

A STUDY OF FUROR IN REPUBLICAN
AND AUGUSTAN LITERATURE

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INTRODUCTION

The focus of this investigation is a study of the concept furor in Latin literature from the beginnings through the middle of the Augustan Age. The purpose is to show that the complex ideas behind the term furor developed by degrees until the word became a general term for "madness." No attempt in this thesis is made to prove that furor was the exclusive term employed by the Romans to describe the irrational or the insane. Nor will this investigation detail all aspects of irrationality, derangement, or madness revealed in Roman culture or society. Instead, the procedure will be to investigate in roughly chronological outline the concept of the word furor; in addition, other terms that denote or connote irrationality, madness, rage, etc., will be treated. It is understood that in my study not only the noun furor but all terms derived or formed from the verb furere will be considered.

Even a cursory glance at a standard Latin dictionary will reveal various definitions of furor, ranging from "madness," "insanity" to "rage," "fury," and "passion." The authors of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae and Lewis and Short are unsure of its etymology and connect it with various Indo-European roots. The new Oxford Latin Dictionary admits that the derivation of the root of the word is uncertain. Even

the more distinguished and standard works in Latin etymology are undecided on the precise root of the word furere.

Derivation from a hypothetical Sanskrit word bheur and connection with the Greek word $\theta\omicron\rho\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ have been suggested more out of fancy and intuition rather than scholarly proof.¹ Numerous Slavic and Germanic roots have also been proposed with the old Slavic word for tempest, burja, most consistently surmised as a possible link in derivation.² In any event, precise knowledge of the etymological background of the word furere must remain conjectural.

It will be shown that by the time of the late Roman Republic the word furere had become a standard term to express almost any deviation from normal societal behavior. The word was used in many contexts to denote "mad" or "unusual" behavior in every sphere of Roman life: in the sphere of politics, law, the military, religion, literature, nature, and other areas. The connotations of the word and the development of the concept of aberration were slow and evolutionary. But once the concept was established in the literature, it lasted throughout the entire span of Latin literary achievement.

There shall be no attempt to examine all the phenomena of Roman civilization which the Romans designated as mad or insane. The Romans often labeled various personal and cultural characteristics as forms of madness which we in the modern world would not so designate. For example, occurrences of religious ecstasy, mantic possession, violent love,

or political extremism are commonly portrayed as mental derangements or deviation. Although we may find some pathological elements in such activities, we in the modern age do not characterize them as insane. Conversely, what most modern psychologists consider as forms of madness, i.e., schizophrenia, hysteria, paranoia, and various fixations, the Romans did not clearly articulate or conceive as such. On the contrary, the Romans generally understood madness as a type of deviation from accepted societal norms or isolation from social intercourse. In their literature the Romans concentrated on depicting the external symptoms and manifestations of unusual behavior.

Although there exist works from antiquity on medicine that partially treat madness, e.g., by Hippocrates and Celsus, little clinical data was ever collected and analyzed. For concrete examples of madmen, the Romans often resorted to mythological parallels and representations because of the lack of scientific data and treatment. Even as astute an observer and writer as Cicero used the mythical examples of madmen to illustrate his discussion of insanity.³

Therefore, our examination by necessity will be limited to a chronological survey of authors in order to detail the linguistic and literary developments of the concept of furor and several other terms used by the Romans to articulate their views of deviation and aberration. As in the case of most philological inquiries of Latin, we shall begin with the earliest period of literature and end with

the culmination of the Augustan Age. Because of the difficulties involved in dating, the Appendix Vergiliana will not be considered in this investigation. Nor will the works of Livy or Ovid be treated. Although furere occurs often in their works, these two authors contributed very little to the concept of furere and added no fresh nuances in meaning. Therefore, Horace will be the last author examined and discussed.

CHAPTER I

ENNIUS AND OTHER EARLY AUTHORS

Ennius

Lucretius was the first Latin writer to use furere frequently. By his time, in the middle of the first century B.C., we find that the concept conveyed by furere and other words derived from it had developed to such a degree that the word furere assumed many nuances and associations and was used in various contexts with more than one level of meaning.

Before, however, turning to the multiple uses employed by Lucretius, one must consider the occurrences of the word and the concept as they are found before his time. We shall examine first the early tragedians and comic poets.

The first occurrence of any form of furere is found in Ennius in a fragment from an uncertain book of the Annals:

furentibus ventis (594).¹

The words are quoted by Servius on his note to Vergil Aen. 1.51 (loca feta furentibus Austris) in which he says that Vergil borrowed the phrase from Ennius but changed the general nominal to the specific. Perhaps Ennius too used some phrase comparable to loca feta to introduce furentibus ventis. Whatever Ennius wrote to describe the "raging winds," it is clear from both passages that the term fur-

entibus strongly suggests the violent action of a natural phenomenon. About the disruptive upheavals of nature in Latin literature, I shall say more later.

In the only other case where Ennius used the term, we find a much different concept and meaning. The use appears in a fragment quoted by Cicero (Div. 1.114) from Roman tragedy:

eheu videte:
iudicavit inclitum iudicium inter deas tris aliquis:
quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier, Furiarum una adveniet.
(Scenica 69-71: Vahlen).

Modern scholars generally agree that this fragment comes from Ennius' Alexander, based upon a lost play of Sophocles or Euripides.² We do not know exactly what passage Ennius was translating or paraphrasing, but there is a structural parallel in Euripides Tro. 456-467:

οὐκέτ' ἄν φθάνοις ἄν αὔραν ἰστίοις Καραδοκῶν
ὡς μίαν τριῶν Ἐρινύν τῆσδέ μ' ἐξάξων χθονός.³

However, Euripides' emphasis in the play is on the evil of Agamemnon. Cassandra, in the form of an ἔρινύς, will bring about a just penalty. Ennius, on the other hand, shows Cassandra prophesying the destruction of Helen in the form of a Furia. To Cassandra, Helen is the evil being. From the scanty fragments available, it is not possible to judge whether Cassandra ever envisions the ultimate cause of Helen's arrival at Troy: Alexander's judgment of the famous contest of the three goddesses and his subsequent abduction of his prize. In any case, the Furiae are not viewed as the bringers of justice but as the instruments of

destruction. I shall try to show in consequent argumentation that the Latin word Furia did not always precisely coincide with the semantic area of the Greek word ἐρινύς and that, although the Latin poets may have translated a Greek term, the Latin concept was different. We shall see that the Latin Furia will be used, like pestis, improbitas, exitium, and other terms, to denote and suggest a vile person, madness, or destruction that influences others to possess a similar quality, i.e., evil, madness, or destruction. In these cases the idea that the Erinyes were the protectors of a system of justice is lost in Latin literature, with the result that the Furiae became simply bringers of evil, madness, destruction, or the like.⁴

In this passage from Ennius (69-71), Cassandra is revealing a mantic vision. The passage is cited by Cicero in talking about prophetic power:

multos nemora silvaeque, multos amnes aut
 maria commovent, quorum furibunda mens videt ante
 multo quae sint futura. quo de genere illa sunt:
 "eheu videte...adveniet" eodem enim modo multa a
 vaticinantibus saepe praedicta sunt. (Div. 1.114).

It is interesting to note that the mind that Cicero says sees the future is described by the term furibundus, a word clearly derived from the word Furiae that is used in the quotation from the second Ennian passage. Unlike Cicero's conception of Cassandra, Ennius did not intend Helen, the Lacedaemonia mulier, to be described as possessing a mantic fury, but only that like a Fury (Furiarum una) she was to be a bringer of evil or destruction. It is Cicero who

alludes to Cassandra's mantic possession in terms of a furor (furibunda mens). In fact, most of the lines attributed to Ennius' Alexander come from quotations by Cicero who is depicting Cassandra's agitated state of mind.⁵ Our knowledge of Ennius' use of furere is limited to the two passages that have been quoted, and it is clear that in neither case does the term furere indicate mantic frenzy.

Although Ennius himself does not describe Cassandra's mental instability in terms of furere, he does employ other terms to denote her irrational behavior. For instance, he pictures Cassandra's frenzied state thus:

Sed quid oculis rabere visa est derepente ardentibus?
ubi illa paulo ante sapiens †virginali† modestia?⁶
(39-40).

Cassandra's eyes are said "to blaze" or "to be on fire," an indication of madmen as witnessed later by Plautus Capt. 594 (oculi ardent) and Men. 830 (ut oculi scintillant, vide!). The same image is repeated in Vergil Aen. 2.404-405 (...Cassandra.../ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra) in describing Cassandra.⁷

In addition to the metaphorical language describing the physical manifestation of madness, the phrase illa paulo ante sapiens implies that Cassandra no longer has the power of rational thought. Jocelyn rejects rabere and favors the reading rapere in the first line, interpreting "use the eyes as if they were hands to grab with."⁸ I prefer rabere not only because of the powerful image "violent like a mad dog," but also because of the pointed contrast with sapiens in the

following line. Skutsch has rightly, I think, rejected rapere as senseless, arguing that Cassandra would not be said "to snatch a sight about to disappear."⁹ The entire image of the frenzied Cassandra would be weakened by the use of the instrumental ablative in oculis ardentibus in addition to contrasting her previous mental stability (paulo ante sapiens), whereas the imagistic point of Cassandra's mantic possession is heightened by the descriptive use of the ablative after rabere.

In the same passage (Div. 1.114) Cicero cites Ennius to further delineate Cassandra's frenzy:

Mater, optumatum multo mulier melior mulierum,
 missa sum superstitiosis hariolationibus;
 †namque† me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet.
 virgineis vereor aequalis, patris mei meum factum pudet,
 optumi viri. mea mater, tui me miseret, mei piget.
 optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me. hoc dolet:
 men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi.
 (41-47).

Ennius chooses to describe Apollo's possession of Cassandra in terms of dementia. The god's domination over her is echoed in missa sum. The image evoked by this phrase is ambiguous. Jocelyn thinks that missa sum stands for immissa sum or emissa sum indicating that Cassandra thinks of herself driven like a horse.¹⁰ If this is so, then the image of a spurred horse would be picked up by ciet in the following line. However, one could also argue that missa sum is used for summissa sum which would suggest a sexual image. Perhaps both images are suggested and there is a combining of metaphors similar to Homer's description of Paris in Il. 6.503-511 where the wild stallion is a symbol of sexuality. Proph-

esses are often pictured as Apollo's sex objects.¹¹ Therefore, it would not be inconsistent for Cassandra to view herself treated as the object of Apollo's strong sex drive.

Regardless of the image implied in missa sum and ciet, the rest of the passage shows that Cassandra describes herself as demented, and her condition drives her from respectability and acceptance by her family and society. She is an outcast.¹² In summing up Cassandra's actions and words Cicero says:

illud quod volumus expressum est ut vaticinari furor
vera soleat
adest adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio.
multos annos latuit. cives ferte opem et restin-
gite.
deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra loquitur.
(Div. 1.67).

In Cicero's time, Cassandra's frenzy and possession by the god were described by the word furor. Ennius does not use this word but chooses such phrases and words as rabere, demens, oculi ardentes, missa sum, etc.

The irrational or abnormal in Ennius is usually expressed by other terms and phrases. Furere seems not to be a favorite word. In a fragment again found in Cicero (Div. 1.132), Ennius vigorously denounces prophets and seers (vates and harioli). It is interesting to note that, although Ennius uses some abusive terminology, neither furor nor demens is included:

superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli
aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat,
qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam

quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drach(u)mam
 ipsi petunt.
 de his divitiis sibi deducant drachumam, reddant cetera.
 (319-323: Vahlen).

The clause sibi semitam non sapiunt is reminiscent of the implication of Cassandra's lack of awareness (illa paulo ante sapiens) in the Alexander. The last two lines attack charlatanic diviners for their venality; the disparagement is similar to the many criticisms made against the Sophists in fifth century Greece. I doubt that Ennius is attacking the priests who were recruited to advise the magistrates on important matters of state and who had an air of some respectability.¹³ The clause quibus egestas imperat perhaps seems a strange criticism to a modern reader. However, poverty was thought to affect morality and behavior.¹⁴ In Cicero's day poverty was also suspect because it was viewed as a cause of political extremism.¹⁵ Perhaps Ennius is suggesting that these pseudo-seers are subversive and dangerous to society because of their poverty, venality, lack of disciplined formal training (inertes) and their basic stupidity. To complete his description Ennius adds that these diviners are mad (insani). Perhaps this epithet is only a rhetorical exaggeration and calculated to appeal to a popular or general notion of madness. However, the word insania, which later became one of the legal terms for insanity, has connotations of medical unhealthiness and hereditary imbalance. One is reminded of Juvenal's famous dictum: mens sana in corpore sano.¹⁶

Nowhere in this fragment does Ennius suggest that the villainy and "madness" of the diviners are due to supernatural forces. There is no hint that Ennius intends the insania of the vates and harioli to be interpreted as a generally conceived "madness" brought by some divinity, which the Greeks called by the term $\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha$.¹⁷ In fact, Ennius is at pains to introduce earthly qualities, avoiding any hint of divine influence. Besides the topographical semitam and viam, the contrasting ideas of poverty (egestas) and wealth (divitias and drachumam) enforce the non-divine and non-heroic nature of the entire passage.

There are several other passages in which Ennius articulates irrational behavior or aberration. Again Cicero is our source for this brief fragment (Sen. 16):

quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
antehac, dementes sese flexere viae?
(Ann. 202-203).

In this passage Appius Claudius is rebuking the Romans for the peace conditions made with Pyrrhus.¹⁸ We have seen the term dementes in another connection, that of mantic frenzy. Here the idea of aberration is viewed as a straying, a temporary loss of direction. Rectae (straight or upright) suggests its opposite, i.e., crooked, and the entire clause rectae...antehac is reminiscent of illa paulo ante sapiens used to describe Cassandra.¹⁹ In addition to the balanced metrical and rhyming pattern of the words mentes and dementes, the semantic counterpoint of the two terms seems obvious. The two lines also show vigorous alliteration and assonance

with repetitive patterns of s, se, e, te, t, ae, a fact that perhaps dictates the use of dementes instead of another term such as insani. In any case the irrational behavior is definitely indicated in a political context, as we may expect in a work like the Annals, a context missing in the tragedies.

The Ennian vocabulary of aberration is not limited to the several passages that I have quoted but is also found in a different situation in the fragments from the Medea Exul. The last two lines of the famous prologue to Ennius' Medea Exul illustrate additional language of mental aberration:

nam numquam era errans mea domo efferret pedem
Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia.
(215-216: Jocelyn).²⁰

Medea's mental deviation is described in terms of an "error," or "wandering," that recalls the political straying mentioned in the previous fragment from the Annals. Linked to a term of "wandering" (errans), Medea's aberration is further characterized in medical language (animo aegro).²¹ The same two images are employed again by Ennius in close proximity (Cic. Tusc. 3.5):

animus aeger semper errat neque pati neque perpete
potest cupere numquam desinit. (362-363).

This fragment indicates further deviation of the sick mind. It cannot cope rationally with a situation and its appetite is difficult to fulfill. Similar in language and thought is

otioso in otio <aeger> animus nescit quid velit
(Iphigenia 187).

However, because of the amount of corruption in the passage

from which this line is taken, I would not categorically argue for conclusive proof of a similar image or thought. Skutsch's addition of aeger is based on the previous fragment (362-363).²² We shall see later writers use the same terminology and image to describe mental instability.

The nurse's description of her mistress Medea (215-216) is derived from Euripides' prologue of the Medea. However, in the Euripidean prologue Medea's state of mind is not pictured. Euripides hints at the cause of the nurse's curse and the source of Medea's troubles:

ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσ' Ἰάσονος (Med. 8).

Ennius has expanded and transferred this idea by using animo aegro amore saevo saucia. Saucia reemphasizes the medical image in animo aegro and strengthens the representation of the ferocity of love's blow. Euripides also had employed the image of the wound for the effect upon love: ἐπεὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔτρωσεν (Hipp. 392).²³ Saevo appears to be a Latin addition to further underscore the brutal effects of the wounding and the wildness of Medea's character.²⁴ It later becomes a term regularly used to describe brutality and many facets of wild and uncontrolled action. The Greeks did not normally use such a term to suggest the brute force of love, but were content to use the more general δεινός to modify ἔρωσ .²⁵

Euripides slowly but deliberately develops in the course of the plot and action of the play the mental state of Medea that the nurse's prologue hints at. Medea's mental

instability is openly stated by the chorus much later in the play:

σὺ δ' ἐν μὲν οἴκῳ πατρῶν ἔπλευσας
μαينوμένῃ κραδίῃ. (431-432).

Ennius, on the other hand, introduced his audience to Medea's mental state at the beginning of the play and then probably continued to detail her form of irrational behavior in the course of the play. The audience is not required to infer her mental condition from the action of the play, since from the very beginning the theme of some type of insanity is forcibly expressed.²⁶

The word saevus is found four other times in the Ennian fragments, all from the tragedies.²⁷ In no other instance is saevus used with amor, nor in any instance is there an inference of unusual behavior or irrationality. However, from one fragment cited by Servius--induta fuit saeva stola (Incerta 391)--something pertinent may be suggested. Although Servius misinterprets the meaning of saeva in this instance, comparing it to saevae in Aen. 1.4 (saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram), the word does hint that the stola will be or is something brutal or wild. The fragment may be taken from Ennius' Medea Exul and describes the fateful gift that Medea sent to Jason's new bride-to-be, Creusa.²⁸ If this be so, the adjective saeva is no longer a cryptic, unexplainable epithet but foreshadows the brutality of Creusa's murder and the wickedness of Medea's gift. Another explanation may be that the garment is made from the skin of

a wild animal and metaphorically represents something of the wild, uncontrolled aspect of nature.

Elsewhere saevus is definitely used to describe a natural phenomenon:

...per ego deum sublimas subices
umidas, unde oritur imber sonitu saevo et spiritu.
(Achilles 2-3).

No doubt saevo lends to the alliterative effect of the line, but it also suggests the fierceness of the storm that arises from clouds. This fragment also indicates that a storm is influenced by divinity, i.e., that it is something supernatural.

The other two remaining fragments include the word saeviter, a form that appears to pass from standard usage in the classical period.²⁹ From the contexts of these two fragments little can be said about the nuance or imagistic intent of the writer. The word seems to be a neologism for acriter or a term similar in meaning, although Warmington's translations of "savagely" and "with passion" are fitting.³⁰

As we have seen, only two uses of the word furere appear in Ennius's fragments, making it difficult to say much of importance about the nature and nuances of the word. However, we have seen that an irrational notion or idea was expressed by other terms. Were more fragments available, more complete comment about a concept of aberration or madness as represented in Ennius would be possible.

Livius Andronicus

Of the other earlier poets of tragedy and comedy, excluding Plautus and Terence, our fragmentary remains again add an onerous difficulty for scholarly precision and reveal a lack of definite examples for any conclusive proof of a concept. However, it will be worthwhile to investigate these early authors and the terminology that they used to express madness, violent action or effects, aberration, and deviation.

Very little can be said of the fragments of Livius Andronicus concerning furere or the concept of madness. We know that he wrote plays in which some form of madness may have been a part, such as the Ajax Mastigophorus and the Aegisthus, in which Cassandra is a character (10-12); however, little of importance to an understanding of irrationality is reflected in the language that has come down to us. The fragment vecorde et malefica vacerra (Comica incerta 7-8) gives us little information. The exact intent of the word vecorde in such a meager context cannot be determined. The line has been preserved by Festus because of the interest in the word vacerra as an abusive term, and Warmington translates it as "stupid rascally stump."³¹ Obviously vecors (vae/ve + cors, cordis) can have connotations of insanity,³² but lack of knowledge of the precise context of the fragment prevents us from formulating a definite concept of irrationality. The word was perhaps chosen to re-echo the sound and sense of vacerra.

A single line from the Odyssey of Livius Andronicus presents us with a new term and concept:

cum socios nostros Ciclops impius mandisset
(41: Warmington).

The line was preserved primarily because of the form of the word mandisset. The epithet impius to describe the Cyclops (presumably spoken by Odysseus) is very apt. Not only has the Cyclops been "unholy" by gulping down humans, i.e., Odysseus' men, but the adjective reflects the Homeric description of the Cyclopes as the race that is without laws and scornful of the gods.³³ The qualifying adjective impius, then, suggests the Homeric conception of the Cyclopes as something outside the mainstream of humanity, wild and not integrated into the divine or human community. It is difficult to assess at this point in Latin literature if the Roman audience understood Ciclops impius in Homeric terms of a wild, uncivilized beast scornful of the gods. Nevertheless, the word itself does mean a lack of proper devotion or respect. In later Republican literature the notion of pietas was a fundamental concept articulated by writers and applied to many facets of Roman life and culture. I suspect that the word impius in this fragment from Livius is more than an abusive epithet, and that the author is trying to translate into Roman terms the violent and hubristic nature of the Cyclopes, choosing a word that was suggestive of many levels of experience and understanding to his Roman audience by its close association with social communities of the family, state, and gods.

Naeuius

From the fragments of Naeuius little of immediate importance can be added. We know that he wrote a play entitled Dementes, a fabula togata perhaps taken from Diphilus' ἡλιθίουμενος.³⁴ Exactly who the madmen were and what the play depicted are unknown. The title suggests that Naeuius did treat something about those who were regarded as mad or insane. Naeuius may have treated the subject of irrational behavior in some other plays. One line from an unknown play suggests that love was pictured as a destructive force:

animum amori capitali compleverint
(6: Warmington).

Several lines from Naeuius' Lycurgus are extant which hint that the play primarily concerned Lycurgus' scorn and brutal treatment of Dionysus.³⁵ One of the lines reveals the violent and savage nature of either Lycurgus or Dionysus:

ne ille mei feri ingeni atque animum acrem acrimoniam.
(49: Warmington).³⁶

Again, lack of context hinders further comment or elucidation on the concept of the irrational, except to say that the play's theme and plot involved a form of madness.

Caecilius Staius

From Ennius' contemporary Caecilius Staius no fragments remain which include a use of furere. Two fragments do attest to insania. Of the first

insanum auspiciu. aliter histrioniu est
atque ut magistratu publice cum auspiciant
(134-135: Warmington)

the context prevents much discussion. Insanum could be taken in the very literal meaning of "unhealthy,"³⁷ a sense that would seem more appropriate to haruspicium, the inspection of entrails, than to augury. It appears that Caecilius has mixed a metaphor by using insanum with auspicium to denote a bad omen. Auspicium is used to balance the terminology of the technical and official taking of the state auspices by magistrates. It is questionable that Caecilius' audience understood insanum only in a medical sense, but it seems that insanum was regarded generally as "mad," "insane," reminiscent of Ennius's insani vates.³⁸ Therefore, rather than simply "unhealthy omen," the phrase insanum auspicium suggests "an omen that is maddening" or "an omen of a madman." In any case both the nuances "mad" and "unhealthy" are possible and may have been intended.

In another fragment of Caecilius, the medical background of the word insania can be observed:

...consequitur comes insomnia;
ea porro insaniam affert (159-160: Warmington).

I believe that Caecilius definitely intends insaniam to be taken as "madness," "insanity." Warmington argues from context and the supposed plot of the play that insomnia follows drunkenness, which brings on "madness."³⁹ Obviously, Caecilius is not presenting a scientific or legal definition, but he is making a generalizing statement, appealing to his audience's general notion of madness. As previous fragments indicate that the idea of unhealthiness is implied in the

word insania, so in this case the madness that accompanies insomnia is articulated in the form of an unhealthy imbalance of the mind.

Just as in Ennius (39) a form of the word ardere was used to denote unusual aspect and behavior,⁴⁰ so too in Caecilius ardere is employed to denote violent disposition and hot temper:

nunc enim demum mi animus ardet nunc meum cor cumu-
latur ira (224: Warmington).

This line, quoted by Cicero (Cael. 16.37), is primarily concerned with the angry reaction of a father toward his son and is not intended to be a description of a deranged person, although the language within the line and Cicero-nian context is very violent.⁴¹

In the last fragment from Caecilius to be considered are found several noteworthy words and ideas:

...deum qui non summum putet
aut stultum aut rerum esse inperitum existumem.
cui in manu sit, quem esse dementem velit,
quem sapere, quem insanire, quem in morbum inici
quem contra amari, quem expeti, quem arcessier.
(238-242: Warmington).

Two clauses describe a crazed or deranged person (quem esse dementem velit and quem insanire) in terms previously selected above to show the vocabulary of madness. In this case two terms, dementem and insanire, are juxtaposed. The clause quem in morbum inici closely following quem insanire shows the close connection between a notion of madness and unhealthiness. The clause quem sapere directly following esse dementem strongly suggests polar ideas and expression.

In quem sapere one is reminded of the Ennian expression, illa paulo ante sapere, that was used to describe Cassandra's mantic possession. In addition the entire passage is describing both the positive and negative effects of the god of love. We have seen from Ennius's Medea Exul different language employed to describe the violent effects and nature of love,⁴² but in this passage in quite explicit terms love is described as a possible bringer of insanity and mental derangement.

Pacuvius

Several fragments from Pacuvius merit some consideration. In one fragment a new word to denote mental feebleness, amentia, appears:

Di monerint meliora atque amentiam averruncassint
tuam! (112).

It is impossible to know whether the Latin poets distinguished amentia from dementia. It seems clear, however, that both terms lack the nuance of a diseased mental state found in insania. We also lack the textual evidence to prove whether Roman medicine distinguished any difference between amentia and dementia.⁴³ In any case, we shall see that both terms become favorite expressions of the Latin writers to describe and define their concepts of senselessness and mad behavior. From this particular fragment it is possible to say only that amentia is one of the words used to describe the notion of madness.

Pacuvius also used the concept of insania. From a somewhat lengthy fragment containing a personification of Fortuna, Fortuna is twice described, among other things, as insana:

Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent
philosophi
 (Ex incertis fabulis 37: Warmington).

The terminology is repeated a few lines later to explain why Fortuna is called mad:

Insanam autem esse aiunt quia atrox incerta in-
stabilis sit
 (40: Warmington).

It is interesting to note that blindness (or error) and brutality are linked with madness to describe this personification.⁴⁴ I have attempted to show above that these very qualities are part of the notion of derangement.

In another passage mental infirmity and derangement are suggested by a combination of words indicative of a loss of control:

triplici pertimefactus maerore animi incerte errans
vagat. (302).

Incerte, errans, and vagat all emphasize mental imbalance, weakness, and a deviation from some established norm.⁴⁵

I have found only one example from Pacuvius of the use of vecors. In a one line citation from Festus, who comments on the meaning of the word vecors--vecors est turbati et mali cordis (372: Müller)--Festus illustrates his definition of the term. He quotes Pacuvius:

qui velox superstitione cum vecordi coniuge (216).

Festus leaves no doubt that he understands the etymology of vecors from ve + cors. The lack of context prohibits us from commenting further on the exact activity or behavior of the spouse described as mad (vecordi coniuge). However, the close link of a term of irrationality with the supernatural and perhaps an abusive suggestion in superstitione hint at some demonic, non-human element. Festus's definition shows that mental imbalance (turbati) as well as evil intent (mali) was conveyed by the adjective vecors. In a fragment from Novius, vecors is linked with a compound of the significant turbare by which Festus defines vecors:

...coactus tristimoniam
ex animo deturbavit et vecordiam (102-103).⁴⁶

The linguistic evidence from these fragments of Pacuvius and Novius, coupled with Festus's definition, categorically shows that vecors indicates mental disturbance.⁴⁷

Pacuvius also uses the term saevus, a word employed by Ennius to show violent behavior or reaction.⁴⁸ Other terms and expressions of irrational behavior or action do not occur in the extant fragments.⁴⁹ As Ennius had used saevus to describe the phenomenal upheavals in nature,⁵⁰ so Pacuvius employs the same term:

undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt turbines.
fervit aestu pelagus. (415-416).

These lines are the final two lines of a fragment which depicts a number of unnatural occurrences.⁵¹ Pacuvius leaves venti unqualified except to say "all the winds from every

direction." The effect of the wind and storm is heightened by the further addition of saevi...turbines, with the subject delayed and in chiasitic position with venti erumpunt. A different punctuation would produce a different effect:

undique omnes venti erumpunt saevi, existunt turbines.

I do not wish to argue for this change, but only to point out the ambiguous position of saevi and to show how the use of a single adjective can heighten the effect of the figurative description. One is also reminded of the Ennian description of a storm (unde oritur imber sonitu saevo et spiritu)⁵² and the brief expression furentibus ventis.⁵³

About the imagery in the last line of this fragment, I shall mention only that Vergil later employs much the same image but with a change in language. Whereas Pacuvius uses fervere, "to boil," Vergil transfers to furere, "to rage madly," furit aestus harenis (Aen. 1.107) and furit aestus ad auras (Aen. 2.759). I shall say more about this later.⁵⁴

In another fragment Pacuvius uses saevus in connection with the stirring of the sea:

...hinc saevitiam Salaciae
fugimus (418-419).

Paulus, from whom the fragment comes, tells us that Salacia was believed to be a sea goddess who controlled the movement of the waters.⁵⁵ More important to us than the divine connection of a natural phenomenon is the use of saevitia to describe the roughness of a stormy sea, a natural occurrence.

Just as in Ennius, saevus in Pacuvius is not limited to the depiction of nature and its brutality or upheavals. The expression dictis saevis occurs, underlining the savage quality of some threats:

minitabiliterque increpare dictis saevis incipit
(15).

Comparable to the figurative expression amore saevo in Ennius,⁵⁶ Pacuvius uses the expression saevus dolor:

operite; abscedite iamiam;
mittite; nam attractatu et quassu
saevum amplicatis dolorem. (265-267).

Cicero himself tells us that the pain mentioned by the character Ulysses is not only physical but also mentally agonizing (Tusc. 2.48). The addition of saevum heightens the effect and helps make clear the figurative use of an understanding of dolor.

From another passage in Cicero (Div. 1.80), we are given yet another concept of deviation. Cicero is relating how the mind is variously affected by divine and earthly forces. He ends his examples with a quotation from Pacuvius describing the violent effects (ut pellantur animi vehementius) of fear and anxiety upon Hesione's mental state:

flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris
commota in tumulis Teucrum commemorans suum. (422-423).

Paschall argues that the word lymphata was associated with madness because of the common belief that the sight of nymphs caused mortals to be endowed with special powers of clairvoyance or to become totally insane.⁵⁷ The fragment from Pacuvius, however, does not seem to reflect this con-

cept, but because of the close association and link with deviation (flexanima) and wild orgiastic rites of Bacchus, lymphata appears to suggest some other notion of madness. I agree with Onians, who argues that lymphatus means "watered," "possessed by liquid."⁵⁸ Pacuvius seems to be saying that Hesione's mental state (animus) is twisted (flexanima) as if affected by excess liquid (lymphata) and violently stirred by the rites of Bacchus. If this view is correct, then the conception of madness indicated by lymphata is based on medicine and not on hydrophobic symptoms relating to specific areas of religion or cult worship.⁵⁹ Instead, lymphata is linked with the wild orgiastic excitement of Bacchus, the wine god, to denote the excess of the liquid that seriously affects the mind or consciousness.⁶⁰ Too much liquid as a substance alien to the blood and internal organs of the body caused the mind, once possessed or displaced by the liquid, to lose its calm and rational faculties.⁶¹ If we accept this conception, then the common linking and association of lymphatus with Bacchic revelry or wine become clearer, more understandable, and consistent with the context and imagery of the various passages where lymphata is found.⁶² Therefore, from our brief consideration of Pacuvius new concepts of madness emerge. Latin writers later used such terms as amens, demens, and lymphatus often, linking them with a new term, furor, showing that they owed much to the conceptualization and articulation of previous authors.⁶³

Accius

Turning from Pacuvius to Accius, we find the amount of material treating the irrational exiguous, despite the relatively high abundance of fragments. Furere does not occur nor do many of the other terms and expressions that I have been discussing. However, the brutal and animalistic effect of saevus is brought out in an axiomatic and sententious statement:

ferum feroci contundendum inperios, saevum saeviter.
(174).

The paronomasia and repetition of the stem saev- intensifies the language in the beginning of the line with its repetition of the stem fer-. Undoubtedly saevus is linked to that which is ferum and ferox, the wild, untamed, and bestial. In another fragment the brute nature of a tyrant is expressed by the adjective saevum:

fere exanclavimus
tyranni saevom ingenium atque execrabile (269-270).

There are two fragments in Accius in which a form of madness is mentioned directly. From the Meleager we have the following:

heu cor ira fervit caecum, amentia rapior ferorque
(450).

