*Non haec sine numine divum*, 2.777) because it is this same force that contributed to Creusa's disappearance. Aeneas' naming of the gods goes from the broad mention of a divine force (*numine*), to the will of fate (*fas*), and finally to the protector and promoter of fate's plan, Jupiter himself (*superi regnator Olympi*). Heinze (1993) argues that Creusa's identification of the gods and Fate as the reason for her death is important for two reasons.²⁷³ The first is that Creusa's fate is determined in advance and that Aeneas is powerless to stop it. Secondly, the first part

²⁷² As will be discussed in Chapter 5: Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*, the ghost of Creusa is a manifestation of the guilt Aeneas experiences for her death and she represents an external manifestation of his psychological turmoil and his emotions. When her ghost appears to him and Aeneas describes her speech and prophecy, he shifts the blame back onto the gods, rather than making Creusa to blame for her disappearance as he did earlier in his story.

²⁷³ Heinze (1993: 35) argues that "even if it was his senseless flight that had resulted in the loss of Creusa, he had only been a tool in the hands of the gods."

of her speech exonerates Aeneas from any charge of guilt that he places on himself or that others might bring against him. By narrating the story this way, then, Aeneas can make a convincing case to his audience and exculpate himself as he recalls this traumatic event.

Creusa's exoneration of Aeneas comes in the next part of her speech when she tells him that she does not blame him and then she provides him with a prophecy for the future. With this prophecy, and with Aeneas' projection of his guilt for her disappearance onto her, Aeneas aligns Creusa with the gods. She appears as a *nota maior imago* (2.773), which is a common description for divinities, and her divine status is unmistakable in the prophecy she provides.²⁷⁴ Creusa's *imago*, and the speech she delivers, also resembles the figure of Venus, which gives her further divine associations.²⁷⁵ More indirectly, therefore, Aeneas portrays Creusa as a semi-divine figure so that he can continue to project his guilt and cope with his perceived culpability. Finally, in his reconstruction of these events, Aeneas fails to assign responsibility to one important person: himself.²⁷⁶ Aeneas uses Fate, the gods, and Creusa herself to offer an explanation why he failed in his duties in the public and private spheres. At this point, Aeneas' view of Fate and the gods is wholly negative.²⁷⁷ He does not yet understand that

²⁷⁴ Kahn (2001: 909); Ganiban (2008: 109). Creusa's ghost ought to be viewed as a semi-divine figure because Aeneas has a similar reaction to her appearance as he does to Mercury's appearance in Book 4 (*obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*, 2.774; *at vero Aeneas aspect obmutuit amens, / arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox faucibus haesit*, 4.279-280).

²⁷⁵ Grillo (2010: 62) argues that Creusa is the typical size of divinities and the tone of her words and the vision of her closely resembles Venus. Both Venus and Creusa are concerned with familial matters, both explain that the gods are to blame for Aeneas' woes, and both encourage his exile and escape.

²⁷⁶ Grillo 2010: 53. Perkell (1981: 207) argues that, "On several occasions, of which this is one, he appears to attribute to an external force or to another person the responsibility for a negative action, which might otherwise be attributed to him."

²⁷⁷ Otis (1964: 252) argues that at the end of the Creusa episode, rather than being optimistic for the future, Aeneas continues to view his flight as an obligation of fate and a bitter duty.

his acceptance of the gods' assistance and his adherence to Fate's plan will offer him the opportunity to repair and find absolution in Italy and he continues to search for ways to temporarily resolve his guilt.

The Search for Reparation I: Thrace, Crete, and Buthrotum in Book 3

Book 3 marks the start of Aeneas' endeavour to cope with his trauma after the siege of Troy and it depicts the beginning of his journey to gradually accept the assistance of the gods so that he can absolve his guilt with reparation. Williams argues that Book 3 offers the reader a period of relaxation after the intense emotions and tensions from Book 2.²⁷⁸ Although Book 3 has a somewhat different tone than Book 2,²⁷⁹ a reader should not view it as wholly dissimilar to it. Rather, Book 3 also portrays Aeneas' psychological disposition and struggle as he makes his first attempts at reparation by creating a new Troy.²⁸⁰ Although this effort proves to be unsuccessful, Aeneas' early attempts at reparation initiate his progressive understanding of the will of

²⁷⁸ Williams 1972: 265. Williams (1972: 265-267) argues that Vergil emphasizes Aeneas' wanderings and sufferings in order to explain his weariness and weakness, which will lead to his extended stay in Carthage.

²⁷⁹ The completeness of Book 3, and its position within the entire epic, has been a matter of debate amongst scholars for some time. This debate focuses on the inconsistencies found in Book 3 and the large quantity of incomplete lines. Heinze (1993: 72) argues that Vergil composed this book at a later stage in the poem's creation and that it is unfinished. Lloyd (1957: 150), on the other hand, argues that this book is complete and that Vergil constructed it in a manner that shows its symmetry and relation with the rest of the poem. Lloyd focuses on the form, structure, and substance of Book 3 to argue that "when we examine the structure of its episodes and the delineation of its characters, we find them so integrally related to the plan of the unity formed by books I-VI that we might rather point to book III as basic to our understanding of the structure of the first half of the epic," (150). See also Otis (1964: 251-264).

²⁸⁰ Quint (1993: 50-51) argues that Aeneas' attempts to rebuild Troy in Thrace and on Crete signifies "an obsessive circular return to a traumatic past" and, as a result, "the Trojans, obsessed with their fallen city in the first half of the poem, are condemned to a futile repetition and to a narrative of romance wandering that describes their experience of defeat as virtually nonnarratable."

the gods and Fate when he begins to revise and revisit prophecies, oracles, and instances of divine intervention that were previously missed or misconstrued.²⁸¹

In this book, Vergil uses Aeneas' focus on the past and his preoccupation with the defeat at Troy (3.-12) to suggest that he experiences guilt. Aeneas hesitates to wholly rely on the guidance and intervention of the gods, he continues to blame them for the fall of Troy, and he does not yet view them as positive figures, who will aid him in his pursuit of reparation later. In addition to his preoccupation with the past, Aeneas' hesitation is also apparent in his continual deference to Anchises and his reliance on his father to interpret and express the gods' will.²⁸² Aeneas blindly follows the counsel of his father because, when the book begins, he is not yet fully aware of his mission and he is desperate to make up for his failures at Troy in any way.

As the book progresses, however, he relies less on Anchises' interpretations of divine prophecy because he begins to recognize that the gods are promoters and protectors of his destiny, even though he does not yet fully understand what his destiny entails.²⁸³ Through the divine revelations in Book 3, Aeneas' faith in the gods is gradually restored and they come to be associated with his guilt in a different way. Rather than continuing to project blame for the fall of Troy onto the gods, as he does in

²⁸¹ Hexter 1999: 66.

²⁸² Aeneas' deference to Anchises occurs as soon as the book begins (cf. 3.8-9). Quint (1982: 30) notes that Aeneas defers to his father to such an extent that it is difficult at times to determine which of the two men is in charge. Quint shows that this competition between the two characters is "emblematic of a larger struggle between present and past which is one of the *Aeneid's* great themes and the specific subject of Book 3." Lloyd (1957: 143-144) argues that as Book 3 progresses, Anchises develops from a senior counsellor into somewhat of a seer himself and he dominates much of the action of the book. Aeneas' deference to him, therefore, shows his filial *pietas* and his devotion to his father.

²⁸³ Howe (1930: 186) argues that, as the book progresses, Aeneas accepts the responsibilities of leadership and he makes his own decisions with greater confidence. He notes that, even at the end of this book, "Aeneas does not turn to Anchises for interpretation and advice on every occasion, as he had done at the beginning," and this shows his evolution as a character. Similarly, Quint (1993: 50) argues that, in order for Aeneas to focus on the future and rid himself of the past, his father must be removed from the poem.

Book 2 and the beginning of this book, he starts to view the gods as figures that may be able to assist his mission to achieve reparation for his failures at Troy.²⁸⁴ Aeneas' wanderings, his founding of cities in Thrace and on Crete, and his interactions with Andromache and Helenus at Buthrotum are examples of Aeneas' initial efforts to alleviate his guilt in the public sphere.²⁸⁵ In each of his failed attempts, a divine figure appears to him to instruct him on his next course of action and, by the end of the book, he begins to recognize that the gods will help him let go of his past, focus on the future, and resolve his guilt.

At the beginning of the book,²⁸⁶ Aeneas continues to project blame for Troy's fall onto the gods, he names them as the cause of the fugitives' sufferings and exile,²⁸⁷ and he expresses his sadness (*lacrimans*, 3.10) when he is forced to depart.²⁸⁸ Vergil dedicates the first half of the book to the hero's unsuccessful attempts to found a new Troy on his own terms, outside of the parameters of divine influence. Because of the psychological struggle he faces, his guilt for his role in Troy's fall, and his preoccupation with the past, Aeneas tries to hastily recreate Troy. He comes to realize, however, that reparation and

²⁸⁴ Howe (1930: 186) argues that Aeneas begins to gain greater confidence because "his faith in the gods, shaken by the disaster at Troy, is taking root anew," which gives him a different outlook on his mission and turns him from an exile to a man with a specific goal.

²⁸⁵ In Book 4, Aeneas will also try to resolve his guilt in the private sphere by forming a relationship with Dido in Carthage.

²⁸⁶ When Book 3 starts, Aeneas does not seem to remember Creusa's prophecy from Book 2 (780-782). Hexter (1999: 71) argues that this does not mean that Aeneas purposefully neglects Creusa's prophecy, but that he may not have understood her words and he "could have no more sense of their actual meaning than he does of the scenes on the shield presented him at the end of Book 8."

²⁸⁷ *Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem / immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum / Ilium, et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia, / diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras / auguriis agimur divom...*, 3.1-5. Williams (1972: 267) argues that this is Aeneas' final protest against the gods' decision to destroy Troy.

²⁸⁸ Hershkowitz (1991: 70) argues that the first twelve lines of Book 3 form a proem, where Aeneas sums up the fall of Troy and his sorrowful departure and that they also echo the proem of Book 1. For more on the similar themes, vocabulary, and structures in Books 1 and 3 see Lloyd (1957).

absolution can only be achieved by yielding to the gods and accepting that his future is guided by a higher authority.²⁸⁹

Aeneas first attempts to rebuild a new city in Thrace (3.13-18). The appearance of Polydorus' ghost, however, quickly convinces the Trojans to abandon their efforts and to depart (3.19-68).²⁹⁰ Next, he travels to Delos to visit the oracle of Apollo, where he asks the god for his assistance in settling a second Troy ("Grant to us weary men walls and a race and a city that will endure; preserve this second city of Troy, that survives the Greeks and pitiless Achilles," *da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis / et genus mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae / Pergama, relinquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli*, 3.85-87). Aeneas' request shows that he is transfixed on the past because he wishes to simply re-found Troy and make a replica of it (*altera Troiae*), rather than founding a new city that he can establish and rule. Anchises interprets Apollo's prophecy (3.94-98) to mean Crete (3.103-117).²⁹¹ Aeneas does not hesitate to listen to Anchises and, once they reach the island, Aeneas eagerly (*avidus*, 3.132) tries again to found a new Pergamum (*Pergameamque voco*, 3.133). His experience on Crete, however, contributes to his guilt, because, after the city has been established, a plague and famine claim the lives of his men (3.137-142) and it, like Troy, also falls.²⁹² Then, as Aeneas dreams,

²⁸⁹ Lloyd (1957: 145) argues that Aeneas' gradual awareness of his destiny as being the will of a higher authority is one of the dominant themes of Book 3.

²⁹⁰ Aeneas describes the appearance of the ghost as a horrifying portent (*horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum* 3.26). Aeneas uses similar vocabulary to describe the portent of fire in Book 2, which appeared over Ascanius' head (*cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*, 2.680). The latter was sent directly by Jupiter, which suggests that, because of the similar vocabulary, Polydorus resembles a semi-divine figure like Creusa, who offers guidance and prophecy, rather than as only a ghost that has a message to relay regarding burial. Polydorus' appearance, therefore, should be read as one the first instance of divine intervention in Book 3 and his instructions begin Aeneas' gradual renewal of his trust in the gods.

²⁹¹ Vergil is the only author to include Aeneas' visit to Crete. Vergil might have included this episode to show Aeneas' desperation to found a new city immediately after Troy falls. For more information see Williams (1972: 279).

²⁹² Hexter (1999: 73-74) notes: "The building of the walls and the naming, the rejoicing, the establishment of new institutions within the walls – everything came too quickly, too easily, without deliberation," and

Troy's Penates appear before him to deliver commands from Apollo (3.154-171), they explicitly tell him to travel west to Hesperia (3.163-164), and they state that Jupiter will not allow them to remain on the island (3.169-171). The Penates' appearance suggests that Aeneas is not yet in control of his own destiny and that he yields to the commands of his father. Although they appear in his dream, the Penates tell Aeneas to relay the information to his father (*longaevae dicta parenti...refer*) and that they demand that Anchises seek Italy (*requirat*), rather than Aeneas alone. Although Jupiter indirectly guides Aeneas to his fate (*negat tibi Iuppiter*), then, to Aeneas himself it is Anchises who is the force that guides his efforts to lessen his guilt. Anchises is a symbol of the past and his character personifies the theme of the struggle between past and present.²⁹³ Anchises maintains an active role in guiding his son in this book, while the gods' influence is more passive and indirect because Aeneas continues to be uncertain of the extent to which he can trust them and he is not yet aware that they will guide him toward absolution.

Aeneas' experience at Buthrotum, which Helenus and Andromache have founded, reveals what will occur if he resists the gods' and Fate's plan and refuses to travel to Italy. Thus far, Aeneas has taken the advice of his father in the hopes of founding a new Troy in any location in an attempt to quickly relieve his experience of guilt. After several of his own unsuccessful attempts to found a new city, Aeneas expresses his desperation to learn from Helenus how he can accomplish the same feat (*miroque incensum pectus*

that "desire to see Troy restored may be understandable, but excessive zeal and haste may be dangerous. Simple-minded transfer of old names to a new site is not sufficient."

²⁹³ Quint (1982: 30-32) argues that Anchises' guidance, especially his application of the oracle at Delos to Crete, suggests that he promotes his desire for what is familiar and recognizable from the Trojan past. To Anchises, Crete is a replica of Troy, which explains why Aeneas accepts his guidance and is so eager to go there. Finally, Quint shows that this competition between the two characters is "emblematic of a larger struggle between present and past which is one of the *Aeneid's* great themes and the specific subject of Book 3."

amore, 3.298). Although the city pleases Aeneas, it is clear that it is a “sterile replica” of the former Troy: Andromache pours libations at an empty grave (*inanem*, 304), the river Xanthus is dried up (*arentem Xanthi cognomina rivum*, 3.350), and some of its features are inauthentic (*falsi Simoentis*, 302).²⁹⁴ This city is merely a Troy in miniature (*parvam Troiam*, 3.349) and it is a memorial to it.²⁹⁵ This shows Aeneas that, although he may attempt to found a *parva Troia* himself (3.86), his efforts conflict with his destiny and he will not achieve true reparation.

Helenus offers a prophecy to Aeneas (3.374-462), which is turning point in the book.²⁹⁶ He begins to accept the notion that the gods will aid him in his effort to found a new city (*ingentem...Troiam*, 3.462), rather than a mere replica of it (*parvam Troiam*), and he seeks Helenus’ guidance (3.363-364).²⁹⁷ Helenus’ instructions reveal that the gods are a crucial for Aeneas’ success or failure and they show that divine will sustains his mission.²⁹⁸ Finally, his choice to leave out the death of Anchises is a curious omission, but it suggests that Helenus’ role is to encourage Aeneas to accept his future.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Hexter 1999: 76.

²⁹⁵ Otis (1964: 260) argues that Helenus and Andromache conceive of their city in terms of the past, as a memorial, rather than in terms of the future.

²⁹⁶ Otis 1964: 253.

²⁹⁷ Unlike dream of the Penates, Helenus’ instructions are to Aeneas alone and they do not require examination and interpretation by Anchises. Helenus does, however, directly address Anchises and he tells him to set sail for Italy. This suggests that, although Helenus reveals a prophecy to Aeneas alone, Anchises still controls Aeneas’ mission and Aeneas submits to him in the same way that he has throughout the entire book.

²⁹⁸ Perkell 2010: 65.

²⁹⁹ Aeneas himself calls attention to Helenus’ error later in the book: “The seer Helenus, when he foretold many horrors to come, did not predict this grief of mine...,” (*nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret, / hos mihi praedixit luctus*, 3.712-713). Furthermore, Helenus does not warn Aeneas about the storm that Juno sends and tell him about his experience in Carthage. Otis (1964: 259) argues that Helenus suggests that the storm will occur when he insists that Aeneas attempt to placate Juno at 3.438-440. Otis also argues that, even though he does not reveal Anchises’ death to Aeneas, Helenus’ abrupt termination of his speech to Anchises at 3.480-482 suggests that he knows it will soon occur. Similarly, O’Hara (1990: 29-30) argues that Helenus instructs Aeneas to sacrifice to Juno because he knows that she will have a role in the events he does not mention, namely Anchises’ death, the storm, and Aeneas’ time in Carthage. O’Hara also argues that we can defend Helenus’ words, however, by saying that Helenus’ suggestion to placate Juno will ensure that her anger is kept within certain boundaries.

The revelation that his father will die might threaten Aeneas' willingness to go to Italy, just as his realization of Creusa's death made him hesitant to leave Troy in Book 2.

Knowledge of Anchises' impending death would also contribute to Aeneas' guilt in the private sphere, it would force him to lose focus on the future, and his view of the gods would become even more negative. Anchises' death is necessary, though, because it urges him to rely on the gods' assistance, rather than on his father's, and to look to the future, which is embodied by Ascanius, and finally achieve reparation. Anchises' death and Aeneas' departure for Italy, therefore, represent "both a physical and psychological separation from the old Troy"³⁰⁰ and after this book Aeneas begins to take on a more active role and work directly with the gods to fulfill his destiny.

The Search for Reparation II: Dido and Carthage in Book 4

In Book 4, Vergil describes the tragic love affair between Dido and Aeneas. In the previous book, Aeneas struggled to alleviate his guilt in the public sphere by creating a new Troy in Thrace and on Crete. Book 4 is a continuation of Aeneas' endeavours from Book 3 in that he resumes his efforts toward reparation. Having failed to found a new and successful city, Aeneas shifts his focus to the private sphere by forming a relationship with Dido. Book 4 is valuable in a study of the role of guilt in the *Aeneid* because it not only describes what happens to someone who is overcome by guilt, as Dido is by the end of the book, but it also shows Aeneas' evolution as a hero and his acceptance of the gods' assistance and intervention. The gods, namely Venus and Juno,

³⁰⁰ Quint 1982: 34.

are prominent figures in the relationship between Aeneas and Dido,³⁰¹ but their efforts are thwarted by Jupiter through the agency of Mercury, whose appearance marks a shift in the focus of the book.

Many scholars analyze the action of *Aeneid* 4 and Dido's experience of emotion in order to determine whether Aeneas is to blame for her untimely demise.³⁰² Although it is important to consider Dido's experience of love and her feelings of desertion, it is equally necessary to study the events that occur from Aeneas' point of view. If we examine the book in this way, it becomes apparent that Aeneas' actions, reactions, and his experiences during his affair with Dido are partly motivated by guilt and his relationship with the gods, onto whom he continues to project this emotion. Aeneas is, at first, motivated by Venus to view Dido as a worthy consort, because she also experienced past trauma and she can aid Aeneas in his effort to alleviate his guilt after the death of Creusa (1.335-369).³⁰³ Although Venus and Juno play on Aeneas' guilt when they establish and encourage the love affair, the gods are also equally responsible for its dissolution. Jupiter's intervention renews Aeneas' guilt when Mercury reveals that he is not destined to remain in Carthage and that Dido cannot offer him the reparation he seeks. An important aspect of the book, then, is how Aeneas' experience of psychological guilt motivates his actions in Carthage and how Jupiter plays on this

³⁰¹ Venus forces Dido to fall in love with Aeneas because she fears the Carthaginians and she wants to impede Juno (1.657-662) and Juno encourages their relationship because she wants to delay Aeneas' journey to Italy.

³⁰² Sparrow (1973); Bryce (1974); Perkell (1981); Williams (1983); Atkins (2010). Heinze (1993: 96) argues that, in the fourth book, Aeneas takes on a role that is secondary to Dido's. Similarly, Otis (1964: 76) argues that most of the action of Book 4 is read through Dido and that Vergil does not focus on Aeneas' feelings or thoughts, especially at the beginning of the book.

³⁰³ Although Aeneas does not express his feelings as clearly as Dido, his relationship with her mirrors his relationship with Creusa, who continues to be a source of Aeneas' guilt. Perkell (1981: 216) argues that Vergil intentionally correlates the characters of Dido and Creusa. Both relationships end in death and Aeneas' departure, which contributes to the circumstances under which each woman dies.

emotion to create a sudden change in Aeneas' disposition and the way he views his relationship with Dido. Mercury's appearance changes Aeneas' focus because it motivates him to seek reparation elsewhere, it shows him that his relationship with Dido is only a temporary means of relieving his guilt, and it confirms that he will find absolution in Italy alone. Aeneas' compliance to Jupiter's commands and his decision to depart from Carthage suggests that he begins to understand that, although the gods are responsible for the fall of Troy, they are positive figures that are working with him for a greater purpose.

At the beginning of the book, Aeneas continues to resist the gods' will and Fate's design and he seems to view his relationship with Dido as a way for him to create a new union that will make up for his failures with Creusa. Vergil describes them as lovers (*amantis*, 4.221) and, after their wedding in the cave (4.165-168), Aeneas wears the traditional clothing of the Carthaginians, he oversees building projects, and he assumes the role of king (4.259-264), all of which help him to alleviate his guilt in the public sphere, just as he attempted in Book 3. His relationship with Dido also relates to his experience of guilt in the private sphere. From Aeneas' point of view, Dido closely resembles the *regia coniunx* that Creusa alluded to in Book 2 (783). When Mercury appears, he acknowledges the fact that Aeneas sees Dido as a second wife and as a substitute for Creusa when he calls him *uxorius* at 4.266.

Mercury, however, quickly alters Aeneas' perception of the benefits of a relationship with Dido when he relays the following message from Jupiter (4.271-276):

*Quid struis? Aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum
Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,*

*Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
Respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
Debetur.*

What do you plan? With what hope do you waste idle time in Libyan lands? If no glory of such great deeds motivates you and if you yourself do not undertake labor for your own fame, consider growing Ascanius, the hope of your heir Iulus, to whom the kingdom of Italy and the Roman land is owed.

This speech confirms and reiterates Creusa's prophecy and Venus' speech in Book 2 and it recalls these two scenes because Mercury also motivates Aeneas' subsequent actions by creating a sense of urgency.³⁰⁴ Vergil again uses a divine figure to reveal Aeneas' unsettled psychological state and intense inner conflict. Like Venus and Creusa, Mercury tries to alleviate Aeneas' psychological turmoil and to encourage him to accept his fate and ensure a prosperous future for Ascanius by appealing to his *pietas*.

Vergil also uses Aeneas' reaction to Mercury to show Aeneas' experience of guilt and to suggest that it affects his actions in Carthage. When a person experiences guilt, his mind is more accepting of and focused on finding ways to repair the damage he has done and, as a result, he becomes preoccupied with locating reparatory stimuli.³⁰⁵ Aeneas' preoccupation with finding a way to repair is evident in his response after Mercury departs. When Mercury makes it clear that Aeneas' affair with Dido is only a temporary fix to relieve his guilt (*Libycis teris otia terris*), Aeneas is eager to depart Carthage because he no longer views Dido as an avenue for reparation and, as a result, he pays no attention to her emotional pleas or the consequences that his departure will have. Aeneas' guilt makes him preoccupied with the reparatory stimuli that Mercury promises (*gloria, laude, spes heredis*) and he begins to realize that, if he follows the guidance of

³⁰⁴ Mercury also alludes to Aeneas' limited knowledge of his fate, which Creusa explains to him, when he says *heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum*, 267. This passage also resembles Venus' appearance to Aeneas when she tells him that he must act immediately if he wishes to save his family (cf. pp.75-76).

³⁰⁵ Graton and Ric 2017: 347; 350.

the gods, their assistance will result in the absolution of his guilt, rather than in a short-term alleviation of it, which is all that Dido and Carthage offer him.

Aeneas' reaction to Mercury also recalls his response after he wakes up from his dream of Hector and after he sees Creusa's ghost in Book 2. In all three episodes, Aeneas receives a piece of information that renews his experience of guilt and creates a sense of urgency to act and in each of these scenes Hector, Creusa, or Mercury give commands that urge Aeneas forward onto his next task. Vergil uses the same phrase as he did in the Creusa episode (*arrectaque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*, 4.280; *steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*, 2.774) and he describes Aeneas as *amens* (2.278), which mirrors Aeneas' response after he dreams of Hector and when he realizes that Creusa is missing.³⁰⁶ In all of these scenes, Aeneas' reaction is one of panic.³⁰⁷ Just like the dream of Hector and the vision of the ghost of Creusa, Mercury embodies an outward manifestation of Aeneas' struggle with his guilt.³⁰⁸ Mercury also compels Aeneas to consider the fate of his son and the consequences of depriving him of what is rightfully his (*Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli / respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus/ debetur*, 4.274-276).³⁰⁹ Aeneas also voices his own anxiety for his failure again when he says that his dreams are haunted by the image of Anchises

³⁰⁶ Cf. *arma amens capio*, 2.314; *quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque*, 2.745.

³⁰⁷ Feeney 1990: 168.

³⁰⁸ Woodworth (1930: 117-118) argues that Mercury's appearance is a product of his own mind and that he is a response to Aeneas' struggle with his conscience. Woodworth also argues that, because Mercury is a manifestation of Aeneas' own thoughts and anxieties, his actions after the gods depart are made from his own free will, rather than being forced on him by the gods. Similarly, Williams (1983: 46) argues that Mercury's words represent Aeneas' own thoughts, especially those of suppressed guilt. Otis (1964: 268), on the other hand, argues that Mercury is not a reflection of Aeneas' conscience because he appears to be shocked by Mercury's appearance (4.358-359).

³⁰⁹ These lines also recall Venus' appearance in Book 2, when she urges him to remember his family (*Non prius aspicias, ubi fessum aetate parentem / liqueris Anchisen; superet coniunxne Creusa, / Ascaniusque puer*, 2.596-598), and Creusa's orders to care for Ascanius above all else (*et nati serva communis amorem*, 2.789).

reminding him of his son and his own fate (*me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari, / quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis*, 4.354-355). The appearance of Mercury, therefore, should also be read as a manifestation of Aeneas' guilt and as a representation of Aeneas' anxiety to try to find a way to achieve absolution.³¹⁰ This explains why, after Mercury recites Jupiter's commands to him and departs, the love that Aeneas feels for Dido seems to vanish. For Aeneas, Dido no longer resembles a Creusa figure, who can assist him in absolving his guilt in the public and private sphere. Rather, she becomes an obstacle to his mission and this might explain why he is seemingly heartless towards her when he decides to depart, even though he internally struggles with his decision to obey the gods (4.331-332).

After Dido delivers a speech, in which she accuses Aeneas of deceit and treachery and charges him with legal guilt for abandoning their marriage oath (4.305-330),³¹¹ Aeneas answers her charge (*pro re pauca loquar*, 4.337).³¹² In his speech (4.333-361), Aeneas addresses his flight and the legitimacy of their marriage, so that he can exculpate himself for abandoning her: "I did not hope to conceal this flight with trickery, do not think that, nor did I ever hold out the torches of a bridegroom or did I enter into a vow of

³¹⁰ Woodworth (1930: 118) argues that "Mercury...symbolically representing Aeneas' conscience, is one of the numerous supernatural instruments used by Fate in dealing with human beings."

³¹¹ "Faithless one, did you really believe that you could hide such a great crime and that you could depart my land in silence?", *dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?*, *Aen.* 4.306-307. Here Dido calls Aeneas' deception *nefas*. As discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.22-23), *nefas* refers to a horrific deed that defies moral and social norms, especially one that will incur psychological guilt. Dido views Aeneas' abandonment of her as a crime as egregious as the Greek assault on Troy (*hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso / effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret*, *Aen.* 2.180) and Helen's role in the fall of the city (*extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis / laudabor poenas...*, *Aen.* 2.585-586). Although Aeneas rids himself of his psychological guilt, the psychological effects of this *nefas* compel Dido to commit suicide later in the book (*illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat / certa mori...*, 4.563-564).

³¹² Feeney (1990: 171) argues this phrase suggests that Aeneas is answering a legal charge and that that the phrase *pro re pauca loquar* "is a plea for both of them to eschew a parade of words, to face the facts, to stick to the point."

marriage,” (*neque ego hanc abscondere furto / speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*, 4.337-339).³¹³ Aeneas first tries to quickly rid himself of any legal guilt that Dido assigns to him. To Aeneas, this is relatively easy because he can simply say that her claims are illegitimate and that their marriage is not real.³¹⁴ Aeneas does, however, focus more on absolving his psychological guilt for abandoning Dido, rather than on the legal guilt that may be associated with it, which is evident when he makes a greater effort to show that he is not morally culpable or guilty for leaving her.

Aeneas suppresses his emotions and he makes a case for why he must depart so that Dido does not become another source of psychological guilt. After he invalidates Dido’s claims that they are married, Aeneas tells her that, even if he had free will, he would still choose to leave Carthage (4.340-347):

*Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
Urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
Reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
Et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
Hic amor, haec patria est. Si te Karthaginis arces,
Phoenissam, Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
Quae tandem, Ausonia Teucros considerare terra,
Invidia est? Et nos fas extera quaerere regna.*

If the Fates should permit me to lead my life under my own auspices and out of my own free will to attend to my concerns, I would first cultivate the city of Troy and the sweet

³¹³ Here Aeneas answers Dido’s charge of *nefas* (4.306-307) when he tells her that they are not married and he provides a rationalization for his abandonment of her so that he can rid himself of this charge. Feeney (1990: 168) argues that in real terms Dido and Aeneas are not married. Monti (1981) and Perkell (1981), on the other hand both argue that there is no doubt that they are married and that this union is legitimate. For more on the legitimacy of this marriage under Roman standards see Sparrow (1973).

³¹⁴ Perkell (1981: 211) argues that, although Aeneas recognizes that he ought to be gentle and consoling to Dido (4.393-396), “the words in which he actually utters to Dido are not consoling but inflammatory.” Perkell believes that, from the beginning of his speech, it is clear that he will acknowledge no fault of his own and that he will not show Dido any sympathy, love, or regret because all he needs to do is “exonerate himself with the superficially correct but substantively false claim that he never actually married her.”

remnants of my people, the lofty walls of Priam would remain, and I would have established a new Pergamum with my own hands for the conquered. But now it is mighty Italy that Apollo of Grynium and the Lycian oracles command me to occupy. This is my desire, it is my country. If the citadels of Carthage and the sight of your Libyan city holds you, a Phoenician, back, then will you deny the Trojans to settle in the Ausonian land? It is right for us to seek a foreign kingdom.

Aeneas reveals his limited understanding of the prophecy told by Mercury from Jupiter and the design of Fate. Despite this, however, Aeneas recalls Apollo's words from Book 3 (94-98) and he uses the commands of the gods as his primary reason for leaving and he projects his guilt for his departure onto them. Aeneas also expresses his continued struggle with his guilt from Troy. Aeneas shows that he is still preoccupied with the past when he voices his desire to rebuild Troy for the conquered (*et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis*, 4.344). He uses this desire as a justification of why he must depart when he tells Dido that his only love is his homeland. He tries to discredit their love with these words and to appear blameless when he says that, even if he could act in whichever way he chooses, he would still not remain in Carthage because it would not be politically beneficial.³¹⁵ Aeneas, therefore, uses his *pietas* as a way to relieve himself of the expectations that Dido places upon him. Even if he does not express his experience of guilt explicitly, his yearning for Troy and his fixation on the past shows how his guilt influences the interaction he has with Dido and why he seems so heartless and cruel towards her.

³¹⁵ Perkell (1981: 213-214) argues that Dido would expect to hear, after the condition at 4.342-344, that Aeneas would remain with her if he had the freedom to choose. When Aeneas says that he wishes to depart regardless of what fate demands, he is wholly devoid of care or sympathy and he tries to discredit Dido's feelings. Farron (1993: 121) argues that when Aeneas calls his *patria* his love at 4.347, Vergil sets up a love affair and rivalry between Dido and Aeneas' *patria*, and this rivalry culminates in Dido's curse at the end of the book is so that Aeneas may not enjoy her rival. Furthermore, Monti (1981: 42-43) argues that, in his reply, Aeneas conforms to the ideal of an epic hero by abstaining from discussing his feelings with Dido. Instead, Aeneas' reply is based on his political obligation, which is imposed upon him by his father, his son, and the gods, to found a new kingdom in Italy.

Aeneas' experience of guilt, and his effort to alleviate it, is also evident in his continued use of psychological projection. He seems to anticipate the negative effects that his departure will have and his use of psychological projection implies that he knows that his actions are somewhat unacceptable and worthy of blame.³¹⁶ Aeneas emotionally detaches himself from Dido when he projects his guilt onto Dido herself, which also makes her a character like Creusa. Aeneas reasons that, by keeping him in Carthage, she will rob his family and his men of what is lawfully theirs (4.346-350). He also projects his guilt onto the gods when he says that Anchises haunts his dreams and reminds him of his family (4.351-355)³¹⁷ and that Jupiter himself delivers orders demanding that he leave (4.356-359).³¹⁸ The gods' intervention turns Aeneas' love into a fervent desire to depart (*amens*, 4.279) and to fulfill his promise to Creusa, which Mercury reminds him of.³¹⁹ Aeneas says what he must and he blames whomever he can so that he can leave as soon as possible, which explains his apparent lack of compassion,³²⁰ his suppression of his true emotions (4.331-332; 4.393-396), and his failure to acknowledge and respond to Dido as one would expect.³²¹ Although he says that he does not go to Italy willingly (*Italiam non*

³¹⁶ Freud (1915/1961) argues that a person uses psychological projection when he believes an event is unacceptable (cf. pp.61-62 n. 217).

³¹⁷ Otis (1964: 267-269) argues that, when Anchises dies, Aeneas loses his conscience and his sense of *pietas*. Aeneas' mention of Anchises in his dreams, therefore, signals that he begins to recover his conscience and his *pietas*. Otis, however, argues that Aeneas' inability to take some of the blame and to acknowledge his fault proves that he is still weak because he cannot face Dido and take her emotions into account.

³¹⁸ Dido herself refuses to believe that the gods are to blame for his departure and she does not accept this as an excuse (4.376-379). Pease (1935: 36-37) argues that Dido's skepticism of the intervention of divine beings in human concerns is consistent with Epicurean beliefs and it contrasts her with the Stoic Aeneas.

³¹⁹ Williams (1983: 46) argues that "Mercury's words represent [Aeneas'] own suppressed guilty thoughts, and, once they found expression, he felt relief and now eagerly desires what he had with equal eagerness previously suppressed."

³²⁰ Farron 1993: 118-120. Lyne (1987: 162-166), on the other hand, argues that Aeneas does not show any emotion to Dido because Aeneas strives for the Stoic ideal: "Aeneas shows himself at this moment pretty much the Stoic; and a Stoical attitude seems to be one that the world in which he lives requires and lauds," (166).

³²¹ Lyne 1987: 165. Lyne (1987: 167) argues that Aeneas shows deep emotion primarily for characters who are dead, namely Creusa, Pallas, and Dido, when he meets her again in Book 6.

sponte sequor, 4.361),³²² after Carthage Aeneas is more aware of his mission and he more readily accepts the gods' commands.

As he anticipates his departure, any hesitancy that Aeneas may have experienced after his exchange with Dido is eliminated when he dreams of Mercury (4.556-570). Mercury's second appearance is different from the first because it is a manifestation that occurs in Aeneas' mind. Vergil says that the figure in Aeneas' dream appears to be Mercury and that it has his complexion, face, body, and features (4.556-559). In the *Aeneid*, divinities appear directly to mortals only four times and Vergil limits their direct exchanges with them.³²³ It may be possible, therefore, that Aeneas' dream of Mercury functions like his dreams at other stages of the narrative. As will be discussed in Chapter 5 ("Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*"), the appearance of ghosts and Aeneas' experience of dreams in the *Aeneid* function as indicators and outward manifestations of Aeneas' psychological struggle with guilt. Vergil makes it clear at other stages in Book 4 that, although Aeneas has intense feelings for Dido, he suppresses them so that he can relay the command of the gods to her and depart Carthage as soon as possible (4.331-332; 4.393-396). Vergil portrays Aeneas' dream of Mercury, then, to subtly indicate that he experiences guilt for abandoning Dido, even if Aeneas himself does not explicitly express it. For a second time, the figure of Mercury stresses how important it is for Aeneas to leave immediately when he tells him that Dido plots her suicide and that perils await them if he remains (4.563-567). Like he did earlier in the book, Aeneas responds with panic and he projects any blame for his departure onto the gods when he tells his men to

³²² Woodworth (1930: 118) argues that, contrary to what he tells Dido, Aeneas has free will because after Mercury departs Aeneas is eager and willing to leave Carthage but he does not know how he will accomplish his departure.

³²³ Farron 1993: 117.

prepare depart immediately (4.575-579). Just as Aeneas finds affirmation that his actions are necessary and justified when he dreams of Hector and he sees Creusa in Book 2, the dream of Mercury also confirms that, although he may experience guilt for abandoning Dido, this action is necessary and promoted by the gods. Whether Mercury actually appears to Aeneas or he is a manifestation of Aeneas' psychological struggle, this dream shows that, even if Aeneas does not explicitly express his emotions, his guilt acts as an impetus for action, like it did in Book 2.

Vergil also uses the character of Dido to detail what occurs when a character is unable to cope with his or her guilt and succumbs to it. Vergil uses Dido as a warning and he correlates her with Aeneas to show the audience the effect that Aeneas' guilt will have if he cannot resolve it and if he refuses the guidance of the gods. In Book 1, Vergil immediately associates Aeneas and Dido with the words of Venus. Venus tells Aeneas that Dido is also an exile from Tyre (1.340-341), her spouse also suffered a tragic death (1.343-351),³²⁴ and she fled to found a new city (1.365-366). Later, Aeneas himself witnesses the majesty of Dido and her power as ruler when she effectively controls her new city and oversees its building projects and lawmaking (1.421-436) and he shows jealousy at the city's success (1.437). Dido, therefore, represents what Aeneas will become if he fulfills his fate and is successful in Italy.³²⁵ Vergil, however, presents a completely different character of Dido in Book 4 than he does in Book 1. In Book 4, Vergil depicts Dido as a faulty monarch, who suffers from a disease of passion (4.1-2),

³²⁴ Vergil associates Dido's experience of the death of Sychaeus with Aeneas' experience of the death of Creusa when he uses the verb *fefellit*, when Dido says that Sychaeus left her betrayed by his death (*postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit*, 4.17; cf. *et comites natumque virumque fefellit*, 2.744).

³²⁵ Spence 1999: 82.

which she cannot overcome.³²⁶ She gives in to her emotions (4.54-56), betrays her marriage to Sychaeus (4.15-23; 4.550-553), and succumbs to her guilt for doing so when she commits suicide, thus accomplishing the goal of Venus and emphasizing Juno's failure.

Dido's guilt comes from her perceived inability to fulfill an obligation to a loved one, namely Sychaeus, and her belief that she has betrayed members of her family by engaging in an affair with Aeneas.³²⁷ In this respect, Aeneas resembles the character of Dido because he is also burdened by guilt that he incurs from a former spouse. Aeneas, for a moment, believes that Dido and Carthage offer a means of reparation and the opportunity to start anew. The figure of Mercury emphasizes the importance of the fulfillment of familial obligations and duties and not giving in to one's passions.

Mercury, like Venus before him in Book 2, redirects Aeneas and implores him to focus on his familial duties as a way to channel his guilt towards reparation. With this realization, Aeneas becomes so anxious to leave Carthage once Mercury departs (4.283-286) because he remembers this duty and, unlike Dido, he is unwilling to neglect his familial obligations for a love affair with her. With the intervention of Mercury, Aeneas quickly recovers his *pietas*,³²⁸ and his relationship with Dido becomes nothing more than a lapse in judgment and a brief obstacle.

Dido, on the other hand, is an example of what Aeneas will become if he yields to his passions, neglects the admonitions of the gods, and does not find a way to absolve his

³²⁶ Cairns 1989: 29-57.

³²⁷ Farron 1993: 102-104. Farron (1993: 106) also notes that the symptoms of guilt often "increase the misery of love," because those who experience these feelings are often tormented by their guilty conscience, even if it is not warranted.

³²⁸ Otis (1964: 267). Otis argues that Aeneas is morally superior to Dido, that he was *pious* before he met Dido (1.305; 1.378) and he was *pious* when he left her (4.392) and that "what happened in between was a lapse whose effect had no further consequence."

guilt. Dido experiences guilt because she is unable to resist Aeneas and her passions compel her to forget her former husband (4.550-552):

*Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
Degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas!
Non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo!*

It was not permitted for me to pass my life without crime, free from marriage, as the wild animals do, nor to come upon such anguish! But I broke the vow I promised to Sychaeus' ashes!

Dido views her relationship with Aeneas as the crime (*non sine...crimine*) that broke her oath to Sychaeus (*promissa Sychaeo*) and made her guilty. Dido experiences both legal guilt for breaking this marriage oath (*culpam*, 4.172; *non servata fides*, 4.552), and moral and persecutory guilt because she is overcome by passion,³²⁹ she is unable to resist the new marriage (*thalami expertem*) and, although she knows it is wrong, she feigns innocence and promotes it as lawful (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, 4.172).³³⁰

In the character of Dido, we see a cycle of guilt that resembles Aeneas': she feels sadness and despair (4.504-553), extreme anger (4.305-330; 4.381-384) and need for revenge (4.362-392), and then, when she realizes it is unattainable, she achieves her revenge by cursing Aeneas (4.584-629). Like Aeneas, Dido's relationship with the gods also undergoes a change as her guilt progresses.³³¹ At first, Dido shows her devotion to

³²⁹ *Gravi...saucia cura*, 4.1; *incensum animum inflammavit amore, / spemque dedit dubiae menti, solvitque pudorem*, 4.54-55.

³³⁰ As discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. p.22), the Romans use the word *culpa* to refer to psychological guilt. Here Vergil uses *culpa* to describe Dido's love and marriage to Aeneas. Dido's psychological struggle is clear as she debates whether she should break her marriage oath to Sychaeus and yield to the *culpa* of marrying again (*huic uni fortisan potui succumbere culpae*, *Aen.* 4.19). She attempts to lessen her experience of guilt by calling her *culpa* a marriage in order to make the deed more legitimate and acceptable in her own mind.

³³¹ Gildenhard (2012: 293-297) argues that Dido's "religious outlook undergoes a development over the course of the book" and this development involves three stages. At first, Dido pursues communication with the gods in accordance to Roman civil religion, as seen above when she sacrifices at altars and makes offerings and prays. Then, when Aeneas reveals that he intends to leave Carthage, Dido resembles an

the gods, she constructs altars for them. and she prays for signs of divine approval (1.446-452; 4.54-64). But, because religious worship is useless for those who experience strong passion (4.65-66), she eventually submits to the Furies (*heu furiis incensa feror!*, 4.376) and asks chthonic deities to help her commit suicide (4.509-521) because she does not have a way to absolve her guilt.

Dido's inability to resolve her guilt compels her to commit suicide to fulfill her desire for self-punishment.³³² Money (2017) argues that people usually commit suicide because "in painful circumstances which cannot be otherwise avoided, the cessation of life may be the only means of avoidance."³³³ Freud (1923) argues that guilt is connected with the desire for suicide because guilt produces suffering and melancholia and it results in the ego's belief that it has been deserted by the superego, which makes it want to die.³³⁴ Furthermore, Goldblatt (2010) argues that guilt often leads to intense and pronounced self-loathing and masochism, which also commonly results in suicide.³³⁵ Dido's feeling of desertion (4.305-330), coupled with her intense experience of despair, self-hatred (*ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore / decrevitque mori*, 4.474-475; 4.393; 4.649), and guilt for abandoning Sychaeus (4.13-29; 4.172; 4.552) result in her need for self-punishment, which takes the form of suicide so that she can finally relieve her mental anguish (*meque his exsolvite curis*, 4.652).

Epicurean because she dismisses the notion that the gods intervene in human affairs. Finally, in the last stage, Dido is more aware of fate and, by committing suicide, she offers herself as a sacrifice in accordance with the Roman ritual of *devotio*.

³³² Heinze (1993: 103) argues that even though Dido is unreconciled with her murderer, she finds solace in taking control of her death.

³³³ Money 2017: 19.

³³⁴ Freud (1923: 58) argues, "The ego gives itself up because it feels itself hated and persecuted by the super-ego, instead of loved. To the ego, therefore, living means the same as being loved – being love by the super-ego. . . . But, when the ego finds itself in excessive real danger, which it believes itself unable to overcome by its own strength, it sees itself deserted by all protecting forces and lets itself die."

³³⁵ Goldblatt 2010: 99-100.

By drawing correlations between Aeneas' and Dido's experience of guilt and articulating her tragic death, therefore, Vergil shows how necessary it is for Aeneas to accept the counsel and assistance of the gods so that he can find an avenue for reparation and absolution so that he will not meet an end like Dido's. After his experience in Carthage, Aeneas becomes more focused on the future and, although he remains somewhat unaware of his fate, he is more willing to accept the gods' guidance and concentrate his efforts on his mission in Italy.

Book 6: Revelations and Hope for the Future

Book 6 is a turning point in the poem because it marks a shift in Aeneas' struggle with and experience of his guilt.³³⁶ After this book, Aeneas relies less on psychological projection and self-punishment to temporarily alleviate his guilt and he uses this emotion to motivate him to be successful in Italy. In this book, Aeneas begins to understand that the gods work to promote his fulfillment of Fate's design and he begins to accept their guidance to achieve reparation. This process occurs in three stages. The first stage is Aeneas' interaction with the Sibyl before he enters the Underworld. During this interaction, Aeneas receives his first direct prophecy from gods in Italy. The second stage occurs when Aeneas meets Dido and the shades of deceased Trojans in the Underworld. Dido and the Trojan shades represent embodiments of the past, Aeneas'

³³⁶ Williams (1990: 191) argues that Book 6 is the focal point of the *Aeneid* because it concludes what has come before it, it provides a new impetus for the second half of the poem, and it is essential for the development of poem's main themes, especially the theme of human suffering. Similarly, Otis (1964: 282) argues that the sixth book is a turning point in the poem and Vergil designs it to show his hero's resurrection.

guilt from Troy, and his failed attempts to absolve his guilt in Books 3 and 4. It is only after Aeneas encounters these shades that he understands that only the future, rather than the past, will offer him the opportunity to resolve his guilt.³³⁷ Finally, in the third stage, Aeneas' focus on the future is reinforced by his meeting with Anchises, whom Vergil represents as a semi-divine figure, when he reveals the outcome of Aeneas' search for reparation and victory by showing him the achievements of his ancestors in the Parade of Heroes. After these three encounters, Aeneas ceases his resentment towards and his blame of the gods for the fall of Troy. Aeneas' guilt also changes because it no longer compels him to negatively view the gods' influence and to remain in the past, but it becomes a force that propels him toward future success and, after Book 6, he never falters.³³⁸ Aeneas becomes a willing participant in the gods' and Fate's plans, he recognizes his purpose, and he no longer hesitates.³³⁹ Aeneas' hope for reparation, which Anchises promises by showing him his future success and importance, drives him to obtain victory in Italy and it urges him to leave his past behind.

Before he describes Aeneas' meeting with the Sibyl, Vergil begins with an *ekphrasis* that depicts the doors of the temple of Apollo, which Daedalus constructed for him (6.14-33).³⁴⁰ Through the agency of the Sibyl, Aeneas comes into direct contact with

³³⁷ Otis (1964: 306) argues that when Aeneas meets Dido, who represents Aeneas' most powerful substitute for home, and the shades of fallen Trojans, which embody the city he wishes to return to, he realizes that nothing in the past can hold him further and he must look to the future.

³³⁸ Duckworth 1967: 357.

³³⁹ Duckworth 1967: 357; Jordan 1999: x. Fantham (1992: 11) argues that Aeneas' condemnation of the gods ceases when he accepts his destiny and he learns their intentions for him as the founder of Rome.

³⁴⁰ Spence (2013: 30) argues that the *ekphrasis* demonstrates the theme of *pietas* and that Daedalus' relationship with Icarus mirrors the relationship between Anchises and Aeneas. Vergil's emphasis on this theme at the beginning of the book suggests that, in order for Aeneas to let go of his past, he must reconcile the guilt he feels for his father's death. Otis (1964: 284-285), on the other hand, argues that the image of the labyrinth not only symbolizes Aeneas' journey to the Underworld, but it also shows Aeneas' own labyrinthine past and its hidden contents, especially his relationship with Dido. For more information on the doors of the temple of Apollo see Casali (1995) and for more on Vergil's use of *ekphrasis* in the *Aeneid* see Putnam (1998).

Apollo. At the beginning of the episode, Aeneas continues to project his guilt onto the gods when he laments that they are to blame for Troy's fall (6.63-65). The Sibyl assures Aeneas that he and his men will reach Lavinium (6.83-84) and the Tiber and she says that he will engage in a great war with a second Achilles.³⁴¹ Apollo's prophecy confirms that the gods support Aeneas' mission in Italy³⁴² and it provides the hope and motivation Aeneas requires to be successful. Although Apollo says that Aeneas will engage a bloody war and meet a second Achilles,³⁴³ he assures him that he can overcome these misfortunes and assistance will be available when he arrives (6.96-97).

At this stage in the book, however, Aeneas continues to be fixated on the past and he still struggles to discover a source of alleviation for his guilt, which is evident when he tells the Sibyl that she provides no new information and all he wishes to do is to see his father again (6.103-109).³⁴⁴ Aeneas' preoccupation with seeing Anchises suggests that his devotion to his father remains constant and strong and that it contributes to his focus on the past, which makes him unable to resolve his guilt.³⁴⁵ This connection is evident

³⁴¹ The Sibyl's prophecy elaborates upon the prophecy that Aeneas receives from Creusa in Book 2 (cf. *longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum, / et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva / inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris*, 2.780-782; *illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx / parta tibi*, 2.783-784). Creusa, however, does not mention the war in Italy, but she promises *res laetae* because, if she had revealed the truth at the moment when Aeneas contemplated leaving Troy, it is questionable whether he would have agreed to leave the city.

³⁴² Otis 1964: 286.

³⁴³ Fratantuono (2007: 168) argues that the Sibyl's revelation that a second Achilles awaits Aeneas in Italy marks the transition from the Odyssean world to the Iliadic. Fratantuono also takes the Sibyl's information about a second Achilles in Italy as an explicit indication that Aeneas himself will not resemble an Achilles in the second half of the poem. For an alternate reading of Vergil's association of Achilles and Aeneas see MacKay (1957) and Martindale (1993).

³⁴⁴ *Non ulla laborum, / o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit; / omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi...ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora / contigat*. In Book 5 (721-739), Anchises, like Mercury before him, visits Aeneas by the request of Jupiter in a dream at a moment when Aeneas delays and forgets his mission. Anchises tells Aeneas that, before he begins the war in Italy, he must enter the Underworld and find him so that he can learn about the race he will create.

³⁴⁵ Aeneas also continues to focus on the past when he identifies himself and his men with Troy (*Pergamae*, 6.63).

when Aeneas thinks about Anchises and he is transported back to the night of the fall of Troy (6.110-114):

*Illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela
Eripui his umeris, medioque ex hoste recepi;
Ille meum comitatus iter, maria omnia mecum
Atque omnes pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
Invalidus, vires ultra sortemque senectae.*

On these shoulders, I snatched that man away through the flames and from a thousand pursuing spears, and I took him away from the thick of the enemy. He was my companion on my journey, he endured with me all the seas and all threats of the ocean and the sky, weak, beyond his power and his allotted span of old age.

Anchises, then, not only represents a symbol of the past, but also his absence obstructs Aeneas' gaze toward the future. Aeneas associates his father with the fall of Troy and his continued dependence on Anchises indicates that he does not have a positive outlook for the future and what awaits him in Italy.

Vergil's use of Anchises as a personification of the past, and Aeneas' preoccupation with it, allows him to imply that Aeneas continues to struggle with his guilt, which makes the Anchises' revelation and prophecy at the end of the book even more climactic. Ratcliffe (2010) argues that, when a person experiences guilt, he is engrossed in the past and is unable to focus on future undertakings. Then, when he thinks about the deeds that led to his experience of guilt, he views the deeds as closed and completed events that do not relate to future hopes or aspirations. The events that led to a person's experience of guilt, therefore, prohibit him from looking to the future and they compel him to remain transfixed on these deeds as they occurred in the past.³⁴⁶ In the above passage, Aeneas remembers saving Anchises from Troy (*eripui his umeris; medioque ex hoste recepi*), he recalls the images of Troy's destruction (*per flammam et*

³⁴⁶ Ratcliffe 2010: 612-613.

mille sequentia tela), and he relives the beginning of his exile with his father (*ille meum comitatus iter*). His brief reiteration of how he saved Anchises resembles his description of the same event to Dido's court in Carthage in Book 2, which indicates that he continues to relive and be affected by his trauma from that night.³⁴⁷ This preoccupation shows that Aeneas views the event that incurred his guilt as closed and unchangeable and he focuses on it because he has no hope for the future without his father. In Books 1-5, Anchises was Aeneas' primary guider and protector, but without him Aeneas must now rely on another source to guide him. As long as he continues to be preoccupied with the past, however, he cannot wholly accept the guidance of the gods and he remains unsure and skeptical of what role his past identity and failures from Troy will play in his future and how he can ensure that this future will be marked by success, rather than failure.³⁴⁸ At the end of the first stage of Book 6, then, Aeneas does not yet realize that the acceptance of his fate will restore his hopes and aspirations for the future and lead to absolution.

The second stage occurs when Aeneas encounters symbols that contributed to his experience of guilt. In the Underworld, he sees Dido for a second time and his reaction to her indicates that he continues to experience guilt for the events that took place in Carthage. Aeneas' guilt is evident when he feigns ignorance about the reason for her death and his role in causing it (*funeris heu tibi causa fui?* 6.458; *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*, 6.463-464). Hrubes, Feldman, and Tyler (2013) argue that, when a person experiences guilt, this emotion is often accompanied by denial

³⁴⁷ *Ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae; / ipse subibo umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit*, 2.707-708; *medios...in hostis*, 2.377; *inutilis annos / demoror* 2.648-649).

³⁴⁸ Seider 2013: 31-32.

and self-deception so that the agent can maintain a positive self-view.³⁴⁹ To Hrubes, Feldman, and Tyler, self-deception and denial involve the refusal to accept the reality of the situation and they are used to temporarily regulate emotions, especially guilt. Aeneas' denial that he had a part in Dido's death and his apparent confusion for her presence in the Underworld, therefore, suggest that suppresses the guilt he experiences and he tries to maintain a positive self-view.

Aeneas also shows his experience of guilt for abandoning Dido when he projects it onto the gods and he tells her shade that he unwillingly departed Carthage (*invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. / sed me iussa deum*, 6.460-461). Aeneas' use of projection here represents his attempts to remove the guilt from his consciousness and to rationalize and justify his abandonment of her. Carroll (1985) argues that rationalization and justification are symptoms of guilt, they are products of a bad conscience, and they are often accompanied by scapegoating, which is the process whereby someone loads his own guilt onto another person and condemns their actions.³⁵⁰ When Aeneas meets Dido, he tries to justify his actions by projecting his guilt onto the gods and he also uses them as scapegoats so that he can appear blameless. Furthermore, Dido represents Aeneas' most powerful substitute for home and the wife that he lost when Troy fell.³⁵¹ His attempts to appear innocent, therefore, suggest that he is psychologically unable to incur more guilt for the loss of a loved one and he tries to rationalize his actions and failures, which he also did in Book 4. Although Dido reunites with Sychaeus (6.473-474), Aeneas seems to focus on the tragedy of the past rather than on the future glory of Rome and his role in its

³⁴⁹ Hrubes, Feldman, and Tyler 2013: 242.

