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STUDIES IN LUCAN

by

Marguerite Heinsch

Presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

State University of Montana

1932

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: LIFE

One of the prominent young poets of the Neronian period of Latin literature was the nephew of Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, Marcus Annaeus Lucanus. The facts of his life are contained for the most part in two Lives, one attributed to Suetonius, the other to a sixth century writer, Vacca. Hosius also adds a Life attached to the Codex Vossianus¹ which I do not find mentioned elsewhere, and which differs in some details from the other accounts.

According to these authors Lucan was born in Corduba, Spain (modern Cordova) on November third, 39 A.D. His father was Marcus Annaeus Mela, a Roman eques, and younger brother of Seneca, and his mother Acilia, the daughter of Acilius Lucanus, a well-known orator.² Though born in a province Lucan may be considered essentially a native Roman, for at the age of seven months he was taken to Rome,³ where he was reared and educated. Vacca records a story about the child which frequently recurs in various versions about famous men to denote some supernatural connection with

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1. Lucanus, De Bello Civili, Ed. by Carolus Hosius (Lipsiae in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1913), p. 337.
 2. Ibid., in Life by Vacca, p. 334.
 3. Vacca, p. 334-5.

genius. He says that when the child was lying in its cradle a number of bees flew around him and some settled on his face, either to imbibe some of his sweet breath or to signify his future eloquence.⁴

Lucan's teachers were of the best in Rome, probably Palaemon, a rhetorician,⁵ and certainly Cornutus, the Stoic.⁶ It was possibly through the latter that he formed an acquaintance with Persius, also a pupil of Cornutus destined to become a poet.⁷ The thorough grounding in rhetoric and philosophy which Lucan must have received from these teachers is apparent in his epic. He was so precocious that he is said to have soon rivalled his instructors and far surpassed his fellow-pupils.⁸ He spent some time in Athens (Heitland believes the years 57-59 A.D.),⁹ but was soon recalled by Nero, whose acquaintance he had made, and who now added Lucan to his coterie of friends. At the age

4. The same story has been told of Plato. See F. B. Krauss, An Interpretation of the Omens, Portents, and Prodigies Recorded by Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius, (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 115, note 100.

5. M. S. Dimsdale, Latin Literature (William Heinemann, London, 1915), p. 407.

6. *Ibid.* loc. cit. Also W. E. Heitland, introduction to Lucanus: Pharsalia. Ed. by C. E. Haskins (George Bell and Sons, London, 1887), p. XXV; and Lucan: The Civil War, Ed. by J. D. Duff (William Heinemann, London, 1929), p. VIII.

7. J. W. Mackail, Latin Literature (John Murray, London, 1919), p. 178. Also Duff, p. VIII. Persius, Satire V, especially lines 30-51.

8. Vacca, p. 335.

9. Heitland, p. XXI. Also Hosius, *op.cit.* in Life by Suetonius, p. 332.

of twenty-one he made his first public recitation, a panegyric on Nero, at the festival of the Emperor, the Quinquennialia Neronis, in 60 A.D.¹⁰ As a result of his friendship with the Emperor he held positions as quaestor and as a member of the College of Augurs though he was not yet of legal age for the offices.¹¹

Since Nero had aspirations of becoming a great poet the usual story has been that it was his jealousy which brought about the break with Lucan. Weigall believes that the real cause was the extreme vanity of the younger poet, since it was Nero's habit to gather about him all the promising young poets, to accept willingly their criticism of his compositions, and to be diffident of his own talents.¹² Vacca is the only authority for the statement that the two competed in a poetical contest in which Lucan was the victor.¹³ Whatever the reason, the fact remains that the Emperor attempted to find an effective means of silencing his former friend, and Lucan was forbidden to publish or recite any of his poetry.¹⁴ Up to this time he had published three books of his epic poem on the struggle between Pompey

10. Vacca, p. 335. Also Arthur Weigall, Nero, the Singing Emperor, (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1930), p. 325.

11. Suetonius, p. 332. Vacca, p. 335.

12. Weigall, pp. 218-19, 326.

13. Heitland.

14. Suetonius, p. 332. Vacca, p. 336.

and Caesar, the De Bello Civili, portions of which he had recited publicly.¹⁵ His youthful enthusiasm for liberty and the bitterness which the Emperor's treatment engendered were given full sway and from then on Lucan did not hesitate to attack Nero on every possible occasion.¹⁶

About this time, (64 A.D.),¹⁷ he married Polla Argentaria, a woman of good family, wealth, and beauty.¹⁸ It was not long until he became a member of the Pisonian conspiracy, which was being formed against Nero, and according to Suetonius was "signifer" of the plot almost until the end. It is said that he made the boast that one day he would throw Nero's head at the feet of his friends.¹⁹ When the conspiracy was discovered early in 65 his loyalty to the plot and his former violence underwent a sudden change, which makes the rest of his history far from admirable. At the promise of impunity if he fully confessed, he implicated many of his friends to save himself. Finally he even involved his mother,²⁰ who was innocent, an act which Suetonius maliciously attributes to an effort to ingratiate himself

15. W. C. Summers, The Silver Age of Latin Literature, (Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1920), p. 18.

16. Suetonius, op. cit., pp. 332-333.

17. Heitland, p. XXI.

18. Statius, Silvae, Loeb Library, Ed. by J. H. Mozley, (William Heinemann, London, 1928), II, 7.

19. Weigall, p. 326. Suetonius, p. 333.

20. Suetonius, p. 333. Codex Vossianus, p. 337. Also Tacitus, Annals XIII-XVI. Ed. by Furneaux and Pitman, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904), XV, 56.

with the matricide, Nero. There does not seem to be an adequate motive for such action on Lucan's part, for surely he could not have hoped to free himself in this way from the consequences of his participation in the plot. Is it not possible that this is a fiction which has become connected with Lucan's name? Nevertheless, he was convicted, but allowed to choose the manner of his death. According to Suetonius he sent some of his verses to his father for correction, while the author of the Life in the Codex Vossianus asserts that his unpublished books were sent to Seneca, who, among other changes, added the first seven lines of the De Bello Civili. On the day set for his death, April 30, 65 A.D., he ate heartily and then had his veins opened.²¹

While his blood was flowing, it is said that he recited some verses of his own composition describing the death of a wounded soldier in the same manner.²² Not long after, his father, Mela, was implicated in the conspiracy because of a forged letter shown to Nero by an enemy and was forced to commit suicide, the Emperor confiscating the wealth left by Lucan and called in by Mela.²³

Though Lucan was but twenty-six years of age at the

21. Suetonius, p. 333.

22. Tacitus, XV, 70.

23. Ibid. XVI, 17. Juvenal refers to Lucan's wealth in Satire VII, 79-80. "Contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis marmoreis."

time of his death he had written an astonishing amount. Nothing but the De Bello Civili has been preserved, but there are records of a number of compositions, the first of which dealt with the death of Hector and Priam's recovery of the body.²⁴ Others are the Saturnalia, Catachthonion, Silvarum X, an unfinished tragedy Medea, De Incendio Urbis, Epistolae ex Campania, Orpheus, and some epigrams.²⁵ Martial, in an epigram to Polla, indicated that Lucan sometimes wrote in a more playful mood than the above titles and his epic would suggest.²⁶

Lucan's place in Roman literature has been discussed by men of his own times and by a number of famous writers since then, and the opinions range from disparagement to extravagant praise. Of his contemporaries, Petronius is obviously thinking of Lucan, although he does not name him, when he discusses poetry. He says that a man who is attempting to write on a theme such as the Civil War will sink under the burden unless he is full of genius, for he must make constant use of allusions, epigrams colored by mythology, and divine intervention, and the result must give the appearance of a divinely inspired prophecy ("furentis animi

24. Statius, II, 7.

25. Vacca, p. 336. Summers, p. 19. Heitland, p. XXVI.

26. Martial, Epigrams, (Loeb Library Edition, William Heinemann, London, 1925, volumes 1 and 2), X, 64.

vaticinatio") rather than the compilation of facts for which the historian is better suited.²⁷ He then proceeds to give his version of the Civil War written as an epic.²⁸ One of Statius's Silvae is written in commemoration of Lucan's birthday. It consists largely of praise of the young poet and regret for his death expressed by the Muse, Calliope.²⁹ In Statius's judgment, Ennius, Lucretius, Varro, Ovid, and even Vergil must give place to Lucan. Three of Martial's epigrams are also for the anniversaries of Lucan's birth.³⁰ In them he calls Nero cruel in his treatment of the poet,³¹ and gives Lucan the second place in Latin poetry, "Latiae plectra secunda lyrae."³² In another epigram he refers to the opinion of some that Lucan is no poet, although his bookseller finds him one:³³

Sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam

sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat.

Tacitus and Fronto vary a great deal in their judgments.

The former in criticizing contemporary oratory asserts that

27. Petronius, Satyricon, (Loeb Library Edition, William Heinemann, London, 1925), chapter 118.

28. *Ibid.*, chapters 119-125.

29. Statius, II, 7.

30. Martial, VII, 21; VII, 22; VII, 23.

31. *Ibid.*, VII, 21.

32. *Ibid.*, VII, 23. This is considered by W. C. A. Ker to refer to Vergil, *op. cit.*, p. 438 note, but the phrase itself does not unmistakably mean the poet.

33. *Ibid.*, XIV, 194.

orators must adorn their speeches as poets do, an adornment "ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus."³⁴ Apparently he is willing to rank Lucan with his two predecessors. Fronto, on the other hand, makes sport of this embellishment. To him the first seven lines of the epic are only paraphrases on the words of line 1: "bella plus quam civilia." He finds that this simple phrase is elaborated seven different ways, and playfully asks why it was not kept up indefinitely.³⁵ There is some truth to his criticism and it is amusing raillery. Among earlier critics, Quintilian has left his estimate of Lucan, "ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus, et ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus,"³⁶ an opinion which seems to have been followed by many. Among those of later days who have known Lucan is Dante who mentioned him in the Divine Comedy. In hell he met the shades of four great poets, Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan.³⁷ He is mentioned several times by Dryden in the Preface to the Annus Mirabilis, where Dryden approves his terms in describing the sea-

34. Tacitus, Dialogus, (Loeb Library Edition, William Heinemann, London, 1914), chapter 20.

35. Fronto, Correspondence, (Loeb Library Edition, William Heinemann, London, 1919), ad Marcum Antoninum de orationibus, pp. 104-107.

36. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, (Loeb Library Edition, William Heinemann, London, 1922, volume IV), X, 1, 90.

37. Dante, Divine Comedy. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton, (Houghton Mifflin Co., Cambridge, 1902), Canto IV, line 90.

battle,³⁸ but believes that Lucan should be ranked with the historians in verse, rather than the epic poets.³⁹ Shelley, whose admiration for Lucan was marked,⁴⁰ names him as one who died before the accomplishment of his genius:⁴¹

Inheritors of unfulfilled renown
Rose from their thrones . . .
.
and Lucan, by his death approved.

Macaulay was also an admirer of Lucan of whom he wrote, "I know no declamation in the world, not even Cicero's best, which equals some passages in the Pharsalia."⁴²

Despite the adverse criticism which has been hurled at Lucan for his rhetorical flights and some of his most obvious faults it is clear that he possessed qualities which commended him to other talented men from his own time to the present. It is my purpose in this study to discuss a few topics in their relation to the De Bello Civili which may help to explain the judgments of others about Lucan and to form one's own conclusions about the poet and his epic.

38. John Dryden, Essays, Ed. by W. P. Ker, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900, Volume 1), p. 13.

39. Ibid., p. 11.

40. See John Emperor, "Rhetorical Importance of Lucan's Pharsalia," in Quarterly Journal of Speech, XVI, 4, (November, 1930), p. 471. Shelley believed that Lucan had "wonderful genius which transcended Vergil's."

41. Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Adonais" in Complete Poetical Works, (Houghton Mifflin Co., Cambridge, 1901), XLV.

42. Duff, op. cit., p. XII.

CHAPTER II
CAESAR AND LUCAN

Lucan wrote his account of the struggle between Caesar and Pompey with the obvious intention of justifying Pompey and particularly the cause of the Republic, of a glorified Libertas which in reality had never existed. Moreover, he had the courage to use such a theme despite the established Empire now under Nero's leadership, and the elaborate flattery with which he addresses the Emperor (I 33-66) is a rather feeble peace-offering in comparison with his zeal for republican ideals. It is unmistakable that the poet's wish was to make Pompey a martyr to the cause of freedom, the would-be savior of Rome, but the qualities of his hero were not such as to make his aim possible without a great deal of misrepresentation of both sides. To cover up Pompey's weaknesses, Caesar is intentionally pictured as a blood-thirsty conquerer, exulting in war and destruction, defiant of god and man. However, it is Lucan's unconscious praise, the fine qualities of Caesar which are brought out in spite of constant disparagement, which gives his attitude toward Pompey's rival a different color. He is torn between a fiery enthusiasm for the ideals of the Republic, (and if these are embodied in anyone it is in Cato rather than Pompey),

and his admiration for Caesar's virility.⁴³ It is almost enough to examine his early characterization of the two protagonists (I 129-157). Pompey is relying on the reputation of his former triumphs, "magni nominis umbra," delighted by the plaudits of the crowd, and excused for his inactivity only by a difference of age which was too slight to be of much importance.⁴⁴ He is an oak, tottering because its roots are no longer firm, but worshipped for the trophies it bears. Caesar is like a bolt of lightning, destroying whatever he strikes, with untiring energy, eager to make his way with the sword through every obstacle, ready to follow up every opportunity. Though he is too anxious for bloodshed, his superiority over Pompey as a leader is indisputable.

Before plunging into the actual warfare where his partisanship is inflamed by the misfortunes of the Pompeians, Lucan seems to have a clearer insight into the underlying causes for the war. In discussing the motives he might be expected to ascribe all of the blame to Caesar, but he does not (I 125-128):

Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem
Pompeiusve parem. Quis iustius induit arma,

43. Heitland (op. cit.) has written a very clear picture of Caesar taken directly from consecutive passages in the poem. He reaches the conclusion that Caesar is the hero of the poem in spite of Lucan, p. LXII.

44. Duff, op. cit. "Pompey, born in 106 B.C., was six years older than Caesar," p. 12.

Scire nefas; magno se iudice quisque tuetur:
Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

"Caesar could no more brook a superior nor Pompey an equal. As to which had the juster cause for war, we may not know, but each has great authority on his side, for the gods⁴⁵ chose the conqueror's part, and Cato that of the vanquished."⁴⁶ With the great admiration that Lucan had for Cato the implication is that he chose the juster cause, but Caesar is not the villain that Lucan would sometimes like to make him. While talking with Cato, Brutus intimates that Caesar is no more at fault than Pompey, but that they are both striving for power (II 281-284):

. "Quod si pro legibus arma
Ferre iuvat patriis libertatemque tueri,
Nunc neque Pompei Brutum neque Caesaris hostem
Post bellum victoris habes."

"But if it is for our country's laws that we choose to fight, and for liberty's sake, at the present Brutus is a foe to neither Pompey nor Caesar, but after the war he will be the victor's enemy." In his reply Cato voices rather a surprising opinion in view of Lucan's attitude toward Pompey, but one which thoroughly accords with Cato's character (II 319-

45. It is difficult to determine here precisely what Lucan meant by "deis." He may mean nothing more than "Circumstances," "Chance," but, on the other hand, if he means to indicate a governing Power, or Powers, which takes the side of the unrighteous victor, the philosophical considerations are significant.

46. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

323):

Hunc quoque totius sibi ius promittere mundi
Non bene compertum est: ideo me milite vincat
Ne sibi se vicisse putet."

"Should I not follow my state's standards and her leader, Pompey? Yet if fortune favors him, it is certain that he too has vowed himself control of the whole world. So let him conquer with me in his army, to prevent his thinking that he has won for himself." Even after Pompey's murder when one might expect only good to be said of him by his followers, Cato's tribute to him is a balance between good and bad qualities and he recognizes the truth that Pompey was no champion of real Libertas (IX 204-206):

"Olim vera fides Sulla Marioque receptis
Libertatis obit: Pompeio rebus adempto
Nunc et ficta perit."

"Once Sulla and Marius were in power, real belief in our freedom perished; now that Pompey too is gone even the pretense of it is destroyed." The passages just quoted show a much greater degree of impartiality and a fairer estimate of Pompey's motives than one finds elsewhere in the poem. If he had not had this insight himself Lucan could not have put it into the mouths of two who were emblems to him of Liberty, Brutus and Cato.