Warmington believes that the speaker, Althaea, is gripped by a Fury, a possession that explains the metaphorical language.⁶⁴ Several ideas of irrationality are combined in this one line. Foremost is the possession by amentia, the loss of sense. Linked with the direct mention of a lack of

mental stability is the idea of anger that causes an emotional crisis. Althaea's feelings are out of control, "blindly boiling over." We shall see that anger will often be expressed in terms of excessive heat. The "heat of passion" becomes a cliché and is often used in various contexts. Interestingly, the notion of blindness is incorporated into the image of heat, and we have seen that Pacuvius linked madness with blindness.⁶⁵

In the final fragment of Accius that is applicable we see a combination of many of the ideas already presented:

Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro
 conspexit in eam amore vecors flammeo,
 depositus: facinus pessimum ex dementia
 confingit. (636-639).

The phrases amore vecors flammeo and depositus expand, explain, and heighten the description of Tereus' nature and conduct in the first line. His senseless behavior (vecors) is brought about by his passion (amore) qualified by the image of fire (flammeo) to denote the intensity of the feeling. The direct reference to mental aberration (dementia) seems almost anticlimactic. Had Accius chosen to dispense with a direct mentioning of Tereus' madness, the idea of irrational conduct could easily be implied from the previous lines. However, the inclusion of the word dementia does afford a summarization and an explicit statement of the previous description and clarifies the particular aspects some individual Romans included under a general term such as dementia.

Sextus Turpilii

In a brief fragment from Sextus Turpilii we find a repetition of some basic ideas:

vagas insanis... ..vecordi
(121-122).

The madness of an unhealthy mental state is modified by the term vecordi, suggesting a lack of emotional balance. These concepts are further strengthened by the verb vagas that denotes a straying. These notions I have pointed out before, but they have not previously been employed simultaneously.⁶⁶

The effect of the irrational is well illustrated in another fragment from Sextus Turpilii:

neque durare possum:
ita huius inscientia ac dementia extorrem facit.
(95-96).

In this fragment, the speaker is forced outside of his community, an action which he attributes to the disordered character of another. The same idea is contained in another fragment although a different term is used to describe the conduct:

propter peccatum pausillum indignissime
patria protelatum esse saevitia patris.
(90-91).

In this instance, although the behavior of the father may be no more than an angry reaction (saevitia) to some one's own mistake (propter peccatum), the result of that reaction produces exclusion from society.

Lucius Afranius

In the fragments of Lucius Afranius several ideas and images which we have noticed reoccur. Once again madness is linked with anger and a character is said to "boil up:"

ego misera risu clandestino rumpier,
torpere mater, amens ira fervere (127-128).⁶⁷

In another fragment from Afranius we find a sententious definition of amentia:

amentes, quibus animi non sunt integri, surde audiunt.
(349).

Here, the author leaves no doubt that the mental faculties of those who are mad are impaired. Surde audiunt may be taken in a literal sense indicating that the insane do not hear well as a result of their mental incapacity, or in a figurative sense that the mentally deficient do not react to the normal customary restraints of societal concerns. Once again a medical image is suggested by animi...integri.

In two instances Afranius uses the word demens to denote "mad" behavior:

adpetis dominatum demens praemature praecocem (336)

and:

...orbitatem tuae senectuti malam
metui quod in solum non venit caeco ac dementi tibi.
(41-41).

In the first of these two fragments lack of context prevents us from elucidating the use of the term demens, except to suggest that premature action may be the cause of the designation. In the second occurrence a general notion of irrational conduct (dementi) is linked with blind rashness

(caeco). I have noted this juxtaposition before in both Pacuvius and Accius.⁶⁸ As in the case of the other dramatists, Afranius too avoids using the term furere to describe insanity or the general concept of irrational conduct. Other terms are employed.⁶⁹

Novius, L. Pomponius Bononiensis, Titinius

Much the same situation exists from the meager fragments of the remaining early Roman dramatists. Novius uses vecordia to record mental disturbance:

...coactus tristimoniam
ex animo deturbavit et vecordiam (102-103).

The phraseology leaves no doubt that mental aberration is the main subject of the fragment.⁷⁰ From L. Pomponius Bononiensis a rare use of insaniter heralds unusual behavior that casts fear in someone else:

metus illum: iocari nescit, ludit nimium insaniter.⁷¹
(17).

Ludit nimium insaniter suggests excessive wild behavior, not done in sport or jest, but without serious attention to consequences. From Titinius there is a slight hint of undignified conduct in the very brief and enigmatic:

hominem improbum, nunc ruri pergraecatur (175).

It is unclear whether or not the man is called improbus because he engages in Greek-like activities. Although many Romans found Greek behavior strange and bewildering, I have not found the word pergraecari, "to act excessively like a Greek," linked and juxtaposed with terms or ideas of madness.⁷²

Unassigned Fragments

From the fragments of the early Roman dramatists we have found that furere is not a favored term to express madness or irrational behavior. However, there are occurrences of the word in Republican drama. From the unassigned fragments we find the following example:

Martem fatigat prodigus vitae furor. (38).

The date of this fragment is unknown, but I suspect that it is late Republican. The phrase prodigus vitae furor suggests some action or conduct that leads to carelessness, i.e., a strong, impetuous over-boldness (audacia), not simply courage (fortitudo). It would seem unlikely that fortitudo in Latin would ever be described as prodiga vitae, clearly a contradiction of terms. More importantly furor is linked with warfare and is said to weary the personification of war. Fatigare is a term not used too often before the classical period.⁷³ Furere used in a military context was exploited by later writers, particularly Cicero and Vergil.

From a fragment cited in Cicero's Off. (3.98) we find furere used apparently from an unassigned play about Ajax and Ulysses; Ajax speaks about Ulysses' pretensions and conduct:

cuius ipse princeps iuris iurandi fuit,
quod omnes scitis, solus neglexit fidem:
furere adsimulare, ne coiuret, institit.
quod ni Palamedi perspicax prudentia
istius percepset malitiosam audaciam,
fide sacratae ius perpetuo falleret. (55-60).⁷⁴

Ajax seems intent upon depicting Ulysses' pretended madness in phraseology that suggests that Ulysses' unusual behavior was not pretense. Foremost Ajax stresses the perjury and

the breaking of an oath. Clearly Ulysses' bold behavior is contrasted with Palamedes' foresight. This bold conduct (audaciam) is delineated and heightened by the unusual adjective malitiosam, which according to Cicero (Nat. D. 3.75 and Q. Rosc. 16.46) in itself suggests fraud.⁷⁵ To find that Ajax employs a term like furere to describe Ulysses' feigned madness is a bitter irony, since the madness of Ajax was a favorite theme with the Greek and Roman dramatists. Indeed, Cicero himself describes Ajax's own mental aberration by furere:

semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore
(Tusc. 4.52).

Cicero then continues illustrating his judgment of Ajax by quoting from an unknown play and author:

facinus fecit maximum, cum Danais inclinantibus
summam rem perfecit, manu sua restituit praelium
insaniens. (64-66).

The fragment does not relate Ajax's mad attack upon the cattle that he suspected to be Greeks but his prowess in battle against the Trojans. Interestingly furere is not the term used to describe his vicious fighting, but insaniens. Thus Cicero quotes a passage employing a term different from his choice of words to prove his assessment of Ajax's fierce nature. To Cicero's mind, Ajax embodied furor.

Also from the fragments of unassigned plays comes additional material on prophetic madness or possession:

Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines,
unde superstitiosa primum saeva evasit vox foras.
(18-19).

This passage is also taken from Cicero (Div. 2.115) in which he is again discussing the possession of Cassandra by Apollo. In this discussion Cicero also cites two passages from Ennius, one of which has already been treated.⁷⁶ The adjective saeva used to describe the prophetic utterance suggests the wild possession and conduct of the Pythian goddess. A more literal sense of the phrase saeva vox would mean: a voice of the wild, i.e., animal-like, non-human. As already pointed out, the word saevus is often employed to state or suggest the brutal, the bizarre, or the irrational.

Judging from the remaining fragments, the early Roman authors, excluding Plautus and Terence, did not tend to favor one term over another to express something irrational or insane. Except for a few passages from unidentified authors and plays, quoted by first century or even later writers, the word furere is not used to define or delineate the behavior of a madman or a supposed madman. If the word furere connoted any concept or view of irrationality, the fragments of the early writers do not indicate it. Such words and terms as vecordia, insania, or aeger animus are chosen to denote the madman or the behavior of the deranged person. Therefore, we can not argue that the literary figures of early Latin poetry had no concept of irrationality or derangement nor failed to articulate it. However, we can state that, according to the evidence of the fragments, the word furere was not the term used to express the idea of madness.

CHAPTER II

PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Plautus

When we turn to consider the notion of irrationality and madness in Plautus and Terence, for the first time enough material has survived to supply us with context and continuity. In general, the comedies furnish many scenes with talk of madness and madmen, but it must always be remembered that in many instances comic exaggeration, portrayal, and action produce scenes and dialogue involved with some kind of madness or feigned madness. A character often accuses another character of madness because of some unusual or inexplicable conduct; sometimes a character pretends to be insane; on other occasions characters exaggerate the bizarre or foolish in the terminology of madness and the pathological for rhetorical or comic effects. However, in the course of this treatment of Plautus and Terence an attempt will be made to show that madness or irrationality, as articulated by these poets, was viewed as something more than a reflection of foolish action, perverseness, or perplexity.

Unfortunately, the word furere does not occur in any of the extant works of either Plautus or Terence. In two

cases (Bacch. 657 and Trin. 1024) emendations have been suggested, substituting some form of furere instead of the manuscript reading of fur, thief. The orthographic confusion between furor and fur is obvious. The suggested emendations from fur to furere in both instances have not been generally accepted and are unnecessary.¹ In both cases fur makes good sense.

To express the idea of madness Plautus uses the word insania far more than any other term. It appears that his audience understood this term to describe the action or conduct of a madman. In the Menaechmi alone insania, insanire, or the adjective insanus are used twenty-three different times,² which far exceeds the number of occurrences in any other single play. It is not accidental that the notion of madness reoccurs in the Menaechmi and that insania is the chosen term. First, the play is based on deception and the motif of a mistaken identity: one twin brother is mistaken for another. The conduct and the reaction of each to particular situations and other characters in the play create confusion and bewilderment among the characters with whom the two brothers come in contact. Early in the play, Cylindrus (mistaking Menaechmus II for the other brother) declares that Menaechmus II is mad because of his strange questions and actions:

MEN: quos tu convivas quaeris? CY: parasitum tuom.
 MEN: meum parasitum? CY: certe hic insanust homo.
 (Men. 281-282).

When Menaechmus II cannot understand Cylindrus' talk he in

turn charges the cook with insanity:

nam equidem insanum esse te certo scio,
 qui mihi molestus homini ignoto quisquis es.
 (Men. 292-293).

Due to the mistaken identities, charges and counter-charges of madness are made by several of the participants. In one scene Menaechmus II tells his slave Messenio that Erotium is either mad or drunk because of her unexplained warmth to him:

certo haec mulier aut insana aut ebria est, Messenio,
 quae hominem ignotum compellet me tam familiariter.³
 (Men. 373-374).

Because of Menaechmus' II bewilderment and the strange circumstances in which he finds himself, continually being charged with madness, he finally in desperation decides to pretend to be mad:

quid mihi melius quam, quando illi me insanire
 praedicant,
 ego me adsimulem insanire, ut illos a me apsterream?
 (Men. 831-832).

There follows a long scene in which Menaechmus II in his pretense raves wildly, hallucinates, rushes about, feigning that he is being summoned to the woods by Bacchus and is being inspired by Apolline possession (835-875). Throughout this scene the diction employed indicates violence and wildness. There occurs the familiar language to express divine possession and irrational behavior:

MEN: ecce, Apollo mihi ex oraculo imperat
 ut ego illic oculos exuram lampadi[bus] ardentibus,⁴
 (Men. 840-841).

At the end of the scene (872-875), Menaechmus is again

called mad, possessed by some disease for whose remedy the services of a doctor are needed.⁵

The call for a doctor to investigate Menaechmus' madness and the designation of his wild behavior as a disease (morbus) indicate the medical base and understanding of the term insania. In addition the reactions of the other characters in the play to Menaechmus' pretense suggest that the Roman audience understood that something more than foolish or perplexing conduct was intended by the term insania.⁶ Surely comic and rhetorical exaggeration explain many of the occurrences of insania used by Plautus. However, when Menaechmus pretends wildness and hallucinations, a pathological notion is introduced and a doctor is summoned. Plautus' audience must have accepted this basis. The comic effect is produced not by the pathological view held by the characters in the play but by the fact that the audience knew the pretense behind the whole action of the scene and the fundamental deception of the mistaken identity which initiates and carries on the plot of the play.

Within the course of the Menaechmi whenever one character frequently thinks and calls another mad, there are several orders for a sacrifice of a pig to purify the madness.⁷ The idea that irrational behavior could be averted or eliminated by a sacrifice reflects a popular conception of madness brought on and controlled by a hostile deity. With the proper religious observances, it was thought that the bad divinity could be appeased.⁸

The Menaechmi has more talk of madness and madmen than any other single play of Plautus, and the word insania is almost exclusively used to describe the madness. However, in his pretense of Bacchic possession Menaechmus II does call Menaechmus I's wife raving mad like a dog:

ita illa me ab laeva rabiosa femina adservat canes,
(Men. 837).

Because rabies and rabiosus are not frequently used in any of the plays, the single occurrence in this play to portray maddening behavior is all the more striking and incisive. Plautus deliberately avoids writing insana to point out the contrast in the different levels of madness. Insania and insanum are deliberately used and reused to emphasize and underscore the central idea of the effects of the mistaken identity and the pretense of Menaechmus II's madness.⁹ The combination of these two themes is re-echoed by the constant use of insania that leads almost every character in the play to think and call almost every other character mad. The use of some other word or phrase to denote this insanity would have broken up or weakened an important linguistic unity in the play.

However, the words demens and amens do not occur in the play, nor is there frequent use of adjectives, such as saevus, improbus, vecors, etc., which we have seen often used to describe irrational behavior. The phrase inops animi can also express mental deficiency and imbalance. This phrase occurs early in the Menaechmi (110) applied by

Menaechmus I to describe his wife with whom he is displeased. The reference to her lack of mental stability serves as an abusive remark.¹⁰ On the other hand, the word dolere and its derivatives are found quite frequently in all the plays but are used most often to describe physical pain, particularly childbirth. Dolere does occur several times to mean mental anguish or grief. However, I could not find any instance in which such a term is used to link aberration or irrational conduct, nor does any character use it to denote a reaction or effect of derangement or irrationality.

In comparison, insania does not occur in the other Plautine plays as frequently as in the Menaechmi. In the Amphitruo forms of insania are found six times.¹¹ As in the case of the Menaechmi, a mistake or confusion in identity leads to charges of madness. Amphitryon suspects some unusual behavior on Alcmena's part when she fails to meet him on his return home and after she denies that he was ever away. Sosia, his slave, voices Amphitryon's fear:

SO: quid vis fieri?
non tu scis? Bacchae bacchanti si velis advorsarier,
ex insana insaniorum facies, feriet saepius;
(Amph. 702-704).

Sosia assumes that Alcmena is already mad and if Amphitryon continues his pursuit to discover the reasons for Alcmena's action, he will cause her to act even more irrationally. Sosia likens Alcmena to a raving bacchant whom he considers a formidable force. The mental image reflected by a reference to bacchants must have been forceful and meaningful

to Plautus' audience. Otherwise, the following clause ex insana insaniorem facies would not have had much importance or point. The audience and even Sosia and Amphitryon know that Alcmena is not really raving like a devotee of the Bacchic ritual, but comic license and rhetorical exaggeration emphasize her unusual behavior.

Throughout the rest of the play, the reference to madness results from the confusion surrounding the ruse of the disguised Jupiter in his visit to Alcmena.¹² The etymology and semantic root of the term insania can be understood from the confrontation among Sosia, Amphitryon, and Alcmena. The medical basis of the root and meaning of the word is clear:

SO: Amphitruo, speravi ego istam tibi parituram filium;
 verum non est puero gravida. AM: quid igitur?
 SO: insania.
 AL: equidem sana sum et deos quaeso ut salva pariam
 filium. (Amph. 718-720).

There is a deliberate play upon the word sana. The central idea of healthiness is obvious and repeated in Alcmena's salva pariam. By saying insania, Sosia naturally hints at and means a sickness of mental imbalance. Alcmena, on the other hand, seems to underscore not the mental aspect of her condition but the physical.¹³

A little later in the play Plautus employs another image to delineate Alcmena's conduct:

AM: vae [misero] mihi!
 SO: quid tibi est? AM: delirat uxor. SO: atra
 bili percita est.
 nulla res tam delirantis homines concinnat cito.
 (Amph. 726-728).

Amphitryon says that his wife is "off her furrow," using an agricultural term to express a human condition.¹⁴ Sosia continues this image in delirantis homines to show that mental imbalance in women affects their men in the same way, i.e., madness begets madness. In addition to the agricultural image, the medical metaphor is emphasized again but phrased in another form (atra bili percita est) and underlining the medical concept of insania. The Greek writers believed that madness characterized by violent action was caused by excessive bile, whose cure was a treatment of hellebore.¹⁵ Plautus seems to be using a basic Greek medical conception of madness or one that was generally accepted by the Romans of his time.

In the Aulularia, another idea is associated with insania. A slave comments on the absurd questioning of Euclio:

L.S.: larvae hunc atque intemperiae insaniaeque
agitant senem. (Aul. 643).

Besides the unusual plural insaniae, the term intemperiae suggests a lack of moderation or control. The word is commonly used in nature images and was so employed by Cato.¹⁶ In Plautus it appears to assume the transferred meaning of madness,¹⁷ a meaning which passed to later writers.¹⁸ We have seen that Ennius used furere (furentibus ventis) in a nature image. We have seen and shall continue to see that other terms of madness or irrationality were first employed or often used to describe natural phenomena or violent eruptions in nature.

Perhaps more significant is the fact that larvae are said to disturb Euclio. In later literature larvae meant "ghosts," "spirits of the dead,"¹⁹ and do not indicate any agency of madness but are generalized as some type of spirit pervading and haunting the body and thought of individuals.²⁰ Roscher adequately lists the various occurrences of larvae and definitions of ancient authorities and mentions the common confusion of larvae with lemures, lares, and manes.²¹ Plautus understands larvae as occupying the body and bringing madness. For instance, in the Amphitruo Sosia suggests to Amphitryon that Alcmena be purified. Amphitryon agrees, saying she is infected with bad spirits:

SOS: quaeso, quin tu istanc iubes
 pro cerrita circumferri? AM: edepol qui facto est
 opus;
 nam haec quidem edepol larvarum plenast.
 (Amph. 775-777).

In the same play, during an argument Mercury says of Amphitryon that he is possessed and in need of a doctor:

Larvatu's. edepol hominem miserum! medicum quaerita.
 (Amph. 1034 frag. vi).

The summons for a doctor, as we have seen in the Menaechmi, was a sign that a man was considered mad and needed medical help. In fact, in the Menaechmi the same term is used by the doctor who enters to minister to Menaechmus II:

MED: Quid esse illi morbi dixeras? narra, senex.
 num larvatust aut cerritus? (Men. 889-890).

As in the Amphitruon (776-777 above), larva is linked with cerritus, another general term for the mad. Similarly, in the Captivi the same image is used by the slave Tyndarus to

describe Aristophontes, juxtaposed with the idea of aberration evoked by deliramenta:

TY: iam deliramenta loquitur, larvae stimulant virum.
(Capt. 598).

A few lines above, Tyndarus had described some of the symptoms of this supposed madness in terms we have already noticed:²²

TY: ardent oculi: fit opus, Hegio;
viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis?
atra bilis agitat hominem. (Capt. 594-595).

Plautus consistently develops and uses the medical imagery of madness. In addition to the passages just quoted, insanus is used six times within sixty-five lines of the Captivi.²³ Also within this scene, Tyndarus, in his attempt to wriggle out of a compromising situation, says to Hegio that Aristophontes is raving mad. Twice he employs rabies to describe Aristophontes' supposed behavior.²⁴ The term is also used by Aristophontes who questions Tyndarus' charges:

AR: ain, verbero?
me rabiosum atque insectatum esse hastis meum memoras
patrem,
et eum morbum mihi esse, ut qui me opus sit inspu-
tarier?
(Capt. 551-553).

Within this entire scene (553-658) Plautus has expanded the notion of insania, adding both the medical term morbum and the more descriptive and imagistic rabiosum/rabies to denote the wild, raving quality of the madness and alluding to the medical conception of madness as an excess of bile (atra bilis).²⁵

The scene ends with a denial by Aristophontes of any madness or sickness:

me expurigare tibi volo, me insaniam
neque tenere neque mi esse ullum morbum, nisi quod
servio.
(Capt. 620-621).

If the language does not sufficiently reflect the degree of Aristophontes' madness that Tyndarus argues, Plautus adds, in the words of Tyndarus, three mythological allusions that strengthen the idea:

hau vidi magis.
et quidem Alcumeus atque Orestes et Lycurgus postea
una opera mihi sunt sodales qua iste. (Capt. 561-563).

Alcmaeon, Orestes, and Lycurgus are well-known literary examples of madmen.

Although the Curculio involves a mistaken identity, no character calls another insanus because of the confusion of identity. However, the term is employed in another context. The slave Palinurus says of his master who has fallen in love:

enim vero nequeo durare quin ego erum accusem mecum:
nam bonum est pauxillum amare sane, insane non bonum
est;
verum totum insanum amare, hoc est--quod meus eru'
facit.
(Curc. 175-177).

Besides the obvious pun on sanus and insanus, the language of madness is applied to love and its effects. We have seen elsewhere the language of madness applied to immoderate passion but insania was not the word chosen to describe such an effect.²⁶ A little later in the same scene, Palinurus calls both his master and his lover mad. The terminology

is repeated:

PA: ilicet!
pariter hos perire amando video, uterque insaniunt.
(Curc. 186-187).

The same language is found in the Mercator in three separate passages to describe the effect of love.²⁷ Interestingly, these passages with four instances of the word insanus or its derivatives almost exhaust the number of occurrences in the play, although there occurs the expletive and shocking hic homo non sanust (951). In the Trinummus, insanus again is used with the language of love in a sententious proverbial saying:

insanum [et] malumst in hospitium devorti ad
Cupidinem. (Trin. 673).

We shall see other terms of madness employed to describe lovers and their actions.

Although there are several more occurrences of the word insania in Plautus,²⁸ I shall point out three unusual connotations. In Miles Gloriosus 24 and Mostellaria 761 and 908, insanum is found with bene or bonum to mean "awfully," "absolutely." In each case, the word has lost its original force and appears to be a replacement for certe or sane.

Of the other uses of insanus, Lilja has adequately shown that Plautus used it as an abusive term, with much of its force as a term of madness or irrational behavior lost.²⁹

Considering the many instances in Plautine comedy of rhetorical exaggeration and of confusion of characters from mistaken identity, it is surprising that more terms of mad-

ness or aberration do not appear. As I have shown, insania became the favored word, although there occur other terms such as intemperia, rabies, larvae, etc., that reinforce the notion of mental instability. However, the words demens and amens and their derivatives do not appear frequently, even in those plays such as the Menaechmi, Amphitruo, and Curculio in which there is much comic discussion and mention of madness and madmen. Demens occurs only twice, once in the Amphitruo and once in the Poenulus, one of the plays that lacks frequent language and vocabulary of mental instability. In the Amphitruo, we find dementia voiced not by Sosia or Amphitruo, who often speaks of Alcmena's madness, but by Mercury, who is to execute Jupiter's master plan of trickery and deception:

erroris ambo ego illos et dementiae
 complebo atque Amphitruonis omnem familiam,
 (Amph. 470-471).

In this case, Plautus avoids the word insania but uses error and dementia to denote the deception planned by Jupiter. Everyone will be confused (error) and suffer a loss of mental understanding and control (dementia). The connection between error and ideas of irrationality has been noted previously,³⁰ a link that later writers continue to make.

In the Poenulus, the slave Milchio describes his master, Agorastocles, as maddened by the young Adelphasium:

sed Adelphasium eccam exit atque Anterastilis
 haec est prior quae meum erum dementem facit.
 (Poen. 203-204).

At first glance it seems that the word demens is used simply

to describe Agorastocles' passion for the girl and Milchio's interpretation of the budding love. However, upon closer examination, we find that Agorastocles, at the advice of his slave, is embarking upon a scheme to buy off through an intermediary the pimp who owns the rights to the girl he wants. Agorastocles is willing to spend six hundred gold coins for the plan.³¹ Perhaps Milchio is not only commenting on his master's irrational passion, but also on his master's willingness to spend a large sum of money in a deceptive plan to fulfill his desire. Spending so much for such a passion seems to Milchio the action of a desperate and demented man.

Plautus neither favors the word demens to describe irrational behavior, nor does he use the similar amens. There is only one bona fide occurrence of amens, appearing in the Mercator:

ego me ubi invisum meo patri esse intellego
 atque odio +esse me+ quoi placere aequom fuit,
 amens amansque vi animum offirmo meum,
 dico esse iturum me mercatum, si velit:
 (Merc. 79-83).

This passage is taken from the long prologue spoken by Charinus, who not only unfolds the plot but also discourses on the nature and effects of love and presents his own current situation. The phrase amens amans succinctly summarizes the tenor of Charinus' long discourse on love, that love is an irrational force driving man to absurdities and pressing concerns.³² Plautus probably chose to use amens instead of insanus, demens, or some other word of near

equivalent meaning because of the pun on amans. It is surprising that he did not employ this pun more often for comic exaggeration as there are numerous scenes involving "senseless" lovers and comments of other characters on the effects of love. Perhaps even by Plautus' time the phrase amens amans was a cliché, and the playwright preferred to avoid the common expression and to use different phraseology. It is more probable that Plautus is experimenting with an expression and pun, for Terence too employs the same pun,³³ and uses both amens and demens in the love vocabulary to a greater extent than Plautus in less than one-third of the number of plays.

The word amens also occurs twice in argumenta to two plays.³⁴ But because the argumenta are almost assuredly non-Plautine, the use of amens is not relevant. In three other instances, amens appears as a textual variant for amans or amare,³⁵ which shows the power of the image of a lover as a deranged person.

Interestingly, in the Mercator (16-38), during Charinus' long list of maladies that love produces, dementia, amentia, insania, and saevitia are not mentioned. However, sickness (aegritudo: 19), deviation (error: 25), and senseless inconsideration (incogitantia excors: 27) are a few of the words that Plautus chooses to express the irrational and demented features of love, notions that I have shown appear elsewhere.³⁶

Preston³⁷ has shown that the terminology of Charinus' catalogue reflects the Stoic view of madness. To the Stoic believer (sapiens) stupidity and ignorance were considered synonymous with insanity:

Stoici qui omnes insipientes insanos esse dicunt.
(Cic. Tusc. 4.54).

The catalogue in the Mercator has the terms ineptia, stultitia, and incogitantia, which seem to indicate and justify the Stoic concept of madness. Plautus often employs terms that denote mental dullness coupled with words that indicate a lack of education. Such words as blennus, bardus, morus, morologus, stultus, and stolidus often reinforce the Stoic idea that ignorance implies a low mental level.³⁸

Although Charinus' list of the disastrous effects of love appears to emphasize the Stoic notion of an irrational concept of love, the Mercator elsewhere does exhibit a distinction between a rational conception of love and an irrational one. Demipho, an old man, falls in love with a young girl whom his son, Charinus, has brought home after a commercial venture. In a monologue Demipho characterizes his own situation, stating that even he realizes the illogical and unusual nature of his love:

quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sanei solent
homines sed eodem pacto ut insanei solent.
amavi hercle equidem ego olim in adolescentia,
verum ad hoc exemplum numquam ut nunc insanio.
(Merc. 262-268).

Demipho's confession implies that a deep passionate love is acceptable for a young man, but that love for him in his old

age was not generally approved as a rational act of a sane man. Interestingly, Plautus in this passage uses his most characteristic term (insanus) to express the irrationality of Demipho's feelings. Paradoxically, this word is lacking in Charinus' long enumeration of love's ills and calamitous effects.

The uncontrollable nature of love is suggested by other terms that I have connected with the vocabulary and imagery of the mad. In the introductory fragments to the Bacchides, we find saevus used to state the effect of love:

Cupidon tecum saevit ane Amor? (frag. xiv: Lindsay).

Although we would hope for more contextual support, the use of saevire suggests a brutal, wild image and is reminiscent of the Ennian saevo amore saucia of Medea.³⁹ However, despite the many scenes and talk of love and lovers, we find no phrase such as saevus amor, saevus amans, etc., nor in fact saeva insania to denote explicitly the brutality or wildness of madness. We do find, nevertheless, saevus used and linked with the amatory vocabulary. From the Amphitruo, Mercury speaks an aside about his disguised father, Jupiter:

ex amore hic admodum quam saevos est. (Amph. 541).

Mercury is commenting on Jupiter's abuse of him and his deception of Alcmena. Saevos reflects Jupiter's bad temper and rough orders to Mercury, who is disguised as the slave Sosia. It is interesting to note that love is called the motivating factor for Jupiter's abuse.

The same word is used by Charinus to describe his father Demipho in the Mercator. Charinus sees his father's strictness and harsh commands as a result of his falling in love:

scio saevo' quam sit, domo doctus. igitur
hoccine est amare? arare mavelim quam sic amare.
(Merc. 354-356).

Charinus' long monologue on his own mental condition and his father's reaction to his dissipation is ironic (335-363). His falling in love has brought unexpected results and led him to doubt the delight of love.⁴⁰ It is doubtful that saevus was chosen simply because love is the major topic and theme of Charinus' speech or because saevus is to anticipate the ideas concerning love. More probable is that Plautus in the last two quoted passages simply chose saevus to describe best a negative, disagreeable trait of character. I have already commented on this particular usage and its suggestion of bestiality and wildness from a fragment of Accius describing the temperament and conduct of a tyrant.⁴¹ There are other instances in which saevus is used to indicate excessive anger, cruelty, or severity,⁴² often to describe an old man's anger toward his son or slave as in the passage of Mercator quoted above.

Similarly, in the Bacchides Philoxenes warns his slave Lydus to restrain his hot temper and zeal:

heia, Lyde, leniter qui saeviunt sapiunt magis.
(Bacch. 408).

In this gnomic statement Plautus indicates that by tempering rash "anger" or "ragings" (leniter qui saeviunt), greater

infer that the sea's violent, capricious, and savage nature is emphasized. The last word, vesanum, well summarizes the string of previous adjectives used to describe the god's uncontrollable temperament (avidī mores): it is mad, manic, sickening, expressed by one of Plautus' favorite images, vesanum--mental sickness or disease.

The escape from the roughness and storm at sea is delineated by Charinus in the Mercator (195-197). The waves of the sea in a storm are said to rage (saevis fluctibus).⁴⁴ Charinus has indeed escaped the hazards of the sea, but his words portend impending entanglement and trouble with his girl and father.

In the Rudens a storm at sea is rendered by the phrase tempestate saeva (917). In this instance the phrase seems to have no metaphorical intent, for the slave Gripus is simply describing the bad weather that he endured during a fishing trip. Also in the Rudens, Labrax complains of the sea's brutality against him:

non hercle quo hinc nunc gentium aufugiam scio,
ita nunc mi utrumque saevit, et terra et mare.
(Rud. 824-825).

The audience probably was not too surprised to hear the familiar image of the "raging" sea (saevire), but in this passage, because of Labrax's special circumstances, a new element is added: the earth, too, is said to rage against him. The passage makes clear the nature metaphor in saevire; it is not shocking to hear that the land as well as the sea can be brutal.

An attempt to show that the early Latin poets used saevire to describe the wild, bestial character of nature has been consistently made. Although Plautus mainly limits his use of saevire to storms at sea and metaphorically to the hot temper and severity of certain characters, there are occurrences to suggest the wildness of nature.⁴⁵ Nowhere does Plautus use saevus as an abusive term for a particular individual, but, if it is employed to describe a character, it always denotes his severity or a disagreeable and negative trait of character in the eyes of another character. Comic exaggeration may dictate its use, but it never descends to the weakness of an expletive or an abuse.⁴⁶

Other words used in later literature to indicate or strengthen the idea of madness are not necessarily used to show unusual behavior in the plays of Plautus. The word improbus and its derived forms occur forty-eight times, but the usage is limited to a synonym for malus, a wicked man, or a term of abuse.⁴⁷ Ira and iratus occur a number of times but do not appear to be associated with the mentally insane. The common metaphor "to be on fire with anger" (ira incendere, cf. Asin. 420 and Pseud. 201) simply indicates intense anger with no direct manifestation of madness. Plautus uses impius only twice. In one instance (Pseud. 975) impius is linked with other terms (including improbus) to form a long string of abuse directed toward a pimp. In this passage, the word impius loses its primary intent of lack of religious piety. In Miles Gloriosus 584--nam uni

satis populo inpio merui mali--inpio may reflect the idea of an undevoted people, but lack of specific details limits us from knowing exactly what "wicked" deeds this unnamed people committed to deserve this epithet. Nor is there any indication of unusual or deranged behavior.