³⁵⁰ Carroll 1985: 23. For more information on scapegoating and guilt see Brinton Perera (1986).

³⁵¹ Otis 1964: 306.

success (*prosequitur lacrimis longe, et miseratur euntem*, 6.476)³⁵² and, at this point, he sees no resolution to his emotional turmoil.

Next, Aeneas confronts other reminders of his past trauma, namely the fallen Trojans who died during the siege of the city. Amongst the Trojan shades, Aeneas sees Deiphobus, who bears wounds that symbolize the horrors of the Trojan War. Deiphobus gives another account of the night of the fall of the city (6.509-532) and his appearance resembles Hector's in Book 2.³⁵³ Deiphobus evokes the emotions that Aeneas experienced at Troy and his appearance forces him to relive the night of the siege of the city.³⁵⁴ Like Hector, Deiphobus is a symbol of Troy and his image provides the motivation that Aeneas will require before his meeting with Anchises.³⁵⁵ Aeneas' meetings with Dido and Deiphobus are therefore necessary because both figures embody Aeneas' past trauma and guilt and his failed efforts to resolve it. In both circumstances, Aeneas views the gods as primary factors for his misfortune, namely the destruction of Troy and the dissolution of his relationship with Dido when he first tries to absolve his guilt in Carthage. Although Aeneas continues to be hesitant about his future, Dido and Deiphobus reaffirm that alleviation of his guilt cannot be found in the past. Aeneas sees that both figures are "irreconcilable" and "impotent and wretched," which make him realize that there is nothing in the past that should hold him back and that he must now

³⁵² Williams 1990: 197.

³⁵³ Falkner (1981: 34) argues that Vergil's association of Hector and Deiphobus is "completely natural" because they are brothers and Deiphobus is regarded as a warrior second only to Hector himself. Vergil makes this association, therefore, so that Aeneas can be transported back to the beginning and to the source of his guilt and trauma. Furthermore, Aeneas' dream of Hector takes place before a period that would introduce a major transition in his life, namely the loss of his city and the beginning of his guilt. Deiphobus' appearance is significant because it occurs at another time of transition for Aeneas, namely right before his reunion with Anchises and his revelation of the future of Rome.

³⁵⁴ Cf. 2.309-311.

³⁵⁵ Otis (1964: 295-296) argues that Deiphobus is a "human image of dead Troy, of all that Aeneas had lost and left and to which he most of all desired to return..."

look to the future, accept the gods' assistance, and be willing to pursue his destiny.³⁵⁶

These painful reminders of past emotional turmoil prepare Aeneas for his meeting with Anchises, when he learns that reparation will be possible only if he can let go of the past and concentrate on his future tasks.

Aeneas' meeting with Anchises is the last stage in the book for his understanding of the role that the gods will play in his struggle to resolve his guilt from Troy. After his conversation with Anchises, Aeneas is encouraged to become an autonomous hero, who relies less on his father and more on the gods for guidance.³⁵⁷ Anchises reveals that, in order for Aeneas to resolve his guilt from Troy, he must not make a mere copy of the city, as he had attempted in Book 3, but he must create a new city with elements that resemble Troy. The third stage in Book 6, then, severs the last link to Aeneas' past that would stall his progression in the second half of the poem.

When the episode begins, Aeneas' guilt for his father's death is visible in his feeling of intense grief (*sic memorans, largo fletu simul ora rigabat*, 6.699). Aeneas' expression of grief when he first speaks with Anchises suggests that, upon seeing the image of his dead father, Aeneas experiences survivor's guilt. Survivor's guilt occurs when someone has survived the same tragedy or event that his loved ones did not.³⁵⁸ A common symptom of survivor's guilt is a person's feeling that they are in some way culpable for the deaths of others.³⁵⁹ Aeneas' reaction to his father, namely his expression of grief and remorse, suggests a resurgence of his guilt because, as Juni (1991) argues, expressions of depression and remorse allow a person to maintain the bond with the lost

³⁵⁶ Otis 1964: 306.

³⁵⁷ Otis 1964: 309-310.

³⁵⁸ Niederland 1961: 238.

³⁵⁹ Juni 2016: 322.

object or person.³⁶⁰ Although Anchises survived the fall of Troy, in its immediate aftermath Aeneas was unable to protect and save his father and his death reinforces his failures in the private sphere, which he describes in Book 2. Vergil emphasizes the difference between Aeneas' reaction to his father and his reaction to Dido, when he tried to deny his role in her death and he projected blame onto the gods (6.458-464), to reinforce the loss Aeneas feels and his effort to maintain their familial bond. Furthermore, Aeneas' expression of grief shows that he internalizes his guilt, he partly blames himself for it because he views himself as Anchises' protector (6.110-114), and he experiences guilt for surviving when Anchises did not.

After Aeneas' guilt intensifies as he reunites with his father, Anchises offers a means for Aeneas to alleviate it when, in his explanation of the transmigration of souls (6.720-751), he says that extensive misfortune and suffering in life vanish when a person dies.³⁶¹ Next, Anchises reveals the great success that Aeneas' descendants will obtain if he is willing to accept his destiny and the aid of the gods. Anchises begins by motivating Aeneas to focus on the future (6.716-718):

*Has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
Iam pridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
Quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.*

Long have I wished to tell you of these (souls) and to show you them face to face, and to list the offspring of my race, so that you may rejoice more with me when you have found Italy.

Anchises promises that Aeneas will obtain the joyful things that Creusa alluded to in Book 2 (*res laetae*, 2. 783) and he provides motivation for Aeneas to focus on the future

³⁶⁰ Juni 1991: 77.

³⁶¹ Williams 1990: 202; Williams 1972: 503. Williams argues that Aeneas' sufferings during his mission are also reflected in his response to Anchises, when he asks how anyone could ever want to return to the upper world (6.720-721). O'Hara (1990: 165), on the other hand, views Aeneas' response as a typical description of the mood of the recipient of a prophecy.

without him. He begins by telling Aeneas that he will teach him his destiny (*et te tua fata docebo*, 6.759).³⁶² In previous books, the gods revealed Aeneas' destiny but he continued to be resistant and unwilling to fully accept their guidance. Anchises emphasizes at various points in his speech that Aeneas ought to dispel his doubt and his fear (6.806-807) and that he should no longer let them hold him back.

He begins by showing Aeneas his youngest son, who will be born while Aeneas is old in age,³⁶³ the Alban Kings (6.767-776), Romulus (6.777-786), Augustus (6.788-805), illustrious men living before and during the Republic (6.808-853), and Marcellus (6.854-885).³⁶⁴ He invokes these images to provide the motivation and strength that Aeneas will need for the more difficult part of his task that awaits him.³⁶⁵ Aeneas is eager and fueled by desire for future glory (*incenditque animum famae venientis amore*, 6.889) and he turns his gaze toward what he can accomplish in the future (*famae venientis*).

Aeneas' response shows that he views Anchises' directions as a way to absolve his guilt. Caprara et al. (2001) argue that a person's perceived availability and accessibility of reparative measures are both critical for subsequent actions.³⁶⁶ When a person experiences guilt and he believes that his failures are not amendable, he continues

³⁶² At the beginning of the episode, Anchises promises to teach Aeneas about the offspring of his own race (*hanc prolem...meorum*, 6.717). Before the Parade of Heroes, Anchises emphasizes that future glory is possible when he shows Aeneas that his descendants will also be successful, if he accepts his destiny and leaves the past behind, as emphasized by his use of *nostrum* rather than *meum* (*nostrumque in nomen*, 758).

³⁶³ *Silvus, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles, / quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx / educet...*, 6.763-765. Anchises appears here to be deceiving Aeneas as soon as the prophecy begins because, as Jupiter made clear in Book 1 (263-266), Aeneas will have only three more years to live after the war in Italy has concluded. O'Hara (1990: 93) argues that Anchises' omission of this information is consistent with the pattern of optimistic prophecies, which omit the deaths of individuals. He argues that Anchises goal in this speech is to give Aeneas the encouragement he needs to fulfill his destiny and that the use of the adjective *longaevus* really means that Aeneas will have a long life as an immortal.

³⁶⁴ Otis (1964: 303) argues that Vergil chose the figure of Marcellus to articulate the human price of empire and the notion that the foundation of empire is based on sacrifice, especially sacrifice of the young.

³⁶⁵ Heinze 1993: 351.

³⁶⁶ Caprara, Barbaranelli, Pastorelli, Cermak, and Rosza 2001: 223.

self-punishment and his guilt affects his interpersonal relationships.³⁶⁷ Graton and Ric (2017) argue that, if a person discerns an avenue to achieve reparation, however, he will become motivated to repair the damage he has done and he will focus on reparatory stimuli.³⁶⁸ Then, once he begins these reparatory measures, the promise of the alleviation of his guilt makes his reparation-related actions more positive, which results in his continual motivation and ensures his goal will be reached.³⁶⁹ Anchises' revelation for the future, therefore, is important because up until this point Aeneas has been unable to determine how he can make up for his failures at Troy and this threatens his future success. By calling Aeneas 'Roman' at 6.851, Anchises implores Aeneas to let go of the past, focus on the future, see that reparation for Troy is possible, and to identify himself as a Roman, rather than as a conquered Trojan.³⁷⁰ As a result, Aeneas is encouraged by the possibility that he can achieve reparation (*incenditque animum*), he becomes motivated to repair the damage he has done, and this motivation contributes to his victory against Turnus and the Latins in the second half of the poem.

³⁶⁷ Caprara et al. 2001: 223.

³⁶⁸ Graton and Ric 2017: 347; 350.

³⁶⁹ Graton and Ric 2017: 350.

³⁷⁰ Lyne (1987: 214) argues that Anchises' identification of Aeneas as Roman shows that, "at this critical moment the hero's gaze is being turned from the past to the future, from Troy to Rome: so that the appellation is more appropriate and pregnant."

Books 7-12: Absolution and the Latin War

When the first half of the poem concludes, Aeneas is “led by his fate instead of being dragged along by it” and he understands what must be accomplished if he wishes to find absolution.³⁷¹ Books 7-12 differ from Books 1-6 because Aeneas’ experience of guilt shifts after he accepts his destiny and the aid of the gods at the end of the sixth book. Rather than continuing to experience constant internal psychological struggle with his guilt, which manifests itself in his continual self-punishment, feelings of intense grief, and attempts to psychologically project it onto other characters, Aeneas uses his guilt from Troy as a motivation for achieving success in the war against the Latins.³⁷² Aeneas remembers his experience at Troy and his guilt drives him to forge a new identity and to create success from failure.³⁷³

Aeneas’ new focus also changes his relationship with the gods because he relies less on human advice and encouragement and he becomes a more autonomous hero, who is not so prone to self-doubt. Aeneas is more willing to accept the messages he receives from the gods because he now views them as agents that will help him as he attempts to

³⁷¹ Heinze 1993: 226.

³⁷² Otis (1964: 313) argues: “The second half of the *Aeneid* is strikingly different from the first. The change of model – the substitution of *Iliad* for *Odyssey* – is but a symptom of another and deeper change. The psychological and subjective emphasis of the first six books is gone: Aeneas is no more engaged in inner struggle, in the hard task of his remotivation, but in a great war with very tangible human opponents. His *pietas* has been established: we now see it demonstrated in action.”

³⁷³ Hardie (1994: 598) argues that the second half of the poem portrays Aeneas’ attempt to find a different ending for the same story. Similarly, Seider (2013: 32) uses the theme of memory to argue that, after Aeneas accepts that Italy is part of his fate, he “must figure out what role his past identity will play in the future and how that future can be marked by success, not failure.” The theme of memory is closely associated to the emotion of guilt because Aeneas constantly contends with his memory of Troy, which strengthens his experience of his guilt. Aeneas’ memory of Troy, however, is positive because it consistently motivates him to create a different outcome in Italy so that he can absolve himself of his guilt.

fulfill his destiny and achieve reparation.³⁷⁴ In Books 1-6, Aeneas had not yet established a means of absolving his guilt and the direct intervention of the gods at various stages enabled him to gradually learn his fate, although he was usually unwilling to do what they demanded. Once Aeneas realizes that he can repair for his failures at Troy by being successful in Italy and once the war there begins, the gods' role is more indirect, but they do continue to manipulate mortal passions to bring about their intended results.³⁷⁵ The gods have already instilled the motivation that Aeneas needs to fulfil his fate and they act in the interim as indirect influencers that enable him to do so.³⁷⁶ Aeneas continues to rely on the gods to validate and endorse his actions, most notably in Book 8, but once the war begins they stand at a distance and subtly influence the action.

The gods' indirect influence is apparent at the beginning of Book 7 when Juno uses the figure of Turnus as the agent of her rage and, under her influence, he becomes the human embodiment of her opposition to Aeneas' fate.³⁷⁷ Through the agency of Turnus, Juno attempts to rouse Aeneas' guilt, which manifests in his various rampages fuelled by *furor*, in order to delay and stop him from gaining victory. Juno is unsuccessful, however, because, for Aeneas, Turnus becomes the personification of

³⁷⁴ Heinze (1993: 226) argues that, in the second half of the poem, Aeneas is not so overcome by doubt and despair. Rather, he is thoughtful and he exudes the traits of a leader, he does not rely on human advice and encouragement, and he more readily accepts the guidance of the gods.

³⁷⁵ Lyne 1987: 70-71.

³⁷⁶ Feeney (1991: 182-183) argues that, although the gods indirectly influence human action in the second half of the poem, "there is a distinct lack of the Homeric patterns of conversation, aid directly given, and even blows exchanged between men and gods." As a result, there is a "shutting-out of the intimacy and co-operation between men and gods which is a corollary of Homer's technique."

³⁷⁷ Juno also indirectly influences the narrative when she summons the Fury Allecto (7.312) and severs the pact between the Trojans and the Latins (7.286-622) in order to delay Aeneas' success as much as possible. Feeney (1990: 146-147) argues that Juno's summoning of Allecto is the climax of her rage and that this episode is a 'mirror-scene' of her discord in Book 1. Similarly, Woodworth (1930: 188) argues that Allecto uses the earlier predispositions of the characters of Amata, Turnus, and the countrymen when she instills rage in them, and thus she "only stimulates to action that psychological processes already at work," in a manner like Mercury's appearance in Book 4, when he stimulates Aeneas' troubled conscience and uses it to compel him to depart Carthage.

Aeneas' intense emotions and his experience of guilt. Juno's efforts are also foiled when Turnus' *furor* prompts him to kill Pallas, whose death provides the final motivation Aeneas requires to kill Turnus, to force Juno to dissolve her *ira*, and to finally achieve his destiny in Italy.

Tiberinus, Venus, and Vulcan's Shield in Book 8

The infrequency of direct divine influence in the second half of the poem makes Aeneas' dream of Tiberinus in Book 8 significant because he confirms that the gods support the mission Aeneas is about to undertake. At the beginning of the book, Aeneas seems to outwardly project confidence and he appears to accept that he will be king in Italy in accordance with the plan of destiny (*fatis regem se dicere*, 8.12). Like Aeneas' feigned confidence in Book 1 (198-208), however, when he is alone, worry and the consideration of the cost of war continue to pervade his mind (*Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello, / procubit seramque dedit per membra quietem*, 8.29-30).³⁷⁸ In response to his anxiety, Tiberinus visits Aeneas in a dream to relieve these cares (*tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis*, 8.35) and to encourage him to continue his mission.³⁷⁹ Tiberinus is the patron god of the region (8.31) and Aeneas' first ally in Italy.³⁸⁰ His guise as an aged man, adorned with a blue cloak and reeds in his hair, immediately invites

³⁷⁸ The introduction to Tiberinus' appearance (*nox erat...seramque dedit per membra quietem*, 8.26-30) invites comparison with the setting before Aeneas' dream of Hector (*tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit*, 2. 268-269).

³⁷⁹ A threat to Aeneas' mission also prompts Creusa, a semi-divine figure, to appear to Aeneas in Book 2. Vergil uses the exact same line (*tum sicj adfari et curas his demere dictis*, 2.776; 8.35) to correlate these two appearances. Creusa comes to Aeneas when he hesitates to leave Troy and she encourages his exile. Tiberinus will also validate and encourage Aeneas' mission in the second half of the poem.

³⁸⁰ Thornton 1976: 116.

comparison with Hector's battered appearance, when he is covered in blood and carries the wounds he received upon his death (2.271-279). Contrary to Hector's appearance,³⁸¹ Tiberinus exudes new life, prosperity, and hope for the future,³⁸² which all encourage Aeneas to accept the commands he will give and to begin the war in Italy.

Tiberinus' prophecy provides divine confirmation that reparation for Aeneas' guilt is possible. He shows Aeneas that his efforts will provide him with the opportunity to bring the Trojan city back from the enemy and to strengthen it for the future (8.36-37) and he provides Aeneas with detailed instructions to ensure victory (8.40-65).³⁸³

Tiberinus then describes the outcome of Aeneas' success (8.46-48):

*Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum
Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.*

This will be the place of your city, there is certain rest from your labors. This means,³⁸⁴ after thirty years have rolled by,³⁸⁵ Ascanius will found a city there of noble name (called) Alba.

³⁸¹ Hector appears as an embodiment of the tragedy of Troy and of the past and, as a result, Aeneas has a very different reaction after Hector departs than he will after Tiberinus' departure.

³⁸² Benario (1978) argues that Vergil chooses the Tiber to indicate the change in Aeneas' fortune. In the first six books, Benario argues that water is a force that is against Aeneas and his mission. In the second half of the epic, however, water favours the Trojans, and the Tiber is a symbol of this change in emphasis and reversal of fortune. Similarly, Putnam (1965: 125) argues that "for Aeneas and his men the beautiful stream, with its dark grove re-echoing with the songs of birds, can only mean a form of reception which denotes the possibility of new life, salvation, and happiness."

³⁸³ Tiberinus also tells Aeneas that the gods' wrath has stopped (*tumor omnis et irae / concessere deum*, (8.40-41). This statement is a falsehood because, as is evident in Juno's tirade at the beginning of the second half of the epic (7.286-341), Juno's anger is more fervent than ever. O'Hara (1990: 31-35) likens Tiberinus' lie to Venus' statement in Book 1 (387-388) when she misleads Aeneas by saying that he is not hated by the immortal gods. Furthermore, both Helenus (3.435-439) and Tiberinus (8.59-62) advise Aeneas to sacrifice to Juno in order to appease her, which causes Aeneas to believe that "Juno's anger is a force to be reckoned with, but their words make him think that he can deal with it through prayer and sacrifice," (33). O'Hara argues (1990: 121) that these falsehoods prove that the gods secure Aeneas' compliance with their commands by trickery and false promises because they are necessary for his success.

³⁸⁴ Ahl 2007: 186.

³⁸⁵ O'Hara (2007: 82) points out the inconsistency in this passage. In Book 3 (388-393), Helenus foretold that the white sow marked the location for Aeneas' future city. Tiberinus, on the other hand, states that this location would be the site for Ascanius' city called Alba Longa. This apparent inconsistency ought not be viewed as an inconsistency at all. Rather, Tiberinus motivates Aeneas to undertake this mission by mentioning future success and prosperity for his son, Ascanius. A divine figure's mention of Ascanius as an impetus for action is also seen in Venus' speech to Aeneas in Book 2 (594-600), because it reinforces Aeneas' need for reparation for his guilt in the private sphere by ensuring success for his son.

These words encourage Aeneas because they show him that he can alleviate his guilt by establishing a new city (*locus urbis*) and assuring a prosperous future for Ascanius, which he promised to Creusa in Book 2. Tiberinus names Alba Longa as Ascanius' future city, which confirms Anchises' description of the successes of the Alban Kings in Book 6 (752-776). Finally, by saying these words, Tiberinus indirectly promises Aeneas relief from his psychological turmoil because, by being successful, he will be able to provide the reprieve he promised his men in Book 1.³⁸⁶ Aeneas' motivation to achieve reparation is evident when he is completely compliant with the orders that Tiberinus gives³⁸⁷ and, unlike his reaction after Hector and Creusa depart, he is optimistic and eager to begin his task (*nox Aenean somnusque relinquit. Surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis / lumina*, 8.67-69).³⁸⁸ Aeneas' response to the appearance of Tiberinus shows that he now accepts his mission that the gods and fate prescribe for him and that he is eager to adhere to their commands.³⁸⁹ Tiberinus gives Aeneas immediate advice for an immediate crisis and,

³⁸⁶ *Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum...*, 8.46. Cf. *per tot discrimina rerum / tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas / ostendunt*, 1.205-206. Aeneas' also promises his men that some god will provide an end to their troubles (*dabit deus his quoque finem*, 1.199) and, in Book 8 Tiberinus is implicitly identified as this god (*huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno...*, 8.31). Coleman (1982: 146) notes that this is one of the few instances of an internal motivation that is not attributed to an Olympian god.

³⁸⁷ Coffee (2010: 153-154) compares the scenes of Roma's appearance to Caesar in Book 1 of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* with Aeneas' dream of Tiberinus in *Aeneid* 8. Coffee notes that, whereas Roma implores Caesar not to engage in battle, Tiberinus encourages Aeneas' martial plans and he persuades him to obtain an alliance with Evander. Finally, whereas Caesar makes no reciprocal gestures to Roma, which is in keeping with his disregard for the divine sphere in the poem, Aeneas raises the water of the river in his hands and pledges to give everlasting gifts and honor to Tiberinus and the nymphs.

³⁸⁸ After Hector disappears in Book 2, Aeneas rushes in a fervent frenzy throughout the city when he realizes that the Greeks have conquered it (*excutor somno, et summi fastigia tecti / ascensu supero*, 2.302-303; *arma amens capio*, 2.314; *furor iraque mentem / praecipitant*, 2.316-317). Later, when Creusa departs, Aeneas is overcome by grief and sadness before he leaves Troy (*haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere deseruit*, 2.790-791) and he temporarily disregards Creusa's commands and tries to avoid the fulfillment of his fate by founding a new city in Thrace and on Crete and by establishing a relationship with Dido in Carthage.

³⁸⁹ Heinze (1993: 226) argues that Aeneas' immediate acceptance of Tiberinus' message shows that he is a different character than he was in the first half of the poem because he no longer needs human advice and encouragement after he has accepted his fate.

once he delivers this information, Aeneas is ready to obey it.³⁹⁰ Finally, in addition to his role as a motivator, Tiberinus also indirectly shapes the course of the narrative later. The god instructs Aeneas to seek the aid of Evander, who will entrust his son Pallas to him. The death of Pallas, and Aeneas' subsequent slaying of Turnus as revenge to alleviate his guilt for the boy's death, will mark the end of the war in Italy and the fulfillment of Aeneas' destiny.³⁹¹ The appearance of Tiberinus to Aeneas, therefore, sets the stage for the second half of the poem because it provides him with the motivation he requires, it initiates the actions that will alter the course of events in the narrative, and it shows Aeneas that his pursuit of reparation in Italy is divinely sanctioned and approved.

After Aeneas dreams of Tiberinus and forms an alliance with Evander, Venus also shows her support for Aeneas' mission. Venus' battle signal and her presentation of the shield serve the same purpose as Tiberinus' appearance to Aeneas, namely to ease his troubled mind and to motivate him before the war begins (8.29; 8.520-522).³⁹² After she sends the signal (8.522-529), Aeneas is confident and accepts her message without hesitation, just as he does when Tiberinus delivers his instructions earlier in the book (8.532-540):

*Obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros
 Agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
 Tum memorat: "Ne vero, hospes, ne queaere profecto
 Quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
 Hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
 Si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
 Laturam auxilio.
 Heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant;
 Quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis; quam multa sub undas
 Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
 Thybri pater! Poscant acies et foedera rumpant."*

³⁹⁰ Otis 1964: 333.

³⁹¹ Thornton 1976: 118. Thornton argues that in Book 8, the decisive actions are initiated, directly and indirectly, by the gods.

³⁹² Putnam 1995: 96 n.16.

All the others were stunned in their minds, but the Trojan hero recognized the sound and the pledges of his divine mother. Then he speaks: “Indeed, friend, do not inquire what event these portents relate: I am called by Olympus. My mother, who is a goddess, foretold that she would send this sign, if war was going to break out, and that she would bring weapons from Vulcan through the air as an aid. Alas what slaughter awaits the miserable Laurentines! What a penalty you will pay me, Turnus! O Tiber, under your waves you will turn about so many shields and helmets of men and mighty bodies! Let them demand battle and sever the treaties.”

In this passage, Aeneas shows confidence like he did after the Parade of Heroes in Book 6 (889). Aeneas’ promise to exact revenge on Turnus (8.538) also shows that, in addition to the character of Turnus being a human embodiment of the wrath of Juno, Aeneas channels all of his guilt from Troy onto Turnus and he views him as an embodiment of the Greeks, who conquered his own city.³⁹³ Aeneas rationalizes his undertaking of another war by reasoning that it is not an act of impiety because it is sanctioned by Venus and the gods (*ego poscor Olympo*).³⁹⁴ Aeneas is more confident than he has ever been and this confidence its source in his anticipation of revenge and absolution of his guilt.³⁹⁵ Aeneas eagerly anticipates and welcomes war because he knows that the gods will support him and that it will enable him to ensure prosperity and success for his son and the future men of Rome, whom Anchises catalogued in Book 6.

Once Aeneas receives reassurance from his mother, she continues to reinforce the importance of his success in Italy when she offers him a shield depicting scenes of Rome’s future achievements. When she addresses Aeneas, she relieves him of any

³⁹³ Aeneas shows a similar type of rage and need for punishment for Turnus as he did in Book 2, when he sees Helen and he burns to exact revenge (*illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros / et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras / praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys, abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat. / Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem / ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas, 2.271-276*). The main difference in this passage, however, is that Venus does not encourage Aeneas to stop his need for revenge but now her battle signal condones and supports it.

³⁹⁴ Thornton 1976: 117.

³⁹⁵ Otis (1964: 340) notes that Aeneas’ response to Venus’ battle signal shows that “Aeneas is now at last the determined hero. Let them demand their battle, break their treaties; he is ready.” Similarly, Heinze (1993: 520) compares this scene with Aeneas’ response to Venus in Book 1 to show that he is now a different type of hero, who is more confident in his actions.

remaining hesitation he may have (“Do not hesitate to demand soon either the haughty Laurentines, son, or violent Turnus to engage in battle,” *ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos / aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum*, 8.613-614).³⁹⁶ By stating this immediately before she offers Aeneas the new armor, Venus implies that Aeneas’ victory over Turnus will mark the first success in the long line of Roman achievements and she reinforces the necessity of this victory for the future of Rome.³⁹⁷ On the shield, Vulcan depicts two main sections. The first shows the creation and preservation of the city of Rome itself and the second portrays the extension of the power of the city over the world, under the control of Augustus.³⁹⁸ Like the Parade of Heroes, the shield shows Aeneas the result of his victory and it supports the notion that he will no longer be an exiled and vanquished Trojan, but a founder of a race that dominates the whole world. Finally, the shield offers a promise of peace after war, as suggested by the scenes depicting Augustus’ triple triumph after the Battle of Actium (8.714-728).³⁹⁹ Although Aeneas will

³⁹⁶ Feeney (1991: 183) argues that it is noteworthy that Aeneas does not respond to his mother’s address. To Feeney, his lack of response suggests that her epiphany at the sack of Troy, which he responded to, remains in Aeneas’ memory “as a moment of acknowledged salvation (2.589-632).”

³⁹⁷ Hardie 1986: 337. Hardie argues that the shield is the last of the extended prophecies of the historical growth of Rome and that it complements Anchises’ Parade of Heroes in Book 6. Rather than cataloguing a succession of Romans, however, the shield focuses on Roman conquest and Augustus’ role in Rome’s extension of her power throughout the world.

³⁹⁸ Hardie 1986: 350. Putnam (1998: 121) notes that the scenes on the shield “lead us chronologically over a period of seven hundred years, from the mythic founding of Rome to the battle of Actium and its aftermath.” Putnam argues that, although the historical episodes are linear, the round shape of the shield and the vantage point of the viewer shows the “wholeness of Augustus and his Rome which his propaganda fostered,” (122).

³⁹⁹ Otis (1964: 341-342) argues that the main theme of the shield is the constant opposition between *virtus*, *consilium*, and *pietas* and the forces of violence throughout Roman history and, in each scene, “violence is defeated, evil is punished, *religio* [is] observed.” Putnam (1998: 149) argues that, after the violence at Actium, Vergil turns the reader’s gaze from “a scene of sadness to one of happiness, from sounds of the Nile’s lamentation...to the roaring of applause in the streets of Rome.” Quint (1993: 21-31) notes, however, that Vergil’s depiction of the Battle of Actium is an example of Augustan propaganda because it depicts a civil war as a foreign conquest and this scene hides that fact. Quint argues that “this irony points precisely to the function of the imperial ideology to which the *Aeneid* resorts: its capacity to project a foreign ‘otherness’ upon the vanquished enemies of Augustus and of a Rome identified exclusively with her new master,” (23). The idea that Aeneas carries this imagery on his shield in his battle against Turnus

find reparation only through renewed violence, there will eventually be peace and prosperity.

After Aeneas accepts the armor, he raises it onto his shoulders and prepares for battle (8.729-731):

*Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
Miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet,
Attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.*

[Aeneas] marvels at such things on the shield of Vulcan, a gift of his mother, and not recognizing these events he rejoices at the images, lifting both fame and the destiny of his heirs onto his shoulder.

When he lifts the shield and all that its images imply onto his shoulder, Aeneas completely accepts his divinely sanctioned task.⁴⁰⁰ Aeneas expresses his happiness at the thought of what his efforts in the anticipated war will mean and he sees it as a means for him to secure a future for his son and his descendants. In Book 1, Aeneas lamented (*lacrimans*, 1.459) the *fama* of the fall of Troy, when he gazed upon the frieze at the temple of Juno in Carthage.⁴⁰¹ The images that are projected on Aeneas' shield show the realization of the promises that Aeneas made to his companion Achates, when they both studied the frieze in sadness ("This story will bring some benefit to you," *feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem*, 1.463). At the closing of this scene, Aeneas, even though he is *ignarus* of the events to come, now associates himself not with the *fama* that surrounds the fall of Troy, which has pervaded his mind throughout the poem, but the *fama* of the

and the Laurentines, therefore, suggests that, although there will eventually be peace, the foundation of the future Rome is also based in civil strife, masked as a foreign war.

⁴⁰⁰ Hardie (1986: 375) argues that Aeneas the imagery of Aeneas lifting the shield onto his shoulders reminds the reader of this same action with Anchises from Book 2.

⁴⁰¹ "He sees the Trojan battles [painted] in sequence, and the war, now a widely known report throughout the whole world, the sons of Atreus, and Priam, and Achilles, cruel to them both," (*videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas, / bellaque iam fama totum volgata per orbem, / Atridas, Priamumque, et saevum ambobus Achillem*, 1.456-458).

victorious future that awaits Rome.⁴⁰² Aeneas becomes associated with the fates and Vergil likens him to a divine figure because he protects the *fata* of his heirs and he ensures its fulfillment through his actions and intervention, like the gods have done thus far.⁴⁰³ Aeneas, therefore, is no longer an unwilling hero, who fixates on the past and is compelled by Fate to act, but he “becomes the divine man of Roman destiny,”⁴⁰⁴ who will defeat *furor* in the Latin War.

Turnus and Juno in Book 9

After Venus appears directly to Aeneas to offer her encouragement in Book 8, the gods maintain a more indirect role and influence on Aeneas for the remainder of the poem. In Book 8, Vergil portrays Aeneas as the father of the new race in Italy and the person who will ensure that the future successes of Rome will come to pass. Book 9, on the other hand, focuses on Juno’s use of Turnus to delay and thwart the Trojans while Aeneas is absent. Juno continues to challenge the design of Fate and she indirectly influences the narrative by using the figure of Turnus as her human agent, who pledges himself to her (9.20-21).

Turnus names himself as the opponent to Aeneas’ destiny and as the figure who will renew the war and conquer the Trojans again (9.133-139):

⁴⁰² Putnam (1998: 153-154) poses the question of whether Aeneas, being *ignarus*, rejoices because, if he knew the events to come, he would be happy, or whether he rejoices because he is unaware of the images’ deeper meaning, and knowing the true meaning of the shield’s significance would not bring him joy.

⁴⁰³ Putnam (1998: 160) correlates the figures of Aeneas and Jupiter later in the epic, for example when Aeneas’ spear is likened to a thunderbolt (12.922) or to a whirlwind (12.923). See also Putnam (1995: 206-207), where he argues that “at special moments [Aeneas] becomes superhuman as [he] draws the potency of Jupiter and, for an instant, [shares] his formidableness.”

⁴⁰⁴ Otis 1964: 300; 342.

*Nil me fatalia terrent,
Siqua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum:
Sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva
Fertilis Ausoniae Troes. Sunt et mea contra
Fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem,
Coniuge praerepta: nec solos tangit Atridas
Iste dolor solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.*

The decreed decisions of the gods do not terrify me at all, even if the Phrygians boast about them. Enough has been given to the Fates and to Venus, since the Trojans have reached the fields of fertile Ausonia. I have my destiny also, counter to theirs, to cut down their guilty race with my sword, because they stole my wife: that resentment did not only touch the son of Atreus and Mycenae is not the only city allowed to take up arms.

Here Turnus makes himself the embodiment of the antagonistic force of Juno and her efforts to stop Aeneas from gaining victory and absolving his guilt in the public sphere by establishing a new city. By referencing Menelaus and Helen at lines 138-139, Turnus implies that the Latin War is a new Trojan War and that he expects a similar outcome. Turnus' reliance on Juno is mixed with his pride and arrogance and, as will become clear, his *furor*, which Juno uses to incite him to stop or delay Aeneas' fulfillment of his fate, is the very thing that will prevent him from doing so, because it blinds his judgment and compels him to give in to his *caedis insane cupido*.⁴⁰⁵

In this passage, Turnus explicitly articulates his anger and resentment towards Aeneas and the Trojans and his *superbia*, which result from the Trojan invasion of Latium and his loss of Lavinia. DiGiuseppe and Tafrate (2007) argue that a threat to a person's self-worth can sometimes contribute to his experience of anger and display of arrogance.⁴⁰⁶ Turnus' use of the word *dolor* at 9.139, then, should not be read as 'despair' or 'depression,' but rather it describes his state of 'resentment' and 'anger.' Turnus does not experience sadness for losing Lavinia, but his *dolor* results from his

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. 9.756-761. Otis 1964: 347-348.

⁴⁰⁶ DiGiuseppe and Tafrate 2007: 153.

belief that he has been insulted and that this insult threatens his political power and self-esteem, which he tries to make up for by displaying *superbia* to restore his worth.⁴⁰⁷

Although both Turnus and Aeneas experience *furor* as a response to the experience of *dolor*, Aeneas' *dolor*, especially in Book 1, is somewhat different from Turnus'. As was argued earlier in this chapter,⁴⁰⁸ Aeneas' *dolor* is a symptom of his guilt, which manifests itself in severe depression and despair. While Turnus' *dolor* does not result from his experience of guilt and it can be reconciled by exacting revenge on those he believes are legally guilty (*sceleratam...gentem*), Aeneas' *dolor* requires that he take reparative measures to relieve his experience of guilt and his struggle with this emotion is apparent in his feelings of *furor*. Like Turnus, Aeneas is blinded by *furor* and *ira* and motivated by *dolor* at various stages in the poem, most notably in the Helen episode (2.575-576). Aeneas' *furor*, however, differs from Turnus' because it is a temporary disposition that he can break free from and it represents a symptom of his guilt. Turnus' *furor*, on the other hand, is permanent and it is propelled by his *superbia*, resentment, and his insatiable need to kill others. Juno uses Turnus' unrestrainable *furor* to renew Aeneas' guilt and delay his acts of reparation. It is only when she extends her indirect influence through Turnus that Aeneas experiences *furor* as a symptom of and as a temporary response to his renewed psychological struggle with his guilt from Troy in the second half of the poem, most notably after the death of Pallas.

⁴⁰⁷ To Otis (1964: 347-348), Turnus is truly a Homeric hero because he is unable to endure an inferior position and "it is not Lavinia...but himself that is at the centre of his motivation."

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. pp. 58-61; 65-69; 112-113.

The Deaths of Pallas and Lausus in Book 10

The differences in the types of *furor* that Turnus and Aeneas feel are evident in the murders of Pallas and Lausus, respectively. Vergil shows the connection between Aeneas' *furor* and his guilt, and he portrays *furor* as a threat to Aeneas' mission, when he describes the pact between Aeneas and Evander and the brutality of Pallas' death. In Book 8, Vergil foreshadows the grief that the death of Pallas will cause and the resurgence of guilt that Aeneas will experience after he dies by creating an emotional scene when Evander entrusts Pallas to Aeneas (8.514-519) and he implores Aeneas to keep Pallas safe (8.575-584). Vergil also emphasizes the fact that the gods cannot intervene because the Fates demand that Pallas die in order for Aeneas to achieve victory and because he wants to stress that humans alone are responsible for the actions they undertake in the second half of the narrative.⁴⁰⁹ Once Turnus kills Pallas, he says the following words over his body and these words are meant to taunt Pallas and to call attention to Turnus' inhumane qualities, which are manifestations of the *furor* and blood-lust that are central to his character (10.490-495):

*Quem Turnus super adsistens,
 "Arcades, haec," inquit, "memores mea dicta referte
 Evandro; qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto.
 Quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
 Largior. Haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo
 Hospitia."*

Turnus, standing above [Pallas] says: "Arcadians, remember these things and carry my words back to Evander: I return Pallas to him just as he deserves. Whatever honours lie in

⁴⁰⁹ In the subsequent events, the gods maintain an indirect role and the actions that occur are within the mortal realm alone. This idea is apparent when, at the opening of the book, Jupiter calls a council of the gods, in which he demands that the outcome of the war be left to Fate and he orders that the gods be bystanders rather than participants in the war (10.1-117). Similarly, when Pallas is about to engage in battle with Turnus, he prays to Hercules for support. Hercules is eager to help Pallas but Jupiter instructs him to leave the outcome to fate and he commands that Hercules not provide any aid (10.469-471).

a tomb, whatever comfort there is in burial, I grant it. But the cost of his hospitality to Aeneas will not come at little cost.”

Turnus’ position over Pallas’ body before he speaks (*super adsistens*) shows his *superbia* and his aggressive character, which are both expressed by his *furor*.⁴¹⁰ In this way, the character of Turnus resembles the Greeks at Troy and he becomes emblematic of their crimes there.⁴¹¹ Turnus also shows his *superbia* when, just before he engages in combat with Pallas, he exclaims that Pallas’ life is his to take (*solus ego in Pallanta feror*, 10.442) and then, after he has killed him, he rips off his belt as a trophy (10.495-500).⁴¹² Turnus’ unbridled *furor*, his lack of restraint, and his *superbia*, which are all apparent when he takes the baldric of Pallas, are the very qualities that contribute to his defeat by Aeneas, since it is only after Aeneas sees the belt that he recalls his oath to Evander and he kills Turnus.⁴¹³ Vergil himself expresses his contempt for Turnus’ actions when he foreshadows Turnus’ death and says that it would be lawful for Aeneas to punish him and stop his crimes of *superbia*.⁴¹⁴ In this way, Vergil subtly emphasizes the differences

⁴¹⁰ Putnam 2011: 151 n.13.

⁴¹¹ Cf. 2.785: *non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas / aspiciam*. Turnus’ speech over the body of Pallas also recalls Pyrrhus’ words before he kills Priam: *‘referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis / Pelidae genitori; illi mea tristia facta / degeneremque Neoptoleum narrare memento. / nunc morere,’* (2.547-550). This is a speech that Aeneas himself heard and his memory of this death, and the emotions and feelings of guilt that resulted from it, compel him to relive this trauma once again and his reaction when he hears that Turnus has committed a similar crime of *superbia* echo these guilt and *furor* that he contends with.

⁴¹² Pallas himself notes Turnus’ arrogance after Turnus demands to fight him and claims that he has the right to a one-on-one duel (*iussa superba*, 10.445).

⁴¹³ Vergil also connects Pallas’ murder with Aeneas’ fulfillment of his fate, when he comments on Turnus’ ignorance of the meaning of this action (*nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae... Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum / intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque / oderit*, 10.501-505).

⁴¹⁴ In Book 11, at Pallas’ funeral, Evander explicitly states that Turnus must be murdered to pay for the killing of his son and that he will not rest until he has exacted his revenge: “Although Pallas has been killed, the reason that I linger in this hated life is your right hand which you see owes Turnus to son and to father,” *‘quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto / dextera causa tua est, Turnum gnatoque patrique quam debere vides,’* 11.177-179). Putnam (2011: 21) argues that this is an instance of the paradigm of commitment, which is based on revenge, and that the imagery of the right hand (*dextra...tua*) recalls the oath between Evander and Aeneas and Aeneas’ responsibility to demand revenge from Turnus for this crime.

between Turnus' *furor* and Aeneas' because he does not comment negatively on Aeneas' actions after he learns of Pallas' death in Book 10.

Aeneas' reaction after Pallas dies dictates the course of the rest of the narrative. Turnus' actions, and Juno's support of them, are the main factors that have the potential to derail Aeneas and they make him temporarily forgetful of his purpose because, once Aeneas realizes that Pallas has been killed, he is overcome by *furor* and goes on a killing spree (10.513-517):

*Proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen
Ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum,
Caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
Omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
Tunc adiit, dextraeque datae.*

With his sword he mows down whatever is nearby, and with the blade fiercely drives a broad path through the host, seeking you, Turnus, proud from your fresh slaughter. Pallas, Evander, everything is before his eyes, the meals that he then first came to as a stranger, the right hands proffered.

This passage recalls Pallas' own words when, before he engages in hand-to-hand combat with Turnus, he prays to Hercules and asks him for assistance in exchange for his father's hospitality and feasts (*per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti, / te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis*, 10.460-461). Although Aeneas appears to resemble Turnus in his expression of *furor* and his lack of *humanitas*, this reaction ought to be viewed as the very symbol of his humanity and *pietas*.⁴¹⁵ While Vergil shows that violence and blood-lust control Turnus' *furor* (*te, Turne, superbum, / caede nova*), he also suggests that Aeneas' *furor* is guided by his acknowledgement of his inability to uphold his oath to Evander (*Pallas, Evander, in ipsis / omnia sunt oculis*) and that it is an expression of guilt, which is based in his experience at Troy when he was similarly

⁴¹⁵ Otis 1964: 357. Otis argues that Aeneas' reaction is a "completely human reaction to the *violentia* that breaks treaties, despises filial piety, and wreaks its fury on the dead."

unable to save those he was devoted to. The notion that Pallas' death renews Aeneas' guilt and trauma from Troy is evident when he looks upon Pallas' body, he is overcome by remorse, and he acknowledges his failure to uphold his oath (11.45-48):

*Non haec Evandro de te promissa parenti
Discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
Mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret
Acris esse viros, cum dura proelia gente.*

Departing, these are not the promises I made to your father Evander for you, when embracing me as I left, he sent me off to pursue great command and being fearful he warned me that the enemy was violent, that it would be a difficult battle with this race.

In this passage, Aeneas explicitly expresses his remorse and his experience of guilt for not fulfilling his oath to Evander and he voices his regret for not keeping Pallas safe and heeding Evander's warning that the Latins are a violent race. Aeneas' regard for the victims of his inattention, Evander and Pallas, suggests that he experiences guilt.

Williams (1993) argues that remorse is inseparable from guilt because it compels us to consider the victims of what we have done and it heightens our experience of this emotion.⁴¹⁶ At the same time, as Cordner (2007) argues, remorse also involves a person's devastated sense of self as the wrongdoer, which heightens his awareness that the victim has been wronged by him.⁴¹⁷ To Cordner, the feeling of remorse, and the guilt that accompanies it, is one's expression of his responsibility for another because they occur when he realizes that he has abandoned or betrayed another person to whom he was bound or for whom he was accountable.⁴¹⁸ Aeneas' expression of remorse in this passage, therefore, is a result of his experience of guilt because he recognizes his failure

⁴¹⁶ Williams 1993: 75.

⁴¹⁷ Cordner 2007: 359.

⁴¹⁸ Cordner 2007: 360.

toward Evander, to whom he was bound, and he becomes aware of the wrongdoing he committed against his victim, Pallas, for whom he was accountable.

Aeneas' heightened awareness of the effects his failure will have is also evident when he anticipates Evander's reaction (11.50-52) and he thinks about the sense of loss that Evander will feel (*infelix, nati funus crudele videbis*, 11.53). This passage, therefore, offers an explanation for Aeneas' reaction to Turnus later when he kills him because it offers him a way to have a second chance to act correctly and make up for his failures against Pallas and Evander by exacting revenge.⁴¹⁹ Aeneas' guilt for Pallas' death renews and embodies his guilt for his failures at Troy when he compares Evander's reaction to the death of Pallas with his own experience of Creusa's death in Book 2. This correlation is apparent when Aeneas uses a phrase from Book 2, when he relates the events to the royal court in Carthage, and here when he anticipates Evander's reaction and empathizes with him (*aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe*, 2.746).⁴²⁰ This suggests that Aeneas' guilt for Pallas' death is not only rooted in his recognition that he failed to uphold his oath to Evander, but also because he directly links it with his inability to save Creusa. This response explains why Aeneas reacts with such anger when he sees the belt of Pallas in Book 12 and it prompts him to kill Turnus. Aeneas' expression of emotion at the end of the poem, therefore, is not just one of anger but this anger is the culmination of his guilt, which he has struggled with through the entire narrative. Aeneas, therefore, must exact revenge on Turnus in order to finally absolve himself of it.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. pp.61; 72-73.

⁴²⁰ The words that Aeneas' uses in his lamentation of Pallas also implicitly link his death to Hector's: *corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes*, 11.30; *exanimique auro corpus vendebat Achilles*, 1.484.

Aeneas' guilt for Pallas' death is also apparent in his reaction after he has learned of it and he goes on a rampage. Carroll (1985) argues that guilt produces internalized aggression, which must be outwardly directed if a person wishes to relieve it.⁴²¹ The most effective way for a person to alleviate his guilt is to identify a socially legitimate and personally acceptable task or person that he can redirect his aggression onto. Aeneas' experience of guilt for Pallas' death is evident in his internalized aggression, which he redirects onto the Latins, namely when he kills Lausus at the end of Book 10 and later when he engages in combat with Turnus in Book 12.

Vergil also uses the death of Lausus to express the idea that Aeneas' *furor* is produced as a response to his guilt rather than by *superbia* and bloodlust, as it is for Turnus. After Aeneas kills Lausus and he realizes that his *furor* has gone too far, he pauses, breaks free from his rage, and remembers his familial *pietas*. Aeneas' reaction after Lausus' death articulates the differences between the two different forms of *furor* that Aeneas and Turnus possess (10.821-830):

*At vero ut voltum vidit morientis et ora,
Ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
Ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
Et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.
"Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
Quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, teque parentum
Manibus et cineri, siqua est ea cura, remitto.
Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
Aeneae magni dextra cadis."*

But indeed when the son of Anchises saw the expression and the face of the boy about to die, the face becoming stunningly pale, pitying him greatly Aeneas lamented and he extended his right hand, and the image of his filial piety entered his mind. "What, miserable boy, is worthy for pious Aeneas to grant to you now for those praiseworthy actions and for such a great dedication? Keep your armor, which delights you, and I will return you to the shades and the ashes of your ancestors, if this is a worry for you. You,

⁴²¹ Carroll 1985: 38-39.

unfortunate one, will be comforted because of your miserable death with this: you fell by the right hand of great Aeneas.”

This episode mirrors Turnus’ murder of Pallas and it is an exemplary contrast to it.⁴²²

Lausus’ death differs from Pallas’ because both of their murderers react differently to the fallen boys. Vergil also depicts Lausus’ pale expression, which contrasts with Pallas’ bloody death, in order to differentiate the two murders and to call attention to Turnus’ brutality (*ille rapit calidum frustra de volnere telum; una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur...et terram hostile moriens petit ore cruento*, 10.487-498). Vergil indicates that guilt drives Aeneas’ actions when he shows Aeneas subconsciously thinking of Pallas when he stares at Lausus’ pale face, which causes him to pity the boy and break free from his *furor*. Vergil’s use of the words *ora pallentia* at 822 evokes Pallas’ name and this adjective draws attention to Aeneas’ struggle with his guilt when he kills Lausus. Fontaine (2016) argues that *pallentia* is an example of a ‘Freudian Bullseye,’ which is the use of a word in ordinary speech that reveals a guilty conscience and guilty preoccupations.⁴²³ Fontaine argues that guilt is the primary way for the reader to understand Vergil’s puns because it involves a cognitive component, which is expressed through language. When Vergil uses the word *pallentia*, therefore, he offers a glimpse into Aeneas’ mind and his thoughts and the language he uses makes Aeneas’ guilt manifest to the reader.⁴²⁴ When Aeneas looks at the face of Lausus and the image of

⁴²² Wilson 1969: 73.

⁴²³ Fontaine 2016: 131; 142. Fontaine (2006: 142) argues that a ‘Freudian Bullseye’ is different from a ‘Freudian Slip’ because the latter is a speech error that reveals the alleged unconscious and the former is an intended use of a word to articulate guilt.

⁴²⁴ Fontaine (2016: 140-141) discusses how emotions can be translated into language. He discusses three steps that someone uses when they form language. The first step in uttering a word is ‘conceptualization,’ which is the process whereby a person decides what he wants to express. Next is ‘formulation,’ which is the step of determining how to express it. The last stage is ‘articulation,’ which is the act of expressing it. Fontaine shows that, because guilt is a conscious and cognitive emotion (cf. pp.6-8), it can shape the language we use and the words we say. Vergil’s use of the word *pallentia*, therefore, is not accidental at all.

Pallas is evoked, it suggests that Aeneas is preoccupied with Pallas and Evander and his guilt for Pallas' death. As a result, Pallas and Lausus are mirror images of one another and Aeneas has the reaction he does because he becomes responsible for killing Pallas a second time.⁴²⁵ Aeneas' experience of renewed guilt when Pallas dies causes him to experience *furor* but, once he kills Lausus, his *furor* ceases and his guilt restores his *pietas* and *humanitas*.

Although both men commit murder, Vergil uses these two episodes to paint Turnus as the villain and Aeneas as the hero.⁴²⁶ After Aeneas experiences a resurgence of guilt, he pities Lausus and he allows him to keep his armor, rather than stripping the body as Turnus did. Although both allow for proper burial rites (10.493-494; 10.827-828),⁴²⁷ Turnus taunts Evander with his son's death (10.491-492), whereas Aeneas attempts to honour the memory of Lausus by showing him the ignoble circumstances of his death and by saying that it will be remembered because Aeneas himself committed the action.⁴²⁸ Finally, Aeneas returns the body to Lausus' companions (10.830-832) and he takes no glory in winning, as Turnus had (*quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus*, 10.500). In this way, Aeneas' expression of *furor*, as a symptom of his guilt incurred in the past and in the present, is morally acceptable because, although he is temporarily blinded by his rage, he has the ability to break free from its influence and resume his *pietas* and *humanitas*. Aeneas' *furor*, therefore, is temporary and brought on by his

⁴²⁵ Fontaine 2016: 134.

⁴²⁶ Wilson 1969: 73.

⁴²⁷ Both characters use the verb *remitto*, which invites further comparison to their speeches and their reaction to their murder.

⁴²⁸ Putnam (2011: 46-47) notes that Aeneas' use of the word *pius* to describe himself here is ironic, considering the action he has just committed. This word may refer to Aeneas' recognition of filial piety when he looks at Lausus' body (*et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago*, 10.824) and he remembers his father Anchises, which Vergil suggests when he calls him *Anchisiades* for the last time at 822, he considers the relationship between Mezentius and Lausus, and he praises Lausus' devotion to his father.

intense emotional struggle, while Turnus' is a trait inseparable from his character and fuelled by *superbia* and, unbeknownst to Juno, her instigation of it ensures that he will die at the hands of Aeneas.

The Death of Turnus in Book 12

As the war reaches its climax, Juno continues to protect Turnus and to use him as a human agent to oppose Aeneas. After the council of the gods in Book 10,⁴²⁹ however, Juno and the gods maintain a more indirect role in the battle.⁴³⁰ Vergil makes his final book wholly centered upon human emotion and conflict and it is the culmination of Aeneas' confrontation with his guilt. In Book 12, Aeneas not only focuses on achieving reparation for his guilt from Troy by being victorious in Italy, but he is also motivated to exact revenge on Turnus to relieve his guilt for his part in Pallas' death and for breaking his oath to Evander. The death of Turnus is therefore necessary because it results from Aeneas' struggle with his guilt and his desire to punish the figure who personifies it.

When Turnus and Aeneas finally engage in combat, Turnus' last efforts to defeat Aeneas are thwarted by the Dirae, who are sent by Jupiter (12.914). Turnus realizes that he has been completely abandoned (12.917-918) and he accepts his fate and the hostility

⁴²⁹ Heinze (1993: 180) argues that this scene relieves the tension of battle and that it is necessary because Juno's anger must be reconciled. Furthermore, Heinze argues that this scene shows that Juno's anger throughout the narrative has not been wasted, when Jupiter states that Troy and Latium will unite under Aeneas' rule.

⁴³⁰ Although Juno ceases her anger and departs (12.841-842), she continues to indirectly influence the narrative when she tries to keep Turnus safe by using Juturna (12.157; 798; 813-814). Venus also indirectly influences the narrative when she opposes Juno's efforts throughout the battle by healing Aeneas (12.411-424), encouraging him to continue his efforts to conquer Turnus by showing him that the gods support him (12.429; 565-566), and urging him to turn his army toward the city (12.554-556). Finally, the gods indirectly cause Amata's death because, when the Trojans attack the city, she commits suicide (12.593-613), which is an event that incites Turnus' *furor* (*furiis agitates*, 12.668) and his desire to continue battle (12.676-680) against the advice of Juturna (12.653-664).

of Jupiter as signs that he will be defeated (*di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*, 12.895).

Turnus is no longer ruled by *furor*, but by fear, when he prostrates himself in front of Aeneas as a suppliant and admits defeat (*vicisti*, 12.936).⁴³¹ Turnus begs Aeneas to think of Anchises and to spare him for the sake of his own father (*miseri te siqua parentis / tangere cura potest, oro fuit et tibi talis / Anchises genitor, Dauni miserere senectae...*, 12.933-934). By appealing to his *pietas*, Turnus temporarily persuades Aeneas, who recalls the words of his father from Book 6 to beat down the proud but to ultimately spare them.⁴³² Aeneas' pity, however, is overcome by his guilt when he sees the belt of Pallas on Turnus' shoulder (12.940-944):

*Et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
Cooperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
Balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem volnere Turnus
Straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.*

And even more Turnus' words began to persuade Aeneas hesitating, when the sword-belt became visible on Turnus' high shoulder and the strap shone with its familiar decorations, belonging to young Pallas, whom having been conquered with a wound, Turnus had overthrown and he was wearing the enemy's emblem on his shoulder.

This passage is the beginning of the intense psychological conflict that Aeneas experiences at the climax of the poem, when he is reminded of Turnus' brutality and the

⁴³¹ Otis (1964: 378-379) argues that Vergil insisted on Turnus' voluntary acceptance of his death because he wanted to depict Turnus as a true hero. Otis sees Turnus' return to battle and his duel with Aeneas as a form of self-sacrifice, which enables him to atone for his sins and the sins of the Latins. By doing this, Turnus allows for a permanent treaty between the Trojans and the Latins and he submits to Aeneas' victory. For more information on Turnus as a sacrificial victim see Nicoll (2001).

⁴³² Cf. *parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos*, 8.853. Putnam (1995: 154), who maintains that Aeneas' killing of Turnus is morally reprehensible, argues that, when Turnus mentions Anchises and alludes to Anchises' command to spare the proud in Book 6, this is "the moment to see whether he will be spared, to see if Aeneas can practice a most difficult virtue and abjure physical action and the personal response of hatred, for a grander vision that relies on restrained power, not on an individualistic, often blind, use of force." Putnam (1995: 180) also notes that Turnus fulfills half of Anchises' command, since the proud is now a suppliant, and he reminds Aeneas that he must fulfill the other portion of Anchises' command and spare him (*ulterius ne tende odiis*, 12.938).

injustice of Pallas' death.⁴³³ At this point, Aeneas has won, but the question of whether the conquered should be spared remains. The gods have departed and this is the last human decision that must be made in the narrative and it is fuelled entirely by Aeneas' emotions.⁴³⁴ This passage calls attention to the fact that Pallas, although defeated, did not receive the same merciful treatment that Turnus now demands. Aeneas, however, becomes enraged by the sight of Pallas' belt, which is the symbol of the trauma and the emotions that he contends with.