It is his immense supply of energy, his driving force, and tenacity of purpose which make Caesar stand out above all others throughout the campaigns. These qualities which are

essential for a great leader, show forth in his march through Italy after crossing the Rubicon (II 439-446), though Lucan stresses his delight in warfare, "Concessa pudet ire via civemque videri" (II 446), and again when he follows Pompey to Brundisium (II 650-660). Though he has captured many a Pompeian stronghold and could easily have taken Rome itself, he is not content until his one purpose has been fulfilled, "Nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum" (II 657). When the siege of Marseilles promises to be too slow for his restless energy, Caesar stops only long enough to superintend the beginning of the work and then sets off for a more vigorous campaign in Spain (III 453-455). The whole latter campaign is notable for the swift action of a leader who is never at a loss, though nature itself may be against him. This last point is further brought out when he is again back in Brundisium (V 403-423). He finds his army delaying to cross to Thessaly because of the winter storms, but that does not deter him for a moment from setting sail, while he puts courage into his men by his own confidence. The great undertaking which he carried out in surrounding Pompey's entire forces at Petra with miles of fortifications (VI 29-47) is yet another example of his greatness. A mind which can conceive such an immense plan and the energy and resourcefulness necessary to carry it out combine to dwarf the uncertain tactics of Pompey. Much of his success is

dependent on the speed with which he acts, and therefore when Antony and his soldiers fail to join him, Caesar is frantic (V 476-503). Depending upon his unfailing good luck⁴⁷ he attempts to cross to Antony in a small boat despite the impending storm. Throughout the episode Caesar is magnificent (V 560-677). His fearlessness and utter confidence in a Fortune which has never yet failed him, his defiance of the elements, and the calmness with which he accepts the thought of death when it seemed that their little boat must be battered to pieces or overturned, are as great a tribute as Lucan could have paid Caesar. In spite of himself the poet is carried away by his admiration.

In several respects it is possible to make a rather close comparison between Caesar and the Napoleon of Hardy's Dynasts,⁴⁸ a similarity arising from like personal reactions toward the two leaders and from artistic treatment, not

47. See Elizabeth Tappan, "Julius Caesar's Luck," in the Classical Journal, XXVII, 1 (October, 1931), pp. 3-14. Miss Tappan finds that there is little support in Caesar's own commentaries and in the writings of Cicero for his belief that he was so favored. "Caesar, who has acknowledged, it would seem, no more association with fortune than would be inevitable in the case of so conspicuously successful a commander, would apparently be judged on his own merits," p. 14. Mommsen believes that Caesar never lost sight of the power of fortune. See Theodor Mommsen, History of Rome, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1911), vol. V, p. 308.

48. Thomas Hardy, The Dynasts, (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1925).

imitation. The Corsican shows the same intense energy and impatience of delay; all must go as he ordains. His attitude while waiting for the fleets of Villeneuve and Gauteaume⁴⁹ is that of Caesar expecting Antony. Decres, his Minister of Marine, is less sure of their appearance and expresses his doubt, "And should they not appear, Your Majesty?" But to Napoleon such a thwarting of his plans is inconceivable:

"Not? but they will; and do it early, too!
There is nothing hinders them. My God, they must,
For I have much before me when this stroke
At England's dealt."

He too is driven by an all-consuming purpose, "My brain has only one wish - to succeed!"⁵⁰ Nothing must come between him and his goal, and above all there must be no half-way measures:

"For victory, men, must be no thing surmised,
As that which may or may not beam on us,
Like noontide sunshine on a dubious morn;
It must be sure!"⁵¹

Caesar is quick to seize any opportunity which may be offered him and turn it to his own advantage. His keen military sense and his complete self-confidence are not the only reasons for his readiness. Closely allied with confidence is the conviction that he is "a Child of

49. Hardy, op. cit., p. 44.

50. Ibid., p. 59.

51. Ibid., p. 110.

Fortune,"⁵² that what he undertakes is sanctioned by Destiny, whose forces are on his side. As long as this power is with him, he will brave any danger alone, "Sola placet Fortuna comes" (V 510). Every undertaking seems to be under the guidance of Destiny. So he says (I 309-310):

. . . nunc cum fortuna secundis
Mecum rebus agat superique ad summa vocantes"

"Now, when Fortune favors me and the gods beckon me to highest power;"

. . . "hand unquam vidi tam magna daturus
Tam prope me superos" (VII 297-298);

"I have never seen the gods so near me ready to grant so much;" and again, even the mutiny of his soldiers is attributed to divine favor (V 351-353):

. "Sunt ista profecto
Curae castra deis, qui me committere tantis
Non nisi mutato voluerunt milite bellis,"

"Surely this camp is favored by the gods, whose will it was that I should enter upon such great wars with other soldiers." After reverses in Spain he still clings to his belief in Providence, for henceforth the tide of battle is all in his favor (IV 254-255):

52. See Tappan, loc. cit. Also W. W. Fowler, "Caesar's Conception of Fortuna" in the Classical Review, XVII, 3 (April 1903), pp. 153-156. Fowler also concludes that Caesar had little personal faith in Fortune, the belief in which grew during the century after his death, p. 153. This contemporary view of Fortuna would account for Lucan's representation of Caesar.

Tu, Caesar, quamvis spoliatus milite multo,
Agnoscis superos.

"Although you lost many soldiers, Caesar, you acknowledged the hand of the gods." Much of the courage which he displays in daring to cross the Adriatic during the storm is based on the trust that Fortune will be with him (V 581-583):

. "quem numina numquam
Destituunt, de quo male tunc fortuna meretur,
Cum post vota venit."

"A man whom the gods never desert, whom Fortune ill-treats only when he must beg her to come." Caesar is so confident in himself as Fortune's favorite that any circumstance is regarded as a favorable opportunity offered him by divine aid, and he is never slow in making the most of it. Compare this with the philosophy of Napoleon, who is deeply conscious of an inexorable force which controls him. A few quotations will serve to make this clear:

"Some force within me, baffling mine intent,
Harries me onward, whether I will or no.
My star, my star is what's to blame - not I.
It is unswervable."⁵³

"That which has worked will work! Since Lodi Bridge
The force I then felt move me moves me on
Whether I will or no; and oftentimes

53. Hardy, op. cit., p. 179. Historically Napoleon's reliance on Fortune was not so complete as Hardy pictures it. It was far from blind reliance, for when he found it necessary he could control Fortune. See Fournier, August, Napoleon, the First, (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1903), especially p. 59.

Against my better mind --- Why am I here?
-- By laws imposed on me inexorably!"⁵⁴

"Why hold me my own master, if I be
Ruled by the pitiless planet of Destiny."⁵⁵

"We are but thistle-globes on Heaven's high gales,
And whither blown, or when, or how, or why,
Can choose us not at all."⁵⁶

Lucan does not make of Caesar so complete a tool of Destiny as does Hardy of his protagonist, for, if need be, Caesar can oppose or disregard it as a force. Caesar, because of his almost unbroken line of successes, lacks Napoleon's tragic sense of being driven on to fulfil some Divine purpose whether or not he wills it. In Napoleon there is the tragedy of overwhelming circumstance against which it is useless to struggle, but in Caesar there is only the exultation of success which is so continuous that the explanation must be the hand of Destiny. Associated with this is the conception of himself as one of the few about whom all the rest of the world gravitates, and who enact Destiny's will which does not reach directly to lesser personalities. Thus he has only scorn for the mutinous army (V 339-343):

. "An vos momenta putatis
Ulla dedisse mihi? numquam sic cura deorum
Se premet, ut vestrae morti vestraeque saluti
Fata vacent; procerum motus haec cuncta secuntur:
Humanum paucis vivit genus."

54. Hardy, op. cit., p. 330.

55. Ibid., p. 458.

56. Ibid., p. 204.

"Do you suppose you have ever affected my destiny? Providence will never stoop to attend to your lives and deaths. All these events depend on the leaders' actions. The human race lives for the sake of a few." This is significant as a part of Lucan's own philosophy⁵⁷ for it recalls the statement of the Stoic, Chrysippus, "minora dei neglegunt,"⁵⁸ and leads to the conclusion that the mass of men is unimportant except as tools for the few to whose lives they are subsidiary. The chosen few to the Stoics, however, were those possessing Virtue, to Caesar, those who could seize power and keep it. Napoleon looks back on his affair with Marie Walewska with much the same thought,

"But what's one woman's fortune more or less
Beside the scheme of kings!"⁵⁹

The success of both Caesar and Napoleon was increased by their insight into the minds of the populace, an understanding of what is often termed "mob psychology." Caesar is especially skillful in gaining what he wishes by arousing the desired reactions to his words or acts.⁶⁰ When his success is at stake he appeals to his soldiers largely through their own interests. At the outset he addresses the army

57. See my discussion of Lucan's philosophy, Chapter IV.

58. R. D. Hicks, Stoic and Epicurean, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910), p. 335.

59. Hardy, op. cit., p. 296.

60. Heitland, p. LXII.

with a plea not so much for himself as for them, the wish that they may have a place to rest and to live in security after the conflict (I 340-346). Before the engagement at Pharsalia his attitude is much the same (VII 250-329). One feels a conscious effort on Caesar's part to slide over his own interests, very different from his defiance of the army when it threatened to mutiny (VII 264-268):

"Non mihi res agitur, sed, vos ut libera sitis
Turba, precor gentes ut ius habeatis in omnes.
Ipse ego privatae cupidus me reddere vitae
Plebeiaque toga modicum componere civem,
Omnia dum vobis liceant, nihil esse recuso."

"It is not for my interests but for your liberty that I want you to have world-power. As for myself, I am anxious to return to private life, to be an ordinary citizen of plebian rank. But so long as you hold all power, I will not refuse any position." He then plays upon their devotion to him by picturing his horrible fate unless he is victor (VII 304-310). His ability to use his knowledge of human nature is a great advantage to him in Spain. When he has surrounded the Pompeians and cut them off from their water supply, they realize the danger which confronts them and in desperation rush into battle, ready to die at the enemy's hand rather than face death from thirst (IV 267-284). Caesar realizes that their desperate courage makes them a formidable foe, and his orders are to give them no opportunity to fight (IV 279-280):

"Deserat hic fervor mentes, cadat impetus amens,
Perdant velle mori."

"This excitement must calm down; this wild enthusiasm must flag; they must lose their wish to die."⁶¹ The strategy has the desired effect, and fear soon takes the place of reckless courage. When Pompey has escaped him at Brundisium, Caesar turns rapidly to plans whereby he can quell the populace and win their support (III 52-58). The provisions he makes are for supplying them with plenty of food, "guarus et irarum causas, et summa favoris annona momenta trahi" (II 55-56), "for he knew that the causes of hatred and mainsprings of popularity are determined by the price of food."⁶² Napoleon in the same way tries to divert the attention of the people from the disasters of the Russian campaign by providing them with something novel.

. "And I intend
Also, to gild the dome of the Invalides
In best gold leaf, and on a novel pattern.
.
. To give them something
To think about. They'll take it like children,
And argue in the cafes right and left
On its artistic points. - So they'll forget
The woes of Moscow."⁶³

There is this difference in the representation of the two men, Caesar's way is entirely practical and more realistic,

61. Duff's translation, op. cit., p. 195.
62. Ibid., p. 119.
63. Hardy, op. cit., p. 364.

while Napoleon's plan is an ironical comment on human nature.

Neither of the two great leaders lets popular superstition or religion stand in his way. In the discussions of omens,⁶⁴ we shall see that when Caesar gained control of Rome, he even supervised religion to such an extent that no ill-omens were allowed to be reported by the augurs, and some of disastrous portent~~s~~ were even reported as favorable (V~~II~~ 395-396). It is a good instance of the way in which a formalized religion may be used for political purposes. Napoleon's horse stumbles and throws him, a supposedly bad omen, but he picks himself up, crying, "Such portents I defy."⁶⁵ Caesar shows a like disregard of religion when he needs the timber of a sacred wood (III 426-439). The men refuse to commit such a sacrilege as cutting down the trees, but their leader seizes an axe and strikes the first blow in defiance of their fear.

The reputation which Caesar bears for clemency⁶⁶ is substantiated by Lucan's treatment of him, but the poet

64. See below, chapter III.

65. Hardy, op. cit., p. 327.

66. See Cornelia Catlin Coulter, "Caesar's Clemency" in the Classical Journal, XXVI, 7, (April, 1931), pp. 513-524. Mrs. Coulter concludes that when possible Caesar was generous to his enemies from a mixture of policy, foresight, and natural clemency. Mommsen, in general, considers that Caesar's clemency was the result of definite calculations and policies, op. cit., pp. 215, 225, 229.

often prefers to interpret it in such a way as to reflect unfavorably on Caesar. For example, when Domitius has been surrendered by his men at Corfinium Caesar spares his life because he knows that he can hurt his enemy worse by striking at his pride (II 511-512).⁶⁷ However, in the war in Spain Caesar willingly grants Afranius and his soldiers leave to return to their homes, and Lucan credits him with no underlying motive (IV 363-364).⁶⁸ In Afranius's plea for mercy, which is not that of a man grovelling before his conqueror, there is no ill-will toward Caesar but respect for a worthy adversary (IV 344-351): "If it had been my fate to be beaten by an unworthy foe, I would not have lacked the courage to die by my own hand. But as it is, my only reason for begging for life is that I deem you worthy to grant it, Caesar. We are not engaged for party reasons, nor did we take up arms in an unfriendly attitude to your plans. Civil war found us commanders, and while we could we remained faithful to our former cause." Caesar prides himself upon his clemency toward the enemy, when he addresses his soldiers at Pharsalia (VII 311-315):

67. Ibid., p. 520-521. From two letters, one to Cicero, the other to Oppius and Balbus, it is apparent that Caesar's real reasons were policy and his own desires.

68. Ibid., pp. 521-522. Caesar's own words show his purpose was to keep from bloodshed on both sides, since victory without it was possible.

"Di quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanusque labor, vincat, quicumque necesse
Non putat in victos saevum destringere ferrum.
Quique suos cives, quod signa adversa tulerunt,
Non credit feciase nefas.

"Gods, whose attention has been drawn from heaven by earth and Rome's troubles, may the victor be he who does not think it necessary to draw the sword on the conquered and does not consider the fellow-citizens who have fought against him guilty of crime." He further urges his men to spare the fleeing as fellow countrymen (VII 318-319).⁶⁹ We find the same pride in leniency to the enemy in Napoleon. It is in his matter-of-fact reception of General Mack and his staff at the surrender of Ulm,⁷⁰ and in his order to the people of Moscow, "Tell them that they may swiftly swage their fears, safe in that mercy I by rule extend to vanquished ones."⁷¹ A remark to Caesar made by his mutinous soldiers and meant to be an accusation, implies a fine tribute to him as a victor.⁷² His men complain that they have been led from war to war with no respite and no reward but more war. They add (V 270-271):

69. When Caesar has been shown the head of Pompey in Egypt, he expresses a wish that Pompey might have lived to be reconciled to him again (IX 1095-1103). It is plain that Lucan intends him to be playing the hypocrite here.

70. Hardy, op. cit., p. 75.

71. Ibid., p. 347.

72. "It is surprising that Lucan allowed this tribute to Caesar to remain in his poem." Duff, p. 258. However, this is not the only tribute in the epic.

"Cepimus expulso patriae cum tecta senatu,
Quos hominum vel quos licuit spoliare deorum?"

"When we seized our city and drove out the senate, did you let us rob either god or man?" He is guilty because he restrained them from the usual excesses of a plundering army.

Lucan sometimes differentiated between the popular estimate of Caesar, exaggerated as it was by fear, and the real man. So, when he pictures the fright that the advance through northern Italy caused, he mentions some of the wild rumors which preceded Caesar and remarks (I 479-480):

"Nec qualem meminere vident: maiorque ferasque
Mentibus occurrit victoque immanior hoste.

"He now seems different from what they remember him. He is mightier and fiercer in their imaginations and more savage than the enemy he has conquered." In a similar situation Caesar is less vindictive than it was feared he would be. When he enters Rome the people are afraid of his wrath (III 98-101):

. "Namque ignibus atris
Creditor, ut captae, rapturus moenia Romae
Sparsurusque deos. Fuit haec mensura timoris:
Velle putant quodcumque potest."