As previously stated, when Plautus wants to denote scenes and thoughts of madness, he chooses the word insanus before all others. Demens and amens are used sparingly. Rabies, vecordia, inops animi, and larvae appear sporadically and often are found to clarify or strengthen the medical imagery inherent in insanus, and to suggest violent activity and behavior. More concluding remarks concerning Plautus will follow a treatment of Terence.

Terence

One of Terence's uses of amens in the Andria has already been pointed out.⁴⁸ As in Plautus' Merc. 82, Terence employs a paranomasia with amens and amans:

audireque eorumst operae pretium audaciam
(nam inceptiost amentium, haud amantium):
(An. 217-218).

However, in this passage, unlike Plautus' amens amans (Merc. 82), Terence clearly separates and distinguishes the lover (amans) from the actions of the mad (amens). Generally in the works of Terence, amens is not specifically used to denote the actions of lovers. In this particular passage the slave Davus is relating that Simo is lamenting not that his son Pamphilus is in love but that he has disobeyed him

and been undutiful by taking up with a foreigner. In both the Heauton Timoroumenos (974) and the Hecyra (672) Terence uses amentia in the question quae...amentiast? In neither case is the reason for the insanity articulated, but both questions simply comment on the action and turn of events. The nature of the amentia is left ambiguous. In any case, no one is called mad (amens) nor is love definitely blamed for any strange behavior.

Demens/dementia occurs four times in Terence. As in the case of amens, the exact nuance reflected in the word is difficult to discern. In the Adelphoe, hanc dementia (758) is used as an expletive:

O Iuppiter,
 hancine vitam! hoscine mores! hanc dementia!
 uxor sine dote veniet; (Ad. 757-759).

Demea, just as Simo in the Andria, is not cursing his son's love affair or love, but is regretting that the bride is without dowry. To him it is madness, a deviation from the normal accepted custom (hoscine mores).

Almost the same phraseology is found in 389-390 in the Adelphoe. In answer to Demea's question: eho, an domist habiturus?, the slave Syrus replies: credo, ut est dementia. Demea is upset that his brother Micio will allow a foreign woman to be kept in the house. Demea considers the actions of his brother a disgrace and shame: fratris me quidem/pudet pigitque (391-392). Syrus plays the fool and agrees with Demea's ranting, adding that it is plain lunacy (ut est dementia).⁴⁹

In the Andria, Simo expresses his surprise and shock at finding out that Glycerium, the woman from Andros, has given birth:

quid hoc?
adeone est demens? ex peregrina? (An. 468-469).

Although Simo then thinks that the birth of the child is a pretense and ruse to trick him, his initial reaction reflects his feeling about his son's behavior and Davus' complicity. Simo cannot believe that his son or Davus (the adjective demens has an ambiguous modification) has gone so far in his involvement with a foreigner.

The final usage of demens seems to me more significant. In the Heauton Timoroumenos, Clinia rants, thinking that his girl friend Antiphila has betrayed him:

O Iuppiter, ubi namst fides?
dum ego propter te errans patria careo demens,
tu interea loci
conlocupletasti te, Antiphila, et me in his
deservisti malis,
propter quam in summa infamia sum et meo patri
minus sum obsequens:
(Haut. 256-259).

I have chosen to comment on this passage in particular because Clinia describes himself as an aberrant. In this case we are not dealing with a general expletive (quae dementia), hearsay, or the view of a third person about another's mental condition. Clinia's desperate situation is dramatized for several reasons: his love for Antiphila, his trip abroad taken at the urging of his father, his difficulties, both economic and mental, while away, his homesickness, and his hasty return home. There is no intent

to argue that the adjective demens reflects all these characteristics, but to maintain that it does assist in strengthening all the ideas in this context. Errans, too, connotes his sense of helplessness and general deviation from normal behavior. Clinia sees that his love for Antiphila has brought him a bad reputation and caused him to show insufficient filial respect to his father. To a Roman audience not only would one's own personal sense of aimlessness seem a form of deviation, but the loss of reputation and a lack of proper familial devotion would be even more suspiciously viewed as a form of mental instability. It is significant that Clinia here describes his own feelings and behavior to such a length. Terence does not simply have Clinia say "stolidus" or "stupidus sum," but with the terminology of madness exaggerates and embellishes Clinia's long-winded lament, all, of course, for comic effect. I am inclined to think that Terence chose to use demens rather than insanus, the more common term for madness, simply because it was less common, particularly in comedy, and therefore, more striking.

Terence, just as Plautus, did rely heavily on insanus to express the notion of madness. Whereas in the plays of Plautus the use of insanus usually showed the result of a mistaken identity, in Terence insania is a more general term and reflects a more popular notion. In the six plays of Terence, insanus occurs sixteen times.⁵⁰ In only one instance is it possible to say that a character is called

mad as a result of a mistaken identity. In the Eunuchus, Phaedria calls a servant mad because she alleges that a eunuch raped Pamphila. The eunuch had been sent to look after Pamphila who was being entrusted to the servant's mistress. Neither Phaedria nor the servant is aware that Chaerea, Phaedria's younger brother, is dressed as the eunuch and has assumed his role:

DO: an obsecro, mea Pythias, quod istuc non mon-
strum fuit?

PH: insanis: qui istuc facere eunuchus potuit?
(Eun. 656-657).

Even in this particular case, Phaedria does not call the servant mad because he is mistaken about her identity, but because he believes the account that he has heard from the servant--that a eunuch violently raped a girl--impossible.

During a previous scene in the same play, the servant announces the attack of the supposed eunuch:

ita me di ament, quantum ego illum vidi, non nil
timeo misera,
ne quam ille hodie insanus turbam faciat aut vim
Thafdi.
(Eun. 615-616).

Because she does not understand such violent action, the servant describes the eunuch as a madman and fears further unusual behavior and action.

In the Adelphoe violence or brutal action is the cause for the epithet of madness. Syrus, a slave, pretends to complain that he has been beaten by Ctesipho. In this pretense, violence and in particular the beating of an old man are reprehensible and the actions of a madman:

Insanity (insanias) is contrasted with order and rationality (ratione). Parmeno's conclusion here is a restatement of his claims about the irrationality of love. Love has no rule or golden mean (neque consilium neque modum/habet ullum: 57-58) nor is it possible to control it by any rational means (eam consilio neque non potes: 58). Love, like madness, has no definite rules guided by set patterns of behavior.⁵³

In the prologue to the Phormio, Terence answers a critic's charge that he has not portrayed in a previous play a senseless young man running about the stage chasing after a deer that is being pursued by hunting dogs:

...nusquam insanum scripsit adolescentulum
 cervam videre fugere et sectari canes
 et eam plorare, orare, ut subveniat sibi.
 (Phorm. 6-9).

Since we have no scenes from Roman comedy of an actual madman on the stage, it seems unlikely that Terence is being criticized for not portraying and staging a real madman as one of the main characters in a play. Terence views such actions as sensational and insane and summarily rejects such criticisms.

Although there are other occurrences of the word insanus in the plays of Terence, they are used in a very general sense and reflect a common notion of madness. A character can be called insanus for any number of reasons and the word often becomes an abuse or an expression for anger.⁵⁴

Besides insanus, amens, and demens, the most common terms for insane or non-rational conduct, a few other words indicate and suggest irrationality or aberration. The one usage of delirare in Terence and its close connection with insania has already been pointed out.⁵⁵ In Terence's plays vecordia occurs only once. In the Andria Charinus complains that his friend Pamphilus has betrayed him:

Hocine [est] credibile aut memorabile,
 tanta vecordia innata quoiquam ut siet
 ut malis gaudeant atque ex incommodis
 alterius sua ut comparent commoda?
 (An. 625-628).

From the context, the word vecordia seems to mean "lack of sensitivity" which reflects the definition given by Festus: vecors est turbati et mali cordis. However, this definition suggests disturbance and agitation due to malice or ill-treatment. From this scene Charinus certainly feels that his friend has wronged and embarrassed him, but the quotation and the following context show no wild inexplicable behavior nor mental disturbance on Pamphilus' part. If Terence intended to suggest some form of irrationality by the word vecordia, the context weakens that suggestion. I do not believe that this passage reveals a deep psychological trauma or insane activity resulting from delight in another's misfortune. Surely Charinus is overstating and exaggerating the "madness" that his friend Pamphilus is exhibiting by his forced consent to marry the daughter of Chremes.

The Eunuchus has the only occurrence of the word rabies (301). Parmeno, a slave, speaks the line and refers

to some future wild behavior of Chaerea, the brother of Parmeno's master. The precise nature of the madness is not stated nor even suggested. Supposedly it is understood that Chaerea's sudden love will cause his madness. We have seen Ennius and Plautus use rabiosus to suggest the raving of a mad dog.⁵⁶ If Terence had this image in mind in this passage, the suggestion is not continued nor developed. Rabies reflects the theme of amans amens or amans insanus--love is a disease.

Of other words that might be used to denote irrational behavior, saevus is found five times in the extant plays.⁵⁷ There is no direct linking of saevus with derangement, but only suggestions of unusual behavior. In the Eunuchus, the courtesan Thais asks Chaerea if he is afraid of her:

num meam saevitiam veritus es? (Eun. 854).

Thais pretends that Chaerea is a eunuch, fully aware of his disguise and behavior. Her question intimates that she has some sort of power over him and he should fear the exercise of her control. The saevitia is not a source of love nor does it suggest the hardheartedness of a woman toward a lover.⁵⁸ By her question Thais continues the deception of Chaerea's disguise and suggests that she can be a brutal taskmaster if need be.

In Adelphoe 866, saevus is included in an enumeration of terms that Demea uses to describe himself. Demea is contrasting himself with the view that others hold of his brother, Micio. Included in the list is truculentus, along with some

other terms that denote negative character traits. Demea's self-criticism sharply contrasts with how others feel about his brother (omnes bene dicunt, amant: 865). Donatus comments that saevus refers to Demea's actions and truculentus to his facial expression (saevus factis est, tristis animo, truculentus vultu). According to Donatus tristis applies to the mental faculties and consciousness, but his definition seems to imply spiritual discontent and "low-spirit," lack of zeal, feeling, or sensitivity.⁵⁹ Other uses of saevus seem to indicate a term for an excessive hot temper or a negative trait of character with little indication of any disturbing loss of mental faculties.

Although the etymology of vehemens (vemens) would seem to suggest some loss of mental stability, the six occurrences in Terence do not definitely indicate such an image.⁶⁰ In most instances vehemens appears to be a synonym for cupide or studio, perhaps suggesting excessive or strong eagerness.⁶¹ The contexts do not expand upon the idea of insanity or irrationality and the imagistic force of vemens (vehemens) is not continued or developed. However, in the Adelphoe 682, vehementer is juxtaposed with dolet and delictum which suggest some mental loss. Only the plot of the play informs us what the fault (delictum) is that causes the character's pain and his shame: the seduction of a girl and the failure to inform his father. Aeschinus' self-denunciation in this scene is rhetorically exaggerated; there seems to be little justification for him to believe that he is mentally defi-

cient. However, the scene ends with Micio (Aeschinus' father) advising the young man to pray to gods for his wrongdoing, but Aeschinus declares that his fault precludes him from gaining any favor from the gods and that he (Micio) should do the praying to gods since he is morally more upright.⁶²

Perhaps more significant is the use of vehemens in Haut. 440. Chremes tells his neighbor Menedemus that he lacks the proper balance in handling his son:

vehemens in utramque partem, Menedeme, es nimis
aut largitate nimia aut parsimonia: (Haut. 440-441).

Surely vehemens does not mean excessive zeal or violent behavior in this instance but indicates a lack of moderation on Menedemus' part, as stated. He has not exercised the proper function of his mind, which has led him to be either too strict or too lenient toward his son. Chremes goes on to point out that in either case, excessive extravagance or stinginess, equal disaster results.

Terence commonly uses other words and metaphors to denote violent or strong action or feeling. The metaphors of fire and heat often occur to denote intense anger or passion, with the words incendere, ardere, and urere most frequently used.⁶³ Plautus, too, uses these metaphors, especially to imply deep passion.⁶⁴ I have already pointed out the Plautine ardent oculi (Capt. 594) to denote the strange, bizarre appearance of a supposed madman.⁶⁵ Such imagery and metaphors, as we shall see, are developed by the elegists and exploited in their amatory language to describe the effects of love.

Concerning the metaphors of disease and its cure, we have already noticed Plautus' heavy dependence on them to describe the mentally sick man (insanus). The call for a doctor to cure a disease (morbis) became a common cliché for madness.⁶⁶ Terence, too, employs this metaphor but very seldom to characterize or denote a madman. Numerous maladies are designated as pathological and needing a cure, among which the most frequent is love sickness.⁶⁷ In some instances the metaphor is left vague and general. Davus' aside in An. 468--quod remedium nunc huic malo inveniam?-- indicates that the medical image applies to a "way out," a "salvation" from the present bad situation. This same meaning is apparent in Haut. 539, Phorm. 824, and Ad. 294. Although the language suggests some disease or wound that needs treatment, these passages show that no particular disease, physical or mental, is being discussed, but a rather troublesome or annoying difficulty. In An. 831 and Hec. 239, the medical imagery is extended. A cure is requested for an individual's behavior that appears bizarre or strange to others. In the former passage, Chremes complains that Pamphilus' behavior needs medical attention; in the latter, Sostrata's character and temperament (mores) are said to be a cause of the unusual behavior (morbis) of Philumena who is living with Sostrata.

As I have attempted to show in my treatment of Plautus and Terence, although furere is not a part of their vocabulary, the idea of irrationality or madness that could

and would often be phrased in later literature by furere or its cognates does occur. Madness or bizarre behavior is often linked to love or distraught lovers. I have shown that comic exaggeration and the theme of mistaken identity also present the language and metaphor of madness. Both authors favor the word insanus to denote a "mad" person. Terence uses amens/demens more frequently than Plautus, while Plautus introduces the idea of maddening spirits occupying the body (larvae). Although there occur sufficient examples of the language of madness, neither Plautus nor Terence introduces on the stage an insane character. In Roman comedy we are not presented with a character like an Ajax, Medea, or Orestes. Therefore, it is difficult to notice and critically evaluate how these types of characters are drawn or portrayed. Our view of madness in Roman comedy must continually be tempered by the fact that we are dependent upon one character calling another insane in a comic situation. Even a close examination of metaphorical language does not always help us understand an author's attitude and perception of insanity, because the imagery is not consistent. Of Plautus and Terence it is possible to say that they generally expressed their view of madness in terms of a disease. It appears that the word furere in the sense of madness was unknown to them.

CHAPTER III

LUCILIUS, EARLY INSCRIPTIONS AND THE TWELVE TABLES

Lucilius

When we turn to the fragments of Lucilius, our knowledge of the concept of furere is hindered by a number of problems. In Lucilius, as in Plautus and Terence, the word does not occur, although he seems to have known of its existence or the concept behind it. Porphyrio, in commenting upon Horace Sat. 2.3.41, says "ostendit quid sit furor ut Lucilius..."¹ Unfortunately, no line or word is quoted by Porphyrio to prove definitely that Lucilius used the word. However, from Porphyrio's note it is clear that Lucilius did understand madness according to Stoic standards. The Horatian passage:

quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri
caecum agit, insanum Chryssippi porticus et grex
autumat. (Sat. 2.3.43-45)

demonstrates the common Stoic conception that stupidity and ignorance were reflections of insanity.² Although in this quotation Horace uses the word insanum to denote the non-believer in Stoicism, a few lines previously Damasippus (a bankrupt businessman recently converted to Stoicism) is characterized by the famous Stoic Stertinus. Stertinus, as

Damasippus reports the conversation to Horace, explained to him his irrational behavior and fear:

'pudor,' inquit, 'te malus angit,
 insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.
 primum nam inquiram, quid sit furere:
 (Sat. 2.3.39-41).³

Insanus and furere are linked, strengthening and yet varying the language of the Stoic concept of the irrational. It is impossible to determine if Lucilius juxtaposed these words to explain a concept of madness.

It has been shown above how the poets of Roman comedy often employed abusive terms of stupidity to indicate the strange or unusual person. Since the line from Lucilius is not quoted and the passage from Horace dwells heavily upon the Stoic view of stupidity and ignorance, I suggest that Lucilius, too, used language conforming to the Stoic view of madness to describe madness. For all we know he may have written insania and Porphyrio's comment may reflect a later terminology and understanding of the concept. Hence, Porphyrio's cryptic remark, ostendit quid sit furor.

The only other possible occurrence of the concept of furere is found in 4.155. The Lucilian passage is cited by Cicero (Tusc. 4.48) and represents the words of a certain Pacideianus, a rather famous gladiator:

'occidam illum equidem et vincam si id quaeritis,'
 inquit.
 'verum illud credo fore: in os prius accipiam ipse,
 quam gladium in stomacho †furiam† ac pulmonibu sisto:
 odi hominem, iratus pugno, nec longius quicquam
 nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter;
 usque adeo, studio atque odio illius, eferor ira.'
 (153-158).

The reading furia in the third line is very suspect. The manuscripts read suria, which makes no sense whatsoever. Marx has most of the variants and Warmington adds others.⁴ If we choose to read furia with Marx, the word would have to mean "anger" balancing iratus in the following line and ira in the last line. If we accept Bentley's suggestion of furiae, the meaning would become "of a madman." I defend neither reading, and, in fact, I believe neither is possible for the following reasons. So far in our survey of the terminology, the word furia has not occurred except in the form of Furiarum in Ennius where it is definitely a personification and translation of the Greek Ἐρινύς.⁵ It would be a very bold metaphor for Lucilius to transfer Furia, a wild demon, first to a term meaning demonic madness, secondly to madness in general, and finally to an expression of human anger or wrath. The remains of the early literature hardly support any meaning of "madness" much less a metaphorical sense of anger. The argument is being made ex silentio, but it seems strange to me that no such meaning of a common idea like anger was ever used before. I would expect somewhere in the remains of Plautus and Terence or the early dramatists for furia to have been used in this sense. In any case there is no previous parallel use of the word. Three references to Pacideianus' anger are an otiose repetition; in addition, the nominal ablative seems difficult and obscure in a place where an adjective, such as furiosus, would seem more natural and forceful.

More understandable is Bentley's emendation of furiae (with the demonic madness of an Erinyes). This reading could perhaps be supported by the line from Ennius, but again all the literature from Ennius to Lucilius lacks such a usage, and, in addition, one would expect some other reference somewhere to demonic wildness or uncontrollability.⁶

From the passages of Lucilius quoted, I have tried to show that the use of the word furere is subject to doubt. In any case, whether or not Lucilius used the term, he seems aware of the concept of irrational behavior. He reuses a line from Pacuvius (112): di monerint meliora, amentiam averruncassint tuam (653), removing atque for metrical reasons. According to Marx's commentary on this line, someone is advising Lucilius not to compose satire using the verse of tragedy; presumably amentiam tuam would refer to Lucilius and his use of tragic verse and diction in satire. Of course, in removing it from the tragic context, Lucilius has changed the intent and meaning of the line, transferring it to his own literary taste and particular situation. Amentia, then, assumes a meaning that we have not noticed previously in the tragedians or the comic poets: a bold and unusual use of literary material.

Four occurrences of the word insanus add to our understanding of Lucilius' use of terms of madness. The first use is quoted by Nonius as a comment upon the word malta:

insanum vocat, quem maltam ac feminam dici videt.
(732).

Nonius introduces this Lucilian quotation by a definition of malta: 'malta' veteres molles appellari voluerunt a Graeco, quasi μαλακούς . Similarly, Porphyrio commenting upon Horace Sat. 1.2.25--Malthinus tunicis demissis--explains the connection between the word maltha (malta) and Malthinus, and indicates that Malthinus was a synonym for Maecenas. Since Maecenas was well-known for his alleged effeminate behavior, the link between malta and Malthinus seems more assured. Lucilius has introduced a new nuance to the meaning of insanus by linking it definitely with effeminacy. The man who conducts himself in the fashion of a woman is viewed as a deviant from normal masculine behavior. This view of deviation agrees basically with the Stoic view of irrational behavior outlined in Horace Sat. 2.3. Horace, however, as we shall see, not only uses insanus to describe such abnormal behavior, but also furere, morbus, amentia, and other similar terms.

Another use of insanus occurs in a proverbial expression to mean finding a difficulty where none exists:

...nodum in scirpo insane quaerere vultis (36).

Marx's reading of insane quaerere vultis is based upon a parallel in Terence (An. 941), although most editors accept insano facere ulcus, with apparently about the same meaning as Marx's emendation. In any case some form of the word insanus is assured and the overall meaning of the line is settled. I prefer the more traditional reading insano facere ulcus to balance the idea of looking for a knot among

reeds as a foolish and unusual occurrence. Wounding a sick man (insano) is, after all, about as fruitless and senseless as looking for knots on bullrushes.

In another instance, insanus is linked with the word cerebrosus, which suggests that hot temper and anger are the qualities that are being described (514). Lack of more definite information and more context limits further interpretation, except to say that Horace later uses the word cerebrosum (Sat. 1.5.21) to denote a wild, unsavory character.

The last use of insanus to be cited adds little to our understanding:

Hymnis, ego animum si induco, quod tu ab insano
 auferas. (894).

Besides textual problems with hymnis, the scene is obscure. Marx explains that a young man is talking to a prostitute and that me is to be supplied after insano. Why the young man would call himself "insane" is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps he notes his weakness toward women and the prostitute's ability to sap his strength or take his money. Marx argues that Martial 11.50 has a similar sentiment, but this is rather dubious, since there is so little information on the Lucilian fragment.

We have seen that Lucilius was aware of a concept of irrationality, although he may not have used the word furere. In fact, there are found in the Lucilian fragments few terms that usually connote madness or wild behavior. We have no occurrence of vecordia, larva, demens, or rabies. However,

saevus and vehemens appear four times, and improbis occurs in numerous passages. Some other terms and passages will also illustrate that Lucilius has used the concept of deviation.

In Lucilius 1014 we find a contrast between the poet's deeds and words: idque tuis factis saevis et tristibus dictis. Saevus is used to modify the deeds (factis saevis) which recalls the note of Donatus on Terence.⁷

Although tristibus dictis in that line may refer to the type of satire which Lucilius writes,⁸ the exact reference to "brutal deeds" in contrast to the poet's writing is obscure. We cannot definitely establish that the "deeds" were considered a deviation, although saevis does in itself suggest an animalistic image, i.e., not human. The same point may be said about saeva lege in 573. The undue strictness of the law causes a very unusual reaction:

Calpurni saeva lege in Pisonis reprehendi,
eduxique animam in primor[is fauc]ibus naris⁹
(573-574).

Another use of saevus occurs in a nature image which is familiar from the earlier literature:

quodque te in tranquillum ex saevis transfer[t]
tempestatibus (626).

The uncontrollability of nature's power is contrasted with calm. Undoubtedly Lucilius is speaking in figurative language, suggesting mental or intellectual calm and control after worry and emotional problems. Cichorius suggests that Lucilius is praising the pursuit of history.¹⁰ Marx on his

note to this passage thinks that Lucilius is advocating a turn to Epicurean philosophy, using the Latin term tranquillum to express Epicurus' ἀταραξία, withdrawal from the anxieties of society.¹¹ Cichorius' suggestion that the line may refer to the pursuit of history seems to me unsubstantiated. Regardless of the exact reference of the context, the imagery is clear: passing from a storm to a calm. The adjective saevus intensifies the image and suggests the uncontrolled savagery of nature.

The last use of saevus occurs in the military language linked with durus:

et saevo ac duro in bello multo optimus hostis (973). Naturally, the word saevus underscores the brutality of war, but from this limited context, it is difficult to attach any notion of deviation or derangement.

From the four uses of vehemens in Lucilius, there is no direct link with the idea of insanity. In Lucilius vehemens is usually contrasted with something gentle or mild. In one instance the word occurs in a nature image to describe the bad temper of a person:

continuo, simul ac paulo vehementius aura
inflat, fluctus erex(er)it extuleritque (998-999).

There is nothing odd or unusual in a breeze stirring up a storm at sea. However, the word aura does not by itself indicate a storm nor indeed incipient bad weather. By the addition of vehementius the idea of a blowing storm is strengthened. Vehemens is commonly employed in nature imagery to denote the violence and fury of its caprice.¹²

Other examples of the term vehemens do not seem to have much suggestion of an irrational nature.¹³ Only the adverbial form vehementer or vehementius occurs and the force of the adverb appears weak. The nuance suggested by the etymology of the word (vae + mens or veh + mens) seems to have disappeared. The adverb becomes a somewhat stronger synonym for valide.

Although the word ira or any notion of anger not clearly connected to irrational behavior has not been treated, I have already quoted a passage in which anger is associated with very violent activity and the idea of irrationality (153-158). Concerning this passage I have expressed doubts that furia is the correct reading, but I have noted that Lucilius was aware of the concept of madness.¹⁴ In another passage Lucilius suggests that excessive anger may lead to violent and unwanted behavior:

...tu, qui iram indulges nimis,
manus a muliere abstinere melius sit (900-901).

Later writers will link ira and furor.¹⁵ However, in the early writers, very seldom does ira or its related forms appear associated with any word denoting madness. I note this Lucilian passage because the idea of excessive anger leading to violence against a woman is repeated by Ovid in the terminology of madness:

adde manus in vincla meas (meruere catenas),
dum furor omnis abit, si quis amicus ades:
nam furor in dominam temeraria bracchia movit;
flet mea vesana laesa puella manu.
(Am. 1.7.1-4).

Ovid twice describes this violence engendered by extreme anger with the word furor. The irrationality of his actions is also underscored by the use of vesana, a word clearly indicating the intemperance and maddening nature of his violence. In Lucilius, however, ira is not found very often nor does the poet frequently employ the theme of anger in the extant fragments. More important than the frequency of the occurrence of the terminology or the theme of anger is that words or ideas of madness are not normally linked or associated with ira. I suggest that the concept of furere articulated by terms of madness to express violent anger and fully developed and exploited by the time of Ovid was not in use before or during Lucilius' own day. Even among the comic poets the idea of anger is not generally used with words or notions of madness, although "anger" is a very common theme in the scenes of comedy.¹⁶

Before leaving our brief study of Lucilius, a few observations on the uses of the word improbis should be added. From the comic poets we have noted that improbis was used most often as an abuse. Although improbis was originally an agricultural term,¹⁷ it was not found in a nature image to describe the violence of nature or a wild beast, nor was it associated with those called insane (insanus or amens/demens). As in Plautus and Terence, in Lucilius too, in most instances, the word has an abusive flavor.¹⁸ In other fragments improbis admittedly has insulting overtones, yet suggests other nuances beyond a strong

synonym for malus. Lucilius twice calls himself improbus:

omnes formonsi, fortes tibi, ego improbus. esto.
(1026)

and

amicos hodie cum inprobo illo audivimus
Lucilio advocasse (821-822).

For some reason Lucilius has willingly contrasted himself with others whom he considers more deserving. Agreeing with Marx,¹⁹ I believe that Lucilius is contrasting his character and the character of his satiric poetry with the character of his peers among his politico-poetical group.²⁰ The friends mentioned in 821 may be answering a particular bothersome critic. If this is the case, Lucilius' epithet to describe himself reflects the unusual and uncommon nature of his poetry and his own character. It seems unlikely that Lucilius would admit his own moral degeneration or inferiority, unless he were answering such a charge in the terms of his detractor. For all we know the beautiful (formonsi) and the brave (fortes), alluded to in 1025, may be outstanding Romans with traditional Roman beliefs and behavior, i.e., soldiers, lawyers, and/or politicians. Lucilius, for whatever reasons, regards himself as a moral inferior to such men and understands that his genre of poetry and his particular handling of that genre are unusual and definitely un-Roman.

In 1065-1066, improbus is found in a string of abusive epithets to describe two prostitutes:

illo quid fiat, Lamia et Bitto, oxyodontes
 quod veniunt, illae †gumiae†, vetulae, improbae
 ineptae? (1065-1066).

I will not comment on the passage except to note that improbae precedes ineptae, a term used in the comic poets to denote stupid, aimless behavior.²¹ Improbae could be as disparate an element to ineptae as vetulae and the other terms. I suspect that the close linking with ineptae has a more meaningful purpose than simple abuse: to indicate in more precise terms than in the gutter language represented by oxyodontes (a Greek word), gumiae (whatever that means) and vetulae, the utter moral depravity and deviation of the two prostitutes.

In another passage, Asellus, a tribune of the people (140 B.C.), is called improbis because he objected to the carrying out of a lustrum:

Scipiadae magno improbus obiciebat Asellus
 lustrum illo censore malum infelixque fuisse
 (394-395).

It is difficult to know whether Asellus' obstructionism or opposition to Scipio earned him this abuse from Lucilius. Perhaps Lucilius considered Asellus' action as irrational. I admit to both possibilities but cannot definitely prove either contention. We have other information about T. Claudius Asellus but none to indicate that his actions were considered a serious form of extremism like the later actions of the Gracchi.

The last occurrence of improbis appears in 1024-1025, in which fragment I have already considered the use of

vehementius.²² Again, it is difficult to show that improbis has any connotations of unusual or unacceptable behavior. If the word or the context could admit nuances of irrationality, the two-line fragment would show an effective contrast between the man who is improbior and biting more zealously (vehementius mordet) and the person designated as blandior (more gentle or charming). Lack of context and supporting parallels prevent further speculation on this use of improbis.

To summarize our treatment of the Lucilian fragments briefly, we may say that the poet was aware of a concept of irrationality which later poets classified as a furor. However, there is no definitive proof that Lucilius ever used the word furere to express the concept. Moreover, Lucilius does not use many words or phrases indicating uncontrolled behavior, failing to add to previous images and terminology to denote "madness."

Early Inscriptions

From the inscriptions of the Republic, there are no stones that bear any mention of furere. In fact, the inscriptions reveal no word meaning madness or irrationality. The word dolor appears several times, but clearly in the sense of "grief" or simply physical pain.²³ In one inscription impius is linked with sceleratus as an abusive term.²⁴ CIL I².1295 has desiderat/vehementer which intensifies the general sentiment of the inscription but does not

indicate any strong irrational force. In an inscriptional contract at Puteoli relating to construction work (I². 698 III.12), improbus is twice used in a legal sense meaning "invalid," "not reputable." The medical concept behind the word sanus is indicated by I².2520.33. In a defixio, Proserpina Salvia is invoked against a certain Plotius. The suppliant asks the goddess to affect all of Plotius' bodily parts lest he be able to function properly. One such request ends: ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire (33). It is possible that sanus may indicate a mental as well as a physical state, although the defixio clearly states that corporal organs and parts are the subject of the curse. It should not be surprising that terms of madness, deviation, or irrationality do not occur on the stones. Abusive terms are not unexpected. However, it is very unlikely that a funerary or dedicatory inscription would describe a relative, patron, or friend as a "raving maniac," i.e., furiosus, demens, amens, insanus, and the like.

From the early orators before Cicero's time, the fragmentary remains contribute little to our knowledge about the concept of furere. The word does not occur among the first century orators except, of course, in Cicero and once in the scanty remains of C. Asinius Pollio, who uses furiosum.²⁵ Cato expresses political extremism by the terms audacia and confidentia (22: Malcovati); for personal wildness and excess he uses ferocia (163: Malcovati). In a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius (13.3.14) from Cato's

speech against Quintus Minucius, various terms in rhetorical questions are used to express disgust, surprise, and dismay, but furor is lacking, as well as the other terms that I have been considering. Our meager remains from all the orators except for Cicero limit this investigation, and perhaps this lack of material explains why there are so few terms of madness or deviation.