Without the assistance or intervention of the gods, Aeneas must at last confront his guilt on his own and decide what course of action he will undertake. The last action of the poem, then, is driven by Aeneas' desire for revenge and reparation for his guilt that he incurred at Troy, which is embodied in the character of Pallas and his inability to fulfill his oath to Evander. When he sees the belt, Aeneas' *furor* causes him to experience a resurgence of guilt and it drives him to exact revenge (12.945-947):

*Ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
Exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
Terribilis, "tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
Eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."
Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
Fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.*

After Aeneas drank in the monument of savage grief and the spoils with his eyes, he burned with fury and was terrible in his wrath, "Are you to escape from me, clad in the spoils of one of mine? Pallas sacrifices you with this wound, Pallas exacts punishment from your accursed blood." Saying this Aeneas buries his sword into his enemy's chest,

⁴³³ At the same time, the image of Pallas' belt on Turnus' shoulder allows Vergil to continue to contrast the characters of Turnus and Aeneas. In Book 8, Aeneas took the shield of Vulcan on his shoulder, which was a symbol of his acceptance of the future, while here Turnus wears the symbol of the conquered as a trophy. This emphasizes Turnus' blood-lust and his willingness to commit any crime necessary in battle, while also calling attention to Aeneas' hesitation and unwillingness to engage in another war, despite his acknowledgement that it is necessary for him to fulfill his destiny.

⁴³⁴ Otis 1964: 379.

raging; and then Turnus' limbs go slack with cold and his soul, indignant, flees with a groan to the shades.

This is the culmination of Aeneas' experience with his guilt and the moment of revenge and reparation that he has been anticipating since the first half of the epic. Although Aeneas briefly considers sparing Turnus, it is his memory that ignites his emotions and incites him to punish Turnus. The belt serves not only as a *monimentum* of Turnus' conduct in the past books, which alone provides Aeneas with the motivation to kill him,⁴³⁵ but it is also a physical manifestation of Aeneas emotional grief and trauma over Pallas' death (*saevi monimenta doloris*, 12.945) and his renewed guilt for again failing to uphold his duty in the private sphere.⁴³⁶ Gill (1997) argues that Aeneas' reaction to Turnus is initiated by inner conflict and that it is a "more fully psychologised, and moralised, madness" than mindless insanity.⁴³⁷ Aeneas is not persuaded to kill Turnus by blind anger, but his madness finds its inspiration in another place that is deeply embedded in his psychology, namely his experience of guilt, which manifests itself in his outburst of *furor* in this episode. When Aeneas faces Turnus, he burns again (*furiis accensus*) to exact revenge in Pallas' name (*poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*). The association with revenge enables Vergil to show that Aeneas is acting the way he does because he continues to struggle with his guilt. As discussed previously,⁴³⁸ *ira* is somewhat different from *furor* because it is associated with revenge and it is a response to a person's emotional struggle with guilt. Vergil's use of the word *ira* here implies that Aeneas experiences guilt again because it recalls the Helen episode (*exarsere ignes animo; subit*

⁴³⁵ Molyviati-Toptsi 2000: 166. Seider (2013: 185) also argues that the belt serves as a monument of Turnus' arrogance because "it was not enough for people to see Turnus' victory; Turnus had to have a material marker of his superiority as well."

⁴³⁶ Seider 2013: 185.

⁴³⁷ Gill 1997a: 213-214.

⁴³⁸ Cf. pp.72-74.

ira cadentem / ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas, 2.575-576)⁴³⁹ and Aeneas' reaction after he wakes up from his dream of Hector (2.316-317) when he is overcome by a similar desire to exact revenge as a response to his struggle with his guilt from the destruction of Troy. This time, however, Venus is not present to appease Aeneas' emotions (2.594-600) and he believes that it is justified to punish Turnus and finally resolve the guilt he struggles with. Aeneas tells Turnus that he exacts revenge on Pallas' behalf (*poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*), which will satisfy Evander's demand for Turnus' life and repair Aeneas' own failure to uphold his oath to him.

Vergil's ambiguous use of the phrase *furiis accensus* at 12.946 invites the audience to view Aeneas as an avenger, rather than a murderer, and it allows him to emphasize the presence of Aeneas' guilt in this act of vengeance. Tarrant (2012) shows how Vergil plays on the ambiguity of the word *furiis*, which could be interpreted as Aeneas being ignited by maddened passion (*furiis*) or by the Furies (*Furiis*) to exact revenge on Turnus.⁴⁴⁰ Fontaine (2016) argues that we should read the phrase *accensus furiis* as meaning that Aeneas sees himself as a 'harbinger' or 'agent of the Furies' because he is an avenger in the same way he was when he saw Troy fall in Book 2 (*quo tristis Erinys...vocat*).⁴⁴¹ By reading the line this way, Aeneas is not ruled by his anger and the death of Turnus is not unjust but "he is, or sees himself, as the righteous and divinely sanctioned avenger of Pallas – a fourth Fury."⁴⁴² Aeneas' killing of Turnus,

⁴³⁹ Putnam (2011: 64) argues that Aeneas' murder of Turnus "brings the emotional story full circle from book 2 to book 12, as Aeneas is allowed to yield to his passionate side and to kill his helpless victim." For more information see Coleman (1982: 161-162).

⁴⁴⁰ Tarrant 2012: 21 n.81.

⁴⁴¹ Fontaine 2016: 146. Fontaine says that we should read *accensus* as the noun derived from *accensere* 'to add to, to reckon among the list of,' rather than as a participle. Fontaine (2016: 146) argues that "in practice, *accensus* was a minister, deputy, state officer, apparitor, or herald, often of lictors, and it can take a dative of 'the boss' (e.g. *qui tum accensus Neroni fuit*, Cicero *In Verrem* 2.1.28."

⁴⁴² Fontaine 2016: 146-147.

then, is justified because he punishes Turnus for his blood-guilt and Aeneas himself incurs no legal or psychological guilt or blame for doing so. Finally, by claiming that the death blow is given by Pallas, the outcome is threefold: Aeneas can punish Turnus for Pallas himself, he can absolve his guilt for his part in Pallas' death, and he can guarantee that he does not incur any more guilt for murdering a suppliant, which is in line with his father's advice to spare suppliants in Book 6.

The death of Turnus, therefore, is necessary to the poem not only for political reasons, but also for psychological ones.⁴⁴³ It represents the culmination of everything that Aeneas has lost and all the emotions that he battles because of these losses.⁴⁴⁴ By murdering Turnus, Aeneas takes revenge upon his own past and the trauma he suffered at Troy.⁴⁴⁵ With this retribution, Aeneas is closer to achieving reparation and absolution, which will enable him let go of his past and create the glorious future that awaits him and his ancestors.

At the end of the *Aeneid*, however, Aeneas' guilt remains unresolved. Although the death of Turnus seemingly marks Aeneas' fulfillment of his fate and his achievement of reparation by being victorious in Italy, the poem ends with Aeneas' feelings of intense *furor*, which suggest that he continues to experience guilt. While the war in Italy

⁴⁴³ Fantham (2007: xlv) argues that Aeneas' anger is necessary if he is to kill an opponent, who appears as a suppliant before him. She argues that it is even more necessary, politically, for Turnus to die because he would likely pose a threat later: "We might also recall Virgil's advice to his beekeeper in the *Georgics* on how to deal with rival leaders for the swarm: for the sake of the swarm the inferior rival must be killed." Molyviati-Toptsi (2000: 177) also argues that, if Turnus remains alive, he would be a source of disorder later and, in this way, his death is preventative and it allows Aeneas to secure social order in Italy.

⁴⁴⁴ Gross 2004: 154. Gross argues that the death of Turnus is necessary because it signifies Aeneas' defeat of "the last vestige of his view of himself so poignantly expressed in the storm at the outset of the epic."

⁴⁴⁵ Quint 1993: 79. Quint (1993: 51-52) argues that, by being victorious in Italy, the ghosts of the Trojans' past is exorcised and the war in Italy is the first in a series of victories in the narrative of Roman history and it plays a role in the "double message of Augustan propaganda: the injunction to forget a past of civil war (so as to stop repeating it), and the demand that this past be remembered and avenged (and so be repeated and mastered)." The death of Turnus, therefore, is only way that the Trojans can resolve their trauma from Troy.

signifies the undoing of the past and the destruction of Troy,⁴⁴⁶ the continual resurgences of Aeneas' experience of guilt shows that he continues to be haunted by it. Because the epic ends this way, the question remains whether we can ever truly resolve trauma and the guilt we incurred from our traumatic experiences, no matter how much we try.

Concluding Remarks

Vergil uses the gods to portray Aeneas' unsettled psychological state and to make his experience of guilt manifest. This is apparent because the gods frequently appear during instances in which Aeneas feels the symptoms of guilt, especially anger, grief, despair, and *furor*, and intense inner conflict and emotional turmoil, such as in Venus' appearance in Book 2 (594-620). In the first half of the poem, Aeneas resists the gods' aid but they assist him in his struggle to alleviate his guilt because they are figures upon which he can project his legal and psychological guilt, such as in his speech to Dido in Book 4 (340-347). In Book 6, Aeneas more readily accepts his fate after he converses with the Sibyl, the ghosts of Deiphobus and Dido, and Anchises in the Underworld. These interactions encourage Aeneas to shift his focus from the past to the future and he discovers that victory in Italy can offer him absolution.

In the second half of the poem, Aeneas focuses on being successful in Italy and the gods are a source of confidence for his undertakings there, as seen in the appearance Tiberinus and Venus' battle signal and the armor she offers him in Book 8. While some

⁴⁴⁶ Quint 1993: 50.

gods aid Aeneas in his mission, Juno indirectly extends her influence and she uses the *furor* of Turnus in the hopes of delaying Aeneas' victory. In Book 10, Aeneas experiences a resurgence of his guilt from Troy after the death of Pallas, which results from Turnus' *furor*, *superbia*, and insatiable blood-lust. Pallas' death represents the guilt that Aeneas contends with throughout the poem because it acts as a reminder of his failures at Troy. After Pallas' death, Aeneas experiences reactive emotions as responses to his renewed guilt, such as remorse, *furor*, and the desire for revenge. Aeneas redirects his aggression away from his own consciousness and he directs it toward Turnus himself. Turnus' death offers a way for Aeneas to repair after his failure to uphold his oath to Evander and to resolve his experience of guilt. At the same time, however, the death of Turnus shows that at the end of the poem Aeneas' guilt is unresolved. While the *Aeneid* ends with the subjugation and death of an enemy, this ending suggests that trauma may never be resolved. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 ("Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*") and Chapter 7 ("Comparative Analysis – Guilt as a Theme in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*"), this ending also establishes the precedent in Roman history for violent deeds that occur as a result of a person's experience of guilt and it shows the necessity of legal and psychological guilt for the undertaking of war.

Chapter 4: Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

Rather than using the Olympians as characters, as Vergil does, Lucan personifies *Fortuna* and makes her one of the very few examples of a supernatural and divine character in the *Bellum Civile*. Although *Fatum* determines the outcome of the civil war, *Fortuna* dictates the events of the narrative and she extends her influence over Pompey and Caesar. Lucan portrays *Fortuna* as a powerful divine force, who is a promoter of evil and moral delinquency, and as a patron of the guilty and of those lacking *virtus*. The characters of the poem are not liable to punishment by the gods for their crimes and they do not experience the psychological effects of their guilt as long as they remain under *Fortuna*'s protection. To ensure her protection, support, and patronage, *Fortuna* requires her human agent to continually undertake actions that will incur legal and psychological guilt.

When the civil war between Pompey and Caesar first began, the question of which general *Fortuna* would favor and aid was a popular subject amongst the Roman elite. Would it be Pompey, who was famous for his *felicitas*,⁴⁴⁷ was called *Magnus* for his exploits as Sulla's successor,⁴⁴⁸ celebrated three triumphs over Numidia (81 BCE), Spain (71 BCE), and Asia (62 BCE), and defeated the pirates in 67 BCE? Or would it be Caesar, having reached a notorious victory over Gaul and famous for his *felicitas* and military prowess?⁴⁴⁹ At the beginning of 49 BCE, a *denarius* was issued, on which

⁴⁴⁷ Cic. *De imp. Gn. Pomp.* 47. Pompey's emulation of Sulla, who had taken the title *felix* in 82 BCE, gave rise to the popular belief that, just like Sulla, Pompey was blessed by *Fortuna* and unexpected good luck (*felicitas*). For more information see Dick (1967: 238-239).

⁴⁴⁸ Luc. *BC.* 1.326, 7.307; Cic. *Att.* 7.7, 9.7, 9.10, 9.14. Sulla bestowed the name '*Magnus*' on Pompey after his victories in Sicily and Africa. For more information see Braund 1992: 225.

⁴⁴⁹ Weinstock 1971: 115; 117; 127.

Fortuna was represented with the caption ‘*Fort(una) p(opuli) R(omani)*,’ to remind the Romans of Pompey’s eastern successes and to promote Fortuna’s protection of him in his war against Caesar.⁴⁵⁰ Once Pompey fled Rome, however, it appeared as if Fortuna had abandoned him in favor of his father-in-law.⁴⁵¹ Caesar saw the value of favorable fortune and he secured her support of him by offering her sacrifices and by commissioning temples in her name.⁴⁵² Lucan, then, promotes and elaborates on the idea that Caesar relied on Fortuna’s protection and that his successes contributed to his magnanimity and he also portrays her fickleness and unreliability through his representation of Pompey.

This chapter will examine Lucan’s portrayal of Fortuna and her relationships with Pompey and Caesar and it will explore how he uses these relationships not only to differentiate his two heroes, but also to highlight guilt and its centrality to the narrative. Although Fortuna’s favor and protection ensure victory and success, Lucan does not view the patronage of Fortuna as entirely positive because she requires her client to continually undertake actions that will incur guilt. In the *Bellum Civile*, the crimes committed during civil war act as markers of a character’s loyalty to Fortuna. To stress the relationship between Fortuna and guilt, Lucan contrasts Pompey’s Fortuna with Caesar’s and he calls

⁴⁵⁰ Weinstock 1971: 115.

⁴⁵¹ In a letter to Cicero (*Att.* 10.8C.1), Caesar boasts that Fortuna had abandoned Pompey and was now his patron.

⁴⁵² *Caes. BG.* 6.30.2-4, *multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest Fortuna...sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum Fortuna valuit*. For more information see Weinstock (1971: 113; 116-121). The extent to which Caesar actually relied on and recognized the importance of Fortuna for military success was a popular topic of scholarly debate at the beginning of the twentieth century. Holmes (1911: 41) uses *Cic. Att.* 8.10B; *Caes. BG.* 1.40, 5.58.6, 6.30, 6.35; *Caes. BC.* 3.10, 3.68, 3.95, 4.26 to argue that Caesar believed that Fortuna’s favor was necessary for victory and, because of his many successes, he promoted the view that Fortuna was on his side. In response to Holmes, Fowler (1903: 153) argues that Caesar’s own writings do not express this view whatsoever. Rather, Fowler argues that the expression of Caesar’s extraordinary good fortune is a product of Caesar’s contemporaries, rather than his own belief. Finally, Tappan (1931:7) reconciles these arguments when she writes that, in Caesar’s works, it is apparent that he believed in the counterbalance of good fortune and “man’s own will or energy.” Because Fortune was untrustworthy, negative outcomes could be attributed to her fickleness and Caesar could advertise his successes as being attributable to his own skill and authority.

attention to the constant tension between them. By making Fortuna synonymous not only with *bellum*, but also with *nefas*, Lucan portrays the evolution of Caesar's guilt, which begins with his crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1, continues during the desecration of the sacred grove in Massilia in Book 3 and his pursuit of Pompey in Book 5, and culminates at the Battle of Pharsalus in Book 7. By undertaking crimes that are increasingly horrific and by becoming more confident in the security that Fortuna's protection offers, Caesar perverts his guilt into a positive emotion because it allows him to demonstrate his loyalty to Fortuna and to ensure her continued protection so that he does not experience the legal or psychological effects of his guilt.

Lucan's Pompey, on the other hand, becomes Caesar's antithesis because of his hesitancy and unwillingness to commit guilty actions necessary in civil war, which is the ultimate *nefas*. In Books 1-6, Lucan describes Pompey's deteriorating relationship with Fortuna when he begins to psychologically struggle with his guilt (3.1-45)⁴⁵³ and when he becomes more inclined to flee rather than to face Caesar (1.486-522, 2.392-438, 2.704-736). Caesar's continued willingness to commit actions that will incur guilt throughout Books 1-6, and Pompey's unwillingness to do the same, results in Fortuna's total abandonment of Pompey by Book 7. In Books 8-10, Lucan describes the consequences of Fortuna's abandonment when she demands payment for her past support (8.21-22), she summons Pompey to death, and she overthrows him (8.701-708).

Finally, this chapter will argue that, although the description of Pompey's death is gruesome and it elicits great sympathy for him, Lucan uses his death to implicitly foreshadow Caesar's own punishment and death in the future. Lucan consistently alludes

⁴⁵³ Pompey's dream of the ghost of Julia and its relationship with his experience of guilt will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

to Caesar's abandonment by Fortuna, especially with his references to Marius and Sulla, and his assassination in order to offer the promise of Caesar's eventual death as consolation to the reader for his guilt and his monstrous undertakings in the poem. By doing this, Lucan assures the reader that Caesar will also eventually experience the devastating effects of Fortuna's desertion of him, just as Pompey, Sulla, and Marius had before him, and that he will eventually be accountable for his guilt.

Roman Concepts of *Fatum* and *Fortuna*

The events that occur during a person's life represent a carefully calculated design ordained by the powers of *Fatum* (Fate) and *Fortuna* (Fortune). Fortuna is a deity, who presides over the unexpected and incalculable, and she personifies chance and determines human success and happiness.⁴⁵⁴ To the Roman Stoics, Fortuna is fickle, capricious, and she possesses the power to elevate or destroy whomever she chooses. *Fatum*, on the other hand, controls a person's fixed destiny and dictates the order of the world. The only certainties of one's life are birth and death, which are the realms of *Fatum*, while the events and misfortunes during a person's life are malleable, ever-changing, and dependent on the whims of Fortuna because she oversees the processes of life, both on the individual and cosmic scale.⁴⁵⁵ The Stoics believe that the *sapiens* should challenge Fortuna by yielding to her but, at the same time, he must exercise complete control over

⁴⁵⁴ Canter 1922: 66.

⁴⁵⁵ Servius, in his commentary on *Aeneid* 8.334, clearly expresses this notion: "All powerful fortune and inevitable fate,' he has spoken in accordance with Stoic doctrine, [the Stoics] bestow birth and death to the fates, [and] all [other] things in between to fortune: for all things of human life are uncertain," (*Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum' secundum stoicos locutus est, qui nasci et mori fatis dant, media omnia fortunae: nam vitae humanae incerta sunt omnia*). For more information see Rudich (1997: 141) and Ahl (1976: 300).

his passions,⁴⁵⁶ be aware that her allegiances will change, and not totally give in to the rewards she might offer.

Fortuna was a popular goddess in Rome because her influence impacted the lives of generals, merchants, men, and women and she possessed various temples and shrines around the city.⁴⁵⁷ Although Roman authors sometimes describe Fortuna as a helpful and benevolent goddess,⁴⁵⁸ they also view her as unpredictable and faithless because of her tendency to change her allegiances and her delight in creating havoc in their lives.⁴⁵⁹ The Romans, therefore, recognize the boundless victories that Fortuna could offer, but they are also dubious about the permanence of her favors if she chooses to divert her support and favor.

In addition to her untrustworthiness, writers commonly discuss Fortuna's compatibility with Roman ideals and mores and her support of those who undertake actions that are morally or lawfully questionable. Some writers, especially after the second century AD, believe that Fortuna is the driving force behind Roman success and the expansion of the empire. Other writers, primarily in the Late Republic and the early empire, argue that Fortuna is incompatible with Roman ideals, especially *virtus*. Plutarch, in his *De Fortuna Romanorum*, sees Fortuna (Τύχη) as a constant and good deity, who engages in a perpetual contest with Virtue (Αρετή), which he argues is fair but unprofitable (316C). Although Virtue is partly responsible for the hegemony of the Roman Empire, because it is Virtue that enables Fortuna's favourites to organize power (317B-C), Plutarch argues that Fortuna is the true power responsible because she bestows

⁴⁵⁶ Rudich 1997: 141.

⁴⁵⁷ Weinstock 1971: 112; Rudich 1997: 141, Ahl 1976: 300.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. *Ov. Trt.* 1.5.27 and *Stat. Achil.* 1.738.

⁴⁵⁹ Murdock 1970: 24-26. Cf. *Juv. Sat.* 3.40; *Hor. Carm.* 3.29.50-53; *Sen. Ag.* 101-107; *Sen. Phaedr.* 1143.

rule over the world to Rome, rather than to another territory. To Plutarch (318A),⁴⁶⁰

Fortuna is a necessary Roman patron and, even though she is fickle to some, for Rome she is unwavering.

Plutarch's view, however, differs from that of his predecessors. Sources from the Late Republic and the early Imperial period, in which references to Fortuna as a deity become more prevalent, portray *virtus* as the constant power in life, while Fortuna, who is the antithesis of *virtus*, is devious,⁴⁶¹ incompatible with reason,⁴⁶² and inconstant.⁴⁶³ Ovid articulates this view in his *Epistulae Ex Ponto* when he says that Fortuna is as unstable and unreliable as a leaf or a breeze (4.3.31-33) and that she is constant only when she undertakes to ruin a person after she no longer finds him beneficial (2.7.15-22; 4.6.7-8). Ovid argues that Fortuna only rewards men who undertake profitable deeds rather than good deeds (2.3.13-16) and that she corrupts them when she encourages them to prefer her goodwill to the cultivation of *virtus* (2.3.9-12). Vergil also explores the

⁴⁶⁰ “But when she was approaching the Palatine and crossing the Tiber, it appears that she took off her wings, stepped out of her sandals, and abandoned her untrustworthy and unstable globe,” (τῷ δὲ Παλατίῳ προσερχομένη καὶ διαβαίνουσα τὸν Θύμβριν ὡς εἴοικεν ἔθηκε τὰς πτέρυγας, ἐξέβη τῶν πεδύλων, ἀπέλιπε τὴν ἄπιστον καὶ παλίμβολονσφαῖραν).

⁴⁶¹ Horace, *Carm.* 1.35, *Carm.* 2.1.3, *Sat.* 2.6.49.

⁴⁶² “For there is nothing so contrary to reason and constancy than fortune. It seems to me that it is not even in the power of a god to understand what will happen by chance and by accident. For if [a god] knows, the event will certainly come to pass. But if it is certain to happen, fortune does not exist. And yet fortune does exist, therefore there is no prediction of things that will happen by chance,” (*nihil enim est tam contrarium rationi et constantiae, quam fortuna, ut mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat, quid casu et fortuito futurum sit. Si enim scit, certe illud eveniet. Sin certe eveniet, nulla fortuna est. Est autem fortuna, rerum igitur fortuitarum nulla praesensio est*, Cic. *Div.* 2.7.18).

⁴⁶³ Tappan 1931: 5; Kristol 1990: 7. The notion that fortune conflicts with *virtus* is first found in Homer's *Iliad*, when fortune (τύχη), which is identified with the benevolence of the gods, contends with human actions and excellence (ἀρετή), (McDonnell 2006: 85 n.42). The τύχη-ἀρετή dichotomy in the Greek world, however, differs from the Roman world. To the Romans, *virtus*, unlike ἀρετή, is also a “numinous quality granted to certain men,” and they maintain the belief that it ought to be cultivated throughout one's life (McDonnell 2006: 90). For more information on the evolution of the τύχη-ἀρετή dichotomy and its gradual assimilation in the Roman world see McDonnell (2006: 84-95). The view that Fortuna conflicts with *virtus* and the undertaking of lawful and moral deeds will be especially important in Lucan's poem. Caesar, who is under the patronage of Fortuna, continually commits actions that incur guilt and he is propelled by his *furor*, rather than *virtus*.

incompatibility of Fortuna and *virtus* in the *Aeneid* when he portrays *labor* as an embodiment of *virtus*, which is the opponent of Fortuna, so that he can stress the importance of one's own creation of success, rather than relying on Fortuna to bring it.⁴⁶⁴ Finally, authors sometimes portray Fortuna as not only standing in opposition to *virtus*, but sometimes as a force who actively contends with it. In this view, although Fortuna is responsible for Rome's successful campaigns and military expansion, she is also the source of the moral degradation and greed that pervade Rome in the Late Republic. This belief is expressed by Sallust (*Cat.* 10), who writes that, after Carthage was destroyed, Fortuna exercised her tyranny when she introduced wealth, power, and easy living to the Romans (*saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit*), which overturned their honesty, integrity, and honor.⁴⁶⁵ It was more advantageous, therefore, to cultivate *virtus*, which could remain constant and beneficial, rather than allowing oneself to be morally corrupted in order to obtain a short-lived relationship with Fortuna.

Although the danger of trusting Fortuna is a popular topic among Roman authors, they view her goodwill as necessary for a military general's success in war.⁴⁶⁶ The possession of *felicitas* and the title *felix* are both important markers of a general's achievements and they are given only to those who are worthy.⁴⁶⁷ Although a successful

⁴⁶⁴ Kristol 1990: 166-167; *Aen.* 12.435-436.

⁴⁶⁵ Although Sallust negatively views Fortuna, he admits that she is the commander of all things: "But truly fortune has power over all things; from desire rather than from truth she celebrates and conceals all things together," (*sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque*, *Cat.* 8).

⁴⁶⁶ Tappan 1931: 3. For example, see Horace (*Carm.* 1.35), who describes Fortuna as careless, wanton, prone to destruction, and a force that all people fear. Despite these qualities, however, Horace still asks Fortuna to protect Augustus during his conquests (*serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos / orbis Britannos*) and he sees her goodwill as necessary for victory in war (*o utinam nova / incude diffingas retusum in / Massagetis Arabasque ferrum*).

⁴⁶⁷ Weinstock 1971: 113. Although Cicero views Fortuna as incompatible with reason and *virtus* in his *Pro Lege Manilia*, where he exalts Pompey for his good fortune and his abilities as a general, Cicero shows the importance of one's possession of good luck (*felicitas*) when he argues that the best commander (*summus imperator*) will have these four qualities: *scientia rei militaris*, *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and *felicitas* (28).

general or statesman must possess *felicitas*, because it proves that he has good luck, this quality differs from the favour that Fortuna bestows upon her *felices*. The concept of *felicitas* is compatible with *virtus* and the Romans regard it as a divine gift for those who embody exceptional *virtus*.⁴⁶⁸ A general's possession of *felicitas*, then, is based on his own merit and his deeds could still partly be attributed to him, rather than to blind luck.⁴⁶⁹ The title *felix*, on the other hand, is bestowed upon a general, such as Sulla, who is associated with Fortuna and acts as her agent.⁴⁷⁰ As will be made clearer in this chapter, however, the title *felix* is not entirely positive but, because Fortuna is so fickle and wavering, it sometimes implies that the general is marked for disaster and that his downfall is imminent.⁴⁷¹ Regardless of her negative associations, however, the idea of fortune and luck played an important role in the explanation of the deeds of prominent men.

Scholarship Review: The Role of *Fatum* and *Fortuna* in the *Bellum Civile*

Rather than attributing the events of the civil war solely to the traditional divinities of epic, Lucan stresses the role *Fatum* and *Fortuna* in determining the course of events and the outcome of the war between Pompey and Caesar.⁴⁷² Like his predecessors, Lucan portrays the personified *Fortuna* as a fickle and disloyal character,

⁴⁶⁸ Stevenson 2009: 80. See also Cicero *Leg.Man.*47, where he says that *felicitas* is in the domain of the gods (*de potestate deorum*). For more information on Cicero's description of *felicitas* see Cole (2013: 44-45).

⁴⁶⁹ Weinstock (1971: 113) argues that "the favours of Fortuna led to *felicitas*."

⁴⁷⁰ When viewed in this manner, Fortuna is a more personal concept than *Fatum* because she is a "marginally deterministic force" who can select her favorites, which makes her "akin to a Homeric god," (Ahl 1976: 299).

⁴⁷¹ Dick 1967: 237.

⁴⁷² In the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan mentions *Fortuna*, both personified and as a concept, 144 times and *fatum* 254 times (Dick 1967: 236 n.10).

who extends her influence over her mortal servants to fulfill her demands. Lucan's choice to use Fortuna and Fatum, rather than employing the traditional Olympian gods, has been a topic of much discussion in Lucanian scholarship since the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁷³ Because the traditional gods, who often act as characters in epic poetry, are entirely absent in the *Bellum Civile*, many scholars argue that Fatum and Fortuna are substitutes for the missing divine machinery.

One of the first scholars to argue for this substitution is Désiré Nisard in *Études de moeurs et de critique sur les poètes latins de la decadence* (1849). Nisard posits that Lucan excluded the gods because he believed that the gods in the poems of Homer, Vergil, and Ovid were worn out and the audience no longer wished to read about them. As a response to this trend, Lucan "exiled" the gods and put Fortuna in their place.⁴⁷⁴ To Nisard, Fortuna is responsible for the progression of the narrative because she lures men into battle and compels them to fight with one another. Finally, Nisard argues that Fortuna is not only a replacement for the Olympians as characters, but she also competes with the gods in the poem.⁴⁷⁵

Unlike Nisard, Maurice Souriau, in *Du merveilleux dan Lucain* (1886), does not take a definite stand on the role of Fortuna as a substitute for the Olympians gods in the *Bellum Civile*. Souriau argues that Lucan's divinities are conceptual and that they are not living beings acting as characters, as they did in previous epics.⁴⁷⁶ Souriau focuses more

⁴⁷³ For a brief summary see Dick (1967).

⁴⁷⁴ Nisard (1849: 79) argues: "Ces dieux sont donc bien et dûment exclus de *la Pharsale*. Mai qu'est-ce que Lucain a mis à leur place? – La Fortune. Belle découverte!"

⁴⁷⁵ "D'ailleurs cette Fortune, telle qu'elle se trouve souvent en concurrence, dans la *Pharsale*, avec les dieux; les dieux et la Fortune paraissent tour à tour, selon le besoin de la mesure, car, très-souvent, ce qui rend Lucain religieux, et ce qui le rend fataliste, c'est la différence d'un dactyle à un spondee," (Nisard 1849: 80).

⁴⁷⁶ Souriau 1886: 210.

directly on Lucan's combination of various philosophical elements and on his belief in one divinity, the Stoic *Fatum*, which is an impersonal and abstract concept.⁴⁷⁷ The personified Fortuna, although important in the *Bellum Civile*, is a strange figure and, for Souriau, it is difficult to determine whether she represents fate or blind chance.⁴⁷⁸ In response to Souriau's arguments, Jules Girard, in *Du rôle des dieux dans la Pharsale* (1888), agrees that Lucan blends various philosophical schools of thought.⁴⁷⁹ Girard, however, adheres to Nisard's argument that the personification of Fortuna is a substitute for the Olympian gods. To Girard, it is logical that Lucan chooses to use Fortuna in his poem rather than the Olympians. During Lucan's own time, the Romans typically began to view the gods as having abandoned the state and private individuals and, in their place, Fortuna, although vague and mysterious, became a popular divinity to worship.⁴⁸⁰ Girard's argument resembles Souriau's, which supports the view that Lucan replaces the Olympian gods in order to appeal to contemporary fashion, to articulate his doubt that gods intervene and care about human affairs, and to adhere to his audience's belief that good gods still exist.⁴⁸¹ According to these arguments, therefore, Lucan banishes the

⁴⁷⁷ Souriau (1886: 211) argues that the only instance when Lucan separates himself from philosophical doctrine is in his descriptions of divination, for which he adheres to popular beliefs. Souriau (1886: 205) believes that Epicureanism influences Lucan's skepticism of the gods and, although Lucan addresses the gods often, he does so "dryly." Finally, Souriau (1886: 211) argues that Stoicism had a profound effect on the content of Lucan's poem and, in the absence of the traditional divinities, the only true Stoic god in the *Bellum Civile* is Cato (1886: 210), who is the personification of the Stoic school of thought.

⁴⁷⁸ "La Fortune elle-même, qui joue un rôle important dans la Pharsale, est une déesse bizarre, ou mieux, un mot obscur. Est-elle le hasard, ou le destin? On ne sait, car elle a des caprices, même à l'égard de ses amis. Au fond, Lucain est fataliste: de toutes les divinités, la seule à laquelle il croit, c'est le *Fatum*, qui d'après les stoïciens se confond avec l'âme du monde. Un pareil dieu, qui n'a rien de personnel, convient-il à la poésie épique?" (Souriau 1886: 210).

⁴⁷⁹ Girard 1888: 194.

⁴⁸⁰ Girard (1888: 201) argues: "Elles se détournèrent de dieux, de ces protecteurs impuissants qui abandonnaient l'État et les particuliers, et elles adoraient plus volontiers la forme vague et mystérieuse de la Fortune, irresponsable par sa mobilité. La Fortune était donc la divinité de ces temps, et l'on peut dire que Lucain se conforme à la vérité historique en mettant à la place des dieux olympiens une puissance dont le nom convient d'ailleurs si bien à ses goûts poétiques."

⁴⁸¹ Souriau 1886: 217.

traditional gods from his epic so that he can observe the popular trends of his time by representing various philosophical schools of thought and by questioning the omnipotence of the gods as characters in his narrative.

In the twentieth century, the role of *Fatum* and *Fortuna* in the *Bellum Civile* continued to inspire much scholarly discussion. In 1912, René Pichon, in *Les Sources de Lucain*, poses the question of whether Lucan himself can distinguish between the gods, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna*.⁴⁸² Pichon shows that Lucan uses the words *fata*, *fortuna*, and *superi* as synonyms for the same concept, regardless of the differences in their definition.⁴⁸³ Pichon argues that, whenever Lucan uses these terms, he is referring to the concept of ‘destiny’ to demonstrate his separation from traditional paganism.⁴⁸⁴ All events that take place in the poem, therefore, are caused by the forces of destiny, rather than by the gods alone or another divine power.

Arguably the most influential study on the role of *Fatum* and *Fortuna* in the *Bellum Civile* is undertaken by Wolf H. Friedrich in *Cato, Caesar und Fortuna bei Lucan* (1938).⁴⁸⁵ In his study, Friedrich argues that the traditional gods are absent from Lucan’s poem because the poet doubts their power and justice and he questions whether they are concerned with human affairs or if there is a stronger force on which destiny and fate are

⁴⁸² Pichon 1912: 172, “Si l'on ne jetait sur la *Pharsale* qu'un coup d'oeil superficiel, on pourrait croire que l'auteur ne sait pas très bien lui-même ce qu'il pense de la puissance suprême qui nous régit. Les trois termes de dieux (*dii*, *superi*, *numina*), de destin (*fata*), et de Fortune (*fortuna*), sont employés par lui à tour de rôle, aussi souvent, ou peu s'en faut, l'un que l'autre. Or, rigoureusement parlant, ils expriment des conceptions fort différentes: l'un désigne l'action personnelle d'êtres intelligents, l'autre le déroulement nécessaire d'une loi immuable, le dernier l'illogisme capricieux du pur hasard. Lucain flotte-t-il donc entre ces trois explications si dissemblables?”

⁴⁸³ Pichon 1912: 172-173.

⁴⁸⁴ Pichon 1912: 175-176. “Peu importe comment le poète désigne la loi suprême des choses humaines. Ce qui essentiel à noter, c'est qu'il croit à l'existence de cette loi, et à son unité. En croyant à son existence, il se distingue des épicuriens; en croyant à son unité, il se sépare du paganisme traditionnel.”

⁴⁸⁵ See Tesoriero (2010: 369-410) for an English translation of Friedrich’s article.

dependent.⁴⁸⁶ Friedrich argues that Lucan inserts Fortuna as the “sovereign” power and that, although the traditional gods do not disappear entirely from the poem, they “maintain a shadowy existence beside [Fortuna], powerless against her favorites” and they relate to her in a way that makes it inconsequential whether Lucan distinguishes between *superi/di* or *fortuna/fatum*.⁴⁸⁷ To Friedrich, Fortuna can take on a variety of characteristics, including those of Fatum, and it does not make a difference if Lucan uses ‘*fatum/fata*’ or ‘*fortuna*’ interchangeably.⁴⁸⁸ What is most important, however, is that the reader recognizes that Fatum and Fortuna are not independent powers, but that Lucan links them to one another from the beginning of the poem.⁴⁸⁹

Modern scholarship continues to discuss the role of Fortuna and Fatum in the *Bellum Civile* in the absence of the traditional divine machinery. Scholars such as Dick (1967) and Johnson (1987) see Fortuna as a replacement for the traditional gods and they argue that she fills the void left by the Olympians’ absence.⁴⁹⁰ Johnson uses the proem of Book 2 to argue that, although Lucan sometimes makes Fatum and Fortuna incompatible, Lucan more often uses these terms interchangeably and, as a result, “...there is throughout the poem an erratic, violent feeling that oscillates between the two poles of fortune and fate and finds no equilibrium.”⁴⁹¹ It is for this reason that Johnson believes that, although Lucan substitutes the poem’s divine machinery with Fatum and Fortuna

⁴⁸⁶ Friedrich 2010: 370.

⁴⁸⁷ Friedrich 2010: 386.

⁴⁸⁸ Since Lucan seems to conflate these terms, it is my intention to focus on instances of the personification of Fortuna in the *Bellum Civile*, rather than mentions of *fatum/fata* or *fortuna* as concepts.

⁴⁸⁹ Friedrich (2010: 390-391): “It makes no difference to us whether Fate and Fortune appear as one and the same thing, as cause and effect, or as different aspects or components of the same power: all that matters here is that the two are not independent powers coming together from different directions to drive the world on its course, and are not merely linked to each other through operating on a common object, but have been from the outset.”

⁴⁹⁰ Dick 1967: 240; Johnson 1987: 16-17.

⁴⁹¹ Johnson 1987: 8.

and he uses these two terms interchangeably, as Nisard, Pichon, and Friedrich argue, Lucan replaces this divine machinery with a ‘broken machine’ that will inevitably self-destruct.⁴⁹² Continuing the work of Pichon and Friedrich, Dick, on the other hand, argues that, although Lucan sometimes conflates the two terms, he clearly knows the difference between Fate and Fortune.⁴⁹³ Dick also analyses the proem of Book 2 (2.1-15) to argue that, even if Lucan sometimes expresses his uncertainty about whether *Fatum* or *Fortuna* presides over the government of the universe, he certainly knows the difference between them.⁴⁹⁴ *Fatum* is unchangeable and has a finite limit (*fatorum inmoto...limite*, 2.11), while *Fortuna* is ever changing and uncertain (*fors incerta vagatur*, 2.12). Finally, Dick shows how, when *Fortuna* is personified, Lucan emphasizes her fickle and erratic nature and her willingness to desert one general, Pompey, and champion another, Caesar.⁴⁹⁵ Most significant for Lucan’s representation of the personified *Fortuna*, then, is his warning to the reader that she will inevitably abandon him.⁴⁹⁶ Lucan, therefore, adheres to the traditional literary representations of *Fortuna* as erratic and disloyal and he reminds his reader to be wary of her protection.

Lucan’s choice to use the personified *Fortuna* as a character in his poem also adheres to his aim to show that the blame for the civil war belongs to mortals alone.⁴⁹⁷

Feeney (1991) argues that the presence of the Olympian gods is not required in this epic

⁴⁹² Johnson 1987: 17.

⁴⁹³ Dick (1967: 236) argues that Lucan uses the terms interchangeably, often for metrical convenience, but this does not indicate he does not know the differences between the concepts.

⁴⁹⁴ Dick 1967: 236.

⁴⁹⁵ Dick 1967: 240.

⁴⁹⁶ Dick 1967: 241: “Lucan’s poem is a warning to all who would choose *Fortuna* as their patron; she had showered Alexander, Marius, Sulla, Curio, Caesar, and Pompey with fleeting success, only to demand recompense when the *felices* most required her protection.” Lucan’s allusion to Marius, Sulla, and Alexander will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁹⁷ Rudich 1997: 113.

because Lucan does not see a need for them as characters in the narrative.⁴⁹⁸ Feeney supports the view that, to Lucan, gods are not necessary because his poem focuses on the *nefas* of man (1.5-6) and thus he “abnegates his epic task” when he writes about civil conflict rather than foreign wars. Lucan, therefore, shows that the gods have abandoned men in their fratricidal endeavors (7.445-455), even though he sometimes alludes to their role in the war (*invidia fatorum series*, 1.70; *iamque irae patuere deum*, 2.1).⁴⁹⁹ Unlike Vergil, who maintains an optimistic view of the gods as the protectors of justice in the *Aeneid*, Lucan’s pessimistic view is evident from the beginning of the poem when, as Fantham (1992) argues, he measures “the justice of the gods not by their early favor to Rome but by the tragic fall of the republic,” and, as a result, their presence as characters in the epic is not required.⁵⁰⁰ In the civil war, the gods, through the embodiment of Fortuna, are perpetuators of injustice, Fortuna protects lawless and destructive men, and the side of victory stands in opposition to the side of justice.⁵⁰¹ Fortuna, therefore, is a suitable semi-divine figure for the *Bellum Civile* because, although she embodies a supernatural force, which is otherwise lacking in the poem, her existence does not deny the characters free will and choice.

Finally, Ahl (1974) argues that the gods are absent because Lucan wants to focus on moral issues in order to achieve the picture he desired.⁵⁰² Lucan’s replacement of the Olympians with Fortuna is suitable in an epic describing civil war because, when Fortuna is the predominant divinity in the poem, he can question the lawfulness and acceptability

⁴⁹⁸ Feeney 1991: 272.

⁴⁹⁹ Feeney 1991: 277.

⁵⁰⁰ Fantham 1992: 9.

⁵⁰¹ Fantham 1992: 10.

⁵⁰² Ahl 1974: 69.

of individual actions.⁵⁰³ Unlike a character such as Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, whom the gods compel to undertake specific actions, the characters of the *Bellum Civile* cannot project blame onto the gods and, as a result, the reader can evaluate them on moral and legal grounds. Although Fortuna offers her patronage, each character is not obligated to adhere to her commands but he himself chooses to follow her and to stand in opposition to justice by gaining victory and, as such, he is entirely responsible for his actions.

Fatum, Fortuna, and Civil War

Lucan's replacement of the divine machinery of the poem with the pseudo-divinities of Fatum and Fortuna, which he represents as possessing powers comparable to those of the Olympian gods, allows him to stress the prominence of guilt in his poem and to promote his negative view of the gods in general. By inserting the personified Fortuna and Fatum as the strongest and most influential divine forces in the poem, Lucan expresses his grim view of the gods because they are unable to hinder or prevent these pseudo-divinities from promoting the unjust and guilty actions of his heroes. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil sometimes depicts the gods and lesser deities, especially Juno and Allecto, in a negative manner,⁵⁰⁴ but the majority of them represent justice and optimism because they assist Aeneas on his journey to Italy after he accepts his fate and their assistance.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ Ahl 1974: 295: "When Fortune becomes the principal divine force in an epic, the question of the propriety of individual actions can be raised more easily, as Lucan demonstrates in the *Pharsalia*." Ahl (1974: 292) also argues that Fortuna is the non-Olympian counterpart to Venus and that Lucan uses Fortuna because she is "un-Olympian enough to be consistent with the poet's policy of avoiding conventional deities, yet divine enough to suggest them."

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. *Aen.* 1.4; 2.588-623; 7.286-371

⁵⁰⁵ Fantham 1992: 9-11. Fantham (1992: 9) argues that, although Vergil's Aeneas condemns the gods early in the epic, after he is reconciled to his destiny the only "injustices that obstruct his success are attributed to the malice of lesser deities, who provide the dualism that challenges the hero and gives his quest epic dimensions."

In the *Bellum Civile*, on the other hand, Fortuna acts as a counterpart to Vergil's Juno and she is a divine force that represents injustice.⁵⁰⁶ Rather than working against Juno as Aeneas does, however, the heroes of Lucan's poem work with Fortuna, they accept her patronage, and they preserve the injustices she promotes. Lucan endorses his negative view of the gods when he uses Fortuna, and Fatum to a lesser degree, because her presence shows that just gods no longer exist and that they have been replaced with harmful divinities working through the agency of men. In the world of the *Bellum Civile*, therefore, it is the negative and lesser deities of Vergil's poem that hold power and they do not resemble the traditional epic gods, who ensure the successes of their heroes and the prosperity of Rome.

In the *Bellum Civile*, Fatum and the personified Fortuna embody the antitheses to and the opponents of Rome and all its ideals, especially *virtus*. Fortuna is a frequent challenger of Rome (1.256) and she maintains this role for the entire poem. In Book 1, after Caesar has captured Ariminum, Lucan names Fatum and Fortuna as responsible for urging Caesar to fight and begin the war after he crosses the Rubicon (1.261-265):

*Noctis gelias lux solverat umbras,
Ecce, faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti
Urgentes addunt stimulus cunctasque pudoris.
Rumpunt fata moras, iustos Fortuna laborat
Esse ducis motus et causas invenit armis.*

Light had released the icy shadows of night, behold, the fates join the torches of war to his doubtful mind and incentives urging for battle and they break every delay of propriety. Fortuna works so that the undertakings of the leader be just and she creates the cause for arms.

From the beginning of the epic, Fatum and Fortuna are forces to which all actions in the war can be attributed and both work concurrently to ensure that the war between Pompey

⁵⁰⁶ Fantham 1992: 10-11.

and Caesar will occur. The Fates goad Caesar's mind and compel him to want to continue his assault after he crosses the Rubicon, while Fortuna promotes guilt and justifies his undertaking of civil war.⁵⁰⁷ Once the civil war formally commences, 'Fortuna' becomes synonymous with 'bellum,' which is apparent in Lucan's frequent references to the personified Fortuna, and the concept of fortune more generally, as *fortuna belli* (4.710-712; 4.788-790; 6.592-593).⁵⁰⁸ Fortuna, then, not only embodies the cause of war (1.262-265; 4.789-790; 5.465-475), but she also guarantees that it will continue (2.23-231; 5.354-355; 8.600-604; 9.236-239) and she works to dictate its outcome (5.1-3; 6.592-3; 9.223-224).

As the cause and promoter of civil war, Fortuna becomes the patron of the unjust, the immoral, and the guilty. Fortuna challenges Rome with her constant effort to corrupt its people with greed and moral decay and, to Lucan, her introduction of enormous wealth, which leads to the destruction of virtue and morals, is another way that she can promote civil war: "And when Fortuna introduced excessive wealth after the world was conquered, and morals gave way to second place, and booty and enemy spoils enticed (men to) luxury," *namque ut opes mundo nimias fortuna subacto / intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis, / praedaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae*, 1.160-162). As a result, men no longer set a limit to wealth, greed conquers their minds, and *virtus* vanishes, which ushers in crime, war, guilt, and corruption (1.163-182).⁵⁰⁹ The civil war that

⁵⁰⁷ Later in Book 1, Lucan also makes *Fatum* and Fortuna responsible for the civil war when Caesar agrees to engage in battle so that he does not impede Fortuna and risk losing her favor ("When Caesar...sees that the Fates proceed, lest he delay Fortuna any longer with his inactivity...when standards are gathered from every region he heads for Rome," (*ut Caesar...Fataque ferre videt, nequo languore moretur / Fortunam...et Romam motis petit undique signis*, 1.392-395).

⁵⁰⁸ Feeney 1991: 276.

⁵⁰⁹ Unlike Plutarch (cf. pp.147-148), Lucan supports the notion that Fortuna and *virtus* are wholly incompatible and, as a result, he makes the civil war the ultimate struggle between these two concepts.

Lucan portrays in the *Bellum Civile*, therefore, is one that is not only between Caesar and Pompey, but between old values and morals and corruption and moral degradation.

Fortuna, through the agency of Caesar, represents the moral decay of the new Rome, which is in direct opposition to the Senate and is embodied in the figures of Pompey and Cato, who represent the last stand of old values and the Republican ideal of virtue (2.243-245; 9.881-883). Under the patronage of Fortuna, Caesar is not only guilty for his role in creating civil war, but also for dealing the fatal blow that overthrows Republican morals and ideals and confirms the fall of the Republic.

Closely associated with Lucan's charge that Fortuna is responsible for the moral corruption of the Roman people is his condemnation of her making them guilty and compelling them to commit egregious crimes. No longer are divinities protectors and supporters of justice, as they were in other poems like the *Aeneid*, but in Lucan's poem the only assurance of divine favor is through one's acceptance of guilt (*servat multos fortuna nocentes*, *BC* 3.448).⁵¹⁰ By analyzing the role of Fate and Fortuna in the *Bellum Civile* in this way, guilt becomes an important theme in the poem. Finally, the absence of a divine machinery allows Lucan to explicitly assign guilt to his characters because they are wholly responsible for their own actions and they must accept the penalties associated with them.

⁵¹⁰ Fantham 1992: 10.

'Te, Fortuna, Sequor': Caesar and Fortuna in Books 1-5

The development of Caesar's relationship with Fortuna is the primary focus of Books 1-6 because they enumerate his gradual descent into villainy, guilt, and *furor* as he commits crimes that will incur religious, and psychological guilt. Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1, his felling of the sacred grove at Massilia in Book 3, and his attempted journey back to Italy in Book 5 are examples that demonstrate Caesar's perversion of guilt into a positive force so that he can win and maintain Fortuna's favor. Caesar is psychologically unaffected by his guilt, and he even offers to take on the guilt of others, because he relies on the notion that Fortuna will protect him from penalty and that his guilt will fuel his *furor* so that he can defeat Pompey.

The Rubicon

The establishment of Caesar's relationship with Fortuna begins when he crosses the Rubicon in Book 1 and he anticipates the start of war (1.158-232). Roma's appearance to Caesar, and his exchange with her, immediately introduces the influence that guilt will have in the poem.⁵¹¹ Lucan further highlights this emotion because it is at the Rubicon that he first introduces the personified Fortuna as a character and he associates her with the guilt of civil war. Before he crosses the river, Caesar resolves to dispense with law and peace and follow Fortuna instead (1.225-227):

*'Hic,' ait, 'hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo;
Te, Fortuna, sequor. Procul hinc iam foedera sunt;
Credidimus paci, utendum est iudice bello.'*

⁵¹¹ Roma's appearance at the Rubicon will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

‘Here,’ he says, ‘I leave behind peace and desecrated laws; I follow you, Fortuna. After this, let treaties be far away; we have relied on peace, now we must make use of war as our judge.’

By giving himself over to Fortuna, rather than to Roma, Caesar chooses to undertake actions that will incur guilt. Caesar willingly follows Fortuna when he explicitly tells Roma that he no longer pursues her (*non te...persequor*, 1.200-201) and that he is exchanging *iura, foedera* and *pax* (226-227), which Roma embodies, for *bellum* and *nefas*, which Fortuna promotes.⁵¹² Then, once Fortuna accepts the general as her new favorite, she creates a pretext for war and she absolves him of any guilt he may incur so that he can commit any action in her name without the fear of punishment (1.262-265):

*Ecce faces belli, dubiaeque in proelia menti
Urgentes addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris
Rumpunt fata moras, iustos Fortuna laborat,
Esse ducis motus, et causas invenit armis.*

Alas the fates join to the dubious mind the torches of war, and the goads urging battle, and they break all the delays of shame, Fortuna works for the ways of the leader to be just, and invents the causes for arms.

After he crosses the Rubicon, Caesar is eager to undertake any action because Fortuna demands it and she veils his actions under the guise of justice. Fortuna forms a reciprocal relationship with Caesar and she absolves him of his guilt for his actions in the civil war

⁵¹² In the *Aeneid*, Vergil also highlights the opposition between peace and lawfulness, on the one hand, and fortune, on the other: *Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem; / fortunam ex aliis*, *Aen.* 12.435-436. Lucan also alludes to Vergil’s poem with his use of the verb *sequor* at *BC* 1.226. In *Aeneid* 10, Venus pleads with Jupiter, when it seems that the Trojans will lose, to allow her to save Ascanius and abandon Aeneas: “...Let it be permitted to release Ascanius, untouched, from arms, let it be permitted for my grandson to live. Indeed let Aeneas be tossed upon unknown waves and let him follow whichever road Fortuna has granted,” ...*liceat dimittere ab armis, / incolumen Ascanium, liceat superesse nepotem. / Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis / et, quamcumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur*, 10. 46-49). In Venus’ speech, following Fortuna is undesirable because it will ensure that Aeneas will forget his mission and he will not found a second Troy in Italy. By recalling this passage from Vergil, Lucan emphasizes the unreliability and the destructive nature of Fortuna and he contrasts the character of Caesar with that of Aeneas. Since Aeneas did not follow Fortuna, he was successful at founding Latium. Caesar, on the other hand, submits to Fortuna and this union leads to the destruction of the Roman Republic. For more information see Thompson and Bruère (1968: 9) and Dick (1967: 238).

because he acts as her agent. This belief is an important one for Caesar because it promotes the negative transformation of his character as he commits actions that are more and more abhorrent and megalomaniacal as the narrative progresses. Each time Caesar commits such an action, he rationalizes his guilt and subsequently absolves himself of it so that he can continue to cultivate his relationship with Fortuna and gain victory. Caesar perverts the concept of guilt into a means for him to create an exclusive relationship with Fortuna because she protects him and works to create *nefas* though *bellum*.

The Sacred Grove in Massilia

By Book 3, Caesar has wholly given in to Fortuna's influence. As a result, his character grows more horrific and he begins to revel in his undertaking of guilty actions that are each more dreadful than the last. Lucan accentuates the progression of Caesar's guilt by inventing the scene of Caesar's desecration of a grove, which is sacred to the Gauls, so that his army has timber to besiege the city of Massilia (3.399-452). Although Caesar himself records the need for timber in his *Commentarii* (Caes. *BC*.2.1.4), he does not provide a description of the grove to the extent that Lucan does.⁵¹³ Lucan uses a small detail of Caesar's own *Commentarii* because it provides him with the opportunity to cast Caesar in a role that will accentuate specific aspects of his character.⁵¹⁴ Like he did in his account of Roma's apparition in Book 1,⁵¹⁵ Lucan creates another episode to

⁵¹³ Phillips (1968: 296) also notes that Caesar would not have been present for this event because he would have moved on to Spain and Trebonius would have conducted the search for wood.

⁵¹⁴ Phillips 1968: 296.

⁵¹⁵ This episode will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

underline the progression of Caesar's contemptible and monstrous character and to call attention to guilt, especially in the religious sphere.

At the beginning of the episode, Lucan provides an elaborate depiction of the fantastical qualities of the place: it is completely dark and cold, it is devoid of traditional woodland gods, such as Pan or the Nymphs, its altars drip with blood from human sacrifices, and all local people fear it (3.399-425).⁵¹⁶ Caesar's men hesitate to cut down the sacred trees, lest they incur the wrath of the gods for committing such egregious sacrilege (3.426-431). Caesar tells them that the guilt for the crime is his and he proceeds to violently cut down the first oak tree (3.436-437). The episode concludes with an apostrophe,⁵¹⁷ in which Lucan considers the punishment of the gods as powerless against the protection of Fortuna (3.447-449), and then Caesar's men proceed to destroy the sacred space (3.450-452).

Lucan engages with the epic tradition by describing the landscape of the grove and the impious acts committed there.⁵¹⁸ In the *Aeneid*, Vergil depicts Aeneas' felling of trees, most notably in Thrace in Book 3 when he profanes the grave of Polydorus (*Aen.* 3.19-68) and in Book 6 when he plucks the golden bough and constructs a pyre for Misenus (*Aen.* 6.201-235). Similarly, Ovid (*Met.* 8.738-878) tells the story of Erysichthon, who violently desecrates an oak tree, which is sacred to Ceres, and is

⁵¹⁶ Lucan's description of the dark and uninviting sacred grove adheres to the conventions of this traditional trope in Latin literature (Leigh 2010: 206). Augoustakis (2006: 635) notes a contradiction in Lucan's description of the grove. Lucan writes that it is a place where humans do not dare enter (*BC* 3.399) but he also says that barbaric rituals of human sacrifice occur here (*BC* 3.402-405). Augoustakis argues that Lucan intentionally contradicts himself so that this passage "invites no easy interpretation. This is the anti-grove *par excellence*, in which any form of life, for humans and animals alike, proves not viable."