"For they thought he would burn the walls of Rome after its capture and would scatter its gods. So great was their fright that they thought his desire matched his power." The senate convenes ready to grant the conqueror anything he may demand, but (III 111-112):

. "Melius, quod plura iubere
Erebuit, quam Roma pati."

"It was fortunate that there were more demands he was ashamed to make than Rome was to obey." Through these passages there is an implied criticism of the popular attitude, and especially in the last the censure is upon the senate which has become a spineless, cowering group.

There are two outstanding examples of the supreme courage of Caesar and of Napoleon which are interesting because they are rather close parallels. On the return from Spain, Caesar's soldiers suddenly become surfeited with war and bloodshed with no visible rewards for their sacrifices, and open mutiny soon breaks out (V 315-373). Without waiting for the men to quiet down Caesar, unprotected, mounts a pile of turf and stands there facing his soldiers with such fearlessness that he makes them cower. Rather than to attempt to conciliate them he taunts them (V 319-321):

"Qui modo in absentem voltu dextraque furebas,
Miles, habes nudum promptumque ad volnere pectus.
Hic fuge, si belli finis placet, ense relicto."

"You soldiers who but now raged against me with threatening faces and gestures, look at me now unarmed and ready for your blows. Bury your swords here and flee, if you wish the war to end." He further brands them as cowards and exults that he can have other soldiers in their places, until he shames them into submission and even accomplishes the execu-

tion of the leaders of the uprising. The test of Napoleon's fearlessness comes when he is rallying his feeble forces after reaching France from Elba.⁷³ His advance guard is refused parley or cooperation by the royalist troops which are overwhelmingly in the majority. At this crisis Napoleon rides out before his former soldiers, dismounts, and walks steadily toward them, despite their levelled guns.

. "Men of the Fifth,
See - here I am! . . . Old friends, do you not know me?
If there be one among you who would slay
His chief of proud past years, let him come on
And do it now!"

It is an intense moment, but the magnetism and courage of the man are too great; after a moment's hesitation there is a wild demonstration of welcome to him. In the case of either leader it is hard for the reader not to enter wholeheartedly into the admiration of such forceful personalities.

In spite of his efforts to blacken the character of Caesar because he opposed the ideals which Lucan most admired, the poet has succeeded in making him incomparably greater than the vain, vacillating Pompey. His best qualities, courage, self-confidence, tenacity of purpose, clear vision, and energy defy any attempt at disparagement.⁷⁴ One forgets the rhetorical outbursts against Caesar's cruelty

73. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 435-437.

74. See Heitland's summary of Caesar, op. cit., p. LXII.

and savagery in admiration for the opposite side of his character. Ironically enough the most important figures of the De Bello Civili have assumed positions unlike Lucan's obvious intentions for them.

CHAPTER III

LUCAN'S TREATMENT OF OMENS, PORTENTS, AND PRODIGIES

A frequently mentioned characteristic of the De Bello Civili is the author's independence in eliminating the machinery of the gods in contrast to Homer and Vergil.⁷⁵ There are no crises in which a god must intervene to save his favorite, no scenes in heaven of the divine powers, no crafty planning whereby they try to aid their chosen causes. Nevertheless, throughout the epic there is the sense of some power, call it Destiny, Necessity, or God, which is inseparably connected with the conflict.⁷⁶ At times of extraordinary stress it is through this Power that man may be made aware of future events. Several forces in Lucan are responsible for including in the poem passages which seem to be based entirely upon superstition, which describe the omens, portents and prodigies that foreshadowed the Civil War and events in that war. In the first place, the whole fabric of Roman religion, both public and private, is interwoven with the conception that manifestations of Nature are due to the direction and will of the

75. Duff, op. cit., p. XI; Summers, op. cit., p. 33; R. B. Steele, "Lucan's Pharsalia" in American Journal of Philology, XLV 4, (1924), p. 302.

76. See below, Chapter IV, for an elaboration of Lucan's philosophy.

gods.⁷⁷ Thus a complex system of obtaining knowledge of the divine will and of averting the effects of the gods' displeasure was constructed. It is therefore inevitable that Roman literature, based as it is on the experiences of the people, should embody many references to such superstitions, even when that literature takes the form of an historical record such as the works of Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius.⁷⁸ Again, Lucan's educational background had been greatly influenced by Stoic philosophy which taught, as a corollary to its pantheistic concept of the world, that there was a definite chain of cause and effect, a connection between Nature and human affairs.⁷⁹ "Omens and portents are thus produced in sympathy with those events of which they are precursors and indications, so that by natural aptitude or acquired art the connection between them may be empirically observed and noted."⁸⁰ Here we see the attempt to reconcile the philosophy of an omnipresent God with popular superstition which was too prevalent and too well incorporated into the state religion to be disregarded. Finally,

77. Krauss, op. cit., pp. 23-24. Also W. W. Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1911).

78. Krauss, Op. cit. In his introduction Krauss discusses the factors underlying the Roman belief in omens and portents. The remainder of the work is a discussion of the omens mentioned in these three authors.

79. See Section IV.

80. Hicks, op. cit., p. 41.

the description of unusual and horrible details, especially the long catalogue of them in Book I line 522 and following, gave Lucan an opportunity to indulge his love of creating a sensation, and his rhetorical habit of piling up detail upon detail to produce an effect.

Many of the omens which Lucan mentions were undoubtedly reported before and during the war since they are usually of a more or less general character and conform to the reports at the time of the Hannibalic Wars and during other periods of intense agitation.⁸¹ Others which Krauss finds in the historians are not utilized by the poet, and it is evident that he is using his knowledge of popular superstition and his imaginative ability to picture the warnings of disaster which were apparent in Nature. The most numerous references to portents are to phenomena of the sky,⁸² and this is only natural since it is the realm about which little scientific fact was known to the people as a whole, or even scholars of that time. Consequently any unusual occurrence would cause terror among people emotionally disturbed by the threat of war. Krauss in his extensive report of omens lists solar eclipses, but says nothing of a common occurrence which Lucan several times mentions as a sign of ill-omen, a dark

81. See Krauss, op. cit.

82. In the classification of omens and portents, and to some extent the order of presentation, I have followed Krauss.

sky and obscured sun. As Caesar's army entered Ariminum at dawn, Lucan comments (I 234-235):

. . . . seu sponte deum, seu turbidus auster
Impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.

Here is the supernatural explanation side by side with the natural one; clouds blown there by the wind may be responsible for the sky's appearance, or it may be due to the gods. A cloudy sky would be disregarded day after day under ordinary circumstances but the threat of disaster can add a peculiar significance to something quite natural and ordinary. On the morning of the battle at Pharsalia, the sun was late in rising and surrounded by clouds (VII 1-6) so that it might not shine brightly on the battlefield, and later the men wonder at the darkness though it is still early in the day (VII 177-178). At the same time in Italy an augur partly based his prophecy of battle on the dimness of the sun, which signified the sorrow of the "numen" (VII 199-200). Before the conflict of the two parties has actually begun, and each is marshalling its forces, the sun at the zenith is completely hidden and the terrified people despair of seeing it again (I 540-543). This last is clearly a solar eclipse, but the other instances might easily be explained by an unusually cloudy day, which to excited minds seemed a sign of evil. In connection with solar eclipses, Krauss says, "It would appear that these obscurations of the sun were in some

way believed to indicate the close of one regime and the emergence of its light to signify the beginning of another."⁸³ Lucan, then, has used a very appropriate omen for the state which was about to enter its imperial period. He speaks once of an eclipse of the moon (I 537-539) and also its cause, the earth's shadow cast on the moon, but nevertheless he accepts the phenomenon as an omen. While the poet was informed as to the reason for a lunar eclipse, we cannot suppose that this was true of the uneducated man, who would view it with alarm. In another connection he speaks of the power of witches to produce the same effect by incantation (VI 500-506) which Pliny says was the popular conception of the cause.⁸⁴

New stars, comets, and meteors because of their unusual character are sure to arouse attention at any time and especially during a time of uneasiness. So Lucan lists new stars, bright lights in the sky, and comets as portents of evil, the latter indicating a change of ruler, "terris mutantem regna cometen" (I 526-529). Krauss has noted that in A.D. 66 when a comet was seen it was believed to presage the end of the regime or some great man's death.⁸⁵ Before the battle at Pharsalia the armies see meteors, columns of fire,

83. Krauss, op. cit., p. 70.

84. Ibid., p. 72.

85. Ibid., p. 77.

and fire and water in whirlwinds (VII 155-156). When the multitude of portents has been reported and a panic is imminent at Rome, Figulus, an astrologer is called in to give his interpretation of what the future has in store. His answer is that if there is any universal law which governs the world, then the Roman people and the whole earth are threatened with disaster. He adds that if Saturn were prominent the world would be flooded, if the sun were in the Lion the destruction would be by fire, but as it is "caelum Mars solus habet" the sign of a long and bloody war (I 638-672).

Since lightning and thunder were considered by popular religion the special function of Jupiter, any manifestation of them at a time of panic was certain to be interpreted as a sign from that god, when under other conditions it might pass unnoticed. Lucan almost never fails to mention this phenomenon as an evil omen, particularly when the lightning occurs in a clear sky (I 530, 533). Lightning assumes strange shapes, a javelin or a torch (I 531-532), which it might easily seem to do to an observer whose mind was intent on war. It is thought a sign of deep displeasure when the armies are struck by lightning, the crests on the soldiers' helmets knocked off, their javelins and swords melted, and the air filled with the smell of sulphur (VII 157-160). Though thunder on the left of the observer was the best of

omens,⁸⁶ it is a bad sign generally, perhaps from its likeness to a sound of disapproval from Jupiter, as is apparent when Lucan upbraids Ptolemy for the murder of Pompey carried out despite heaven's thundering (VII 551). When Caesar has control of Rome and wishes none but favorable signs he forces the augur to disregard the thunder.⁸⁷ Popular superstition meant little to him when it hindered his plans in any way.

Eruptions and earthquakes, dire enough in themselves, seem to have indicated even greater calamity. Krauss finds that both Cicero and Pliny considered such phenomena as heralds of sedition.⁸⁸ At the time of the Civil War Lucan speaks of an eruption of Aetna and of its flames falling on the Italian coast (I 545-547). Other like prodigies are plainly a result of exaggeration for effect; for example, the earth is said to have stopped on its axis and the Alps to have poured the snow from their summits (I 552-554). He expresses the extremes to which fear may affect the mind when he says that many people thought they saw Olympus and Pindus collide and the Great Balkan range form deep hollows (VII 173-174). Other unusual and frightful omens were a flood, in the nature of a tidal wave (I 554-555), waves of blood churned up around Charybdis, and the bark of Scylla's

86. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

87. See Chapter II.

88. Krauss, p. 50.

dogs (I 547-549). A torrent of blood on Lake Beebeis in Thessaly is also a presage of evil (VII 176), obviously predicting the shedding of blood. It is interesting to note that at about the time Lucan was writing a bloody sea was reported along the shores of Britain, A.D. 61,⁸⁹ and may have been the inspiration for two of his omens. Fire on two occasions is a prediction of evil, once when the fire on Vesta's altar disappeared, and again when the bonfire at the end of the Latin Festival split into two flames (I 549-552). The latter of course signified discord, and the extinguishing of Vesta's fire was considered by a Roman as indicative of the destruction of his city.

The flight of birds as a portent is in many ways linked up with Rome since it was on the flight of a vulture on the left (according to Lucan VII 437) that the city was founded, though the more frequent story is that Romulus received his sign from twelve vultures, twice the number his brother saw.⁹⁰ Lucan also mentions the use of birds in general to obtain omens (I 588, VI 428), and in particular the appearance of birds of ill-omen in daylight (I 558), presumably owls, and of the flight of an owl as significant of trouble (V 396). This last is coupled with the instance

89. Krauss, op. cit., p. 93.

90. Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, I, 7.

already referred to of the disregard of thunder for political reasons under Caesar's orders. Here the augur is said to have sworn that the bird-omens were favorable, regardless of the truth. Tacitus and Pliny both report the owl (especially the horned owl, bubo) as a bad indication which required killing the bird and purifying the city.⁹¹

Any unusual behavior of animals and particularly offspring deformed or peculiar in any way were looked upon as signs of corresponding discord and trouble in human affairs. Lucan tells of wild animals leaving the woods and making their lairs at night in Rome (I 559-560), of animals with human speech (I 561), and a bull which fled from the altar when about to be sacrificed (VII 165-167), whereupon no other animal could be found for a victim. No instances of deformed animals are given, but the birth of human offspring who are so horrible as to frighten their mothers is a fearful portent (I 562-563). Doubtless much of this was pure fabrication but Krauss also says of such occurrences, "Today we definitely know that such monstrosities can be explained by the laws that govern the development of the embryo. The ancient, uninstructed in these matters, could view such deviations from the norm only as some terrible sign of a

91. Krauss, op. cit., p. 106.

chaotic future."⁹²

The illusions and hallucinations which are responsible for most reports of ghosts and apparitions increase with nervous excitement and fear. Several times Lucan makes use of these to intensify the threats of disaster. He pictures a huge Fury with snaky locks stalking through Rome (I 572-574), the ghost of Sulla prophesying trouble, Marius bursting his tomb to terrify the citizens (I 580-583), and the appearance of dead parents and kinsmen to the soldiers at Pharsalia (VII 179-180). Krauss tells of an apparition which, according to Suetonius appeared to Caesar. "As he was hesitating on the banks of the Rubicon, a being of unusual beauty appeared playing on a reed, and when the soldiers flocked to hear him, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, rushed to the river, blew a mighty war-note, and made for the opposite bank. Caesar regarded this as a sign from the gods that they would favor his advance over that river."⁹³ Either Lucan did not know this story or else it was too favorable to Caesar to be consistent with his conscious attitude. Whatever the reason, he uses an entirely different episode occurring at the same time and place. When Caesar reached the river there appeared to him a vision

92. Krauss, op. cit., p. 129.

93. Ibid., p. 158.

of his country, crowned with towers, her hair torn and streaming, and her arms bare, and with sobs she spoke warning the army to stop if they came as law-abiding citizens (I 185-192). This version is much more in accord with Lucan's partisanship than is the other, and a more pathetic tone is given to the event.

Not only is fear aroused by ghosts and apparitions but also by unusual noises and supposed voices in the air which are not easily explained by the superstitious and are given a supernatural significance. Among such phenomena Lucan speaks of groans issuing from the urns filled with ashes of the dead, the crash of arms and shouts as of armies fighting in the forests (I 568-570), of trumpets sounding and shouts on still nights (I 578-580), and at Pharsalia, of the sounds of battle heard during the night (VII 175). It is not difficult to understand how any unusual sounds, especially at night, would be magnified by the imaginations of minds filled with war and disaster into signs sent by the gods. As with most accidental omens their meaning is increased in retrospect after an event has taken place.

Anything unusual which happened in the temples would be looked upon as particularly significant. Besides the fire of Vesta already mentioned Lucan cites as ill omens occurrences when the national gods (*dei indigetes*) wept, when the household gods (*lares*) sweated, and offerings in the

temples fell from their places (I 556-558). As a somewhat similar portent the standards of the army shed tears and could scarcely be wrenched from the ground (VII 161-164).

Dreams, even to the present time, have always had a connection with the future in superstitious minds, despite the efforts of men like Lucretius⁹⁴ to explain them psychologically. The only prophetic use which Lucan makes of dreams is on two occasions when he describes dreams of Pompey, once a dream of his first wife, Julia, who appears to warn him of coming disaster (III 9-35), and again on the night before his defeat at Pharsalia he dreams of being in Rome in his earlier and happier days, winning the applause of the crowd in his theater (VII 7-24). The first dream has little effect upon Pompey, except to make him readier to meet calamity. To him the apparition is either a delusion or else, if real, then there is nothing to fear from death (III 36-40). In the second, Lucan attempts to explain its meaning. He suggests that Pompey may have dreamed of Rome because his mind looked back to a happy past with regret, when now only disaster lay ahead, a more or less psychological explanation. Again, since he was never to return, Fortune, that very vague power, may have compensated him by

94. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, Ed. by W. A. Merrill (American Book Co., New York, 1907), IV 757-776, 962-1036.

this last glimpse of his city. His third supposition is that common belief that "dreams go by opposites," that the pleasant dream indicated future trouble as dreams often do, "per ambages solitas" (VII 21).