The Twelve Tables

From later writers, we receive glimpses of the language and terminology of the so-called Twelve Tables. Aulus Gellius preserves the legal nuance of improbis (improbis intestabilisque esto: 15.13.11) which echoes the inscriptional use (I².698 III 12). Gellius also discusses the value and language of the Twelve Tables in 20.1. Sextus Caecilius, one of the speakers in this section, defends the spirit and language of the Twelve Tables. In particular, he comments upon the understanding and different nuances of the word morbis, clearly distinguishing between ordinary illness and dangerous disease:

nam morbus in lege ista non febriculosus neque nimium gravis, sed vitium aliquod inbecillitatis atque invalentiae demonstratur. non periculum vitae ostenditur. (20.1.27).

Caecilius is remarking upon a disorder that is not so much debilitating or physically injurious to a person but one that has social consequences and is generally viewed as a serious fault (vitium). He continues his definition and explanation, pointing out the seriousness of the malady and

how the ancient writers distinguished the different kinds and degrees of sickness:

ceteroqui morbum vehementiorem, vim graviter nocendi habentem, legum istarum scriptores alio in loco, non per se 'morbum,' sed 'morbum sonticum' appellat. (20.1).²⁶

The violence of the disorder is heightened by the words vehementiorem and graviter. The addition of the adjective sonticus shows how the juridical experts were attempting to distinguish legally between a dangerous disease affecting the legal machinery and a general notion of illness, such as we have seen in Plautus.²⁷

Cicero preserves for us the most important fragment from the Twelve Tables:

si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto. (Inv. Rhet. 2.50.148).

It is significant that the word furiosus is used at all. If Cicero has accurately quoted the language from the Twelve Tables as he had learned them, and there is no reason to believe that he did not, then the Laws of the Twelve Tables reflect a fifth century concept and perhaps terminology not common before the first century B.C. Cicero leaves no doubt that this selection from the Twelve Tables is referring to a person declared legally insane and therefore incompetent before the law. He apparently has this same provision in mind when he notes:

itaque non est scriptum, si insanus, sed, si furiosus escit. (Tusc. 3.5.11).

Cicero is distinguishing the terms for "madman" and defi-

nately indicates that the proper legal term was furiosus and not the more common word insanus. It seems strange that the writers before the time of Cicero did not clearly indicate and articulate the concept of madness in some linguistic form of furere. One would think that from all the fragments, historical, oratorical, and dramatic, and from the plays of the comic writers, the legal concept and definition of madness would have occurred more often (at least once), inasmuch as this fragment from the Laws of the Twelve Tables would seem to indicate that the word furiosus (and presumably furia from which it is derived) was a viable term and understandable to the public. I can think of only two reasons to explain this curious oddity: that the Ciceronian quote has erroneously led us to believe that his terminology accurately reflects the language of the fifth century, or that the word furiosus and presumably furia lapsed from common and literary usage only to be restored in the first century B.C.²⁸

The historical authenticity of the Twelve Tables has often been attacked.²⁹ Although most scholars have rejected such criticism,³⁰ most do believe that the language of the Twelve Tables mirrors usage and vocabulary closer to the first century B.C. rather than the fifth century.³¹ Very little has been said about the language of this particular Ciceronian quotation, as it presents no textual difficulty and is couched in the formulaic style and form of the other remains of the Tables.

The later imperial jurists often used furiosus to define the mentally incompetent, usually in cases of intestate succession. Demens is not a common term to describe the legally insane, and its employment in place of furiosus is a sign of late usage due to rhetorical writings.³² Therefore, legal and linguistic scholars have not generally commented on the language of this provision in the Twelve Tables, because the terminology coincides with the normal legal language that deals with insanity.

Despite the general agreement concerning the modernity of the overall language of the Twelve Tables, scholars admit that there are some archaic elements in phraseology and diction.³³ However, since we lack any authentic inscription and must rely on later quotations, the language of the Tables is very different from the Scipionic elogiae or the senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus (186 B.C.).³⁴ Even if we grant that the Ciceronian quotation is a genuine reflection of fifth century terminology, the form furiosus would be suspect.³⁵

If the details and conclusions of the arguments of Pais and Lambert have not won scholarly acceptance, Lambert's contention that the Twelve Tables, as we now have them, are derived from a recension made by Sextus Aelius Paetus Catus in the early second century B.C. has generally been adopted.³⁶ However, granted that Cicero had learned the Twelve Tables from the commentary of Sextus Paetus, no one has successfully challenged, or for that matter, even questioned, the content

of the law cited by Cicero. I do not doubt that the fifth century law dealt with the mentally incompetent,³⁷ but I do think that the word furiosus was a term interpolated by later compilers and interpreters, perhaps by Sextus Paetus or even by one of the famous Mucii Scaevolae.³⁸ As I have stated previously and I have tried to demonstrate, the occurrences and uses of the word furere are very limited, seldom found in any of the literature before the first century B.C. The adjective furiosus is not attested elsewhere before Lucretius, and as I have been arguing, the idea of madness or irrationality is consistently expressed by other terms. I cannot believe that such a concept stated and implied by the word furiosus in Tabulae 5.7a failed to be used for almost four hundred years or simply passed out of usage to be revived by the writers of the first century B.C.³⁹ Instead, the use of furere expressing mental aberration or irrational behavior may derive not from the literature but from the legal terminology developed in the second century or early first century B.C.

CHAPTER IV

LUCRETIUS

The previous chapters of this investigation have shown that before the first century B.C. furere was neither a common word nor definitely used to indicate madness or irrationality.¹ As we have seen, insane, demonic, or wild behavior and deviation of any kind were generally expressed by various other words or expressions.

Lucretius is the first Roman writer to use the word furere extensively. In the De Rerum Natura, furere occurs thirteen times.² The word first appears in a description of the eruption of Mt. Aetna:

habet ignes unde oriantur
(nam multis succensa locis ardent sola terrae,
ex imis vero furit ignibus impetus Aetnae);
(2.591-593).

It is significant that furere occurs in a scene of nature, recalling the Ennian use of furentibus ventis.³ Although in this particular passage the winds are not the raging or uncontrolled factor, the belching fires of Aetna are destructive elements in nature. Impetus, which is linked with the vocabulary and imagery of fire (succensa, ardent, ignibus), and which is most associated with military language, adds to the picture of an all-encompassing rush of power and violence.

Another description of Mt. Aetna (6.680-702) leads to another use of furere. The wind is said to carry and spread the destructive eruptions of the volcano:

(ventus enim fit, ubi est agitando percitus aer.)
 hic ubi percaluit calefecitque omnia circum
 saxa furens, qua contingit, terramque, et ab ollis
 excussit calidum flammis velocibus ignem,
 tollit se ac rectis ita faucibus eicit alte.
 (6.685-689).

As in the previous passage from Book II, furere is found with fire imagery describing the violent force of the volcanic eruption of Mt. Aetna. However, in this passage, not only the fire and ashes from the eruptions, but the wind that is carrying them is described as "raging." This type of wind is intensified by the power of the eruption and produces a rage of fire and heat rather than a storm of water and cold.

There are three other occurrences of furere used in nature images, all in Book VI, which is to be expected since the book is primarily concerned with meteorology and natural phenomena. In his own introduction to this book (6.43-91) Lucretius says that he will explain how disturbances of nature are allayed, maintaining that men are needlessly fearful and mentally disturbed by upheavals in nature on earth and in the heavens. In a passage with a lacuna Lucretius unfolds his theme:

quandoquidem semel insignem conscendere curram

 ventorum existant placentur [et] omnia rursum

 quae fuerint, sint placato conversa furore;
 (6.47-49).

The passage continues to list other natural phenomena and supernatural occurrences that mortals should not heed or fear. There is an effective oxymoron in placato...furore, as placatum is often used to describe the quelling of a storm. The language and diction of this passage leave no doubt that furore is the "maddening raging" of a storm out of control and unmanageable by man.⁴ Significantly, this is the first well-attested occurrence of the noun form furor.

In another instance, in his discussion of thunder resulting from the collision of clouds, Lucretius describes the crashing of thunder in a simile of an awning flapping in a strong wind:

dant etiam sonitum patuli super aequora mundi,
 carbasus ut condam, magnis intenta theatri,
 dat crepitum malos inter iactata trabesque,
 interdum perscissa furit petulantibus auris
 et fragilis sonitus chartarum commeditatur--
 id quoque enim genus in tonitru cognoscere possis--
 (6.108-113).

The violence in the nature image is enhanced by the addition of perscissa and petulantibus.⁵ The use of petulans with words or images of nature or insensible behavior has not been noticed previously. In fact, petulans occurs in no other passage in Lucretius, emphasizing, in this case, the violent nature of this simile.⁶

The last use of furere in a nature image appears a little later in the same book on a similar topic. Lucretius asserts that thunder and lightning happen more frequently in spring and fall than the other seasons of the year:

quorum utrumque opus est fabricanda ad fulmina nubi,
 ut discordia [sit] rerum, magnoque tumultu
 ignibus et ventis furibundus fluctuet aer.
 (6.365-367).

The storm and sea imagery dominates the passage (magno tumultu, fluctuet), and the diction clearly indicates the tumultuous upheavals within nature. The form furibundus is a single occurrence in Lucretius, perhaps either demonstrating the poet's lack of linguistic uniformity and his preference for alternative forms of the very same word, or showing his penchant for word coinage.

Thus far our interest has been focused on furere as found in nature images to describe the violence and uncontrollability of natural phenomena. In eight other passages, the word furere assumes other nuances and associations that hitherto have not been used by any previous writers. In Book II, Lucretius describes some of the Phrygian rites attributed to Attis and to Cybele the Great Mother earth goddess (2.598-645). Amid the pounding of drums, clashing of cymbals, and playing of the flute to excite ecstasy among the devotees of the rite, weapons are displayed which are symbolic of violence:

telaque praeportant, violenti signa furoris
 (2.621).

This rather enigmatic statement makes it difficult to ascertain precisely what the weapons are (tela), but from the context, it appears that the tela are the knives which the eunuch priests used to castrate themselves in a ritual performance to enter the priesthood of the cult.⁷ We note

first the violence (violenti) of the description. The word violentus before this period is rare and has not been found linked with other words that I have previously noted to indicate irrational behavior or madness. Secondly, this line follows a description of the loud noises and ecstatic activity associated with ritual, all intended, as Lucretius says, to inspire fear among the irresponsible and uninitiated:

ingratos animos atque impia pectora volgi
 conterrere metu quae possint numine divae
 (2.622-623).

Much of the passage is concerned with the activities of the eunuch priests, and the language of brutality and force suggests that Lucretius regarded them and, indeed, the entire ceremony with suspicion and disdain.⁸ Castration performed in a religious rite he intimates is a deviation from normal religious practice. It is a suggested conclusion that Lucretius included this description of worship precisely because he found it so unusual and worthy of illustrating one of his major themes: the absurdity of many religious practices and the fear that the rituals produce in mortals' hearts. If the vivid description of the eunuchs' part in the rite does not convince the reader of Lucretius' ridicule and disdain, he ends the passage with an admonitory rejoinder that expresses his true sentiments concerning the entire ceremony and explicitly notes that to him it is a type of deviation:

quae bene et eximie quamvis disposta ferantur,
 longe sunt tamen a vera ratione repulsa.⁹
 (2.644-645).

In another passage from the same book, Lucretius links furere with delira, a term which we have seen from Plautus was used to denote a deviation:¹⁰

quod si delira haec furiosaque cernimus esse,
 et ridere potest non ex ridentibus auctus,
 et sapere et doctis rationem reddere dictis
 non ex seminibus sapientibus atque disertis,
 qui minus esse queant ea quae sentire videmus
 seminibus permixta carentibus undique sensu?
 (2.985-990).

In this passage Lucretius is rejecting the idea that atoms are endowed with powers of sensation or secondary qualities. To him it is utter nonsense and is not true philosophic reasoning, i.e., a deviation from vera ratio. It is interesting to note that Lucretius uses the language of deviation and madness to refer to philosophical beliefs and dogma. He implies that if the thoughts of the philosophers are deviant, then the philosopher too has gone astray even to raise an absurd philosophic question such as the capacity of "seeds" to possess sensation. However that may be, Lucretius removes from the realm of nature and religion the idea of uncontrollability, transferring the idea and language to the sphere of philosophy, perhaps anticipating the Stoic conception that the non-believer was stupid and surely furiosus.¹¹

The next occurrence of the word furere indicates that Lucretius is no longer generalizing about the validity or lack of validity of a certain philosophic belief, but is applying the term to mental capacity. To assist his proof of the mortality of the soul, he stresses the weakness and

continues with a reference to the suffering of Ixion, introduced by the following line:

Cerberus et Furiae iam vero et lucis egestas...
(3.1011).

There then follows a lacuna. Servius' comment on Aen. 6.596 induces us to believe that Lucretius had also included Ixion in this passage. In any case, since Lucretius enumerates only instances from Greek mythology, he is probably translating by Furiae the Greek ἐρινύες. It has already been noted that Ennius had translated the Greek word ἐρινύες by the Latin term Furiae, but did not clearly indicate he was adopting the Greek idea of a system of justice embodied in the "Furies."¹⁵ However, in this passage of Lucretius, with the enumeration of well-known cases of punishments in Hades, the author clearly understood the Furiae as representing a system of justice and as symbolizing guilty conscience and the fear of dreadful retribution. In his rationalizations of the Greek mythological allusions, Lucretius is attempting to show that there is a Hell on earth for the excesses epitomized by the mythical characters. The language of this passage well reflects the many excesses and crimes of the characters, and Lucretius suggests that one should avoid the passions and aspirations that lead to these sins and excessive acts. Although it is not practicable here to detail the language and imagery of the passage, suffice it to say that many words and phrases reflect the language of deviation and irrationality that has been

considered above and that Lucretius certainly considered the acts of the sinners, whom he enumerates, as deviations from rational behavior.¹⁶

There are only two occurrences of furere in the entire fourth book, both found in the same passage concerning the Epicurean attitude toward love. The passage in which Lucretius deals with sex and which includes his well-known attack on passion and sexual desire begins at 4.1037 and continues to the end of the book, occupying some 250 lines. Furor occurs at 4.1069 (inque dies gliscit furor atque erumna gravescit) and at 4.1117 (inde redit rabies eadem et furor ille revisit).

Before treating the language and imagery of the complete passage in detail, it will be better to give a summary and synoptic interpretation of the passage. The section on sexual passion immediately follows a discussion of dreams. A brief mention of nightmares, bed-wetting, and erotic dreams introduces the general idea of love and the physical mechanism of love-making. Lucretius does not seem to be detailing the love of an ordinary man and the typical Roman matron, but the passion of a Roman male, married or unmarried, for a mistress or lover. He attempts to render this type of love and love-making less romantic and glamorous. He saw sexual passion as an appetite that could not be fulfilled and as a direct threat to the Epicurean idea of ἀταραξία.¹⁷ By his presentation of love, Lucretius was the first Roman to articulate the view that lovers and

mistresses were convenient possessions to be used at will, discarded, and forgotten. Lucretius, arguing from a male point of view, asserts that the Roman male should not indulge his sexual appetite too often with the same woman because it would lead him astray from true Epicurean pursuits of avoidance of anguish. Whether in this passage Lucretius is addressing Memmius in particular,¹⁸ or relating the consequences derived from a personal experience¹⁹ does not seem relevant to the general idea of Epicurean ἀταραξία .

After some introductory remarks about the mechanical movement of semina in the body, expressed in violent language and perhaps derived from the Hippocratic corpus,²⁰ Lucretius does not hesitate to reveal his sentiments on the destructive nature of sexual passion and its pathological effect upon the mental faculties:

fitque voluntas
eicere id quo se contendit dira libido
· · · · ·
idque petit corpus, mens unde est saucia amore
(4.1045-1048).

The clause mens...amore recalls the famous Ennian antecedent in Medea Exul: Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia.²¹ Saucia not only continues the medical imagery and language of disease (tument: 1045) but also reinforces the metaphor of a lover as a wounded soldier falling from the blow of love.²²

Lucretius continues to develop the idea of love's painful power as destructive to the Epicurean way of life. The medical language is again integrated with words sug-

gestive of mental anguish. Cura, used to denote the pains and anguish resulting from love, occurs twice in close proximity.²³ The physical force of love is continually linked with the mental in Lucretius' strong advice to avoid the snares of a love relationship:

sed fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris
 absterrere sibi atque alio convertere mentem.
 et iacere umorem conlectum in corpora quaeque
 nec retinere, semel conversum unius amore,
 et servare sibi curam certumque dolorem.
 (4.1063-1067).

In urging his readers to avoid the traps resulting from sexual desire, Lucretius advises an extreme pathological course: "to abstain in fear from the food of love" (pabula amoris/absterrere sibi). The author displays his practical Roman attitude by advising his audience to turn its mental powers to pursuits other than love (alio convertere mentem).²⁴

This integration of the debilitation of the physical and mental faculties reaches its climax in the subsequent lines which are loaded with the language and imagery of disease and medicine. The wounds and disease are so profuse that madness sets in, feeds, and increases day by day. The maddening disease will not end unless the mind can become occupied with other interests:

ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo,
 inque dies gliscit furor atque erumna gravescit,
 si non prima novis conturbes volnera plagis
 volgivagaque vagus Venere ante recentia cures
 aut alio possis animi traducere motus.
 (4.1068-1072).

We note intermingled among the medical imagery the well-chosen conturbes which heightens the effect of the resulting

mental imbalance and confusion.²⁵ Volgivaga, vagus, and animi...motus are suggestive of some straying or aberration, a theme that is definitely evoked in the subsequent section.

In the next section (4.1073-1120) Lucretius resumes the themes that he has already introduced: that romantic love is mixed with pain and anguish, that it is impossible to satisfy it, and that it is vain and wasteful. Continuing his philosophical arguments that a prostitute offers a man safer indulgence than a single continuous love experience, Lucretius again uses the pathological metaphor:

nam certe purast sanis magis inde voluptas
quam miseris. (4.1075-1076).

Sanis re-echoes the many instances that have occurred in Plautus and Terence to describe the plight of lovers and their irrational behavior.²⁶ In contrast to sanus Lucretius chooses the word miseris rather than the closer linguistic parallel insanus.²⁷

If the earlier suggestions of aberration escaped his audience, Lucretius leaves no doubt that he considered sexual passion as a deviation:

fluctuat incertis erroribus ardor amantum,
(4.1077).

Enmeshed in the metaphor of fire and storm, the word fluctuat and the phrase incertis erroribus denote the blind aberration and scurrying indefiniteness of passion.²⁸ In addition, Lucretius has blended well his metaphors in fluctuat and ardor, with fluctuat suggesting a tossing in a storm and ardor the heat of the sun. Importantly, both words

are from a nature image, showing once again the Roman writers' penchant for indicating and describing the behavior or condition of humans in terms of nature and, in particular, of the uncontrollable milieu of nature. The intensity of sexual desire is well conveyed by the many references to heat and fire that occur throughout this passage.²⁹ However, Lucretius is not merely intent on depicting in strong language the intensity of passion but also on showing that the appetite for sex once inculcated is not quenchable.

Lucretius proceeds to elaborate on his argument, reusing and restating the metaphors of fire and water, or the lack of it (cf. 4.1097-1104), integrating the theme of passion as a sickness, deviation, and source of madness. Rabies is used twice in this passage (1083 and 1117) and lovers are called "unsure wanderers" (errantes incerti: 1104), which recalls the previous incertis erroribus (1077).

After a metaphor from agriculture to illustrate the sensuous delights of love,³⁰ Lucretius quickly sums up his thesis that sensuality is a frenzied, violent possession, vain and not to be fulfilled no matter how frequently repeated:

tandem ubi se erupit nervis conlecta cupido,
parva fit ardoris violenti pausa parumper.
inde redit rabies eadem et furor ille revisit,
cum sibi quod cupiant ipsi contingere quaerunt,
nec reperire malum id possunt quae machina vincat:
usque adeo incerti tabescunt volnere caeco.

(4.1115-1120).

We note first that the fierce, dog-like madness (rabies) is directly linked with the word furor, which we have seen has

been more often used of the uncontrollability of nature. These two terms serve to summarize the violent, infectious, and deviant nature of the sexual passion. The final three lines superbly reiterate once again the straying, groping deviation that no device can alleviate. Joined with this idea, disease is suggested by tabescunt and volnere. Caeco (1120) seems to emphasize the sentiment in the previous line, that the sickening wound is so hidden that any amount of searching or attempt at a search can not find a cure. The word incerti heightens the entire effect of a blind straying or groping for medication. In this case the word error is not needed to delineate the incerti; in view of the imagery and the concurrent language of deviation, madness, and disease, the word is entirely superfluous.

After this section, Lucretius continues to offer arguments against sexual desire and love. He adduces that they sap physical strength, ruin reputations, destroy wealth, and torment the mind with jealousy and regret (1121-1140). Love deludes the lover, making him overestimate his love object, and blinding him to her faults and deficiencies (1149-1191). Included in this denunciation are Lucretius' remarks about the wretched excluded lover (exclusus amator) who must suffer by convention several indignities to gain entree to his lover. Lucretius says that if the excluded lover knew of the foulness and the illusion of his desire, he would not bother to undergo such artificial conventions (1177-1184). There is no doubt that Lucretius

considers all this activity as a gross deviation from rational behavior; otherwise, he would not have so consistently and extensively treated sex as a serious mistake to be avoided and recognized as a trap.

The legacy of Lucretius' view and treatment of sexual passion has often been discussed.³¹ Indubitably, Lucretius' philosophic handling of the problem directly rejected Catullan romanticism and influenced many later writers. As we shall see, the language and imagery employed by Lucretius to describe passion and sex will often be repeated and expanded by later writers.³² Suffice it here to remark that Lucretius is the first writer to include the word furor to indicate the effects of love. Rabies, cura, dolor, ulcus, vulnus, and error in addition to furor are used to emphasize the imagery and depiction of his view of passion and love. It is difficult to assess from the long passage on sex which term Lucretius considered the most generic to describe his sentiment toward love. All of the above terms adequately contribute to Lucretius' treatment and negative view.

In Book VI there are two other occurrences of the word furere. In one instance, the term is used to describe the movement of filings in magnetic attraction and repulsion:

exultare etiam Samothracia ferrea vidi
et ramenta simul ferri furere intus ahenis
in scaphiis, (6.1044-1046).

Lucretius employs furere to emphasize what he perceives as the frantic, almost unexplainable motion of the filings.

credibility and reliability Lucretius seriously questions. Five usages, including two concerning Lucretius' attitude and treatment of passion, are connected with the imagery of disease. Interestingly, Lucretius uses almost all of the derived forms of furere, the finite verb form furit (2.593 and 6.111), the present participle furens (6.687), an infinitive furere (6.1045), various cases of the derived noun furor (2.621, 3.828, 4.1069, 4.1117, and 6.49), the personified derivative Furiae (3.1011), two uses of the adjective furiosus (2.985, 6.1184),³⁶ and one occurrence of the relatively rare furibundus (6.367). This frequency means that we must assume either that sometime in the late second and/or early first century, writers, whose works are lost, developed various formations and usages derived from furere, or Lucretius himself coined new forms and imagistic nuances based on the word furere. Judging from the evidence that we possess it is possible to say that Lucretius was the innovator in expanding and enlarging the semantic and metaphorical sphere of the meaning and concept of the verb furere, applying it not only to the capricious phenomena of nature but also to the irrational and maddening effects of love and generally to insane or deviant behavior or thoughts of men.

Some notable results are gained from an investigation of other words that are used to depict insanity, deviation, or irrationality. For example, we have already quoted one use of a derived form of delirare in Lucretius' argument to

rebut the concept that atoms possess the capacity of sensation:

quod si delira haec furiosaque cernimus esse,³⁷
(2.985).

Besides the obvious linking of delira with the word furiosa, one notes that it is difficult to discern the original metaphor of being "off one's furrow" that the early dramatists developed.³⁸ Lucretius has removed the word from a comic context, indicating a character's strange deviation, to a generalization that something is philosophically untenable. Because of the rarity of the adjectives delira and furiosa to denote foolishly unacceptable tenets, Lucretius has emphasized his views. To him belief in the capacity of atoms to have sensation is utter lunacy and a sign of aberration.

Lucretius uses the word delirare on five other occasions. In two instances (1.692 and 1.698) he belittles and castigates the Heraclitan tenet that fire was the primal element. In 1.692, the form perdelirum is used. This particular form appears to be a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, perhaps showing Lucretius' penchant to form new words. In this specific case, the intensified form emphasizes how foolish Lucretius thinks the Heraclitan dogma is. In 1.698 (quod mihi cum vanum tum delirum esse videtur), the link of delirum with vanum may suggest some undermining of the standard of critical ability, but both terms appear to be very generalized adjectives. I doubt that in any of the

three cases cited, Lucretius meant to be colloquial in his use of delirare, intending to intimate "off one's furrow," in the same way that American English uses "off one's rocker." His subject and theme appear too important for him to reduce his language to comic nuances and agricultural colloquialisms.

In the other three usages of the word delirare, one can discern more clearly the original metaphor and linguistic basis of the term. Two occurrences are found in relatively close proximity. Lucretius is attempting to show the mortality of the soul and states that the mental faculties are affected by age and disease just as the body:

claudicat ingenium, delirat lingua, [labat] mens,
omnia deficiunt atque uno tempore desunt.
(3.453-454).

The verbs claudicat, delirat, and labat all suggest some straying and an inability to be decisive.³⁹ The physical description of the babbling of speech (delirat lingua) enclosed by references to mental failings seems to reveal a symptom of mental deficiencies and deviation. A few lines later Lucretius expands upon the idea of the disease and pain to the mind:

corpus ut ipsum
suscipere inmanis morbos durumque dolorem,
sic animum curas acris luctumque metumque.
quare participem Leti quoque convenit esse.
quin etiam morbis in corporis avius errat
saepe animus. dementit enim deliraque fatur,
(3.459-464).

In addition to the preponderance of medical vocabulary, the language of deviation is apparent. Both avius ("off the

road," or "pathless") and errat indicate an aberration. The imagery is continued in the following line with the emphatically placed dementit. This verb, obviously formed from the adjective demens, does not occur before Lucretius and is not found again in the literature before Apuleius, an archaizer.⁴⁰ One is reminded of the Ennian fragment:

quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
antehac, dementes sese flexere viai? (Ann. 202-203).⁴¹

Ennius may simply be referring to mental weakness in purpose and judgment. However, Lucretius alludes to madness. The phrase delira fatur continues the basic metaphor and implies more than mental "wanderings," approaching very closely the technical medical intent of the English "delirium." The acuteness of the disease and debilitation that the language of the passage strongly depicts intimates that Lucretius is groping for words to describe medically defined madness. When this passage is compared with the previous passage (3.453-459), delira fatur re-echoes delirat lingua, the babblings during decrepitude. The same metaphor is utilized again in 5.1158-1159 (per somnia saepe loquentes/ aut morbo delirantes), where Lucretius derides the notion that secrecy hides vices and crimes, adding that men often betray their secrets by talking in their sleep or in moments of delirium caused by sickness.⁴²

In summary of the investigation of delirare, Lucretius, understanding the semantic basis as a form of deviation, uses the word as a general term to reject previous philo-

sophical thought, as a term to qualify and expand other words of mental deviation, and as an approximate technical term to express medical delirium, a temporary madness. In one instance (2.985), delira is closely linked and associated with furiosa, suggesting that furere had also become a word intimating madness or deviation.

One of the usages of demens/amens has already been noticed in the derived form dementit.⁴³ Although it has been shown that this particular use has strong indications of madness and deviation, Lucretius generally does not favor any of these derived terms to illustrate what he considers irrationality or insanity. The noun form dementia occurs in 1.704 (aequa videtur enim dementia dicere utrumque). Lucretius thus concludes an argument against establishing fire or any other element as the primal source of things. His statement generalizes the concept behind dementia and suggests no more than similar statements employing delirum.⁴⁴

The only occurrence of amens is in a contemptuous statement concerning practices of augurs:

ne trepides caeli divisis partibus amens,
(6.86).

Similar to the usage of dementia in the previous passage, amens is employed by Lucretius to denigrate an attitude and a belief which he does not share.

It seems clear that Lucretius did not favor amens or demens to illustrate insanity or aberration, although in

one passage he does link the rare verb dementit with a metaphor and language indicative of madness and deviation.

In a few instances Lucretius chooses to use rabies to suggest wild, maddening behavior. We have already considered rabies found in the love vocabulary and linked with furor to indicate the violent, disastrous effects of passion:

tandem ubi se erupit nervis conlecta cupido,
parva fit ardoris violenti pausa parumper.
inde redit rabies eadem et furor ille revisit,⁴⁵
(4.1115-1117).

In the same discussion of love, several lines previously, rabies is chosen to indicate the frenzy of a love relationship that mingles pleasure and pain:

quia non est pura voluptas
et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant laedere id ipsum,
quodcumque est, rabies unde illaec germina surgunt.
(4.1081-1083).

Lucretius views the quest of sexual pleasure and the possession of love objects and experiences as sadistic and masochistic. His attitude is reflected in the language and metaphor throughout the entire section on the effects of love.⁴⁶ In these two instances, he uses rabies to delineate the insanity of those enthralled by love.

The semantic base of the word rabies has been somewhat obscured. In its first occurrence in Ennius it was used in a metaphorical sense to describe the wild appearance and demeanor of Cassandra:

sed quid oculis rabere visa est derepente ardentibus?
ubi illa paulo ante sapiens †virginali† modestia?⁴⁷
(Sca. 39-40).

In Plautus and Terence, the word seldom occurs, but in Plautus' Menaechmi (837) and the Captivi (547 and 557), rabies is connected with wild behavior and the imagery of animals.⁴⁸ In Lucretius, besides the usages in the love vocabulary, rabies or derived forms appear in three other passages. In 4.712 the adjective rabidi agrees with leones in a sententious fable of lions being frightened by cocks. The emphasis of the passage is not on the lions, and Lucretius does not detail the ferocity and wildness suggested in rabidi. In the next instance of the word, Lucretius is rejecting the existence of mythical monsters which are composed of variously combined different animals, such as the chimera, centaurs, and Scylla:

aut rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis
corporibus Scyllas... (5.892-893).⁴⁹

Lucretius does not elaborate on the madness of the dogs, but uses the phrase rabidis canibus only as an added description of monsters like Scylla.

Lucretius does engage in a more detailed description of the wild character of dogs during his account of language. He uses the analogy and example of Molossian dogs to illustrate the natural development of language:

inritata canum cum primum magna Molossum
mollia ricta fremunt duros nudantia dentes,
longe alio sonitu rabie [re]stricta minantur
et cum iam latrant et vocibus omnia complent;
(5.1063-1066).

The context indicates that the barking of dogs varies according to the situation provoking it. The barking of

teeth, the loud barking, and the snarl all contribute to the picture of a very angry dog.

In Lucretius, rabies is used to depict the irrational force of passion and to describe the wild aspects of animals, especially dogs. In his use of rabies, Lucretius adds little to previous imagery and usage, except to connect it directly with furere and other words that indicate some form of madness or deviation.

One of Lucretius' favorite terms to denote deviation is a form of the word error.⁵⁰ This word has already been noted as being linked with other words and metaphors of madness and irrationality in previous passages. For instance, in the passage concerning the deleterious effects of love, in the clause fluctuat incertis erroribus ardor amantum (4.1077), the linking of error, fluctuat, and incertis contributes to a picture of blind deviation and uncertainty. Almost the same phraseology is repeated later in the same general passage, when Lucretius describes the groping of lovers in erotic exploration:

nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram,
nec manibus quicquam teneris abradere membris
possunt, errantes incerti corpore toto.⁵¹
(4.1102-1104).

It will be recalled that Lucretius summarized the behavior of lovers and the effects of sexual passion by rabies and furor, strongly indicating irrationality and utter madness.⁵²

We have also seen error used closely with the terms demens and delirare in a passage in which Lucretius rejects

the idea that the soul is immortal, stating that it, like the body, is subject to sickness and disturbances:

quin etiam morbis in corporis avius errat
saepe animus. dementit enim deliraque fatur,⁵³
(3.463-464).

In this passage Lucretius combined the ideas that the mind suffers from irrational strayings as well as sickness that presages madness and delirium.⁵⁴

In addition to these occurrences in particular passages of the poet's arguments on specific details, error is often used in a general philosophic sense: that those not perceiving the importance of philosophy or following some other belief are lost or in a state of bewildered wandering. In the proem to Book II, Lucretius glorifies the pursuit of philosophy, belittling the endeavors of others:

despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae
(2.9-10). ✓

The idea in palantis reinforces the concept of straying in passim errare.