⁵¹⁷ For more information on Lucan's use of apostrophe see Asso (2008).

⁵¹⁸ Lucan replaces the traditional *locus amoenus* ('lovely place') by creating an exact counterpart with his *locus horridus* ('frightful place'). For more information see Hunink 1992: 168-169.

punished by the gods.⁵¹⁹ Lucan extracts material from Ovid's depiction of Erysichthon, whom Ovid explicitly portrays as especially depraved and guilty (*Met.* 8.769), to emphasize the guilt of Caesar.⁵²⁰ Erysichthon, like Caesar, rebukes his men for hesitating to cut down the trees, he is the first to strike the oak tree, and he even taunts the tree as he is about to cut it down.⁵²¹ Like Ovid does with Erysichthon, Lucan leaves no question whether Caesar is guilty and he implicitly alludes to Caesar's eventual divine punishment for his actions.

Lucan does, however, diverge from his predecessors to deliver an authorial comment on Caesar's villainy and the evolution of his guilt. By felling the sacred grove and being the first to cut down an oak tree,⁵²² Caesar's crimes in the legal sphere,⁵²³ when he effectively marches on Rome and he crosses the Rubicon, evolve to include his undertaking of crimes in the religious sphere, which incur psychological guilt,

⁵¹⁹ This story can also be found in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* (31-118). Thomas (1988: 266-268) views Ovid's story of Erysichthon as a commentary on Vergil's account of Aeneas' profane violation in Thrace. Thomas (1988: 268-269) also argues that Lucan creates the grove scene by drawing on Vergilian material to comment on the character of Aeneas and to bring out "the ambivalent nature of the tree-felling in *Aeneid* 6."

⁵²⁰ Lucan also recalls Ovid's story of Erysichthon by using similar vocabulary (*bipennem*, *Met.* 8.669; *BC.* 3.433; *audeo*, *Met.* 8.668, *BC.* 3.434; *nefas*, *Met.* 8.669; *BC.* 3.437; *ferrum*, *Met.* 8.771, *BC.* 3.435, *robora*, *Met.* 8.772, *BC.* 435; Ovid's reference to Erysichthon as 'the Thessalian' (*Thessalus*) at *Met.* 8.771 indirectly associates this character with the impending battle at Pharsalus and the oak's promise of Erysichthon's punishment (*Met.* 8. 774-776) is reconsidered in Lucan's apostrophe (*BC.* 3.447-449). For other examples of similarities in these passages see Phillips (1968).

⁵²¹ Thomas 1988: 264. Thomas argues that, Erysichthon is literary and mythical *exemplum* directed towards demonstrating the implications of tree violation and that Lucan modelled Caesar's actions on Erysichthon's.

⁵²² Lucan's reference to the oak tree (*aeriam...quercum*, *BC.* 3.434) immediately recalls his description of Pompey in Book 1 (*quercus sublimis*, 1.136). By violently chopping down the tree in the grove and encouraging his men to do the same, Lucan shows another example of Caesar's encouragement of his men to engage in the civil war and engage in actions that they otherwise would not have. Hunink (1992: 180-181) argues that Lucan's allusion to the oak tree at Massilia is an unmistakable symbol for Pompey, "The high oak...is no longer spared, but struck by force. The symbolism is unmistakable: like the oak, Pompey and his cause will be cut down and defeated."

⁵²³ As discussed in Chapter 1: Introduction (cf. pp.9-10), a person incurs legal guilt after he has completed an action that breaks a society's laws and this action is followed by a judgment from his peers and it does not necessarily produce the experience of psychological guilt.

specifically moral guilt.⁵²⁴ Although moral guilt presupposes some psychological effects,⁵²⁵ Caesar experiences no psychological effects and he does not show any hesitancy to commit this crime, which further highlights his villainy. Lucan uses the theme of religion in this episode to stress Caesar's egregious transgression in the religious sphere when he directly challenges the gods and desecrates a sacred space.⁵²⁶ Under the protection of Fortuna, Caesar is so confident that he does not fear the gods and he dares to go where no mortal dares (3.415-425).⁵²⁷ By plundering the grove, Caesar destroys *fides*, which the city itself embodies (3.339-342), and he demolishes all sacrosanctity of the area, which makes his religious transgression at the grove even more significant.⁵²⁸ Furthermore, the destruction of the grove and the city of Massilia predict the destruction of Rome itself, if Caesar is victorious in the civil war.

In Massilia, Caesar becomes willing to take on the guilt of others so that he can cultivate and preserve Fortuna's favor and protection. He convinces his men to fell the grove by telling them that they will not sustain any guilt from cutting down the trees: "Now let none of you hesitate to cut down the wood, trust that I have committed the crime," (*iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam, / credite me fecisse nefas,* 3.436-437). Caesar's acceptance of the collective guilt for the desecration of the grove is

⁵²⁴ Carroll (1985: 9) defines moral guilt as a 'breach of morality,' which involves a transgression of a society's or an individual's laws, ideals, or standards. These transgressions can involve breaking a state or religious law or they can be actions that violate a person's own code of conduct (cf. p.10).

⁵²⁵ Carroll (1985: 9) argues that common symptoms of moral guilt include remorse and the need to repair.

⁵²⁶ Lucan stresses Caesar's vast violation with his use of the words *ausus* (3.434) and *violata* (3.435) and the imagery of Caesar violently cutting down the sacred oak tree as if he were slaying an enemy (...*et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum, / effatur merso violata in robora ferro, BC.* 3.434-435).

⁵²⁷ Lucan also embellishes Caesar's irreverence for omens, which is found in the biographical tradition, to further amplify Caesar's guilt in the religious sphere when he describes Caesar's violation of the temple of Saturn to raid Rome's treasury before he departs to Massilia (3.112-168). For more information on portents that Caesar disregards see Weinstock 1971: 98, 116-118, 342-346 and Suet. *Div.Iul.*59; Suet. *Div.Iul.*77, 81; App. *BC.* 2.153; Plut. *Caes.*52.

⁵²⁸ Rowland 1969: 205.

one of the first instances in which he goads his men into committing criminal actions and they comply because they fear Caesar more than the wrath of the gods (3.437-439).⁵²⁹ At other stages in the narrative, the soldiers' hesitation is met with his encouragement and threats (1.296-351, 5.269-274, 5.316-364, 7.248-329, 7.557-665), with the result that they eventually commit actions that incur guilt and they become psychologically burdened by it (7.760-776). Although they share in only a portion of Caesar's guilt (7.776), he is the source of this emotion from the outset of the poem. This quality, therefore, reinforces Caesar's relationship with Fortuna because, as her agent, Caesar takes on the role of Fortuna when he incites his men to commit guilty actions in his name.⁵³⁰ Caesar knows that he cannot win the war without his men (7.250-253), which is why he continually compels them to commit guilty actions and he promises that they will not be held accountable for them once victory is attained (7.260). This chain of guilt under the command of Fortuna demands that everyone in the poem be guilty and, through the agency of Caesar, the whole world will be corrupted by it (*in commune nefas*, 1.6). This episode, then, articulates the gradual increase of Caesar's power as Fortuna empowers him and, comparable to a bolt of lightning wreaking havoc on the whole world (1.143-157), he transforms into "energy, incarnate, a Zeus-like being whose attacks wither and destroy all in their way."⁵³¹ The felling of the sacred grove marks the evolution of Caesar as a cosmic force who is unstoppable,⁵³² as long as he has the aid of Fortuna and continues to engage in *nefas*.

⁵²⁹ *Tum paruit omnis / imperiis non sublato secreta pavore / turba, sed expensa superiorum et Caesaris ira.*

⁵³⁰ Caesar's ability to corrupt others and to encourage them to commit crimes that will incur guilt are qualities that Lucan charges Fortuna with in Book 1 (160-162).

⁵³¹ Ahl 1976: 198.

⁵³² Ahl 1976: 199.

The Storm

The final episode before the Battle of Pharsalus that displays the development of Caesar's relationship with Fortuna and the progression of his monstrous and megalomaniacal character occurs in the storm scene of Book 5 (504-721). Lucan connects this episode to Caesar's desecration of the sacred grove in Book 3 because Caesar is again a destructive force, who combats the destructive elements around him.⁵³³ Before Lucan's version, Caesar's voyage to cross back to Brundisium was likely mentioned in Livy, but this account is now lost.⁵³⁴ In his *Commentarii* (BC 3.2-26), Caesar does not mention an attempt to cross back to Italy by himself, although he does write that he urged his men in Italy to cross the sea to join him.⁵³⁵ This episode also exists in the biographical tradition after Lucan, in Plutarch (*Caes.*37-38), Suetonius (*Div.Iul.* 19.58), and Appian (BC 2.52-59). These authors, however, do not embellish Caesar's crossing to the extent that Lucan does.⁵³⁶ Even though the storm scene is not integral to the progression of the narrative, it gives Lucan the opportunity to recall many of the same themes that were present in Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1 and the felling of the sacred grove in Book 3. This scene also allows Lucan to present

⁵³³ Rudich 1997: 142.

⁵³⁴ Lucan likely used Livy's account as inspiration for his own invention of this episode, just as he did for Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1 and Pompey's dream of the theater in Book 7.

⁵³⁵ Matthews 2008: 307. Matthews argues that this event likely occurred because other sources, both before and after Caesar's account, all provide various details of Caesar's attempted journey. Matthews believes that Caesar himself, however, did not mention it in his *Commentarii* because he was embarrassed by his failure.

⁵³⁶ Plutarch (*Caes.*37-38) does not mention Caesar's correspondence with Antony, the fisherman Amyclas, or Caesar's speech (BC 5.653-671). Plutarch also writes that Caesar had companions apart from Amyclas during his attempted voyage and, instead of being rescued by Fortuna as he is in Lucan's poem, Caesar allows the captain to return to land. In Suetonius' version (*Div.Iul.* 19.58), Caesar makes this voyage alone but there is no mention of Amyclas, Caesar's speech during the storm, or the manner in which Caesar returned to land. Finally, in Appian's version (BC 2.52-59), there is no mention of Amyclas but instead Caesar travels with three men and Caesar makes no speech during the storm. For a more detailed comparison of these versions see Matthews 2008: 308-314.

Caesar's madness under the patronage of Fortuna and his "megalomaniacal belief in himself."⁵³⁷ Lucan portrays Caesar's insatiable desire to commit crimes (*Caesaris attonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem / ferre moras scelerum partes iussere relictæ*, 5.476-477) and his eagerness to fulfill Fatum's plan by engaging in the final battle against Pompey (*pereuntia tempora fati / conqueror, in ventos impendo vota fretumque*, 5.490-491). Caesar's experience during the storm (5.504-721) shows the complete consolidation of his trust in Fortuna⁵³⁸ and it describes the extent to which she favors him before the climactic battle at Pharsalus in Book 7.

The storm scene not only represents the reaction of the cosmic world to Caesar's transgressions, but it also shows the gods' attempt to avoid Caesar's attack on Pompey and to delay and stop Caesar's destiny of defeating him (5.654-656). Caesar is so confident that he views himself as equal to the gods (5.579-580),⁵³⁹ he taunts the heavens and challenges the forces of nature (5.577-593) and, instead of showing reverence and fearing them (5.597-653), he perverts their reaction by claiming that these dangers are worthy of his destiny (5.653-654). The storm, therefore, signifies the gods' and the elements' revolt against the Caesarian enterprise and it adheres to the Stoic belief that guilt and crimes cause the collapse of the universal order and create cosmic upheaval.⁵⁴⁰ The gods and the elements, however, cannot stop Caesar, whom Fortuna protects when she places him back on land by sending a large wave (5.671-677), and he becomes

⁵³⁷ Braund 1992: 272.

⁵³⁸ Because of his confidence in their relationship, Caesar refuses to delay his crossing back to Italy, despite the signs of unfavorable weather (5.403-460) and Antony's delay in Italy (5.478-497). Caesar finally resolves to willingly (*sponte*) make the crossing to Dyrrachium himself (5.500-504). Caesar's willingness to make the crossing, rather than being coerced, invites comparison with Vergil's Aeneas, who tells Dido that the gods command him to depart from Carthage and that he does so unwillingly (*Italiam non sponte sequor*, *Aen.* 4.361).

⁵³⁹ Morford 1967: 40.

⁵⁴⁰ Rudich 1997: 142.

superhuman and feared by the gods and men alike.⁵⁴¹ At the end of the scene, Caesar's faith in Fortuna is strengthened (*Fortunamque suam...recepit*, 5.677) and he is victorious over the gods and nature because of her.

Finally, Lucan connects these three episodes to highlight guilt and its association with Caesar and Fortuna. The storm scene complements Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1 because it also involves Caesar's movement across a body of water so that he can commit the ultimate crime of civil war. Caesar's unlawful transgression into Italy in Book 1 marked his march on Rome and, similarly in Book 5, he unlawfully seizes the dictatorship before his voyage at sea (5.380-402). Lucan magnifies Caesar's villainy and his guilt when he alludes to his exchange with Roma in Book 1. In this speech, Caesar exclaims that he is the victor of land and sea (*en, adsum victor terraque marique Caesar...*, 1.201-202) and then, in Book 5, he continues to believe that, in addition to subduing the whole world (653-666), he can overcome the dangers of nature itself (5.568-575; 597-639). Finally, Caesar's relationship with Fortuna is solidified because now she is his companion (*sola placet Fortuna comes*, 5. 510)⁵⁴² after he pledged his allegiance to her in Book 1 (*te, Fortuna, sequor*, 1.226). Because of his fervent desire to incur guilt in Books 1-5, Caesar no longer sees himself as Fortuna's follower but as her agent on earth and he embodies the guilt that she promotes. Like he did in Massilia in Book 3, Caesar undertakes an action that will incur the wrath of the gods and, by doing

⁵⁴¹ Morford 1967: 44.

⁵⁴² Matthews (2008: 80-81) argues that Lucan portrays Fortuna here as Caesar's mistress because he alludes to Propertius, who uses the same words in his own poem (2.7.19: *tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus*). Lucan also uses the language of Roman elegy during Caesar's exchange with Antony at 5.476-503. For more information see Matthews (2008: 15-17; 2011).

so, he attempts to show his authority over them. In both scenes, Caesar dares (*ausus*, 3.434, 5.509) to test the power of the gods and to demonstrate his confidence in Fortuna.

The other central theme that unites these three scenes and shows the prominence of Caesar's guilt and his relationship with Fortuna is that of hesitation and delay. In all three of these episodes, ceasing delay and hesitation to undertake a guilty action are Caesar's primary concerns. Unlike Pompey, Caesar grows ever more unwilling to allow anything to delay his crime (*moras scelerum*, 5.477). In each of these three episodes, Caesar faces delays and periods of hesitation, but he quickly overcomes them so that he will not anger Fortuna and risk her abandonment. At the banks of the Rubicon, Caesar delays Fortuna by speaking with Roma and considering the gravity of his actions (1.192-194) before he falsely convinces himself that his actions are just (1.195-203)⁵⁴³ and then he removes the 'delay of war' (*moras belli*, 1.204) and crosses the river. Similarly, in Book 3, Caesar grows angry when his soldiers are afraid to commit the crime at the sacred grove (3.432-433) and they hesitate to cut down the trees (*dubitet subvertere silvam*, 3.436). Finally, in Book 5, Caesar's anxiety about delaying the Battle of Pharsalus culminates in his senseless attempt to cross back to Italy lest he anger Fortuna and risk her abandonment. In the storm scene, however, Caesar no longer needs to convince his men to commit guilty actions, as he did at the Rubicon or in Massilia, but now he acts alone (5.500-504; 510) in an effort to confirm that Fortuna protects him before he engages in battle with Pompey.

⁵⁴³ This point will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

'Iam Nihil Est, Fortuna, Meum': Pompey and Fortuna in Books 1-6

Lucan contrasts Caesar's increasingly villainous character and the advancement of his guilt to strengthen his relationship with Fortuna with Pompey's weakening character, his fading affiliation with Fortuna, and his hesitation to incur more guilt. Books 1-6 describe the progressive detachment of Pompey and Fortuna, which reaches its culmination in Book 7 when she abandons him entirely and he is defeated at Pharsalus. Lucan stresses Pompey's and Fortuna's separation by mentioning the concept of fortune, and its personification as Fortuna, only five times in relation to Pompey (1.135, 2.568, 3.21, 3.169, 5.755).⁵⁴⁴ The scarcity of these instances stresses the notion that Fortuna's support of Pompey remains in the past because, unlike Caesar, he is no longer willing to incur guilt. An analysis of these passages will also show the gradual deterioration of Pompey's relationship with Fortuna and his simultaneous confrontation with his guilt.

In Book 1, Lucan immediately states the reason for Fortuna's desertion of Pompey when he describes the reason for the outbreak of civil war (1.129-135):

*Nec coiere pares. alter, vergentibus annis
In senium, longoque togae tranquillior usu,
Dedidicit iam pace ducem, famaеque petitor,
Multa dare in vulgus, totus popularibus auris
Impelli, plausuque sui gaudere theatri,
Nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
Credere fortunae.*

They came together not as equals. One (Pompey), with years declining into old age, and milder by the long experience of civil life, now in peace-time had forgotten the way of a general, and as a pursuer of fame, he gave much to the crowd, was wholly driven by the popular winds, and rejoiced in the applause of his own theater, he did not restore strengths anew, but he trusted greatly in his former fortune.

⁵⁴⁴ Dick 1967: 239. Dick (1967: 238) notes that, unlike he does with Pompey, Lucan pairs Caesar with Fortuna from the very beginning of the poem and he mentions Fortuna in relation to Caesar frequently and consistently throughout the entire poem, for example at 1.309-311; 4.256; 5.510, 5.696-697, 5.582; 6.141; 7.734, 7.796.

Unlike Caesar, Pompey prefers peace, he no longer remembers how to perform in wartime (*dedidicit iam pace ducem*), and he seeks fame alone (*petitor famaеque*). Rather than maintaining his relationship with Fortuna by undertaking actions to renew her support of him, as Caesar does, Pompey strives to please the masses, he relies only on his past glories, and he is unwilling to achieve new victories (*nec reparare novas vires*). As soon as the poem begins, then, Lucan implicitly predicts Fortuna's desertion of Pompey by stressing Pompey's reliance on past actions, his weakened character, and his inability to undertake the deeds that Fortuna demands.

In Book 2, Pompey's reliance on his past successes (531-595) and his role as the avenger of Rome marks him for failure and abandonment by Fortuna early on. Pompey continues to believe that his past successes are greater than Caesar's new successes (2.568-595) and that Fortuna will favor him over Caesar: "Will Caesar be the conqueror of the Senate? You do not lead all things in such blind course, Fortuna, you are not without shame," *Caesarne senatus / victor erit? Non tam caeco trahis omnia cursu, / teque nihil, Fortuna, pudet*, (2.567-568).⁵⁴⁵ Here, Pompey deludes himself when he continues to be confident in his relationship with Fortuna. Pompey does not believe that Fortuna would withdraw her support of him and that she would be so shameless to prefer Caesar over him.⁵⁴⁶ Pompey also envisions himself as a guarantor of Roman destiny and as more fortunate than Sulla (*Sulla felicior*, 2.582). By comparing Pompey to his

⁵⁴⁵ Lucan also associates Fortuna with *pudor* elsewhere in the *Bellum Civile*. For example, Fortuna feels shame when she lets Pompey die such a gruesome death, so she hides him away and buries him in a foreign land (2.734-735). Also, Fortuna is connected to *pudor* when Lucan calls Ptolemy the 'shame of Fortuna' (*Fortunae, Ptolemaee, pudor*) for the crime he committed against Pompey in Egypt (5.59-61).

⁵⁴⁶ Fantham 1992: 190, 220.

mentor,⁵⁴⁷ however, Lucan subtly predicts Pompey's demise and he implies that, since he is more fortunate than Sulla, Fortuna's desertion of him will be all the more devastating.

Lucan also shows Pompey's weakened character with his failure to anticipate Fortuna's abandonment of him when Pompey assigns guilt to Caesar and he makes himself Rome's avenger (*coeperit inde nefas, iam iam me praeside Roma / supplicium poenamque petat*, 2.538-539). What Pompey does not recognize, however, is that Fortuna embodies the antithesis to Rome and that she is her main opponent. Pompey's role as Rome's avenger and protector, which contrasts with Caesar's acceptance of Fortuna instead of Roma in Book 1, further emphasizes his disassociation from Fortuna. Pompey and his army become punishers of the guilty (*scelerum ultores*, 2.531) and dealers of penalties (*supplicium poenamque*), which makes them opponents of Fortuna herself. As a result, at the end of Book 2, Fortuna discontinues her relationship with Pompey because she no longer finds him useful ("Having grown weary by your triumphs, Fortuna has deserted you," *lassata triumphis / descivit Fortuna tuis*, 2.727-728).

By the start of Book 3, Pompey begins to experience the consequences of Fortuna's desertion when he contends with psychological guilt for his severance of his marriage bond with Julia (3.1-35). Julia states that, in addition to Fortuna, she is one of the primary reasons for his past successes. She implies that Fortuna chose to neglect Pompey because he broke their marriage alliance: "When I was your wife, Magnus, you led happy triumphs, Fortuna has changed with your marriage bed," *coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos, / Fortuna est mutata toris*, (3.20-21). Pompey's union with Cornelia marks the end not only of his marriage with Julia, but also of his hopes for

⁵⁴⁷ The allusion to past generals such as Alexander, Marius, and Sulla as examples of the effects of Fortuna's abandonment will be discussed later in this chapter.

renewed protection of Fortuna through the Julii.⁵⁴⁸ His marriage to a woman who is notorious for her ill-fortune (*semperque potentes / detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos*, 3.21-22), therefore, finalizes the end of his protection by Fortuna and it signifies a turning point in his life.⁵⁴⁹ The last association of Pompey and Fortuna confirms Julia's charges in Pompey's dream of her. In Book 5, Pompey takes Cornelia to Lesbos so that she will remain unharmed. Lucan contrasts this episode with Caesar's total commitment to Fortuna when he attempts to cross to Brundisium in the same book. Pompey hesitates to go into battle (5.740-741) and, having forgotten the ways of a general (1.131), he chooses to delay Fortuna by ensuring Cornelia's safety and he experiences shame because of his lack of military prowess (*nam me iam, Marte parato, / secures cepisse pudet cum coniuge somnos*, 5.749-750). Pompey tells Cornelia that he hopes his own bad fortune will not destroy her (*...positamque procul fortuna mariti / non tota te mole premat*, 5.754-756). Instead of associating bad fortune with Cornelia, as Julia did in Book 3, now Pompey begins to gradually accept the fact that he is no longer Fortuna's favorite. In his civil war with Caesar, Pompey enters a battle that he is destined to lose (*interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem / secum casuras in proelia moverat urbes*, 3.169-170) and Fortuna's total abandonment of him guarantees Caesar's victory at Pharsalus.

⁵⁴⁸ Lucan often calls Cornelia *infelix* 'unlucky' (5.799; 8.88-89; 8.742; 9.277) to further emphasize the deterioration of Pompey's relationship with Fortuna after he remarries.

⁵⁴⁹ Ahl 1976: 292. Ahl argues that the connection between Fortuna and love/marriage also invites the Julii's association with Venus, who was the goddess associated with the family. By choosing Fortuna instead of Venus, "Lucan...keeps our attention strictly upon human relationships and upon the significance of individual human action," (292). Pompey is the sole source of his guilt for remarriage after Julia's death and by Book 3 he begins to feel its psychological effects in his dream of Julia.

Ludus Fortunaee: Caesar, Pompey, and the Battle of Pharsalus in Book 7

Book 7 is the climax of the poem because it depicts the height of Caesar's guilt and his ultimate crime. The book begins with Pompey's dream of the theater, which demonstrates his weakness before his final confrontation with Caesar.⁵⁵⁰ After Pompey wakes up from his dream, his soldiers clamor for battle and they are overcome by their desire to incur guilt so that they can fulfill Fatum's design (7.47-61). To encourage Pompey to take up arms, Cicero implores him to yield to Fortuna by engaging in battle as a recompense for her many favors (7.68-69).⁵⁵¹ Pompey's unwillingness to fight stands in opposition to his soldiers' frenzy to commit crimes that will make them guilty (*dira subit rabies*, 7.51).⁵⁵² Cicero calls attention to Pompey's weaknesses (7.74-80), which are products of the loss of Fortuna's patronage and protection and his gradual confrontation with and acceptance of his guilt.

Pompey's response to Cicero and his soldiers (7.85-150) shows that he now has a different outlook than he did in Book 2 (531-595) and it calls attention to the destructive effect that his guilt has had on him throughout the narrative and his effort to alleviate it with psychological projection. Before the battle at Pharsalus, Pompey views Fortuna as a

⁵⁵⁰ Pompey's dream of the theater will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

⁵⁵¹ Rudich (1997: 159) argues that the character of Cicero allows Lucan to salvage the character of Pompey: "On a few occasions the poet is at pains to salvage his character's reputation: Pompey's fateful decision to fight at Pharsalus under such unfavorable conditions is ascribed to his yielding to pressure from Cicero." The reader, therefore, should not condemn Pompey because of his engagement in the battle and this might explain Lucan's more favorable portrayal of him after the battle concludes.

⁵⁵² Their eagerness to engage in battle, and Pompey's unwillingness to do the same, recalls a similar episode in Book 2 (531-595), when it is Pompey who attempts to rouse his men, who are entirely unenthusiastic to follow him (2.596-597). In Book 2, Pompey did not yet struggle with his guilt to the extent that he does in Book 7. In Book 2, Pompey still believed that he and his men were avengers of crime (*scelerum ultores*, 2.531; 2.539) and agents of the Senate (2.532). Although he realizes that civil war is not ideal (2.539-554), he relied on his past success and he trusted that Fortuna would put a quick end to the conflict (2.562-568).

negative force and he is unwilling to commit further guilty actions because he no longer seeks to reinforce his relationship with her. He articulates his struggle with his guilt, and his reservations for fulfilling Fortuna's wishes, and he becomes more hesitant and unwilling to fight. Pompey makes another attempt to alleviate his guilt by projecting it onto others when he expresses his aversion to civil strife and he criticizes his men for their eager anticipation of bloodshed: "What frenzy for crimes is this, blind ones?" (*quis furor, o caeci, scelerum?* 7.95).⁵⁵³ Pompey projects his guilt again when he claims that he made every effort to win the war without crime (7.92-104) and that there is merit in winning without bloodshed and criminal actions (7.104-109).

Pompey then expresses his total unwillingness to engage in this type of battle (7.91). The Rome that Fortuna gave Pompey (*...sic Romam Fortuna dedit*, 7.24) is no longer one that he wishes to fight for, because it requires his participation "in blind warfare" (*caeco in Marte*, 7.111), which is the very thing that he accuses his troops of doing (*quis furor, o caeci, scelerum*, 7.95). After he refuses to incur any more guilt, Pompey yields to Fortuna (7.89-90) and he gives Rome back to her (7.110-111) so that it can be governed by his father-in-law, who has no objection to the guilt and crimes she demands (*quantum scelerum quantumque malorum...*, 7.114). Finally, in a last effort to project his guilt, Pompey resigns responsibility for the outcome of the war when he says that he no longer sees glory in either victory or defeat because "every suffering will fall upon the vanquished...[and] all guilt will fall upon the victor," (*omne malum victi...omne nefas victoris erit*, 7.122-123). Pompey's speech, therefore, confirms his hidden

⁵⁵³ Here Pompey aligns his aversion to civil war with Lucan's disgust for the guilt associated with civil conflict, which Lucan expresses at the beginning of the poem (*quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri*, 1.8).

anxieties, which have developed throughout the poem. Pompey, who is no longer able to cope with the psychological strain of his guilt, which is apparent in his use of psychological projection and his symbolic dream of the theater at the beginning of the book, becomes an unwilling participant in the battle when he relinquishes his control and power (7.125-127) and he disassociates himself from Fortuna, who now fully supports Caesar. Pompey's hesitation, his lack of enthusiasm, and his animosity toward Fortuna all emphasize his struggle with his guilt and they foreshadow the battle's outcome.

Lucan contrasts Pompey's speech with Caesar's address to his soldiers (7.250-329) to examine the two generals' different experiences with guilt. Lucan relates the speeches with this theme so that he can demonstrate the effects of this emotion on each general. Unlike Pompey, Caesar uses guilt that he incurs from his crimes throughout Books 1-6 to project his confidence onto his soldiers. While Pompey promotes the cessation of crime and he tries to instill fear in his soldiers, Caesar only briefly experiences fear (7.245-249) but he suppresses it and he uses his own confidence as encouragement (7.248-249). Caesar's confidence is founded on his relationship with Fortuna (7.285-287) and his belief that, because of her protection, he can commit any action without the threat of punishment, censure, or psychological effects. Caesar views the emotion of guilt as empowering and, as a result, he does not experience a psychological struggle with his guilt, he wholly accepts the guilt of participating in civil war, and he makes no effort to project it onto his soldiers. Caesar unites his army by stating that his soldiers are the agents of his own fortune (*rerum fortuna mearum*, 7.250), that they alone can fulfil fate with murder, and that they determine the extent of their victory (7.252-253). Pompey's weakness and hesitation when he projects his guilt onto

the Senate and his soldiers because they compel him to fight (7.88) contrasts with Caesar's expression of his readiness to take on any role they require (*nihil esse recuso*, 7.268), his unwillingness to delay Fortuna (7.240-243), and his eagerness to incur more guilt if it will make his men stronger in battle (7.269).

As Book 7 progresses, Caesar continues to use guilt to fuel his *furor* and to encourage the undertaking of crimes, which will aid in victory over Pompey, and to fulfill his dream that began at the beginning of the narrative (7.254-256; 7.292-294). As the agent of Fortuna, Caesar promotes crime to guarantee victory and he, like his patron, is a primary cause and source of the participants' guilt (7.487-488).⁵⁵⁴ Caesar is so sure of victory and he relies on military success to dictate what is good and what is evil and to legalize criminal behavior. This is evident when he tells his men that this battle will make the loser guilty (*haec acies victum facture nocentem est*, 7.260) and that they can commit whatever crimes are necessary to win the battle.⁵⁵⁵ Caesar does, however, imply that he recognizes that the gods will punish him if he loses (7.303), which suggests that he knows that if he fails at Pharsalus that Fortuna will also abandon him and he will have to pay the penalty for his crimes.

Unlike Pompey, Caesar shows no hesitation to fight and he is so confident that he encourages his men to seek out guilt to ensure their success and he relies on his soldiers' crimes to make him victorious: "But while the weapons glitter, do not let any image of affection or a glimpse of your parents on the opposite side unsettle you, disfigure faces that ought to be respected with your sword," (*Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis*

⁵⁵⁴ Caesar's role as the instigator of guilt is also found in the episode of the felling of the sacred grove at Massilia (3.432-445).

⁵⁵⁵ Ahl 1976: 164. Cf. 1.203 (*ille erit nocens*).

imago / ulla nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes / commoveant: voltus gladio turbate verendos, 7.320-322). Caesar's order to kill as many men as possible is different from Pompey's insistence that they can win the conflict without any bloodshed (7.101-107). Lucan vilifies Caesar's promotion of civil violence and he invents this exhortation to emphasize Caesar's guilt without limit.⁵⁵⁶ Lucan, therefore, uses these two speeches to show the different relationships with guilt that each of these generals has and why the battle transpires the way it does.

After his demoralizing speech earlier in the book, Pompey makes a last attempt to exhort his men. By writing this speech, Lucan gives Pompey one last chance to rival the power of Caesar. Pompey's speech echoes Caesar's when Pompey attempts to excite his men by claiming that this is the day they have hoped for and that victory is possible.⁵⁵⁷ Instead of finally undertaking long awaited mass slaughter, which is what Caesar promised at the Rubicon (7.254-255), Pompey promises that he will end civil strife and crime (7.342-344). With this speech, Lucan draws a further divide between the characters of Pompey and Caesar. Pompey urges his men to fight for Rome, for their families, and for their future as free men (7.346-348; 7.369-376). Pompey's appeal, however, dissociates him from Fortuna and victory because Rome and Fortuna are incompatible and following one necessitates the rejection of the other (1.225-227).

⁵⁵⁶ In Caesar's own account of his speech before the Battle of Pharsalus (*BC* 3.90), he writes that he continually tried to limit bloodshed and make peace (*quanto studio pacem petisset*) and that "he had never wanted to waste the blood of his soldiers nor did he want to deprive the Republic of one of her armies," (*neque se umquam abuti militum sanguine neque rem publicam alterutro exercitu privare voluisse*). Lucan, therefore, invents Caesar's speech to highlight the theme of guilt and Caesar's monstrous character as an advocate of its continuation. For a version of this speech that is similar to Lucan's version see Appian *BC* 2.73-74.

⁵⁵⁷ Rudich (1997: 136-136) argues that Pompey's reference to ancestral glory and the belief that victory is possible (7.355-360) is "wishful thinking" and that, "when articulated in Lucan's own voice the poignant realization of the incompatibility of the ancestral traditions and the new ways tends to result in paradoxical overstatements."

Finally, at the end of the speech, Pompey tells his men to fight for him, and his wife and child, so that he will not be an exile and a slave (7.376-382). By saying this, Pompey unknowingly makes himself “one of the symbolic beings of his own speech,” which gives him temporary confidence when his men react with enthusiasm.⁵⁵⁸ His defeat signifies Rome’s and her citizens’ demise and, as a result, Pompey’s loss later in the book is even more devastating. By associating himself with Rome and its people, therefore, Pompey inadvertently draws a further distinction between himself and Rome, on the one hand, and Fortuna and Caesar, on the other.

Once the battle begins, Pharsalus becomes Fortuna’s arena, where she can promote guilt and *furor*.⁵⁵⁹ Fatum ensures that the battle will have the outcome that it does and Fortuna spreads guilt to everyone who takes part in it (*atque incerta facit quos volt Fortuna nocentes*, 7.488). Fortuna continues to protect Caesar and to ensure that “every guilty blade on Caesar’s side is hot,” (*calet omne nocens a Caesare ferrum*, 7.503). The relationship that Caesar has cultivated with Fortuna in the first half of the epic transforms Caesar into her mortal embodiment. Caesar relishes the slaughter of his kinsmen, he is incensed by his bloodlust (*hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar*, 7.551), and he embodies Fortuna when he promotes the guilt of others as he races about and encourages them to fight so that crime remains constant in his army (*quacumque vagatur, / sanguinem veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum, / Bistonas aut*

⁵⁵⁸ Ahl 1976: 166-168. Pompey’s accidental association of himself with all the entities that Caesar will defeat, also recalls Lucan’s image of Rome and young and old men and women lamenting his death in his dream of the theater (7.33-44). Unlike Caesar, who gains confidence from his relationship with Fortuna, Pompey continues to rely on his past success and his own achievements to foster others’ confidence in him.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.2-3, where Horace comments on civil war as a divine game and he calls it ‘the game of Fortuna,’ (...*bellique causas et vitia et modos ludumque Fortunae*). For more information see Harrison (2017: 28).

Mavors agitans, si verbere saeuvo / Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus, / nox ingens scelerum est, 7.567-571).⁵⁶⁰

Caesar does not psychologically struggle with his guilt, but he is driven solely by his *furor* (7.551-573; 728-759; 789-799). *Furor* becomes synonymous with the madness that compels the Romans to engage in civil war,⁵⁶¹ and, by extension it is an expression of guilt and *nefas*. As discussed above, Aeneas feels *furor* as a reaction to his experience of guilt and it is one of the ways that Vergil indicates that Aeneas psychologically struggles with this emotion.⁵⁶² In the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar's *furor* is a permanent disposition while he is under the patronage of Fortuna and it leads to his undertaking of more crimes that will incur guilt.⁵⁶³ In this way, Aeneas' *furor* resembles Caesar's because it is a response to guilt that produces the desire to commit actions that will inevitably incur more guilt, particularly during Aeneas' violent rampages in *Aeneid* 10 and the murder of Turnus in *Aeneid* 12 and during Caesar's fight at Pharsalus in *Bellum Civile* 7.⁵⁶⁴ *Furor*, then, is not simply madness that overcomes a character's mind, but it is an expression of his guilt. Caesar is consumed by his *furor*, and therefore by his guilt, and it propels him to victory in *Bellum Civile* 7, just like it leads to Aeneas' victory in *Aeneid* 12. Finally, after the battle concludes, Caesar temporarily confronts his guilt when he dreams of the men he has killed and he anticipates his punishment (7.781-783) but, when he wakes up, his *furor* resumes (*furens*, 7.797).

⁵⁶⁰ Chen 2012: 123.

⁵⁶¹ Ginsberg 2016: 424.

⁵⁶² Cf. pp.58-61; 72-74; 78; 132-135; 138-140.

⁵⁶³ Caesar's *furor* will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

⁵⁶⁴ Ahl (1976: 275) argues that *furor* is the "diametric opposite of *pietas*" and that it is as irrational and immoral as *pietas* is rational and moral. To Ahl, *furor* occurs when a person becomes more concerned with his own well-being than with the well-being of the state and he argues that, in the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar personifies *furor* and Cato personifies *pietas*.

Pompey, on the other hand, attempts to disassociate himself from the crimes that occur during the battle (7.649-652).⁵⁶⁵ Although the reader recognized the gradual disintegration of Fortuna's relationship with Pompey in Books 1-6, it is only when the battle progresses that Pompey himself finally realizes that he is *infelix* (7.647; 674), when he watches Caesar commit his crimes: "Now *infelix*, Magnus had realized that the gods and Roman fates had switched sides, and reluctantly he was compelled by the whole disaster to condemn his own fortune," (*iam Magnus transisse deos Romanaque fata / senserat infelix, tota vix clade coactus / fortunam damnare suam*, 7.647-649).⁵⁶⁶ After this realization, Pompey experiences the full weight of his psychological guilt for his role in the civil war, even though he did everything he could to postpone and prevent it (7.649-653). Pompey's awareness of the guilt he has incurred, and his acknowledgment that he too was merely an agent of Fortuna (7.666), provokes him to turn his gaze toward reparation in order to alleviate its symptoms. First, Pompey offers himself and his family as payment to the gods so that they will spare the world (7.659-668). Next, he removes himself from battle so that his men will no longer feel compelled to incur more guilt by

⁵⁶⁵ In the survivor's speech in book 2, Lucan also describes Sulla as sitting on 'a lofty seat' watching the crimes that he ordered and feeling unperturbed and proud (*intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto / spectator sceleris, miseri tot milia vulgi / non piguit iussisse mori. Congesta receipt omnia Tyrrenus Sullana cadaver gurgis*, 2.207-211). Pompey, however, sits high up because he cannot bear the sight of what he is a part of and it compels him to leave the battle so that no more will die because of him and so that crime will stop (*stetit aggere campi, / eminus unde omnis sparsas per Thessala rura / aspiceret clades quae bello obstante latebant*, 7.647-658). Lucan further disassociates Sulla and Pompey by saying that Sulla was *securus* when he looked on his crime (2.207), while Pompey is only *securus* when he removes himself from crime and no longer commits guilty actions for his relationship with Fortuna (7.687; 7.709). Lucan, therefore, disassociates the infamous instigator of the first Roman civil war from Pompey and, here, Sulla is more akin to the character of Caesar. Lucan's use of the allusion of Marius and Sulla will be discussed further in the next section of this chapter.

⁵⁶⁶ Here, Lucan does not mention 'Fortuna' but rather fate and the gods, which enables him not only to "insinuate the idea of divine treachery into his narrative," but also to unmask Fortuna to "[expose] her Olympian color," (Ahl 1976: 296). This statement is an example of Lucan's expression of his criticism of and anger with the gods for allowing this civil war to occur (cf. 7.445-459) and by associating Fortuna with them, he can articulate his abhorrence for the gods to an even greater extent.

fighting for him (7.689-691). This action shows that Pompey is free from the bonds of Fortuna, he accepts his guilt, and he starts to act of out *virtus* rather than *nefas*. Pompey is no longer slow and fearful (7.52) or hesitant and unwilling (7.91-92) but, once free from Fortuna, he is courageous and he readily accepts his fate as a defeated exile (7.677-682; 7.703-706). Pompey finally feels the happiness that only existed in his dreams,⁵⁶⁷ and he sees his fame, which he won while under the patronage of Fortuna, as sufficient (7.717-719).

Lucan portrays Pompey's attempts at reparation to show that Pompey is not wholly culpable for his part in the civil war, but rather it is Fortuna and Caesar who are the guarantors of the continuation of guilt. Once Fortuna deserts him, Lucan redeems the character of Pompey by showing his remorse, which suggests that he experiences psychological guilt,⁵⁶⁸ and Lucan blames Fortuna for Pompey's defeat and his actions during the civil war.⁵⁶⁹ Pompey's acceptance of defeat, Fortuna's abandonment, and his

⁵⁶⁷ Lucan's description of Pompey's departure from the battlefield mirrors Pompey's own dream at the beginning of the book. Rather than having an anxious mind (*anxia*, 7.20), Pompey is now free from care (*securus*, 7.687; 7.709). In his dream his mind fled back to happier times (*seu fine bonorum / anxia venturis ad tempora laeta refugit*, 7.19-20) and now these happier times have been realized (*nunc tempora laeta / respexisse vacat*, 7.687-688). Also, the image of people lamenting in Pompey's theater after his death (*te mixto flessset luctu iuvenisque senexque / iniussusque puer, lacerasset crino soluto / pectora feminem ceu Bruti funere volgus*, 7.37-39) echoes Lucan's request that the people stop crying for Pompey and instead celebrate him (*prohibe lamenta sonare, / flere veta populos, lacrimas luctusque remitte*, 7.706-707).

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. pp. 10-12; 112-113; 131.

⁵⁶⁹ Dick (1967: 239) argues that Lucan uses Fortuna to account for Pompey's defeat: "If *Fortuna rapax* were ultimately accountable for Pompey's defeat, the poet's purpose would be accomplished. Lucan's unswerving republicanism could not allow him to admit that Pompey was simply inferior to Caesar as a commander, and that the latter's advanced strategy and planning were the decisive factors in Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus." Lucan commends Pompey's separation from Fortuna and his refusal to willingly participate in the crime of civil war. After the Battle of Pharsalus, Lucan commonly refers to Pompey as *sacer* ('holy', 'sacred') (8.664, 669, 777, 769, 792, 806) rather than *felix*, which further shows Lucan's admiration for the general because of his departure from the bonds of Fortuna (Bartsch 1997: 80). Bartsch (1997: 82) argues that the narrator contrasts his attitude and reservations toward Pompey in the beginning of the epic with the end of the epic. When Pompey breaks away from Fortuna, Lucan shows favor to him so that his fame will endure and so that he will live on as "the literary favorite in the world after the Republic."

search for reparation after the battle prompts Lucan to celebrate Pompey in Book 8 and to give him the fame that Pompey tries continually to relive. Upon his death, Pompey is free from the bonds of Fortuna (*libera fortunae mors est*, 7.818) and he can finally find absolution.

Punishment and Death as Consolation: Pompey, Sulla, and Marius

After the felling of the sacred grove in Book 3, Lucan poses the question of how Caesar will be held accountable for his guilt and his crimes (3.447-449):

*Quis enim laesos impune putaret
Esse deos? Servat multos fortuna nocentes
Et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.*

For who would think that the gods are injured with impunity? Fortuna preserves many guilty men and the deities are able to only be angry at the unfortunate.

Lucan names Fortuna as the protector of the guilty (*nocentes*) and he articulates the idea that her patronage excludes her clients from divine punishment.⁵⁷⁰ Lucan suggests that Fortuna is more powerful than the gods because they can punish her mortal agents only after she has abandoned them and they have become *miseri*. By using Pompey as an example of what occurs after Fortuna has abandoned her client, Lucan encourages the reader to anticipate a similar brutal death for Caesar. Lucan poses this question, therefore, to suggest that Caesar, whom Fortuna will eventually neglect and abandon like Pompey before him, will also experience the full extent of his guilt and finally face its consequences.⁵⁷¹ Although the reader already knows that Caesar will be assassinated in

⁵⁷⁰ In Book 5 (272-274), Caesar's men call themselves *nocentes* when they fear the repercussions of their guilt (*imus in omne nefas, manibus ferroque nocentes, / paupertate pii. Finis quis quaeritur armis? / Quid satis est, si Roma parum?*).

⁵⁷¹ Augoustakis 2006: 637.

44 BCE, Pompey's violent death assures the reader that Fortuna will also desert Caesar and that he will also be punished for his guilt. Lucan portrays the crimes that Caesar commits for Fortuna that incur legal, religious, and psychological guilt, especially his crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1, the desecration of the sacred grove in Massilia in Book 3, and the Battle of Pharsalus in Book 7, to explain why Caesar is violently killed and to suggest that this punishment occurs because Fortuna finally withdraws her support and protection. Like the grove, Caesar's body is violated (*numquam violatus*, 3.339; *violata in robora*, 3.435; *violatus*, Val.Max. 4.5.6)⁵⁷² and, at long last, the gods exact retribution because he, like Pompey, becomes a *miser*.

At the beginning of Book 8, Lucan confirms that Fortuna has ended her support of Pompey and that he must now pay the penalty for her past favors: "But Fortuna demands penalties of her prolonged favor from the miserable man, she who with such a great weight of his fame crushes his adversity, and she overwhelms him with his former fate," *sed longi poenas Fortuna favoris / exigit a misero, quae tanto pondere famae / res permit adversas, fatisque prioribus urget*, 8.21-23). After the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey's fortune is synonymous with disgrace and Lucan foreshadows his death (*dedecori est fortuna prior*, 8.31). Although Pompey condemns his former successes (8.24-29), he does not yet acknowledge the full extent of the implications of Fortuna's desertion because, even after his defeat, he continues to rely on his fame to keep him safe (8.274-276; 8.311-313; 8.624), which compels him to believe that she will provide him safety in exile (8.190-192). Pompey, however, soon becomes a victim of Fortuna when the Senate

⁵⁷² Augoustakis 2006: 638.

compels him to go to Egypt for refuge, where Fortuna indirectly seeks payment for her favours with his death.

Through the agency of Caesar, the Battle of Pharsalus offered Fortuna a way to spread guilt throughout the entire world (8.600-604) and, as a result, even the Egyptians choose to incur guilt by killing Pompey. Rather than doing what is lawful or just, the Egyptians attempt to satisfy Fortuna with their own guilt by siding with Caesar and murdering Pompey (“Praised loyalty pays the penalty, he says, when it supports those whom Fortuna crushes,” *dat poenas laudata fides, cum sustinet, inquit, / quos Fortuna premit*, 8.485-486). To justify their actions, the Egyptians argue that, since Pompey must now pay for his guilt and he is no longer protected by Fortuna (8.525), he will bring his guilt to Egypt and pollute it (“Guilty of the crimes from Thessaly, accepted by no land, he disturbs our land, which he has not yet ruined,” *Thessaliaeque reus, nulla tellure receptus, / sollicitat nostrum, quem nondum prodidit, orbem*, 8.510-511). The Egyptians, then, reason that they must kill Pompey, even though they will incur guilt (*nocentes*, 8.484), to protect them from Fortuna’s and Fate’s wrath (8.533-534) and to ensure the safety of their country (8.491-492). In this way, then, Pompey indirectly becomes a victim of Fortuna when he is murdered by Caesar’s supporters on the bank of the Nile.

The vivid and disturbing depiction of the death of Pompey (8.536-636; 8.708-711) not only elicits pathos from the audience, but it also aligns him with other *felices*, who have also been abandoned by Fortuna when they no longer wish to incur guilt in her name. Lucan expresses the inevitability of Pompey’s death after Fortuna chooses to support Caesar (8.701-708):

*Hac Fortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata
Pertulit, hac illum summo de culmine rerum
Morte petit, cladesque omnes exegit in uno*

*Saeva die, quibus immunes tot praestitit annos,
Pompeiusque fuit, qui numquam mixta videret
Laeta malis, felix nullo turbante deorum,
Et nullo parcente miser. Semel impulit illum
Dilata Fortuna manu.*

With this faith Fortuna carried such prosperous fates of Magnus, with this she summoned him from the highest peak of his successes to death, and in one ferocious day she exacted penalty for all the disasters, from which for so many years she gave him exemption, he was Pompey, who never saw happy things mixed together with bad, as *felix* he did not experience disturbance of the gods, and as a miserable man he was spared by none. Fortuna strikes him with her once restrained hand.

By emphasizing the severity of the penalty that Fortuna imposes upon her past favourites, Lucan implicitly reminds his reader that Caesar will also be violently murdered and that he will also pay for his crimes and guilt. In Books 1-7, Pompey psychologically, emotionally, and physically struggles with his guilt, as evident in his dreams in Book 3 and Book 7 and his continual hesitation and delay, and by Book 8 he pays for this guilt with his death (*cladesque omnes*). Lucan's description of Pompey as *miser* (8.707) rather than *felix* (8.706-707) confirms that he is no longer under the protection of Fortuna (8.704) and, as a result, he is subject to punishment by the gods for his guilt (3.448-449). Although Lucan comments on the transition of Pompey from being *felix* to *miser*, Pompey himself continues to look to the past to validate his success as a general. In his speech before he is about to die, Pompey recognizes that, although Fortuna now favors Caesar, his past triumphs will make him *felix*, even in death (8.629-632):

*Spargant lacerentque licebit,
Sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas
Hoc auferre deo. Mutantur prospera vita,
Non fit morte miser.*

Although they tear me apart and mangle me, nevertheless I am *felix*, o gods, and it will not be permitted for any deity to rob me of this. Prosperity is changed by life, a man is not made *miser* in death.

Here Pompey emphasizes the opposition of Fortuna and the gods when he says that, even in death, the gods will not be able to punish him to such a degree that all his successes under the patronage of Fortuna will be forgotten.⁵⁷³ At the end of his life, Pompey still views himself as *felix*, rather than *miser*, not because he still gains confidence from his relationship with Fortuna, but because her patronage enables him to have ever lasting fame and renown, which are untouchable even by the gods.

Pompey as *felix* (8.706; 9.208) and his transition to becoming *infelix* (7.674; 8.525; 8.624; 9.80) invite comparison with other infamous *felices* in Roman history, namely Marius and Sulla. The characters of Marius and Sulla, the civil war that took place between them, and the changing relation each of them had with Fortuna serve as paradigms for the characters of Pompey and Caesar.⁵⁷⁴ Historically, Marius and Caesar and Pompey and Sulla were associated. Caesar, whose aunt was married to Marius, was represented as Marius' heir.⁵⁷⁵ Marius is a suitable *exemplum* for Lucan's Caesar because Marius was known for his deception and his willingness to commit guilty

⁵⁷³ In death, "the greatness of Pompeius Magnus is vindicated" and his apparent weaknesses within the confines of the narrative of the *Bellum Civile* are no longer relevant (Feeney 1986: 244). In this way, therefore, his abandonment by Fortuna is positive because it ensures that his name will live forever like previous *felices*. Bartsch (1997: 83) argues that Pompey's reference to himself as *felix* in this passage indicates that Lucan "is letting us see the fragility of his support for the man despite himself." She argues that this reference is not a Stoic response to death and it serves as a powerful reminder that Lucan continues to connect Pompey to "his early mentor and civil-war monger, Sulla Felix."

⁵⁷⁴ Lucan also correlates Alexander and Caesar in Book 10. Lucan, as Morford (1967: 15) argues, shows his abhorrence for Alexander (10.20-52) in order to articulate his hatred of Caesar: "[The Alexander-denunciation] is relevant to the portrait of Caesar, for the denunciation of the man who imposed his sole will upon the world applies all too clearly to the Roman tyrant as he seeks to satisfy his ambition; Caesar belongs to the same class as the tyrant Alexander." Alexander was also protected by Fortuna (10.23), who similarly demanded from him slaughter and guilt throughout the world (10.28-45). Lucan associates the character of Alexander with Caesar to make an example of Alexander, just as he does for Marius and Sulla, to show that Caesar will eventually be punished for his guilt and that he will also suffer a disgraceful death (10.47).

⁵⁷⁵ Bagnani 1955: 30. Marius was also called 'the son of Venus' (Plu. *Mar.*46), which further strengthens the association between the two men.

actions, such as murder, to ensure his continued good fortune.⁵⁷⁶ Pompey, on the other hand, was viewed as the pupil of Sulla and his successor (7.308) and he was also named *felix* (Cic. *De Imp. Gn. Pomp.*47-48).⁵⁷⁷ Because of his association with Sulla, the question of whether Pompey would inherit Sulla's cruelty was a popular topic amongst the Roman elite (Cic. *Att.*9.7; 9.10).⁵⁷⁸

To establish a stronger connection between the characters of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar, Lucan uses the emotion of guilt as the driving force behind these generals' illustrious careers because it propels each of their relationships with Fortuna

⁵⁷⁶ Lucan explores the similarities between the characters of Marius and Caesar in the survivor's speech of Book 2 (68-233), which will be discussed below. The survivor's account of the civil war between Marius and Sulla shares many thematic similarities with other accounts before and after the *Bellum Civile*. Authors such as Cicero, Dio Cassius, and Plutarch depict Marius as immoral and willing to undertake various actions regardless of the legal and psychological guilt that was associated with them. In these sources, the character of Marius reinforces the opposition between good fortune and virtue because Marius, acting under the guise of *virtus*, commits crimes to ensure his continued success. Although Cicero often expresses his admiration for Marius, he condemns Marius' propensity for committing unlawful actions, especially when Marius murders the senator Quintus Catulus in 87 BCE (Cic. *Tusc.*5.56). Dio Cassius, in the *Historiae Romanae* (26.89.2) argues that Marius can conceal his guilt, and pass his actions off as virtuous, because of his extraordinary good fortune: "[Marius] dared with great readiness to say anything, to promise anything, to lie about anything, and to swear falsely about anything from which he hoped to gain an advantage, [but]...because of his extraordinary cunning and luck (τύχης), a benefit he experienced in the absolute highest degree, he even acquired a reputation for virtue." Dio Cassius' description of Marius invites comparison with Lucan's account of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in Book 1 when Caesar attempts to conceal his guilt by trying to convince Roma that he acts out of *virtus* as her soldier. Finally, Plutarch (*Mar.*29) writes that, during his last consulship, Marius committed various crimes, such as murder, bribery, and deceit and that "he personally counted the ability to lie as a mark of virtue and skill." For more information on Cicero and Marius see Lavery (1971); and on Marius and his perversion of *virtus* see McDonnell (2006: 241-292).

⁵⁷⁷ In this section of his speech, Cicero comments on Pompey's good fortune and he aligns him with past *felices*, such as Scipio and Marius, who also possessed *felicitas*, which was the reason for their successes ("For my judgment is this, that more often have powers been delivered and armies have been entrusted to Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, Marius, and to other great generals not only on account of their virtue, but also on account of fortune," *ego enim sic existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario ceterisque magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos, De Imp. Gn. Pomp.*46). Cicero also writes (*Att.*9.10) that Pompey's slogan was *Sulla potuit: ego non potero?* For more information see Fantham 1992: 91.

⁵⁷⁸ It is important to note, however, that Lucan suggests that his Caesar does not always mirror the character of Marius, nor does Pompey mirror the character of Sulla. Rather, at some points in the narrative, Marius and Sulla seem to stand as *exempla* for Caesar alone. The actions of Pompey in the *Bellum Civile* pale in comparison to those described in the survivor's speech and Lucan himself expresses his wish that Pompey would act more like Sulla (6.301-303). Henderson (1998: 177) argues that "Sulla...figures as (a) Caesar *avant la lettre*. He represents *bellum civile* to Caesar's *Bella...plus quam civilia*."

and ensures that they remain *felices*. Lucan makes this connection early in the poem when, in Book 1 (580-584), Marius and Sulla first appear as shades during Lucan's account of the prodigies that occur before the civil war begins.⁵⁷⁹ The appearance of their shades early in the poem immediately connects the conflict between Caesar and Pompey with that of Marius and Sulla and it suggests that the present war will also have a devastating outcome.⁵⁸⁰ Even though the appearance of the shades of Marius and Sulla foreshadows the devastation of the current civil war, it also reminds the reader that Caesar's tyranny will soon end, just as it did for his predecessors.