Lucan has utilized a varied catalogue of omens and portents throughout the poem and in the longest passage (I 522-583) he has given full sway to his imagination. Though it is likely that many of these same portents were reported from time to time and that Lucan has actual occurrences in mind, it is evident that he is writing as a poet, not as a historian. He has put together most of the unusual events which were signs of disaster to the Roman mind in order to give a picture of the nervous excitement and the dread which such a situation engendered. Similar to it are the passages in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. Guided by the information in North's translation of Plutarch's Caesar, the dramatist has described the omens preceding the murder of Caesar:

"A lioness hath whelped in the streets;
And graves have yawned, and yielded up their dead;
Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war,
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh and dying men did groan;
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets."⁹⁵

From this and from the reports in Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius

95. Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, II 2, lines 17-24. See also I 3, lines 15-32.

it is clear that there were a number of rather stereotyped omens which invariably accompanied periods of political unrest, both because more meaning was attached to the unusual at such times, and because imagination and readiness to believe anything sensational are especially active under nervous strain. Lucan himself realizes this in depicting the situation before the battle of Pharsalia (VII 172-173):

. dubium, monstrisne deum nimione pavori
Crediderint.

"It is doubtful whether it was the prodigies of the gods or their excessive fear which made them believe," and he continues with a number of portents which he says men thought they saw. A little later he remarks that every Roman was sad though he knew not why, and reproved himself for his sorrow (VII 187-191). Here is doubtless the explanation of many portents, the feeling of unrest and dread, which makes significant anything the least out of the ordinary.

As I have already said, Lucan's attitude toward omens and portents was influenced both by popular belief and by his Stoic education, and yet the two are based on different assumptions. The idea of the masses was that the gods availed themselves of the forces in Nature to make known their displeasure or sympathy with human affairs. On the other hand, the Stoic believed that every event could be foretold by the preceding conditions because of the unbroken chain which

bound together everything in the universe, so that a given cause must produce its corresponding effect. "In a system so purely based on nature as theirs, the supposition that God works for definite ends after the manner of men, exceptionally announcing to one or the other a definite result - in short, the marvelous - was out of place."⁹⁶ As with other phases of his philosophy Lucan seems to mingle the two ideas. In his introduction to the many prodigies which preceded the war he writes (I 522-525):

. Tum, ne qua futuri
Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati
Peioris manifesta fides, superique minaces
Prodigiis terras implerunt, aethera, pontum.

"Then, so that no hope for the future could relieve their anxious minds, clear proof of a worse fate was sent, and the threatening gods filled earth, heaven, and sea with portents." Likewise as the opposing sides gather at Pharsalia (VII 151-152):

Non tamen abstinuit venturos prodere casus
Per varias Fortuna notas.

"Fortune did not fail to reveal future disaster by various signs." The "superi minaces" are usually the gods of common belief though to Lucan they are probably but a means of expression,⁹⁷ but "Fortuna" is doubtless Necessity, the chain

96. Dr. E. Zeller, The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, (Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1892); p. 376.

97. See Chapter IV.

of events which leads up to the battle. It was the Stoic teaching that if one "could survey all causes, in their effects on one another he would need no observation. Such a one would be able to deduce the whole series of events from the given cause."⁹⁸ It is with this in mind that Lucan says (VII 202-204):

. si cuncta perito
Augure mens hominum caeli nova signa notasset,
Spectari toto potuit Pharsalia mundo.

"If, with the aid of skilled augurs, man's mind could have grasped all the signs in the heavens, Pharsalia could have been watched by all the world."

A feeling of intense pity comes to the poet when he realizes the effect of such knowledge upon man (VII 185-187):

Quid mirum, populos, quos lux extrema manebat,
Lymphato trepidare metu, praesaga malorum,
Si data mens homini est.

"What wonder that men who were living their last day were weak with fear, if man's mind has the power to foresee misfortune." Again, he is certain that omens are of real significance, but he can see no reason for man being burdened with them (II 4-6, 14-15):

. Cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi,
Sollicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,
Noscant venturas ut dira per omina clades?
.
Sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri

98. Zeller, op. cit., p. 378.

Mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timentī.

"Why, O God, do you choose to add this trouble to man's cares, that he knows of future destruction through dreadful omens? Let your purpose, whatever it be, be sudden; let man's mind be unconscious of coming doom; let him have hope though he fears." A sympathy for mankind which he does not often express so openly leads Lucan beyond the bounds of his Stoicism to express much the same thought as that of the Sceptic, Carneades, when he attacked the Stoic tenet on the value of divination on the grounds that if fate is unchangeable, then knowledge of the future is harmful for it destroys all hope.⁹⁹

Lucan eliminated the use of divine machinery from his poem, but did he feel the need of a substitute for it, which he found in the extensive use of omens and portents? Vergil, who uses the gods constantly throughout the Aeneid, also makes use of omens, but to a much more limited degree. Aside from this one is usually assured that Vergil's omens are directly connected with a deity. For example, upon Anchises's refusal to leave Troy, a flame is seen burning about the head of Ascanius (II 680-684),¹⁰⁰ and when Anchises asks for a further sign, thunder is heard on the left, and a meteor

99. Hicks, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

100. Vergil, Aeneid, complete. Ed. by H. S. Frieze (American Book Co., New York, 1902).

falls in the woods on Mount Ida (II 692-698); during the struggle between Aeneas and Turnus, Jupiter sends a bird of ill-omen to terrify Turnus (XII 853-866); the sign which Aeneas is to accept for the position of his city is a white sow with thirty young (VIII 81-85); Aeneas's first warning that he is not to settle in Thrace is the shedding of blood by shoots he has uprooted for use in the sacred rites (III 24-33). There are no long descriptions of omens accompanying disaster as there are in the De Bello Civili, and it must be confessed that Vergil's portents are more effective for that reason. It seems quite probable that Lucan felt the necessity for some of the supernatural in his poem and these omens together with the weird rites of the Thessalian witch (VI 434-830) and the visit of Appius to the Delphic oracle (V 71-224) help to fill this gap, aside from giving the author an opportunity for the horrible details in which he so often revels. The plea to leave man some hope for the future, his realization of the effect of omens upon man, and such a remark about divination as "si vera fides memorantibus" (VII 192) "if one can believe the stories told," make one wonder whether Lucan could really have had faith in what he relates. Was it not rather the adherence of a young student to the doctrine of his masters, a belief in Stoicism, which was beginning even then to break down? It must be remembered too that, regardless of his own opinions, as a poet

of historical events Lucan's task was to give a picture of the Roman people during this crisis, and the reports of omens and prodigies is but one true side of the picture, painted with the love of rhetorical effect and exaggeration which are characteristic of Lucan and his time. It was this, added to the accepted doctrine of his philosophical training, and the felt need for something to replace the gods of Homer and Vergil which caused Lucan to put so much emphasis on omens and portents.

CHAPTER IV
LUCAN'S PHILOSOPHY

In the preceding sections I have had occasion several times to mention the relation of Lucan to the Stoic philosophy which formed the background of his education. Heitland, in his introduction to the Haskin's edition of Lucan, has very fully covered the passages in which Lucan expresses his philosophical ideas.¹⁰¹ His method has been to cite parallel passages in Lucan and in Zeller¹⁰² to identify the former's statements, with very little comment on his own part. It is my intention to discuss the more important of these points but to elaborate upon them in showing how Lucan agrees or does not agree with the Stoic doctrines. Let us consider a few of the principal ideas which Lucan expresses in the De Bello Civili.

In their more formal tenets, Lucan expressly follows the Stoics on several points. He accepts their explanations of the origin and the end of the world, the nature of earth, sun, and stars, and the position of the earth in the universe. The Stoics taught that the primal matter was fire, which changed into vapor, moisture, and finally water from which earth was precipitated, while air and fire remained.¹⁰³

101. Heitland, op. cit., pp. XLII-XLIX.

102. Zeller, op. cit.

103. Ibid., p. 161.

So Lucan speaks of God forming the world "flamma cedente" (II 8) "after the fire receded." The same stages in reverse order were to take place in the ultimate destruction of the world, which would be entirely consumed in a universal conflagration.¹⁰⁴ In comparing the downfall of Rome to this destruction of the world, Lucan says (I 72-74):

. Sic, cum compage soluta
Saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora,
Antiquum repetens chaos.

"So it will be, when the bonds are loosened, and all the world's ages will be closed in a final hour, resulting in primeval chaos." He continues to elaborate the simile with a description of the last hour (II 74-80). The same prediction is again made when Lucan states that it will make no difference whether or not Caesar burns the bodies of the dead at Pharsalia, for (VII 812-815):

Hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis,
Uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti.
Communis mundo superest rogos ossibus astra
Mixturus.

"Caesar, if these bodies are not burned now, they will burn with the earth, with the sea. The world will have one common pyre where bones and stars all will be consumed." Not only was there to be a universal conflagration, but many of the Stoics also believed in periodical destruction of the

104. Hicks, p. 31; Zeller, pp. 163-165; Francken, op. cit. II p. 96.

earth by floods.¹⁰⁵ Lucan refers to a previous deluge when the flood covered the earth (VI 75-76) "fluctu terras mergente," and there is a reference to it during the storm in which Caesar is on the sea (V 623-624):

Cum mare convolvit gentes, cum litora Tethys
Noluit ulla pati caelo contenta teneri.

"When the sea overwhelmed nations, and knew no limits but the sky." Even the gods themselves are eventually subject to destruction,¹⁰⁶ as Lucan makes clear during the description of the same storm (V 634-637), "Nature feared the chaos. The elements seemed to be breaking their harmonious bonds and Night to be returning to mingle the shades with the gods. The only hope of safety for the gods was that they had not yet perished in such universal disaster." Consistent with the idea of a world of which every part was a portion of the Divine Soul,¹⁰⁷ the earth was said to be animate, as were also the planets, stars, and sun.¹⁰⁸ The earth is the center of this system and is poised in air,¹⁰⁹ the latter conception expressed by Lucan (I 89-90) "terra fretum terramque levabit aer," and again (V 94) "aere libratum vacuo quae sustinet

105. Zeller, p. 169. Also Seneca, Philosophia Opera Omnia, vol. V, Naturales Quaestiones. (Lipsiae 1879). "Statim undique ex abdito, superne, ab imo aquarum fiet irruptio," III 30, 4.

106. Zeller, p. 165, note.

107. See below for a discussion of pantheism.

108. Heitland. Zeller, p. 202-206.

109. Heitland. Zeller, p. 202.

orbem." The sun as an animate being was believed to feed upon the sea whose waters it drank.¹¹⁰ Lucan too looks upon the sun as such a being (I 415-416):

Flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas,
Erigat oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducat.

"The blazing sun to nourish itself by drinking the waves, raises the ocean's waters to the sky," and "the swift sun feeds its light with the ocean" (IX 313), "rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens." Acoreus, the Egyptian, tells Caesar (X 258-259), "Nec non Oceano pasci Phoebumque polosque credimus," "We believe that both the sun and the sky feed on ocean."

So much for the conceptions of the physical world in which Lucan followed his teachers. Of much greater interest and significance is the personal side of his philosophy. In an article published several years ago concerning Lucan,¹¹¹ R. B. Steele dismissed the religious and ethical aspects of the poem in a few sentences. He noted the absence of divine machinery which is one of its distinguishing features as Latin epic and added that the words "fatum" and "fortuna" are used some 250 and 150 times respectively but are merely conventional terms for causes which Lucan was unable to ex-

110. Zeller, p. 206.

111. R. B. Steele, "Lucan's Pharsalia," American Journal of Philology, XLV.4 (1924), pp. 301-328.

plain. While the last is true in a number of instances, it is possible to reconstruct a much more definite philosophy from passages of the poem than Steele seems to indicate. How did Lucan's conception of God agree with that of the Stoics? He uses a number of terms to denote causes which cannot be ascribed to the agency of man: usually "fatum" or "fata" (I 33-34, "Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni invenere viam;" IX 143-144, "Quaecumque iniuria fati abstulit hos artus"), and "fortuna" (I 160 "ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto intulit;" II 244 "quam turbine nullo excutiet fortuna tibi"); but at other times "numen" or "numina" (I 81-82 "laetis hunc numina rebus crescendi posuere modum;" V 86 "quod numen ab aethere pressum"), "deus" or "dei" (I 234 "sponte deum;" VII 348 "medio posuit deus omnia campo"), "superi" (I 310 "superique ad summa vocantes"), or even "natura" (II 3 "Praescia monstrifero vertit natura tumultu"). Heitland believes that Lucan distinguishes between "fata" and "fortuna" and thus expresses a dual philosophy, the Stoic "fata" or Necessity and the Epicurean "fortuna", or Chance.¹¹² It is true that at times Lucan does make statements which are Epicurean in tone, but I think that the use of the two words "fata" and "fortuna" is almost indiscriminate and varies for metrical and literary reasons rather than philo-

112. Heitland, p. LI.

sophical. This is evident from a few passages in which the words are used interchangeably: for example (II 699-701):

Dux etiam votis hoc te, Fortuna, precatur,
Quam retinere vetas, liceat sibi perdere saltem
Italiam. Vix fata sinunt.

"The leader even prayed to you, Fortune, to allow him to leave the Italy which you forbade him to hold. Fate scarcely granted the request;" and again (II 726-728):

Non ea fata ferens, quae, cum super aequora toto
Praedonem sequerere mari: lassata triumphis
Descivit Fortuna tuis.

"Without the good luck that you had when you pursued the pirates over all the sea: wearied of your triumphs Fortune abandoned you." In another passage within two lines the words "numen," "superi," and "fatum" are used to indicate the same force (II 85-88):

. non ille favore
Numinis, ingenti superum protectus ab ira,
Vir ferus, et Romam cupiente perdere fato
Sufficiens.

"No divine favor, but the exceeding wrath of heaven, has guarded the life of that man of blood, in whom Fortune finds a perfect instrument for the destruction of Rome."¹¹³ This use of several terms for the same power is consistent with that of other Stoic writers.¹¹⁴ It rests on the fundamental

113. Duff's translation, p. 63.

114. "...the terms, Soul of the World, Reason of the World, Nature, Universal Law, Providence, Destiny - all mean the same thing, the one primary force penetrating the whole world." Zeller, p. 152.

Stoic conception of the world. To the Stoic there was a final cause which was the basis for everything in the universe, and which was the source of every action.¹¹⁵ Not only was this primary Being the active and creative force but it also was the material upon which the powers acted, and God and Primary Matter were one.¹¹⁶ Thus it makes no difference what names we apply, and the Stoics, as Thomas Hardy, were liberal in their choice of terms.

As Steele says, there are many examples in which the words, "fata," "fortuna," and others, are used in a more formal sense, and where English can often supply a more specific word. When Lucan describes Caesar he characterizes him as "inpatiensque loci fortuna secundi" (I 124), "fortuna" amounting to our "ambition;" "instare favori numinis" (I 148-149) is to take advantage of circumstances, good luck, perhaps. "Romanaque fata morantem" (II 581) we should probably interpret as "impeding Rome's conquests" and "non ea fata ferens" (II 726) as "without his good luck." "Fortuna" in the following stands for station in life (V 505-506):

. in quorum pectora
Dat vires fortuna minor.

"Fata" frequently means "death," for example (VI 298-299):

Hostibus incurrit fugiens inque ipsa pavendo

115. Zeller, pp. 141-147.

116. Ibid., p. 155.

Fata ruit.

In yet another line Pompey is "memorque fati" (VIII 10) when "fati" alludes to his former successful career. These are but a few of the examples for which the translation "fate," "destiny," or "fortune" would be inadequate or ambiguous.

Aside from this free use of the terms there are passages of much more profound explanations in attempts to explain the deepest mystery which confronts man. As we have seen, God, Reason, Nature, or whatever name we choose to give it, is both the active and passive forces of the world, and hence the sum of existence, a part of everything, just as all is a manifestation of God. Clearly this conception of the divine Power is pantheistic.¹¹⁷ Lucan most forcefully expresses the doctrine in the words of Cato (IX 578-580):

"Estque dei sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer
Et caelum et virtus? superos quid quaerimus ultra?
Juppiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris."¹¹⁸

"Has God any abode but the earth, the sea, the air, the heavens, and virtuous hearts? Why seek further for the deity? He is all we see, all we do." The same idea of an omnipresent God is in Lucan's discussion of the origin of the Delphic oracle (V 93-96):

117. Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-53.

118. The last line is quoted by Hicks, p. 39, with "moveris" changed to movetur. Housman and Hosius both give moveris, the present passive indicative.