In another passage Lucretius combines the idea of faulty reasoning with misguided philosophical belief. He argues that it is erroneous to ascribe to the power of gods the phenomena of the sky:

quo magis errantes caeca ratione feruntur. (6.67).

In this instance the notion of some aberration is linked with a form of blindness (caeca).

It is clear that a form of error is one of Lucretius' favorite terms to express the mistaken reasoning of previous

philosophers and their systems. He summarizes his censure of Anaxagoras in characteristic terms:

quare in utraque mihi pariter ratione videtur
errare atque illi, supra quos diximus ante.⁵⁵
(1.845-846).

Lucretius does not limit the use of error to generalize about the incorrectness of other philosophical beliefs, but he expands the concept to include individual philosophic points and arguments. For example, in arguing against color as an attribute of the atom, he asserts that it is a serious mistake not to believe in the Epicurean belief of the projection of the mind:⁵⁶

in quae corpora si nullus tibi forte videtur
posse animi iniectus fieri, procul avius erras.
(2.739-740).

As in 3.465⁵⁷ once again avius is used closely with errare to strengthen the idea of straying or deviation.

In three instances occurring in Book III, the idea of wandering (error) is likened to sleep or death. First, in the argument of the inability to remember a former existence, Lucretius thinks such inability approximates death:

non, ut opinor, id ab Leto iam longiter errat.
(3.676).

Later in the book, the poet speaks of the lack of movement of atoms in sleep, unlike the motion that causes sensation:

et tamen haudquaquam nostros tunc illa per artus
longe ab sensiferis primordia motibus errant,
cum correptus homo ex somno se colligit ipse.
(3.923-925).

It seems that Lucretius is arguing that as in sleep there is no regret of the loss of sensuous pleasure, so in death

its loss should not be disturbing, or even considered. However, in sleep, unlike in death, the atoms do not stray forever away, and a quick awakening produces a regathering of senses after a momentary lapse.⁵⁸

In lines 1024-1052 Lucretius argues that even the good and mighty die, selecting as symbols of particular virtuous attributes historical examples which culminate with the mention of Epicurus.⁵⁹ Epicurus, as a symbol of wisdom, is contrasted with an ambiguous second person (tu), who is complaining about dying. Lucretius understands that such complaints are an illusion and the complainer may as well be dead. In this trope Lucretius passes through a progression from sleep→daydreaming→idle fears→mental disturbance to illustrate how the thought of death affects the mind:⁶⁰

mortua cui vita est prope iam vivo atque videnti,
 qui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi
 et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas
 sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem
 nec reperire potes tibi quid sit saepe mali, cum
 ebrius urgeris multis miser undique curis
 atque animi incerto fluitans errore vagaris.
 (3.1046-1052).

The language and thought of this entire passage reflect affectations of deviation and aberration. Sollicitam... mentem, cassa formidine, nec reperire, ebrius, miser, fluitans, vagaris, and lastly the clause incerto...errore lend to the vivid picture of mental perturbation and disturbance, some of whose juxtapositions have been noted previously.⁶¹

In another passage (4.986-1010) Lucretius discusses the dreams of animals and relates how illusory they are. In his treatment of dogs who dream of the chase, Lucretius alludes to the mental confusion of the dog when he is suddenly awakened in the midst of his imaginary pursuit of a stag (4.997). The dog's confusion and illusion are stated as an error, a type of deviation.

In his rejection of any teleological development of bodily functions, Lucretius warns his reader to escape any weakness in accepting this idea:

illud in his rebus vitium vehementer
 inesse.

 . .effugere errorem vitareque praemetuenter
(4.822-823).

Despite the difficulty imposed by the lacuna, the poet clearly identifies the faulty weakness (vitium) of a teleological view with a form of deviation (errorem). Lucretius' own sentiments are heightened by the emphatic adverbs vehementer and praemetuenter.

Not all occurrences of error in Lucretius indicate mental confusion. The word or derived forms occur in various contexts, but always with a notion of straying or wandering. It has not been the purpose of this brief survey to indicate or discuss every instance of the word in context, but to show only that the word is definitely used to delineate mental confusion and deviation. Error appears in the love vocabulary to indicate the disastrous effects of passion, in technical philosophical language to explain

the motion of atoms, in passages to illustrate previous mistaken philosophical tenets, and in sections delineating specific faulty or aberrational details of a philosophical system. In many cases, error is linked and associated with other words that denote some form of irrationality or deviation.

A link between error and caecus has already been pointed out.⁶² Although there are no other instances in which caecus is definitely associated or juxtaposed with error, the word does occur in similar contexts. Lucretius' ending to the section on the difficulties and traps of a love affair will be recalled:

parva fit ardoris violenti pausa parumper.
 inde redit rabies eadem et furor ille revisit,
 cum sibi quod cupiant ipsi contingere quaerunt,
 nec reperire malum id possunt quae machina vincat:
 usque adeo incerti tabescunt volnere caeco.⁶³
 (4.1116-1120).

In addition to the language of violence and madness, line 1119 indicates a groping that is heightened by incerti in the following line. The incerti, of course, are the distraught lovers who suffer from their aberration.⁶⁴ The unseen wound (volnere caeco) is applied to love and reinforces the persistent medical imagery throughout the section on sex and passion.⁶⁵

The blindness of passion can affect the mental condition and human judgment. In a section devoted to a discussion of the effects of unsuccessful love upon judgment (4.1141-1191), Lucretius argues that the enthralled or

rejected lover tends to overlook the serious faults of a mistress and to overestimate her qualities:

nam faciunt homines plerumque cupidine caeci
et tribuunt ea quae non sunt is commoda vere.
(4.1153-1154).

In this passage the blinding desire (cupidine caeci) refers to love, but the language of the phrase and the sentiment of the two lines could very well be applied to a political aspect. In fact, in the previous book the same phraseology and the notion of excessive "political" desire also can cloud the mental process and lead to erroneous judgment and criminal misconduct:

denique avarities et honorum caeca cupido,
quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines
iuris et interdum socios scelerum atque ministros
noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
ad summas emergere opes:--haec vulnera vitae
(3.59-63).

The sentiment of these lines was re-echoed throughout the late Republican period. The theme of excessive ambition and greed became a favorite thesis of Sallust, and as we shall see is repeated in the similar phraseology of mental blindness and deviation.

As Lucretius had used furiosus, delirare, and error to indicate the faulty systems or beliefs of previous philosophers, he also employed caecus in a similar way. Consider his emphatic exclamation deriding those not recognizing the value of the Epicurean lifestyle:

O miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca! (2.14).

Miseras...mentes recalls miseros homines (3.60) in the

previous passage. The line is followed by a metaphorical explanation that without the light furnished by the guidance of Epicurus, men stray and stumble in the darkness (2.15-20). In a simile later in the same book, the same sentiment is articulated: that without Epicurean philosophy, one fearfully loses control of reason (2.55-61).⁶⁶ Caecus also illustrates a philosophic unknown quantity in a passage in which Lucretius will not and can not explicate properly:

quorum ego nunc nequeo caecas exponere causas
nec reperire... (3.316-317).

In a section dealing with Lucretius' treatment of the fear of death, a psychological intent is imparted to caecus. Lucretius writes of the hidden goad or spur in the heart of a man that signals a fear of death, although he will deny that it exists:

atque subesse
caecum aliquem cordi stimulum, quamvis neget ipse
credere se quemquam sibi sensum in morte futurum.
(3.873-875).

The other uses of caecus are most often found in a description of a natural force or something physical. The common agreement with words of nature⁶⁷ and with the primal "bodies" (corpora) of individual substances⁶⁸ suggests that Lucretius means potential energy or force, whose resulting effects are yet unknown. In any case, these uses do not indicate any mental disorder, potential or kinetic. The emphasis on caecus has been drawn because later writers will often indicate a lack of mental stability by linking caecus with other terms of irrationality or madness.

The influence of the word saevus to indicate irrational action has been noted previously.⁶⁹ In Lucretius saevus most often is employed to denote the violence and turbulence of natural phenomena such as storms (3.805, 5.222, 5.1002, and 6.458), or the savagery of animals such as a lion (3.306, 4.1016, and 5.862, 5.989, 5.1314), a dog (4.1006), a horse in heat (5.1075), and wild boars (5.1309, 5.1327). Occasionally saevus describes inanimate materials or conceptions such as war (1.475), the axes symbolic of political office (3.996 and 5.1234), quarreling (6.16), tortures (5.997), and sexual attraction (5.1075). In one instance saevire details the violent power of a god bringing bad weather (2.1103). Only on one occasion does saevus refer to a person and his activities (5.1311). This reference occurs in a passage loaded with terms of violence and brutality, coupled with the picture of animals out of control and unmanageable:

temptarunt etiam tauros in moenere belli,
 expertique sues saevos sunt mittere in hostis.
 et validos partim prae se misere leones
 cum doctoribus armatis saevisque magistris,
 qui moderarier his possent vinclisque tenere--
 nequiquam, quoniam permixta caede calentes
 turbabant saevi nullo discrimine turmas,
 terrificas capitum quatientis undique cristas;
 (5.1308-1315).

In addition to the use of turbabant which suggests the confusion, some form of saevus (saevire) occurs three times describing the animals, their ill-use, and their effects upon their users.

Most importantly, however, for the present context, among all the occurrences of saevus there is a direct link with a form of furere. In discussing the power of unseeable primal elements, Lucretius illustrates with the example of the wind:

interdum rapido percurrens turbine campos
 arboribus magnis sternit montisque supremos
 silvifragis vexat flabris. ita perfurit acri
 cum fremitu saevitque minaci murmure pontus.
 (1.273-276).

Once again furere is used in a nature image, depicting nature's forceful and destructive power. The intensified form perfurit, besides being very rare in Latin literature, is probably a Lucretian coinage and emphasizes to an even greater degree the violence of the entire image. Saevit, of course, adds to the imagery and is well integrated with the other terms of nature and wildness.⁷⁰

In the introductory section of his pursuit of philosophical truth, Lucretius pays tribute to his Greek predecessor and founder, asserting that Epicurus became a great thinker because he dared to attempt the unusual and to employ his mental faculties beyond the normal range of human enterprise:

ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
 processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
 atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.
 (1.72-74).

The phrase peragravit mente animoque suggests an aberration, but in this case, a deviation that is useful and ennobling rather than destructive.

This passage precedes Lucretius' opening remarks on the debilitating and irrational nature of religious superstition and practice and effectively contrasts the concept of deviation, one being productive and creative, the other destructive and disturbing.⁷¹ Lucretius claims that "religion" clouds the reason and induces criminal and immoral behavior:

illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis
 impia te rationis inire elementa viamque
 indugredi sceleris. quod contra saepius illa
 religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.
 (1.80-83).

The mythological exemplum of the sacrifice of Iphigenia to illustrate the impious destruction caused by religion follows this passage. Lucretius considers religio an irrational force⁷² and in this particular passage specifies its irrationality by two ironic uses of the adjective impia. Pius, among other things, normally would indicate that which is religiously proper and sound. To say that religion is impia is a contradiction in terms and an ironic juxtaposition.

The only other example of a use of impia is located in Book II in the passage depicting the ritual of the eunuch priests of Cybele, who frighten the uninitiated by their weapons:

telaque praeportant, violenti signa furoris,
 ingratos animos atque impia pectora volgi
 conterrere metu quae possint numine divae.
 (2.621-623).

These lines have already been considered in respect to the

phrase violenti...furoris.⁷³ The addition of ingratos and impia to describe the sentiments of the uninitiated mass perhaps reflects the view of the eunuchs who have scorn for those neither partaking in nor believing in this unusual rite.

Of the several uses of vehemens in Lucretius, two occur in nature images and intensify the wildness and violence of nature (6.311 and 6.517). One use has already been quoted (4.823), indicating the strong weakness of the reader to accept a teleological explanation concerning the functions and attributes of the body. In another instance vehemens (vemens often in Lucretius) strengthens the concept of fear (3.132) affecting the mental processes (3.152-160). Vehemens also modified violentia to denote the destructive power of wine weakening the mental and bodily functions (3.482). The other uses of vehemens are generalized synonyms for magno, cupide, or studiose and do not indicate strong derangement or impairment of mental faculties. In no passage is vehemens directly linked or associated with furere.

There are only two examples of improbis in Lucretius. In one instance (3.1026) it is an abusive term; in the other improba modified ratio in a line explaining early man's peril on sea:

improba navigii ratio tum caeca iacebat. (5.1006).

When one recalls the agricultural base of this word, in the sense of "not fruitful,"⁷⁴ the context suggests the meaning of the line is that early attempts at discovering successful

and profitable methods of controlling the passage of seas did not come to fruition. The contradictory metaphor in the phrase improba...ratio with the adjective perhaps more suitable to navigii than ratio should also be noted.

A compendious look at the more than fifty uses of ardere in Lucretius shows that this word too is most often associated with nature scenes, usually indicating intense heat or fire.⁷⁵ We have already seen the word linked with the eruption of Aetna and juxtaposed with furere (2.591-593).⁷⁶ The word is not confined to describe natural phenomena, but is transferred to picture the deranged intensity of sexual passion. In the section in Book IV dealing with the effects of love, the word occurs six different times to delineate clearly the excesses of sexual passion and its effects (4.1077, 1086, 1098, 1116, 1198, and 1216). In these passages ardere is joined with other words, such as furere, rabies, error, and violenti, to emphasize the intensity of deviation and irrationality of love's power.⁷⁷ Closely associated with dolor, acre malum, and voluptas in 3.249-3.252, ardere suggests the torment of sexual passion. In 5.897 ardere again is used to illustrate and define sexual pleasure.

On two occasions ardere is employed to intensify the description of physical pain or disease (3.663 and 6.1163). The word is also linked with other words of heat such as calor and fervescit to demonstrate extreme anger:⁷⁸

est etiam calor ille animo, quem sumit, in ira
cum fervescit et ex oculis micat acribus ardor.
(3.288-289).

The phrase ex oculis micat acribus represents a physical manifestation that recalls the Plautine oculi ardent, a sign of madness.⁷⁹ Ardere also is one of the words used to indicate the debilitating effects of wine upon the body and mind (3.476-480).⁸⁰

To recapitulate the investigation into Lucretius' many uses of words and phrases signaling madness or deviation, it is clear that Lucretius is the first Latin author to develop and use furere to show marked mental incapacity. Re-echoing Ennius' employment of the word in a nature image, Lucretius depicts the violent and fiery eruption of Mt. Aetna using, among others, the word furere (2.593 and 6.687). Three other passages including furere demonstrate the uncontrollable upheavals and tumults of nature. The word is then transferred from the realm of nature to suggest misguided philosophical reasoning (2.985 and 3.828) and to describe the irrational behavior and ritual necessity of eunuchs devoted to the cult of the Great Mother (2.621). Furere also occurs twice in the section on sexual passion in Book IV to demonstrate the disastrous and maddening effects of love (4.1069 and 4.1117). In the section on the Great Plague at Athens, furere is used to signal impending death and is linked with other words denoting disease or sickness (6.1184).

Closely associated with furere are other words indicating or suggesting mental disturbance, deviation, intense feeling, irrational philosophic belief, natural phenomena, and the wildness of animals. Such words as rabies, delirare, saevire, error, ardor, caecus, morbis, and dolor are commonly linked and closely associated with the word furere or concepts of deviation or derangement, particularly as viewed in nature or detailed in major Lucretian thematic treatments, i.e., death, the social customs of primitive man, love, etc.

Clearly, Lucretius increases the vocabulary of mental aberration beyond that used by previous writers, particularly developing the concept of madness or deviation expressed by furere. Interesting, however, are the terms Lucretius chooses to omit or neglect. Insanus is not used, not even in a general sense as an abuse or to denote faulty reasoning. Demens and amens are used very sparingly and only once associated with other terms (delirare, error, and avius) of deviation and mental deficiency (3.464). Inops is found only in one passage (4.1142) and is contrasted with proprio and means something like "unfulfilled." The Latin word for hellebore (veratrum) occurs once and is defined as a strong poison but does not portend any mental sickness. Bacchus and bacchatur appear three times, but do not detail any particular mental frenzy (2.656, 3.221, 5.825). Larva, a general term for madness in Plautus,⁸¹ is not used, nor is the more common vecors.

It has been consistently pointed out how often Lucretius employs terms of madness or deviation in nature scenes and images. In addition to furere, delirare, rabies (particularly referring to the wildness of animals), ardor, saevire, and others regularly appear in describing the turmoil and violence in nature.⁸² The importance attached to nature and the preponderance of nature scenes in Lucretius have been demonstrated by others as an integral part of Lucretius' poetic concept.⁸³ Lucretius continually envisions a dual movement affecting the physical aspects of man and his environment and influencing his mental condition. The movement represented in nature and indicated in man's reaction to this natural movement corresponds to atomic arrangement and motion. Sometimes nature in Lucretius is depicted as both destructive and productive.⁸⁴ However, in almost every instance that man associates with and tries to control nature, he produces violence or deviation. This concept is well illustrated by man's perverting the bounty of mother earth by institutionalizing a religious cult with violent and (to Lucretius) irrational rites.⁸⁵ Even death, a natural consequence of life, is debased and corrupted by man's fear that is inspired by religious scruple and superstition.⁸⁶ Human tendency to become immoderate affects man's perception and distorts one of his most basic instincts and desires: love. Human intrusion into nature culminates in the plague which Lucretius seems to depict as the ultimate symbol of deteriorating mental sickness.⁸⁷ With the long

description of the plague, the poem ends on a pessimistic note: that failure of Roman society to integrate itself with nature and to use its mental and spiritual powers to dispel fear and faulty social and philosophical beliefs leads only to physical and spiritual self-destruction and to the perverting of man's true mission and humanity.

It has been shown that what began as a word used in a nature image by Ennius, neglected by writers for over a century, suddenly becomes a term to denote irrationality in man. Lucretius has broadened the semantic area of the word furere, while continuing its image to describe natural phenomena. Applying the word to various contexts, later writers continue to develop and extend the concept of madness or deviation first clearly articulated by Lucretius.⁸⁸

CHAPTER V

CATULLUS

The investigation of the concept of furor in Catullus yields some very interesting statistics and results. First, furere is used seventeen times in only a small corpus of 116 poems. However, thirteen of these usages occur in two poems, 63, the Attis story, and 64, the epyllion containing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The other four usages appear scattered in four other poems.¹ These four occurrences will be considered before those in poems 63 and 64.

Catullus opens poem 46, written upon leaving Bithynia, with a scene from nature:

Iam ver egelidos refert tepores,
iam caeli furor aequinoctialis
iocundis Zephyri silescit aureis. (46.1-3).

This passage contains the only instance in which Catullus uses furor in a nature image, describing the storm of the spring equinox. This single use of furor to describe a natural event is significant because it continues the Ennian conception and use of the term (furentibus ventis) and several Lucretian instances.² Although Lucretius had expanded the scope and metaphorical range of the word to apply to other images and aspects, Catullus still could employ the term to describe the disturbances of a seasonal change and to form a viable and meaningful poetic image.

In another passage, we find furor used in a familiar way. In poem 68 in a mythological exemplum illustrating the intensity of Laodamia's love for her husband, after an elaborate simile about the ardor of a dove, the wanton passion of Laodamia is articulated in terms of a furor that re-echoes the Lucretian admonitions about the snares of sexual passion:

sed tu horum magnos vicisti sola furores,
 ut semel es flavo conciliata viro.
 (68.129-130).

We shall see in Catullus that love or passion is often stated as a furor.

More perplexing and elaborate is the occurrence of furor in poem 15. In this poem Catullus states that he fears that Aurelius, to whom he has entrusted a young handsome boy, will sexually assault the young lad:

quod si te mala mens furorque vecors
 in tantam impulerit, sceleste, culpam
 ut nostrum insidiis caput laccessas,
 (15.14-16).

Catullus' fears rest upon Aurelius' reputation for pederasty. At first glance the furor in line 14 would seem to refer to Aurelius' sexual urge toward the boy, but the addition of vecors to modify furor and the association of mala mens to the description also suggest that Catullus means violent, mad behavior and evil intent. This passage, with its very strong language, shows the first direct linking of furor and vecors, a term illustrative of irrationality or madness.³ Therefore, it seems that two concepts are involved with this passage, the intensity of sexual desire and the irrationality

in Catullus' view of the entire thought and action of Aurelius. In addition, it should be added that the furor of sexual passion is applied in this passage to homosexuality, not merely the desire for the opposite sex as in Lucretius.

The last of these four instances occurs in the famous "letter" to C. Licinius Calvus. Catullus tells Licinius of his state of mind after leaving a friendly poetic contest:

atque illinc abii tuo lepore
incensus, Licini, facetiisque,
ut nec me miserum cibus iuaret,
nec somnus tegetet quiete ocellos,
sed toto indomitus furore lecto
versarer, cupiens videre lucem,
ut tecum loquerer simulque ut essem (50.7-13).

There is no doubt that the description is highly exaggerated.

The phrase lepore/incensus is reminiscent of the common equivalent "to be on fire, to be ablaze with love," incensus amore (64.19 and 253). At first glance and taken out of context, line 11, sed toto indomitus furore lecto, seems to be appropriate to the scene and the vocabulary of love.⁴

It would appear that Catullus has expressed his troubled moments of creativity and sincere desire to associate with his friend in the language and metaphor appropriate to the distraught and unstable lover. In addition to the instability suggested by the word indomitus in line 11, lines 9, 10, and 12 strongly imply an unsteady, wavering state affecting and preventing the normal and natural functions of both body and mind. As a result of his experience with Licinius, Catullus pictures himself as suffering a nervous breakdown.⁵ Therefore, the phrase indomitus furore posi-

tioned in the middle of the line and the middle of the details describing Catullus' instability reinforces the two separate ideas: the distraught lover and the mentally disturbed person unable to perform natural functions.⁶

Seven instances of furere occur in the Attis poem. It is advantageous to summarize the poem briefly. Catullus changes the myth connected with Phrygian Attis and the worship of Cybele:⁷ instead of a Phrygian, Attis is a Greek who travels with a band of friends to Trojan Ida where he castrates himself and enters the rites of Cybele. After a sleep on Mt. Ida, Attis awakes with remorse and then is chased into the forest by lions sent by Cybele so that he may forever be a devotee to the cult. It has often been pointed out that Catullus intended a contrast between civilized society and savage nature, between the rational world of Greece (West) and orgiastic cults of the East, between humanism and barbarism.⁸ The details of the story line seem to verify this contrast, and the language of irrationality and madness will show that the barbarous and savage character of the cult is emphasized.

The poem opens with Attis' rapid trip to the goddess' locale and a description of his motivation: Attis is said to be influenced and goaded to make the voyage and castrate himself upon his arrival because of some mental deviation and wild madness:

stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis,
(63.4).

The association of furor and rabies has been noted in Lucretius.⁹ However, this is the first instance in which the adjectival furens has directly modified rabies. Whereas in the Lucretian passages rabies and furor were kept separated and, therefore, considered distinct, in this Catullan passage the linking to form the phrase furenti rabie causes the two separate terms to lose their inherent qualities and to coalesce into a single powerful idea: uncontrollable madness. The following phrase vagus animis clearly shows Catullus' sentiment of the entire episode as a marked mental deficiency and aberration from civilized practice. It will be recalled that Lucretius also described the eunuch priests of the Cybele cult as possessed by furor.¹⁰

Throughout the poem Catullus embellishes and adds more details of the psychological state of ecstatic frenzy and wildness. In Attis' retreat to the woods of Ida, similar phraseology depicts his quick and uncontrolled action:

furibunda simul anhelans vaga vadit animam agens
comitata tympano Attis per opaca nemora dux,
veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi;
(63.31-33).

Once again furere is closely linked with vagus and in the simile, indomita re-echoes the indomitus furore of 50.11. The wildness and untamed nature of the unbroken animal re-emphasizes the unstable movement of the frenzied Attis.

The language describing Attis' early mental condition (furenti rabie) first articulated in the opening of the poem is restated in a slightly different form to delineate the

psychological state of eunuch priests:

piger his labante languore oculos sopor operit;
 abit in quiete molli rabidus furor animi.
 (63.37-38).

The sleep, of course, temporarily quells the ecstatic activity and ritual operations of the eunuchs of the cult. Interestingly, rabidus furor is only a different collocation of furenti rabie, both terms of madness. In similar language rabies is used again to describe the eunuch's possession that sleep dispels:

ita de quiete molli rapida sine rabie (63.44).

It will be remembered that rabies is often employed to denote the wildness and savagery of animals.¹¹ However, in the Attis poem we find furibunda connected either with the description of Attis or with the description of wild beasts:

ad Idae tetuli nemora pedem,
 ut aput nivem et ferarum gelida stabula forem,
 ut earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula,
 (63.52-54).

Because of the close association and collocation of furere and rabies in this poem, Catullus can easily substitute one word for the other without harshness of expression. Normally, one would expect fera or rabida, transferred to inanimate natural things, to describe the lairs of wild animals (latibula), while furibunda would refer to Attis as subject of adirem as in line 31. However, by an understandable substitution of furibunda for rabida, Catullus can submit the ambiguous furibunda in an ambiguous position, leaving the audience to infer from it Attis's derangement

and the wildness of the scene. Rabida in place of furibunda on the other hand would have generally led the reader to understand it with latibula. Its ambiguity and ἀπὸ κοινού position probably would have escaped the notice of most readers. However, the discerning reader, cognizant of Catullus' linking of furor and rabies to describe Attis, would have also understood the ambiguity of rabida.

In the previous instances of furere there is no clear indication that the word demonstrates an external force applied to affect the faculties of reason.¹² However, in Cybele's command to her lions to force Attis back into her woods and presumably back to her worship, the goddess indicates that she can control the madness to inspire Attis:

'agedum,' inquit, 'age ferox [i], fac ut hunc furor
[agitet],
fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat,
mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit.
(63.78-80).

These two uses of furor demonstrate Catullus' view of Cybele and her cult as a source of irrational action. Here from her own lips is articulated the "raging madness" that gripped Attis to engage in the Eastern worship, far from his usual surroundings, to mutilate himself, losing his previous identity, and to join the forces of untamed nature. Shortly after this scene Attis departs to the woods, forced to withdraw by Cybele's threat and the menace of the lions:

illa demens fugit in nemora fera; (63.89).

Further scenes and details of Attis' life are lacking. Indeed none are needed. The descriptive adjective demens

clearly delineates that for Attis delinquency from the cult is no longer possible and that his mental state is integrated with the wild forces of Cybeline worship.¹³ The domination of the goddess and everything which she symbolizes, the mysticism and uncivilized practices of Eastern religion, the loss of personal identity and control, and violent wildness contrasting with reasoned constraint are complete and total. The finality of Attis' situation and derangement is poignantly and pathetically inferred in the closing line of the Attis story:

ibi semper omne vitae spatium famula fuit.¹⁴
(63.90).

The last instance of furere occurs at the close of the poem, in Catullus' personal apostrophe invoking the goddess not to incite him to a madness in a way similar to Attis:

dea magna, dea Cybele, dea domina Dindymeï,
procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo:
alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos.¹⁵
(63.91-93).

The reference to furor inspired by the goddess and to the maddening of individuals (incitatos and rabidos) re-echoes a major theme throughout the poem¹⁶ and the linguistic phraseology of furenti rabie in the opening of the poem (63.4). In other words, there are word responsions indicative of a form of ring composition. The repetition of the theme of some form of madness is illustrated by the various scenes of wild behavior, untamed nature, deranged action, frenzy,

and orgiastic ritual. In these scenes furere and rabies are often used to indicate the quality and degree of madness.

From the opening scene in which Attis castrates himself and suffers a loss of virility, Attis is often depicted as a woman. We have already noticed furibunda (31 and 54) used to describe him. The frequent feminine epithets reinforce the idea of Attis' loss of masculinity and the change in his mental condition.¹⁷ If this is granted, then the physical loss of masculinity with accompanying mental disturbance reflects femininity, i.e., a form of madness (furor) is a feminine characteristic.

The remaining six instances of furere in Catullus occur in poem 64, the epyllion that begins with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis but soon passes to the Theseus legend with emphasis on the Ariadne episode. This episode is treated from the point of view of Ariadne, and the details and scenes of the Theseus-Minotaur myth are handled via flashbacks by the heroine. The episode begins with the picture of Ariadne deserted and forlorn on the beach at Dia. From the very start Catullus emphasizes the emotional and psychological crisis suffered by Ariadne. Her love for Theseus has led her to her impasse:

namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae
 Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
 indomitos in corde gerens Ariadne furores,
 (64.52-54).

We note first the familiar Catullan phraseology in indomitos ...furores which echoes the previous indomitus furore (50.11)

and which suggests the wild and uncontrollable nature of the feeling. Secondly, the furores besetting Ariadne are due to her love and passionate longing for Theseus. The scene does not demonstrate that the source of her madness is externalized or induced by some divine power but rather reflects her agitation and lack of mental control. Her disturbance is later depicted as the wildness of a maenad and the tossing of the sea:

saxea ut effigies bacchantis, prospicit, eheu!
 prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis,¹⁸
 (64.61-62).

The same metaphor of the tossing waves is mingled with fire imagery a little later in an apostrophe to the god Love:

heu misere exagitans immitti corde furores,
 sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia misces
 quaeque regis Golgos quaeque Idalium frondosum,
 qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam
 fluctibus in flavo saepe hospite suspirantem!
 (64.94-98).

In this case Ariadne's maddening passion is attributed to the personified god, i.e., externalized. In similar phraseology, with a descriptive ablative illustrating Ariadne's madness, a present participle occurs at the end of a line as the nouns in the two previous examples and describes the frenzy of the rejected heroine:

saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furentem
 clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces,
 (64.124-125).

The intensity of the emotional moment is well depicted by the adjective ardenti. The use of ardere to delineate madness has been pointed out previously,¹⁹ and Catullus uses

it in another poem to describe the passion of a young man (iuveni ardenti: 62.23).

Ariadne's mental condition is depicted as a form of furor on one other occasion. In a long lament Ariadne makes a final appeal to the Eumenides for vengeance:

huc huc adventate, meas audite querellas,
 quas ego vae misera extremis proferre medullis
 cogor inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore.
 (64.195-197).

Ariadne sees herself under some unknown compulsion (cogor). Ardens re-echoes the previous use of the word (124) to display intense feeling. The accumulation of descriptive adjectives to delineate her uncontrolled state strengthens the central idea of her madness.²⁰ Both inops and caeca, as well as ardens, are used as terms of deviation or mental imbalance.²¹ The word inops is found in no other passage from Catullus and the adjective amenti, here modifying furore, does not occur elsewhere in the corpus. In addition, this passage shows the first direct linking of amens with furor. It will be recalled that the similar demens occurred in the Attis poem (63.87) to describe Attis' final retreat to the environment of violent irrationality. These are the only two occurrences of the words in Catullus and interestingly are linked or associated with some aspect of furor in both instances.

The final two uses of furere in this poem do not refer to the mad passion of Ariadne or her love, but to two entirely different ideas. In the first furere delineates the

attributes of Bacchic possession:

quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant
 euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes.
 (64.254-255).

The association and suggestion of madness in the word lymphatus and its common juxtaposition with Bacchic revelry have already been discussed.²² The use of furere to depict further the orgiastic nature of Bacchic worship has not been found previously and suggests a common linking in poem 63 with femininity and the ecstatic rites of Cybele in terms of madness and irrationality.

The above lines are included in a transition passage ending the long scene of the rejected Ariadne and commencing her rescue by Bacchus. Although furebant reflects a different type of madness, there is a linguistic integration and link with the previous scene. Indeed, it will be recalled that Ariadne was likened to a bacchant (64.61).²³ Although Bacchus is to be Ariadne's immediate savior from her present miserable state, the language of the scene and the poetic detailing of wild Bacchic ritual suggest that Ariadne is to pass from one form of madness to another.

The last use of furere occurs at the poem's end, on a pessimistic note. The heroic age so brilliantly portrayed by the wedding of Peleus and Thetis degenerates into moral turpitude. The brief but detailed sketch of the moral degeneracy affecting the social condition of mankind contrasts sharply with the previous picture of the godly pietas of the wedding scene.²⁴ The impiety of the non-heroic age

is delineated and stressed (397-408), and Catullus concludes his description of the crimes of the age after the wedding with a reference to irrationality and madness:

omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore
iustificam nobis mentem avertere deorum.
(64.405-406).

The separation of man from the gods generalizes the specific examples of impietas preceding this passage. This separation is viewed as a disastrous deviation (malo...furore...avertere) and summarizes the differences between the heroic and non-heroic ages resulting from a lack of pietas.²⁵ The passage does not indicate that a supernatural force has driven mankind to madness, but rather that the madness is self-induced by the turning away from true devotion to divine powers.