In the next book, guilt continues to connect the characters of Marius and Sulla with Caesar and Pompey. As Caesar pursues Pompey through Italy, the Roman citizens anticipate the devastating effects of another civil war by recalling the previous civil war between Marius and Sulla. At the beginning of Book 2, an elderly survivor of the first civil war remembers the exploits and crimes of its main players (2.67-233). Lucan uses this speech to depict Marius as "wholly bad, the symbol of Civil War, an example of atrocious cruelty equalled only by Sulla,"⁵⁸¹ to emphasize the existence of precedents for

⁵⁷⁹ Roche (2009: 17) argues that "book seven forms the climax of the narrative that was initiated at [1.183] and announced in the first line of the proem. The pattern of allusion throughout seven back to one is consistent and pervasive." In his account of the prodigies in Book 7, Lucan says that Fortuna foretells the disasters of the day through these various signs (7.151-152). If we assume that the 'menacing god' who sends the portents in Book 1 is the same as that of Book 7 (i.e. Fortuna), the appearance of Marius and Sulla is evermore significant. With these signs, Fortuna not only predicts the devastating civil war to come, but she reminds the reader of her role in the previous civil war and her patronage over Marius and Sulla, who have now been replaced by Caesar and Pompey.

⁵⁸⁰ Morford 1966: 111. Morford argues that Lucan uses the contradictory portraits of Marius as violent and destructive, on the one hand, and as possessing philosophical virtues, on the other hand. Morford concludes that Lucan emphasizes Marius' cruelty and his *ambitio* but that he also uses the 'Stoic' Marius for his portrait of Cato. It is important to note, however, that, according to Lucan, the war between Pompey and Caesar is even more devastating than the previous civil war between Marius and Sulla (*bella...plus quam civilia*, BC 1.1. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, continue the guilty crimes of Marius and Sulla, but to an even greater degree.

⁵⁸¹ Morford 1966: 111.

the criminal actions that Caesar and Pompey will undertake,⁵⁸² and to show that *nefas* and *scelus* are required for continued promotion and success alongside Fortuna.

At the beginning of the speech, the soldiers of the current civil war express their fear of renewed crime (*novorum...scelerum*, 2.61-62) and they pray that the gods will stop Caesar and Pompey before they become guilty by engaging in civil conflict (2.59-60).⁵⁸³ The survivor of the civil war between Marius and Sulla responds by saying that Caesar's and Pompey's war finds its precedent only decades before when Fatum had a similar design (*'non alios' inquit 'motus tunc fata parabant*, 2.68).⁵⁸⁴ In the account of the exploits of Marius, Lucan describes the ebb and flow in the strength of Marius' relationship with Fortuna. While he is imprisoned, Marius must pay the penalty for his crimes (2.75) and he becomes accountable for his *furor* and the deaths that resulted from it (2.79-83). Although he remains *felix*, he anticipates his death as a punishment for his guilt (*felix moriturus*, 2.74). Marius does not die but he continues to be protected by Fortuna (2.72) and the gods of crime (*terribilesque deos scelerum*, 2.80) preserve him for more unlawful actions. Rather than being entirely absent, as they are in Pompey and Caesar's conflict, the gods in the civil war between Marius and Sulla play a critical role. The soldier explains that the gods do not protect Marius because they favor him, but that he is protected by their wrath because they rely on his lust for criminal undertakings and they use him as an instrument to destroy Rome (2.79-88).⁵⁸⁵ Upon the renewal of his

⁵⁸² Alexis 2011: 105.

⁵⁸³ "Cruel creator, strike both parties and both leaders together, while they are not yet guilty of an offense," *saeve parens, utrasque simul partesque ducesque, / dum nondum meruere, feri.*

⁵⁸⁴ The mention of Fatum here predicts the presence of Fortuna because, as will be the case in the civil war of Pompey and Caesar, Fatum determines the outcome of the events while Fortuna oversees all events in between (*BC* 5.17-46, 7.487-488).

⁵⁸⁵ "Not by the favor of a deity was that man, a fierce warrior, protected but by the great wrath of the gods, and [he is] enough for fate's desire to destroy Rome," *non ille favore / numinis, ingenti superum protectus ab ira, / vir ferus, et Romam cupienti perdere fato sufficiens*, 2.85-88.

guilt, his relationship with Fortuna is restored (*ut primum fortuna redit*, 2.94) and she is a driving force in his Libyan campaigns.⁵⁸⁶ Lucan continues to create a parallel between Marius and Caesar when the soldier describes Marius' march on Rome so that he can seek vengeance for his mistreatment (2.99-100).⁵⁸⁷ Like Caesar, Marius acts as an agent of Fortuna when he spreads his guilt throughout the world and when he fights only with guilty men (*nulli gestanda dabantur / signa ducis, nisi qui scelerum iam fecerat usum, / adtuleratque in casta nefas*, 2.96-98). After his foreign campaigns, Marius, like Caesar, turns his sword against his kinsmen and he uses *scelus* and *nefas* to exercise his power and control (2.96-98).⁵⁸⁸ Lucan, therefore, correlates the character of Marius with that of Caesar by showing that both men bring mass slaughter to the Roman world (2.100-102), they revel in this slaughter (2.100-109; 2.103-104; 7.721-723), they commit atrocious crimes as they experience *furor* as a result of their guilt (2.109-114; 7.786-824), and each of them incurs religious guilt (2.126-129; 3.436-437).

The next section of the speech (2.139-222) offers a historical precedent for the guilt of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. Like Marius, Sulla revels in mass slaughter and delights in his guilt (2.139-140). The survivor, however, depicts Sulla's deeds as more atrocious than Marius' because Sulla extends his reign of terror to all of

⁵⁸⁶ Like Caesar in Book 5, Marius crosses the sea to engage in battle (*idem pelago delatus iniquo / hostile in terram...*, 2.89) and, although Caesar is unsuccessful in his voyage, the similar imagery connects the two generals.

⁵⁸⁷ Here Marius is called *victor* (*Marius quo moenia victor / corripuit*, 2.100) while Caesar, before he crossed the Rubicon, claims to be the *victor*, who fights for Rome (*en, adsum, victor terraque marique / Caesar, ubique tuus, liceat modo, nunc quoque, miles*, 1.201-202).

⁵⁸⁸ Alexis (2011: 106) correlates the survivor's speech with the events that take place later in the epic to show that "Lucan's epic depicts cycles of recurring violence, from one civil war to the next, as well as from one battle to the next episode of conflict within each war." Alexis suggests that the images of the survivor's speech are predictive of the events to come in the *Bellum Civile*, for example the youth being torn apart at the battle of Massilia (3.635-646), Caesar's explanation of the penalty he will pay if he loses at Pharsalus (7.304-308), and the description of Pompey's severed head (8.667-675).

Rome with torture (2.179-190), mass murder (2.148-162; 2.201-206), and the desecration of corpses (2.166-173; 2.190-193). Sulla succeeds in bringing the world *in commune nefas* (2.143-144) so that he can remain *felix* and advance Fortuna's desire for war (2.140-143; 2.193-195).

Although Lucan frequently connects Pompey and Sulla, Caesar's actions later in the poem make his character more akin to Sulla than Pompey's actions do. For example, Sulla's reaction after his killing spree matches Caesar's after the Battle of Pharsalus. When the bodies from Sulla's rampage are piled high, Sulla surveys the carnage: "Unshaken and free from care [Sulla] sat on a lofty seat as a spectator of the great crime, and he was not apprehensive that he had ordered so many thousands of the pitiable masses to die," (*intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto / spectator sceleris; miseri tot milia volgi non timuit iussisse mori*, 2.207-209). Caesar is also a spectator as he surveys the amount of dead bodies, which are symbols of his guilt (*ac ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat*, 7.797),⁵⁸⁹ and he also delights in his guilt when he sits and rests on the battlefield so that he can continue to revel in his crimes (7.792-797). Lucan also uses imagery of the aftermath of the war to correlate Caesar and Sulla. After the Battle of Pharsalus, Caesar is happy that rivers are filled with blood and corpses are piled as high as hills (7.789-791), which is an image that resembles the one Lucan uses to describe the aftermath of the Sulla's victory when bodies fill up the river Tiber and cause it to flood and run red with Tyrrhenian blood (2.209-220).⁵⁹⁰ Lastly, both Sulla and Caesar

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. 2.207-208: *intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto / spectator sceleris*.

⁵⁹⁰ Lucan uses similar vocabulary in these episodes in order to link the crimes and guilt of Sulla with that of Caesar in the future: *videor fluvios spectare cruoris / calcatosque simul reges sparsumque senatus / corpus et immense populos in caede natantis*, 7.292-294; and 7.789-791: *cernit propulsa cruore / flumina, et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles / corpora*, echo the survivor's description of the aftermath of Sulla's rampage: 2.209-214: *congesta receipt / omnia Tyrrhenus Sullana cadavera gurgis, / in fluvium primi*

desecrate the bodies of their victims, Sulla when he urges his men to carry the severed heads on pikes into the forum (2.160-161) and when he allows the bodies to rot and be left unburied (2.166-173), and Caesar when he refuses to bury the corpses after the Battle of Pharsalus is over (7.789-799).

At the end of his speech, the soldier contemplates the title *felix*, which the Roman people gave to Sulla: “For these things did Sulla deserve to be named savior of the state, to be called *felix*, and to raise his tomb in the middle of the Campus?” (*hisne salus rerum, felix his Sulla vocari, / his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo?*, 2.221-222).

Sulla’s willingness to commit crimes, and his disregard for punishment (2.207-209), show that Sulla, like Caesar, seeks to incur as much legal, religious, and psychological guilt as possible so that he can maintain the title of *felix*. In order to remain under the patronage of Fortuna, Sulla and Marius must become *victores cruenti* (2.111-112; 2.156-157) and, in the remainder of the poem, Caesar himself strives to be *victor* and *felix* (3.296) by incurring legal and psychological guilt so that he can guarantee the same protection by Fortuna (1.201; 2.605; 7.233; 9.47; 10.6).⁵⁹¹ The Marius and Sulla digression shows that “the old favorites of Fortune...are outstripped by the present leaders, who have grown worse with long-held power.”⁵⁹² Although this may seem to be

cecidere, in corpora summi. / praecipites haesere rates, et strage cruenta / interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor, / ad molem stetit unda sequens.

⁵⁹¹ The survivor’s speech introduces the idea that victory in the *Bellum Civile* assumes a negative connotation. A general’s possession of victory requires the undertaking of actions that incur guilt. Lucan voices this opinion at 7.698-706 in an apostrophe when he tells Pompey that the possession of victory is not worth the undertaking of crimes and mass slaughter and that, in civil war, to win is worse than being defeated (*vincere peius erat*, 7.706). Lucan also warns about the cost of victory during the soldiers’ dream after the Battle of Pharsalus (*exigit a meritis tristes victoria poenas, / sibilique et flammis infert sopor*, 7.771-772). Marius and Sulla are both blood stained victors (2.111; 2.156-157), their guilt pollutes them (2.114), and their only protection is to remain *felices* under the guardianship of Fortuna. Once Fortuna abandons them, however, they must pay the price for their victory. When Caesar is named as *victor* (1.201; 2.605; 7.233; 9.47; 10.6), therefore, the reader should anticipate that he will be punished for his guilt because he will also become a *victor cruentus* after the Battle of Pharsalus.

⁵⁹² Fantham 1992: 121.

negative, however, it assures that reader that Caesar's eventual penalty will match his crimes when Fortuna inevitably deserts him.

Lucan's portrayal of Marius and Sulla acts as a consolation to the reader because it confirms that Caesar will eventually be accountable for his guilt when Fortuna moves on to her new favourite, which Lucan commonly alludes to in other parts of the narrative (*BC* 7.586-596; 7.610-616; 10.341-344). Caesar's desecration of the sacred grove in Massilia is related to the Marius and Sulla digression because it also foreshadows Caesar's punishment for his guilt and it shows that he will also eventually become *infelix*. As discussed above, in this episode Lucan implicitly tells his reader that, even though Caesar's villainy and guilt evolves and Massilia is only one example in this progression, "the gods' vengeance will manifest itself in due course, as Nemesis never misses her target."⁵⁹³ Lucan's various references to the assassination of Caesar, his Marius and Sulla digression, and his examples of Caesar's guilt reinforce the notion that Fortuna's preservation of the guilty (*servat multos fortuna nocentes*, 3.448) will only last so long and the reader need only be patient for the gods to exact their revenge. With this digression, therefore, Lucan shows that crimes and guilt proceed from one civil war to the next and that this cycle is never ending.⁵⁹⁴ The promise of retribution, however, is a necessary part of these cycles of violence. By using Sulla, Marius, and Pompey as examples, "Lucan's poem is a warning to all who would choose *Fortuna* as their patron;

⁵⁹³ Augoustakis 2006: 637. Augoustakis (2006) argues that Lucan embellishes the grove scene to the extent that he does because, in this Caesarian tradition, Turullius, who was one of Caesar's assassins, similarly desecrated the grove of Aesculapius in Cos and was sentenced to death by Octavian after the Battle of Actium (Val. Max. 1.1.19; Dio 51.8.2-3). Lucan, therefore, relies on the fact that "the reader implicitly recognizes the sequence of deaths, preserved in the Caesarian tradition," in which "both Caesar and his future murderer show no reverence towards the divine and are subsequently penalized for their actions," (2006: 637).

⁵⁹⁴ Alexis 2011: 106.

she had showered Alexander, Marius, Sulla, Curio, Caesar and Pompey with fleeting success, only to demand recompense when the *felices* most required her protection.”⁵⁹⁵

Although the events that Lucan depicts seem excessively gruesome, they express the harshness of the penalty that Caesar will pay for his guilt because those who engage in civil war cannot go unpunished forever.

Finally, by viewing the characters of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar as victims of Fortuna, who fulfills the designs of Fatum with her promotion of crime, and by reading their deaths as the penalty for their guilt under her patronage, a different reading of Lucan’s encomium of Nero is possible. In Book 1 (33-66), Lucan states that the civil war, and the events that follow, are worthwhile because they ensure that Nero will be emperor of Rome and Lucan looks forward to Nero’s apotheosis and his ascension to the heavens (1.45-66). The sincerity of this passage has been a topic of debate. Some scholars argue that Lucan is genuine and sincere,⁵⁹⁶ and others argue that Lucan is sarcastic and insincere.⁵⁹⁷ By analyzing Lucan’s representation of Fortuna, his emphasis on role of *scelus* and *nefas* for the maintenance of one’s relationship with her, and his examples of past victims of Fortuna in the survivor’s speech, the death of Pompey, and the allusion to Caesar’s assassination (7.586-596; 7.610-616; 10.341-344), it becomes clearer as the epic progresses that Lucan’s praise of Nero is insincere. Nero believed himself to be under the patronage of Fortuna (Sue. *Nero* 40) and he built a temple out of transparent stones to honour her.⁵⁹⁸ Under the guise of praise, Lucan suggests that Nero

⁵⁹⁵ Dick 1967: 241.

⁵⁹⁶ For positive interpretations see Thompson (1964); Rudich (1997); and Dewar (1994).

⁵⁹⁷ For negative interpretations see: Feeney (1991), Hinds (1998), Casali (2011). Bartsch (1997), on the other hand, argues that we should not interpret this passage as neither positive or negative but, instead, that it “relies on the reader’s choice of a temporal vantage point from which to understand its ‘meaning’ (62).

⁵⁹⁸ Stevenson 1889: 394; Pollitt 1983: 144.

is associated with crime and guilt because of his association with Fortuna. Lucan says that they accept the past guilt of Pharsalia (*scelera ipsa nefasque / hac mercede placent*, 1.37-38) and he looks forward to future guilt and crime at Thapsus in 46 BCE, at Mutina in 44 BCE, and at Perusia by Augustus in 41 BCE. By mentioning these future events, Lucan implicitly suggests that after the Battle of Pharsalus the cycle of guilt will be renewed and, after Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE, that it will be continued by Augustus under the patronage of Fortuna. In his praise to Nero, Lucan alludes to Vergil's *Georgics* (1.24-39) and "carries to extreme consequences the possibly pessimistic tones" in Vergil's own poem to show that "Nero is not a second Augustus...[but] it is Augustus, instead, who is a proto-Nero."⁵⁹⁹ The succession of guilt through the Julii beginning with Caesar will only conclude with Nero's death and only then, "when their weapons have been put down, can the human race care for itself and everyone will love one another," (*tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis, / inque vicem gens omnis amet*, 1.60-61). Lucan anticipates Nero's death in a similar manner as the reader anticipates Caesar's death as a consolation and punishment for the crimes and injustice that Nero imposes upon his people and Lucan himself.⁶⁰⁰ By feigning praise, then, Lucan tactfully proves that peace will be restored by the extinction of the Julian bloodline (1.61-62) and, once Fortuna has deserted Nero, Lucan readily awaits the end of "heritage of Caesarian subjection"⁶⁰¹ and the gods' punishment of him.

⁵⁹⁹ Casali 2011: 92.

⁶⁰⁰ Henderson (1998: 182) argues that Lucan eagerly anticipated Nero's death because Lucan was already involved in the Pisonian plot to murder the emperor and, as a result, "the cycle enforces itself afresh, the obliteration of Nero itself caused, exactly, *Bella...plus quam civilia*, in 69 CE."

⁶⁰¹ Henderson 1998: 187.

Concluding Remarks

In the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan uses Fortuna as the personification of guilt because she embodies the *nefas* that is associated with the undertaking of civil war. The *Bellum Civile* promotes the idea that Fortuna favors the guilty and that it is through guilt that her continued patronage is guaranteed. As a result, Fortuna is a key player in the conflict between Pompey and Caesar and Lucan uses her to draw a further divide between his two main characters.

In the first half of the poem, Lucan depicts the evolution and solidification of Caesar's relationship with Fortuna through his undertaking of crimes, most notably at the Rubicon, in Massilia, and during Caesar's attempted voyage back to Italy. Each of the three scenes uses guilt to show the development of Caesar's monstrous character and his unwillingness to impede Fortuna with delay and hesitation. In these episodes, the gods are powerless to stop Caesar, who acts as an agent of Fortuna when he violates the divine and natural order. In addition to accentuating the villainy of Caesar and the progression of his guilt, Lucan uses these episodes to contrast the experience of Pompey in the same books. In Books 1-6, Pompey's relationship with Fortuna begins to dissolve, and then eventually ceases altogether, because of his reliance on his past successes (1.129-135; 2.568-595; 2.727-728), his refusal to incur more guilt (5.749-750), and his inability to cope with and alleviate his psychological struggle with the guilt he incurred as Fortuna's client (3.1-35).

In Book 7, Lucan constructs the speeches of Pompey and Caesar before the battle at Pharsalus in order to analyze their experience with their guilt and their relationship with Fortuna. Pompey is wholly opposed to the *nefas* of Fortuna because he attempts to

win the war without guilt (7.104-109), he shows his psychological struggle with his guilt when he projects it onto his soldiers (7.95; 7.91), he hesitates and delays the battle (7.68-80), and he participates only out of compulsion (7.91). Caesar, on the other hand, uses *nefas* to gain confidence, which is founded on his relationship with Fortuna (7.285-287), he becomes empowered by it because it will ensure victory (7.252-253), and he uses his *furor* to encourage others to incur as much guilt as possible (7.320-322). Once the battle begins, Caesar acts as the living embodiment of the guilt that Fortuna promotes when he is driven by his *furor* and he experiences joy because of his crimes. In Book 7, Pompey realizes that Fortuna has deserted him and that he is *infelix* (7.647; 7.674). This realization intensifies Pompey's psychological struggle with his guilt, which compels him to achieve reparation by withdrawing from battle, accepting his death, and completely freeing himself from the bonds of Fortuna (7.659-668).

Finally, Lucan's exploration of guilt through his depiction of Caesar's relationship with Fortuna and his portrayal of Caesar's villainous character enable him to subtly comment on Caesar's punishment, which occurs outside of the scope of his narrative. With his gruesome description of the death of Pompey and his references to Marius and Sulla in Books 1 and 2, Lucan provides his reader with an optimistic outlook for the future. Lucan implies that, like she does with her other *felices*, Fortuna will desert Caesar, he will have to pay for his guilty actions with his death in 44 BCE, and the gods will finally exact their revenge (3.447-449). The figure of Fortuna, therefore, is a suitable replacement for the divine machinery of the poem because she allows Lucan to explore the guilt that pollutes the world and to explicitly accentuate the divide between his two main characters.

Chapter 5: Dreams and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid*

In dreams, time and space are annihilated, and two severed lovers may be made happy. In dreams, amidst a grotesque confusion of things remembered and things forgot, we *see* the events of the past (I have been at Culloden fight and at the siege of Troy); we are present in places remote; we behold the absent; we converse with the dead, and we may even (let us say by chance coincidence) forecast the future.

Andrew Lang, *The Book of Dreams and Ghosts* (1897: 3).

Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Latin epic

The manifestation of ghosts and the experience of dreams were both longstanding *topoi* in Greek and Latin epic and their depiction consistently appeared from the poems of Homer to those of Claudian.⁶⁰² Dream descriptions and accounts of appearances of ghosts afforded a poet the opportunity to accentuate important themes or character traits and to add a psychological dimension to his characters that would be otherwise absent.⁶⁰³ Although the individuals who have dreams and are visited by ghosts are imaginative characters created in the realm of the epic genre, their experiences and reactions are identifiable to the reader regardless of time and circumstance because dreams are common occurrences for all human beings. The study of dreams is valuable in the

⁶⁰² The use of dreams and ghosts in Greek and Latin literature changed over time. In Homeric epic, Homer used dreams and the appearance of ghosts to advance the plot but they were devoid of any psychological meaning. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, if the dream or ghost influenced and advanced the narrative, it was believed to be authentic (*Ody.* 19.560-569). The most notable dreams acting as plot pushers in the *Iliad* are: the false dream of Agamemnon (2.1-47), Achilles' dream of Patroclus' ghost (23.54-107), and Priam's dream of Hermes (24.677-689); and in the *Odyssey*: Penelope's dream of Athena (4.795-847) and Nausicaa's dream of Athena (6.1-47). In the 5th century BCE, however, accounts of dreams took on a psychological quality as they began to embody the prevalent psychological states of the dreamer, such as emotions. In Latin poetry, most notably in epic and elegy, dreams and ghosts serve as physical representations of a character's emotions, such as grief, anger, and guilt. Dreams and ghosts, therefore, represent a unique method of interpreting the psychology, emotions, thoughts, and desires of a character because they offer a glimpse into his consciousness.

⁶⁰³ Harrison (2013: 13-14) argues that, whereas historiographical authors, who account for real events, use dreams as a means of contributing to the cultural memory of a historic event, the poet creates dreams in imaginative literature for his own narratological purposes and to add to the artistry of his poem.

analysis of Latin epic because dreams are “phenomena that offer a means to explore mental structures and processes that are inaccessible to normal waking awareness.”⁶⁰⁴

Ghosts and apparitions also function as indicators of past physical or emotional trauma and they subtly suggest that a person experiences subconscious emotional struggle, which manifests itself in the figure he sees.⁶⁰⁵ As a result, many scholars attempt to decipher precisely what dreams are, where they come from, and what they can tell us about the hidden or latent psychology of the real or imagined dreamer.

The theories that will be particularly significant in this study of dreams and ghosts and their relationship with guilt in Vergil’s *Aeneid* and Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* will be those of Aristotle, Freud, and Jung. Aristotle, in *On Dreams*, argues that dreams are caused by echoes of objects we have encountered in the day that have left their sense-impressions on our faculties of perception (459a23). When our perceptions are deceived, especially during a period of emotional distress (460b3), the sense-impression that we see in a dream appears to be the real thing rather than a remnant of it (461b7). Further, in *On Divination Through Sleep*, Aristotle denies a divine cause for dreams and their ability to foretell the future. Instead, he maintains that dreams are a way for a person to rehearse or determine the cause of an action or an event during wakefulness (463a21-31) and that dreams can be interpreted by carefully re-constructing their scattered and distorted images (464b5).⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁴ Bulkeley 1997: 2.

⁶⁰⁵ Hill 2011: 95.

⁶⁰⁶ For more information on Aristotle’s interpretation of sleep and dreams see Wijsenbeek-Wijler (1978); Ierodiakonou (2011: 49-58); and Gallop (1996). For more on how Aristotle’s sleep and dream theories are used by psychologists today see Papachristou (2014). For more information on Aristotle’s views on dreams, divination, and prophecy see Bommas (2011), who discusses how this view changes over time.

Sigmund Freud, in *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), argues that dreams have psychological meaning and that they can be interpreted. To Freud, “all the material making up the content of a dream is in some way derived from experience,” and this material comes from aspects of that experience, which we do not remember occurring in waking life.⁶⁰⁷ The main purpose of a dream, according to Freud, is for wish fulfillment and to enable the dreamer to decipher the confused images of the manifest content of dreams to bring out the latent content that has been otherwise ignored or repressed through censorship. In some cases, one’s ability to censor the content causes the wish not to be expressed and this tension leads to dream-distortion.⁶⁰⁸ To understand the distorted images in one’s dream content, Freud proposes the use of ‘symbolic dream interpretation,’ which analyzes the dream as a whole, and the ‘decoding method,’ in which each sign in a dream’s content is translated into another with known meaning in accordance with a fixed key.⁶⁰⁹

Finally, Carl Jung, in *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology and Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1963), argues that the primary purpose of a dream is for ‘compensation,’ which is the mechanism that governs the unconscious and the conscious. Through compensation, dreams bring forth the unconscious material that has been repressed, they provide the dreamer with an honest self-portrayal of the psyche’s actual state, and they create and renew balance between the conscious and unconscious.⁶¹⁰ Dreams also have a prospective function in that they bring into the unconscious the

⁶⁰⁷ Freud 1991: 69.

⁶⁰⁸ Freud 1991: 223.

⁶⁰⁹ Freud 1991: 169-213.

⁶¹⁰ Jung 1963: 36-41.

anticipation of future conscious achievement.⁶¹¹ Lastly, Jung argues that dreams can be interpreted because they contain archetypal symbols, whose meanings are universal.⁶¹² These symbols can be applied to anyone's dreams at any time because they are concerned with general ideas and they are separated from personal experiences and their associations.

The application of these theories onto the dreams of the heroes of Vergil's and Lucan's poems will allow for the analysis of the characters' inner psychology, mental struggles, and emotions. By reading the descriptions of dreams and the manifestation of ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* through this lens, we can comprehend and appreciate not only the great feats the protagonists undertake, but also the mental turmoil and emotional struggles the poet attributes to his characters, particularly with the emotion of guilt, as they complete or anticipate these actions.

In this chapter and in the following one, I will focus on dreams, ghosts, and apparitions that originate directly with the beholder as well as those that are produced internally, rather than from an external source, such as a god. I will focus primarily on 'message dreams,' or dreams containing messages from a ghost,⁶¹³ 'symbolic dreams,' which are made up of a series of images and do not originate from a divine source,⁶¹⁴ and 'anxiety/wish-fulfillment' dreams. I will examine the dreams and manifestations of ghosts and apparitions that appear to Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid*, namely the ghosts of Hector (*Aen.* 2.270-302) and Creusa (*Aen.* 2.771-789), and to Pompey and Caesar in

⁶¹¹ Jung 1963: 41.

⁶¹² Jung 1963: 77.

⁶¹³ In this section I will focus only on 'message dreams' from a deceased figure. For a more detailed discussion on divine figures appearing in dreams and in waking life see Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

⁶¹⁴ Harrison 2013: 125-176.

Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, namely the appearances of Roma (*BC* 1.185-203) and Julia (*BC* 3.8-35), Pompey's dream of the theater (*BC* 7.7-18) and the haunting of Caesar (*BC* 7.776-786).

I will argue that, in addition to Vergil's and Lucan's exploration of legal and psychological guilt by depicting the characters' interactions with divinities and by describing episodes in which the characters feel anger, sadness, remorse, and a desire for revenge, the *topoi* of ghosts, apparitions, and dreams also allow the poets to implicitly suggest that their heroes psychologically experience guilt and to explore how this emotion manifests itself in their characters' mental processes and actions. In the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, ghosts and dreams appear at important junctures in the narrative when the heroes are about to, or have already, undertaken a specific action that will cause them to experience guilt. The dreams and ghosts represent external embodiments of the heroes' guilt at these junctures as they contemplate their past and anticipated actions. Dreams and the appearances of ghosts and dreams are also important for the progression of the narrative because they allow each character to prevent his guilt from delaying or stopping an anticipated action.

The Shadows of Trauma: Guilt, Dreams, and Ghosts in Vergil's *Aeneid* 2

Aeneas' psychological turmoil and trauma from the sack of Troy are expressed through his interactions with ghosts and his experience of dreams. The connection between ghosts and dreams and guilt is apparent because these episodes only appear in the first half of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas initially tries to cope with his guilt from the

sack of Troy, and each ghost or dream contains an image of a character or instance directly related to this event.

Dreams and the manifestation of ghosts maintain an important function in the *Aeneid* because Vergil uses them to implicitly suggest that Aeneas experiences and struggles with psychological guilt. Vergil calls attention to the emotion of guilt in the dream of Hector (*Aen.* 2.268-302), who embodies Aeneas' guilt in the public sphere, and his vision of Creusa's ghost (*Aen.* 2.771-795), who represents his failures in the private sphere. I will argue that Aeneas' dream of Hector and his interaction with Creusa occur as a direct response to his initial struggle with his guilt, which results from his failure to save Troy and his entire family. Hector's ghost represents Aeneas' subconscious recognition of his anxiety and failure to identify the warning signs that Troy would fall, which he describes in his account of the speeches of Laocoön and Sinon, and his form as a bloodied warrior is a manifestation of the battle sounds that Aeneas hears while he sleeps. Aeneas' reaction of *furor* and *ira* when he wakes up are directly related to his contention with his guilt. Vergil also correlates the figures of Hector and Creusa to demonstrate that she also acts as an embodiment of Aeneas' guilt for her disappearance and death. Without his dream of Hector and the appearance of Creusa's ghost, Aeneas could not confront and initially cope with his guilt and this emotion might threaten his choice to begin his journey to Italy. Hector and Creusa, therefore, are important for the progression and development of the narrative because it is only when they instruct Aeneas to leave Troy, assure him that he is not to blame, and order him to begin his mission that he can temporarily relieve his psychological struggle with his guilt and continue to his next task.

Hector and Aeneas (Aen. 2.268-297)

When he arrives in Carthage, Aeneas describes his dream of Hector as he relates his account of the sack of Troy to Dido. Aeneas reviews the cautionary speech of Laocoön (2.42-49), the deceptive tale of Sinon (2.77-194), and the procession of the wooden horse filled with Greek warriors into the city (2.234-240) as he sets the stage for the story of its destruction. After customary festivities and celebration, the Trojans sleep and the ghost of Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream (2.268-297). Hector looks saddened and is weeping (2.270-271) and he bears the wounds he acquired at his death at the hands of Achilles (2.272-273). Aeneas expresses his confusion for Hector's delay and the reason for his arrival (2.282-283) and he asks Hector why he is disheveled and bloodied (2.285-286). Hector then commands Aeneas to flee the city (2.289-290), retrieve Troy's sacred objects and the *penates* (2.293), and gather a group of companions to found a new city. Next, Hector brings forth the sacred fillets and Vesta's everlasting flame and he entrusts them to Aeneas (2.296-297). Finally, Aeneas wakes up in a state of panic and anger.

Aeneas' dream of Hector is the earliest instance in the poem when Aeneas realizes that he has failed to save Troy. As an embodiment of the city itself, Hector compels Aeneas for the first time to acknowledge his guilt for his role in its destruction. Vergil emphasizes Aeneas' realization and acceptance of his guilt by portraying Aeneas' uncertainty about why Hector appears as mutilated and disheveled, by suggesting that Aeneas may have already been aware that Troy would fall before he went to sleep, by highlighting the influence of the sounds that pervade Aeneas' dream and their effect on its content, and by describing Aeneas' reaction after Hector's ghost vanishes.

Aeneas' description of Hector's mutilated appearance, and his apparent ignorance of why Hector appears this way, provides the reader with specific and useful information regarding the content and purpose of this 'message dream.' Aeneas' account is one of the earliest in Latin literature to describe such a vivid and gruesome portrayal of a ghost that appears to the living in a dream.⁶¹⁵ We may, therefore, interpret Aeneas' emphasis on the details of Hector's disfigured appearance as necessary for an accurate interpretation of the episode.

When Aeneas first sees Hector, he immediately notices that he is blackened with dust and gore (*aterque cruento pulvere*, 2.272-273), his feet are swollen from being pierced with the leather thong of a chariot (*perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes*, 2.273), his beard is unkempt and dirtied, and his hair is hardened with blood (*squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines*, 2.277). Aeneas tells Dido that these are the wounds that Hector received when he was dragged around the walls of Troy by the chariot of Achilles (*vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros / accepit patrios*, 2.278-279). In these lines, Aeneas seems to account for the source of Hector's wounds. When he continues, however, he asks how Hector received his wounds, which implies that he is unaware of their cause: "What cruel occasion has polluted your beautiful face? I want to know, why do I see these wounds?" (*Quae causa indigna serenos / foedavit vultus? Aut cur haec vulnera cerno?*, 2.285-286). Although memory and forgetfulness play an

⁶¹⁵ The other belongs to the description of Sychaeus in Dido's dream in *Aeneid* 1 (353-359) when he bears the wounds he received from Dido's brother Pygmalion. In Greek and Roman literature, there seems to be no rigid system for the description of a ghost's color or shape. Rather, as Winkler (1980: 161) argues, the form and color of a ghost is related to the emotion the writer wishes to evoke and the manner in which the deceased met his or her end. Frequently, to arouse terror or grief from the audience, ghosts appear as pure black, smoke-like, or pure white. Hector's mutilated and blackened appearance, therefore, is meant to arouse horror and sadness in the reader.

important part in the *Aeneid* as a whole,⁶¹⁶ it is unlikely that Aeneas would have forgotten where Hector received his injuries and how they were connected to his death.

Scholars interpret Aeneas' apparent ignorance in many ways. Harrison (2013) argues that Aeneas' line of inquiry does not indicate that he is unaware of how Hector died.⁶¹⁷ Rather, Harrison believes that Aeneas asks this question because a reader of the *Aeneid* would need an explanation of Hector's appearance, since this gruesome type of portrayal would have been relatively unusual. Kragelund (1976), on the other hand, argues that Aeneas' expression of uncertainty does not imply that he does not know the cause of Hector's wounds, but that his confusion is associated with his anticipation of what Hector intends to tell him by appearing in such a manner.⁶¹⁸ Kragelund reasons that, unlike in Greek literature where figures typically appear to the living in the manner in which they died, this was not the case in Roman literature:

To the Romans the shadowy figures of the dead were not forever tied to the appearance which they had acquired at the moment of death, but they could choose between a repertory of appearances in bearing with the message, which they were to deliver in the dream. The significance of a dream described in Roman literature therefore among other things depends on the appearance the figure has chosen to "put on" . . .⁶¹⁹

An examination of the guise Hector chooses to 'put on' is therefore valuable when evaluating this episode because his appearance is associated with the nature of the message he conveys to Aeneas. To Kragelund, Hector's form as a wounded and disheveled soldier also directly relates to Roman divination because it represents a

⁶¹⁶ For more on memory and the *Aeneid* see Most (2001) and Seider (2013). Most analyzes the role and importance of memory and forgetting, and the tension and association between them, by examining the duel between Aeneas and Turnus in Book 12. He focuses on different types of memory, such as psychological, poetic, political, communal, and intratextual/intertextual memory and forgetting in order to display their integral roles throughout the poem. Similarly, Seider argues that, in the *Aeneid*, memory elicits an active response and, as a result, every action in the narrative is provoked by memory. For more on how memory relates to the characters' experience of emotions in the *Aeneid* see Schiesaro (2015).

⁶¹⁷ Harrison 2013. 142.

⁶¹⁸ Kragelund 1976: 14.

⁶¹⁹ Kragelund 1976: 17.

negative omen and it foreshadows future ills.⁶²⁰ In this view, Aeneas does not ask how Hector received his wounds because he forgets or is puzzled by their cause, but because his confusion lies in what the nature of Hector's message will be and what misfortunes will arise when he wakes up.

While Kragelund is correct to argue that Hector's wounded appearance foreshadows and symbolizes the destruction of the city itself, we may also assess Aeneas' dream as an indication of his psychological and emotional state during the siege of Troy. Aeneas' vision of Hector can be viewed as a way for Vergil to create an outward manifestation of the psychological anguish and guilt that Aeneas experiences because of his perceived role in Troy's destruction and because of his failure to anticipate the Greeks' plot before this dream occurs. Although Aeneas appears to be unaware that the city walls have been penetrated while he sleeps, there are indications in his retrospective tale to Dido that suggest his anticipation of the destruction of the city already exists and, therefore, the ghost of Hector acts as a manifestation of this anxiety.⁶²¹ For example, in his narration of the events leading up to the horse's entrance into Troy, Aeneas expresses his wish that he and his fellow Trojans had been more open-minded to the obvious signs of the Greeks' deception (2.54-56):

*Et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,
Impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras,
Troiaque, nunc stares, Priamique arx alta, maneres.*

And, if the fates of the gods, if [our] minds had not been so foolish, [Laocoön] had driven us to lay waste to the Argives' hiding places with our swords, and Troy, now you would stand, and the high citadel of Priam, you would remain.

⁶²⁰ Kragelund 1976: 14-15; 29.

⁶²¹ As discussed above (cf. p.202), Aristotle argues that dreams result from echoes of objects that we have encountered in the day (459a23). Aeneas' dream of Hector, then, might occur as a result of the events of the day before, in which he saw the indications that Troy would fall, but failed to recognize them and prevent this event from occurring.

Aeneas' recollection of the tale of Laocoön and Sinon suggests that all the signs of the Greeks' trick were plainly obvious, but Aeneas and his Trojans simply neglected to recognize the plot and acknowledge the warnings they were given. Aeneas laments that he failed to accept Laocoön's counsel that the gift of the Greeks was nothing more than a trick (2.40-56) and he regrets that he did not pay attention to the groaning of the Greek warriors inside the horse after Laocoön pierced its side with his spear (2.50-53). Aeneas indirectly blames their inattention on Sinon, who shifts the Trojans' attention away from Laocoön's warnings with his own convincing speech (2.77-194).⁶²² Sinon's interruption, together with the Trojans' misinterpretation of the omen of the death of Laocoön and his sons (2.195-233),⁶²³ suggests that Aeneas may have already at least considered or anticipated the possibility that Troy would fall before it occurred. The mutilated figure of Hector, therefore, should not be read as the first sign that the city would be conquered. Rather, it acts as a confirmation of what Aeneas already, at least subconsciously, anticipated and voluntarily dismissed the day before his dream took place. The precursors of Aeneas' guilt, both from his willful ignorance, and the denial of these clues and negative omens, establish the foundation of his guilt before he even falls asleep. The ghost of Hector, therefore, can be read as an embodiment and confirmation of Aeneas' initial experience of this emotion.

⁶²² This shift in attention is marked by the word *ecce* (2.57). Jordan (1999: 35 n.57) argues that "the arrival of Sinon is a crucial distraction that prevents Laocoön convincing the Trojans."

⁶²³ Kragelund (1976: 39) argues that Laocoön's and his sons' attack by the snakes should have been plainly obvious as an omen that the city would fall, rather than as the gods' punishment for the piercing of the side of the horse, because snakes represent one of the traditional portents of misfortune in Roman divination. A correct interpretation of this omen, therefore, could have saved the city. Similarly, Austin (1964: 94-96) argues that the Trojans incorrectly interpreted that the death of Laocoön and his sons as a superhuman intervention in response to Laocoön's attack on the Trojan Horse. By presenting the story this way, Austin argues that Vergil makes this Greek myth Roman by directly associating the fate of Troy with the interpretation of prodigies, which is a frequent occurrence in Roman historiography.

Another indication that Aeneas subconsciously knows that Troy will fall, and one that supports the notion that Hector embodies Aeneas' guilt for his inability to prevent its demise, is evident in the language and word choice that Aeneas employs in his dream account. After Hector delivers his commands, loud crashes and chaos from the Greek invasion wake Aeneas (2.298-303):

*Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
Et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
Anchisae domus arborisque oblecta recessit,
Clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.
Excitior somno et summi fastigia tecti
Ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto...*

Meanwhile the walls [of the city] are thrown into confusion by various cries and more and more, although the house of my father Anchises stood apart [from the city] and was hidden by trees, the loud sounds rang out and the dread of arms advanced. I was wakened from sleep and climbed to the top of the roof and I stood [and listened] with eager ears...

According to Kragelund, in the *Aeneid*, the noun *sonitus* ('noise') has a "sinister significance" and an "ominous context."⁶²⁴ In this passage, the adverb *interea* at line 298 reveals that the noise of the besieged city occurs simultaneously with Aeneas' dream of Hector. A *sonitus* so piercing that it could reach Anchises' secluded house suggests that it may have an influence on the images Aeneas sees in his dream.⁶²⁵ Hector appearing as the personification of the fallen city and his guise as a grotesque and bloodied warrior may therefore be Aeneas' own unconscious translation of and reaction to the noises that

⁶²⁴ Kragelund 1976: 40. As Kragelund notes, Vergil uses the word *sonitus* to describe the noise of Laocoön's spear hitting the Trojan Horse (*insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae*, 2.53), the sound of the snakes in the water as they are about to attack him (*fit sonitus spumante salo...*, 2.209), and the noises heard within the horse as it approaches the city gates (*substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere*, 2.243).

⁶²⁵ In modern dream theory, it is commonly argued that dreaming occurs as a response to external stimuli, either of one's body or as a response to his or her surrounding environment. Psychologists believe that these stimuli can drastically alter the images that a person sees during sleep. For more information on the relationship between external stimuli and dream images see Jessen (1855: 527), Foulkes (1985), Schredl et al. (2009), and Eichenlaub et al. (2014).

pervade his subconscious while he sleeps. Furthermore, Aeneas' confusion about Hector's form may result from his inability to correctly identify the source and significance of these noises while he is sleeping. The vision of Hector, coupled with Aeneas' apparent anxieties from the day before, which he expresses when he recalls the speeches of Laocoön and Sinon, suggest that his dream of Hector represents the charged emotions and latent anxiety in his mind and the guilt he experiences for his role in Troy's demise.

Elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, sounds, or the illusion of sounds, also have the capacity to influence and alter the content of a character's dream. In *Aeneid* 4, Dido appeals to her sister Anna to try to convince Aeneas to remain in Carthage (4.416-436). When her plea is unsuccessful, Dido resolves to die because she imagines no other way to end her plight (4.451-452). That same night, before she goes to sleep, Dido hears her husband's voice calling to her from a marble shrine dedicated to him in her palace (4.460-461)⁶²⁶ as well as an owl on the rooftop shrieking out a long song of lament (4.463-464).⁶²⁷ Like Aeneas' dream of Hector in Book 2, these sounds seem to influence Dido's symbolic dream of Aeneas (4.465-468):

*Agit ipse furem
In somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
Sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur
Ire viam, et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra....*

In her sleep, wild Aeneas himself pursues Dido as she raves, and continually she appears to herself to be left alone, and to always proceed on a long journey companionless, and to search for her Tyrians in a deserted land.

⁶²⁶ "Here [at a marble altar in her house] she seemed to hear voices and the words of her husband speaking them, when dark night covered the land," (*hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis / visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret*).

⁶²⁷ "And from the roof a lone owl often complains with its funereal song and draws forth its long shrieks in lament," (*solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo / saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces*).

The voice of her late husband together with the sounds of the screeching owl directly influence the dream that Dido has when she goes to sleep. The voice of Sychaeus confirms her anxieties for her abandonment of him, which she articulates at various points (1.353-359, 4.13-30, 4.534-552, 4.651-658). The owl's cries, on the other hand, are a reminder to the reader and Dido herself of her fate because the presence of this bird reveals that misfortune will soon follow.⁶²⁸ As Schiesaro (2008) argues, the character of Sychaeus in this passage and the appearance of the owl are synonymous with one another because the owl acts as Sychaeus' reincarnation and both renew Dido's sense of guilt for abandoning him and marrying Aeneas.⁶²⁹ When Dido sleeps, therefore, the combination of the sounds she hears and the psychological struggles she experiences while she is awake directly influence her dream content. Dido sees herself as raving mad while Aeneas pursues her. His pursuit and her maddened state symbolize her anxiety and guilt for the abandonment of her commitment to Sychaeus in favor of taking another husband and for her constant wishing, even in this dream, that Aeneas were pursuing her instead of vice versa.

Vergil continues to stress Dido's experience of guilt as he compares her to Pentheus and Orestes (4.469-473), who are stalked by the maenads and Furies, respectively. Dido sees herself as alone and companionless, which are conditions that Vergil emphasizes with the sounds of her husband and the owl. Dido's dream shows that, in her mind, her isolation is caused by her abandonment of her husband in favor of *ferus Aeneas*, whom she is powerless to escape. Dido's dream in *Aeneid* 4 and Aeneas'

⁶²⁸ Cf. *Natural History* (10.2), where Pliny the Elder calls the owl a *monstrum noctis*.

⁶²⁹ Schiesaro 2008: 107-109. For more information on the significance of owls in other genres of Latin literature see Stocks (2016). For more on owls and their association with Dido see Gowers (2016).

vision of Hector in *Aeneid* 2, then, show how external sounds and one's disturbed psychological state can alter one's dream content.⁶³⁰ When Aeneas hears the sounds of Troy's capture, therefore, these "telltale sounds have penetrated to his ears and to that never-sleeping part of the personality which lies below the level of consciousness," and his dream content reflects his recognition of them.⁶³¹ Like Dido's dream in Book 4, the external sounds that Aeneas hears before and during his sleep subconsciously evoke guilt, which the images in his dream represent and embody.

Finally, Aeneas' reaction after Hector departs and he wakes up reveals that one of the reasons Vergil might portray this dream is to highlight the emotion of guilt as a driving force behind Aeneas' actions before and after he abandons Troy. After Hector's ghost orders Aeneas to leave immediately with Troy's sacred objects (2.293-294) and he foretells Aeneas' long journey at sea to found a new city (2.295), Aeneas wakes to find the city in flames and he rushes to take part in the fight (2.313-317):

*Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
Sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
Cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
Praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.*

⁶³⁰ In other Latin epic poems, this relationship is also clear. In the second book of Statius' *Thebaid* (71-133), Laius' ghost appears to Eteocles as the old prophet Tiresias so that Eteocles will not dismiss this appearance as a mere "false image of the night" (*neu falsa videri / noctis imago queat*, 2.94-95). Before his description of the dream, Statius provides an elaborate portrayal of the sights and sounds that occur during the Theban festival of Semele and Bacchus, which have pervaded the fields and houses around the area in which Eteocles sleeps (2.73-77). Sounds of revelry and music fill the air (2.76-77) as people continue to prepare and take part in the celebration. It is against this backdrop that Statius plays with the imagery of the dichotomy of quietness and noise as Mercury descends from the "silent air" (*tacita...aura*, 2.89) with Laius as his companion. Gervais (2013: 85) notes that this same *tacita aura* accompanies Mercury and Laius throughout their entire journey, as evident by a similar appearance at 2.4-5 (*...sed foeda silentis / aura poli*) and at 2.58 (*mediaeque silentia Lunae*). The noises and events taking place around the palace contrast with Laius' command for Eteocles to cease his idleness by partaking in celebration and sluggishness (2.102-108) so that the war with his brother can begin. Although these external sounds do not have a direct impact on the content of this dream in the same manner that they do in Aeneas and Dido's dreams, Statius, like Vergil before him, acknowledges the effect that external stimuli and sounds can have on the dreams of his characters.

⁶³¹ Weston 1937: 231.

The noise of men and the clanging of battle trumpets rings out. Raging I seize my weapons, nor is there enough reason for taking up arms, but my spirit burns to gather fighters for battle and to rush to the citadel with my allies. Rage and anger carry my mind away, and it occurs to me that it is beautiful to die in battle.

Aeneas gives in to his rage, he becomes *amens*, and he is overcome by the destructive forces of *furor* and *ira*.⁶³² His *furor* and *ira* compel him to make a last stand for his city even though it is already lost, a fact that is confirmed when he meets Panthus, who tells him that the city lies in ruins (2.324-327). Then, for the first time, Aeneas sees the destruction of Troy, which reinforces his guilt for his inability to save it, when he rushes among the dead bodies strewn all over the streets and he sees the terrors of war before him (2.364-369). Upon his realization that he is the last survivor (*iamque adeo super unus eram*, 2.567) and that he is powerless to thwart the Greeks' assault, Aeneas' rage intensifies to an even greater degree. It is only with the appearance of Venus (2.588-623) that Aeneas comes to his senses, calms his rage, and considers his next actions.

Aeneas' fervent rampage when he wakes up from his dream and his refusal to immediately obey Hector's orders have been interpreted in many ways. Some scholars view his reaction as "instinctive" and one that he himself rationalizes as being provoked by the words of Panthus and the 'power of the gods' (*numine divum*, 2.336).⁶³³ The most common interpretation has been to correlate the rage of Aeneas with that of the Homeric Achilles. Scholars argue that this scene marks Vergil's first attempt to distance his hero

⁶³² As argued in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*, instances in which Aeneas feels *ira*, which is expressed primarily through his need for revenge, and *furor* can be used to identify episodes in which Vergil implies that Aeneas struggles with and experiences guilt since they are reactions to and symptoms of this emotion.

⁶³³ Fratantuono 2007: 47-48. As discussed in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas' attempt to place blame on the gods is an example of his use of psychological projection to temporarily alleviate his struggle with guilt. Later in the book, Aeneas projects his guilt onto the gods again and he blames them for his reaction when the Greeks attack and he fails to ensure Creusa's safety ("At this, some unknown unfriendly divine power snatched my confused mind away from me in my fear," *hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum / confusam eripuit mentem*, 2.735-736).

from the “rash, impulsive, brave, seeking when all is lost the glorious death,” type of hero of the *Iliad*.⁶³⁴ To accomplish this, Vergil shows that, once Aeneas’ Homeric rage has subsided, he takes on other characteristics of the Homeric Achilles, “the bereaved comrade, the mourner, an Achilles of the *lacrimae rerum* rather than the *klea andrôn*.”⁶³⁵ By portraying Aeneas’ struggle and his reactions during scenes of intense emotion as being incompatible with the Roman ideals of *clementia*, *humanitas*, and *iustitia*, Vergil can also articulate his concern with Roman civil war as he tries to encourage “his Roman audience to recognize its own history of self-destructiveness in Aeneas’ behavior.”⁶³⁶ Early in the poem, therefore, Vergil stresses that it is important for Aeneas to cope with and control his emotions so that he can adhere to future Roman ideals and transform himself from a rash and impulsive Achilles to a hero who can found and rule a new Troy.

While these arguments speak well to the intertextuality of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* and they encourage the reader to compare the figure of Aeneas with Achilles, there is another way to interpret and evaluate Aeneas’ reaction after his dream of Hector. This dream is the first instance in which Aeneas accepts his guilt after his subconscious anticipation of and anxieties about Troy’s destruction are confirmed by Hector. His guilt propels him to try to find a way to make up for his failures by immediately rushing into

⁶³⁴ Williams 1967: 35. Williams argues that Aeneas had “to try to develop the intellectual and moral qualities appropriate to a leader,” and this development begins in Book 2 when he still resembles a Homeric hero. Then, as Aeneas sails away in Book 3, he becomes more aware of the divine intention for Rome. Finally, by Book 6, Aeneas is ready for the wars that he must engage in and he acts as a foil to Turnus, who now embodies the qualities of a Homeric hero.

⁶³⁵ Kyriakou 1999: 319.

⁶³⁶ Dufallo 2007: 101. Throughout the poem, Vergil shows that *furor* is incompatible with *pietas*. Aeneas’ ability to regain his *pietas* after being overcome by *furor* is one of the factors that will ensure his victory over Turnus. Aeneas’ *furor* is an expression of his guilt, which is most explicitly seen in his murderous rampage in Book 10 after the death of Pallas, while Turnus’ *furor* is driven by his arrogance and his insatiable desire for death. Aeneas’ *furor* is a temporary disposition, brought on by his intense emotional struggle, while Turnus’ is a trait inseparable from his character and it is the cause of his death (cf. pp.125-136).

action in a last attempt to save Troy, even though he seems to know that these efforts will be in vain when he anticipates his inevitable death (2.317). His desire to take part in the action is fueled by a rush of *furor* and *ira*, which are common side effect of persecutory guilt.⁶³⁷ After one's initial realization of and confrontation with the source of guilt, it is common for the agent to channel it to an external object by displaying other reactive emotions, such as anger and the need for revenge, so that it is temporarily removed from his consciousness.⁶³⁸ When Aeneas first confronts his guilt, *furor* and *ira* consume his mind and he rushes about the city and feels the desire for revenge.⁶³⁹ Instead of being entirely overcome by these reactive emotions for the remainder of the poem, as Caesar will in the *Bellum Civile*, however, Aeneas begins the process of coping with this guilt and channeling it so that he can become a hero fit to embody Roman ideals and values as he undertakes to found a new city. This reaction, and its quick resolution, shows Aeneas' emotional control and, although it requires assistance from outside figures such as Venus, it further demonstrates his resilience and his ability to endure, while providing a temporary means of justification for his seemingly questionable actions.

⁶³⁷ Cf. Chapter 1: Introduction (p.12).

⁶³⁸ Carroll 1985: 35.

⁶³⁹ Aeneas' experience of persecutory guilt is also evident later in the book when he desires to exact revenge on Helen (*subit ira cadentem / ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas*, 2.575-576), when Anchises refuses to depart the city and *furor* takes hold of Aeneas and compels him to renew battle to punish the Greeks (*Numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*, 2.670), and when Pallas dies and Aeneas goes on a furious rampage. For more on the desire for revenge as a reaction to one's experience of guilt see pp.12-13; 36 n.121, 36 n.122.

Creusa and Aeneas (Aen. 2.730-795)

When Aeneas regains reason and control after Venus mitigates his rage and reminds him of his family (2.594-598),⁶⁴⁰ he makes his first attempts to make up for his failures in the public sphere by shifting his focus to the private sphere, namely ensuring the safety of his family and his group of exiles. This effort, however, proves to be partly in vain because the loss and death of Creusa, which results from Aeneas' inattentiveness and forgetfulness, heightens and adds another dimension to his guilt.

In the second half of his story to Dido, Aeneas recounts the disappearance and loss of his wife during the exiles' escape from the city. In his description of their evacuation, Aeneas captures the confusion and chaos of the final hours of Troy as a means, in part, to explain his inability to protect Creusa. Aeneas vividly articulates the sounds of city's capture and he describes his anticipation of renewed fighting (2.730-734), which causes chaos amongst the group of exiles and results in Creusa's separation from them.⁶⁴¹ This scene initiates a second facet of Aeneas' guilt when he realizes that not only did he fail in his public duties, but in his private responsibilities as well.

⁶⁴⁰ As was discussed in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* (cf. pp.74-77), Aeneas positions Venus' appearance and intervention immediately after the scene at the palace (2.238-485) to articulate to his audience the importance of ceasing his efforts in the public sphere so that his own family will not experience a fate similar to that of Priam and Hecuba (2.506-558). In his recollection of Venus' speech, Aeneas projects his blame for his failures in the public sphere onto the gods, when she tells him that gods are to blame for its fall (2.601-620) and that he is powerless to prevent Troy's destruction. Venus' appearance to Aeneas, therefore, contributes to the progression of the plot because she temporarily alleviates Aeneas' guilt so that he can focus on his duties in the private sphere.