. Forsan terris inserta regendis
Aere libratum vacuo quae sustinet orbem,
Totius pars magna Iovis Cirrhaea per antra
Exit et aetherio trahitur conexa Tonanti.

"Perhaps imbedded in the earth to rule it, and supporting the globe in space, a large part of the divine spirit comes forth through the Cirrhean caves and is caught there, though linked to God in heaven." The oracle is but one of the manifestations of God, and Apollo was but one of the many sides of the greater deity.¹¹⁹

At first glance this conception of God as all existence, the necessary chain of events, seems to remove any opportunity for the will to function, but the Stoic admitted that freedom of the will was possible in a limited sense, for he argued that man is free to obey or to disobey reason, which in its true meaning is always in accord with Destiny, and thus he is responsible for any act of his which is of his own doing.¹²⁰ "Divine Providence does not extend to individual things taken by themselves, but only to things in their relation to the whole."¹²¹ This left room for man's will to decide how he was to act on a given occasion.

119. Heitland, Zeller, VI B3.

120. Hicks, pp. 104-105. Also Zeller, "Involuntary it (action) would only be were it produced by external causes alone, without any cooperation, on the part of our will with external causes... Whatever emanates from my will is my action, no matter whether it be possible for me to act differently or not. Whether they (my actions) could have been different or not, is irrelevant," pp. 179-180.

121. Zeller, p. 176.

Heitland shows that Lucan makes this point evident in his attitude toward Pompey's murderers who were destined for the deed but were none the less guilty, in Cato who fails in his work but is right, and in Caesar whose victory is destined but criminal nevertheless.¹²² Again when Pompey could have defeated Caesar but held back his soldiers, he is the one responsible, though it is destiny which has decreed that the disaster of the war must be carried out (VI 299-313). It is also clear that man is his master within certain limits from the frequent allusions to the ability to hasten or retard the course of events, and this applies particularly to Caesar. So, when he sees his men ready for war and everything in his favor he refuses to delay destiny a moment but gathers his forces hastily "ne quo languore moretur fortunam" (I 393-394). Marseilles alone by her resistance to Caesar's forces is able to delay Fortune for a time (III 392-394):

. Quantum est, quod fata tenentur,
Quodque virum toti properans imponere mundo
Hos perdit Fortuna dies!

"What a great accomplishment, that she held up destiny, and when Fortune was hastening to place Caesar over the whole world, she was forced to lose a few days!" Lentulus urges the senate and Pompey's forces to hasten the course of events "fatorum impellite cursum" (V 41), and Caesar complains of

122. Heitland, pp. XLVI-XLVII.

Antony's delaying Fate, "pereuntia tempora fati conqueror"
(V 490-491) and refuses to accept any more victories from
Destiny until he can defeat Pompey (VI 4-5):

Moenia Graiorum spernit Martemque secundam
Iam nisi de genero fatis debere recusat.

It is clear then, that Lucan does allow man the exercise of
his will within certain limits, and to some small extent
power over destiny.

As I have pointed out in the discussion of omens and
portents,¹²³ unlike the Epicureans, the Stoics taught that
one may place faith in the various ways of revealing the
future because of the interconnection of every object and ac-
tion in the universe.¹²⁴ So it was possible to predict ac-
curately the future course of events by observation of present
circumstances, since effect must follow cause to make up the
endless chain of existence which is God. Besides revelation
of the future by interpretation of accidental occurrences
there are other ways in which the same principle functions.
There is a notable reference to revelation by oracle when
Appius consults the Delphian Apollo (V 71-224). After relat-
ing the myth connected with the origin of the place, Lucan
seeks for a further explanation of its existence. "What god
lies hidden here? What heavenly power dwells shut up in the

123. See Chapter III.

124. Hicks, p. 41; Zeller, pp. 370-380.

dark caverns? What god bears earths's weight knowing all the secrets of eternity, of the future, ready to reveal himself to man, while, omnipotent as he is, he patiently bears contact with mankind. Does he reveal the future or is it determined by his prophecy?" (V 86-93). Again, the pantheistic conception enters into the consideration of causes as it did with the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The poet is uncertain as to the time when fate is fixed, though he is sure that it is irrevocable, as is evident from a few lines further on (V 105-106):

. nam fixa canens mutandaque nulli
Mortales optare vetat.

"He prophecies the unchangeable and takes from man all hope." Here too is the pathos of certainty, the desire for the little satisfaction man gets from hope.

The second long passage concerned with prophecy is the last half of Book VI (434-830), the visit of Sextus Pompey to the Thessalian witch. It is inconceivable that a man who rejected the gods from his poem could have believed in all the weird rites and strange powers that he claims for the witch, Erictho. Yet the incident gives him the opportunity to display his rhetorical powers, and it is the witch who expresses Stoic doctrine (VI 611-614):

. "simul a prima descendit origine mundi
Causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant
Si quicquam mutare velis, unaque sub ictu
Stat genus humanum."

"The chain of causes dates from the beginning of the world, and everything suffers if you make any change, and all mankind is struck by the same blow." It is the recurring idea of Destiny, the Stoic chain of circumstances, but how incongruous it is to have it come from the lips of a witch!

There is the added implication that everything depends upon the fate of a few, the egoistic notion which Caesar and Napoleon both held. Lucan's prayer that man be left ignorant of his fate is far different from the wish of Sextus, who follows the unthinking majority in the belief that he can act more surely if only he is certain of what the future has in store (VI 595-597):

"Mens dubiis perculsa pavet rursusque parata est
Certos ferre metus: hoc casibus eripe iuris,
Ne subiti caecique ruant."

"My mind shrinks from uncertainty, but is ready to bear definite dangers. Take from calamity the power to strike suddenly and unforeseen." Besides the ways already mentioned, Lucan also connects revelation of the future with astrology (I 638-672), with Etruscan "haruspices" and their examination of the entrails of victims (I 584-638), with the frenzied prophecy of a woman (I 674-695), and with the oracle of Jupiter Ammon (IX 544-586). Lucan's inclusion of them in the poem fills the need for something beyond the mere facts of the historian and is no more inconsistent with his philosophy than was the effort of other Stoics to reconcile

popular belief in revelation of the future with their faith in Destiny. Lucan, and many of the others, realized that divination was unnecessary, even harmful to man, but they nevertheless clung to it as a part of their teaching.¹²⁵

Cato, in one of the finest passages of the epic, gives his attitude toward divination and prophecy, when he refuses Labienus's request to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon (IX 566-584):

"What question do you wish me to ask, Labienus? Whether I would rather fall in battle a free man than see a tyranny? Whether it makes any difference if life be long or short? Whether violence has any power against good, and Fortune's threats are useless against Virtue? Whether the will to do what is praiseworthy is sufficient, and Virtue is increased by success? I know the answers, and the oracle will impress them no deeper. We are all linked to the gods, and though the oracle be silent, we do everything at Heaven's bidding. God needs no voice, for he has told us once for all at birth¹²⁶ what we are permitted to know. He did not choose this barren desert that he might prophecy to a few men, nor did he bury truth in its sands. Has God any abode but the earth, the sea, the air, the heavens, and virtuous hearts? Why seek further for the deity? He is all we see, all we do. Let revelation be for those in doubt, who are uncertain of the future. As for me, my certainty comes not from an oracle, but from the sureness of death. Timid and brave, both must die. That is enough for God to have said."

Here is not only the expression of the uselessness of revela-

125. Zeller. They quieted themselves with the notion that divination and its results were all a part of destiny; p. 376.

126. From the following lines, it seems that what God has told us at birth is the assurance that we must all die.

tion but also the whole basis of the Stoic philosophy. God is everywhere, everything, and the course of destiny is unanswerable. Yet, despite the absolute necessity of following such a path, it should be taken with Virtue as a guide which makes man independent of external circumstances. The same reliance upon Virtue which Cato here emphasizes is seen elsewhere (II 286-288):

"Summum, Brute, nefas civilia bella fatemur;
Sed quo fata trahunt, virtus secura sequetur.
Crimen erit superis et me fecisse nocentem."

"Brutus, civil war is the greatest evil; that I confess. But where Necessity summons, Virtue will follow fearlessly. The blame will be on the gods that I too am guilty." Compare this with Seneca's epigram "Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt."¹²⁷ Cato was to the men of the Empire the exemplification of the virtuous man, one of the few who in earlier times were the legendary heroes and the founders of the Stoic school in Rome.¹²⁸ Lucan's admiration for him is unqualified, in him are all the virtues which the Stoic upheld. These ideals upon which Cato models his life are (II 381-383):

. servare modum, finemque tenere
Naturamque sequi, patriaeque impendere vitam
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.

127. Hicks, op. cit., p. 76.
128. Ibid., p. 88.

"It was his ideal to be moderate, to hold to a limit, to follow Nature, to give his life for his country, to believe he was born not for himself but the whole world." The last line gives a glimpse of the wise man who transcends not only his own interests but those of his country, and becomes a World Citizen.¹²⁹ Lucan has expressed the same thought a few lines before (II 377-378):

Uni quippe vacat studiis odiisque carenti
Humanum lugere genus.

"He alone was free enough from zeal and hatred to mourn for all mankind." As the wise man's part Cato puts himself in accord with what must be and so preserves an appearance of free will. It is this ability to adapt himself to necessity which makes him such a fine leader during the disasters of the African campaign (IX 379-949). At the oracle Lucan speaks of him "plenus deo tacita quem mente gerebat" (IX 564), and this god in his heart can be none other than Virtue. Throughout the passages which are concerned with Cato, Lucan identifies this virtue with obedience to God, a willingness to follow Necessity. But he does not seem to realize that in doing such he identifies it with compliance to a God who controls both good and evil, and who allows Caesar to destroy the ideal of both Cato and Lucan, Libertas. Brutus address-

129. Heitland. Zeller, XII B 1, pp. 326-331.

ing Cato has in mind the absolute tranquillity which Virtue procures for her disciple (II 272), "By a rule of the gods the little things are troubled, the great are undisturbed." One of Lucan's last tributes to Cato is for his disinterested leadership of Pompey's forces (IX 601-604):

Ecce, parens verus patriae, dignissimus aris,
Roma, tuis, per quem numquam iurare pudebit,
Et quem, si steteris umquam cervice soluta,
Nunc, olim, factura deum es.

"Behold, the true father of his country, most worthy of your worship, Rome, in whose name no one will be ashamed to swear, and who, if Rome is ever freed from the yoke, now or in time to come, will be made a god." Thus Lucan throughout the epic makes Cato the embodiment of Stoic ideals and the mouth-piece for Stoic doctrine and for Liberty which was very dear to the young idealist.

If Lucan had continued his epic he would undoubtedly have made much of the last days and suicide of his Stoic hero, for one of the Stoic tenets arising from the assertion of the virtuous man's independence of external circumstances was that suicide was justifiable when the conditions of existence no longer made it possible to live in accordance with Nature.¹³⁰ The circumstances sufficient to uphold suicide as worthy, at times even necessary, were a source of

130. Hicks, pp. 98-102; Zeller, pp. 335-340.

dispute varying from the loss of personal honor to inconsequential happenings, depending on one's interpretation of "personal honor".¹³¹ Lucan upholds this Stoic view of suicide, and even glorifies the act. The first mention he makes of it is in the description of Pompey's allies. A certain people are said to build their own funeral pyres and ascend them to die. He adds (III 241-243):

. Pro quanta est gloria genti
Iniecisse manum fatis vitaeque repletos
Quod superest donasse deis!

"Fatis" in this connection seems to signify the length of life assigned to them, which they can cut short for no more immediate reason than a feeling of satiety with life. The fine passage in which Cato pays his tribute to Pompey concludes with the thought that Pompey might have lived on under the tyranny of Caesar (IX 210). Fortunate is the man who is forced to die but "Scire mori sors prima viris" (IX 211), "most fortunate are those who know when to die." Indeed the wise man, wise in the Stoic sense, could infallibly decide upon that time and act accordingly.

The best use of this theme as it embodies philosophical considerations is the story of Vulteius and his soldiers, who are trapped and must choose between capture and death at the enemy's hands and voluntary death. The leader urges on

131. Hicks, pp. 100-101.

his men to take their fates in their own hands with stirring words of encouragement. "No life is short if it gives one time to commit suicide, though one cuts off but a few remaining minutes," is the essential thought (IV 478-484). "Non cogitus ullus velle mori" (IV 484-485), "no one is forced to die voluntarily." Since death is inevitable the wise man puts himself in accord with God and anticipates the end, "Cupias, quodcumque necesse est" (IV 487), "Make your desire comply with Necessity;" in other words, Cato's principle "Naturam sequi." Moreover, once the decision has been made the fear of death is removed, and the mind is serene. His further encouragement is that the glory of death on the battlefield is dimmed by the scores of others who fall, but that Fortune intends to make some great example of their deaths. Therefore by dying they are effecting God's will. In conclusion, Vulteius's assertion is that even though he were to be released by fate from the necessity he would still choose to die, for (IV 517-520):

. "Agnoscere solis
Permissum, quos iam tangit vicinia fati,
Victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent
Felix esse mori."

"Only those about to die are permitted to know that death is a blessing, for the gods conceal it from those with life before them, that they may continue living." This even oversteps the Stoics, to whom death was neither a good nor an

evil but an indifferent matter.¹³² We must remember that these words are put into the mouth of a man who is persuading others to die rather than face dishonor, yet it is conceivable that Lucan felt what he wrote, that his enthusiasm was real at least for the time being. Especially does this seem evident when one considers the following lines, an expression of his own attitude. The sword is to save man from slavery (IV 575-579), a thing to be welcomed and used by nations rather than shunned (IV 580-581):

Mors utinam pavidos vitae subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret.

"Oh that death would not release the coward from life, but were the reward of virtue only." What a statement for Lucan to have made, if the story is true that he later incriminated his friends and even his mother in an attempt to escape death!¹³³ It is the Stoic, not the man, Lucan, who is speaking. He is still the Stoic in his recognition of death as of little consequence when he represents Pompey as saying (III 39-40):

"Aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum
Aut mors ipsa nihil."

"Either death deprives the soul of all sensation, or it is nothing," and at Pompey's death (VII 632) "Non fit morte

132. Hicks, p. 98; Zeller, p. 338.

133. See Introduction on Lucan's life.

miser," "Death does not make man wretched." Lentulus answers his plea for aid from the Parthians (VII 395-396), "mors ultima poena est nec metuenda viris," "Death is the final penalty and not to be feared by man." Lucan himself assures Caesar that Fortune does not function after death, "Libera Fortunae mors est" (VII 818). But it is the man himself overcoming the Stoic and recognizing the forces in human nature when he cries (I 459-460):

Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urguet, leti metus.

"Happy in their mistake are they who are untouched by the greatest fear of all, that of death."

While discussing the poet's attitude toward death it would be well to notice that in one passage in which Lucan breaks away from material considerations the ideas of which he makes use are decidedly Platonic.¹³⁴ This is the description of Pompey's soul and its abode after death (IX 5-11):

Qua niger astriferis conectitur aatribus aer
Quodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus,
Semidei manes habitant, quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vita patientes aetheris imi
Fecit, et aeternos animam collegit in orbes:
Non illuc auro positi nec tura sepulti
Perveniunt.

134. Heitland, p. XLIX. Also Lucani Pharsalia, edited by C. M. Francken, (Lugduni Batavorum Apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1896), II p. 154. . . "quaedam in Lucan colorem habent Platonicum, nempe orbes, ignea virtus (7), lumine vero (11) quae iter caeleste animorum in Phaedro."

"Where our dark atmosphere, which lies between earth and the moon's orbit, joins the starry realms, dwell heroes after death, whose fiery virtue, after guiltless lives, enables them to live in the lower ether, and has brought their souls to the eternal spheres: it is not there, where those buried with gold or incense come." Lucan conforms to the Stoics in that they predicted immortality for a limited few, though many of them were undecided upon this point.¹³⁵ However, the most interesting statement is in the following lines, the conception that immortality exists in the memory of others after one's death (IX 15-18):

Hinc super Emathiae campos et signa cruenti
Caesaris ac sparsas volitavit inaequore classes,
Et scelerum vindex in sancto pectore Bruti
Sedit et invicti posuit se mente Catonis.