Before summarizing the use of furor in Catullus, a brief consideration and outline should be made of other terms suggestive of irrationality or derangement. The word rabies has already been treated in connection with the occurrences of furor in the Attis poem. The suggestion of a bestial, untamed quality is always present in every context and hints at a marked divergence from rationality. In poem 63, the contrast between rationality and madness is well illustrated in a line depicting Attis' realization of his demented behavior during his participation in the rites of Cybele:

rabie fera carens dum breve tempus animus est.
(63.58).

The adjective fera heightens the animalistic image and strengthens the dissimilarity between a state of madness (rabie fera) and full mental control (animus).

Strangely but significantly, rabies is used only in the Attis poem. It seems that, although Catullus consciously linked rabies with furor to illustrate a major theme in the Attis poem, he just as consciously avoids linking the word with other types of furor, e.g., the madness of love depicted in 64. The use of rabies only in the Attis poem seems to imply that Catullus carefully distinguishes different degrees or levels of madness. The madness of Attis (furor) must be delineated by qualifying terms and collocation suggestive of bestial rage or uncontrollability (rabies, fera), while other types of madness are qualified by other terms, e.g., vecors (15.14), inops, ardens, amens, and caeca (64.197), malus (64.405), and indomitus (64.53 and 50.11). In any case animalistic madness (rabies) is not described by any of the above terms used to modify and illustrate furor. This Catullan distinction in terminology was not seen in Lucretius who linked rabies and furor to picture the disturbing nature of love.²⁶

The uses of demens/amens have already been noted. Demens emphasizes the final resignation of Attis over his loss of rationality (63.89) and amens directly modifies furor to describe Ariadne's condition resulting from her love for Theseus (64.197). There is a possibility that the unidentified Amaena of 41.1 reflects a word play on amens.²⁷ Similar to amens, inops is used only once in Ariadne's lament over her fate and lost love and in association with amenti... furore (64.197). In this same poem (64.154) lymphata in its

only use appears closely linked to furere, although there are uses of lympa in a literal sense (27.5, 64.162, and 68.54).

The word vecors was employed to denote maniacal behavior in earlier writers.²⁸ Although its use is missing in Lucretius, Catullus employs it twice, once directly modifying furor to reinforce the violent intent of Aurelius.²⁹ In the other instance evil intent and violence again are emphasized by vecors:

Quaenam te mala mens, miselle Ravidе,
agit praecipitem in meos iambos?
quis deus tibi non bene advocatus
vecordem parat excitare rixam? (40.1-4).

The lines are addressed to a certain scurrilous Ravidus for his love-making with someone unmentioned by Catullus. Mala mens in the opening of the poem echoes the language of 15 and suggests a similar situation.

There is one reference to hellebore, in poem 99. Catullus is lamenting that the young Juventius, by wiping from his lips a stolen kiss, has rejected him:

ut mi ex ambrosia mutatum iam foret illud
saviolum tristi tristius helleboro.
(99.13-14).

The word does not seem to indicate any reference to madness but merely bitterness.

There are no occurrences of insanus in Catullus; however, vesanus is used three times. In two instances vesanus suggests fierce passion. In poem 7 Catullus describes himself as mad to receive innumerable kisses from Lesbia:

tam te basia multa basiare
 vesano satis et super Catullo est,
 (7.9-10).

Vesanus is also incorporated in the language of love, used with flamma in a common metaphor to denote the "fires of passion" (100.7). The final use of vesanus occurs in the concluding lines of poem 25. In this passage, we find a participial expression (vesaniente vento: 25.13) to describe the intensity of a storm at sea. The "mad raging" of wind is reminiscent of the Ennian expression furentibus ventis,³⁰ except that Catullus has chosen a different term of madness to denote essentially the same idea. The medical conception of the stem san- may also intimate a "wind that is sick, out of control" or a "wind that makes one sick." In any case, it is important to note that the vocabulary of "madness" is employed in a nature image to detail upheaval or violent motion.

Although insanus does not occur, non sana appears in poem 41, addressed to a certain Amaena, otherwise unknown. If Amaena is a Catullan pun on the word amens, the notion of madness is reinforced by non sana in 41.7 (non est sana puella) and blends well with other terms of the medical vocabulary (cura: 41.5 and medicos: 41.6).

Of other words suggesting deviation, Catullus does not often employ error.³¹ In one instance, the instability of love is suggested by a reference to error:

mentem amore revinciens,
 ut tenax hедера huc et huc
 arborem implicat errans. (61.33-35).

The entanglement of love and its effects upon the mental condition are pictured as like the willy-nilly growth of ivy engulfing a tree. The image suggests that despite love's unpredictable pattern (huc et huc...errans), it does possess and entrap its participants--a reflection of a Lucretian idea about the power of love.³²

Not unexpectedly, error is used in the Attis poem to denote the orgiastic excitation of the devotees of the cult of Cybele. Attis encourages his followers to follow his practice and engage in the ritual:

et corpus evirastis Veneris nimio odio,
hilarate erae citatis erroribus animum.
(63.17-18).

Without doubt erroribus does indicate the unpredictable ecstatic movement of the worshippers; it also hints at their mental excitation as well as physical motion.

The other two occurrences of error are used to describe the perplexing winding of the labyrinth and its intractability (64.113 and 115). There may be a hint that Theseus' mental confusion is also intended; however, this idea is not developed in this passage.³³

Several other terms in Catullus indicate violence or uncontrollability. For example, ira occurs frequently in love poems and abusive attacks on individuals. Ira is used in the Peleus/Thetis epyllion in close proximity to a use of furor. In Ariadne's appeal to the Eumenides for vengeance upon Theseus, ira is said to be one of their characteristics (64.192-194). I find it significant that Catullus employs

the Greek Eumenides for the goddesses of revenge and not the Latin word Furiae, which until this point in the literature is seldom found.³⁴ It has been pointed out that the Roman concept of the Furiae differed slightly from the Greek in that the idea of the Furies as upholders of a system of justice was foreign to the Romans--except when the writers were merely translating the Greek term.³⁵ In this passage Catullus could have easily employed the Latin term. However, he either was adhering closely to a Greek source concerning a Greek myth or he deliberately chose the word Eumenides precisely because the motif of vengeance is so important to the scene. In any case, Furiae is avoided despite the following furore in 197 and the frequent occurrence of furere in connection with Ariadne. The use of Furiae would have made a convincing link with the theme of furor.

Catullus, like Lucretius, uses various forms and derivatives of furere. Proportionately the frequency of use in Catullus is higher than in Lucretius, although most of the occurrences of the word are limited to two poems, 63 and 64. In poem 63 furere describes the deviation of Attis and the wildness of the Cybele cult, which description balances a major theme in the poem: the irrationality of the non-Greek world. In poem 64 furere was most often seen to depict the mental condition of Ariadne after betrayal by Theseus. Poem 64, like poem 63, ends with a reference to furor. In the conclusion of poem 64, madness is linked with the impiety of civilization following the heroic age.³⁶

In each instance of the use of furere in poem 64, the designated word is found at the end of a line, either because of metrical exigency or, as is more probable, because of emphasis and positional resposion.

In Catullus we find more frequently the use of adjectives modifying furor and the employment of the participle furens to qualify another term of madness or the mental condition. These modifiers usually strengthen or detail the intensity or the degree of derangement. Furenti rabie (63.4), rabidus furor (63.38), malo...furore (64.405), amenti...furore (64.197), and furor vecors (15.14) illustrate Catullus' intent to detail and heighten description. In Lucretius, on the other hand, the word furor is seldom directly modified; however, other terms of deviation or mental disturbance, such as error, are often expanded with descriptive adjectives.³⁷

Whereas Lucretius frequently selected delirare to indicate madness or irrationality, Catullus avoids using it. Error, cura, saevus, morbis, caecus, avius, incertus, and vehemens are much more frequent in Lucretius than in Catullus to denote any aspect of deviation. Catullus is most content with using rabies and furor, generally to delineate wildness and uncontrollability. We have seen that the employment of indomitus reinforces these two aspects of the irrational world.³⁸

Although Catullus freely uses furere to characterize Ariadne's mental breakdown after being deserted by Theseus, he never employs the word to describe his own relationship

with Lesbia. Instead Catullus writes in terms of devotion (pietas), trust and faith (fides), pain (dolor), passion (ardor), love (amor), and others to articulate his encounter with Lesbia.³⁹ Clearly Catullus feels the bittersweet nature of his experience with Lesbia and the emotional conflict that love produces.⁴⁰ However, he never views his own situation as causing deviation or hopeless despair as in the case of Attis or Ariadne. Nor does his love for Lesbia cause him to engage in violent and extreme behavior as in the case of Aurelius (15). Catullus understands his problems created by the celebrated affair with Lesbia as an internal dilemma, not to be externalized as in the case of Attis' deviation or Ariadne's possible lack of proper respect.⁴¹

CHAPTER VI

CICERO

Speeches

In the extensive corpus of Cicero there are over 300 usages of various forms of furere, with more than half of the occurrences appearing in the speeches. Discussion will center first upon the speeches and letters, followed by an investigation into furere in the philosophical and rhetorical works, and ending with a brief treatment of Cicero's poetical attempts.

In addition to the frequent examples of uses of furere in Cicero that far surpass the previous number employed even by contemporaries such as Lucretius and Catullus, Cicero also expands and varies the terms. The adjective furibundus used once by Lucretius and twice in Catullus¹ occurs only three times in the speeches.² Cicero does not seem ready or willing to further exploit this word apparently coined by Lucretius.

Although Cicero eschews using furibundus to any great extent, he does develop the use and concept of the word furia. As has been pointed out, furia has occurred only as a personification of the so-called "Furies," translating the Greek word ἐρινύες. One should recall the Ennian reference to Helen of Troy as "one of the Furies" (Lacedaemonia mulier,

Furiarum una adveniet), where the Furies are not necessarily upholders of a system of justice but are instruments of destruction.³

In Lucretius 3.1011 we have seen a reference to Furiae, also a personification and probably a translation of the Greek ἐρινύες, since Lucretius includes the term in a list of notorious offenders taken from Greek mythology who suffer punishment in Hades at the hands of the Furies. In this Lucretian passage there was a definite hint that the Furies (Furiae) were depicted as avengers and symbols of guilty conscience.⁴ In the Lucretian outlook, the "maddening spirits" are viewed as an external force, and only allegorically represent an internalized psychological power affecting the conscience.

In the speeches of Cicero we find Furiae used in the early Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino in Cicero's discussion of the powerful bonds of blood. Alluding to the maniacal behavior of Orestes and Alcmaeon in murdering their mothers and avenging their fathers,⁵ Cicero speaks of the harassment of the "Furies":

Videtisne quos nobis poetae tradiderunt, patris
ulciscendi causa supplicium de matre sumpsisse,
cum praesertim deorum immortalium iussis atque
oraculis id fecisse dicantur, tamen ut eos agitent
Furiae neque consistere umquam patiantur...
(Rosc. Am. 66).

Even without the notice of the scholiast, it would be clear that Cicero is utilizing the Greek concept of avenging deities persecuting wrongdoers.

In Chapter 67, the discussion of "Furies" is continued and more information of their operation and conception is delineated:

hae sunt impiis adsiduae domesticaeque Furiae,
 quae dies noctesque parentium poenas a consceler-
 atissimis filiis repetant. (Rosc. Am. 67).

Once again the "Furies" are pictured as revengeful persecutors harassing children who commit matricide. The hae in the first line refers to previous descriptions of the characteristics pertinent to the deities. These include deceit (fraus), terror (terror), crime (scelus), harassment (agitat), loss of sense (amentia), and a guilty conscience (malae cogitationes conscientiae animi). These highly descriptive factors are introduced by another reference to the "Furies" portrayed in plays:

Nolite enim putare, quem ad modum in fabulis
 saepe numero videtis, eos qui aliquid impie scelerateque commiserunt agitari et perterreri Furiarum
 taedis ardentibus. (Rosc. Am. 67).

In addition to another reference to undutiful behavior (impie), criminal activity (scelerate), harassment (agitari), and terror (perterreri), the "Furies" are associated with burning torches, a feature of their delineation on stage. Cicero is arguing, of course, that the presentation on the stage is only a symbolic representation of the real Furies attacking murderers of close blood-relations. The author concludes the list of persecutions mentioned above with the emphatic positioning of malae cogitationes conscientiae animi which clearly describes the mental torture of a guilty conscience.

The effects upon the mental condition are also emphasized by a reference to madness affecting the murderer (suum quemque scelus agitat amentiaque adficit). There is no doubt that Cicero also understands that consanguineous murder produces a moral pollution that induces madness:

ex quo si qua macula concepta est, non modo elui non potest verum usque eo permanat ad animum ut summus furor atque amentia consequatur.
(Rosc. Am. 66).

The word amentia is repeated in the following chapter as already noted and is here for the first time collated with furor.⁶

These two sections (66 and 67) show that Cicero has attempted to de-symbolize the Greek concept of the ἐπινοῦες as portrayed in tragedy. He associates the Furies with crime, guilty conscience, fear, harassment, and madness that finally overcome their pursued victim.

Cicero's generalizations on the behavior of mad matricide are also applied to the specific details of the case. Sextus Roscius is charged with the murder of his father. Cicero belittles the arguments of the prosecution, suggesting that Sextus Roscius must have been a known criminal with criminal tendencies, a misdirected youth corrupted by other wrongdoers, or completely insane to have committed parricide without strong provocation (39-40):

Quae res igitur tantum istum furorem Sex. Roscio obiecit? 'Patri,' inquit, 'non placebat.' Patri non placebat? quam ob causam? (Rosc. Am. 40).

Roscious supposedly was imputed by the prosecution to be mad

and consequently killed his father because he was not liked by his father. Notwithstanding the merits or demerits of Cicero's case, the word furor is used even for an imputed murder of a consanguineous relation.

Clearly the above uses of furor and furia are consistently linked to murder of a family member. However, earlier in the speech, in drawing a parallel from Roman history, Cicero cites the arrogance and criminal activity of a certain Gaius Fimbria who seriously wounded Q. Scaevola Mucius, the famous jurist during the Marius-Sulla period. Fimbria is described as the most daring (audacissimum: 33) and insane person of his time (quod inter omnes constat, nisi inter eos qui ipsi quoque insaniunt, insanissimum: 33). After Scaevola survived Fimbria's attack, sometime after the death of Marius he was later legally charged by Fimbria:

cum ab eo quaereretur quid tandem accusaturus
esset eum...aiunt hominem, ut erat furiosus,
respondisse: 'quod non totum telum corpore
recepisset.' (Ros. Am. 33).

Cicero's picture of Fimbria as a madman follows a tradition (aiunt hominem, ut erat furiosus) because of his unjustified attack (physical and legal) upon a respected member of society. The use of furiosus perhaps represents Cicero's sentiments against a citizen generally considered as opportunistic and subversive. This argument, however, cannot be conclusively drawn from this passage and it is perhaps only Fimbria's violence and arrogance that Cicero condemns and not his strongly partisan politics.⁷

In the Verrine Orations in addition to frequent attacks against Verres' criminality, arrogance, and boldness (audacia), Cicero often accuses Verres of impious desecration of temples and inhuman malfeasance against the Sicilians whom he governed. At the end of the first actio Cicero sums up the indictment against Verres:

dicimus C. Verrem, cum multa libidinose, multa crudeliter in cives Romanos atque in socios, multa in deos hominesque nefarie fecerit, (Verr. 1.56).

Throughout the Verrines Cicero returns to this theme of impiety or lack of proper respect for gods and men. In the first speech of the second actio the theme of Verres' inhumanity against both man and the divine is drawn (2.1.7-12). At the end of one vehement section Cicero argues that Verres' criminality and brutality will affect his mental condition and not allow him respite:

consistere eius animum sine furore atque amentia non sinunt. (Verr. 2.1.7).

The collocation of furor and amentia is stated in a different context from that of the Pro Sexto Roscio.⁸ Although Cicero continually harps upon Verres' criminality and impiety, throughout the rest of this speech furor does not occur to describe his actions or motivation. In the second speech of the second actio against Verres one occurrence of furor suggests intense anger and rage on Verres' part after being thwarted in prosecuting a certain Sthenius:

quem posteaquam videt non adesse, dolore ardere atque iracundia furere coepit. (Verr. 2.2.92).

Interestingly, Cicero joins with furere the image of heat (ardere) to denote the intensity of human feeling.⁹

The few references to Verres' maniacal behavior increase in the fourth and fifth speeches of the second actio. Three instances in close proximity in the fourth speech directly refer to Verres, detailing his expropriation of valuable art pieces.¹⁰ In one case (2.4.38) amentia and furor are linked; in the other two there is a close association of furere and insanire (39 and 41). In these three paragraphs Cicero details Verres' greed--which he describes as very intense (acrior) and mad (insanior)--and his fierce anger over his failure to extort a choice piece belonging to a certain Diodorus.

Later in the same speech, furiosus describes the attempt of Theomnastus, whom Cicero, punning, calls Theoractus, to protect the interest of Verres in denying Cicero access to records of Verres' thefts:

ille furiosus urgere nihil ad se nostras leges
pertinere. (Verr. 2.4.149).

Cicero had attempted to impound the records under a senatorial decree authorizing him to secure them. In the same paragraph, Theomnastus is sneeringly referred to as ille... insanus; when Cicero insists upon the records, Theomnastus' lack of emotional control is detailed as a foaming at the mouth and blazing of the eyes:

nam cum spumas ageret in ore, oculis arderet,¹¹
(Verr. 2.4.148).

By the fifth speech Cicero increasingly uses furor to delineate Verres' criminality and sacrilege. There are seven instances of the word furor, six of which refer to Verres' activity,¹² and one use of Furiae as goddesses avenging his innocent victims:

sed ab dis manibus innocentium Poenas sceleratorumque Furias in tuum iudicium esse venturas.
(Verr. 2.5.113).

The personification of the "Furies" in this passage suggests the haunting power of guilt, a theme which Cicero directly attributes to Verres upon being confronted with one of his crimes:

exsiluit conscientia sceleris et furore ex maleficiis concepto excitatus; (Verr. 2.5.73).

Cicero continues to depict Verres' wild behavior as inspired or driven on by his excitement: inflammatus scelere, furore, crudelitate (2.5.106); similarly ipse inflammatus scelere et furore in forum venit. ardebant oculi... (2.5.161) describes Verres' possession resulting from the enormity of criminal acts.

Later in the speech, Cicero understands Verres' activity in his openly brutal treatment against Roman citizens as arrogant deviation. Cicero's charge is introduced by his angry denunciation of Verres' uncontrolled illegalities; Verres' madness is emphasized by word positioning and the collocation of two familiar terms, furor and amentia:

furor enim quidam, sceleris et audaciae comes, istius effrenatum animum importunamque naturam tanta oppressit amentia (2.5.139).

Cicero indicates that Verres' madness added further frenzy to his unbridled intent and temperament. In another section Cicero contrasts the rational balance of Roman predecessors with the profligate deviation of Verres. Much of the language is couched in amatory terms, but the deliberate contrast of rationality and madness is clear:

vide quid intersit inter tuam libidinem maiorumque auctoritatem, inter amorem furoremque tuum et illorum consilium atque prudentiam. (Verr. 2.5.85).

In the peroration Cicero reminds the audience of Verres' sacrilege, criminality, and opposition to the Roman state. Admittedly by his inflammatory rhetoric and by a traditional prayer at the end of his speech Cicero exaggerates Verres' deviation from Roman practice. However, we find a series of interconnected ideas previously detailed in the speeches: wrongdoing, arrogant boldness, immoral behavior, and impious sacrilege to the state gods:

ceteros item deos deasque omnes imploro et obtestor, quorum templis et religionibus iste nefario quodam furore et audacia instinctus bellum sacrilegum semper impiumque habuit indictum: (Verr. 2.5.188).

Throughout the Verrine speeches Cicero attempted to show Verres' divergence from the accepted policy or normal public behavior of a governor of a Roman province. This deviation Cicero represents as a madness attacking Verres which isolates him from others in political life. In a direct appeal to his audience Cicero states that failure to take heed of his evidence and warnings will also lead them into a brutality and insane policy that sanction Verres' own deviation:

meum enim crimen avaritiae te nimiae coarguit,
 tua defensio furoris cuiusdam et immanitatis et
 inauditae crudelitatis et paene novae proscriptionis.
 (Verr. 2.5.153).

The very mention of a possible new proscription as a result of neglect of Verres' policy and activity recall the political and military oppression of the rather recent Sullan illegalities. In viewing the Sullan proscriptions as a political extremism, Cicero attempts to link Verres' deviation as a part of extreme, revolutionary activity.

In the Pro Cluentio, furere is found five times, all to depict the unusual behavior of Sassia, mother of Cluentius, who married her daughter's husband and purportedly plotted against her son Cluentius by helping to initiate the trial against him.¹³ Her attempts to extort information from slaves by torturing them (191) and her base desires represented by her passion for her daughter's husband (15) are described as the action of a madwoman (furor and amentia). Cicero views some of her cruel methods as criminal (191, and 192 where scelus is introduced in the vocabulary). Throughout the last section of the speech in which Cicero comments on the substances of the charges brought against his client, he consistently portrays Sassia as an evil, cruel monster to be separated from the rest of society (194-202).

In the separate speeches of the De Lege Agraria, furere is used three times.¹⁴ Early in the first speech Cicero alludes to the legislation proposed by Rullus as the policy of dreamy madmen drunk on wine:

haec, per deos immortales, utrum esse vobis
 consilia siccorum an vinolentorum somnia et utrum
 cogitata sapientium an optata furiosorum videntur?
 (Leg. Agr. 1.1).

In his opposition Cicero derides the bill, painting its proponents as incompetent planners and reckless opportunists. In the second speech Cicero incites the people to opposition of the bill, portraying Rullus and his covert supporters as subversives intent upon making Rome an enemy against Capua, which was desirous of supplanting Rome as capital.¹⁵ In a previous section (32) Cicero plays upon the fear of the Roman populace of kingship and its associations. Cicero argues that the setting up of a board of ten men (decemviri) elected by seventeen tribal units would encourage abuse in power leading to a kingship or control by insane individuals:

omnia sunt haec huiusmodi, Quirites, ut, ea qui
 habeat sine vestris suffragiis, aut rex non ferendus
 aut privatus furiosus esse videatur. (Leg. Agr. 2.32).

Cicero, of course, intimates that Rullus and the decemviri, in whose number Caesar expected to be included, would seize power and subvert the Republican state.¹⁶

In the Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo Cicero undertook the defense ostensibly to unmask revolutionary activity. He saw the case against Rabirius as an attack on the senatorial use and prerogative of the senatus consultum ultimum. Julius Caesar and the populares spearheaded an attempt to force the issue of the senatus consultum, which the Senate had used to suppress anything or anybody whom it considered revolutionary or extremist. In the very exordium Cicero quickly arrives at the point, denouncing the case against Rabirius as a

revolutionary conspiracy. He argues that the legal action is intended to thwart senatorial power against outlaws and extremists:

agitur...ut...nulla bonorum consensio contra
improborum furorem et audaciam... (Rab. 4).

The madness of wicked men is strongly contrasted with the reasoned argument of conservatives. The collocation of furor and audacia is becoming a common association in Cicero to denote his strong opposition.¹⁷ The use of improbus instead of the more familiar and expected malus to point out the contrast with bonorum emphasizes its relationship with furorem. The agricultural base of the word, meaning "unfruitful," will be recalled.¹⁸ Cicero is suggesting that the attempts of the populares to weaken the senatorial prerogative of the senatus consultum are extreme political moves that do not benefit the community.

Later in the speech Cicero turns to actual events surrounding the case against Rabirius and attempts to show that the killings of the tribune Saturninus and his followers were justified because of their violent subversiveness. Saturninus' criminality and political isolation are described in the somewhat similar terms:

cum...improbitas et furor L. Saturnini in
Capitolium arcesserat (Rab. 22).

In the same section Saturninus' actions as a tribune are contrasted with the legality of a consul's:

ager Picenus universus utrum tribunicium furorem,
an consularem auctoritatem secutus est? (Rab. 22).

This is the first occurrence of the phrase furor tribunicus to refer to any action interpreted as subversion against senatorial power or privilege. Cicero will often use this phrase to discredit popular reaction against senatorial policies.¹⁹ In fact a little later in the same part of this speech Cicero claims that to join with Saturninus was the act of an insane criminal:

cum Saturnino esse furoris et sceleris; (Rab. 24).

We shall find that the combination of the political insanity (furor) and illegality (scelus) of his enemies will be consistently used by Cicero in order to denigrate and defame their character, reputation, and credibility. Cicero uses this combination of terms most frequently against his major enemies: Catiline, Clodius, and Antony.

The frequent use of furor in the Catilinarian speeches serves as a unifying thematic link to indicate Catiline's lawlessness, his revolutionary intent, and his extremism. The first Catilinarian opens with a verbal blast against Catiline's activities that sets the tone and intent of the entire speech:

quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?
quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?
(Cat. 1.1).

The contemptuous reference to Catiline's "madness" and uncontrolled boldness anticipates the detailing of Catiline's political and military actions throughout all four of the speeches. Escape from Catiline's intended revolution seems sufficiently patriotic:

nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei publicae
videmur, si istius furorem ac tela videmus.
(Cat. 1.2).

Cicero attempts to show that Catiline's extreme, illegal acts began soon after the Sullan settlement and continued during his long quest for consular power. Cicero characterizes the abortive first Catilinarian conspiracy as an act of a mad man precipitated without regard to legality or to the state:

...sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut
timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse?
(Cat. 1.15).

To Cicero's mind Catiline is irrational, and no rational plea can summon him from his deviated course of action:

neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor unquam
a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore
revocarit.
(Cat. 1.22).

The antithetical position of ratio and furore emphasizes the lack of control and rational behavior. Catiline's unregulated intentions are later stated in familiar language, re-echoing the opening of the speech:

Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua
cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. (Cat. 1.25).

Following this line Cicero indicates that part of Catiline's revolutionary intention is engendered by heredity:

ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit. (Cat. 1.25).

Toward the end of the first speech Cicero begins to summarize the current state of affairs and the illegal actions of Catiline. The magnitude of the crimes and the irrational subversion of long standing are restated:

etenim iam diu...in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. (Cat. 1.31).

The theme of Catiline's madness is continued in the second speech:

...L. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem... (Cat. 2.1).

Cicero sought to have Catiline declared a hostis, an official enemy of the state, and in this appeal to the populace in a contio, he all but uses this term. In addition to the phrase furem audacia that re-echoes the beginning of the first Catilinarian, criminal intent is designated (scelus anhelantem, nefarie); pestem patriae approaches the official designation hostis; molientem nefarie suggests the continuous and laborious efforts of Catiline's criminality; and vobis... minitantem, of course, indicates Catiline's revolutionary extremism accompanied by violence.²⁰

Cicero lists Catiline's supporters in the second speech and tries to show their utter depravity and moral bankruptcy that led them to follow their leader. Their actions are described in language similarly used to depict Catiline. Furor occurs three times to indicate their willingness to conspire in revolution.²¹

In the third and fourth Catilinarians Cicero continues to contend the conspirator's guilt by association. In addition to a reference to a general class of criminals drawn into (inflammatos) the conspiracy (3.4), Cethegus, like

Catiline, is twice called mad (3.16 and 4.11). In the second instance the conspirator Cethegus is envisioned as a wild demonic figure, raving in the orgy of slaughter:

cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque in-
sepultos acervos civium, versatur mihi ante oculos
aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis.
(Cat. 4.11).

The use of bacchantis adds to the picture of wild, frantic activity. Like Catullus, Cicero associates orgiastic frenzy (bacchantis) and madness (furor).²²

In the last two instances of furor in the Catilinarians, Cicero makes a general reference to illegal and extreme political activity with no specific individual names (4.6 and 4.20). In the first of these two passages Cicero clearly links the idea of furor to revolution:

ego magnum in republica versari furorem et nova
quaedam misceri et concitari mala iam pridem
videbam. (Cat. 4.6).

The reference is to internal strife, and the phrase nova quaedam suggests the more common and technical novae res to indicate revolutionary attempts.

In the Pro Murena Cicero continues his attacks against Catiline and his supporters. He links Catiline to unsavory elements and discontents and desperately tries to isolate politically anyone involved with Catiline's political activities and aspirations. In two passages furor describes Catiline's role in the state's affairs (Mur. 49 and 83). In the second of these passages, Catiline and his supporters are connected with a description of the body politic in the case against Murena:

petunt enim rationes illius ut orbetur auxilio
res publica ut minuatur contra suum furorem im-
peratorum copia, ut maior facultas tribunis plebis
detur depulso adversario seditionis ac discordiae
concitandae. (Mur. 83).

Cicero equates the general subversion of the Catilinarians (petunt...publica) with the abuse of tribunician power (maior...concitandae). Cicero and many of the aristocrats of the senatorial order feared the exercise of tribunician power and generally thought that many tribunes excessively abused their power to rally the populace around them and their programs. Cicero's view of Saturninus as stated in the Pro Rabirio and his contrast between the solidity of consular power and the disruptive radicalism of the tribunes will be recalled.²³ Cicero's opposition to "radical" tribunes is expressed again in Pro Murena, where he argues for the necessity of strong consular leadership to restrain the activity of tribunes:

quaeriter consul qui dicendo non numquam com-
primat tribunicios furores, qui concitatum populum
flectat, qui largitioni resistat. (Mur. 24).

The phrase tribunicios furores is a restatement of the similar phrase in the Pro Rabirio and indicates Cicero's willingness to attribute radical activity to his opponents, senatorial or otherwise. Since some senators assumed leadership ostensibly for popular causes (populares) and exercised power via tribunician proposals, Cicero often attacks senatorial opposition by reference to the extreme action of tribunes. The period shortly after Sulla's retirement from public life witnessed a revival of tribunician activity

reminiscent of the turbulent period of the Gracchi. Cicero associated the accompanying violence, acrimonious contention, and hostility to senatorial prerogative and control with the rise and use of the power of the tribunate.²⁴

In his defense in mid 62 B.C. of Publius Cornelius Sulla, who was charged with conspiracy in connection with Catiline, Cicero alludes to the Catilinarian conspiracy on five different occasions as the political "madness" (furor) of criminals and impious men.²⁵ In the Pro Flacco a general allusion is made to the actions of criminals contrasted with the promising merit of a young politician (sceleratorum civium potius...furori quam virtuti: 2). Two years later after his return from exile Cicero makes a similar generalization, adding the notion of force and personal injury to "insane" criminality:

mihi quod potuit vis et iniuria et sceleratorum
hominum furor detrahare, eripuit, abstulit, dis-
sipavit. (Red. Pop. 19).

Cicero is obviously alluding to his political enemies who had forced him into exile and indicates the length of illegality and "mad," unreasonable maneuvers that he thinks his opponents resorted to in order to isolate him.²⁶

Just as Cicero had often used furor in the Catilinarians to characterize his political enemies, he continues to castigate his opponents, past and present, in his speeches following his return from exile. His chief source of opposition immediately after his return was Publius Clodius; Cicero often bitterly attacks him and his political activities.

Furor is a common theme in the De Domo Sua, De Haruspiciis, Responso, the Pro Sestio, and In Vatinius, four speeches in which Cicero details his hatred and opposition to Clodius and Vatinius, two tribunes.

Cicero begins the De Domo Sua by linking religious and political institutions of Rome. He refers to religious and political extremists as mad (dementes), desperate (perditi), and evil (improbi), contrasting them with good magistrates and sound government. Furor summarizes the description of these undesirable elements that flourish in the state despite the counteraction of good magistrates (2). From such a general introduction concerning political undesirables Cicero launches his attack on Clodius. In a single section Clodius is called demens, vesanus, furiosus twice (3) for what Cicero claims to be disgraceful crimes (scelera and flagitia).²⁷

The tone and phraseology employed in the exordium to depict political extremists and extremism reoccur throughout the speech, particularly in Chapters 63 to 69 where Cicero delineates the violent crimes of his opponents. Since Clodius performed most of his damage to Cicero as a tribune, there are several references to tribunician excesses (tribunicius furor).²⁸ In one instance the general statement tribunicius furor, usually indicating a depersonalized, almost institutionalized reference, is individualized to describe a particular tribune and his crippling of senatorial power:

sunt inventi qui senatum tribuno furenti
constrictum traderent (Dom. 113).