⁶⁴¹ Aeneas instructs Creusa to follow in his footsteps ("And let my wife follow our footsteps behind us," *et longe servet vestigia coniunx*, 2.711). The adverb *longe* in this line can be interpreted in many ways. While it may seem puzzling why Creusa is made out to be an afterthought to follow in the distance, Ganiban (2008: 103) argues that we should read *longe* as meaning 'behind' rather than 'far off.' While it "prepares us for Creusa's disappearance," therefore, it may not imply Aeneas' outright neglect of her. At line 711, Servius argues that *longe* means 'vigorously' and he notes that Aeneas is right to make the fugitives go individually because he knows that a crowd will be detected ("*longe*" "*valde*," *ut <1.13>* "*Tiberinasque longe ostia.*" *Nam 'longe' non potest, quia sequitur 'pone subit coniunx.'* *Et bene ire*

Aeneas' dream account of Hector and his recollection of the disappearance of Creusa are related through the emotion of guilt because both figures symbolize an outward manifestation of Aeneas' struggle with it. This correlation is evident in Aeneas' use of similar vocabulary and in a parallel sequence of events that accompanies his realization of his culpability. For example, Aeneas says that, as he considers what happened to Creusa amid the renewed threat of a Greek attack (2.735-740), some unfriendly divine force snatches his mind (*male numen amicum / confusam eripuit mentem*, 2.735-736). The word *numen* here recalls Aeneas' reaction after his dream of Hector when he goes on a rampage and he describes himself as being driven by the 'power of the gods' (*numine divum*, 2.336). Just as he wakes up in a fit of rage after his dream of Hector (2.314), when he realizes Creusa has vanished he again describes himself as *amens* (2.745), which is a reaction that also indicates a renewal of his experience of persecutory guilt.

Noise and sound also link these two scenes. The *sonitus* that Aeneas describes after he wakes up from his dream of Hector is mirrored in the scene of Creusa when battle sounds prompt the confusion and trepidation of Aeneas and his exiles and leads to Creusa's disappearance ("When suddenly to my ears the sound of numerous feet seemed to be close by," *subito cum creber ad aures / visus adesse pedum sonitus...2.731-732*).⁶⁴² Also, the *horror* of the noise after Aeneas awakens from the dream of Hector is also present in the Creusa scene because, once Aeneas reenters the city, he is dismayed by the same *horror*, which is now defined by its silence and eeriness (*horror ubique animo*,

singulos facit: scit enim multitudinem facile posse deprehendi). For information see Thomas (2001: 214-221).

⁶⁴² *Clarescunt sonitus, armorumque ingruit horror*, 2.301

simul ipsa silentia terrent, 2.755). Finally, as Aeneas calls to his wife while he frantically searches for her, he describes himself as *maestus* (2.769), which is the same adjective he used to depict Hector in the superlative (*maestissimus*, 2.270).

Finally, in addition to these verbal similarities, Aeneas' reaction when he learns that his wife is lost is comparable to his response when he realizes that the Greeks are attacking Troy. Just as Aeneas submits to the possibility of death by engaging in battle (2.317), he exposes himself to danger once again in his search for Creusa ("My purpose is fixed to repeat every calamity and to retrace all of Troy and to again expose my life to dangers," *stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti / per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periculis*, 2.750-751). In both scenes, Aeneas experiences rage as a reaction to his guilt⁶⁴³ and, when he returns after Creusa's disappearance, he visits all the same places he did during his previous rampage (2.752-766).

The association between these two scenes invites the reader to view the next scene, in which Creusa's ghost addresses her husband, as possessing a function similar to that of Aeneas' dream of Hector earlier in the book. Like the vision of Hector, which acted as a confirmation and initiator of Aeneas' guilt and culpability in the public sphere, the ghost of Creusa similarly appears as a manifestation of Aeneas' guilt for his inability to protect his family. After Aeneas rushes back to the city, Creusa's ghost addresses him in the following manner (2.771-789):

*Quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti
Infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
Visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
Obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
Tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'Quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
O dulcis coniunx? Non haec sine numine divum*

⁶⁴³ *Furor* iraque mentem / praecipitat, 2.316; sine fine *furenti*, 2.771.

*Eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
 Fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
 Longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
 Et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
 Inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris:
 Illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
 Parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
 Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
 Aspiciam aut Graias servitum matribus ibo,
 Dardania et divae Veneris nurus;
 Sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
 Iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.'*

The unlucky form and the shade of Creusa herself appeared to me before my eyes, as I was searching and raging without limit among the buildings of the city, and with an image larger than she was known to be before. I was dumbfounded, and my hair stood on end and my voice clung to my throat. Then she spoke and alleviated my cares with these words: 'What use is it to indulge your mad distress to such an extent, sweet husband? Not without the power of the gods do these things come to pass; it is not fated that you take Creusa as your companion from this place, nor does the ruler of lofty Olympus allow it. Your exile will be long and the vast surface of the sea must be ploughed by you, and you will come to the Hesperian land, where the Lydian Tiber flows with a gentle course amongst the rich fields of men: there joyous things and a kingdom and a royal wife is won for you; banish your tears for your beloved Creusa. I will not see the insolent homes of the Myrmidons or the Doloceans nor will I go to be a slave to Greek mothers, but I will remain a daughter-in-law to Dardanus and to the goddess Venus; but the great mother of the gods keeps me back on these shores. Now farewell and preserve our love for the son we share.'

Aeneas describes Creusa as an *infelix simulacrum* ('unlucky image') and as an *umbra* ('shade,' 2.773), who appears "before [his] eyes" (*ante oculos*, 2.773), rather than simply calling her by name, as he did with Hector (*ante oculos maestissimus Hector / visus adesse mihi*, 2.270-271). The use of these types of adjectives ought to be viewed as a means by which Aeneas finally confirms Creusa's death. This identification differs from Aeneas' description of Hector, whom he calls by name, because he is already aware of Hector's death before he dreams of him. Aeneas calls Creusa a *nota maior imago* (2.773), which further confirms that she is no longer mortal because the dead, like the

gods, are portrayed as larger than humans.⁶⁴⁴ When Aeneas says that he was dumbfounded (*obstipui*, 2.774), that his hair stood on end, and that his voice clung to his throat, which are reactions that did not occur when he saw Hector, we should not interpret these reactions as being generated by fear, but by his initial experience of loss and guilt when her ghost confirms that he has failed his familial duties.⁶⁴⁵ The description of Creusa's image and Aeneas' reaction to her, therefore, suggest that her ghost functions as a confirmation and embodiment of the guilt Aeneas contends with for her disappearance and death.⁶⁴⁶ If we read Creusa's ghost as a symbol of Aeneas' guilt, and as a way for Vergil to imply that Aeneas experiences guilt, her appearance at this juncture in the narrative becomes even more important. Creusa "helps, consoles, and deceives [Aeneas] when he is discouraged" and, even though her prophecy is more "optimistic than realistic," only she can alleviate Aeneas' guilt long enough for him to accept that he must leave Troy and his wife behind (*et curas his demere dictis*, 2.775).⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁴ Austin (1964: 278) argues that *nota maior* shows that Creusa has the "mystery of apotheosis about her." The fact that Creusa appears in the guise of the dead or a divine figure here will give further authority to her prophecy to Aeneas later in the passage. As a *nota maior imago*, "She makes her appearance to Aeneas in a form larger than her normal stature... an unmistakable hint at divine status," (Kahn 2001: 909).

⁶⁴⁵ Aeneas reacts in a similar way in Book 3, when the ghost of Polydorus confirms his death and asks for a proper burial (*obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*, 3.48).

⁶⁴⁶ Aeneas also uses the verb *obstipui* at line 560 when he witnesses the death of Priam and he imagines the death of his own family (*at me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror / obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago, ut regem aequaevum crudeli volnere vidi / vitam exhalantem, subiit deserta Creusa...*, 2.559-562). During the palace scene, Aeneas sees the *imago* of his father, rather than of Creusa as he does at 2.773.

Aeneas does, however, see the image of Creusa having been deserted (*deserta Creusa*). Aeneas' reaction to his recognition that Creusa has died and that she has suffered the fate that he attempted to prevent earlier in the book, reinforces and magnifies his guilt for his failure to protect her and to prevent a death similar to the deaths of Priam and his family. Aeneas will contend with the guilt from Creusa's death for the remainder of the epic, especially in Book 4 during his relationship with Dido and in Books 10 and 12 after the death of Pallas.

⁶⁴⁷ O'Hara 1990: 88-89. O'Hara argues that the *res laetae* ('happy times'), which Creusa promises to Aeneas, are not described in the *Aeneid* because the epic ends with Aeneas' killing of Turnus. O'Hara argues that Creusa omits the negative aspects of Aeneas' journey in her prophecy, namely his long wanderings and the war that awaits him in Italy, because her primary goal is "consoling Aeneas and allowing him to accept her death." Vital to this goal of consolation, therefore, is Creusa's effort to alleviate and absolve Aeneas' guilt so that he is willing to leave Troy and let go of the past in order to create a new future. In this way, Creusa differs from Hector because Hector did not provide the consolation and hope

Without her calming words and her optimistic prophecy, therefore, Aeneas would have no means of coping with his guilt and it is possible that he would not flee Troy and the narrative would come to a halt.

The first part of Creusa's speech (2.775-779) addresses Aeneas' guilt and his belief that he is culpable for her death. To ease Aeneas' struggle with this emotion, Creusa tries to convince her husband that he is not to blame for her disappearance and that she supports his choice to depart without her.⁶⁴⁸ Just as Venus questioned Aeneas' needless torture of himself (*nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?*, 2.594), so too does Creusa ask what benefit there is in giving in to such distress (*quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori*, 2.776).⁶⁴⁹ Creusa's insistence that Aeneas is not responsible for her death has attracted much scholarly discussion. Although Creusa's death is necessary so that Aeneas can marry Lavinia when he reaches Italy,⁶⁵⁰ his inattention and forgetfulness have troubled many scholars because he is supposed to be a champion of *pietas* (1.10) and duty. Perkell (1981) condemns Aeneas' actions and argues that this scene makes Aeneas an unsympathetic figure because it describes the first instance of

Aeneas required to temporarily resolve his guilt, which is apparent in Aeneas' disregard of Hector's commands and his rampage after he woke up.

⁶⁴⁸ While Creusa tries to stop Aeneas from experiencing guilt and believing that he is culpable for her death, it is important to remember that Aeneas himself is the narrator of her speech and, as a result, he can construct the facts of the story in whatever manner he chooses. An example of Aeneas' careful choice of words is seen at 2.711 (cf. p.219, n.641) when he instructs his wife to follow at a distance (*longe*). This is an example of Aeneas' effort to convince Dido that he was not neglectful of Creusa but instead that her death was an accident and an unfortunate outcome during the sack of Troy. Later, when Aeneas says that Creusa's death is the most painful aspect of the fall of the city (*quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe*, 2.746), again a reader could interpret this statement as Aeneas' implicit attempt to suggest that Creusa was collateral damage in the city's destruction and that he should not be blamed. Even though Aeneas narrates the appearance of the ghost of Creusa and her speech to him, his words show his continual struggle to cope with his guilt and his attempts to project it onto others.

⁶⁴⁹ Like *furor*, *dolor* is another symptom of persecutory guilt (cf. pp.12; 59-61; 65-69; 111-112). Just as Aeneas goes on murderous rampages that are fueled by *furor*, he also consistently contends with *dolor* at various stages in the poem when he experiences intense guilt (cf. *Aen.* 1.208-209; 1.386; 2.3; 12.945).

⁶⁵⁰ Creusa herself predicts this marriage and she suggests that it will contribute to Aeneas' happy future (*illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx / parta tibi*, 2.783-784).

Aeneas' inhumanity, which reaches its culmination in the second part of the poem with the murder of Turnus:

An alternative [to Otis' view that Aeneas' cruelty in Books 10 and 12 is inconsistent with his character]⁶⁵¹ is to imagine that Aeneas has within him from the start the capacity for inhumane action. This capacity, partially revealed in his actions towards Creusa and Dido, is nurtured by success and allows him ultimately to achieve the victory he both envisions and embodies.⁶⁵²

To Perkell, Aeneas refuses to take responsibility for his actions and his propensity for blaming others guarantees that no censure, or guilt, will be assigned to him.⁶⁵³ In this view, Aeneas is totally responsible for Creusa's death and her loss should not evoke sympathy but disgust and anxiety because it marks the first death in Aeneas' quest for "conquest and private vengeance."⁶⁵⁴ Other scholars, however, argue that the end of *Aeneid* 2 is meant to evoke pity and exculpate Aeneas by making him a sympathetic figure. For example, Otis (1964) argues that we should feel compassion for Aeneas and that we should not view the Creusa episode as an example of Aeneas' neglect of *pietas*, which is a concept that Aeneas does not yet fully grasp "without a number of profound experiences of which Creusa's death is the first."⁶⁵⁵ Similarly, Heinze (1993) argues that

⁶⁵¹ Cf. Otis 1964: 361.

⁶⁵² Perkell 1981: 218.

⁶⁵³ Perkell 1981: 208. Perkell argues that the verb *fefellit* at 2.743-744 (*hic demum collectis omnibus una / defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit*) means 'disappointed' or 'deceived,' which she argues is Aeneas' attempt to implicitly blame Creusa for her own disappearance. Similarly, Grillo (2010: 54-56) argues that, in the *Aeneid*, Vergil never uses the verb *fefellit* to mean 'to escape the notice' of someone. Rather, "it indicates the disappointment arising from the breaking of a covenant (Sychaeus and Palinurus), the delusion of hope or expectation (Anchises and Cacus), or an intentional deception (Pan, Ilioneus and Juturna)." When Aeneas uses this word in reference to Creusa, therefore, he "expresses discontent at her deception of him," (56). Finally, Johnson (1999: 56) argues that we should read *fefellit* as 'to cheat' or 'to disappoint,' which makes this another example of Aeneas' effort to psychologically project his guilt.

⁶⁵⁴ Perkell 1981: 219.

⁶⁵⁵ Otis 1964: 250-251. Perkell (1981: 208), on the other hand, sees Creusa's death as an indication that Aeneas' *pietas* is reserved only for male figures and, as a result, her death further stresses his inhumanity: "My hypothesis is that this collocation of departure, female casualty, denied responsibility, and *pietas* is intended to reflect an incomplete humanity in Aeneas and in the *pietas* which he exemplifies. If Aeneas epitomizes *pietas*, as his repeated epithet would indicate, then perhaps Virgil is suggesting that *pietas* so conceived is a flawed ideal since it seems not to require humane virtues or any personal loyalty or affection which does not ultimately subserve what we might term political or military goals," (216-217). It is also

Aeneas is not guilty for Creusa's death because, even though he was caught up in the confusion of their flight, when the Greeks renewed their attack, her death was sanctioned by fate (2.777-779) and Aeneas "had only been a tool in the hands of the gods."⁶⁵⁶ Although it is important to question the degree to which Aeneas is responsible for Creusa's death, we should also consider how Aeneas himself attempts to cope with his emotions after her disappearance and demise. Even though Creusa declares that he is not to blame, Aeneas still experiences the intense side effects of his guilt for her death, namely rage, grief, and the need to repair after he has departed Troy.⁶⁵⁷ Whether Aeneas is truly to blame or not, Creusa's death and disappearance provide the opportunity for Vergil to construct a psychological element for his characters.⁶⁵⁸ Aeneas' struggle with his emotions, his inattention, and his forgetfulness not only makes him a more human and relatable hero, but it also makes his eventual victory in Italy that much more significant because his psychological and emotional struggle was not in vain.

important to note that before Aeneas plans to leave the city with his exiles, he resolves to die when his father Anchises is unwilling to leave the city with him (2.638-670). Aeneas is so enraged and frustrated by his father's refusal to leave Troy that he sees no other option but to die. The reservation of *pietas* for male figures is again apparent when Aeneas himself says that Anchises is his only concern ("My father, whom I was hoping to lead first to the high mountains and whom I was searching for first," ...*genitor, quem tollere in altos / optabam primum montes primumque petebam*..., 2.635-636), while Creusa and the rest of his household seem to be afterthoughts.

⁶⁵⁶ Heinze 1993: 35. For other scholars who contribute to this debate and defend Aeneas as a sympathetic figure see Quinn (1968) and Hughes (1997).

⁶⁵⁷ As discussed in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid*, after Book 2, Aeneas is preoccupied with reparation and finding a way to absolve his guilt. In Book 3, Aeneas attempts to absolve his guilt in the public sphere by creating a *parvam Troiam* in Thrace and on Crete. When this proves to be unsuccessful, Aeneas tries to absolve his guilt in the private sphere by establishing a relationship with Dido in Book 4. Before Mercury's appearance, Aeneas sees his relationship with Dido and the management of the city of Carthage with her (4.259-264) as ways for him to achieve temporary alleviation of the guilt for his failures in Troy and the death of Creusa. Aeneas, however, only discovers that true reparation and absolution are possible in Italy, which compels him to accept his fate and the assistance of the gods.

⁶⁵⁸ Vergil's emphasis on the psychological dimension of his characters, and his departure from the Homeric model, proves that emotions and psychological struggles contribute to his characters' successes or failures. For more on the *Aeneid* as an epic of pathos see Conte (2007).

Vergil continues to show the importance of guilt in his choice of the version of the myth of Creusa he uses. The character of Creusa, or Eurydica as she was sometimes referred to, had a longstanding presence in the mythical tradition. In this tradition, there were two prominent strands of her story and her fate after Troy. In the earliest versions of the myth, Creusa escaped Troy with Aeneas (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.31.4; Naevius), while in the later version, perhaps promoted by the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus, but found most explicitly in Pausanias (10.26.1), she was rescued by Aphrodite and Cybele.⁶⁵⁹ Vergil, therefore, adheres to the second version of her story and he departs from his Latin epic predecessor, Naevius.⁶⁶⁰ In this own epic, though, Vergil makes the story his own as he alters it even further by showing that Jupiter and Cybele detain Creusa in Troy (2.777-779, 2.788), instead of having Aphrodite or Cybele appear to rescue her.⁶⁶¹ Vergil also creates an elaborate and descriptive episode as Aeneas searches for and laments the loss of his wife and it reaches its culmination when her ghost appears to him.⁶⁶² In such a varying mythic tradition, Vergil's choice to write the scene this way implies that "we must read Vergil's adaptation of Creusa as carefully designed," and, just as Lucan will do in his own epic later, he reworks his re-telling of the story for a very specific purpose.⁶⁶³ By having Aeneas express a great degree of uncertainty about what happened to his wife (2.736-740), describing his inattention and neglect of her (2.741-744), articulating his panic when he realizes that she is gone (2.745-746), and recalling

⁶⁵⁹ For more information on the different versions and names for Creusa, and the authors that mention her see Perkell (1981: 204), Hughes (1997: 401 n.4), and Ganiban (2008: 105 n.725-95).

⁶⁶⁰ Although Vergil departs from Naevius' version of the Creusa myth, he follows Naevius' account of Dido and Aeneas, which was the first to link these two characters together. For more information see Perkell (1981: 363; n.28) and Heinze (1993: 95).

⁶⁶¹ Ganiban 2008: 105.

⁶⁶² Ganiban (2008: 105) argues that Vergil writes the scene in this way because it "underscores Aeneas' human weaknesses and emphasizes the personal losses that he will experience throughout the epic."

⁶⁶³ Hughes 1997: 401-402.

his fervent search for her as he re-enters Troy (2.750-770), Vergil can show Aeneas' attempt to work through his guilt and his psychological struggle with it.

When she moves on to the second part of her speech (2.780-784), Creusa looks to the future and she reveals why it is so important for Aeneas to overcome his guilt, so that he can depart from Troy and begin to fulfill his fate. This is evident when Creusa repeats that Aeneas is not to blame for her death (2.784-787) and, to encourage him to leave without her, she authorizes his flight from Troy and she instills hope when she promises that he will have a prosperous and fortunate future (2.780-784). Creusa's prophecy complements and elaborates upon Hector's directions in that she offers more clarification in her instructions and she looks to the future, rather than predominantly to the past, as Hector had. Like Hector's prophecy, Creusa tells Aeneas that he will be an exile and that he will traverse the vast ocean (*...his moenia quaere / magna, pererrato stantes quae denique ponto, 2.296; longa tibi exilia et vastum maris aequor arandum, 2.780*). Creusa clarifies Hector's statement, though, when she identifies the Tiber (*Lydius...Thybris, 2.781-782*) as the final body of water that he will reach when he has reached his destination.⁶⁶⁴ Although Hector had charged Aeneas with founding a new city for the Trojan *penates*, he neglected to mention where this would be, presumably because his directions were not concerned with matters of the future but only to preserve the

⁶⁶⁴ Creusa's mention of the Tiber foreshadows the appearance of Tiberinus in Book 8 (26-65), which was discussed in Chapter 3: The Gods and Guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* (pp.90-93). Once Aeneas reaches Italy, he depends on Tiberinus to provide the encouragement, motivation, and validation he requires to begin his mission there. Tiberinus' appearance and prophecy resemble Creusa's because Aeneas uses the appearance of both characters to temporarily resolve his emotional struggle so that he can continue his undertaking (*tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis, 2.776; 8.35*). While Creusa tells Aeneas that there is the hope for happiness and an end to his emotional turmoil in Italy, Tiberinus confirms that Italy will offer a means for him to repair, if he founds the future city of Rome there. Finally, Tiberinus gives precise instructions to Aeneas to ensure success. Both characters, therefore, encourage Aeneas to turn his gaze to the future, rather than on the past, and they motivate his acceptance of and pursuit to fulfill Fate's design.

remnants of Troy. Creusa, on the other hand, explicitly tells Aeneas that he must go to and settle the Hesperian land (*terram Hesperiam venies*, 2.781), where he will be entrusted with a kingdom and a royal wife (2.786). With this information, Creusa reveals Aeneas' fate and she shows that her death will not be in vain because it is necessary for his marriage with Lavinia in Latium (2.783).⁶⁶⁵ By providing these instructions, Creusa subtly offers Aeneas a way to resolve his guilt in the public sphere, by founding a new city, and also his guilt in the private sphere, by marrying Lavinia.⁶⁶⁶ Creusa's words, therefore, provide Aeneas with the motivation he needs to flee Troy because they offer a way to temporarily relieve his emotional struggle after her death.

After Creusa delivers her prediction and instructions, however, she says: "Cast away your tears for your beloved Creusa," (*lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae*, 2.784). This statement implies that, although Creusa informs Aeneas of his tasks and promises him a happy future if he chooses to undertake them, Aeneas continues to show his guilt for his role in her death even after she addresses him. This reaction prompts Creusa to reiterate the same sentiments as when she began her speech because, although she tells Aeneas that he has a greater purpose than to remain at Troy and grieve for his wife, his guilt still takes hold of him even after she has delivered this message. In a last attempt to exculpate

⁶⁶⁵ Rossi 2000: 574 n.15.

⁶⁶⁶ At the beginning of Book 3, Aeneas says that he is "uncertain of where the fates would bring us, where it was granted to settle, and we gathered our men," (*incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur, / contrahimusque viros*, 3.7-8). This statement suggests that Aeneas forgets Creusa's direct instructions to go to the land of Hesperia and seek out the Tiber. Horsfall (2006: 44) argues that this uncertainty is rooted in Aeneas' ignorance of the Tiber and Hesperia. Khan (2001: 908-909), on the other hand, suggests that, although ambiguity is typical in oracles, Creusa's information was confusing since it directed Aeneas to the west (*Hesperiam*) and then to Lydia (*Lydius... Thybris*) and thus she indicates two different directions. If we read this speech with the theme of guilt in mind, though, it becomes clear that it is not the validity of the information that Creusa provides to Aeneas, and whether he remembers this information, that holds real value. Instead, the important aspects of this speech lie in her ability to calm Aeneas' emotional struggle and temporarily alleviate his guilt by offering the hope of a promising future and by saying that she must die so that he can marry Lavinia and that the fates demand more of him than staying in Troy.

her husband, Creusa makes her death into a positive event when she reasons that, even though she has died, she will remain the daughter-in-law of Dardanus and Venus and she provides consolation when she says that she will never become a slave to the Greek captors (2.785-789). By losing track of her and neglecting her, therefore, she claims that Aeneas actually prevented a worse end for her because, even if she had lived, he would have departed for Italy because he is still bound by fate to remarry and to found a new city. Finally, just as Creusa offered a way for Aeneas to resolve his guilt by giving him the task of settling a new kingdom and remarrying, again Creusa offers a similar command as she tells him that he must protect Ascanius (*et nati serva communis amorem*, 2.789).⁶⁶⁷ With these words, the ghost of Creusa disappears and, although Aeneas attempts to embrace her (2.791-793), her image flies into the air just as a dream (*simillima somno*, 794), which also suggests her association with the ghost of Hector. Instead of rushing to engage in battle when he sees that the Greeks hold the gates of Troy (*Danaique obsessa tenebant / limina portarum*, 2.802-803), as he did after his dream of Hector, Aeneas accepts the city's demise and Creusa's instructions and he flees.

⁶⁶⁷ Creusa uses the imperatives *pelle* (2.784) and *serva* (2.789) to create a sense of urgency for Aeneas to leave and to suggest how important it is for him to control his emotions (*pelle lacrimas*) so that he can ensure a successful future and uphold his duty to protect Ascanius, which Venus also emphasizes at 2.702 (*servate nepotem*). Ascanius embodies the future and his well-being becomes inseparable from Aeneas' *pietas*. Although Aeneas seemingly forgets the other information Creusa provides (cf. 3.7-8), this last command is not lost on Aeneas, who is reminded of this request again in Book 3, when Andromache asks about Ascanius' well-being and reminds him of the *nati...communis amorem* ("Does the boy still have love of his dead mother?," *ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?*, 3.339-341). For more on the character of Ascanius see Rogerson (2017).

Concluding Remarks

Aeneas' emotional trauma from Troy and his guilt will influence his actions, relationships, and mental disposition for the remainder of the poem. Aeneas' guilt begins when he first dreams of the ghost of Hector. Hector's appearance provides confirmation of Troy's destruction and it forces Aeneas to face his guilt for his inability to correctly identify the signs that this event would occur, namely the warning of Laocoön, the appearance of Sinon, and the omens surrounding the city's demise. After his rampage, which is a response to his recognition and acceptance of guilt, Aeneas channels his efforts to the private sphere and he tries to save his family. When Creusa disappears, Aeneas must confront his guilt again. His reaction when he frantically searches for his wife in the city mirrors his rampage after he wakes up from his dream of Hector. The appearance of Creusa's ghost temporarily alleviates Aeneas' guilt because she tries to convince him that he is innocent so that he will leave the city. Finally, Vergil emphasizes Aeneas' intense emotional struggle to evoke the reader's sympathy and to make Aeneas a more human and likeable hero. Aeneas' guilt is founded on his weaknesses and inabilities and, rather than allowing it to consume or corrupt him, he uses this emotion to motivate him to undertake actions that will lessen and eliminate it. Aeneas' continual contention with his emotions and his relentless pursuit to make reparation for his failings make him into a more relatable hero, who is fit to be the father of Rome and the ancestor of Augustus.

Chapter 6: Dreams, Ghosts, and Apparitions in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

Unlike Vergil, Lucan explicitly assigns legal guilt to his characters at many points in the narrative, especially in his apostrophes.⁶⁶⁸ Lucan's poem resembles Vergil's, however, in that it also uses dreams and appearances of ghosts to implicitly suggest that a character experiences psychological guilt and to make his psychological struggle with it manifest. Lucan, however, diverges from his predecessor's model by reserving 'message' dreams solely for deceased figures, whereas Vergil constructs these scenes so that the dead and the divine can interact with the living. Dreams, ghosts, and apparitions maintain an important role in Lucan's narrative because they are the only supernatural forces in the poem, besides Fortuna. Because the gods do not interfere in human affairs by delivering warnings or commands, Lucan's characters act out of their own volition, which makes them wholly responsible for their actions.

This chapter will explore how Lucan frequently departs from the historical tradition of the civil war by elaborating on and inventing scenes that include dreams, ghosts, and apparitions at pivotal points in the narrative so that he can demonstrate Caesar's and Pompey's experience of psychological guilt. Lucan depicts these scenes to call attention to guilt and his characters' struggle with, acceptance of, or capitulation to this emotion. Rather than acting as promoters and instigators of action, ghosts, dreams, and apparitions in the *Bellum Civile* are the psychological reactions that occur before or after a character chooses to commit an action that incurs guilt. By creating these scenes, Lucan implicitly adds another facet of guilt, namely psychological guilt, to his explicit assignment of legal guilt. Finally, this chapter will argue that a close reading of the

⁶⁶⁸ BC 1.6; 5.198-210; 7.387-459; 7.550-559; 7.847-872; 8.823; 10.1-6.

dreams and the appearances of ghosts or apparitions in the *Bellum Civile* suggests that Lucan constructs each scene for a specific purpose and that he arranges them in a certain order to accentuate the emotion of guilt and to portray its evolution and progression in the characters of Caesar and Pompey.

Pompey's dream of Julia (3.3-45) and his dream of the theater (7.7-44) ought to be read as a pair that complements Caesar's vision of Roma (1.185-203) and his dream of the dead after the Battle of Pharsalus (7.760-786).⁶⁶⁹ These four dreams and apparitions frame the main action of the epic; Caesar's vision of Roma and Pompey's vision of Julia take place at the beginning of the poem and Pompey's dream of the theater and Caesar's haunting on the battlefield center around the Battle of Pharsalus, which is the climax of the narrative. Pompey's dreams are centered around his inner turmoil and his struggle with guilt, which results from his involvement in civil war and his inability to surpass his former glories in the present. Roma's appearance to Caesar and Caesar's dream after the Battle of Pharsalus, on the other hand, mark the progression of his corruption and his perverted acknowledgement of his guilt without an effort to expel it. For Pompey, psychological guilt makes him a sympathetic figure because it eventually overcomes him when Fortuna abandons him and he submits to Caesar. For Caesar, the experience of guilt is altogether different because he uses crime and guilt as sources of power under the patronage of Fortuna and he is not burdened by its psychological side effects.

⁶⁶⁹ Morford 1967: 77.

Pompey and Julia (BC 3.3-45)

Pompey's dream of Julia's ghost at the opening of Book 3 (3-45) is the first dream account in the *Bellum Civile*. This dream appears to be Lucan's invention because it does not appear in any other authors.⁶⁷⁰ Pompey dreams of his deceased wife as he prepares to depart for Brundisium and to leave Italy for the last time, and thus it is a pivotal juncture in the general's life and the narrative overall.⁶⁷¹ Before this dream occurs, at the end of Book 2, Pompey is likened to Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 3.11-12) as the narrator shows him departing his fatherland with his wife, sons, and household gods ("Driven out with your wife and children and taking all your household gods to war...", *cum coniuge pulsus,/ et natis, totosque trahens in bella penates, BC 2.728-729*) as an exile (*exsul, BC 2.730*). Although Pompey leaves Italy with his wife Cornelia, while Aeneas was not afforded this opportunity with Creusa in the *Aeneid*, Pompey possesses none of Aeneas' optimism for the future, but instead he becomes a deeply sympathetic figure as he searches for the location of his demise.⁶⁷² At the beginning of Book 3, Pompey looks at Italy as it disappears on the horizon and his body is overcome with sleep. Because one's dream content is sometimes shaped by the events and

⁶⁷⁰ Batinski 1993: 265. Batinski argues that Lucan's description of Roma, who appears as Caesar is about to cross the Rubicon in Book 1, was rooted in the historical tradition. Lucan invents Julia's appearance to Pompey, however, to echo Roma's appearance to Caesar and to "help to characterize these generals," (265) since both apparitions are "female images of Republican Rome," used by Lucan to "articulate the antithetical perspectives" of Caesar and Pompey (275).

⁶⁷¹ Ahl 1976: 291; Mills 1978: 53-54. Pompey's symbolic dream of the theater in Book 7 (7-29), which will be discussed later in this chapter, also occurs at an important moment in Pompey's life because it takes place on the eve of the Battle of Pharsalus.

⁶⁷² Rossi (2000) argues that this passage is one of the examples of Lucan's establishment of the character of Pompey and his journey as a 'reversal' of the character and journey of Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid*. For more on the relationship between these characters see Ahl (176: 183) and Bartsch (1997: 73-100).

emotions that he experiences during the day,⁶⁷³ we can read Pompey's dream of Julia as directly connected with his departure and the psychological turmoil he experiences because of it.⁶⁷⁴ If we read this episode with the emotion of guilt in mind, it becomes apparent that Lucan may deviate from the historical sources and invent this dream to show Pompey's struggle with his guilt, which is derived from his participation in a war 'worse than civil' and his subsequent expulsion from his fatherland. In this dream, therefore, Julia embodies Pompey's guilt for his participation in this war and her appearance indicates his troubled psychological state as he recognizes and tries to cope with his guilt.

At the beginning of Pompey's dream, Julia seems to rise out of the gaping earth as a raging Fury and her appearance immediately calls attention to his guilt and it foreshadows the content of her message to him (3.8-11):

*Inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno
Membra ducis; diri tum plena horroris imago
Visa caput maestum per hiantis Iulia terras
Tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro.*

Then the weary limbs of the leader gave way to drowsy sleep. Then an image full of dreadful horror, Julia, appeared to raise her mourning head through the gaping earth and to stand upon the burning pyre as a Fury.

Like Vergil's representation of Creusa's ghost in *Aeneid* 2, Lucan's account refers to the apparition of Julia as an *imago*.⁶⁷⁵ Unlike Creusa's ghost, however, Julia's ghost offers

⁶⁷³ Aristotle, in *On Dreams* (459a23), argues that dreams are caused by echoes of objects and events that we have experienced during the day that have left their sense-impressions on our faculties of perception and shaped our dream content (cf. p.202).

⁶⁷⁴ This dream can also be read using Jung's theory of compensation, which argues that dreams bring forth the unconscious material that has been repressed and they provide an honest self-portrayal of the psyche's actual state (cf. pp.203-204). In this dream, the image of Julia represents Pompey's suppressed guilt for remarrying after her death and for creating a pretext for civil war. Pompey's struggle with his guilt, which Julia represents, suggests his weakened mental state early on in the poem.

⁶⁷⁵ "The shade of Creusa herself appeared before my eyes and a larger image than I had known," ...*atque ipsius umbra Creusae / visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago, Aen. 2.772-773.*

no positive solution to Pompey's guilt and she embodies only terror (*diri...horroris imago*) when she appears as a Fury, who is a punisher of crime and a pursuer of the guilty.⁶⁷⁶ Julia's grim form aligns her more with Hector's ghost in *Aeneid* 2 because it foreshadows the content of her message and her reason for visiting Pompey. Julia's appearance, then, immediately suggests that she functions as an embodiment of Pompey's guilt, which she confirms when she charges him with severing their marriage bond (3.23) and creating the impetus for civil war.⁶⁷⁷ Pompey also sees Julia standing on a burning pyre (*accenso...sepulchro*). The pyre symbolizes the spot where Julia was burned and buried on the Campus Martius and it evokes the imagery of marital torches,⁶⁷⁸ which accentuates Pompey's guilt for breaking his oath to her when he married Cornelia.

After her introduction, Julia begins a long speech in which she provides a general prophecy (3.14-19) and then a personal prophecy regarding Pompey and his fate (3.20-34) in order to call attention to Pompey's guilt and to stress her need for revenge.⁶⁷⁹ In the first part of her speech, Julia rages that she has been driven away from her peaceful

⁶⁷⁶ Women being depicted as Furies are common occurrences in Roman epic. Keith (2000: 65-100) shows how gender and war are bound because women are often the instigators of war in the guise of Furies, such as Dido in Vergil's *Aeneid* (67f.) or Juno in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (90f.).

A possible influence for this scene, which has not yet been suggested by scholars, may come from Lucan's close relationship with the emperor Nero (37-68 CE). Suetonius (*Nero* 34.4) writes that, after his various attempts and his final success in killing his mother, Agrippina the Younger (15-59 CE) haunted Nero and her ghost appeared to him in the guise of a Fury: "Often he affirmed that he was tormented by his mother's ghost and also that he was persecuted by the whips and the burning torches of the Furies" (*saepe confessus exagitari se materna specie uerberibusque Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus*) and that he even tried to use magical rites to bring up her ghost to apologize to her. Here, both Julia and Agrippina appear as Furies who haunt two very different men but, at the same time, the emphasis on exacting revenge for their death is the main reason for their appearance.

⁶⁷⁷ The death of Julia, and thus the breaking of her marriage with Pompey, is listed by Lucan as one of the primary reasons for the outbreak of civil war with Caesar because she alone had the power to restrain both men from engaging in conflict with one another (*BC* 1.111-119).

⁶⁷⁸ Hunink 1992: 37 n.11. Julia will emphasize this theme of marriage and the severing of these bonds as one of the main contributors for Pompey's guilt.

⁶⁷⁹ Hunink 1992: 34.

afterlife (3.12) since the beginning of the civil war (*post bellum civile trahor*, 3.14).⁶⁸⁰

She foretells the death of countless victims as she describes the Eumenides, Charon the ferryman of the dead, Tartarus, and the Parcae, who prepare to receive many men (3.14-19).⁶⁸¹ Julia then sets her sights on Pompey alone as she delivers her invective and personal prophecy to him (3.20-23):

*Coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos:
Fortuna est mutata toris: semperque potentes
Detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos,
En nupsit tepido paelex Cornelia busto.*

When I was your wife, Magnus, you led happy triumphs, Fortuna changed with your marriage-bed, and your wife, that concubine Cornelia, condemned by fate to drag her powerful husbands down always to misfortune, has married into a warm tomb.

Julia predicts Pompey's inevitable demise because of his choice to remarry after her death. Julia's prophecy represents a reversal of this common epic trope because, unlike the prophecies of other epic characters, most notably Creusa's in *Aeneid* 2 (780-784), Julia's prediction of Pompey's future is wholly negative.⁶⁸² In both speeches, however, the emotion of guilt is one of the key subjects that Julia and Creusa address. The women act as external representations of both heroes' internal struggle with this emotion as they are about to embark on pivotal events in their respective journeys. While Creusa's speech alleviates Aeneas' guilt and anxiety for his role in her death and his preparation to leave Troy, Julia's reinforces Pompey's guilt, when she accuses him of remarrying too

⁶⁸⁰ *Post* should be read not as 'after' here but 'after the beginning of.' For more information see Hunink (1993: 39 n.14).

⁶⁸¹ "I myself have seen the Eumenides hold torches which they wield against your arms, the ferryman of scorched Acheron prepares countless ships; Tartarus is widened for many punishments," *vidi ipsa tenentes / Eumenidas, quaterent quas vestrīs lampadas armis. / Praeparat innumeras puppes Acherontis adusti / portitor: in multas laxantur Tartara poenas*, 3.14-17). When Julia says that she herself has seen the preparation of the Eumenides, Lucan subtly likens her to a Fury again and makes her an embodiment of guilt just as the Eumenides are. While they await countless men from this war, however, Julia seeks revenge only on one.

⁶⁸² Chiu (2010: 350) argues that this inversion transforms Pompey into anti-Aeneas and his late wife into anti-Creusa.

soon (3.23), and she fails to provide him with any means of relieving it. Unlike Creusa, who encourages Aeneas to remarry, Julia names Cornelia as a primary contributor to Pompey's eventual downfall (3.21-22), while Julia herself brought him nothing but good fortune and success.⁶⁸³ In his description of Pompey's dream of Julia, Lucan implies that Pompey experiences psychological guilt. Pompey's imagining of these charges through the guise of the ghost of Julia suggests that he psychologically struggles with guilt for his central role in the creation of civil war after he married Cornelia and solidified the dissolution of the First Triumvirate.

Lucan exposes Pompey's emotional turmoil even further when he departs from the historical record to stress Pompey's experience of psychological guilt. Julia says that Cornelia "married into a warm grave," (*innupsit tepido paelex Cornelia busto*, 3.23), while in the historical record writers state that Pompey married her in 52 BCE, which is two years after Julia's death and would have provided ample time for another marriage to occur.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, Julia contrasts Pompey's ill-fated new marriage to Cornelia with her own marriage to him when she says, "While I was your wife, Magnus, you led joyous triumphs," (*coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos*, 3.20). This statement is also historically inaccurate because Pompey celebrated his final triumph two years before he and Julia married.⁶⁸⁵ It is possible, then, that Lucan altered the narrative to create dramatic effect and to stress Pompey's guilt through the ghost of Julia. Julia reinforces

⁶⁸³ The use of the word *paelex* here recalls the language of Augustan elegy, as argued by Caston (2011: 133-152). Caston correlates this episode with Propertius IV and the ghost of Cynthia. For more information on Propertius' representation of Cynthia's ghost see Knox (2004).

⁶⁸⁴ Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.

⁶⁸⁵ Pompey celebrated his last triumph in 61 BCE, which places it two years before his marriage to her in 59 BCE. For more information on the historical figures of Cornelia and Julia see Bruère (1951) and Chiu (2010). For more information on Lucan's historical inaccuracies see Hunink (1992: 42 n.20), who argues that "in matters of detail Lucan readily sacrifices historical truth to pathetic effect."

Pompey's guilt by focusing on his abandonment of her in favor of another marriage and, although the historical timeline is inaccurate, her invective against Pompey and Cornelia suggests that the breaking of his union, which she believes is still intact even after her death, is a contributor to the outbreak of war.

While Lucan associates the first half of Julia's speech with Creusa's in the *Aeneid*, the second half aligns Julia more with the figure of Dido, and Pompey with the character of Aeneas. Julia offers another prophecy as she foretells Pompey's fate and she describes his eventual punishment for his participation in the war. Unlike Aeneas' dream of Hector or his vision of Creusa in the *Aeneid*, Julia offers no instruction or advice to Pompey about how he may accomplish or avoid such a fate, but her prophecy resembles a curse, which makes her similar to the figure of Dido in *Aeneid* 4.⁶⁸⁶ Julia promises to haunt Pompey and be present wherever he goes (3.24-34):

*Haereat illa tuis per bella per aequora signis,
Dum non securos liceat mihi rumpere somnos
Et nullum uestro uacuum sit tempus amori
Sed teneat Caesarque dies et Iulia noctes.
Me non Lethaeae, coniunx, obliviae ripae
Immemorem fecere tui, regesque silentum
Permisere sequi. Veniam te bella gerente
In medias acies. Numquam tibi, Magne, per umbras
Perque meos manes genero non esse licebit;
Abscidis frustra ferro tua pignora: bellum
Te faciet civile meum.*

Let [Cornelia] cling to your standards in battle and at sea, as long as it is permitted for me to disrupt your carefree sleep and let there be no time free for your love but let Caesar occupy your days and let Julia occupy your nights! The oblivion of Lethe's banks did not make me forgetful of you, husband, and kings of the dead have allowed me to pursue you. When you are waging wars I will come into the middle of the ranks. Never, Magnus, by the ghosts and by my shade will it be permitted for you not to be [Caesar's] son-in-law; in vain you sever your pledges with the sword: civil war will make you mine!

⁶⁸⁶ Harrisson 2013: 156-157.

In the same way that Vergil describes Aeneas' contention with his guilt for the abandonment of Dido as he departed Carthage,⁶⁸⁷ here Lucan portrays Pompey's struggle with his psychological guilt. Julia mentions Caesar for the first time in connection with the outbreak of war as prompted by Pompey's abandonment of his familial ties to Caesar. Even in death, though, Julia continues to view him as her husband, as seen when she uses the word *coniunx* ('husband') at 3.28. Furthermore, the question of the validity of their marriage, since Julia is dead, again recalls that of Aeneas and Dido in Vergil's epic.⁶⁸⁸

Like Julia does, Dido curses her neglectful husband (*Aen.* 4.384-387):

*Sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero. Dabis, improbe, poenas.
Audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.*

Although I am absent, I will pursue you with dark fires, and, when cold death has divided my limbs from my soul, as a ghost I will be present in every place. You will pay the penalty, you wicked man. I will listen and under the depths of the Underworld rumor will bring this news to me.

For both women, breaking an oath of marriage is the primary focus and impetus for the assignment of each hero's legal and psychological guilt. Unlike Aeneas (*Aen.* 4.360-361), however, Pompey cannot use the gods as the justification of his desertion of Julia and he is entirely responsible for his actions. As punishment for his crimes against her, Julia promises to do the very same thing to Pompey that Dido threatens to do to Aeneas, she will haunt Pompey every night and, even in battle, she will be present (*BC* 3.30-31; *Aen.* 4.386).

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. pp.96-101.

⁶⁸⁸ Julia's belief that she is still married to Pompey may be the reason why she refers to Cornelia as *paelex* at 3.23. In this context, Julia's use of the word *paelex* could suggest that she views Pompey's marriage to Cornelia as invalid and, as a result, Cornelia is merely his mistress rather than his wife. In this way, Julia subtly charges Pompey with legal guilt for breaking their marriage oath, just as Dido does to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4.

Dido's curse in *Aeneid* 4 (607-629) also invites comparison with the events of the *Bellum Civile* because all of the threats that Dido makes to exact revenge for Aeneas' abandonment of her are brought to fruition by Julia in Lucan's poem, thus linking the characters of Aeneas and Pompey further. For example, Dido says that many of Aeneas' men will perish on their journey to Italy (*Aen.* 4.617-618), while Julia also foretells the deaths of many of Pompey's men in the first half of her speech (*BC* 3.14-19). For both men, these threats are realized, Aeneas with his journey to Italy and the war he undertakes there, and also Pompey as he departs Italy and engages in battle with Caesar at Pharsalus. Dido's speech also recalls various trials that we know to be true of both Aeneas and Pompey, especially that he will have to seek help from a foreign place (*auxilium impleret, Aen.* 4.617), while Pompey himself will seek the same from Ptolemy in Egypt. Lastly, Pompey's fate is echoed in Dido's curse in that he dies before his time and he remains unburied (*sed cadat ante diem, mediaque inhumatus harena, Aen.* 4.620). The figure of Julia and her curse in the second half of her speech, therefore, should be read as Lucan's allusion to Vergil's poem and as another way to further align the character of Pompey with the figure of Aeneas through the emotion of guilt.

The key difference between the curses of Dido and Julia, however, is the actual fate of their lovers in the respective poems. Unlike Aeneas, Pompey is overcome by his guilt and eventually withdraws from the war and, as a result, he suffers the very same fate that Dido wishes upon her husband in *Aeneid* 4. Finally, in death the figure of Julia continues to assign guilt to Pompey for his actions and to harass him without end. Dido, on the other hand, seems to absolve Aeneas of his guilt for abandoning her after she dies. This is apparent in *Aeneid* 6 when Aeneas visits the Underworld to seek advice from his

father Anchises and Dido is completely unwilling to look at or speak to Aeneas (*Aen.* 467-476) and she no longer pursues their marriage. Rather, death offers Dido the opportunity to reunite with Sychaeus and to end her guilt for abandoning him and marrying Aeneas. For Julia and Pompey, however, death provides the opportunity for Pompey to remain with Julia forever in a sort of inescapable prison that offers no reprieve from her presence (*BC* 3.28-32).

While Julia sees her own death and Pompey's impending doom as a means for her to maintain their marriage, Julia's promise of death at the end of this speech has a somewhat different effect on Pompey. When Julia's ghost departs, Pompey attempts to embrace the apparition like Aeneas does with the ghost of Creusa (*BC* 3.34-35; *Aen.* 2.792-794).⁶⁸⁹ Pompey then considers why Julia appears to him and what the meaning of her prophecy is (*BC* 36-40). The final scene in this episode is different from other dream descriptions because Pompey does not accept the dream as legitimate or obey Julia's admonitions.⁶⁹⁰ When Julia departs, Pompey is fearful (*trepidi...mariti*, 3.35) and he contemplates the meaning and validity of the dream content. He overcomes his trepidation, however, immediately after his wife's disappearance as he "more resolutely rushes to arms with a mind certain of evils" (*maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum*, 3.38) once he considers the meaning of Julia's appearance and his feelings about death more generally. Pompey contemplates death in the following manner (*BC* 3.38-40):

*Et 'quid' ait 'vani tremur imagine visus?
Aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum
Aut mors ipsa nihil.'*

⁶⁸⁹ Rossi 2000: 574.

⁶⁹⁰ Hunink 1992: 47. Hunink argues that Pompey rejects the dream because "Lucan needs a cool, strong, Pompey here, and accordingly changes his attitude."

And “why,” he said, “am I alarmed by the apparition of an empty image? Either no sense is left behind to the mind by death or death itself is nothing.”

While the theme of death is prominent in the latter half of Julia’s speech, knowing that he will die temporarily relieves Pompey of the guilt Julia assigns to him. Julia regards Pompey’s death in the civil war in a positive manner because it will allow him to reunite with her and be hers forever (*BC* 33-34). To Pompey, on the other hand, this dream affirms the notion that he will either retain sensation after death, and therefore it is nothing to be afraid of, or that no sensation remains to the mind after death, which would make it painless, and his dream of Julia would merely be a figment of his imagination with no legitimacy whatsoever. This dream, therefore, allows Pompey to temporarily alleviate his guilt by looking forward to his death and renouncing his fear of it.⁶⁹¹ When viewed through the lens of guilt, the idea that death is not to be feared calms Pompey’s mind because he views his death as a way that he can pay for his participation in the civil war. As prophesied by Julia, Pompey’s death will allow him to remain with her forever, and thereby eliminate his crime of breaking their marriage oath, and he will therefore find absolution for the guilt he experiences when he submits to defeat.

When Pompey reappears in Book 5, however, any confidence he gained after this dream seems to have disappeared after he contemplates the fate of his family. As Caesar prepares for battle, Pompey resolves to send Cornelia to Lesbos for safekeeping in order to ward off a fate similar to the one that Julia foretold. At the opening of Book 3 Pompey temporarily alleviates his own guilt in order to rush into war after he contemplates the

⁶⁹¹ Morford 1967: 80. In this way, Pompey’s dream of Julia resembles Creusa’s appearance to Aeneas because both Creusa and Julia temporarily alleviate their respective hero’s guilt. The difference in Pompey’s dream of Julia, however, is that Julia’s words do nothing to alleviate Pompey’s guilt, but they reinforce it, and it is only after her disappearance that Pompey finds brief solace because of his temporary acceptance and consideration of death as a way to escape and atone for his culpability and guilt.

nature of death, but by Book 5 his love for Cornelia makes him fearful to rush to do the same ('Love made even you, Magnus, doubtful and afraid of battle,' *Dubium trepidumque ad proelia, Magne, / te quoque fecit amor*, 5.728-729). Although Pompey seemed to dismiss Julia's prophecy in Book 3, here he anticipates the effect of his death in the future. Pompey's reaction in Book 3, therefore, can be read as a "stationary moment...a local and temporary change in a character for the sake of a special effect," used by Lucan to emphasize the philosophical reasoning of Pompey in this episode and his knowledge of his imminent doom.⁶⁹² Lucan uses guilt to show Pompey's psychological weaknesses when he succumbs to his guilt after the Battle of Pharsalus and he readily accepts the very thing that Julia foretold in this episode that, "civil war will make you mine," (*bellum te faciet civile meum*, 3.33-34).

Pompey and the Theater (BC 7.7-44)

Pompey's second dream occurs in Book 7 on the eve of the Battle of Pharsalus. Pompey's mind transports him back in time and he envisions himself in his theater being praised by the Senate and the Roman People. The dream of Julia is an invention that Lucan uses to make Pompey a sympathetic figure and to suggest that he experiences psychological guilt for creating a pretext for civil war. In his representation of Pompey's dream of the theater in Book 7, Lucan continues to evoke pathos for Pompey by engaging with historiographical sources and he shows the effects of Pompey's psychological guilt. The image of the Senate and the Roman People praising Pompey in his theater would

⁶⁹² Hunink 1992: 47-48.

have existed in Livy's history, most likely in Book 111,⁶⁹³ and, although it is now lost, it is preserved in the writings of Florus.⁶⁹⁴ Plutarch also provides a similar account but he adds Pompey's dedication of a temple to Venus Victrix, which is found in the same location as his theater (*Pomp.* 68).⁶⁹⁵ Like his dream of Julia in Book 3, Pompey's symbolic dream⁶⁹⁶ of the theater occurs at a pivotal moment, as this battle is the final major event in his life. Lucan describes the night preceding the battle as the 'final part of happy life for Magnus' (*felicis Magno pars ultima vitae*, 7.7) because the dream offers him a brief reprieve before his defeat and death.

While Pompey dreams in his restless sleep (*sollicitos...somnos*, 7.8), he envisions his former glories when he was at the zenith of his career. Pompey describes his dream of Julia as an 'empty image' (*vani...imagine visus*, 3.38) after her ghost departs and he contemplates the nature of death. Similarly, in his dream of the theater, Pompey's sleep is restless because he is deceived by an empty image (*sollicitos vana decepit imagine somnos*, 7.8). Lucan's similar introduction to the dream of Julia after Pompey's departure from Italy and the dream of the theater as he anticipates his battle with Caesar immediately signals to the reader that the second dream is another gauge of Pompey's current mental state at a second important moment in his life.

⁶⁹³ Julius Obsequens, in his *Prodigia*, which is a compilation of the *Periochae*, or epitomes, of Livy records the following: *nocturni terrores in exercitu fuere. Ipse Pompeius pridie pugnae die<m> visus in theatro suo ingenti plausu excipi. Mox acie victus in Aegypto occisus* (65a). For more information see Berlin 1994: 143.

⁶⁹⁴ Berlin 1994: 143. *Dux ipse in nocturna imagine plausum theatri sui audiens in modum planctus circumsonatus et mane cum pullo pallio – nefas – apud principia conspectus est* (2.13.45).

⁶⁹⁵ Berlin (1994: 144-146) sees the addition of the adornment of the temple of Venus Victrix, as well as historical writers such as Appian who leave out the image of the theater entirely, as a marker of the "fluidity in content" in the historical record because "historical events and individuals are never static in their representation."

⁶⁹⁶ As discussed above (cf. p.204-205), a symbolic dream contains a series of images and it reveals a character's innermost thoughts, feelings, and preoccupations. Freud argues that we can interpret symbolic dreams by examining the dream as a whole and then translating its content using the 'decoding method,' (cf. p.203). For more information on symbolic dreams see Harrison 2013: 146-154.

Pompey sees the following image, which offers him temporary alleviation from the trials of war and transports him to a world that no longer exists (*BC* 7.9-19):

*Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis,
Attolliq̄ue suum laetis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes;
Qualis erat populi facies clamorque faventis
Olim, cum iuvenis primique aetate triumphī,
Post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus
Et quaecumque fugax Sertorius inpulit arma,
Vespere pacato pura venerabilis aequē
Quam currus ornante toga, plaudente senatu
Sedit, adhuc Romanus eques.*

From a seat in the Pompeian theater Pompey seemed to himself to see an innumerable likeness of the Roman plebs, and his own name was raised up to the stars by happy voices, and the resounding seats of the theater competed with their applause; just as was the image and shouts of the admiring populous long ago, when as a young man and at the time of his first triumph, after the conquered tribes, which scorching Hiberus encircles and all those troops that the fugitive Sertorius drives on, when the west was pacified, revered in his plain toga as much as the one that adorned his chariot, with the senate applauding him he sat, still a Roman knight.

In this dream, Pompey envisions himself sitting in his theater, which was the first stone theater in Rome, was located near the Campus Martius, and was dedicated in 55 BCE.⁶⁹⁷

Pompey sees the crowd and the Senate celebrating him as they did when he was a young man celebrating his triumphs.⁶⁹⁸ The vocabulary that Lucan uses to describe Pompey's adulators (*effigiem Romanae...plebis*), however, suggests that praise for his accomplishments remains fixed in the past, rather than in the present, and that he cannot distinguish between illusion and reality because it stands in stark contrast to his actual standing and the situation at hand.⁶⁹⁹ The purpose of this dream, then, is to allow

⁶⁹⁷ Dilke 1960: 84.

⁶⁹⁸ Dilke 1960: 84-85. Dilke also notes here that Lucan's ordering of the triumphs of Pompey is incorrect.

⁶⁹⁹ Berlin 1994: 149-151. Berlin also notes that Lucan might use this specific vocabulary in order to create a certain degree of doubt in his reader as to whether this dream actually occurred at all: "Lucan manipulates the programmatic language of the dream experience to undermine the reader's confidence in the accuracy of the account that Pompey had a dream," (151).

Pompey to momentarily remove himself from the war and to immerse himself in the laudatory climate of the past, which is noted in a comparison by the use of the phrase *qualis erat...olim* (7.13-14). While he dreams, Pompey finds solace in his past glories, popularity, and greatness, from which he once attained motivation and confidence. His effort to psychologically remove himself from his current ills is consistent with Lucan's depiction of him throughout the poem, since Lucan often portrays him as a showman who never grows tired of applause and adoration from his audience.⁷⁰⁰ This transposition of the present onto the past suggests that, at least in Pompey's mind, he is aware that a similar victory will not come to pass after the war with Caesar. But, in keeping with his character, Pompey requires victory in some form, even if it is not real, to reaffirm his actions and to give him motivation.