"From here (the region of the moon) his soul flew over the fields of Thessaly, the standards of bloodthirsty Caesar, and the fleets scattered over the sea, and settled in the righteous heart of Brutus to avenge the guilt, and in the heart of the invincible Cato." It is a nice conception of the survival of Pompey's spirit in the men who carried on his task, a suggestion of the kind of immortality to which Hardy subscribes,¹³⁶ yet Lucan has no such well-defined

135. Zeller, IX C.

136. See, for example "Her Immortality" and "His Immortality" in Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy, (Macmillan and Co., London, 1925), pp. 48 and 130 respectively.

philosophy as has Hardy.

Aside from the pantheistic concept of the world which we have seen that Lucan expressed, largely through the medium of Cato, how does he himself regard God and his relation to man? Does he actually believe in any divine power? It is difficult to determine how much of an author's point of view one can interpret from the words of the characters he portrays, yet all but the most objective of writers express their own beliefs at times in unmistakable terms. Lucan rather frequently breaks into the narrative to express his philosophical and ethical views or to give us some hint of his attitude toward life. It is almost impossible to draw definite lines and to say, "Lucan believed this; he did not believe that," for he was too much in doubt himself to have given us unqualified answers as to his beliefs. He does speak of a God who permeates everything, yet it is in the moments of most intense feeling that he deserts the tenets of his Stoic teachers to follow other paths. Just before the battle of Pharsalia he anticipates the dire results and in indignation cries out (VII 445-448, 454-455):

. Sunt nobis nulla profecto
Numina: cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu,
Mentimur regnare Jovem. Spectabit ab alto
Aethere Thessalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?
...
. mortalia nulli
Sunt curata deo.

"Surely there are no gods to govern us. Blind chance rules

the world and we lie when we say that Jupiter reigns. Would he watch the slaughter of Pharsalia from on high and yet withhold his thunderbolts? There is no god to watch over man." Lucan can not even conceive of a Divine Power which could allow the destruction of freedom, the horrors and injustice of warfare, to go unpunished. We must not attach too much importance to a passage where a rhetorical outburst of indignation may have overstepped the bounds of sincerity, and yet one cannot but feel the revolt of a spirit sensitive to the pathos and irony of the world against a philosophy which insists on divine guidance. The same possibility that Chance is the ruling factor in human affairs is again seen in a passage concerning divination (II 7-13). Lucan poses the alternatives of a God who fixes at the world's creation eternal laws which bind even himself, or (II 12-13):

. . . . nihil positum est, sed fors incerta vagatur,
Fertque refertque vices, et habet mortalia casus.

"(Perhaps) nothing is fixed, and Fortune in her aimless wanderings brings about the cycles of events, and Chance rules mankind." Again, he loses sight of his Stoic principles, and is uncertain about the time when the course of events is determined (V 203-205):

. an nondum numina tantum
Decrevere nefas et adhuc dubitantibus astris
Pompei damnare caput tot fata tenentur?

"Have the gods not yet decided upon so great a crime, and

with the stars still hesitant to fix Pompey's doom, is the fate of many held in suspense?" The astrologer, Figulus, though he believes in his art, admits too the possibility of a purposeless world (I 642-643):

"Aut hic errat" ait "nulla cum lege per aevum
Mundus, et incerto discurrent sidera motu."

"This world may wander through the ages with no guidance, and the stars run their courses aimlessly." On the battlefield of Pharsalia it is Chance, no other power, which determines the blows dealt (VII 487-488):

. Rapit omnia casus,
Atque incerta facit quos volt fortuna nocentes.

"Chance took possession of everything, and Fortune made guilty those whom she chose blindly." In his moments of doubt about the governance of the world, Lucan leaves his Stoic teachers for the Epicureans,¹³⁷ in a sense. But the latter taught that there are gods, who live in a divine calm, caring nothing for man and his petty existence.¹³⁸ Lucan's attitude is rather that of an inquiring searcher after the truth, who at times admits a ruling power in the universe, at other times rejects the possibility.

137. Heitland, p. XLIX.

138. Hicks, pp. 304-305. Zeller, pp. 462-471. "For how, asks the Epicurean, could Providence have created a world in which evil abounds, in which virtue often fares ill, whilst vice is triumphant," p. 463. Also Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, III 18-22; V 195 ff.

When the poet does accept the idea of a divine power, God, Fortune, Destiny, or Nature, he frequently characterizes it, not as benevolent and just, but playful, fickle, or even malicious in its purposes and machinations. After Caesar has undergone hardships in Spain caused by the weather conditions, he regains his usual good luck (IV 121-122):

Sed parvo Fortuna viri contenta pavori
Plenus redit.

"Contented with having frightened him a little, Fortune returned with full force." Likewise, Fortune plays with Curio as his army faces that of Varus (IV 711-712):

. quem blanda futuris
Deceptura malis belli fortuna recepit.

"Smiling, yet about to betray him with future disaster, the fortune of war welcomed him." Not only is Fate fickle but she is jealous of man's successes "invida fatorum series" (I 70), and is malicious in her endeavor to cause his downfall, as is apparent from the following quotations:

. Pro numine fata sinistro
Exigua requie tantas audentia clades! (IV 194-195).

"Alas, Fate's malicious power increases great disasters by giving a short respite;"

Hoc placet, o superi, cum vobis vertere cuncta
Propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen? (VII 58-59)

"Oh gods, when it is your purpose to destroy everything, are you glad to add guilt to the mistakes we make?"

. Perdere nomen

Si placet Hesperium, superi (II 56-57).

"If it is your pleasure to destroy Rome, O gods."

At other times, Lucan sees in the suffering of mankind divine retribution demanded by the ruler of the universe, whatever that power may be, to atone for previous wrongs. So, he proposes that the oracle may be silent as to the outcome of the Civil War because Fortune wishes to complete Rome's revenge upon Caesar through the agency of Brutus (V 206-208):

Vindicis an gladii facinus poenasque furorum
Regnaque ad ultores iterum redeuntia Brutos
Ut peragat fortuna, taces?

"Is it the sword avenging and punishing ambition, a tyranny overthrown again by a Brutus for which Fortune waits, and you are silent?" The battle of Pharsalia is viewed as a punishment upon the land of Thessaly for an unknown crime (VII 847-849):

Thessalia, infelix, quo tantum crimine, tellus,
Laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
Tot scelerum fati premerent?

"Unhappy Thessaly, what sin of yours has offended the gods, that they afflicted you alone with so much death and crime?" It even seems to the lover of Libertas that the gods had little care for the preservation of Freedom in Rome, but only for exacting a penalty for its loss (IV 807-809):

Felix Roma, quidem cives habitura beatos,
Si libertatis superis tam cura placeret
Quam vindicta placet.

"Fortunate would Rome and her citizens be if the gods cared as much for her freedom as for avenging its loss." For the present, at least, Lucan sees God as the avenger of wrong, not the upholder of the good.

The bitter sarcasm that is called forth by his observation that the gods apparently cared little for Rome's liberty as such, can be found here and there throughout the epic, when Lucan realizes the irony of man's position. Especially is this true of his cynicism toward the traditional gods of the people.¹³⁹ For instance, Caesar deliberately defies religious beliefs when he destroys the sacred wood near Marseilles, but the besieged people rejoice that he has taken the curse upon his own head (III 447-449):

. . . . quis enim laesos impune putaret
Esse deos? Servat multos fortuna nocentes,
Et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.

"For who could suppose that an injury to the gods could go unpunished? But Fortune saves many who are guilty, and only the lowly are the objects of the gods' anger." A little while before, when Caesar has himself struck the first blow to the sacred tree, the men follow his example, for "they had weighed the anger of the gods and that of Caesar" (III 439). This same grove, with its mysterious shapeless gods of felled trees inspires men with fear and has a surer hold

139. Heitland, p. LI.

on them for that very reason," for familiar figures do not inspire such fear in their sacred gods, but terror is increased by ignorance of the gods they hold in awe," (III 415-417). As the Epicureans,¹⁴⁰ Lucan, then, realizes that the basis of popular religion is largely fear of the unknown. This cynical attitude toward the higher powers Lucan further expresses by sympathizing with man against the gods. For example, as the men at Rome prepared for war, he says that "they poured forth just complaints against the cruel powers" (II 44). As Pompey sees the battle of Pharsalia turning against him and defeat inevitable he prays for the preservation of most of the Romans after his death because, as Lucan ironically remarks, "he even yet deemed the gods worthy of his prayers" (VII 657-658). Irony is even more apparent in the situation when he realizes that Destiny does not take the side of the man he worships as an ideal "Victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni" (I 128), and that Pompey's confident assertion "our better cause bids us hope for the favor of the gods" (VII 349) was meaningless, for what little help that "better cause" proved to be! Yet he tries to console Pompey for his defeat, and perhaps to assure himself that Destiny is right, by pleading that Pompey's cause was favored because the defeat removed from its leader the dis-

140. Zeller, p. 464.

grace civil warfare was to bring upon its victor, "Crede deis, longo fatorum crede favori, Vincere peius erat" (VII 705-706).

From a study of the philosophical ideas expressed by Lucan it seems to me that the De Bello Civili was written during a period when he felt that the Stoic teachings of his youth were to be questioned. His portrayal of Cato is of necessity imbued with Stoic doctrine, and so is his conception of the physical world, but he has begun to inquire into the meaning of the universe and the Power which governs it, if there be such a Power, and to consider the possibility of an alternative to the pantheistic concept which his teachers gave him. When he views the terrors which the practice of divination may cause, the injustice and uncertainty of human affairs, the irony of belief in a divine power which often rewards that belief with disaster, he cannot keep from doubting the actuality of a purposive guiding power. Therefore his brilliant mind, though still clinging to the Stoic creed, is again and again seeking for the truth. Not only the influence of his training, but also his admiration for Cato, commit him in general to those doctrines, but he finds difficulty in reconciling them to the facts of life as he can see them. It is difficult to say how far this inquiring attitude might have taken him had he lived. Perhaps he could have achieved a greater degree of assurance in his Stoic

philosophy. Perhaps his present state of mind was transitional to a period when he might have definitely abandoned Stoicism for a more satisfactory philosophy. Then too, we cannot forget that Lucan enjoyed displaying himself, creating something sensational, and this may help to explain his attitude.

CHAPTER V

SENSE PAUSES AND WORD ORDER IN LUCAN

One of the most disputed topics among scholars of Latin and Greek poetry has been the meaning and purpose of the so-called "caesura" as applied to verse structure. It is generally agreed that the word signifies the occurrence of a word-end within a metrical foot. One of the theories offered as to the purpose of the "caesura" is that it constitutes a sense pause. In recent years, Samuel E. Bassett¹⁴¹ and E. H. Sturtevant¹⁴² have studied the "caesura" and have each come to the conclusion that it is not properly a pause in sense. Bassett studied the extant remains of ancient writings bearing on the subject and concludes that "Caesura belongs to the purely metrical doctrine, and does not mean a pause. . . . we do not call a pause in sense 'caesura,' and caesura is merely a matter of word-ends, and does not imply a pause."¹⁴³ Sturtevant finds that the term "caesura" should either be dropped or applied only to regular metrical

141. Samuel E. Bassett, "The Theory of the Homeric Caesura According to the Extant Remains of the Ancient Doctrine" in the American Journal of Philology, vol. XL 4, pp. 343-372.

142. E. H. Sturtevant, "Word-Ends and Pauses in the Hexameter" in the American Journal of Philology, XLIII 4, pp. 289-308. Also "The Doctrine of Caesura, a Philological Ghost" in the American Journal of Philology, XLV 4, pp. 329-350.

143. Bassett, p. 370.

pauses, such as occur in dactylic pentameter and Asclepiadean verses.¹⁴⁴ In a later article he says, "Furthermore, the position of word-ends and the position of sense pauses must be treated as two separate topics, which are interdependent only because a sense pause requires a word-end."¹⁴⁵

It is clearly useless to say that "caesura," meaning a word-end within a foot, is also a sense pause for one can find numerous examples of caesura where a pause in sense is impossible, and, conversely, occurrences of sense pauses which coincide with the end of the foot. For convenience, then, let us consider the caesura as purely metrical, the occurrence of a word-end within the foot. The question then arises as to whether there is any definite connection between the caesura so defined and the sense pause. Did the Roman poet, whether intentionally or ^{not} is difficult to say, avoid the coincidence of the end of the foot with the sense pause, or was it an indifferent matter? I cannot attempt to offer a survey of several poets, which would be outside the limits of this study, but I have taken Lucan as a writer of Latin hexameter and tried to reach some definite conclusions on this point.

Sturtevant in his study of pauses in the hexameter

144. Sturtevant, "Word-Ends and Pauses in the Hexameter," p. 308.

145. Sturtevant, "Doctrine of Caesura," p. 350.

counted the number of occurrences of punctuation per 100 lines and their places in the foot,¹⁴⁶ but this method seems to me to be inadequate. In the first place no two editions agree entirely as to punctuation, and secondly, it is usual to omit punctuation before "et," "-que," "atque," and the like which connect independent clauses, where a pause in sense is obviously necessary. Then, too, a sense pause may overlap punctuation, especially the comma, as it does in the following lines from the De Bello Civili:

. Molli consurgit Amyclas,
 Quem dabat alga, toro (V 520-521).¹⁴⁷

. nullisque potest consistere miles
 Instabilis raptis etiam, quas calcat, harenis (IX 464-465)¹⁴⁸

With these points in mind, I have studied the first 2000 lines of the De Bello Civili noting the positions in the foot of each sense pause which I thought was required. I realize that this is a subjective standard, and that no two people would entirely agree as to the sense pauses, but I have let the logic of the sentence guide me in the choice of pauses, while comparing at the same time the punctuation of

146. Sturtevant, "Word-Ends and Pauses in the Hexameter."

147. This is the punctuation given by both Duff and Hosius. Housman omits both commas which I believe the better punctuation. See Lucanus, De Bello Civili. Ed. by C. Hosius (Lipsiae in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1913), and Lucanus, Bellum Civile. Ed. by A. E. Housman, (Apud Basilium Blackwell, Oxonii, 1927).

148. This is the punctuation of Hosius. Duff has used a much better punctuation, placing the commas after "instabilis," and "calcat" rather than one after "etiam."

Hosius and Housman, and the use of 2000 lines rather than a few hundred lessens the importance of any single pause. Using the letters a, b, c, to designate the three possible positions for sense-pauses in relation to the foot, the tabulated findings for the 2000 lines are as follows:

Number of the foot	Position in the Foot					
	a		b		c	
	Occur- rences	Percent- age	Occur- rences	Percent- age	Occur- rences	Percent- age
1	28	1.62	69	3.98	168	9.69
2	277	15.99	10	.58	16	.92
3	529	30.53	27	1.56	18	1.04
4	453	26.15	0	0	53	3.06
5	1	.058	53	3.06	30	1.73
6	0	0	--	--	1073	51.95 ^{53.65}
Totals	1288	74.38	159	9.18	(1358)	70.99 ^(70.07)

Total sense pauses within the line = 1732. It is this figure upon which the percentages are based.

A number of conclusions are immediately apparent from this table. The sixth foot shows no sense pause whatever at a, and it seems to have made little difference to Lucan whether the sense ended with the line or was carried over to the next. Omitting 6c we find that a sense pause at c occurs only 285 times, 16.45 percent of the total number of ^{pauses} lines. This is the most important figure for our purpose

a. This percentage was based upon the total number of lines studied.

since it indicates the small number of sense pauses at the end of the foot, as compared with those within the foot, principally at a, where are found 14.38%, or practically three-fourths, of all pauses within the line. Considerably over half of the pauses which do coincide with the end of the foot are found at 1c, while the pause at 4c, the bucolic diaeresis, is next in importance, and sense pauses in the other three places are infrequent.

The number of sense pauses at the trochee is even less, and again most occur in the first foot. Both the pauses at 1b and 1c are generally the end of a thought begun in the preceding line; for example:

"Sit mens ista quidem cunctis, ut vestra recusent
Fata, me haec alius committat proelia miles" (III 324-324);

and as an example of 1c:

Hae ducibus causae; suberant sed publica belli
Semina, quae populos semper mersere potentes (I 158-159).

There are not infrequent pauses at 5b when the word ending the line is trisyllabic, and a small number of pauses at 2b and 3b. When the latter occurs, I found that in 24 of the 27 lines there was also a marked pause at 4a in the same line:

"Quo fertis" mea signa, viri?" (I 191).

The fact that there are no pauses at 4b or 6a supports Sturtevant's conclusion that a pause is rigorously excluded

in these two places in the verse.¹⁴⁹ Lucan, at least, was as careful to avoid a pause at 5a also, for there is only one instance of a slight pause at this point:

Ionium Aegaeo franget mare: sic, ubi saeva
Arma ducum dirimens (I 103-104).