The "mad" tribune is a reference to Clodius. Similarly, but more explicitly, the excessive violence of Clodius, as tribune, is depicted in the phraseology of insanity:

verum haec furiosa vis vesani tribuni plebis facile
superari frangique potuit virorum bonorum vel virtute
vel multitudine. (Dom. 55).

The phrase furiosa vis vesani tribuni plebis is an elaboration of tribunicus furor and details the concept of madness in the policies of a tribune in direct contrast to the stability of the senatorial party.

In other references to political revolution or Clodius' own style of extremism Cicero varies his adjectives and qualifiers of furor. Near the end of the speech Cicero has the phrases inflammato atque indomito furore and furore instinctus (141), both reminiscent of Catullan language in a different context.²⁹ In this same section, audacia, sceleratissime, insolentia, and vaecordissimus detail the description of political activity.

Among other uses of furor in the speech,³⁰ one instance is linked with the conception of blindness that leads to false perception:

haec cum tot tantaque agerentur, non mirum est,
praesertim in furore animi et caecitate, multa
illum et te fefellisse (Dom. 129).

The activities mentioned in this sentence summarize the illegal and disruptive acts of Clodius and his followers.

In two instances the noun furia is also connected with the political imagery and denotes the revolutionary (89 and 102). In one of these two cases furia is found

closely associated with pestis, a word used to suggest religious pollution (102). In another instance (99) pestis is added as a supplement to complete a balance in construction following an unconnected atque in the manuscripts.³¹ In any case furia is left unpersonified and is clearly an accusing jibe directed at Clodius. Cicero removes furia from the impersonal and supernatural realm to characterize an individual directly. By personalizing the reference, the idea of madness or avenging guilt associated with the Furies (in Greek the ἐρινύες) and the idea of some external force causing subsequent action are removed. Consequently the individual so characterized as a furia assumes the features and characteristics of the dread goddesses.

The De Haruspicum Responso continues the phraseology to describe Clodius' activities against Cicero.³² As in the De Domo Sua, furia is used twice in this connection. In one of these instances furia is linked with facibus to illustrate the illegal burning of Cicero's house (4).

In two passages Cicero argues that others were misled by Clodius and shut their eyes to his activities. Those who considered Clodius an asset to the body politic Cicero labels as ignorant and blind to his maneuverings:

sed illius, ut ego arbitror, furoris ignari.
(Har. Resp. 48).

A little before there is a reference to the blind force of madness that causes illegal and revolutionary acts:

lex...quam caecus amentia non videbat.
(Har. Resp. 48).

Clodius' ability to mislead others and to induce them to acquiesce and support his legislation is brought up again by Cicero:

et non numquam eius indomitos atque effrenatos
furores plausu etiam suo prosequebantur, quam se
cito inverterit. (Har. Resp. 52).³³

Cicero also argues that support of Clodius' subversiveness in his two tribunates comes about because of the differences and dissensions of the triumvirate. Clodius takes advantage of that situation:

cuius initia furoris dissensionibus eorum...
sustenata sunt. (Har. Resp. 50).

In one chapter furor is linked with dementia to describe Clodius, followed by analogous examples taken from literature (39). Thereupon Cicero lists Clodius' present and past criminality and immorality: his strident shouting in assemblies, his violent destruction of private property, his physical force used against individuals, his burning of homes and sacred buildings, his provocation of slaves to join his group, his sacrilegious acts, his orgiastic ravings (baccharis, furis) and his illegal punishment of individual citizens. Included in this chapter in addition to furor and amentia there occurs the verb furis, the participle furentes, and the rare adjective furialis (apparently a Ciceronian coinage), all highlighting the actions and behavior that Cicero describes.

In the Pro Sestio Cicero continues to use furor frequently to indicate the political action of his opponents

with the emphasis on Clodius. Three instances refer to the excessive activism of the tribune;³⁴ in another political activity is linked with the effects of poverty and association with undesirables (111). The phrase effrenatus furor is used to describe parricides (82), and furibundus incitata illa sua vecordi mente (117), describing Clodius, shows the association and linking of common elements (incitata, vecordi) to stress emotional excitement and instability. In another chapter Cicero argues that legislation proffered by Clodius had a disastrous effect upon domestic and foreign policy and relations:

mitto omnem domesticam labem: etiam exterarum
nationes illius anni furore conquassatas videbamus.
(Sest. 56).

Cicero again uses furor to denote the instability of domestic policy which stirs up civil discord and revolution:

aut qui propter insitum quemdam animi furorem
discordiis civium ac seditione pascentur, (Sest. 99).

In another section he details at length the civil, public, religious, and personal extreme actions of Clodius that brought on and abetted the political disturbances of the time (95). In this chapter furor is used to summarize this activity.³⁵

In a long digression (96-112) Cicero gives a political dissertation on the nature of the two major factions, the optimates and populares. The optimates (in which Cicero included himself) are characterized as the upholders of law and order, adherents to the Roman constitution, supporters

of honorable relations both domestic and foreign, and finally those untainted by crime, debt, or sacrilege. On the other hand, Cicero naturally depicts the populares as opportunistic champions of the popular cause, who do not oppose revolutionary tendencies but enlist malcontents, criminals, debauched and poverty stricken weaklings in order to gain personal power and rewards.³⁶ Within this lengthy antithesis he describes the class of optimates, showing ex contrario what they are not:

omnes optimates sunt qui neque nocentes sunt nec
natura improbi nec furiosi nec malis domesticis
impediti. (Sest. 97).

There follows a list of the virtues of the optimates delineated as integri, boni, and sani in their dutiful service to the public and regulation of domestic policy. The quotation implies that if the optimates are neither nocentes, improbi, nor furiosi, then the populares are to some degree guilty of criminality, immorality, and insanity. The words integri, boni, and sani (upright, moral, and of sound mind) are directly antithetical to the description befitting the populares.

In the In Vatinius Cicero continues the theme of political furor. Cicero generally avoided direct mention of Vatinius as a furiosus in the Pro Sestio and only intimates his opposition to Sestius' accuser because of his close association with Clodius. However, in his next speech, In Vatinius, he directly challenges Vatinius and alludes to his political extremism in similar language.³⁷ In this speech

Cicero also refers once again to the "insane" policies and actions of Clodius.³⁸ In one such instance we find the familiar collocation of furia and pestis:

sed appellarisne nominatim pestem illius anni,
furiam patriae, tempestatem rei publicae, Clodium?
(Vat. 33).

Although Cicero very strongly attacks Vatinius and Clodius in this speech, he avoids any direct castigation of Caesar whose policies Vatinius and Clodius were executing at this time. There is no mention of the furor or furia of Caesar, and any opposition and impugning of Caesar is done indirectly by innuendo and the unspoken argument of guilt by association in order to avoid alienation.³⁹

In the Pro Caelio Cicero returns to a discussion of Catiline because his client was associated with the conspiracy. Furor occurs (15) when Cicero discusses the revolutionary tendencies of Catiline (10-16). Cicero tries to prove that Caelius had no such tendencies and was drawn to involvement in the conspiracy because of his youth and the insidious nature of the plot. The only other instances of furor in the speech refer to Clodius as a revolutionary intent upon murder (60: bis).⁴⁰

In the Pro Plancio Cicero alludes to the year 58 B.C. by reference to the political character of both a tribune (Clodius) and the consuls for that year (Piso and Gabinius):

tribunicius me terror an consularis furor movit?
(Planc. 86).

The reference to the fear that the tribune inspires is not unexpected. However, the allusion to the political extremism

of consuls can only be explained as Cicero's conscious attempt to link Clodius' move to exile him with the support and the collusion of the consuls. Cicero is not averse to tagging any of his enemies, supposed or real, if he understands or views them involved in any political action that is detrimental to his personal life or public policies.

The oblique reference in the Pro Plancio to Piso's collaboration with revolutionary activities of the populares is openly charged in the In Pisonem. For Cicero harbored the thought that L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, as consul in 58, had made a compromise with the triumviri (Caesar in particular) that for acquiescence to Clodius' bill to exile Cicero he would be assigned the government of Macedonia with extraordinary powers after his consulship.⁴¹ After Piso's long proconsulship of Macedonia ended in 55, Cicero wrote the invective that we now possess. There is a dispute as to exactly when the speech was composed and published.⁴² In any case, the many instances of Cicero's charge of political furor clearly exemplify this speech as a partisan invective.

Early in the speech Cicero challenges Piso to speak openly about his accomplishments during his consulship:

aude, nunc, o furia, de tuo dicere! (Pis. 8).

This is the only instance in Cicero in which anyone is addressed as a "fury." This reference does not indicate the idea associated with an avenging goddess but rather is a personification. The apostrophe is used instead of the

form furiosus and perhaps suggests a person with a guilty conscience.⁴³

In Cicero's denunciation of Piso, he often links Piso's activity with Gabinius, the other consul of the same year, and with Clodius. Among many charges of illegal and revolutionary acts, Cicero accuses Piso of having his house burned down:

sedebas non exstinctor sed auctor incendi, et
ardentis faces furiis Clodianis paene ipse consul
ministrabas. (Pis. 26).

The "Clodian furies" refers to Clodius' political aberration in setting afire Cicero's house.⁴⁴ The image is heightened by the fact that the Furies were represented as carrying torches.⁴⁵ The same chapter concludes with a general allusion by Cicero to the features of the Pisonian and Gabinian consulship which was destructive to the state:

neque civis unus ex civitate sed ipsa civitas
tuo et Gabini scelere furorique cessisset?⁴⁶
(Pis. 26).

In a section of the speech in which Cicero discusses particular and specific acts of Piso during his proconsulship in Macedonia (46-48), he charges Piso with illegal and revolutionary designs in his demobilization of his army. In a single chapter (46) there are three references to furere which are designed to invoke and detail Piso's criminality and extremism:

mihi enim numquam veniret in mentem furorem et
insaniam optare vobis in quam incidistis. (Pis. 46).

Piso's actions are to be distinguished from the madness portrayed on the stage:

nolite enim ita putare...ut in scaena videtis,
homines consceleratos impulsu deorum terreri furi-
alibus taedis ardentibus. (Pis. 46).

Cicero is arguing that madness is a natural consequence of crime and political illegalities and summarizes this view by concluding that crime results from mental disturbance and an unhealthy imbalance:

sua quemque fraus, suum facinus, suum scelus, sua
audacia de sanitate ac mente deturbat; hae sunt
impiorum furiae, hae flammae, hae faces. (Pis. 46).⁴⁷

Cicero emphasizes the importance of guilt and its consequent punishment by using the terminology associated with aberration: furorem et insaniam, furalibus...ardentibus, audacia, sanitate, deturbat, impiorum furiae. Such phraseology intensifies Cicero's picture of Piso's mental imbalance which he continues to draw in the following chapter by an allusion to insane characters in tragedy:

ego te non vaecordem, non furiosum, non mente
captum non tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante demen-
tiores putem, qui sis ausus primum facere. (Pis. 47).

The amassing of even more terms of mental aberration heightens the invective against Piso and the rhetorical exaggeration lends to the intensity of the vituperation.

If the reader fails to grasp from these abusive charges and mythological allusions the theme of Piso's political deviation, Cicero indicates according to his views the symptoms of "political madness":

quid est aliud furere? non cognoscere homines?
non cognoscere leges, non senatum, non civitatem.
cruentare corpus suum? maior haec est vitae famae
salutis suae volneratio. (Pis. 47).

For Piso's disregard of the custom of consulting the senate before disbanding an army, he received this bitter criticism from Cicero who pictured him as an outlaw acting without regard to the state and the public weal.⁴⁸

As has been shown, Cicero is not averse to castigating a moderate consul and charging him with revolutionary intent if he felt the consul had been opposed to him and his policies or had collaborated to force his exile.⁴⁹ In the Pro Milone Cicero returns to the theme of tribunician radicalism and illegality, primarily focusing his charges against P. Clodius. In this connection there are ten instances of furere, all pertaining to Clodius' activity as a tribune or leader of a "gang."⁵⁰ Cicero's main argument is that Clodius is a criminal and his actions produce violence (3), disturbances in political institutions (27: contio turbulenta), and civil discord (35). In one section we have the Ciceroian commonplace in reference to tribunician radicalism (furiosum illum tribunum: 14); in another (32) furor is associated with audacia, criminals (sceleratissimus), and the uncontrolled destructiveness of wild animals (audaci tam nefaria belua). These words all refer to Clodius. Cicero even argues that Clodius produces disturbances and evils even when dead and buried:

frangetis impetum vivi, cuius vix sustinetis
furias insepulti? (Mil. 91).

In this instance there is no personification intended in the word furias and the passage does not suggest that Clodius has been "inspired" to madness by an external force.

Throughout the speech Cicero contends that Clodius' illegal and radical activities destroyed the legal machinery for solving political and social problems. In one passage he imagines Milo justifying his role in Clodius' death: that something, even if violent and illegal, had to be done to check the activism of Clodius and his supporters (72-78). The rationalization employs familiar language to denote Clodius' uncontrollable deviation from an ordered and constitutional society:

'...eius furores quos nullis iam legibus nullis iudiciis frenare poteramus, hoc...reppuli, per me ut unum ius aequitas, leges libertas, pudor pudicitia in civitate manerent.' (Mil. 77).

In other speeches preceding the Philippics, Cicero occasionally uses furere, mostly in a general sense, and not directed to a description of any individual.⁵¹ The speeches are primarily concerned with Julius Caesar and politics; consequently, the uses of furere have political overtones.⁵²

In the Philippics Cicero not only criticizes Antony's political and military actions but also vehemently attacks his personality. As in the case of Catiline and Clodius, whom Cicero considered both personal and public enemies, he frequently uses furere to indicate his opposition and intense sentiments toward Antony.⁵³ Speaking against one of Antony's proposals to confirm one of Julius Caesar's acts, Cicero intimates that Antony's proposal of abolishing two separate courts endangers the state and encourages subversive and violent activity of plebeian tribunes:

quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicus impelli
non poterit his duabus quaestionibus de vi et
maiestatis sublatis? (Phil. 1.22).

Cicero explicitly states in the preceding sentence that
abolishment of these courts leads to sedition and violence:

quid est aliud hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti,
ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse?
(Phil. 1.22).

The reference to the radicalism of tribunes (furor tribunicus),
although not directly referring to Antony's activities as
tribune, nonetheless link him to the results of this radi-
calism.

In the undelivered but published Second Philippic,
Cicero directly compares Antony's supposed illegalities
with the extremism of his past enemies:

tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam
Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me
maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me alienationem
commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti.
(Phil. 2.1).

Cicero's main thesis is that Antony is more radical than
either Catiline or Clodius. Three other uses of furere in
this speech comment not so much on Antony's political ac-
tivities but his personality and social habits. Cicero views
these habits as excesses and marks of deviation from proper
social intercourse.⁵⁴ In short, Cicero strongly intimates
that Antony is an insane drunken sot, a condition that af-
fects his political judgment (64-70). This theme is re-
echoed in a later Philippic, where Cicero charges Antony with
frenzied association with undesirable debauchees and crim-
inals and subjection to the will of a woman (6.4). Among

the words used in Cicero's denunciation are furor and vinolentia, the same terms employed in the Second Philippic in Cicero's attacks on Antony's character.

In many of the speeches of the Philippics, Cicero contrasts the actions of "governmental" supporters with those of Antony. Early in the third speech Cicero praises the conduct of the young upstart Octavius while castigating Antony for his military decisions and political conduct:

C. Caesar adulescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, tum, cum maxime furor arderet Antoni, cumque eius a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur,...
(Phil. 3.3).

Compliments to the young Octavius, who Cicero considered (or hoped) was operating on behalf of the state and/or the senatorial oligarchy, occur throughout the speeches, usually contrasted with insulting references to Antony's maniacal behavior.⁵⁵ In addition to forms of furere to depict Antony's behavior, demens also is used (3.31 and 13.19). Audacia is sometimes linked to furor to heighten the description of Antony's extremism as in 2.1 (3.31, 6.18 and 10.11).

Cicero does not limit his opposition by contrasting Antony with Octavian. He praises his brother's son, Quintus Cicero, for his association with Octavian and, thus, his resistance to Antony (3.17). In a similar manner Cicero lauds D. Brutus (11.4 and 13.20) for his fight against Antony and Dolabella; in both instances Cicero objects to his enemies' political madness (furor). The repulse or checking

of Antony's military forces by legions of the "republic" also draws Cicero's commendation and gratitude (10.21, 13.16, 14.33).

Cicero also uses furere to describe Dolabella, Antony's political and military ally (11.2, 11.7, 13.43). In the Thirteenth Philippic Cicero minutely criticizes and refutes a letter of Antony containing praise of Lepidus and Dolabella. In one section Cicero mocks the words of Antony, who defended Lepidus:

id agis, ut Lepidum aut impium aut insanum existimari velis. (Phil. 13.43).

The political context from the entire speech clearly indicates that the words impium and insanum reflect disloyalty to the state and opposition to Cicero's position. In the same paragraph Cicero continues to support Lepidus' character and to mock Antony's attempts upon him:

revocare te a furore Lepidus voluit, non adiutor esse dementiae. (Phil. 13.43).

In Cicero's desperate attempt to isolate Lepidus from Antony, he utilizes the language of aberration to note Antony's extreme position and imply a contrast between Lepidus' neutrality at that time and Antony's supposed illegal movements.

In another passage Cicero combines impius and furor to portray the disloyalty of veterans who joined Antony's side in the dispute:

ergo aut boni sunt, quos etiam ornare, aut quieti, quos conservare debemus, aut impii, quorum contra furorem bellum et iusta arma cepimus. (Phil. 11.37).

Those designated as boni and quieti are directly contrasted with the impii, and indicate those soldiers who joined the "right" side or stayed neutral.

One of Cicero's most scathing attacks on Antony appears in a chapter of the Fifth Philippic. The use of furor summarizes Cicero's abuse and denunciation of Antony as he states that not even the Alps could check Antony's madness:

ut eius furorem ne Alpium quidem muro cohibere
possemus (Phil. 5.37).

The symptoms of this madness Cicero delineates in previous lines by calling Antony insane (amentissimus), erratic, and unthoughtful in his judgment and policy (in omnibus consiliis praeceps et devius) and charging him with brutal savagery and barbarism (cum omni immanitate barbariae). It is doubtful that a more acrimonious invective of Antony's personality and conduct can be found in the Philippics.⁵⁶

Letters

As in the speeches, the letters show that Cicero most often reserves the use of furor to designate the political actions and personality of his enemies. Even before there were open hostility and contention between Cicero and Clodius, Cicero disdainfully refers to Clodius' potential ambition and opposition (Att. 2.1.4-5), belittling him by a deprecatory diminutive:

si paulo plus furor Pulchelli progredi posset,⁵⁷
(Att. 2.1.4).

In a letter dated in late 57 B.C., Cicero thrice uses furor to summarize his picture of Clodius' violence, murder,

bribery, burning, and lawlessness. In one section the emphasis is laid on Clodius' wild activity:

ille demens ruere, post hunc vero furorem nihil
nisi caedem inimicorum cogitare, vicatim ambire...
(Att. 4.3.2).

Later in the same letter Cicero associates two other individuals with Clodius' radicalism, but his language is more restrained concerning their political activities, perhaps indicating his ambivalent feelings toward them:

contiones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appi,
furiosissimae Publi... (Att. 4.3.4).

In the same section these three individuals are joined together again when they suffer a political defeat because of the quick action of Milo, who represents in Cicero's mind the forces of law and order:

contentio fratrum trium turpis, fracta vis,
contemptus furor. (Att. 4.3.4).

In this reference Cicero alludes to both the familial bond of the three individuals⁵⁸ and their political alliance (contentio fratrum trium). Supposedly, contemptus furor relates to all three individuals.

Even as late as 54 B.C. Cicero refers to the episode of the sacrilege of the Bona Dea and Clodius' role in that famous affair. He calls Clodius a mad fiend for profaning the rites:

primum illa furia muliebrium religionum qui non
pluris fecerat Bonam Deam quam tres sorores.
(Fam. 1.9.15(2)).

Furia is a sure emendation of the manuscripts' illa furta,

as Cicero often alludes to Clodius as a furia⁵⁹ and there is no reference elsewhere of theft involved in the affair.

In addition to the designation of furere to show his personal and political opposition to Clodius,⁶⁰ Cicero also uses the term to express his sentiments about Julius Caesar. In the speeches Cicero was careful not to describe Caesar as an extremist nor to alienate him by depicting him as a deviant. However, in the letters, three times Cicero designates Caesar as the unconstitutionalist acting counter to the policy of the senatorial order and directly in opposition to Pompey. Caesar's political "madness" in each instance is sharply contrasted with actions of Pompey.⁶¹ In one instance Cicero emphasizes Caesar's relentlessness in the pursuit of his political and military goals:

alter ardet furore et scelere, nec remittit
aliquid, sed in dies ingravescit... (Att. 10.4.2).

Ardet and ingravescit reflect the medical language of a fever and suggest that such an illness lends to Caesar's criminality.⁶²

The letters also show Cicero's opposition to Mark Antony and his supporters, and there are several uses of furor illustrating Cicero's view of Antony's subversiveness.⁶³ In particular in a letter written to Cornuficius in March of 43 B.C., Cicero relates one of his abusive invectives against Antony, contrasting Antony's wildness and conspiratorial madness with the defensive protection offered by Octavian. Both the language and theme are reminiscent of the Philippics:

sic sum in Antonium invecus, ut ille non ferret,
omnemque suum vinolentum furorem in me unum ef-
funderet...qui [Octavianus] nisi fuisset, Antoni
reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset.
(Fam. 12.25.4).

The phrase pestis patriae approaches the official designation of hostis of the state, while vinolentum furorem in this passage suggests Antony's rage and personal anger against Cicero rather than a reflection of specific political activities.⁶⁴

In connection with Antony and the fighting in Cisalpine Gaul in 43 B.C., three passages in two letters from L. Munatius Plancus to Cicero illustrate another aspect of the meaning of furor. Plancus complains that some of his army is mutinous and ready to desert to Antony's side.⁶⁵ He asserts that he can make a creditable defense against Antony's forces as they stand, but if any defection occurs from among his own troops or if the army of Lepidus joins Antony, then he and his men will be facing impossible odds. In regards to the treasonous troops Plancus summarizes his position:

quod quaedam pars exercitus non minus furiosa
est quam qui cum Antonio fuerunt, equitatum re-
vocavi; (Fam. 10.11.2).

Later in the same paragraph Plancus discusses his options if the tenth legion, the most favored and devoted of Caesar's troops,⁶⁶ betrays him and defects to Antony against the senatorial party. This betrayal is labeled as a madness:

si decima legio veterana...ad eundem furorem
redierit...dabitur opera a me... (Fam. 10.11.2).

Plancus returns to the same theme and language in another letter remarking upon the reaction of traitorous troops:

veniebant enim eodem furore in me, quo in
patriam incitati, (Fam. 10.23.5).

These two letters record instances of voluntary desertions of troops. In the turbulent years of 44 and 43 B.C., political and military sides were often blurred and soldiers often switched allegiances, deserting to different commanders. These deserters or rebellious soldiers are described as possessed by a madness. It is not surprising that those who desert to Antony's side or the side of his allies are designated as furiosi. Those soldiers who join Pansa's, Plancus', or Decimus Brutus' camp are never represented either in Cicero's speeches or in the letters as furiosi.

In a letter to Tiro in 49 B.C., Cicero details his efforts to conciliate factions in order to avoid civil war, which he considers a disaster to the body politic. He expects the fomenting of civil war from discontents and radicals but not from those of the senatorial order:

sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed
etiam iis qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent me
clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius.
(Fam. 16.12.2).

There follows after this passage a list of some of Caesar's maneuvers that Cicero considered as precipitating the conflict. Caesar is said to be mentally possessed (amentia quadam raperetur).

As often as Cicero used furor to describe the personality or politics of his opponents, it is somewhat surprising to find that he once describes his own situation with furor. In a letter to Atticus shortly after Cicero's return from exile, he thanks Atticus for his support and efforts to effect his return to Rome.⁶⁷ He alludes to Atticus' advice of voluntary exile:

te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri aut
potius furoris particeps et falsi timoris socius
fuisses... (Att. 4.1.1).

Cicero blames himself and Atticus for miscalculation of the political situation and the consequences of the exile. Cicero corrects himself and asserts in hindsight that his decision was not merely a mistake but a moment of complete weakness and mental aberration (erroris nostri aut...furoris). The combination of error and furor heightens the delineation of his mental state. He chides Atticus and regrets that he did not stay longer in Rome to face the political consequences of his position. Cicero's exile had been so psychologically degrading that upon his return he looked back with remorse at his seemingly cowardly failure and betrayal of himself.

There are several other uses of furere in the letters usually referring to specific political opponents.⁶⁸ As in many of the other cases, Cicero labels them with madness or aberration simply because he disagreed with their political stance. Four instances of the word designate little more than intense anger or vehemence in speech, with few details

of the madness explained or illustrated.⁶⁹ Although the individuals referred to in these passages are political figures and the context of the occurrences of furere involves political matters, the uses do not suggest a political meaning of radicalism, revolutionary activity or intent, depravity of character that lends to conspiracy or revolution, lawlessness, or criminality. It is not difficult to understand how furere can be associated with intense anger. A man speaking loudly and vehemently out of indignation or anger may temporarily seem to have lost rational calm and control, and therefore appear to be in the agitated and wild state of a "madman." In the four instances cited above, angry vehemence is pictured as the action of a madman.

In the last two passages of the letters that will be considered, the adverbial forms furiose and furenter occur.⁷⁰ Both of these words are Ciceronian coinages and are used in these instances to describe Dionysius, a freedman who was hired by Cicero to tutor his children upon the recommendation of Atticus. In the first case Cicero reports to Atticus about Dionysius' character and learning, prefacing his remarks by a story heard from his children:

pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci...
(Att. 6.1.12).

Clearly Cicero alludes to Dionysius' intense anger over some matter or other (perhaps provoked by the children). In any case neither this passage nor the letter from which it was taken indicates that Cicero believes that there is an inherent or acquired madness in Dionysius' character.

However, Cicero writes disparagingly of Dionysius in another letter (8.5). Cicero and Dionysius were not on good terms and their relationship had become strained. Cicero's mistrust and dislike of Dionysius are obvious, and in one reference Cicero remarks about Dionysius who had made a sneering reference to some of Cicero's political difficulties and demise:

etsi solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit,
paenitere. Numquam autem cerritior fuit quam in
hoc negotio. (Att. 8.5.1).

The lack of more information concerning the nature of the exchange between Cicero and Dionysius prevents us from further speculation on the exact symptoms and manifestations of Dionysius' supposed insanity. Cicero may be referring to a fit of anger or violence. The phrase aliquid...fecit suggests a definite action and not any emotional verbal response. The addition of cerritior to the description, although it further demonstrates Cicero's own impression of Dionysius, does not precisely define the form of Dionysius' aberration. It seems most probable that Cicero's description of Dionysius' mental state results from his personal irritation and animosity because of Dionysius' apparent belittling of Cicero and his political predicament.

The results of this cursory investigation of the uses of furor in both the speeches and letters of Cicero have been remarkably consistent. In the majority of cases furor is a technical term characterizing Cicero's personal and political opponents. In order to demonstrate his opponents'

radicalism, subversion of constitutional government, conspiracy, violence, illegal activities, or criminal personality, Cicero often combines furor with other terms that denote or suggest these characteristics. Scelus, nefarium, audacia, pestis, amentia/dementia, insania, impium, vinolentus, improbus, and others are common links with furor. In many instances the context of the passage in which furor is found suggests and defines the concept of the term. It is not argued that furere is the only term used in Cicero to depict revolutionary tendency or guilt. Indeed, audacia sometimes is so employed.⁷¹ However, audacia, meaning any in-temperate action, does not suggest that some external possession is involved as is often implied in the case of furia,⁷² and its semantic base appears broader and more general in its application than furere.

In addition to the political nuances of the word furere, intense anger or excitement are occasionally suggested.⁷³ Interestingly, furere in Cicero is not normally associated with delirare, rabies, error, or even vecordia, terms that are favored more by earlier poets. Nor do the terms demens and amens appear as frequently as furere to label irrational behavior in politics.

The derived form furia seems to have the most nuances of all the other forms of furere. It is sometimes personified to translate the word and concept of the Greek ἐρινύες, intimating not only vengeance for murder, but guilty conscience, wild appearance, or irrational activities.⁷⁴ We

have seen furia not personified but used to suggest the demonic, fiendish nature of Cicero's political enemies.⁷⁵ In connection with furia, Cicero coined the word furialis which subsequently became a common term in the language of madness or irrationality, meaning approximately "demonic," "maddening."

Besides the coinage of furialis, Cicero is the first to use furenter and furiose. He also is innovative in expanding the general concept of furere, contributing to its inclusion in the political and military sphere. In only one case does he use it in the language of love or passion⁷⁶ and does not generally (in the speeches or letters) associate furere with mantic or religious activities. Although rhetorical exaggeration and canons of the forensic schools may have led Cicero to overuse the term to designate his political enemies,⁷⁷ nevertheless he must be credited with innovation of formation and concept that was to influence Latin literature thereafter.

Philosophical Works

Upon examination of Cicero's philosophical works which deal with political subjects, we find several uses of furor that reflect the concept so well developed in the speeches and letters. In the De Amicitia Cicero discusses the friendship of C. Blossius for Tiberius Gracchus and Blossius' willingness to undertake any action on his behalf, even if it were illegal and violent. Cicero concludes that Blossius

directed and encouraged Tiberius Gracchus' extremism:

et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit;
non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed
praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem
praebuit. Itaque hac amentia, quaestione nova
perterritus, in Asiam profugit...poenas rei publicae
gravis iustasque persolvit. (Amic. 37).

Cicero views the innovative proposals of Tiberius Gracchus as an act of revolution, alluding to such activity as furor, temeritas, and amentia.⁷⁸

In the De Re Publica (41-71) Cicero speaks (via Scipio) of the three major forms of government--monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy--in a hypothetical pure state, i.e., without the combination of institutions with each other and without the stated and implied checks and balances of a mixed constitution. In his summation of the democratic form, he fears that its inherent license and individualistic character induces anarchy and ochlocracy. In a reference to Athens' experiment in democracy, he concludes that it crumbled into oligarchy and political chaos:

iam Atheniensium populi potestatem omnium rerum
ipsi,...ad furorem multitudinis licentiamque con-
versam pesti... (Rep. 1.44).

It is not clear from this reference what specific incidents or features are alluded to that bring democracy to political confusion. However, in another use of furere later in the same work, an incomplete analogy is drawn from Rome's legal code in regard to the disposition of the property of the insane (3.45).⁷⁹ Apparently it is argued that it is irrational to entrust the disposal of the property of the insane

to the discretion of relatives. The analogy illustrates the tyranny of majority rule which is the main argument of the passage and the reason for the fear of democratic rule.

In the De Legibus there are four uses of furere, all in a political context. In the first instance (1.40) Cicero refers to the demonic furies (furiae) harassing and persecuting (agibant insectantur) wrongdoers with a guilty conscience. He rejects the poetic concept of deities symbolically hounding their victims with burning torches but believes there is an expiation of guilt via mental torment.⁸⁰

In another section Cicero lauds the check on tribunician power set by the Sullan constitution. As in the speeches, he alludes to the political and social disruption caused by Clodius' abuse of his power:

sed ille quas strages edidit, eas videlicet, quas sine ratione ac sine ulla spe bona furor edere potuit impurae belvae multorum inflammatus furoribus!
(Leg. 3.22).

The two uses of furor, their link with irrationality (sine ratione), and the allusion to the provoking of a wild beast suggest the uncontrolled derangement of Clodius' political activity.⁸¹ In connection with tribunician power De Legibus 3.26 contains another use of furor. Cicero speaks of his role in politics and the opposition against him:

et si nos multitudinis furentis inflammata invidia pepulisset tribuniciaque vis in me populum,
(Leg. 3.26).

Cicero did not succumb to the efforts of his enemies to isolate him and cast him as an opponent of the masses of whom he speaks with disdain.

Even in the highly philosophical Paradoxa Cicero uses furia to denote the haunting power of a guilty conscience:

quocumque aspexisti, ut furiae sic tuae tibi
occurrunt iniuriae quae te respirare non sinunt.
(Parad. 18).