If we read Pompey's dream of Julia as complementary to his dream in Book 7, we can see how Lucan uses guilt to illustrate the deterioration of Pompey's mental state as he struggles with his guilt and the recognition that Fortuna has abandoned him. Like he did in Pompey's dream of Julia, Lucan implies that Pompey continues to psychologically struggle with guilt for his involvement in the civil war and that he is so unable to cope with his guilt in the present that he must transport his mind to the past. Lucan also uses the theater dream to add another facet to Pompey's guilt. In his dream of Julia, Pompey was faced with guilt primarily in the private sphere due to the severance of his marriage with her, his choice to remarry, and breaking his familial ties with Caesar. Pompey's dream of the theater, on the other hand, emphasizes his present inabilities and his weaknesses and, as such, it reinforces and heightens his guilt for his failures in the public

⁷⁰⁰ Leigh 1997: 114.

sphere and his anxiety that results from it. Although Pompey is named as the Senate's figurehead in the war against a tyrant (1.487-489; 2.277-279; 2.319-320), as the narrative progresses his shortcomings become all the more manifest and his guilt for his inadequacies later compels him to retreat from the battle altogether and willingly accept his death, which Julia predicted in Book 3.

By reading Pompey's two dreams together, we can also see a change in his character in his reaction after the dreams conclude. Rather than gaining confidence through his contemplation of death, like he did in Book 3 (3.38), when he wakes up from his dream of the theater he has no fervor for battle and he resists his soldiers' desire to fight (7.45-55). In this way, Lucan articulates the complete deterioration of Pompey's capabilities when he juxtaposes it with Pompey's incompetence and inability to prevent or stop Caesar's assault on Rome. Pompey no longer maintains any false notions of confidence or potential victory, as he might have after his dream of Julia, but rather he accepts his fate and enters a battle he knows he will lose.

Finally, like in his dream of Julia, which emphasized how important glory and triumph was to Pompey when she related his many successes while they were married (3.20), the dream of the theater takes Pompey back to a similar time. By viewing these dreams together, the connection between Pompey's marriage and his successes is further emphasized. The end of his marriage with Julia naturally presupposes his downfall and loss of glory, which she predicts in her speech (3.20-22). While Lucan explicitly names Julia's death as one of the reasons for the war (1.111-119), he also makes it clear that it was Pompey's, and Caesar's, need for public adulation and praise that prompted the civil war to begin as the generals struggled to outshine one another (*BC* 1.120-126):

*Stimulos dedit aemula virtus.
 Tu, nova ne veteres obscurent facta triumphos,
 Et victis cedat piratica laurea Gallis,
 Magne, times: te iam series ususque laborum
 Erigit, impatiensque loci fortuna secundi.
 Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem,
 Pompeiusve parem.*

Rivaling virtue gave them incentive. You, Magnus, are afraid lest new deeds block your old triumphs and your victory over the pirates give way to [Caesar's] Gallic victories: now a chain and practice of labors excites you, [Caesar], and fortune is intolerant of second place. Now neither Caesar is able to bear anyone in first place, nor Pompey any equal.

Like his dream of the theater, here Pompey's concern for reputation and laudation is his primary worry. Pompey continues to focus on his past triumphs (*veteres...triumphos*, 7.121) and he is unwilling to entertain the thought of anyone rivaling his accomplishments. In this way, therefore, Pompey's anxiety to maintain his reputation and glory, which is represented in his dream of the theater in Book 7, is indirectly connected with his responsibility for the start of the civil war and any guilt incurred from doing so.

The image of Pompey as a worn out general who is fixated on the past is not a new one in Lucan's poem and he stresses these aspects of Pompey's character early on in Book 1 (129-143):

*Nec coiere pares: alter, vergentibus annis
 In senium, longoque togae tranquillior usu,
 Dedit iam pace ducem; famaepetitor,
 Multa dare in vulgus; totus popularibus auris
 Impelli, plausuque sui gaudere theatri;
 Nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
 Credere fortunae. Stat magni nominis umbra:
 Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro,
 Exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
 Dona ducum, nec iam validis radicibus haerens,
 Pondere fixa suo est; nudosque per aera ramos
 Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram;
 Et quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
 Tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant,
 Sola tamen colitur.*

Nor did they meet as equals: One [Pompey], with his years declining into old age, and more calm by the long experience as a citizen, now in peace has unlearned the [qualities of a] general; and as a seeker of fame, he gives much to the masses; and is wholly driven by popular breezes [i.e. popular favor], and he rejoices in the applause in his own theater; not to restore new forces, and to entrust much to his former fortune. He stands in the shadow of a great name: just as a lofty oak tree stands in a fertile field, bearing the people's old spoils of war and the devoted gifts of the generals, clinging with roots no longer strong, it stands fixed by its own weight; and spreading out its naked branches through the air, it provides shade with its trunk, and not with its leaves; and although it nods, about to fall under the first breeze, and although so many trees surround it with their sturdy trunks, nevertheless it alone is revered.

Lucan articulates Pompey's ineptitudes clearly at the beginning of the poem by using his simile of Pompey as an oak tree, which stands only because of the gifts that weigh down its branches and because other trees support it. Pompey is a relic of the past (*vergentibus annis / in senium*) and, because of his reliance on previous success, he forgets how to be a general (*dedidicit iam pace ducem*) and he is no longer motivated to achieve new victories now that he has fame (*famaeque petitor*). The dream of the theater, then, can be read as Pompey's subconscious recognition of his present inabilities and as his mind's attempt to delude itself by transporting him back to a time when he was more successful in order to relieve his anxiety.⁷⁰¹ This dream, therefore, suggests Pompey's final submission both to Caesar and to his guilt for his involvement in the civil war. Finally, Lucan uses the image of the theater, the Roman People, and the Senate to represent the ideals of Rome itself and to contrast Pompey's appearance as a past beloved victor to his current state as a worn-out figure whose past successes have no weight in a civil war that he played a major part in creating against a general who now maintains supremacy.

The pathos of this scene continues in the next section as Lucan contemplates the dream's meaning (*BC 7.19-24*):

⁷⁰¹ Morford 1967: 81.

*Seu fine bonorum
Anxia venturis ad tempora laeta refugit,
Sive per ambages solitas contraria visis
Vaticinata quies, magni tulit omina planctus.
Seu vetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes,
Sic Romam Fortuna dedit.*

Perhaps at the end of his successes [his mind] anxious for the things to come fled back to happy times, or perhaps through its accustomed obscurities his rest foretold the future contrary to the things he saw, and brought omens of great lamentation, or perhaps to you forbidden to see your ancestral places again, Fortune gave you a Rome in this way.

Here Lucan envisages three possibilities for why Pompey's mind creates this dream: it is a way for him to escape to his past in order to remove himself from the present, it is a means of foretelling the future in the form of a reversal, or this is Fortune's way of bringing Pompey back to Rome again because he left his city for the last time at the end of Book 2. Lucan leaves open the possibility that this dream results from an external influence, such as from the intervention of a divinity, or an internal influence that exists in Pompey's mind, such as fear or anxiety.⁷⁰² Lucan himself, however, appears to follow his first proposition, that this dream allows Pompey to transport himself to happier times because, before the dream begins, Lucan states that for Pompey this is the "final part of happy life," (*felicis Magno pars ultima vitae*, 7.7) and that it will be the last positive experience he has.⁷⁰³ Lucan leaves the dream's interpretation up to the reader, however, and he provides no definitive answer.

In the first two suggestions, Lucan proposes that this dream could have originated in Pompey's psychological mechanisms, that is in his own mind, which is anxious for the events to come (*anxia venturis*, 7.20), or for the purpose of wish fulfillment (*per ambages solitas contraria visis / vaticinata quies*, 7.21-22). With these first two propositions,

⁷⁰² Pelling 1997: 204.

⁷⁰³ Harrisson 2013: 157.

Lucan insinuates that this is an internal anxiety dream because it is produced by his unconscious mind while he sleeps and reflects upon the turmoil and emotions he experiences.⁷⁰⁴ The third proposition, however, is rather different from the first two. In this suggestion, Lucan states that the dream could have been delivered by Fortuna, who attempts to provide Pompey with some solace before battle (*sic Romam Fortuna dedit*, 7.24). In opposition to the first two suggestions, this cause for the dream requires an external stimulus that is disjoined from Pompey's psychological processes altogether. Lucan's last proposition seems the least convincing because it is devoid of the anxieties Pompey faces and it relies too heavily on Fortuna. Throughout the narrative, Lucan has detailed the gradual dissolution of Fortuna's relationship with Pompey.⁷⁰⁵ Lucan's emphasis on Fortuna's abandonment of Pompey and the absence of other divine influences for dreams in the poem make it unlikely that Fortuna would alleviate Pompey's struggles by sending him images of his ancestral home. Furthermore, the second proposition, that this dream represents a reversal of the actual events that will transpire and therefore acts as a prophecy, also seems to be invalid because it also relies too heavily on some divine agent as its producer. Pompey's dream of the theater, therefore, ought to be read as entirely generated within his own mind, and thus in accordance with the first proposition, as a reaction to his present toils, anguish, and emotions preceding his battle with Caesar. If we read the dream this way, we can see how Lucan uses it to implicitly articulate Pompey's troubled psychological state as he struggles with participation in the civil war.

⁷⁰⁴ Harrison 2013: 157.

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. Chapter 4: Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (pp.172-175; 183-185).

By viewing this dream as a product of Pompey's mind that reveals his psychological state, which is in accordance with Lucan's first proposition, it becomes apparent that the dream relates to Pompey's experience of guilt. The consequences of Pompey's incurable guilt, as manifest in his dream of Julia in Book 3, are brought to completion here as it portrays Pompey's inability to cope with the present, so much so that he has no other option but to temporarily transport himself to a time when his current state of guilt did not yet exist. This dream, however, differs from his dream of Julia because, after Julia's departure, Pompey was at least temporarily invigorated. While Julia alluded to Pompey's death in Book 3, again in this episode the reader anticipates Pompey's death when Lucan laments Pompey's fate to die away from Rome and Rome's loss at not having her hero die in Italy (7.30-36). The image that Pompey envisions in his theater dream contrasts with the same image that Lucan provides, but in a very different context. While Pompey imagines himself being praised by the Roman People and the Senate (7.9-12), Lucan anticipates a different sort of public adoration, in that after Pompey dies the people of Rome will honor him instead with their weeping and the tearing of their hair (7.37-39). Again, the image of the theater is evoked but, this time, innumerable people who have come to lament Pompey's death cannot fit into his theater (7.44).⁷⁰⁶ Finally, this image conflicts with Lucan's second proposition that Pompey was seeing the opposite of what would happen in his dream because, as indicated by the end of this passage, the image of the theater is still conjured as well as the vast praise from his admirers, even though it is in a state of grieving rather than laudation.

⁷⁰⁶ This image of lamentation in the theater as an indication of adulation for Pompey is also captured in Florus' version of the dream as he recounts the account of Livy, which relates the same dream and, in this case, seems to have been influential on Lucan's own version.

The first proposition, then, seems most appropriate because the atmosphere after Pompey wakes up indicates what the function of the dream might really be. Pompey is no longer confident and ready for war, as he was after his dream of Julia (*ille... / maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum...*, 3.36-37), but he is hesitant and cautious. His mind is anxious for the future (*anxia venturis*, 7.20) as his soldiers compel him to engage in battle even though he is unwilling and he says that this battle was imposed upon him (7.91-92). Pompey's dream of the theater marks his submission to his guilt, it provides a glimpse into Pompey's struggle with this emotion, and it is the final happy and peaceful moment that Pompey will experience in the poem.

Caesar and Roma (BC 1.185-203)

Lucan also uses dreams and apparitions to subtly reveal Caesar's psychological guilt. In Book 1, Caesar is seemingly reverent and respectful of the parameters of lawfulness and morality. After he crosses the Rubicon and confronts the apparition of Roma, however, Caesar wholly gives in to his guilt and he is consumed by it. Unlike Pompey, however, Caesar perverts this emotion into one that is beneficial to him and he uses it to strengthen his relationship with Fortuna. Caesar's guilt manifests itself in his continual *furor*, which I argue should be viewed as a symptom of this emotion, and as a result he is willing to commit any act necessary to win the war against Pompey. By Book 7, Caesar's guilt prevents his ability to contemplate the consequences of his actions to such an extent that he is virtually unrecognizable from the Caesar of Book 1. Lucan creates Caesar's dream after the Battle of Pharsalus to depict Caesar's temporary internal

psychological struggle with his guilt but, after he wakes up, his *furor* resumes and he delights in his crimes. This section will explore how Lucan uses episodes that contain dreams, ghosts, and apparitions to show the gradual corruption of Caesar as he becomes more influenced by his guilt under the patronage of Fortuna and it will argue that Lucan uses these episodes to make Caesar's latent psychological content and his experience of guilt discernible to the reader.

The first instance of an apparition that appears to Caesar occurs in Book 1 (1.185-203). Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon with his army, which took place in 49 BCE, was the impetus for the commencement of the civil war because it signified the transition from peace to war and his implicit march on Rome. In Lucan's description of this event, when Caesar is about to cross the Rubicon a vision of Roma appears to him and implores him to consider the gravity of his actions (1.185-192):

*Ut ventum est parui Rubiconis ad undas,
Ingens visa duci patriae trepidantis imago
Clara per obscuram vultu maestissima noctem
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines
Caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis
Et gemitu permixta loqui: 'Quo tenditis ultra?
Quo fertis mea signa, viri? Si iure venitis,
Si cives, huc usque licet.'*

When he reached the stream of the little Rubicon, a large image of the frightened fatherland was seen by the general through the dark night, appearing bright with a most saddened expression, her white hair pouring out from her tower-crowned head, with tresses torn and shoulders bare and sighing she spoke: "Where further do you march? Where do you take my standards, men? If you come lawfully, if you come as citizens, this is as far as is permitted."

In this passage, Lucan describes Roma as a *ingens...imago* (1.186), which is the common way to depict either a divinity or a deceased figure, who appears to the living.⁷⁰⁷ In this episode, however, Roma should not be viewed as a divinity, as is common in other Greek

⁷⁰⁷ Roche 2009: 206.

and Roman epics, but as the “personification of an abstract idea” that fits into the climate of the absence of the divine machinery in the poem.⁷⁰⁸ Roma as a *ingens...imago*, then, aligns her more with a dead figure that appears to the living and, as a result, her presence serves to foreshadow Rome’s destruction and the grief to follow.

In Book 3, Lucan uses the same formula to introduce Julia as a supernatural figure (*imago visa*, 3.9-10) and both Julia and Roma appear during the night to deliver an important message.⁷⁰⁹ Although Lucan introduces the women the same way, he makes them look dissimilar to evoke a different reaction from each general. Julia will appear to Pompey as an “image filled with grim horror” (*diri tum plena horroris imago*, 3.9) and, as the dream progresses, she becomes more authoritative as she reprimands him for his indiscretions. Roma, on the other hand, appears as a suppliant, mourner, and griever and instead of evoking horror she evokes pity and sadness.

The use of the adjective *maestissima* in line 187 departs from the imagery of Julia and instead recalls the image of Hector from *Aeneid* 2. When Hector’s ghost visits Aeneas on the eve of the fall of Troy, Vergil describes him as *maestissimus* (*Aen.* 2.270). Hector embodies the fallen city and his appearance signifies the horror of the past and Aeneas’ guilt for failing to save it.⁷¹⁰ Similarly, Roma is *maestissima* because she represents what Rome will become if Caesar crosses the river and her association with Hector suggests that Rome will share the same fate as Troy if Caesar commits this offence.

⁷⁰⁸ Morford 1967: 75.

⁷⁰⁹ Batinski 1993: 273. Batinski (1993: 264) also argues that Roma’s appearance in this passage “establishes the paradigm” of how we read other female figures in the *Bellum Civile*. The usage of the term *imago...visa* for both Roma and Julia is an example of the connection in these scenes’ structure and imagery.

⁷¹⁰ The image of Hector in the *Aeneid* is also hinted at in line 190, *et gemitu permixta loqui*, as it recalls *Aeneid* 2.288, *sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens*. For more information see Roche (2009: 208).

While Lucan aligns Roma's appearance with that of Hector in the *Aeneid*, her message and her reason for appearing are more in line with those of Julia. Instead of providing hope for the future, Roma cautions Caesar as she explains what will follow if he transgresses this boundary. Both Roma and Julia, therefore, act as personifications of each general's participation in the events before and after the civil war, Pompey when breaks his marriage bond with Julia and indirectly declares war on his father-in-law and Caesar when he is about to cross the Rubicon and officially commence civil war.

If we read this episode with the emotion of guilt in mind, we can see that one of the reasons Lucan may depict Caesar's vision of Roma is to call attention to consequences that occur after a person has committed an action that will incur legal or psychological guilt. Roma's appearance forces Caesar to consider his actions and, like Pompey's dream of Julia, it directly addresses the guilt that will result from them. While Julia rebukes Pompey for his past crimes against her, Roma concentrates on Caesar's future guilt as he is made to consider the significance of crossing the Rubicon and symbolically marching on Rome.⁷¹¹ When Roma first appears, she is concerned with the collective guilt of Caesar and his men, rather than with Caesar's alone. This is evident in her use of the second person plural *tenditis* (1.190), *fertis* (1.191), and *venitis* (1.191) and in her address to them as *virī* (1.191) and *cives* (1.192). Furthermore, Roma first focuses on legal guilt, rather than moral or psychological guilt, as she warns them that, if they wish to remain lawful (*iure*, 1.191), this is as far as they are permitted to advance.

⁷¹¹ Before Roma appears, Lucan describes Caesar's consideration of the gravity of the action he is about to undertake and the consequences that it would entail ("...In his mind great tumults and future war took possession of Caesar," ...*ingentesque animo motus bellumque futurum / ceperat*, 1.184-185).

The scope of the type of guilt that emerges from this passage is widened, however, as Caesar gives his response to Roma and he proceeds to cross the river (1.195-205):

*Mox ait 'o magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis
Tarpeia de rupe Tonans Phrygiique penates
Gentis Iuleae et rapti secreta Quirini
Et residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba
Vestalesque foci summique o numinis instar
Roma, fave coeptis. Non te furialibus armis
Persequor: en, adsum victor terraque marique
Caesar, ubique tuus (liceat modo, nunc quoque) miles.
Ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem.'
Inde moras solvit belli tumidumque per amnem
Signa tulit propere.*

At last he speaks: 'O, Thunderer, you who look out at the walls of the great city from the Tarpeian rock and you, the Phrygian penates of the Julian clan, and the mysteries of Quirinus carried off and Jupiter of Latium abiding in lofty Alba and the Vestal hearths and, as an equal of the highest deity, Roma, favor these undertakings. I do not pursue you with raging weapons: Behold I, Caesar a conqueror both on land and sea, am present, and everywhere I am your solider (provided that it be permitted, I am now also). That man will be guilty, he who makes me your enemy.' Then he removed the delay of war and quickly bore the standards through the swollen river.

In this speech, Caesar attempts to provide justification and rationale for his actions in order to expel any guilt that may be associated with his crossing of the river. At the beginning of his response he invokes Jupiter, both as *Tonans* and *Latiaris* (1.196-197), the Phrygian *penates* (1.196), Quirinus (1.197) and even Roma herself (1.200-201). By naming the *penates* of the Julian clan and Alba Longa through the guise of Jupiter, Caesar recalls his claim to the lineage of Aeneas and Ascanius.⁷¹² Caesar's identification of these particular deities allows him to stress his own importance and to draw attention

⁷¹² Roche 2009: 212. Batinski (1993: 273-274) argues that Caesar's silence upon seeing the image of Roma aligns this scene with Creusa's appearance to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2 (774) and thus a second connection between Caesar and Aeneas is also established. I will discuss Lucan's correlation of Caesar and Aeneas further in Chapter 7: Comparative Analysis – Guilt as a Theme in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

to himself.⁷¹³ By constructing his speech in this manner, Caesar convinces himself that he will incur no legal guilt for this action because he has the authority to commit it and because the gods themselves sanction it. Caesar's self-delusion in the hopes of warding off guilt continues when he recalls his former glories in foreign lands and he names Pompey as the only aggressor in the impending civil war. As Caesar draws attention to his victories in Gaul, he says that he hopes to be Roma's soldier now also (*nunc quoque*), and thus he insinuates that with this action he will commit no transgression against Roma whatsoever.⁷¹⁴ Furthermore, although Pompey is frequently named as the Senate's defender and protector (1.487-489; 2.277-279; 2.319-320),⁷¹⁵ Caesar convinces himself and Roma that Pompey is the only aggressor and threat to Rome and that he himself is her champion (1.203).

Although Caesar claims that he is guiltless for committing this transgression, Lucan's apostrophe before Caesar reaches the river articulates the absurdity of these claims. Lucan also conveys this idea at line 1.200, when he shows Caesar saying that it is not his intention to bring 'raging arms' (*furialibus armis*) against Rome. Just a few lines before, Lucan himself calls out to the Roman citizens like Roma does (1.192) and he discounts Caesar's justification when he says that this war is based on madness (*furor*)

⁷¹³ Rondholz 2009: 445.

⁷¹⁴ Roche 2009: 214.

⁷¹⁵ Holliday (1969: 62) argues that Lucan identifies Pompey with the Senate at many points throughout the narrative to "clearly portrayed the antagonism between the Senate and Caesar." She highlights the senators' following of Pompey when he leaves Italy (1.487-489), Brutus' identification of Pompey as the leader of the Senate (2.277-279), Cato's insistence that he follow the standards led by Pompey (2.319-320), and Pompey's declaration to his army that they are the army of the Senate as evidence of this association. Because Pompey is a partisan of the Senate, which Holliday argues is the true hero of the *Bellum Civile*, he should be identified as one of the heroes of the poem rather than Caesar, who opposes it. It should be noted, however, that even though the other characters of the *Bellum Civile* may view Pompey in this manner, Pompey sees his involvement in the civil war as involuntary so that he can disassociate himself from the guilt incurred in engaging in civil war ("But I call you as a witness, Roma, that Magnus did not willingly endure this day, on which all things will be lost," *Testor, Roma, tamen: Magnum, quo cuncta perirent, / accepisse diem*, 7.91-92).

and excessive liberty of the sword (*licentia ferri*): “What madness is this, o citizens, what is this excessive liberty of the sword?” (*quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?*, 1.8). Finally, after Caesar hastens across the river, Lucan uses a simile to compare him to a lion that pursues its prey (1.205-207), which is also an animal known for its anger.⁷¹⁶ Based on Caesar’s actions and rationalization, and Lucan’s word choice in his portrayal of this event, Lucan pointedly shows Caesar’s delusion and his vain attempts to rationalize his actions so that he can avoid any of the potential guilt that crossing the river will incur. In Caesar’s mind, he is free from any legal and psychological guilt because he believes that he has adequately convinced Roma, and himself, that his actions are wholly just.

In addition to his self-delusion and the rationalization of his actions, Caesar also attempts to ward off any anticipated guilt from his future undertakings by projecting it on to those who attempt to oppose him (*ille erit ille nocens*, 1.203) so that he can remove it from his mind temporarily. To Caesar, he may commit any action with impunity because any guilt he may incur will be nullified when he is victorious.⁷¹⁷ Caesar’s encounter with Roma, who embodies the fate of the city if he crosses the river, and his great effort to rationalize his actions and project his guilt onto others suggest that he is wholly aware of his guilt for undertaking such a transgression. The image of Roma, whether she actually appears to Caesar at this juncture or if she is only figment of his imagination,⁷¹⁸ is a means by which Lucan can show Caesar initially considering his guilt. When he crosses

⁷¹⁶ Morford 1967: 79.

⁷¹⁷ Roche 2009: 215.

⁷¹⁸ The emphasis on Caesar’s psychological preoccupation with future events before Roma appears to him (1.184-185) could indicate that this sighting of Roma was fabricated in his mind as a reflection of the guilt he felt for the action he was about to undertake.

the Rubicon, Caesar's corruption begins as he undertakes this first guilty action in the civil war against Pompey. After this event, the character of Caesar begins to morph into one that is propelled by *furor* and crime and he uses his guilt as a motivating force to fuel his actions. By inventing the image of Roma, therefore, Lucan shows not only the destructive force of guilt, but also Caesar's weakness, because he is unable to resist the influence of this emotion amidst his attempts at rationalization, self-delusion, and projection.

Lucan's depiction of the events that take place on the banks of the Rubicon is particularly interesting because of its relationship with other treatments of this episode in the works of biographical and historiographical writers before and after him. While Lucan invents Pompey's dream of Julia to bring the general's experience of guilt to the forefront, his treatment of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon interacts with previous and subsequent narratives of the story, and it also diverges from them in key ways. Lucan engages with this literary tradition and he creates the personified Roma, who is not described in historiographical and biographical accounts that describe Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, in order to focus on Caesar's guilt and to mark this scene as the beginning of Caesar's immorality and corruption.

The extant sources that report the early events of the civil war before Lucan's *Bellum Civile* include Caesar in his *De Bello Civili* 1.7-8, Cicero in his letters, Livy in his *Ab Urbe Condita*,⁷¹⁹ and Velleius Paterculus in his *Historiae*. Of these four authors, three do not mention the crossing of the Rubicon at all and one mentions it briefly.

⁷¹⁹ Although Livy's description may have included the image of Roma, all that remains extant of Book 109 is the *Peroicha*, which describes Caesar's entrance into Italy and his capture of Corfinium (Tucker 1988: 246). For more information on Lucan's interaction with Livy's work see Pichon (1912).

Caesar writes that he was at Ravenna (Caes. *B.C.* 1.5), he describes his address to his soldiers, and then he skips to his departure for Ariminum (Caes. *B.C.* 1.8), which took place after he had already crossed the Rubicon. The rationale for the omission of his crossing of the river is unknown but it is likely, as Batstone and Damon (2006) argue, that Caesar did not wish to call attention to his legal status and, in keeping with his structure of events in his *Gallic War*, it makes sense that Caesar would omit this event.⁷²⁰ Caesar also separates the events that take place in the Senate from those of himself and his army. By structuring his work this way, he can show himself as reactive, rather than as an instigator of war and, as such, he may have omitted the crossing of the Rubicon because it did not fit into this scheme.⁷²¹ Caesar's account, therefore, still interacts with the notion of the transference and assignment of legal guilt to a particular party as he expends great effort to avoid portraying himself as guilty in his own *commentarii*.

Cicero's reference to the events, however, differs somewhat from Caesar's account. Although Cicero also never mentions the actual crossing of the river, he describes the events leading up to the war, the flight of Pompey and the Senate, and his own departure from Rome.⁷²² What is particularly interesting is Cicero's representation of Caesar as a tyrannical and corrupt despot, who is bent on the destruction of the *res*

⁷²⁰ Batstone and Damon (2006: 57) argue that this omission adheres to a similar structure as the *Gallic War*: "... We have already noted that throughout the *Gallic War* Caesar begins his yearly account by leaving his winter quarters. The recollection of that norm here marks the event not just as the beginning of the campaign season but as the beginning of a military commentary. In other words, this is the beginning of war."

⁷²¹ Rondholz 2009: 435-436. Rondholz sees Caesar's description of the events as structured in blocks: "The account starts with a 'Senate block', that contains the negotiation of the senate in the first week (1.1-6), followed by a 'Caesar block', where he describes a *contio* held in Ravenna, designed to win him the support of his troops (7.1-8.1)" and then another 'Senate block' (8.2-11.3) and a 'Caesar block' (11.4-13) follow. As a result, "By combining events in blocks, the succession of action-reaction is reordered, so that the senate is presented as the acting, Caesar only as the reacting, party. By this suggestive chronology, the reader is induced to take the side of Caesar."

⁷²² Cic. *Att.* 7.10; 7.11; Cic. *Fam.* 16.11, 16.12.

publica. Lucan develops Cicero's focus on Caesar's negative and destructive qualities and Cicero's views on the *res publica* may have provided the precedent for the arguments of Roma in *Bellum Civile* 1. As persuasively argued by Jeffrey Beneker (2011), Cicero, in the *De Officiis*, details the depravity of Caesar, whom he compares to the Eteocles of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, and his willingness to partake in a civil war to secure his own interests even though they violate republican ideals.⁷²³ In Lucan's version of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, Lucan invents Roma as an embodiment of these ideals when she warns Caesar of the unlawfulness of his actions ('*Quo tenditis ultra? / Quo fertis mea signa, viri? Si iure venitis, / Si cives, huc usque licet,*' 1.190-192). Then, after Caesar considers his offence and he reasons that he acts within the parameters of republican ideals and justice, we see that all morality is lost and corruption takes its place. Although Cicero did not know that this civil war would mark the end of the Republic, Beneker argues that, through Lucan's Roma, we can see everything that Cicero dreaded: "...[Roma] is acknowledging the reality of what Cicero feared: when consensus about *ius* has been lost, the individual citizen is free to redefine the *res publica* for himself."⁷²⁴ Lucan's image of Roma signifies the last stand of the *res publica*, she assigns legal and psychological guilt to Caesar, and she represents the beginning of his corruption as an antithesis of what the Republic once stood for.

The last of Lucan's predecessors to write about the civil war is Velleius Paterculus in the *Historiae*, which describes the events from the end of the Trojan War to the death of Livia in 29 CE.⁷²⁵ Velleius does mention the actual crossing of the river but

⁷²³ Beneker 2011: 75.

⁷²⁴ Beneker 2011: 93.

⁷²⁵ Conte 1999: 380-381.

he condenses his narrative and he provides no description of what actually took place there (2.49.4):

Ut deinde spretis omnibus quae Caesar postulaverat, tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere provinciae, privatus in urbem veniret et se in petitione consulatus suffragiis populi Romani committeret decrevere, ratus bellandum Caesar cum exercitu Rubiconem transit.

When at last, with all things which Caesar had demanded having been rejected, so much more content to keep the title of the province with one legion, they [i.e. the Senate] decreed that Caesar should enter the city as a private citizen and submit himself to the votes of the Roman people in his petition for the consulship, [and] believing that there ought to be war, Caesar crossed the Rubicon with his army.

Although it is brief, Velleius' version is one of the first to directly pose the question of whether Caesar commits a crime and incurs guilt when he crosses the river, which is a feature that will be especially important in later versions.⁷²⁶ Velleius also describes Caesar's consideration of his actions and their consequences. Lucan develops Velleius' model by prolonging Caesar's contemplation and by showing Caesar as initially terrified of the image of Roma (*BC* 1.192-195). Next, Lucan portrays Caesar's internal thought process to suggest that Caesar himself believes that he does not commit a crime when he explains that his actions are lawful and warranted and in no way threatening to Roma (*BC* 1.199-203).

After Lucan's elaborate description of the events at the river's edge, authors in the post-Neronian Period begin to develop the 'Rubicon Narratives' that shape our modern conception of this event.⁷²⁷ This fact suggests the importance of Lucan's description and its influence on later authors, since he is the first of our extant sources to provide a

⁷²⁶ In Velleius Paterculus' account, Caesar is represented as a reactor rather than an instigator of his actions, much in the same way as Caesar presented himself in his *Commentarii*. Rohndholz (2009: 435) argues that presenting Caesar this way makes sense since Velleius was composing his history under the reign of Tiberius, so it is in keeping with the Caesarian point of view.

⁷²⁷ Beneker 2011: 74.

detailed description of the event rather than briefly mentioning it, or even failing to mention it whatsoever. Lucan is also the first to use the Rubicon story to highlight a specific theme, namely guilt, and to characterize his protagonist. Later authors, specifically Suetonius and Plutarch, continue to use this story to offer a specific example of the character traits of Caesar, to articulate specific themes, and to discuss law, morality, and the dissolution of the Republic.

Even though the narratives of authors after Lucan describe a slightly different course of events before and after Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, Lucan's influence on these later accounts is evident. In his *Divus Iulius* (31-32), Suetonius gives a detailed description of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon. He writes that, when Caesar arrives at the river's edge, the general considers his actions, hesitates, and acknowledges the consequences and significance of what he is about to do ("For a little while he stood, and thinking over how great the deed he was about to undertake was, turning towards those close to him he said: 'Still now are we able to turn back; but if we cross this little bridge, all things will be moved to arms,'" *...paulum constitit, ac reputans quantum moliretur, conversus ad proximos: etiam nunc,* 'inquit, 'regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt,' *Div. Iul.* 31). Unique to Suetonius' account, however, are the events that occur as Caesar hesitates before he crosses the river. After Caesar speaks, a person who is distinguished by his nobility and appearance (*quidam eximia magnitudine et forma, Div. Iul.* 32) appears and plays a pipe. When the shepherds and some of Caesar's soldiers and trumpeters gather around him to listen, this form steals one of the battle trumpets, runs to the river, and gives the signal that encourages Caesar's men to cross the river ("When a trumpet was snatched from one of the men, he hastened

toward the river and beginning the field signal with a huge blast he proceeded to the other side of the river,” ...*rapta ab uno tuba prosiliuit ad flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam, Div. Iul. 32*). Caesar then interprets this figure’s appearance as a favorable omen and he also crosses the river (“Then Caesar spoke: ‘Let us go where the portents of the gods and the injustice of our enemies calls. The die has been cast,’ he said,” *tunc Caesar: ‘eatur,’ inquit, ‘quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Iacta alea est,’ inquit, Div. Iul. 32*). The most important parts of this passage, and the ones that seem to have been influenced most by Lucan, are Caesar’s hesitation and his consideration of his actions, the apparition that spurs him on and encourages him to cross the river, and his speech to his troops immediately before he commits this crime.

Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives*, also recounts the events at the Rubicon. While Plutarch’s account resembles Lucan’s and Suetonius’, in that it is included in the Neronian and post-Neronian trend of providing a detailed narrative of the event, it also contains one key difference. In the *Life of Caesar* (32.4-32.6), Plutarch also expresses Caesar’s reflection (λογισμὸς) of the gravity of his anticipated transgression when he depicts the general “turning about [in his mind] the magnitude of his undertakings,” (περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, *Caes.* 32.4). Caesar’s contemplation of his actions prompts him to check his speed. Plutarch emphasizes Caesar’s hesitation more than Suetonius as he constantly changes his mind (τὴν γνώμην ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα μεταλαμβάνων, *Caes.* 32.5) and he even consults his companions because he knows that “the crossing would be the beginning of great evil for all mankind” (ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλικίων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ διάβασις). Caesar then has an out of body

experience when he is overcome “with some sort of passion” (μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος, *Caes.* 32.6), which incites him to cross.⁷²⁸ The last detail that Plutarch provides is different from other versions because he is the only author to describe a dream narrative that occurs the night before the crossing of the Rubicon (*Caes.* 32.6):

λέγεται δὲ τῆ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔκθεσμον ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῆ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρητον μῖξιν.

It is said that on the night before the crossing, a horrible dream appeared [in which Caesar] himself seemed to engage in unutterable sexual intercourse with his own mother.

Suetonius also records this dream but he says that it happened in 67 BCE while Caesar was a quaestor in Spain. In Suetonius’ version (*Div. Iul.* 7), the dream is interpreted to symbolize Caesar’s subjugation of the world, because the image of his mother represents the earth as a whole. This dream shows the continuation of the trend of the use of dreams and apparitions to express the inner psychological turmoil of the characters. In Plutarch’s account, Caesar imagines an unspeakable act that makes him doubtlessly guilty and these anxieties are correlated to the events that occur on the following day.⁷²⁹ Unlike Suetonius’ version of the same dream, Plutarch offers no positive interpretation. Instead, Plutarch uses the dream to represent Caesar’s hesitation and to suggest that Caesar may have inner anxiety about his anticipated actions and their consequences in the future.⁷³⁰ This dream represents Caesar’s contemplation of whether his future reputation, as a conqueror of the earth, is worth the cost of war. By describing Caesar’s dream and his

⁷²⁸ Plutarch also describes a similar experience in his *Life of Pompey* (60.2) when Caesar hesitates to cross the river and then flings himself across, just like someone who shuts out reason and jumps into an abyss (“Just as those who casting themselves from some cliff to a wide abyss, closing his eyes to reason and veiling himself from the terrible act ... he set his army across,” ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸς βάθος ἀφιέντες ἀχανὲς ἀπὸ κρημοῦ τινος ἑαυτούς, μύσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παρακαλυψάμενος πρὸς τὸ δεινόν... διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατόν, *Pomp.* 60.2).

⁷²⁹ In the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar is also compared to Orestes (*BC.* 7.777-780), who is a character infamous for committing an unspeaking crime against his mother.

⁷³⁰ Pelling 1997: 201.

consideration of its meaning afterwards, Plutarch can “underscore the mental anguish caused by this dilemma” and make the situation at the river that much more troubling.⁷³¹ Plutarch’s version, although somewhat different from Lucan’s account, continues to explore Caesar’s guilt and it uses this event to mark the beginning of his corruption and depravity.

The final post-Lucanian author to detail Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon is Appian in his *Civil Wars* (2.5.35). Just as in other accounts, Caesar again hesitates and considers the meaning of his undertaking (“Considering each of the evils that will occur, if he should pass across this river with arms,” λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὄπλοις περάσειε). As in Suetonius’ account, in Appian’s account Caesar gives a speech in which he acknowledges the evils that will follow for all mankind. Finally, like Plutarch, Appian shows Caesar as having an out of body experience when he rushes across the river like someone who is goaded by some outside force (τις ἔνθους).

One of the common themes in all three of the narratives after Lucan’s is Caesar’s reluctance before he crosses the river, and this apprehension maintains an important position in each of the accounts.⁷³² In Suetonius’ version (*Div. Iul.* 31), Caesar stops (*constitit*), contemplates the gravity of his actions before he crosses (*reputans quantum moliretur*), and he acknowledges that this transgression will signify the beginning of war (*quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt*). Unlike Suetonius’ version, Lucan’s account leaves room for doubt as to whether Caesar’s advancement across the river is his own decision and whether guilt can thus be attributed to him.

⁷³¹ Beneker 2011: 86.

⁷³² Beneker 2011: 75.

Suetonius is the only post-Neronian author to have an apparition appear at the banks of the Rubicon, when an unidentifiable figure plays the pipe and urges the men to cross. In Lucan's version, however, the image of Roma does not encourage the crossing of the river, as it does in Suetonius', but she emphatically opposes it. In the *Bellum Civile*, then, it is Caesar who makes the decision for himself and he does not hesitate whatsoever to cross, and thus guilt is wholly attributable to him.

In both of Plutarch's versions, Caesar wavers as he thinks about his undertaking and he contemplates his actions with his companions. Plutarch suggests that Caesar is not entirely to blame because he appears to know his actions are wrong, but some outside force compels him to cross regardless of his trepidation, just as the pipe player does in Suetonius' version. Finally, in Appian's account, again Caesar is overcome by an outside force, which makes it questionable as to whether guilt can be attributed to him. In Lucan's version, instead of pausing and considering his actions, Caesar stops only for a moment when he sees Roma (1.192-194), then he dismisses her and he rushes quickly (*propere*, 1.205) across the river. Lucan uses Caesar's initial reluctance as a way to assign more guilt to him because he suggests that Caesar's hesitation spurs him on. This point is evident when Lucan compares Caesar to a lion that uses his doubt as a means to gather his anger before he pounces on his prey ("Just as in the barren fields of heat-bearing Libya a lion, when he sees his enemy close by, crouches down in hesitation, until he gathers all of his anger..." *sicut squalentibus arvis / aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste / subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram*, 1.205-207). Lucan, therefore, portrays a different type of Caesar as he makes his corruption, guilt, and culpability undeniable by emphasizing his lack of hesitation and his attempts to rationalize his crime.

Important for these accounts, therefore, is the indirect exploration of the question of Caesar's guilt. Caesar knows that the deed is legally wrong and morally reprehensible and it seems, at first, like he might not cross the river. In Suetonius, it is the apparition that encourages Caesar and his men to cross, while in Plutarch's and Appian's versions some sort of passion takes hold of Caesar and it seems as if his crossing of the Rubicon is beyond his control or volition. Lucan, on the other hand, uses this scene in order to show that Caesar is entirely culpable for his actions and that he assumes all guilt associated with them. Lucan's expression of the common crime of all the participants in the war (*in commune nefas*, *BC* 1.6) is recalled in the post-Neronian versions as Caesar contemplates the crime that will bring all men into evil (Plut. *Caes* 32.5; App. *BC* 2.5.32). But, unlike these later versions, Lucan's poem shows Caesar rationalizing his actions and wholly dismissing the admonition of Roma. Caesar appears more as the character we see in his own *Commentarii* and the version of Velleius Paterculus as he projects his guilt onto another party and attempts to convince Roma that he fights in her name (*BC* 1.202). While later authors, such as Suetonius and Plutarch, use the theme of hesitation to address the question of guilt, Lucan leaves his reader with no doubt. Lucan's Caesar does not falter, but Roma's appearance reinforces his actions. Like other dreams in Lucan's epic, Roma signifies an embodiment of Caesar's anticipated guilt before he crosses the river and her appearance and his subsequent speech of rationalization are a means by which Caesar can alleviate and project his anticipated guilt. Lucan reworks the historiographical tradition of this scene and uses it for his own ends in order to mark the beginning of Caesar's corruption and the end of any trace of morality or lawfulness for his actions in the rest of the poem.

Caesar's Dream After the Battle of Pharsalus (BC 7.760-786)

The apparition of Roma in Book 1 and Pompey's dream of Julia in Book 3 are related because both act as embodiments of the protagonists' first confrontation with their guilt as they anticipate the crimes inherent in civil war. In Book 7, Pompey's vision of the theater and the haunting of Caesar are connected because each dream addresses the effects and consequences of their guilt. The dreams of Book 7 are also a means by which Lucan can accentuate the fundamental differences in his characters by encouraging a comparison of how Caesar and Pompey cope with, or fail to cope with, their guilt and what effects it imposes on their psychology and their subsequent actions. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Pompey's theater dream displays his weakening character because it implies his psychological inability to cope with and alleviate his guilt and it marks a breaking of his self-delusion before he admits defeat.⁷³³ Pompey's dream is an expression of the guilt that he cannot overcome, as suggested by his need for total escape and temporary removal from the civil war. Caesar's dream, on the other hand, provides him with a brief reprieve from his *furor* but, at the same time, it forces him to confront his guilt as his mind considers the full magnitude of the crimes he has committed the day before. Once he wakes up, however, this same dream acts as an impetus for the renewal of his guilt and the undertaking of crime, which is evident when his *furor* resumes immediately. Caesar, then, uses his guilt as a positive force because it fuels his *furor*, it ensures the maintenance of his relationship with Fortuna, and it propels him to commit any act necessary in order to attain victory which, in his mind, will absolve him of any guilt after the war is over.

⁷³³ Morford 1967: 81.

By Book 7, the character of Caesar wholly differs from the character that confronted Roma in Book 1. Caesar's dream after the Battle of Pharsalus demonstrates his transformation, corruption, and immorality. Before the dream, Lucan calls attention to the metamorphosis of Caesar's character from Books 1 to 7 when Caesar delivers a speech before the Battle of Pharsalus (7.235-302). Here, Caesar alludes to the apparition of Roma when he calls his men to arms and he reminds them that this is the battle they have been waiting for since they crossed the Rubicon (7.254-255). Caesar also says that "this battle is bound to make the loser guilty," (*haec acies victum factura nocentem est*, 7.260). This claim further reinforces the association with the apparition of Roma in Book 1 (*ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem*, 1.203) in that Caesar repeats the same sentiment and again uses the verb *noceo* to describe the guilt that is associated with this action.⁷³⁴ This repetition suggests that Caesar continues to believe that guilt is a burden that will be assigned in the future and, because he expects that he will be victorious, he makes no effort to alleviate his guilt in the present. As a result, Caesar is willing to commit any crime necessary because he relies on the victor's absolution.

Caesar's dream in Book 7, however, proves that his belief is inaccurate and that no one can escape psychological guilt in civil war, even if he is the victor. Although Caesar seems only to focus on the legal aspects of guilt in his speech to his soldiers, he does not anticipate the psychological guilt that will plague him and his army after the battle concludes and he urges his men to plunder Pompey's camp (7.737-746). Victory

⁷³⁴ Lucan also uses the verb *noceo* after the battle has been won and Caesar's men enter Pompey's camp: "They rush to know how large the wage is for those who will be guilty," (*scire runt quanta fuerint mercede nocentes*, 7.751).

forces both Caesar and his men to contemplate their actions and to fully appreciate the magnitude of their guilt as they are haunted by the menacing shades of their kinsmen.

While Caesar's soldiers, to whom Lucan assigns both religious (*in pia plebes*, 7.760) and legal guilt (*nocentes*, 7.763), take to sleep in the camp of Pompey, their sleep is maddened (*vaesana quies*, 7.764) and raging dreams harass them (*somnique furentes*, 7.764).⁷³⁵ Lucan describes the soldiers' dreams and disturbed sleep to imply that they experience psychological guilt as a result of their crimes ("Their savage crime remains wakeful to all," *invigilat cunctis saevum scelus*, 7.766). Their guilt pervades their dreams and they continue to wage war even in their sleep while the shades of their victims harass them (7.766-767). Each soldier envisions the shade that makes him most guilty and ones that serve as harsh reminders of the type of war they engaged in as the ghosts of old men, young men, and their brothers and fathers torment them (7.772-776). The harassment of Caesar's soldiers is as an example of an anxiety dream because they must finally confront the consequences of their actions and their guilt is foremost in their minds as they dream.⁷³⁶ Just as Roma and Julia represent outward representations of the guilt of Caesar and Pompey, so too do the ghosts that torment Caesar's men function as external embodiments of their guilt and of their unsettled psychological state.

Although they believed that they could escape their guilt or project it onto another party, as Caesar attempted to do when Roma confronted him in Book 1, the soldiers' psychological struggle with their guilt through their dreams shows that they failed to anticipate the real consequences of their actions when they agreed to partake in civil

⁷³⁵ This 'maddened rest' stands in stark contrast to Pompey's *vaticinata quies* (7.22) that accompanied his dream of the theater earlier in the book.

⁷³⁶ Harrisson 2013: 156.

crimes.⁷³⁷ Likewise, the soldiers' dreams show Caesar's failure because he reassured his men before the battle that only the loser would be made guilty (7.260). Although Caesar and his men won the battle against Pompey, they are guilty regardless of the outcome and victory has a price, which she will exact through their dreams ("Victory demands sad punishments from those deserving of it, and sleep brings on hissing and flames," *exigit a meritis tristes victoria poenas, / sibilaque et flammam infert sopor*, 7.771-772).

Despite Caesar's presumption of the future assignment of guilt, victory also demands punishment from him (7.776-786):

...*Omnes in Caesare manes.*
Haud alios nondum Scythia purgatus in ara
Eumenidum vidit voltus Pelopeus Orestes,
Nec magis attonitos animi sensere tumultus,
Cum fureret, Pentheus, aut cum desisset, Agave.
Hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia vidit
Aut ultrix visura dies stringente senatu,
Illa nocte premunt, hunc infera monstra flagellant.
Et quantum poenae misero mens conscia donat,
Quod Stygia, quod manes ingestaque Tartara somnis
Pompeio vivente videt!

All shades are in Caesar. Not at all different were the faces of the Eumenides that Pelopean Orestes saw when he was not yet purified on the Scythian altar, and he felt mental turmoil no more thunderstruck than that of Pentheus in his frenzy or Agave when she had ceased to rave.⁷³⁸ All swords, which either Pharsalia saw or the vengeful day will see when the senate fights back, bear down upon him on that night, the monsters of the underworld lash him yet his mind knowing of his punishment remits to the miserable man a part of it, because he sees the river Styx, because he sees Tartarus thrust upon his dreams while Pompey is still living!

Just as victory punishes Caesar's army by forcing them to confront their guilt with haunting and disturbing dreams of the shades of the dead, Caesar's dream makes him contemplate his guilt for partaking in civil war. The statement *omnes in Caesare manes* suggests that, although his soldiers envision the figure that made them most guilty,

⁷³⁷ Bernstein 2011: 273.

⁷³⁸ Lines 779-780 trans. S. Braund (1992).

Caesar assumes the guilt for every slaughtered Roman because he promoted their actions at various stages with his *furor*. Lucan also shows that Caesar is the source of his soldiers' guilt when he encourages them to fight and rushes about the battlefield in assistance (7.564-585). Like Julia, whom Lucan compares to a Fury in Pompey's dream (*et accenso furialis stare sepulchro*, 3.11), Caesar is described with similar imagery: "And wherever he wanders, just as Bellona shaking her bloody whip...there is a vast night of crime," (*quacumque vagatur, / sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum...nox ingens scelerum est*, 7.567-568). Caesar, therefore, having been overcome by his guilt, now embodies this emotion as he urges his men on and becomes the source of their *furor*.⁷³⁹ Lucan continues to emphasize the magnitude of Caesar's guilt during this dream when he aligns Caesar with mythical characters famous for their guilt. By associating Caesar with Orestes, Pentheus, and Agave, Lucan articulates the intensity of Caesar's guilt as he transports it into mythical terms and makes Caesar's crimes "comparable to [those] of the filicide, matricide, and opponent of the gods."⁷⁴⁰ Lucan's use of the mythical figures of Pentheus and Agave are suitable for a comparison to Caesar because both figures were overcome by madness and committed atrocious acts.

Just as Pentheus and Agave acquire their madness from a divine source, Caesar's unbridled *furor* comes from his affiliation with Fortuna and it urges him to partake in unspeakable crimes that will incur a considerable penalty. This madness compels Caesar to goad his men on in battle and, as the narrative progresses and his *furor* intensifies,

⁷³⁹ Chen 2012: 123.

⁷⁴⁰ Bernstein 2011: 274. In Vergil's *Aeneid* (4.465-466), Dido's experience of guilt also causes Vergil to compare her with Orestes and Pentheus. Similarly, in Statius' *Thebaid*, Jocasta is also linked to the story of Pentheus when she is compared to Agave (11.318-320). In Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, this association may elicit a comparison to Dido, thus degrading his character further by comparing him with a female foreigner. This association continues in Book 10 as Caesar is also compared to Medea (10.464-467) and is likened to Helen when he cowers in the Alexandrian palace in hiding from the Egyptian attack (Bruère 1964: 267).

Caesar views guilt in a positive manner because it is necessary for victory and killing all those who oppose him. Caesar expresses this belief when he enumerates his hopes for the outcome of the war and shows the full magnitude of his *furor*: “I seem to watch the rivers of gore and trampled kings along with the body of the senate and the people swimming in immense slaughter,” (*videor fluvios spectare cruoris / calcatosque simul reges sparsumque senatus / corpus et immense victoria in caede natantis*, 7.292-294). This passage suggests that Caesar’s *furor* is a symptom of and a means by which his guilt is continually perpetuated and guaranteed. Victory demands that Caesar see *omnes manes* because he is both the cause of the war, and the guarantee that it will continue (“Here Caesar, the frenzy and goad of fury for the people, wandering goes around the troops and adds fires to their burning souls, lest crime dies out in some part of his own army,” *hic Caesar, rabies populis stimulusque furorum, / ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum / it vagus atque ignes animis flagrantibus addit*, 7.557-559) and, as a result, he must be punished through his dreams.

For Caesar’s mythical paradigms, Pentheus and Agave, the madness that drives them eventually recedes when they finally realize the consequences of their crimes and guilt. Lucan shows a similar realization in Caesar as he experiences mental turmoil akin to Pentheus and Agave after contemplating what he had done earlier that day: “And he felt a mental turmoil no more thunderstruck than that of Pentheus in his frenzy or Agave when she had ceased to rave,” *nec magis attonitos animi sensere tumultus, / Cum fureret, Pentheus, aut cum desisset, Agave*, 7.779-780). Caesar’s dream, therefore, temporarily stops Caesar’s *furor* and it compels him to consider his actions and the psychological effects of his guilt. Like his soldiers, Caesar experiences an anxiety dream as he

anticipates his punishment and imagines the swords of Pharsalus, those who will take revenge on him in the allusion to his assassination in 44 BCE (*Hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia vidit / aut ultrix visura dies*⁷⁴¹ *stringente senatu, / illa nocte premunt,* 7.781-783),⁷⁴² and being whipped by the Furies just as Orestes was (“The monsters of the underworld lash him,” *hunc infera monstra flagellant,* 7.683).⁷⁴³ This dream shows that Caesar at least temporarily recognizes that he is guilty and that he feels anxiety for his actions and the punishment he will eventually receive because of them. Lucan, therefore, uses this dream to assign guilt to Caesar, to portray his brief psychological struggle with this guilt, and to discount the notion that guilt is reserved only for the vanquished.

Caesar’s feast on the battlefield and his refusal to bury the dead represent the renewal of his *furor* and his undertaking of actions that will incur guilt. The dream’s forewarning of the penalties to come has no influence on Caesar when he wakes up and surveys the damage he is responsible for: “Although he suffered all of these things, as soon as the bright day revealed the Pharsalian casualties, no aspect of the place turns back his eyes remaining fixed to the field belonging to the dead,” (*tamen omnia passo / postquam clara dies Pharsalica damna retextit, / nulla loci facies revocat feralibus arvis / haerentes oculos,* 7.787-789). Lucan provides an elaborate description of the scene of the battlefield once the battle is over in order to show Caesar’s renewed madness and the vast scope of his guilt and the destruction it produces. Rivers are filled with blood (*propulsa*

⁷⁴¹ The *ultrix dies* here refers to the Ides of March in 44 BCE, see Dilke (1960: 159).

⁷⁴² The allusion to Caesar’s assassination at 7.781-783 indirectly connects the dream of Caesar with that of Pompey. While Pompey dreamed of his theater, this building is referred to again in these lines since the Theater of Pompey is where Caesar was assassinated on March 15, 44 BCE. As was argued in Chapter 4: Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, Lucan alludes to Caesar’s assassination to offer consolation to the reader and reassurance that Caesar will be punished for his guilt (cf. pp.185-198).

⁷⁴³ Dilke (1960: 159) states that the use of the verb *flagellant* is a common one in descriptions of one’s guilty conscience being tormented.

cruore / flumina, 7.789-790), corpses are piled as high as hills (*excelsos cumulis aequantia colles / corpora*, 7.790-791), and Caesar watches as the bodies rot before his eyes (*sidentis in tabem spectat acervos*, 7.791). Caesar is happy because in this carnage he can see “his fortune and his gods,” (*fortunam superosque suos in sanguine cernit*, 7.796). It is through his undertaking of actions that will incur guilt that his dream, expressed at line 7.292-294, becomes a reality.⁷⁴⁴ Then, Caesar decides to feast amongst the dead so that he can look upon their faces (7.792-794). This disturbing scene, along with his rejection of proper burial rites to the dead after the feast, adds to Lucan’s portrayal of Caesar’s villainy. Lucan shows that Caesar’s guilt has morphed him into a figure with no regard for human or divine law and his madness drives him to continue to commit crimes that will incur further psychological, legal, and religious guilt.⁷⁴⁵ Although Caesar’s dream urged him to briefly consider the vast scope of his guilt and to anticipate the penalty for his actions, he is so consumed by this emotion that there is no limit to the atrocious acts he continues to commit once he wakes up.

Like his description of the vision of Roma before Caesar crosses the Rubicon, Lucan’s deviation from historiographical sources that describe Caesar’s behavior after the Battle of Pharsalus is one of the ways that he can call attention to Caesar’s legal and psychological guilt. While Lucan provides an elaborate description of the feast and emphasizes Caesar’s inhumanity, Appian’s account paints an altogether different picture and he makes no mention of the feast taking place amongst the bodies of slain soldiers: “So Caesar established himself in Pompey’s camp as he had promised to do when he was

⁷⁴⁴ Ahl 1976: 214.