The exclusion of pauses at this point is undoubtedly due to language difficulties rather than any metrical reason, for it demands either a four-syllable word or a two-syllable word with both syllables short to complete the fifth foot, or a spondaic fifth foot, a means of procuring variety which Lucan seems to have avoided.¹⁵⁰

Pauses at 1a are not frequent, so we find that the majority of sense pauses within the line occur in three places, namely 2a, 3a, and 4a, especially the last two. The three together constitute 72.69% of all sense pauses. Sturtevant found punctuation at 3a in 12.7% of the total and at 4a in 10.5% in Books I and II of the Aeneid,¹⁵¹ while the pauses in the 2000 lines of Lucan's poem show percentages of 30.54 and 26.15 respectively for 3a and 4a. This increase over the Aeneid cannot be due entirely to the fact that I counted also breaks in sense where there was no punctuation,

149. Sturtevant, "Word-Ends and Pauses in the Hexameter."

150. Lucan uses a spondee in the fifth foot in only 6 lines of the first 2000: I 329, 665, 689, II 396, 675, III 213. Compare with the frequent use made of such spondaic lines in the 64th poem of Catullus.

151. Sturtevant, "Word-Ends and Pauses in the Hexameter."

since punctuation occurs frequently at these points.

For comparison with English verse to determine to some extent whether this preference for sense pauses within the foot was to be accounted for by language I studied the first one hundred lines of Kingsley's "Andromeda"¹⁵² in the same way as the De Bello Civili. The results are much the same, considering the small number of lines used, though the English seems to avoid a pause at the end of a foot even more than the Latin. The percentages for total pauses at a, b, and c were 65.19%, 24.05%, and 10.76%, respectively. The pause at the trochee is more favored in English hexameter, probably because of the large proportion of monosyllabic words in English. The greatest point of difference is the fact that in comparison with Latin the sense pauses at 4a are much less common, 10.13% in the English, but those at 3a are even more frequent, 42.4%. In the "Andromeda," sense pauses at 2c, 3c, 4b, and anywhere after 4c are almost entirely excluded. Probably a much closer comparison could be drawn if one were to study an equal number of lines for the two poems. Difference in language apparently does not greatly alter the relation of sense pauses and meter.

It seems then that while Lucan rigorously avoided a

152. Charles Kingsley, "Andromeda" in Poems (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1907.)

sense pause at 4b, 5a, and 6a, and used them sparingly at 1a, throughout all the feet at the trochee, and at the end of the foot, with the exception of 1c and 6c, he clearly preferred sense pauses at 2a, 3a, and 4a. The breaks in sense at the end of the foot are small in number compared with those occurring within, the latter 83.54% of all pauses (excluding those at the end of the line). Moreover, somewhat more than half of all the pauses in the line occur in two places, 3a and 4a. Whether Lucan consciously sought for a conflict of pause and meter to knit the verse more closely together, which is probable, or whether it was unintentional, the result of an unconscious preference for such a line, developed by use and ear until it became a convention among the poets, the fact remains that the lines of the De Bello Civili which contain pauses very decidedly favor the occurrence of that pause at certain places within the verse.¹⁵³

Heitland discusses briefly what he considers to be a fault of Lucan's verse and a cause of monotony in successive lines, the sameness of collocation of words within the separate lines.¹⁵⁴ To illustrate his point he gives as examples the frequent use of the word-orders a b c b a and a b c a b; and the use of the adjective in the second foot

153. Heitland mentions the frequent pauses at the fifth and seventh half-feet, p. XCV.

154. Ibid., p. XCIX.

and the substantive in the sixth. It is true that one notices even upon first examination the schemes of word-orders of which Lucan makes frequent usage, yet one wonders if they are used to an excessive degree when compared with other poets. In an article in the *Classical Journal*, Arthur Young has shown the variation in the use of several schemes of word order in Vergil's poetry and has found that Vergil tended to use a freer order of words in his later work.¹⁵⁵ He has also given a tabulation of the same schemes in the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus, whose use of definite arrangement of words is in general much more marked than Vergil's. Using the first 1000 lines of Lucan I have attempted to find whether Heitland's criticism is any more justified than for Catullus or Vergil. I find it best to record the results together with those of Young in tabulated form for purposes of comparison.¹⁵⁶ The numbers indicate the average number of lines necessary to find one example of each word scheme:

	1.abcab	2.abcba	3.abacb	4.abbca	5.abcac	6.abcca
Aeneid:	66	154	105	154	154	125
Catullus:	16	37	68	136	20	68
Lucan:	24	83	83	333	91	143

It will be noticed that I have not used Young's tabulation

155. Arthur M. Young, "Schematized Word Order in Vergil" in the *Classical Journal*, *XCVII* 7, April 1932, pp. 515-522.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

for the earlier works of Vergil, the Eclogues and the Georgics, which show a much more frequent use of these word-orders than the Aeneid and in almost every case a higher percentage of lines than Lucan's poem. Even in comparison with Vergil's masterpiece Lucan in two instances, the use of the schemes abbca and abcca, is more sparing. In two others, abcab and abcba, it is true that he uses them much oftener than does Vergil, yet in every instance he stands between Catullus and Vergil in the frequency with which these stereotyped schemes appear. He also makes use of a word-order not recorded in Young's article, abccb, which occurs about once in every 59 lines; for example (I 86):

(In) turbam missi feralia foedera regni.

Two other schemes of word order are used at more or less rare intervals, namely: aabcb (8 times), abcbc (6 times) as they appear in the lines: "Gentibus invisis Latium praebere cruorem" (I 9), and "Astringit Scythico glaciale frigore pontum" (I 18). Altogether these nine word schemes make up only 126, or 12.6%, of the first 1000 lines, which I think is not excessive. As a proof of Vergil's growing freedom from stereotyped word sequences Young cites examples of more complicated order extending beyond the line, such as:

abba cbcde: Troiae qui primus (ab) oris
Italiam (fato) profugus Laviniaque venit
litora (Aeneid I 1-3), and:

abc ded a fcf:

Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
posthabita coluisse Samo (Aeneid I 15-16).¹⁵⁷

Just as striking and complicated sequences can frequently be found in Lucan's poem. I give but a few of them as examples of the same art for which Vergil is much admired:

abcb dcd:

. caelumque suo servire Tonanti
(Non nisi) saevarum potuit (post) bella gigantum
(I 35-36);

aab cca adead:

Ingens visa duci patriae trepidantis imago
Clara (per) obscuram voltu maestissima noctem (I 187-187);

ab acb ded:

. (velut) unica rebus
spes foret adfluctis patrios excedere muros (I 496);

abc acd ead:

Hic se praecepiti iaculatus pondere dura
Dissiluit percussus humo (II 155-156).

It would seem from the above evidence of his use of word schemes in one line and in the complicated yet schematized order which carries over from one line to another, that Lucan should not be attacked as much as he usually is for a too mechanical composition of his verse. In general his work - considering of course this one point only - is a median between that of Catullus and Vergil. But the fact cannot be denied that just so much as his use of schematized word order exceeded that of Vergil, so much more monotonous are his lines.

157. Young, op. cit., p. 518.

Not only does the use of such order serve to bind together the elements of the sentence, but it can be skillfully utilized in obtaining striking effect by either contrast of two elements in close juxtaposition, as Latin likes to place the nominative and accusative cases side by side, or by emphasis of one idea through repetition. Lines I 105-106 are a good illustration of the first of these methods, contrast:

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carrhas,
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores.

The contrast between Asia and Italy, the Parthians and the Romans is brought out forcefully by the position of the adjectives. "Vana quoque ad veros accessit fama timores" (I 469), opposes "vana" and "veros", the true and the false, in such a way as to strengthen both. One of the most effective of such lines upon the imagination of the reader is II 220, "Sanguine caeruleum torrenti dividit aequor." In a flash one sees the vivid contrast of blood and the blue sea. The predominant idea is often emphasized by two words of approximately the same meaning yet different syntactically, as for example: I 247 "Et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus," I 526 "Ignota obscuris viderunt sidera noctes," and II 33 "Ad suetas crebris feriunt ululatibus aures." In each of these lines the main idea is emphasized not only by its place in the sentence but by the repetition of it in a

similar word.

This leads us to another question, the extent to which one may read Latin without unduly stressing grammar. The structure of Lucan's lines makes his poem especially adaptable in discussing the problem, for of the first 2000 lines approximately one-third cannot be said to contain any sense pause. They are lines such as those given above in which the words are so interlocked syntactically as to make a pause impossible. Is it necessary to read the entire line, perhaps two or more lines, before one grasps the meaning? I think not. If one grasp the essential elements of the idea, provided of course that he is carefully following the logic of the situation, the rest of the sentence falls into place of its own accord, or can even be ignored, - so far as meaning is concerned, for of course the words are grammatically required, - provided it adds nothing to what has already been said.¹⁵⁸ The first line of the De Bello Civili is a good illustration, "Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos." Lucan announces his topic in three words "War in Thessaly," which to the Roman would immediately have meant the Civil War culminating in the battle of Pharsalia. The last of the

158. See E. P. Morris, On Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax, (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1913). Morris points out that each sentence is made up of a new element and the old, which connects it with the preceding sentence and fills in syntactically, but in meaning can largely be omitted, p. 189.

line adds little except that it is greater than ordinary civil warfare. "Campos" in thought has been already used, it is there not as a mere line-filler but to account for the adjective "Emathios". Line I 54 is much the same. Lucan in the preceding line in his apostrophe to Nero has said that when Nero is deified he will not choose his domain in the north, and then adds, "Nec polus aversi calidus qua vergitur austri." If the reader is following the thought, the first three words are sufficient for the meaning "nor in the south." Again, Lucan is speaking of the Rubicon, and he describes it thus (I 215-216):

. et Gallica certus
Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis.

To one who has not been trained with an insistence upon grammatical forms the word "Gallica" gives no trouble, it can be used immediately without waiting to find the word "arva" with which it agrees grammatically. The same is true of "Ausoniis". As far as thought is concerned one may stop reading after "Ausoniis" for he has learned that the Rubicon forms a boundary between Gaul and Italy. The remainder of words are there for syntactical reasons and to fill out the line.¹⁵⁹

159. Morris, op. cit., p. 189. Morris gives the motive for such expansion as the desire for more precise expression. This would be especially true of prose where it is unnecessary to find words to complete a line of definite length.

To show the freedom which can be used in the translation of sentences when thought rather than grammar is the guide the following sentences are given:

. "Dum voce tuae potuere iuvari,
Caesar," ait "partes (I 273-274).

"As long as speech could help you, Caesar," he said."

Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri (I 95). "It was a brother who first stained the walls with his blood."

Nec licet ad duros Martem convertere Hiberos,
Cum mediae iaceant immensis tractibus Alpes (II 629-630).

"Nor could those hardy men be used in the war, that is, the Spaniards, since midway between lay the great bulk of the Alps."

Invenit insomni voluntem publica cura
Fata virum (II 239-240). "(Brutus) found him awake considering anxiously the nation's destiny."

It is the innumerable sentences of this type which would make Lucan rather slow reading if one were to demand the unravelling of each sentence in its exact construction, but rapid reading if one can follow the development of the thought with as little attention to syntax as is possible.

In the lines I have quoted one finds the predominating thought almost invariably in the first of the sentence. This position for the key words is certainly a favored one, though it would be difficult to make any rule without studying care-

fully every line of the poem.¹⁶⁰ In Book II Lucan uses about seventy lines to describe conditions in Rome under Marius, especially the slaughter of so many citizens. Then he turns to Sulla with this transitional sentence (II 139), "Sulla quoque immensis accessit cladibus ultor." The first two, or perhaps three, words connected with the preceding lines are sufficient for the meaning. Lucan, addressing Nero, says that for inspiration he needs not Apollo or Bacchus but (I 66), "Tu satis ad vires Romana in carmina dandas." Obviously the important words are "Tu satis." Again, Lucan wishes to express the idea that power can brook no equal. This was true of Romulus and Remus, although they fought for no great realm but "Exiguum dominos commisit asyllum" (I 96). It is the fact that it was a little settlement over which they struggled, in contrast to an empire, which determines the position of "exiguum." As a final example let us take III 64-65:

Bellaque Sardoas etiam sparguntur in oras.
Utraque frugiferis est insula nobilis arvis.

Lucan has just mentioned before these two lines that Sicily

160. Herbert C. Nutting, "Thought Relation and Syntax" in University of California Publications in Classical Philology, VIII 6, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1927), pp. 271-288. Nutting believes that mental emphasis of the writer rather than position may be the determining factors in word order. p. 286. It seems to me that Lucan as a poet and a rhetorician would place a great deal of emphasis on position.

was drawn into the war. Only four words of the above lines are necessary for the meaning, "Bellaque Sardoas" and "Ultraque frugiferis," to tell us that Sardinia also was concerned in the war, and that they are both fertile islands. The last of the two lines are absolutely unnecessary as far as thought is concerned and add very little to the picture, but they are necessary syntactically. In connection with sense pauses it is interesting to note that each of these lines ends the main thought at 3a, tending to break the line into two divisions, which are bound together by the grammatical construction, which clears up the questions left in the mind by the case endings. Though one cannot make a statement applying invariably to every sentence, to a very marked extent Lucan prefers to put the new element, the emphasized word at the beginning of each unit.¹⁶¹

Lucan's poetry shows an artistic finish for which he is given too little credit. Perhaps the preference he had for the caesura in certain positions coinciding with sense pauses

161. The relation of word order to emphasis has been discussed by John Greene, "Emphasis in Latin Prose," School Review, XV 1907, pp. 643-54. His conclusion is that in prose the emphasis is at the end of the sentence. In a later article, "Some Facts of Latin Word-Order," Classical Journal, XIII, 1918, pp. 644-657, Arthur T. Walker finds that the order is determined by the linking words in continuous thoughts, or when the thought is broken, by the new element, both of which are placed first in the sentence, and this seems to me to be the more logical explanation.

in the line tends to make the lines monotonous, but it also serves to bind together the parts of the sentence as does the word order, and we have seen that the latter shows up favorably beside the patterns of word-order in the Aeneid. The placement of words for contrast, emphasis, and clarity is a prominent characteristic of Lucan's style, and one which gives much satisfaction and enjoyment to the reader who has not been trained to the necessity of puzzling out the syntax of every phrase while he loses all pleasure and interest in the subject. The principal defect in his poetry, from a technical point of view, is the fact that in trying to achieve perfection of form he sacrificed variety, and his lines are too monotonously alike to be forceful when taken as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE DE BELLO CIVILI

It is impossible to do justice to Lucan's style and the power of his best work in translation, especially in attempting to put into English the compressed sentences and epigrams for which he is known. However, I am including my interpretation of a few of the best passages in the poem, with the hope that they will give some idea of how he wrote.

a. After Caesar has crossed the Rubicon, there come to him the two tribunes, who have been expelled from the city, and Curio, who urges Caesar to hasten his plans. Encouraged still more by Curio's enthusiasm, Caesar assembles his army and addresses it (I 299-351):

"My comrades in warfare, who have undergone with me a thousand of war's perils in these ten victorious years, is this your reward for the blood shed in the Northern world, the wounds, the deaths, and the winters spent in the shadow of the Alps? The loud tumult of war shakes Rome, as if the Carthaginian Hannibal had crossed the Alps. The cohorts are being strengthened by the addition of recruits, the trees of every forest are felled for ships, on land and sea the order is 'Hunt Caesar.' What if I had been defeated in a losing war and at my back rushed Gaul's fierce tribes? As it is, when fortune favors me and the gods are summoning me to supreme power, I am challenged. Let their leader, softened by years of peace, come on with his hastily gathered troops and his civilian followers, the talkative Marcellus, and Cato, a mere name. Indeed, must that low crowd of bribed followers heap power on Pompey uninterrupted for so long? Shall he hold the reins of power before the legal age and once he has seized office never give it up? Why need I mention his control

of the world's harvests and the use he made of famine? Who has not known of his armed intervention in the frightened courts, where the sinister gleam of swords encircled the bewildered jurors, and of the soldiers of Pompey's army who dared to break the law and surround Milo at his trial? Even now, lest he weary of an old age spent quietly, he prepares for the crime of war, accustomed as he is to civil strife and promising to surpass Sulla, his teacher in crime. Like wild tigers which, when they follow the mother about in the Hyrcanian forest, drink deep of the blood of slain flocks, and never after lose their fierceness, when Pompey became used to licking Sulla's sword, his thirst for blood remained. Once blood has been tasted, the throat it tainted never can be tamed. What limit will he ever put to his extended power, what end to his crimes? Madman, even that Sulla of yours gave you the precedent of stepping down from power now. After the wandering pirates, and the long warfare with Mithridates, which deadly poison scarcely ended, must Caesar be Pompey's last conquest, because he did not choose to lay down his triumphant standards when ordered? If the reward for my work is snatched from me, let these men at least, without their leader, have the returns for the time they spent in warfare. Regardless of their leader, may they triumph. Where are they to spend their helpless old age after the war? What resting-place will they earn? What lands will be given my veterans to till, what walls will protect my tired soldiers? Rather, will pirates be the colonists, Pompey? Take up, I say, your long victorious standards! The strength we have acquired must be used. The man in arms gets all when he is denied justice. The gods will be with us, for it is not booty nor power I seek with arms, but the expulsion of a tyrant whom the city is ready to serve."