⁷⁴⁵ Morford (1967: 83) writes, “He [i.e. Lucan] is concerned to show that Caesar is guilty of breaking every human and divine law, driven on by madness to commit his crimes.” See also Bernstein (2011: 274).

preparing for battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense," (ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτός τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαίσαντο, *BC* 2.11.81). Suetonius and Plutarch, on the other hand, leave out any mention of Caesar's feast in the Pompeian camp after the battle was won. Suetonius (*Div.Iul.*35) simply states that after four months of blockading Pompey's army, Caesar finally defeated and pursued Pompey, arrived in Egypt, and engaged in the Alexandrian War. Similarly, Plutarch (*Caes.* 45.4-48.1) has Pompey admitting defeat and fleeing to Egypt where the Egyptians murder him. Plutarch then describes Caesar's final words at the battlefield, lists the portents of his victory, and says that Caesar followed Pompey to Alexandria. Instead of writing that Caesar dined amongst the dead, as Lucan does in the *Bellum Civile*, in Plutarch's version Caesar looks upon the carnage of the battlefield and says, "They would have it so, they forced me to into such necessity that if I, Gaius Caesar, who successfully waging the greatest wars, had given up my forces, I should have been condemned in court," (τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς τοῦτό με ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην τὰ στρατεύματα, κἂν κατεδικάσθην'). Suetonius (*Div.Iul.* 30) has Caesar making a similar statement after the battle when he surveys the bodies of the dead: "This is what they wanted. Although such great deeds were done, I, Gaius Caesar, would have been condemned, had I not sought aid from my army," (*hoc voluerunt. Tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem*'). In both versions, Caesar is a sympathetic figure as he provides justification of his crimes. Like the character of Caesar in Lucan's first book, Caesar appears to be mindful and respectful of the boundaries of

law and morality as he explains his intentions and his actions. By describing Caesar as happy because he fulfills the demands of Fortuna by murdering his kinsmen to achieve victory (*BC* 7.796), rather than as being compelled to commit these crimes and experiencing remorse because of them as he does in Suetonius' and Plutarch's versions, Lucan expresses the villainy of Caesar and the effect that his relationship with Fortuna and guilt have on his mind and character.

Suetonius, however, adds his own opinion when he says that the battle did not occur because the general feared prosecution, but because it provided him with a means of attaining supreme power, which he sought from the time of his youth. Suetonius quotes a passage from Cicero's *De Officiis*, in which Cicero writes that Caesar always remembered the following verses from Euripides' *Phoenissae*: "If justice must be violated, for the sake of ruling it must be violated; in other matters you should cultivate piety," (*nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia / violandum est; aiis rebus pietatem colas*, Cic. *De Off.* 3.82; εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι / κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν, Eur. *Phoen.* 524-525). In Euripides' play, Jocasta attempts in vain to convince her son Eteocles to reconcile with his brother Polynices and give up some of his power to him. In this passage Eteocles rationalizes his actions, and eventual fratricide, like Caesar does when he claims that he has no other option and that, in this situation, his actions are lawful. Here, Cicero sees Caesar's assassination, which Lucan alludes to in Caesar's dream (*BC* 7.782), as an appropriate punishment for his violation of Republican ideals and his fratricide when he kills his fellow kinsmen.⁷⁴⁶ Suetonius, however, downplays his criticism of Caesar and never names him as the guilty party.

⁷⁴⁶ Beneker 2011: 77-81.

Rather, Suetonius attributes the civil war to both human and divine action in which Caesar's role held only a small part.⁷⁴⁷ Just as Suetonius referred to Cicero's criticism of Caesar in his biography, it is possible that before him Lucan alluded to this reference found in Cicero's work in his own account of Caesar's dream after the Battle of Pharsalus. The use of Euripides' tragedies again indirectly aligns Caesar with the mythical characters of Orestes, Pentheus, and Agave, whom Lucan compares Caesar to in this dream. Mentioning the figures of Pentheus and Agave recalls the *Phoenissae* in that both are predecessors of Eteocles and are prominent figures in the endless line of guilt in the House of Thebes.⁷⁴⁸ Mentioning these specific characters is effective, then, because it not only calls to mind mythical characters infamous for their guilt, but it also shows how Lucan may engage with the works of Cicero in order to further condemn Caesar and to assign blame for the fall of the Republic to him.

Finally, after Caesar's feast, Lucan continues to enumerate Caesar's atrocities and to show how this dream reinforces Caesar's *furor* and his desire to commit crimes. Lucan departs from the historical sources again in order to show Caesar's transgression of divine, human, and moral law when he denies burial to the dead. Lucan is the only source to mention such an action in order to complete the vilification of his character: "And lest he lose the happy spectacle of his crime raging he denies the flame of the funeral pyre to the miserable men, and he heaps Emathia onto the guilty heavens," ...*ac ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat, / invidet igne rogi miseris, caeloque nocenti*

⁷⁴⁷ Beneker 2011: 84.

⁷⁴⁸ This tale was also told by Euripides in his *Bacchae* as was the story of Orestes in Euripides' tragedy of the same name.

ingerit Emathiam, 7.797-799).⁷⁴⁹ Lucan condemns this action when he writes that not even Hannibal denied the dead burial after the Battle of Cannae (7.799-803). By Book 7, therefore, Caesar's guilt makes him completely opposed to every Roman ideal and he becomes an abhorrent figure, who makes even the heavens guilty with his actions. Finally, an important feature of this passage is Lucan's statement that Caesar's detestable actions bring him pleasure as he experiences joy at the sight of the carnage (*laeta...spectacula*, 7.797). In his dream, Caesar's mind is troubled (*misero mens conscia*, 7.784) as he contemplates his guilt but, when he wakes up and his madness resumes, he becomes so possessed by his guilt that he actually begins to revel in it and, as he did when he goaded his men to continue to fight, he uses it as a positive force to achieve his goals.

Concluding Remarks

Lucan's deviation from the historical record in his representation of Caesar's vision of Roma in Book 1, his description of Caesar's dream in Book 7, his elaboration of Caesar's feast on the battlefield, and his outrage at Caesar's denial of proper funeral rites for the dead all play an important role in aligning Caesar's dreams with those of Pompey in Books 3 and 7 so that guilt can be brought to the forefront. Many parallels in these

⁷⁴⁹ Suetonius and Plutarch do not explicitly say that Caesar denied the dead burial but this fact may be hinted at. Morford (1967: 83 n.1) says, "Suet., *D.J.* 30.4 and Plut. *Caes.* 46.1, imply that the Pompeian dead were not buried," but it is unclear how Morford comes to this conclusion. Dilke (1960: 160) states that, "No other writer mentions the omission to burn the dead, but it seems likely," but it is unclear where he draws this evidence. Bernstein (2011: 274 n.48) says that there is no historical attestation for his denial. Whether these authors intended to merely imply that Caesar denied burial to the dead, none of them provide the same amount of detail or express their disdain for Caesar's actions to the extent that Lucan does. His explicit mention and condemnation of these actions shows that Lucan's focus is primarily on Caesar's guilt and the influence of his *furor* and madness.

dreams and apparitions challenge the reader to evaluate the guilt that Caesar and Pompey experience and to discern the differences in each general based on how they cope with legal and psychological guilt.

The vocabulary and subject matter of these four dreams and apparitions invite the reader to view them as complementary because in each instance Lucan implicitly suggests that his characters experience psychological guilt as a result of their legal guilt. In Book 1, the image of Roma temporarily stops Caesar and forces him to contemplate his actions before his guilt has fully taken hold of him. This dream serves as a means by which Caesar can rationalize his guilt and cross the threshold from morality and lawfulness to immorality and injustice. As a result, Caesar hastens across the river and civil war begins (1.204-205). Likewise, Pompey's dream of Julia occurs as he experiences anxiety at leaving Italy for the last time and engaging in a civil war. The dream forces him to confront his guilt and it temporarily resolves it when he considers the meaning of death and rushes into war. Caesar's vision of Roma and Pompey's dream of Julia both serve as warnings for the generals but both men rationalize their actions and resolve to continue forward regardless of the warning. The two dreams in Book 7 make explicit the differences between Pompey and Caesar. Pompey's dream of the loud atmosphere of the Roman people applauding him in the theater (7.10-14) contrasts with the quiet shades of the same people harassing Caesar and his soldiers after the battle (7.772-776). Pompey is celebrated for his foreign victories (7.15-17), while Caesar is later described as a figure, who is worse than the most notorious foreigner and adversary of Rome, when he refuses burial to the dead (7.799-805). The happy spectacle of Pompey being praised as his name is lifted to heaven (*laetis...vocibus*, 7.11-12) contrasts

with Caesar's joy at seeing the slaughter he caused on the battlefield (*laeta...spectacula*, 7.797).⁷⁵⁰ The image of the Senate praising Pompey (*plaudente senatu*, 7.18) is complemented by Caesar's anticipation of their punishment for his actions (*omnes gladii...stringente senatu*, 7.781-782). Finally, the image of Pompey's victory as a happy event celebrated by all stands in stark contrast with victory in Caesar's dream as it punishes him for his actions by harassing him in his sleep with constant reminders of his guilt (*exigit a meritis tristes victoria poenas*, 7.771). These dreams portray the devastating effects of psychological guilt on the generals and they allow for this emotion to be made manifest to the reader as a key theme throughout the poem. Lucan invents these scenes and departs from the historical record in order to call attention to the effect that guilt has not only on his characters, but on the course of events of the narrative as a whole.

⁷⁵⁰ As in other places in the epic, though, Caesar perverts the emotion of guilt because he actually uses it as a positive force and his guilty actions provide him with a feeling of celebration and confidence (cf. 3.399-452; 5.577-637). This dream is an example of an anxiety dream for his soldiers but, for Caesar, it does not serve as a means for him to confront and cope with his guilt but instead it reinforces the actions.

Chapter 7: Comparative Analysis - Guilt as a Theme in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

The ways in which Lucan engages with or diverges from the themes, ideas, and characters that Vergil presents in the *Aeneid* has been a popular topic amongst scholars for many years. Consideration of the various arguments for how Lucan interacts with Vergil's poem is useful in an analysis of each poet's presentation of guilt as a theme. When drawing comparisons between the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, it is important to keep in mind that Lucan's Roman readers would have had a strong knowledge of Vergil's poem, which would have allowed them to immediately discern Lucan's engagement with his predecessor.⁷⁵¹ When Lucan speaks of guilt, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that this audience would remember its meaning and influence in the *Aeneid* and they would be able to identify how Lucan adheres to or diverges from Vergil's presentation of this significant theme in order to portray the devastating effects that guilt has in the world of the *Bellum Civile*.

Some scholars argue that Lucan's poem should be viewed as an antithesis to the *Aeneid*, while other scholars believe that Lucan's apparent hatred for Vergil's poem and its ideals is not as obvious as it may first appear. Narducci (1979) argues that Lucan engages with Vergil's *Aeneid* at various points with deep indignation.⁷⁵² Narducci analyzes Lucan's allusive references to Vergil, which he calls 'antiphrastric allusiveness,' to show how Lucan deliberately subverts the meanings of references found in the *Aeneid*

⁷⁵¹ Thompson and Bruère 1968: 1; Hardie 1993: xi.

⁷⁵² Narducci (1979: 35): "In Lucano, invece, il procedimento serve a dar voce a contenuti di ben altra portata, e l'allusività antifrastrica e in genere sostenuta da un profondo tono di *indignatio* nei confronti del modello."

to break away from Vergil's positive and hopeful Roman foundation myth.⁷⁵³ Many other scholars continue to support Narducci's view that the *Bellum Civile* is an anti-*Aeneid*. For example, Masters (1992) argues that Lucan uses the works of his predecessors not as sources from which he can take facts, but as sources he can oppose, confront, and depart from.⁷⁵⁴ Similarly, Rudich (1997) argues that, when Lucan explicitly condemns warfare in his own poem (*BC* 1.21-23), he reverses the traditional outlook that Vergil codified in the *Aeneid*, which supports the view that warfare is a legitimate activity, even if Aeneas' war against the Latins seems deplorable.⁷⁵⁵ Ahl (1976) also argues that Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is different from the *Aeneid* because Lucan disposes of Vergil's caution and ambivalence toward the civil wars, which he only implicitly references in the *Aeneid*. To Ahl, Lucan opposes Vergil's poem by presenting his own view of the Roman past and writing a historical epic, in which civil war is the primary topic.⁷⁵⁶ There are other scholars, however, who argue that the *Bellum Civile* is not an antithesis to the *Aeneid*. For example, Mayer (1982) argues that, when Lucan began his epic, he envisioned it not as an anti-*Aeneid* but as a poem that was meant to complement it and he set in historical times in order to praise another Augustus.⁷⁵⁷

There are also scholars who argue that Lucan does not necessarily engage with Vergil's poem with indignation and explicitly subvert its ideals, as Narducci argues, but he also does not support it and make his poem complementary to it, as Mayer argues. Rather, these scholars support the view that Lucan recalls certain passages from the

⁷⁵³ Narducci 1979: 35.

⁷⁵⁴ Masters 1992: 17.

⁷⁵⁵ Rudich 1997: 113.

⁷⁵⁶ Ahl 1976: 67.

⁷⁵⁷ Mayer 1982: 311-312.

Aeneid to engage with the epic tradition and to show his superiority over his predecessors. For example, Von Albrecht (1970) shows how Lucan does not always explicitly reverse some episodes that are found in the *Aeneid*, but he endeavors to heighten or surpass them.⁷⁵⁸ As a result, the *Bellum Civile* is not just an “anti-*Aeneid*” but an “über-*Aeneid*.”⁷⁵⁹ Quint (1993) also argues that Lucan makes references to the *Aeneid* to surpass his predecessor. Quint believes that Lucan is praised for his originality because, unlike Vergil, he does not imitate his Greek models, but he shows that he has “brought Roman poetry to a new maturity” by making Vergil’s poem seem juvenile.⁷⁶⁰

The most convincing approach to the analysis of the *Bellum Civile*, however, is offered by scholars who believe that we cannot view Lucan’s poem as consistently opposed to Vergil’s. For example, Casali (2011), argues that we should not read the *Bellum Civile* as wholly against the *Aeneid* because Lucan’s poem is not a monolithic text and Lucan is not consistent in his anti-Vergilianism.⁷⁶¹ Casali shows that, although there are various instances in which Lucan seems to express his disdain for the ideas expressed in Vergil’s poem, he does support Vergil’s general imperialism.⁷⁶² As a result, Lucan “enters into a close dialogue” with both the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, which enables him to not only insert himself into the epic tradition, but also to rebel against it whenever he chooses.⁷⁶³ Similarly, Horsfall (1995) argues that terms like ‘anti-*Aeneid*’ or ‘über-

⁷⁵⁸ Von Albrecht 1970: 281.

⁷⁵⁹ Von Albrecht (1970: 281): “Schon in diesem Anspruch will die *Pharsalia* nicht bloss als <<Anti-*Aeneis*>>, sondern auch also <<Über-*Aeneis*>> verstanden werden.”

⁷⁶⁰ Quint 1993: 131-132. Quint (1993: 132) argues: “The *Aeneid* is a kind of imitative school exercise or preparation for the *Pharsalia*...the *Aeneid* will join the other great Roman epics...and bow before Lucan’s poem.”

⁷⁶¹ Casali 2011: 82.

⁷⁶² Cf. Quint 1993: 156-157.

⁷⁶³ Casali 2011: 83.

Aeneid are too simplistic if we analyze the poem as a whole.⁷⁶⁴ Horsfall sees Lucan as an anti-Vergil in political terms and he argues that his poem sets out to destroy Vergil's construction of Roman history. Horsfall does not, however, believe that Lucan's poem is an anti-*Aeneid*, but that it is a reaction to and reworking of the entire genre, of which Vergil's poem is only one part.⁷⁶⁵ Horsfall argues that Lucan had to be different from Vergil because every poet of originality had to develop the genre.

An analysis of guilt in both poems supports the notion that we should not view the *Bellum Civile* entirely as an anti-*Aeneid*. Rather, Lucan's presentation of his characters' experiences of guilt is one of the ways he adheres to and elaborates upon the theme as found in the *Aeneid*. Lucan aligns himself with Vergil when he makes guilt a driving force behind the narrative because, like in the *Aeneid*, it motivates the characters' actions. Lucan does, however, represent guilt and emotions differently from Vergil because, rather than subtly portraying emotions with the 'subjective style' of the narrative or creating pathos to engage with his reader's emotional sensibility,⁷⁶⁶ Lucan, especially in his apostrophes, is much more explicit in his assignment of guilt and blame.⁷⁶⁷ Furthermore, in the *Aeneid*, guilt is a somewhat positive force because it motivates Aeneas to accept his fate and the aid of the gods and it compels him to seek reparation by gaining victory to secure the future of his people. In the *Bellum Civile*, on the other hand, guilt pollutes the entire world, it has no boundaries, crime is profitable (*BC* 7.749-751), and people no longer strive to alleviate it because it ensures victory and success under the

⁷⁶⁴ Horsfall 1995: 269-270.

⁷⁶⁵ Horsfall 1995: 270-271. For more on Lucan's engagement with the *Aeneid* see Thompson and Bruère (1968; 1970), Hainsworth (1991), Fantham (1992), Tarrant (1997), and Asso (2010: 10-12).

⁷⁶⁶ Otis 1964: 41-96; Conte 2007: 1-2.

⁷⁶⁷ *BC* 1.6; 5.198-210; 7.387-459; 7.550-559; 7.847-872; 8.823; 10.1-6.

patronage of Fortuna. In this way, Lucan's poem differs from Vergil's because, to Vergil, Rome was born because of Aeneas' experience of guilt from Troy but, to Lucan, Rome was destroyed because of the guilt and crime of Aeneas' descendants.

Lucan adheres to Vergil's model by recalling Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas' psychological struggle with his guilt, especially in Books 1-6, in his representation of Pompey, who also uses the mechanisms of dreams, ghosts, and psychological projection in an attempt to alleviate his experience of guilt. By using guilt to associate Pompey with Aeneas, Lucan can also question Vergil's old-world and idealized heroism as found in the *Aeneid* and show how it is incompatible with the world of the *Bellum Civile*, where actions that incur religious, legal, and psychological guilt are required to ensure victory and avoid defeat and death. Lucan makes the character of Caesar a paradigm for the guilt that pervades the world and he uses Caesar to suggest that guilt is an asset because it ensures the favor of Fortuna and continued success. Lucan also engages with Vergil's poem by subtly and implicitly drawing correlations between Caesar and Aeneas, especially Aeneas in *Aeneid* 7-12. By aligning Aeneas and Caesar through their experiences of guilt, Lucan suggests that Aeneas himself sets the precedent for the guilt that pervades the world he depicts in the *Bellum Civile* because, like the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, Aeneas' guilt leads to his undertaking of civil war in Italy.

The *Bellum Civile* portrays the future that Aeneas fought so hard to achieve in Vergil's poem. Ahl (1976) argues that Lucan draws out a topic that was relatively subtle in the *Aeneid*, namely the civil war and the darker side of Roman history, in order to "replace the *Aeneid* with his own view of the Roman past."⁷⁶⁸ By continuing Vergil's

⁷⁶⁸ Ahl 1976: 67.

presentation of guilt and magnifying it so that it influences the whole world, rather than one hero, Lucan can explain why the world has reached such destruction and dissolution in his own time. One explanation that Lucan has for the cause of the degradation of man and the fervor for civil war is the perversion of and inability to control one's passions and desires. While Vergil only implicitly commented on and warned that the emotions, and especially guilt, could overcome and conquer the characters of his epic,⁷⁶⁹ Lucan elaborates upon Vergil's model by explicitly naming emotions and the desire for civil war that unbridled guilt produces as the causes for the destruction of the world (*BC* 1.1-9):

*Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos
Iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra,
Cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni,
Certatum totis concussi viribus orbis
In commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis
Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.
Quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri,
Gentibus invisus Latium praebere cruorem?*

We sing of wars worse than civil across the Emathian plains and legality given to crime, and of a mighty people directing their victorious right hands on their own entrails, of lines of kinsmen and, when the pact of tyranny was broken, a conflict with all the forces of the shaken world into common guilt, of standards meeting with hostile standards, and javelins threatening javelins. What madness (*furor*) is this, o citizens, what is this excessive freedom with the sword, to offer Latin blood to hated races?

Lucan makes *furor* synonymous with the undertaking of civil war and the possession of guilt (*quis furor... quae tanta licentia ferri*) by showing that unrestrained *furor* and the desire to incur guilt are the reasons for the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.⁷⁷⁰ In

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. *Aen.* 2.575-576; 2.594-600; 2.668-670; 9.136-139; 10.513-517; 10.821-824.

⁷⁷⁰ In the proem, Lucan expresses his disgust for civil war and his vocabulary aligns him more with Vergil's articulation of the same sentiment at the end of *Georgics* 1 (489-492) when he laments the Battle of Philippi. Casali (2011: 83-86) lists the verbal similarities between Lucan's proem and the end of the *Georgics* to argue that Lucan consciously creates these intertexts to activate Vergil's references to civil war in the *Aeneid* (6.826-835) and the *Georgics* (cf. *per Emathios... campos* alludes to *Emathiam... campos in*

the proem, Lucan presents a world in which human passions rule without limit and people no longer resist undertaking criminal actions (*iusque datum sceleri canimus*). Lucan aligns his poem to Vergil's by also relating *furor* to guilt and by stressing its destructive nature (*Aen.* 2.313-317; 10.513-517; 12.945-947). Lucan elaborates upon Vergil's model, though, by showing how unbridled *furor* results in the desire to commit the ultimate *nefas*, all of which he explicitly states during his depiction of the Battle of Pharsalus in Book 7 (7.550-559).⁷⁷¹ Unlike Vergil, Lucan ascribes the cause of the action of the poem not to a god or goddess, as Vergil had (*ob mentem iram, Aen.* 1.4), but to humans alone (*BC* 1.2-6). Finally, Lucan departs from Vergil's model by showing that *furor* and guilt are no longer temporary dispositions that a person can break free from, but that they are permanent qualities that are the causes of the loss of liberty and tyranny (*BC* 1.4-6).

Another feature of the proem that immediately distinguishes Lucan from his predecessors is the absence of an invocation to the Muse or a reference to the gods.⁷⁷² Lucan's presentation of the emotion of guilt in the *Bellum Civile* can also be used as an explanation for the absence of the gods in the poem as a whole. In the *Aeneid*, the gods promote, resist, or submit to the will of Fate, which remains invariable and ensures Aeneas' success when he arrives in Latium. Each god recognizes Fate's immutability

Georg. 1.492; *BC* 1.6-7, *pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*, refers to *Georg.* 1.489, *paribus concurrere telis*).

⁷⁷¹ "That place contained brothers, and that one fathers. Here is your *furor*, here is your frenzy, here are your crimes, Caesar. Mind of mine, try to avoid this part of the battle and leave it to darkness, from my poetry let no age learn of such immense evils, of how much is permitted in civil war... here Caesar roaming about goes through the troops adding frenzy to his men and is goading them into *furor*, lest in some section of his army crime starts to vanish," *ille locus fratres habuit, locus ille parentes. / hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar. / hanc fuge, mens, belli partem, tenebrisque relinque, / nullaque tantorum discat me vate malorum, / quam multum bellis liceat civilibus, aetas...hic Caesar, rabies populis, stimulusque furorum, / ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum / it vagus, atque animis ignes flagrantibus addit.*

⁷⁷² Cf. *Aen.* 1.9-11; *Il.* 1.1,1.8; *Ody.* 1.1.

and its importance for ensuring Rome's military and imperial achievements. Although Fate's design remains unchanged throughout the poem, the gods meddle in human affairs and they alter Aeneas' journey. In this way, Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is like Vergil's *Aeneid* because in both poems Fate acts as the predominant force that determines the climax of the narrative, or Caesar's victory at Pharsalus and Aeneas' in Italy, respectively. In each poem, the mortal characters must contend with their prescribed destiny and accept that it is unalterable (*Aen.* 8.334; *BC* 7.487-488). The difference, however, lies in each poet's choice of characters who act in the interim to shape the course of the narrative and guide the heroes to the fulfillment of their destinies.

Rather than using the Olympian gods, Lucan connects Fate's plan with the personified Fortuna, who controls the events that take place within the confines of the narrative.⁷⁷³ Lucan's substitution of Fortuna for Vergil's Olympian gods allows him to not only to portray Fate's influence on human affairs, but also to show that, because guilt and *furor* corrupt the entire world, the gods have abandoned mortals, which allows Fortuna to reign supreme and to promote moral degradation and actions that will incur more guilt. Lucan's choice to use Fortuna as the governing deity in his epic should not, however, be viewed as a criticism or condemnation of Vergil's model. Rather, Lucan elaborates on Vergil's presentation of Fortuna in the *Aeneid* and he develops the notion that Fortuna stands in direct opposition to the concept of *virtus*. Aeneas disassociates himself from the whims of Fortuna in favour of self-reliance and his pursuit of *virtus* and

⁷⁷³ Williams (1983: 4), on the other hand, conflates the concepts of Fate and Fortuna in Lucan's poem: "Lucan dispensed with the gods in his *Bellum Civile* and so had Fate (or *Fortuna*) as the only superhuman force." As argued in Chapter 4: Guilt, *Fatum*, and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, the roles of Fate and Fortuna differ in the *Bellum Civile* and, as such, they ought to be viewed as two separate forces. Fate, therefore, is the governing concept found in both Vergil's and Lucan's poems and the real difference lies in Lucan's substitution of Fortuna for the gods in Vergil's poem.

labor.⁷⁷⁴ By creating such an indispensable role for Fortuna in the *Bellum Civile*, therefore, Lucan condemns Caesar to an even greater degree, because of his incessant reliance on her and his refusal to adhere to the boundaries of *virtus*. The gods in the *Aeneid*, however, take on a role like the role of Caesar's Fortuna in that they guide Aeneas' actions, they extend their influence when he requires it, and they work within the confines of Fate. Lucan makes Fortuna different from the gods of the *Aeneid*, though, because he makes her influence constant, rather than assigning the gods a more indirect role in the second half of the poem, as Vergil does. Fortuna's consistent influence ensures that the characters of the poem will continue to commit actions that will incur more guilt, which makes her the most important goddess in a world taken over by *scelus* and *nefas*.

Lucan also uses Vergil's portrayal of guilt as found in the *Aeneid* to examine Aeneas' heroism in his depiction of Pompey and Caesar. Lucan displays the vestiges of the old type of heroism in the character of Pompey. By correlating Pompey and Aeneas through their experience of guilt, Lucan suggests that Aeneas' heroism in *Aeneid* 1-6 is incompatible with the world of the *Bellum Civile* and Lucan's own contemporary world. In Books 1-6, Aeneas is weakened,⁷⁷⁵ focused on the past,⁷⁷⁶ and unwilling to accept his destiny.⁷⁷⁷ In the *Bellum Civile*, Pompey possesses similar characteristics to Aeneas: he

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *Aen* 12. 435-436: "Learn, son, virtue and true labour from my example, and learn fortune from the example of others," (*disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, / fortunam ex aliis*). For more information on the relationship between *labor*, *virtus*, and Fortuna see Kristol (1999). Kristol argues that Aeneas' command to Ascanius to learn virtue and labor from him, and fortune from others, shows Aeneas' rejection of Fortuna and his reliance on human responsibility. Aeneas' rejection of Fortuna, however, does not necessitate his rejection of the gods as guiders of his actions. Rather, as Kristol argues (1999: 191-192), Vergil separates Fortuna from the other gods and the gods themselves doubt her because she is unpredictable and they cannot control her whims (cf. 1.240f., 4.109, 7.558f., 12.147f.).

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. *Aen*. 1.208-209; 2.3-12; 6.463-464; 10.821-830; 11.45-48.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. *Aen*. 3.84-89; 4.340-344; 6.110-114.

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. *Aen*. 4.271; 4.345-346; 4.361; 6.460-461.

is weak,⁷⁷⁸ he remains fixated on the past, which is apparent in his continuous focus on his former successes,⁷⁷⁹ and he struggles with his fate when he resists fighting in the civil war.⁷⁸⁰ Lucan also associates Pompey and Aeneas by describing Pompey's journey as an exile,⁷⁸¹ his attempt to bring the penates to a new country,⁷⁸² and his undertaking to rebuild his fallen city.⁷⁸³ Pompey's acceptance of his fate, however, assures that he will be a defeated exile (7.677-682; 7.703-706), while Aeneas' acceptance of his destiny requires that he engage in another bloody war. To portray the weakness in Pompey's character, Lucan compares him to an oak tree (*qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro*, *BC* 1.136), which is decayed and burdened by the weight it bears on its branches (*nec iam validis radicibus haerens, / pondere fixa suo est*, *BC* 1.138-139). Lucan's simile recalls Vergil's, when the latter compares Aeneas to an oak tree (*velut...quercum*, *Aen.* 4.441) but, unlike Lucan's simile, Vergil makes his oak unwavering and sturdy. Vergil says that, although Aeneas remains outwardly fixed and strong, he is mentally weighed down by cares and worries (*et magno persentit pectore curas...lacrimae volvuntur inanes*, 4.436-437).⁷⁸⁴ Lucan also emphasizes the weight of Pompey's psychological struggle, particularly with his guilt, through his depiction of Pompey's dreams and the ghosts that appear to him.

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. *BC* 7.74-85; 7.88.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. *BC* 1.121-143; 2.568-595; 2.727-7287.7-44; 8.274-276; 8.320-321.

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. *BC* 2.532; 7.647-649; 8.23.

⁷⁸¹ Rossi (2000) describes the similarities between Lucan's Pompey and Vergil's Aeneas. Rossi (2000: 587) argues that Pompey's journey represents a reversal of Aeneas' journey to refound Troy and that Pompey's death, which is similar to Priam's death in *Aeneid* 2, marks the completion of his journey backward and signifies the unfounding of Rome: "From the West to the East, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, in the character of Pompey, has brought to full circle the journey of Aeneas."

⁷⁸² Cf. *BC* 2.728-730; *Aen.* 2.289-293, 3.11-12.

⁷⁸³ Cf. *Aen.* 3.13-18, 3.85-87, 3.133; *BC* 5.7-14.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. *Aen.* 1.208-209; 2.594; 2.775; 3.153; 5.701

Like Vergil, Lucan makes his hero's psychological struggle visible when he represents Pompey's guilt through his use of psychological projection, his experience of dreams, and his interactions with ghosts. Aeneas' guilt is rooted in his failures to protect Troy and his wife, while Pompey experiences guilt because he breaks his oath to Julia, which creates a pretext for civil war with Caesar (*BC* 1.112-119).⁷⁸⁵ Pompey resembles Aeneas because he also attempts to psychologically project his guilt when he says that the battle at Pharsalus was imposed upon him (*BC* 7.91-92) and that he is merely an agent of the Senate (*BC* 7.91-92).⁷⁸⁶ Both characters also use ghosts and dreams as mechanisms to confront and cope with their guilt at pivotal junctures in the narrative. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas sees the ghost of Creusa when he is about to leave Troy and she functions as an external embodiment of his guilt for his part in her disappearance and death (*Aen.* 2. 771-789). In Book 3 of the *Bellum Civile* (8-35), Pompey dreams of Julia when he is about to leave Italy as an exile (*BC* 2.730) and she acts as a manifestation of his guilt for breaking their marriage bond and starting civil war with her father. Lucan uses the ghost of Julia to suggest to his reader that Pompey experiences psychological turmoil like Aeneas does and that both ghosts personify each hero's struggle with his guilt. Lucan imitates the structure of Creusa's speech in Julia's but Julia's words and message are the exact opposite of Creusa's, so that she can confirm and reinforce Pompey's guilt, rather than alleviate it. In the *Aeneid*, Creusa begins by saying that Aeneas is not to blame for her death (*Aen.* 2.775-779) while, in the *Bellum Civile*, Julia names Pompey as responsible for breaking their marriage, remarrying, and starting the civil war (*BC* 3.20-23; 3.33). In the *Aeneid*, Creusa offers a prophecy and a positive outlook for the future (*Aen.* 2.780-

⁷⁸⁵ Morford 1967: 79.

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. *Aen.* 2.601-620; 2.738-744; 4.361.

784), while in the *Bellum Civile* Julia also offers a prophecy but it is entirely negative because she foretells his failure and death (*BC* 3.31-34).⁷⁸⁷ Julia, then, comes at the end of Pompey's struggle with his guilt, while Creusa comes at the beginning of Aeneas'.

By recalling Aeneas' interaction with Creusa in his depiction of Pompey's dream of Julia, Lucan shows that, unlike in Vergil's poem, in his poem there are no mechanisms by which his heroes can relieve or resolve their guilt. Pompey's dream of Julia confirms that he will soon die and that he will be punished after Fortuna abandons him. In this way, the dream initiates Pompey's submission and defeat and it does nothing to resolve his guilt, as Creusa's appearance does for Aeneas. By Book 7, Pompey is so unable to cope with his guilt for his role in the civil war that his mind transports him back to a happier time when he was successful and beloved (*BC* 7.9-19). Both the dream of Julia and the dream of the theater reinforce Pompey's guilt throughout the poem and, in this way, they are very different from Aeneas' dreams and interactions with ghosts in Books 1-6. In the *Aeneid*, message dreams from the deceased and the appearance of ghosts only appear in the first half of the poem because they are meant to support Aeneas and relieve his struggle with his guilt, which is apparent because each ghost or dream is directly related to the sack of Troy.⁷⁸⁸ Lucan diverges from Vergil's model to show that there are no means of relieving guilt, but only ways to reinforce it. He expresses this sentiment through the character of Caesar, whose interaction with Roma and his dream after Pharsalus (*BC* 7.760-786) serve to intensify his guilt, which in turn makes him stronger

⁷⁸⁷ Harrison (2013: 156) argues that, in the dream of Julia, Lucan also alludes to Aeneas' dream of Hector by having Julia foreshadow Pompey's demise, just as Hector did for Troy. Furthermore, the ghost of Julia draws further associations between Pompey and Aeneas because Julia's appearance to Pompey and her emphasis on his abandonment of her invite comparison with Aeneas' interaction with Dido in *Aeneid* 4, because both women curse the heroes (*BC* 3.24-34; 4.384-387).

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. *Aen.* 2. 270-302; 2.771-789; 3.19-59; 5.21-39;

and eager to commit more crimes. Finally, although Lucan uses the dream of Julia and the theater to highlight Pompey's weaknesses and his psychological struggle, he praises Pompey's hatred of civil war (*quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? Civilia bella / gesture metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant?*, BC 7.95-96) and his unwillingness to incur any more guilt and he restores Pompey's heroism after he dies (BC 7.686-689; 9.2). In this way, Lucan implicitly laments the hero Aeneas becomes in *Aeneid* 7-12 because, as he contends with his guilt and tries to find absolution in Italy, Lucan suggests that Aeneas transforms into a character that aligns him more with Caesar, because his guilt compels him to undertake a new civil war and commit actions that are morally questionable.

Lucan's Caesar shows the extent to which guilt can pollute one's mind and morality if it is left unchecked and he articulates how guilt and crimes are responsible for the collapse of Rome. Conte (1997) argues that Lucan's task in the *Bellum Civile* is to create a "genuine anti-myth of Rome, the myth of its collapse, its inexorable decline, opposed to Virgil's myth of the rise of the City from humble beginnings."⁷⁸⁹ To do this, Lucan describes how the Julio-Claudian dynasty was "born out of the ashes of the *libera res publica*" and, in his portrayal of Caesar, he describes the tyranny that poisons his contemporary world.⁷⁹⁰ Lucan questions the glory of Aeneas' founding of Rome when he connects the world of the *Aeneid* with the world of the *Bellum Civile* by correlating Caesar with Aeneas, who is the founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, by engaging with Vergil's presentation of guilt in the *Aeneid*. Lucan shows how the irrational forces in the *Aeneid* that Aeneas tries to curb or defeat, namely *furor* and *ira*, have triumphed and

⁷⁸⁹ Conte 1997: 444.

⁷⁹⁰ Conte 1997: 445.

taken over the world, especially in his portrayal of Caesar.⁷⁹¹ Aeneas' attempts to absolve himself of his guilt and control his *furor* and *ira*, however, are ultimately unsuccessful. By correlating Aeneas and Caesar, Lucan implies that, because Aeneas' guilt remains unresolved at the end of *Aeneid* 12, he sets the precedent for the guilt that pervades the *Caesarea domus*.⁷⁹² This allows Lucan to question Aeneas' heroism, imply that Aeneas' war in Italy is a civil war, and establish a predecessor for the monstrous character of Caesar.

The first way that Lucan draws parallels between Aeneas and Caesar using the emotion of guilt is by recalling Aeneas' dream of Hector in *Aeneid* 2 (268-297) and the ghost of Creusa (*Aen.* 2.771-789) when he invents the appearance of Roma in *Bellum Civile* 1 (185-203). The ghost of Hector marks the first time that Aeneas confronts his guilt for his failure to protect his city. Hector is saddened (*maestissimus*, *Aen.* 2.270; *largosque effundere fletus*, 2.271), wounded, and dishevelled, all of which signal the fall of Troy. Like Hector does for Aeneas, Roma is a representation of Caesar's guilt before he crosses the Rubicon. Lucan aligns Roma with Hector by making her saddened (*maestissima*, *BC* 1.187) and indicative of the negative future if Caesar crosses the river and begins civil war. In both episodes, Hector and Roma implore Aeneas and Caesar to do as they command (*Aen.* 2.289-292; *BC* 1.190-192) but both men disregard their instructions and warnings (*Aen.* 2.313-317; *BC* 1.204-205).⁷⁹³ Although Aeneas eventually becomes the leader of the exiles, his first reaction after Hector departs is one

⁷⁹¹ Conte 1999: 447.

⁷⁹² Rudich (1997: 146) sees the main target of hatred, anger, and indignation in Lucan's poem as the *Caesarea domus*. Rudich (1997: 147-151) argues that Lucan views the Principate as nothing more than a tyranny, which proves that he rejects the vision embodied by Vergil in the *Aeneid*.

⁷⁹³ Lucan also associates Hector and Roma by making them embodiments of the heroes' respective cities. Ambühl (2010: 21) argues that Lucan connects Vergil's war with the war of his own poem by making the war between Pompey and Caesar mirror the fall of Troy in *Aeneid* 2.

of *furor* and *ira* (*furor iraque mentem / praecipitant*, *Aen.* 316-317), which embody the key characteristics of Caesar throughout the *Bellum Civile*. The appearance of Roma begins Caesar's hostile entry into his country and it kindles his desire for war and crime (1.204; 1.225).⁷⁹⁴ Similarly, the appearance of Hector prompts Aeneas' first episode of *furor* in the poem and Hector initiates Aeneas' journey, which will culminate in his own hostile entry into another country.

Lucan recalls the ghost of Hector in his representation of Roma in order to imply that Aeneas' guilt from Troy results in his participation in the Italian war, which sets the precedent for the civil wars that will plague the Roman people. In this way, Aeneas and Caesar resemble one another because each are responsible for beginning and being victorious in civil war. Aeneas' reaction after his dream of Hector also establishes the subtle civil war imagery that Vergil presents, and Lucan makes explicit, in his poem. Dufallo (2007), who compares Vergil's description of Aeneas' response after Hector's ghost departs to Horace's *Epode 7*, argues that Vergil wants his reader to notice his implicit use of civil war imagery and language and to recognize the destructiveness in Aeneas' actions when he awakens.⁷⁹⁵ Aeneas' initial reaction to his experience of guilt is one of *furor*, which results in the desire to create war, even if it is civil.⁷⁹⁶ This response, as Asso (2012) argues, is "reminiscent of civil war madness (*Aen.* 2.314)" and it serves to associate Troy's fall with civil war, which Vergil continues to suggest when Aeneas and

⁷⁹⁴ Morford 1967: 77.

⁷⁹⁵ Dufallo 2007: 100-102. In *Epode 7*, Horace expresses his disgust for the Romans' engagement in civil conflict. Dufallo notes that *furor* urges on both Aeneas and the Romans of Horace's poem and that Aeneas is *amens* (*Aen.* 2.314) and *furor* and *ira* drive his mind (*Aen.* 2.316-317) while, in Horace's poem, the Romans' minds are similarly struck senseless (*mentes percussae*). Dufallo also shows how both poets emphasize the irrationality of civil conflict and question the benefits of doing so.

⁷⁹⁶ *Furorne caecos an rapit vis acrior an culpa?*, Horace *Ep.* 7.13-14.

his men take Greek armor and are attacked by their fellow Trojans (2.410-412).⁷⁹⁷ Asso believes that Lucan was influenced by the civil war language found in the Hector episode and that it affected his interpretation of it.⁷⁹⁸ During the episode with Roma, Lucan also makes Caesar's *furor* and *ira* motivators for civil war (*BC* 1.205-212), which allows him to further correlate Aeneas and Caesar.⁷⁹⁹ After these episodes, both characters try to alleviate and absolve their guilt, as seen in their use of psychological projection (*Aen.* 2.601-620; *Aen.* 2.738-744; *BC* 1.195-203). Then, Caesar accepts his guilt, commits himself to Fortuna, and marches on Rome (*BC* 1.226),⁸⁰⁰ while Aeneas searches for a means of reparation, which ultimately leads to his own engagement in civil conflict.

Finally, although Aeneas' vision of Creusa resembles Pompey's dream of Julia in that it makes Aeneas' latent psychological struggle with his guilt manifest to the reader and it is a means by which Aeneas can confront his guilt, the appearance of Creusa also invites comparison with Caesar's vision of Roma. Both Creusa and Roma mark the beginning of Caesar's and Aeneas' invasion of Italy, rather than the end of it, as Julia does for Pompey.⁸⁰¹ At the same time, Roma's appearance signifies the first time that Caesar accepts his guilt when he chooses to follow Fortuna and becomes her human agent. Similarly, the ghost of Creusa initiates Aeneas' struggle to cope with his guilt after he flees Troy, which results in his participation in civil war in Italy in the second half of the poem. Both apparitions, therefore, represent the guilt that each hero faces and they force them to confront it at the beginning of the narrative.

⁷⁹⁷ Asso 2012: 162-163.

⁷⁹⁸ Asso 2012: 162.

⁷⁹⁹ Morford 1967: 79. Cf. *quid furis...* (*Aen.*2.594); *quis furor, o cives*, (*BC* 1.8).

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. *Aen.* 6.62; 10.48-49.

⁸⁰¹ Bernstein 2011: 262; Morford 1967: 77.

Once Aeneas reaches Italy, he becomes even more like Caesar since, as Lucan suggests, guilt is necessary for victory in civil war and the type of heroism that Pompey embodies will lead only to failure. Lucan invites the reader to compare Aeneas and Caesar, to question Aeneas' heroism, and to view Aeneas' civil war as being just as inglorious as Caesar's. Ahl (1976) argues that, in the *Aeneid*, civil war "stalks almost every book," that Books 7-12 resemble "a kind of civil war in retrospect, pitting Italian against Roman-to-be," and that Lucan uses Vergil's civil war language to replace the *Aeneid* with his own view of the past.⁸⁰² Aeneas' undertaking of war in *Aeneid* 7-12 partly results from his struggle with his guilt and his desire to absolve it by founding a new Troy. His war in Italy, however, is a civil war, as Otis (1964) argues: "For the Latin War is seen by Virgil as a simply horrible instance of *furor* or *violentia* on a social scale. It is not only war but civil war, war between destined fellow-citizens and in fact actual fellow-citizens whose *foedus* or plan of union has been impiously disrupted."⁸⁰³

In *Aeneid* 10 (513-517), Vergil describes how Aeneas' guilt, which he expresses with *furor* and is renewed after Pallas dies (10.510-513), leads to the death of Lausus. Aeneas' temporary break from *furor* and his remorse and pity at the sight of the dying boy (10.821-824) elicit pathos and they make Aeneas' war morally questionable and the cost of victory seem too high. At the same time, Vergil also implicitly correlates Lausus and Aeneas in order to suggest that the war in Italy is a civil war, since it evokes the loss of Trojan allies and the loss of Aeneas' double, whom Lausus represents.⁸⁰⁴ Aeneas'

⁸⁰² Ahl 1976: 66-67.

⁸⁰³ Otis 1964: 315. For other scholars who discuss whether we should read the war in Italy as being a civil war, see Pöschl (1962: 30); Lyne (1983: 200); Pogorzelski (2009); Stover (2011: 355f.); and Skinner (2013: 42-45).

⁸⁰⁴ Stover 2011: 355-358. Stover (2011: 358) argues that this scene "evokes the pathos, horror, and sadness of civil war, a struggle in which virtues like *pietas* suffer stress and in which doing the right thing becomes

regret and sadness when he breaks free from his *furor* after he kills Lausus is more akin to Pompey's psychological struggle with his guilt,⁸⁰⁵ in that the veil of *furor*, which is fuelled by Fortuna in the *Bellum Civile*, is lifted and Pompey no longer wishes to incur guilt. In Aeneas' bursts of *furor* and restored *pietas* and *amor*, he resembles Pompey, who, like Aeneas, shows *pietas*, *virtus*, and *furor* all at once. After the death of Lausus, however, Aeneas' *furor* resumes (12.521-528) and it culminates in the death of Turnus.

Lucan recalls *Aeneid* 12 at various points to associate Aeneas and Caesar and to imply that guilt drives them both in their respective civil wars. At the end of *Aeneid* 12, Aeneas is overcome by *furor*, his guilt remains unresolved, and his killing of Turnus is morally questionable. Similarly, in the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar becomes "*furor* incarnate," he is unable to break free from it without the desertion of Fortuna, and he commits countless crimes against his kinsmen.⁸⁰⁶ Lucan encourages his reader to remember Aeneas' actions in the final book of the *Aeneid* when he describes the character of Caesar. Lucan compares Caesar to a lightning bolt (*BC* 1.151-157), which destroys everything before it and allows nothing to stand in the way of its progress, and this simile recalls Vergil's comparison of Aeneas to a lightning bolt in *Aeneid* 12 (*...nec fulmine tanti / dissultant crepitus*, 12.922-923).⁸⁰⁷ Lucan also calls Caesar *acer et indomitus* at 1.146, which recalls Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas' ferocity when he is about to kill Turnus in *Aeneid* 12 (*stetit acer in armis / Aeneas*, *Aen.* 12.938-939). At the end of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' unresolved *furor* and guilt matches Lucan's Caesar, who constantly

difficult because the lines of demarcation between right and wrong, good and evil, ally and enemy collapse."

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. 3.1-35; 5.749-750; 7.91-95; 7.659-668.

⁸⁰⁶ Thompson 1984: 207.

⁸⁰⁷ For more information on Lucan's lightning simile see Rosner-Siegel (2010).

exhibits *furor* and undertakes actions that will cause him to incur more guilt (*furiis accensus et ira / terribilis*, *Aen.* 12.946; *BC* 7.320-322; *BC* 7.786-824). Although Aeneas believes that the aim of fighting the Latin War is to achieve peace and that *clementia* should be granted to the vanquished, at the end of the poem Aeneas is overcome by his guilt and *furor*, just like he was at the beginning.⁸⁰⁸ By associating Aeneas and Caesar through their experience of guilt and *furor*, Lucan can show that Aeneas' actions at the end of the epic are morally reprehensible and that Aeneas does not rid himself of his guilt at the end of the *Aeneid* by achieving victory, but rather that he achieves victory because of his resurgence of guilt (*Aen.* 12.941-944).⁸⁰⁹ Aeneas makes his crime against Turnus seem lawful by saying that he avenges Pallas and he uses his guilt and his role in Pallas' death as justification for his actions (*Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*, *Aen.* 12.948-949; *iusque datum sceleri*, *BC* 1.2), just like Caesar pretends that his actions are lawful and he justifies them to Roma when he is about to cross the Rubicon (*BC* 1.195-205). Furthermore, Lucan uses Turnus to symbolize Pompey, who will display Turnus' best qualities "as he faces Venus' new scion and favorite" and is unlawfully defeated by him.⁸¹⁰

In the *Bellum Civile*, therefore, Lucan explores not only the guilt of Caesar, but also the guilt of Aeneas. By associating Caesar and Aeneas, Lucan depicts the

⁸⁰⁸ Lyne 1983: 197; 200. Lyne (1983: 200) argues that Aeneas' war is a civil war and that Turnus should qualify for *clementia*, since it is a war that involves equals. Lyne believes that Aeneas' goal to attain peace shifts to the desire for revenge and that, in his final action, Aeneas displays "the same vulnerability to passionate emotion" that he did throughout the first half of the poem.

⁸⁰⁹ Putnam 1995: 240. Putnam argues that "the special force of this moment when Aeneas, in full glory of omnipotence, opts for anger rather than moderation and stasis, was not lost on Virgil's successors...and we have observed how Lucan, by allowing Caesar's gratuitous anger to permeate his epic, heightens the sense of moral impropriety that Virgil gives to his hero's final deed. At least Aeneas has a reason for anger. Caesar's is so volitional as it is ubiquitous," (240).

⁸¹⁰ Fratantuono 2012: 86-87. Cf. *indigna ruina*, *BC* 2.732, *vitaque...indignata*, *Aen.* 12.947; *magni nominis umbra*, *BC* 1.135, *sub umbras*, *Aen.* 12.947.

destructive power of *furor*, and its relationship with civil war and guilt, as found in the *Aeneid*, which “allegorically projects civil conflict into the Roman future” and foretells the spread of guilt and cosmic dissolution as found in the *Bellum Civile*.⁸¹¹ Finally, when he kills Turnus, Aeneas establishes the precedent for guilt and civil war, which will influence the foundation of Rome with Romulus and Remus (1.87-97) and continue into the *domus Caesarea* until the reign of Nero (*BC* 1.37-44; 1.102-103). Horsfall (1995) argues that “in killing instead of sparing Turnus, Aeneas denies the higher *pietas* of allegiance to a father who preaches the nonviolent sparing of a defeated foe and who would have Julius Caesar, his descendant and spiritual heir, throw away his arms rather than use them against Pompey.”⁸¹² Lucan suggests, however, that, because both achieved victory as a result of their guilt, they will be absolved (*haec acies victum factura nocentem est, BC* 7.260), deified, and praised for their crimes, because civil war makes men equal to deities (*BC* 7.457-459; *Aen.* 289-290).⁸¹³

In both the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*, guilt drives the narrative and deeply affects the psychological disposition and motivations of each character. Modern theories of guilt can be applied to these poems to discern when and how each character experiences and copes with his guilt. When we apply these theories to the *Aeneid*, we can understand how Vergil emphasizes the influence that emotions, and particularly guilt,

⁸¹¹ Putnam 1995: 225.

⁸¹² Horsfall 1995: 268.

⁸¹³ “Civil war will make deified men equal to gods; with thunderbolts (cf. *BC* 1.151-157; *Aen.* 12.922-923) and with beams and with stars, Rome will adorn the dead and in the temples of the gods Rome will swear by ghosts her dead and, in the gods’ own temples, swear her oaths by their shades!” (*bella pares superis facient civilia divos: / fulminibus manes, radiisque ornabit, et astris, / inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras*); “You will raise great-hearted Aeneas up high to the stars of the sky,” (*sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean, Aen.* 1.259-260). Lucan may also have in mind Jupiter’s prophecy, which foretells the deification of Augustus and connects civil war with fame and deification (“You, free from care, will one day receive him, burdened with Eastern spoils, in heaven,” *hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum, / accipies securo, Aen.* 1.289-290).

have on his narrative. As has been argued in this study, Vergil suggests that Aeneas experiences guilt with his portrayal of the hero's intense experience of grief and despair, his interactions with ghosts, his experience of dreams, his use of psychological projection, and his episodes of extreme anger and rage. Aeneas' guilt affects the progression of the narrative because it causes him to resist his fate and his acceptance of the gods' intervention and he remains fixated on the past. In the second half of the poem, however, Aeneas' guilt compels him to seek reparation and absolution, which cause him to accept his destiny and finally travel to Italy and undertake a war there. In the *Bellum Civile*, Lucan engages with Vergil's representation of guilt when he makes it a driving force behind the action of the narrative. Unlike in the *Aeneid*, however, there are no mechanisms by which a person can resolve his guilt and it is a positive force that Fortuna promotes and one that is necessary for success in civil war. In his representation of Pompey, Lucan recalls Aeneas from *Aeneid* 1-6 to show the ineffectiveness of resisting incurring guilt, undertaking crime, and relying on the past for future success. In the character of Caesar, Lucan portrays the culmination of the evolution of the destructiveness of guilt from the *Aeneid* and he establishes a precedent for Caesar and the civil war by associating him with Aeneas from *Aeneid* 7-12. When analyzed through the lens of guilt, therefore, it becomes clear that the *Bellum Civile* is not entirely an anti-*Aeneid*. Rather, Lucan continues to engage with Vergil's use of this theme to show how guilt affects the minds, actions, and history of Rome ever since Aeneas murdered Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid* and achieved victory in Italy.

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Curriculum Vitae

Research Interests: Latin epic and literature; ancient literary representations of emotions, especially guilt and shame; depictions of the deceased and ghosts in Latin epic; dream reports in Roman literature.

Dissertation Topic: comparative analysis of guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and its centrality for the interpretation of episodes that depict appearances of ghosts and dreams and the intervention and influence of the gods.

Education

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| September 2013 – April 2018 | <p>Doctor of Philosophy, Classics
 The University of Western Ontario
 Dissertation Title: “Guilt in Vergil’s <i>Aeneid</i> and Lucan’s <i>Bellum Civile</i>”
 Supervisor: Dr. Randall Pogorzelski</p> |
| September 2011 – May 2013 | <p>Masters, Classics (Text and Culture)
 Brock University
 Major Research Paper: “The Myth of Procne, Tereus, and Philomela: An Analysis of the ‘Other’ in Attic Tragedy”
 Supervisor: Dr. Elizabeth Greene</p> |
| September 2006 - May 2011 | <p>Honours Bachelor of Arts
 University of Toronto
 Majors: Classics and Classical Civilizations
 Minor: Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations</p> |

Fellowships and Awards

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| September 2016 – August 2017 | Ontario Graduate Scholarship |
| May 2012 | Brock University, Dean of Graduate Studies Spring Research Fellowship |

Teaching and Professional Experience

Co-Instructor, The University of Western Ontario

Duties: shared duties with Dr. Randall Pogorzelski include grading exams and essays, composing exams, and creating lesson plans and leading weekly class discussions.

September – December 2016 Latin Epic (CS 3150A)

Teaching Assistant, The University of Western Ontario

Duties: grading exams, assisting students, and lecturing.

January – April 2017	Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams, Distortions (CS2902B)
January – April 2016	Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams, Distortions (CS2902B)
September – December 2015	Introduction to Classical Civilizations (CS1000)
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Teaching Assistant, Brock University

Duties: grading essays and exams, lecturing, creating lesson plans, and instructing two weekly seminars.

January – April 2013	Great Figures of the Ancient World: Cleopatra (CLAS2P51)
September – December 2012	Introduction to Classical Civilizations (CLAS1P91)
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January – April 2012	Myths of the Heroic Age (CLAS1P97)
September – December 2011	Introduction to Classical Civilizations (CLAS1P91)

Academic Lectures

February 28, 2018	“Augustan Cleopatras and Cleopatra in Latin Literature,” Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams, Distortions (CS2902B).
September 2016-December 2016	Latin Epic, Friday Lectures on Vergil’s <i>Aeneid</i> and Ovid’s <i>Metamorphoses</i> (CS3150A).
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January 14, 2016	“Old Kingdom Pyramid Complexes: The Step Pyramid of Djoser and the Pyramids of Snefru,” Egyptian Art and Architecture (CS2908B).
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Volunteering Experience

January 2016 – Present	Marketing and Events, Speakers’ Series Representative, Museum Underground Events Organization Committee Museum London, London, Ontario
September 2015 – May 2017	Speakers Committee Graduate Representative The University of Western Ontario
January 2015 – March 2016	Graduate Conference Coordinator The University of Western Ontario Conference Title: “Voyages and Journeys in Antiquity”
May 2013	Conference Assistant Brock University Conference Title: “Feminism and Classics IV”
September 2012 – February 2013	Graduate Conference Coordinator Brock University Conference Title: “Revelations and Revolutions”
September 2011 – May 2013	Graduate Students Association Brock University Program Representative
November 2009 – May 2010	The Art Gallery of Ontario King Tutankhamun Exhibit Toronto, Ontario Distribution of Audio Tours, Assisting Guests, and Answering Inquiries Pertaining to the Exhibit
September 2008 – June 2010	Accessibility Services Assistant University of Toronto Volunteer Note-Taker

Professional Affiliations

2014-Present	Society for Classical Studies
2011-Present	Classical Association of Canada
2011-Present	Archaeological Institute of America
2008-Present	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

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