b. In Spain the armies of Petrus and Caesar are encamped so close to each other that the soldiers, who are friends and kinsmen, mingle with each other. Petrus is enraged by their action, and his reprimand is filled with sarcasm and a hatred for slavery to a master such as Caesar (IV

212-235):

"Forgetful of your country and your standards, can you soldiers not do so much for the senate's cause as to return, liberators and the conquerors of Caesar? Then, at least you can fight and be defeated. When you have weapons and blood left to flow from many a wound, when the outcome is still unsettled, will you surrender to a master and bear the standards you had despised? Must Caesar be entreated to treat you as his slaves without discrimination? Did you ask too for mercy for your leaders? Never shall our safety be the reward or the price for cowardly treason. Our reason for waging war is not to save our lives. We are betrayed by the guise of peace. Nations would not mine for iron deeper and deeper, walls would not fortify our towns, the horses would not rush fiercely into battle, nor fleets of turreted ships be scattered on the sea, if freedom could be justly exchanged for peace. Indeed, our enemy has sworn to a horrible oath which binds them, but to you loyalty is cheaper from the very fact that, though you fight for a just cause, you can have hopes of pardon. Alas, that shame is dead! Even now, unconscious of his fate, Pompey is gathering his forces from all the world, and winning the aid of kings from the outskirts of the earth, and perhaps our agreement even now has secured his safety."

c. Sextus Pompey, fearing the outcome of the battle of Pharsalia, appeals to the Thessalian witch, Erichtho, to procure for him the assurance of his fate. She does this by bringing to life a man who has been dead but a short while. The prophecy is spoken by this man (VI 777-820):

"I did not see the Fates spinning their direful threads, for I was called back from the banks of the still river. But so far as I could learn from all the souls, fierce discord troubles the Roman dead, and unholy warfare has broken the calm of the lower world. Everywhere the Elysian fields and dismal Tartarus are deserted by the Roman leaders, who have evidenced what fate has decreed. The dead, though fortunate, looked sad.

I saw the Decii, father and son, who devoted their lives to death for their country, Camillus, and Curius, weeping, and Sulla complaining against Destiny. Scipio wept for the miserable death of his descendant in Africa, while Carthage's more formidable foe, Cato, bewailed the fate of his grandson who refused slavery. Brutus alone, first consul after the expulsion of the tyrants, was seen rejoicing among the souls of the blessed. Catiline, dreadful in his broken chains, revelled with fierce Marius and bare-armed Cethegus. I saw those idols of the people exulting, Drusus, the imprudent law-giver, and the daring Gracchi. Emprisoned in Pluto's dungeon, their hands bound with eternal bands of iron, they applauded, and the fields of the blessed were thronged with the impious crowd. The ruler of that lifeless world threw open his gloomy realm, sharpened his jagged rocks and hardened iron for his chains, preparing for the victor's punishment. Bear this consolation with you, Sextus, in their peaceful home the dead await your father and your family, and reserve a place for them there in a quiet spot. Let not a life of brief glory disturb you, for the hour is coming which will level all leaders. Hasten your deaths; with proud hearts descend from your graves, however small to tread on the shades of Rome's gods. Which (leader) is to be buried near the Nile, which by the Tiber, that is the issue. For the leaders, the struggle is only over their place of burial. Seek not to know your fate. Fortune will give you that knowledge, though I be silent. A surer prophet will tell you all in Sicily, your father, Pompey. He too knows not where to call you, whence to ward you off, what land in any region to tell you to avoid. O wretched ones, Europe, Africa, Asia, all, you must dread. Fortune metes out your graves in accordance with your triumphs. Pitiabale house, in all the world you will find no place safer than Pharsalia."

d. Pompey's death and lowly burial in Egypt is the opportunity for a praise of Pompey, in which is the ironical contrast between his great life and the lonely grave in which he lies (VIII 806-822):

"If his sacred name is to grace this stone, add too his many deeds, the great records of his life. Tell of the fierce revolt of Lepidus, the war in Alps, the defeat of Sertorius after the consul's recall, how he triumphed when still a knight, the safety he extended to all merchants when he frightened the pirates from the sea. Write of his victory over the barbarians, of the nomad bands, and the realms in the East and the North. Say that he always left the army to become a civilian again, that satisfied with but three triumphs, he spared his country many. Could any monument hold all this? But he has only a lowly stone engraved with no records, no indications of his many offices. Pompey's name, written on the stately temples of the gods and arches built with the enemy's spoils lies here almost in the sand so low that the stranger cannot read it without stooping and even the Roman traveller would pass by were it not pointed out."

e. Cato's final tribute to Pompey is full of the sincerity and restraint which accords with his Stoicism. It is a convincing estimate of the man, a fair appreciation of the good and bad in his character (IX 190-214):

"A Roman citizen has died, a man who recognized the bounds of law far less than did his ancestors, but a suitable man for an age when there is no respect for justice. Though Rome was still free he was powerful, and he alone remained a private citizen though the populace was at his command, and he directed the Senate, still a governing body. His demands were never made at the point of the sword, nor did he ask for anything that could not have been refused. He was unusually wealthy, but he gave the state more than he kept. He used the sword, and knew how to give it up. He preferred the military life to that of a citizen, yet even ⁱⁿ war he was a lover of peace. Whether he won or lost power he was content. His home was stainless, innocence of luxury, and never marred by its master's good fortune. All the world knew and respected his name, a name which brought our city much credit. Once Sulla and Marius were in power, real belief in our freedom perished. Now

that Pompey too is gone even the pretense of it is destroyed. To be king will bring shame to no one. Pretense of legal authority and of the Senate's sanction will be gone. How fortunate he was to have died following his defeat, when Egypt's crime offered him a death he must seek. He might have lived on under his son-in-law's power. To know when to die is man's greatest gift; to be forced to die second. May I too, if fate brings me within another's power, find a like enemy in Juba, Fortune! I should not be grieved for my capture by the foe if they took me dead."

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Two of the topics which I have discussed are to be found in Heitland's treatise, the relation of Lucan to philosophy and the poet's treatment of Caesar. However, as I have already noted, Heitland's method in the former topic is to cite parallel passages of Lucan and Zeller to connect Lucan with the Stoics. He also mentions a few passages which are Epicurean in thought. I have elaborated the more important of Lucan's philosophical ideas, with an explanation of the Stoic principles and have given much more emphasis to the fact that Lucan was apparently not in entire accord with the Stoics, for it seems to me that previous writers have almost entirely overlooked the possibility that the poet was breaking away from his earlier beliefs, which were definitely a product of his training. In the study of Caesar's character, Heitland has reconstructed him in a paraphrase of all the passages concerned with him, as he has also done for Pompey and Cato, and, as we have seen, he reached the conclusion that Caesar is the poem's hero. I have omitted any discussion of the darker side of Caesar which is without any doubt the consciously hostile attitude which Lucan adopted toward him as the opponent of the Republic. It is the more favorable side of his character, the admirable qualities which are

evident in spite of Lucan's hatred, which have interested me. So far as I can ascertain, the comparison of Hardy's Napoleon to Caesar has not been done before. The discussion of omens and portents recorded by Lucan and his attitude toward them is also new. I have found no other treatment of Lucan's use of caesura, nor of his word-order as related to translation on a logical rather than grammatical basis. Heitland has given some study to Lucan's schematized word-order from a point of view unfavorable to the poet, which I have attempted to show is not entirely justified when Lucan is compared to other writers. The introduction to this thesis is of course merely a rearrangement of the various sources on Lucan, together with the attitude toward him of men of his own day and of later times. Because of the limitations of available material in this library it is possible that there are discussions of some of the topics I have taken up of which I am not aware, but so far as I know the aspects of the poem which I have cited above are original.

Despite obvious faults, it is my belief that Lucan has usually been underestimated as a Latin poet, and his place in Roman literature has been disregarded or passed over with more or less unfavorable criticism. Especially when one considers his youth and the astonishing amount of writing he had done, together with the skill he had acquired in the use of the hexameter, his genius is undeniable. His poem is too

highly colored by the abundance of rhetorical devices, hyperbole, apostrophe, epigrams, and too full of recently acquired learning which has difficulty in making itself an integral part of the epic, and yet it is possible that, had he lived, Lucan might have overcome a part of these defects as he became more of a personality and less the product of the schools, though it is a question whether he ever could have outgrown the damaging influences of his Age.

The wholehearted enthusiasm for what he admires and his unqualified dislike for principles he cannot uphold, whether or not we agree with him, and regardless of the justice with which he held these opinions, makes him too vivid a person to be easily ignored. He was losing some of his youthful illusions, his philosophy shows that, but he still clung rather desperately to the ideal of an absolute Freedom, which, had he but realized it, doubtlessly never existed outside of his mind. The irony of it is that, in spite of his efforts, he can find little help for his cause: the Senate is too anxious to save itself, Pompey too engrossed in his own interests, to wish the welfare of the state, while God, if there is such a power, is on the winning side giving little indication of any desire to further Libertas. Cato is champion of Lucan's ideal but the poet knows only too well how little Cato's attempts will effect and what his fate is to be. Brutus is the one left to carry out the task, and so it is Brutus as

Caesar's assassin whom he exalts,¹⁶² but he too accomplished nothing of lasting value toward the republican principle of Liberty. Lucan was supporting a dead cause, and at times his vision cleared sufficiently to realize the truth. It is then that he is bitter against the gods for their lack of support (IV 807-809), that he sees that Pompey was but a sham (VIII 339-341, IX 204-206, IX 264-265), and even that true freedom died with the aspirations of Alexander (X 25-26). Yet he cannot entirely forsake the idea that some vestige of Libertas existed before the Civil War, and the consequence of Pharsalia which he most deplures is that loss (VII 432-437):

Quod fugiens civile nefas redituraque numquam
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit
Ac, totiens nobis iugulo quaesita, vagatur
Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra
Ausoniam, vellem populis incognita nostris.

"Freedom, fleeing from civil war never to return, has retreated beyond the Tigris and the Rhine. We sought her many times at the cost of our lives, but she wanders, a boon to German and Scythian, and never looks back at Italy. Would that our people had not known her!" Like many another sophisticated and disillusioned writer he seeks for his ideals among primitive man. It is not to be wondered at that his indignation results for the time being in atheism (VII 445-455). The hope with which he persisted in his vision

162. V 206-208, VII 588-589, VI 791-792, X 341-342.

of an ideal, undoubtedly led him into the Pisonian conspiracy which resulted in his death, though he also had more personal reasons for his dislike of Nero.

At times his pity for mankind and a sense of the irony in the world, a feeling of which he was perhaps not wholly conscious, are so evident that they give promise of an attitude which might have dominated his life in time. Pathos is in the situation which results from man's knowledge of the future (II 1-15), and the description of Pompey as he sails from Brundisium, unable to take his eyes from the land he is never again to see (III 4-7). More often the sadness lies in the unexpressed irony of a situation, as it does in the frantic efforts of the Roman women to avert calamity by an appeal to new cults (II 28-42), the assurance which Appius feels that the words of the oracle mean for him control over Euboea when their real significance is death (V 224-236), and the confidence of Pompey in the gods because he is with the better cause (VII 349-355). After the sea-battle at Marseilles the lamentation for the dead is loud, but frequently it is the grief of a woman who mourns over the body of an enemy whom she thinks to be her loved one, and mingled with the sobs of the bereaved are the quarrels of fathers fighting over the bodies (III 756-761). It is a fine bit of irony. Again, one feels how little man's efforts matter, when Caesar visits the site of Troy, the ancient seat of his mythical

ancestors, of which even the ruins have vanished, while the renowned descendant of Aeneas passes without recognition over spots once sacred for their associations (IX 964-979).

The poet's imaginative powers are evident in his use of simile and in realism at its best. Though the similes are usually so overdrawn as to lose their effectiveness, many are good. One of the best, because it is not over-developed, is the comparison of Pompey, allowing himself to be drawn against his better judgment into the battle, to a boat's steersman who ceases to resist the winds, and allows his boat to be swept away by them (VII 125-127). Lucan's realism also is at its best when not overdrawn. Such it is when he describes the meeting of the two armies in Spain and the renewal of friendship between the opposing soldiers (IV 169-182, 196-205), the pangs of thirst suffered by the Pompeians (IV 292-336), or the mutinous army (V 237 ff.). But the fascination horrible scenes seem to hold for him, the desire he has to be sensational, lead him to impossible extremes as he describes the sea-battle (III 567-551), the rites of the witch (VI 507-830), or the deaths inflicted by the poisonous snakes of the African desert (IX 734-889). It is not so much the excess of the horrible which makes such scenes disgusting as the ludicrous exaggeration which defeats his purpose. The long passages of geographical descriptions (VI

333 ff., II 399 ff.), the digressions on subjects irrelevant to the epic (IV 593 ff., X 111 ff., IX 619 ff.), and the endless moralizing upon his own times, on the luxury which as a Stoic, and as a Roman moralist like his contemporary, Persius, he did not want to countenance (I 158-182, IV 373-381, V 526-31) are tiresome, but one recalls - to give but one example - the lengthy descriptions of allies which Homer and Vergil include.

The chronology of the epic agrees closely enough with the actual facts of the war, yet his use of historical material and the addition of situations to further the purpose of his narrative, prove Lucan a poet rather than a historian. So he gives a speech of Cicero's favoring immediate action, (VII 68 ff.) when Cicero was not even at Pharsalia,¹⁶³ he invents the mission of Pompey upon which he sends Deiotarus to the East (VIII 209-243),¹⁶⁴ the dramatic conversation between Caesar and Domitius when the latter is dying (VII 599-616),¹⁶⁵ and Caesar's visit to Troy (IX 950 ff.)¹⁶⁶ These, together with his use of the supernatural by means of omens, oracles, the witch, answer rather well the criticism of Petronius implying that Lucan would do better as an historian.¹⁶⁷

163. Duff, op. cit., p. 372.

164. Ibid., p. 452.

165. Heitland, op. cit., p. XXXVIII.

166. Ibid., p. XXXIX.

167. See Section I.

The picture we get of the poet from the De Bello Civili is an intriguing one, that of a young man whose learning and whose technical skill are surprising for his age, though his desire to display the former leads him to exceed good taste. He is filled with the almost unquenchable enthusiasm for a dead ideal, Libertas, which heightens the pathos and irony of the whole poem and his relation to it. He still clings to philosophy for which he was enthusiastic as a student, but the world is not as he could wish it to be, and in his most intense emotional moments the doubts which are beginning to assail his Stoicism find expression. Whatever his faults, Lucan as a man was far from colorless, and he assumes his duties as a poet with full realization of what his task means (IX 980-986):

O sacer et magnus vatum labor! omnia fato
Eripis et pōpulis donas mortalibus aevum.
Invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famaē;
Nam, si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,
Quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,
Venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra
Vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.

"What a sacred and great task the poet has! He preserves everything from destruction and gives to mortals immortality. Caesar, be not jealous of fame's favorites, for if one can justly predict for the Latin Muses, as long as Homer's fame lasts, so long will future generations read my poem of you.

Our Pharsalia¹⁶⁸ will live, and no age will condemn it to oblivion."

168. Housman, op. cit., "proelium a te gestum, a me scriptum," p. 296. Nutting, however, favors the view that "Pharsalia nostra" refers to the epic as a whole. Nutting, H. C., "Pharsalia Nostra", Classical Weekly, vol. XXV, no. 22, pp. 173-174. This seems to me to be the most logical interpretation.

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