Cicero is arguing that the possession of virtue is sufficient for happiness. Death, exile, or threats do not damage the virtuous individual, while the debauched, the lustful, the avaricious, those fearful of courts, wrongdoers, and law-breakers are goaded by the pricks of conscience.⁸²

In another paradox Cicero tries to prove the Stoic contention that every foolish man is mad. He draws his argument from history, concentrating on the excesses of Clodius. In the passage we find familiar language and theme represented in furiis and furor:

praedonum ille concursus et te duce latrocinium in
foro constitutum et reliquiae coniurationis a
Catilinae furiis ad tuum scelus furoremque con-
versae non civitas erat. (Parad. 27).

Cicero is contending that Clodius' political programs and activism were inoperative because no true government existed at that time. The community was controlled by criminals and deviants, like a group of uncivilized savages.⁸³ Cicero concludes that Clodius was not only a fool but a madman to encourage and sanction the political conditions and acts during his years of importance and power.⁸⁴

In the De Natura Deorum we are introduced to a different use of furere. After a summary of the theology of the various philosophical schools, Cicero makes a negative

conclusion and critical remark intimating his complete disagreement:

exposui fere non philosophorum iudicia sed
delirantium somnia. (Nat. D. 1.42).

To Cicero some early theological studies are more absurd than the representation of gods characterized by poets and the Oriental magi. Cicero is also appalled that the poets present the gods in such unfavorable light and in compromising situations:

qui et ira inflammatos et libidine furentis⁸⁵
induxerunt deos feceruntque... (Nat. D. 1.42).

The phrase libidine furentis suggests lust and is consistent with the Lucretian language of love.⁸⁶ Cicero is critical of representing the gods as being possessed by mortal passions and includes these characterizations as the "dreams of lunatics" (delirantium somnia).⁸⁷

The De Natura Deorum does not contain any reference to furere in relation to religion. We must turn to the De Divinatione to examine the use of furere and its connection with religious matters. In the very first chapter of the work furere appears in a discussion of linguistic etymology of the term divinatio. It is argued (1.1) that the Latin language more precisely reflects the nature of divination and its associative powers because divinatio is derived from divus, while the Greeks used the term $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ to express prophecy. Cicero follows Plato's etymology of $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ from $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ ⁸⁸ and asserts that the Greek concept more nearly approaches the Latin furor, meaning "frenzied madness:"

sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri a
 divis, Graeci, ut Plato interpretatus, a furore
 duxerunt. (Div. 1.1).

By insisting upon the linguistic superiority of Latin to express the concept of divination correctly, Cicero does not directly refute the idea that furor may mean inspiration or possession by a divine force. He later distinguishes different degrees and types of the art of divination. He regards furor as an impure form of the true art (divinatio) and discredits former belief on the subject:

et cum duobus modis animi sine ratione et
 scientia motu ipsi suo soluto et libero incitarentur,
 uno furente, altero somniante, furoris divinationem
 Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati...
 (Div. 1.4).

We note first of all the association of mantic inspiration with sleep, a state of the unconsciousness and productive of dreams. The passage shows that revelations in dreams are viewed as externalized, out of immediate control of the individual involved (sine ratione), and needing a divine power for correct interpretation, since the human mind was not in its normal, rational state and could not comprehend the consequences of the inspiration. Likewise, Cicero recognizes moments of frenzy when the mind is not controlled or regulated by the normal restraints of human reasoning. This type of deviation Cicero also attributes to the soothsayers and seers.⁸⁹ In matters involving the state, prophecies or augury derived from dreams or moments of possession were sanctioned by state institutions not because there was reasonable trust placed in prophecy but because political

expediency dictated their acceptance.⁹⁰ Cicero also argues that philosophers accepted some forms of divinations and rejected others:

Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit, somniorum et furoris reliquit.
(Div. 1.5).

After Cicero's general introduction, his brother Quintus continues to argue for a division in the types of divination: the artistic, based upon reasoned observation and conjecture, and the natural, made by inspired persons as seers, prophets, and those in a state of ecstasy from divine possession.⁹¹ Furor is used to depict the natural or unskillful type of divination and is linked with the idea of mental excitation (concitatio animi), ecstasy (solutus liber motus) and loss of reason (non ratione).⁹²

To illustrate possession by a god and the infusion of mantic power into a mortal soul, Quintus quotes from early Latin poets and argues that there is an inherent source of foreknowledge in the soul, sometimes developed abnormally when stimulated by a divine force. This abnormal possession or divine inspiration is labeled as furor:

ea, si exarsit acrius, furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.
(Div. 1.66).

There follows a quotation from Ennius concerning the appearance and behavior of Cassandra in a fit of inspiration.⁹³

Ennius does not use furere to describe Cassandra but leaves no doubt that her possession maddens her:

nam me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet.
(Div. 1.66).

Cicero, however, conveys Cassandra's madness as an abnormal frenzy (furor) and does not believe that a rational human being could articulate her prophecies without some divine influence:

illud, quod volumus, expressum est, ut vaticinari furor vera solet...deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra, loquitur
(Div. 1.67).

From these passages it is clear that possession by the god is the important aspect of mantic inspiration. Cicero's model seems to be the afflatus or supposed material exhalation at Delphi.⁹⁴ This possession he viewed as a form of madness, a concept that other Latin writers detail, who attribute some very violent symptoms to the possessed.⁹⁵ This same concept of possession and same terminology Cicero applies to poetic inspiration, intimating a comparison between poetic enthusiasm and the frenzy of prophecy:

atque etiam illa concitatio declarat vim in animis esse divinam. negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato. quem, si placet, appellat furorem, dum modo is furor ita laudetur, ut in Phaedro...⁹⁶
(Div. 1.80).

Likewise, in other works Cicero says the same thing in similar language to express the divine impulse and possession of the creative artist:

poetam...mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu affari.
(Arch. 18)

and

saepe enim audivi poetam bonum neminem--id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis relictum esse dicunt--sine inflammatione animorum existere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris. (De Or. 2.194).

In the latter instance Cicero is arguing that like the poet the orator must have moments of inspiration to make his case exciting and convincing.

In the De Divinatione, Cicero continues his use of furor to illustrate divine possession. Two passages refer to Cassandra furens (1.85 and 1.114), one of which in an ironic description contrasts her supposed madness with the wisdom of Priam (sapiens: 1.85). The other passage introduces another Ennian quotation to show Cassandra's possession (1.114).⁹⁷

In another passage Cicero rejects the Aristotelian idea that the sick during delirium have a mantic power, arguing according to Stoic tenets that only the healthy soul can have true perception of future events:

Aristoteles quidem eos etiam, qui valetudinis vitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur, censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagens atque divinum. (Div. 1.81).

The reference to those having black bile (melancholici) reflects the medical conception of madness that required hellebore for its treatment.⁹⁸

During Cicero's lengthy refutation of some of his brother's major theses, he rejects the words of prophecy because some are written with literary and poetic techniques that do not suit a deranged mind. He totally denies the authenticity of a supposed Sibylline poem urging the senate in Rome to declare Caesar king:

non esse autem illud carmen furentis cum ipsum poema declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et motus), (Div. 2.111).

Cicero goes on to remark that the poem was an acrostic which he says was also a feature of many of Ennius' poems. An acrostic poem would necessarily demonstrate an artistic skill inappropriate to a deranged mind. He concludes that because of some artistic merit that proves the concentrated thought of a conscious artisan many so-called oracles must be rejected as counterfeit:

id certe magis est attenti animi quam furentis.
(Div. 2.111).

And of the Sibylline books in general he says:

hoc scriptoris est, non furentis, adhibentis
diligentiam, non insani. (Div. 2.112).

Cicero, of course, has confused (perhaps deliberately for the sake of his argument) poetic inspiration with poetic technique, but has recognized that the mental capacities of the insane person should differ remarkably from those of the sane.

In turning to the Tusculanae Disputationes, we find furere used in yet different contexts with different nuances from those previously presented. Near the opening of Book III the word is integrated into the philosophical argument concerning the disorders of the soul. In particular, Cicero discusses aegritudo, which translates the Greek λύπη, and its effect upon the truly wise man (sapiens=philosopher). Among various definitions of emotions, mental disorders, and diseases that agitate the mind, Cicero begins to define unsoundness of mind (insania), distinguishing it from mindlessness (amentia) and aberration (dementia). It is impor-

tant for Cicero to make philosophical distinctions in the meaning of words in order to separate early general beliefs from specific definitions and categories of the various schools of philosophy and in order to present with linguistic precision in Latin the concepts of the Greeks. Starting with the Stoic belief that all fools were mad (πάντες οἱ μωροὶ μαινόνται), or, as he expresses it, of "unsound mind," (insanus, or morbus animi: 1.10), Cicero admits that a definition of the term sanus is needed before further exploration into the question of mental disorders (totum igitur id, quod quaerimus, quid et quale sit verbi vis ipsa declarat: Tusc. 3.11).

Cicero believes that insania best expresses the notion of any mental disturbance or unsoundness that included even folly or plain stupidity.⁹⁹ Insania takes many forms and is manifested in the guise of passion (libido), intense anger (iracundia), desire for revenge, etc. Such guises induce the affected to pass out of control of his rationality (in Latin: exisse ex potestate, in Greek ἐξίστασθαι ἑαυτοῦ). Following this explanation Cicero asserts the superiority of Latin expression over the Greek:

Graeci autem μανίαν unde appellent non facile dixerim: eam tamen ipsam distinguimus nos melius quam illi; hanc enim insaniam, quae iuncta stultitia patet latius, a furore disiungimus. (Tusc. 3.11).

The argument hinges on the Greek term μανία, which conveys the Latin idea of both insania and furor, while Cicero insists upon the Stoic association of insania and stultitia.

Cicero understands furor as something quite distinct from philosophical unsoundness of mind (insania). He continues his discussion:

Graeci volunt illi quidem, sed parum valent verbo: quem nos furorem, μελαγχολίαν illi vocant. quasi vero atra bili solum mens ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel dolore moveatur, quo genere Athamantem, Alcmaeonem, Aiacem, Orestem furere dicimus. (Tusc. 3.11).

Outside of the medical and technical language of philosophy, μελαγχολία is not the normal term to express delusion or possession described in the mythological analogies that Cicero cites.¹⁰⁰ It was for μελαγχολία that hellebore was used as a cure.¹⁰¹ Cicero equates this type of madness with the Latin word furor to differentiate from folly. Furor is a much more serious disorder and the specificity of the Greek word μελαγχολία indicates greater exactness than the general word μανία.

After a reference to the wording of one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, Cicero then defines more precisely the distinction that he makes in the use of insania and furor:¹⁰²

itaque non est scriptum, si insanus, sed si furiosus escit. Stultitiam enim censuerunt constantia, id est, sanitate, vacantem posse tamen tueri mediocritatem officiorum et vitae communem cultum atque usitatum; (Tusc. 3.11).

In this passage lack of mental soundness (sanitas vs. insania) is equated with stultitia as a mental defect that does not affect an ordinary and regular regimen. This type of mental distress is then contrasted with the more serious disorder of furor:

furorem autem esse rati sunt mentis ad omnia
caecitatem. (Tusc. 3.11).

The phrase "blindness of the mind to all things" suggests a complete breakdown and total derangement of the mental faculties.¹⁰³ Whether the process is externalized or not is not indicated by this passage, but the following sentence proves that Cicero views furor as a possession or delusion, that is, an application from outside to cause frenzy:

quod cum maius esse videatur quam insania,
tamen eius modi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere
possit, non possit insania. (Tusc. 3.11).

It would naturally follow that if insanity was the same as foolishness, as the Stoics maintain, the wise man could not become insane but could be attacked with a fit of frenzy and yet maintain his wisdom.¹⁰⁴ Such a concept agrees with Cicero's views on mantic and poetic inspiration by which certain individuals are given special insights by a divine impulse or power.¹⁰⁵

Regardless of the process involved in bringing madness (furor), it is imperative always to keep in mind Cicero's definition that furor is a "blindness of the mind to all things" (mentis ad omnia caecitatem) and the implication that if insania does not seriously disrupt performance of regular functions and vital conduct, then by contrast furor does impair the mind for the capable discharge of duties and social functions.

In Book IV, in a discussion of anger as one of the disorders ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$) of the mind that results from erroneous

judgment, Cicero argues that anger is not necessary for fortitude and is a manifestation of mental instability:

an est quidquam similius insaniae quam ira?
quam bene Ennius initium dixit insaniae. (Tusc. 4.52).

To illustrate the Ennian aphorism Cicero alludes to the excessive anger of Ajax that brought him to his madness and subsequent downfall:

nam Aiacem quidem ira ad furorem mortemque
perduxit. (Tusc. 4.52).

Continuing to use Ajax as a model, Cicero does admit that anger, as well as drunkenness and aberration, can be useful to bravery.¹⁰⁶ In Ajax's case he was most brave when he was fighting, blind to all consequences:

semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore;
nam "facinus fecit maximum, cum Danais inclinanti-
bus summam rem perfecit, manu sua restituit
praelium insaniens." (Tusc. 4.52).

It is to be noted that Cicero tries to adhere to his distinction between furor and other terms of madness, but his quotation shows that a different term (insaniens) is used to describe Ajax's impetuous recklessness that Cicero labels as a frenzy.¹⁰⁷

In another section (4.65-76) Cicero discusses the disorder caused by love and its excessive counterpart, lustful passion. Cicero, like Lucretius, states the case for the disastrous and maddening effects of love and warns his reader of its power:

maxime autem admonendus est, quantus sit furor
amoris; omnibus enim ex animi perturbationibus est
perfecto nulla vehementior....perturbatio ipsa
mentis in amore foeda per se est. (Tusc. 4.75).

The argument is that in addition to crimes, seduction, and other moral faults that can result from love, in itself love is an inherently powerful disturbance that deserves censure. To conclude his proof of the derangement caused by love, Cicero quotes from Terence's Eunuchus (59-63) to reinforce the idea of lack of judgment and reason.¹⁰⁸

In another instance that also is reminiscent of Lucretius' argument against passion, Cicero writes of the consuming power of love that drives men to more intense disturbance (5.16). The passages contain some traditional wording and phraseology to express this notion. In addition to furentem, we find libidinibus inflammatum, rabide appetentem, ardentius sitientem, and miserrimum. In this case where Cicero is not trying to prove or dispute a specific philosophical tenet or to make finely drawn distinctions in wording, he can concentrate on descriptive phraseology to heighten his imagery and detail the symptoms of a so-called madness.¹⁰⁹

In the Academica, Cicero's work on epistemology and his defense of the New Academy, furere occurs several times in the second book. The word is used nine times in a discussion of the capacity of the mind and its self-originated motion manifested in drunkards, dreamers, or madmen.¹¹⁰ A philosophical dispute arises over the question of whether men who are drunk or in a fit of madness have different perceptions than those who are sober and sane. The reliability of such perceptions is also disputed. The different posi-

tions taken on these questions are not central to this investigation. However, the concept involved concerning the reality of the vision of madmen is at issue. In each instance in references to the visions of the insane, the madness is viewed as a type of possession or delusion that parallels the Ciceronian concept of divination and poetic inspiration.¹¹¹ No attempt is made to describe the symptoms of the madness or the process. In each case the context indicates or suggests that some external force has induced the madness. In two particular instances we find once again references to history (2.89), regarding Tuditanus, and literature (2.52 and 89), in an allusion to a myth concerning Alcmaeon and his madness. In the second of these two exempla Alcmaeon's madness is engendered by an unnamed outside impulse represented by the word incitato:

quid? ipse Alcmaeo tuus, qui negat, 'cor sibi cum oculis consentire,' nonne ibidem incitato furore--unde haec flamma oritur? (Acad. 2.89).

Another use of furor in the Academica reflects Cicero's attitude to the manner in which other philosophers present their tenets. He so disagrees with them that he believes them frenzied:

quasi mente incitati--Empedocles quidem ut interdum mihi furere videatur-- (Acad. 2.14).¹¹²

Once again the phrase mente incitati reveals the concept of possession.

Rhetorical Works

Turning from the philosophical works to an investigation of the rhetorical writings of Cicero, we find furere used only occasionally, sometimes with new nuances, in other instances repetitious of previous occurrences.

In the De Oratore (2.124) a form of furere is used to denote a political radical whose disruptive actions are justified by the precedents of the popular upheavals in the expulsion of kings and the gaining of tribunician power. The phraseology and the context of the passage leave no doubt that furere refers to internal discord in the state and the activism of a person who foments revolution.¹¹³

This inquiry has already noted in the De Oratore an allusion to poetic inspiration engendered by an outside stimulus:

saepe enim audivi poetam bonum neminem...sine inflammatione animorum exsistere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris. (De Or. 2.194).¹¹⁴

The context of this reference to an unconscious inspiration (2.189-197) discusses the parallel sympathy and performance of poets and orators. Cicero argues that orators, like poets, act and put on masks, assuming the personality of a character. Orators in speaking before a tribunal or public gathering must perform and in so doing must sometimes employ a poetic style and diction to convince or persuade their audience. In assuming a different personality in their performance, speakers seem to draw talent and skill from an outside source; their eyes blaze; they sob, cry, laugh,

embellish their speech, act and speak with vehemence. The orator, like the actor on the stage, becomes the person involved in the case or so influenced or inflamed by the circumstances that he recreates the mood of the times in question and feels the emotions he wishes to excite. To illustrate this type of "inspired" speaker Cicero draws the analogy of the actor of Republican drama:

tamen in hoc genere saepe ipse vidi, ut ex
 persona mihi ardere oculi hominis histrionis
 viderentur...numquam illum aspectum dicebat,
 quin mihi Telamo iratus furere luctu filii
 videretur; (De Or. 2.193).

After a quotation from Pacuvius, Cicero (in the mouth of Crassus) asserts that Pacuvius had to be inspired or temporarily frenzied to be able to picture symptoms of madness. There follows the quotation about the inspiration required of great poets (saepe enim...furoris).

Cicero recognizes that the various styles of speaking must be adapted to fit the circumstances of cases and that at times vehemence and outward displays must be tempered to allow for credibility. Prudence and integrity should always be subservient to individual techniques and skills of oratory:

quarum virtutum expertibus si dicendi copiam
 tradiderimus, non eos quidem effecerimus, sed
 furentibus quaedam arma dederimus. (De Or. 3.55).

In other words, Cicero admits that forceful eloquence ill-used can be very dangerous and must not be allowed to be abused by those who are unethical.

This same theme is reiterated in a passage of De Oratore (97-101) where Cicero refers to the abuse of the "copious" or grand style that encourages full expression, impetuosity, and vehemence. In arguing for a blending of the three major styles (the plain, the moderate, and the grand), he states that if the speaker in the grand style does not pay careful attention to arrangement, clarity, precision, and pleasantness, he may alienate his audience. Such an alienation derived from an attempt to impress an audience leads to a judgment on the part of the audience that the speaker is irrational and raving like a maniac:

si is non praeparatis auribus inflammare rem
coepit, furere apud sanos et quasi inter sobrios
bacchari vinulentus videtur. (Orat. 99).

This passage suggests that furere is not intended to be understood as a possession that allows the speaker to give an inspiring performance but to note excess in vehemence, diction, and demeanor which results in alienation rather than persuasion of the audience.¹¹⁵

Poetical Works

In the fragments of Ciceronian poetry there are references to madness and there occur a few uses of furere. From the translation of Sophocles' Trachiniae, Heracles cries out bemoaning his pain caused by a robe presented to him by Deianira:

Haec me irretivit veste furiali inscium,
quae lateri inhaerens morsu lacerat viscera
(33.6-7).¹¹⁶

The "hellish" (furiali) clothing translates Sophocles' Ἐπιγύων (1051) and presumably the concept of revenge that is exacted via the clothing. In another translated fragment supposedly from Aeschylus' lost Prometheus Αὑόμενος, the Furies are alluded to again. Prometheus rages against Zeus and his own punishment in the Caucasus:

...qua miser sollertia
transverberatus castrum hoc furiarum incolo.
(32.8-9).

Without the Greek for comparison it is not possible to state unequivocally that Aeschylus wrote Ἐπιγύων. Cicero may have wanted to suggest by furiarum the dire and horrible physical aspects of the Caucasus and alluded to it as a "Hell on earth," where Furies haunt. There may be no intent to suggest an external force exacting revenge.

The final use of furere worthy of special comment occurs in Cicero's De Consulatu Meo in a passage where Cicero is speaking about the interpretation of seers of astronomical phenomena:

multaque per terras vates oracla furenti
pectore fundebant tristes minitantia casus.
(3.28-29).

This occurrence of furenti is reminiscent of Cicero's concept of mantic inspiration that he articulated in the De Divinatione.¹¹⁷

Other phrases and imagery similar to Catullan usage occur in the Phaenomena. In one passage Cicero writes rabido de corpore (110) and in referring to Orion's deviation and attempt upon Diana, Orion is described as errans...amens

(422) and vecors amenti corde¹¹⁸ showing that Cicero was at least cognizant of a developing language and metaphor, if not an innovator in poetic vocabulary to describe irrationality.

We have seen that Cicero most often employs the noun furor, various forms of furere including many occurrences of the present participle, the adjective furiosus, and the noun furia. The derived adjective furialis is a Ciceronian innovation as well as the adverbs furiose and furenter which are rare.

It has been noted that in addition to increasing the number of times some form of furere is used, Cicero also introduces new concepts and nuances. First, Cicero transfers the word suggestive of mental deviation and abnormality to the sphere of politics. The Furies (furiae) are not only punishers of social and political crimes; they also are the representation of evil acts or a personality so deviant as to deserve punishment for its guilt. They can also represent the mental awareness of a guilty conscience.

Other forms of furere in a political context indicate revolutionary activity or the personality of a political activist. From this conception Cicero applies the term to any person who was his political opponent, real or imagined. Often linked or juxtaposed with other words denoting criminality, conspiracy, or extremism, furere is repeatedly used to denigrate or isolate a political opponent. Cicero does not discuss in detail general political furor that suggests

frenzied and intense political disturbances of the entire body politic or political process. However, his frequent characterizations of his many political enemies and their programs hints that Cicero conceived of civil unrest and intensity as an irrational deviation from accepted standards of control and power. Yet his partisanship often dictated the use of furor in political contexts.

Out of the world of politics, furere is attributed to mantic and poetic inspiration to show the results of an external divine impulse affecting the seer or poet. Cicero does not conceive of an inner power or insight that enables seers to prophesy or create. To him furor μαντικὸς or ποιητικὸς corresponds to the Platonic idea of divine possession or contact. Externalized possession characterized by symptoms describing frenzy insures the genuineness of the possession. The special power or knowledge of the possessed seer or poet assume an impressiveness that otherwise might not be recognized. The possessed must be more than human, approach the divine, or share the part of the divine power. In Cicero's view, if the frenzy of a "madman" were innate and his own, then there would be a lack of credibility and a loss of mystery.

In philosophy Cicero distinguishes furor from other terms that denote mental incapacity, being particularly careful to separate foolishness or senselessness from a fit of madness. He defines furor as a blindness of the mind to all things and argues that there are different types or

degrees of madness. Agreeing with the Stoics, he says that stupidity is a form of madness (insania). This type, however, is distinguished from frenzy or inspired madness that can be creative or destructive (furor). Cicero's definition of furor suggests an extreme deviation and abnormality without any rationality or awareness to perform even the simplest obligation or task. Such a definition conforms to Cicero's many political references and views concerning "madmen" in the world of politics. Their extremism would be a blindness to constitutionality and social order. The idea of "blindness of the mind to all things" could also be applied to the frenzied inspiration of the seer or poet, allowing him to have an extra awareness devoid of normal mortal perception. This blindness could then be a constructive attribute revealed in moments of frenzy without the designation of permanent abnormality or insanity.

In the rhetorical works, Cicero sometimes uses furere to indicate excessive vehemence in demeanor and speaking. He generally connects this intemperance to the excessiveness of the grand style and argues that an orator skilled in techniques of the grand style could abuse his talents and cause circumstances dangerous to individuals and the state.

The uses of furere to indicate sexual passion or lust are not very frequent and generally conform to the imagery and phraseology of Lucretius and Catullus. In all the works of Cicero there is not one use of furere referring to

the upheavals of nature. Outside of political contexts, Cicero does not often choose to link the word furere with words or phrases preferred by previous writers. There are few associations with delirare, rabies, error, vaecors, demens/amens, or insania (however, the last three are common in political contexts and technical philosophical language). Indeed, delirare and rabies are rare in Cicero. Nor does Cicero create fresh or innovative combinations, using words different from his predecessors to link with or describe furere. Instead Cicero is content to accept previous phraseology to describe mental deficiencies, except in the speeches where he is the most creative and innovative, not only in language but also in concept.

CHAPTER VII

LATE REPUBLICAN AUTHORS

Julius Caesar

Despite the abundance of the corpus of Julius Caesar, the language and metaphor of mental aberration are sparse therein and add little to our study of the concept of furor. In fact, furere appears only three times, all in the Bellum Gallicum (1.40, 2.3, and 7.42). In the first occurrence the meaning of the word is generalized in a reference to Ariovistus. Caesar is chiding his officers after a panic has set in because of unfounded reports about the ferocity and bellicose intentions of the Germans. In attempting to allay his officers' fears, Caesar refers to his fairness and diplomatic ability to handle possible danger. He theorizes:

quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum
intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? (B. Gall. 1.40).

Besides the association of furor and amentia, impulsus intimates that the utter madness to instigate war is viewed as an externalized reaction. Surely Caesar is exaggerating his language to bolster his argument. The sentiment is simply that Ariovistus would not be so foolish as to endure war.

The idea of instigating and engaging in warfare is repeated in the next reference to furor. In the beginning of the campaign against the Belgae, friendly envoys from the Remi report that other Belgic tribes are preparing for war. Caesar represents as foolish aberration their desire and preparation to engage in fighting:

reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque qui eis Rhenum incolant sese cum his coniunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, ...detertere potuerint. (B. Gall. 2.3).

Once again the concept of furor is generalized, with no specific symptoms delineated to indicate the degree or cause of the "madness," other than opposition to the Romans.

In the final occurrence of furor, we find the word associated with a familiar idea: stirring up the populace for revolution.¹ Caesar relates that the Aedui are being encouraged to revolt by Convictolitavis:

adiuvat rem proclinatam Convictolitavis plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut facinore admissio ad sanitatem reverti pudeat. (B. Gall. 7.42).

In addition to the idea of revolution, we note the linguistic and semantic antithesis of furorem and sanitatem, suggesting the medical conception of "unsoundness" of mind in furor. Facinore has overtones of criminality² and lends to the general effect of illegal activity. Again Caesar fails to mention the specific incidents or details of the revolt and criminality to delineate the precise nature of the "madness."

From these few usages of furor in Caesar, it is not clear whether he disposed of a complete range of the concepts involved in the word. His usages are integrated into the politico-military language and are generalized to denote opposition (planned or exercised) to him in his military campaigns. He seems to appreciate the Ciceronian development of the term to apply to revolutionary activity but does not elaborate on how furor represents a "blindness of the mental faculties to all affairs." Nor does he choose to modify the noun furor to enhance description of his thoughts. However, we do find a direct link with amentia (1.40), a word associated with irrationality and madness, and a contrast with the medical representation of sanus (7.42).

The other use of amentia in the Caesarean corpus (B. Gall. 5.7) is not linked with any other term of madness or aberration and indicates a generalized concept, roughly translated as "utter foolishness." Caesar again does not present any details in order to clarify the specific charges of madness.

Similar to this last occurrence of amentia, there are two uses of dementia (B. Gall. 4.13 and B. Afr. 8). In both instances, Caesar makes no links with other terms of madness, and in both cases the word is used in a general sense to indicate foolishness in a matter of military tactics.

Other words that have been associated with the terminology and concept of madness in authors previously considered are lacking in Caesar. For example, there are no

occurrences of delirare, insania, or vecors. Admittedly, Caesar does not often discuss madness, but his work deals with so many political and military matters that one would expect more references and detailing of political "madness," i.e., furor to indicate a revolution or an extremist.

Sallust

In contrast to Caesar, Sallust employs more terms indicative of mental incapacity. We find furor (Cat. 24.2) and furibundus (Cat. 31.9) applied to describe Catiline. In the first case, Sallust summarizes the impact that the results of the consular elections for 63 B.C. had upon the conspiracy and Catiline:

igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur
M. Tullius et C. Antonius, quod factum primo
popularis coniurationis concusserat. neque
tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies
plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis
parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam
mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare.
(Cat. 24.1-2).

Catiline's military operations delineate some aspects of his "madness." Sallust has borrowed Cicero's designation to describe Catiline. However, contrary to many of Cicero's vehement diatribes, Sallust attempts to detail the source and reasons for the designation. Catiline is labeled as furibundus later in the monograph when he answers the charges of Cicero's First Catilinarian and is rebuffed:

tum ille furibundus, 'quoniam quidem circum-
ventus' inquit 'ab inimicis praeceps agor,
incendium meum ruina restinguam.' (Cat. 31.9).

Feeling himself surrounded and harassed by enemies, Catiline

threatens violence in order to force his political aspirations. Included in Catiline's threat was an oblique allusion to Cicero's moderate background (M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae), for which reference Catiline was called an enemy of the state and murderer (hostem atque parricidam vocare). After Catiline's contumacious remark, he acts like an enemy, leaving the city to finish recruiting an army and putting his conspiratorial plans into operation (Cat. 32).

Even before Sallust's designation of Catiline's madness as a form of furor, he pictures his mental state in a previous passage. Sallust attempts to portray the physical manifestations of Catiline's lack of mental stability. After a brief account of Catiline's lust for Orestilla and its consequent criminality, Sallust details the reasons for his outlawry:

namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus,
neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita
conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. igitur colos
ei exsanguis, foedi oculi citus modo modo tardus
incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.
(Cat. 15.4-5).

Although madness in this description is directly associated only with the facial expression (in facie voltuque vecordia), the rest of the passage reflects the qualities and symptoms of a madman. Sallust includes irregular movement, paleness, and bloodshot eyes³ as physical manifestations of madness⁴ and uses the word vecordia instead of furor to denote what he understands as insanity.

In addition to the designation of furor and vecordia to indicate the revolutionary activity of the conspiracy, Sallust also uses demens. In a passage describing the military and political moves of the conspirators outside of Rome, dementia is employed metaphorically to characterize the irrational, ill-conceived, and hurried plans and activity of the revolutionaries:

isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque
ulteriore, item in agro Piceno Bruttio Apulia motus
erat. namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat,
inconsulte ac veluti per dementia cuncta simul
agebant. (Cat. 42.1-2).

Sallust tempers the description of the activity by the addition of the quasi-apologetic veluti. This addition to the phrase per dementia justifies Sallust's inclusion of a comment on the mental condition of the conspirators in their revolutionary plans and actions. Following this general statement about the frantic activity of the conspirators, Sallust details the policy and actions of this particular element of the conspiracy to bolster his previous description of ill-conceived and insane action (inconsulte ac veluti per dementia):

nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum
portationibus, festinando agitando omnia plus
timoris quam periculi effecerant. (Cat. 42.2).

As in previous instances Sallust attempts to add reasons for his designation of insane behavior or policy of the revolutionaries.⁵ Although we have other passages that characterize Catiline (e.g., Chapter 5), there are no other

descriptions of the irrational or mad behavior of the conspirator or his supporters.

In the Bellum Iugurthinum Sallust slightly increases the terminology of madness and irrationality to describe the deviation of some of the characters in the work. Furor is not used. However, vecors appears four times and seems to become Sallust's preferred expression to denote irrational or insane behavior. Sallust classifies the political and military disruption and upheaval resulting from the war with Jugurtha as the underlying cause of the subsequent civil discord and destruction of the Social War:

quae contentio divina et humana cuncta
permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, ut
studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae
finem faceret. (Iug. 5.2).

In two instances vecordia is used to describe Jugurtha (72.2 and 99.3). In each case the word is linked with similar language to the idea of fear⁶ and in both passages there is a dramatic climaxing in a list of the frantic reactions of Jugurtha to a particular situation. The last use of vecordia refers to Marius and serves as an insulting remark made by Jugurtha's men against the Roman leader (99.4). The employment of vecordia to denote aberration may be a feature of Sallust's conscious archaizing in his attempt to avoid the clichés and terminology current in his day.⁷

In addition to vecordia, Sallust also employs other terms to depict the mental condition of Jugurtha. For his deceit in handling the legatus pro praetore Aulus and for

his military tactics, Jugurtha is openly charged with lack of sense:

at Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque inperitia
legati subdole eius augere amentiam, (Iug. 38.1).

Sallust details the tactics that Jugurtha uses in order to illustrate with precision the deceit of the Numidian. There are no other uses of amens in all of Sallust.⁸

One of Sallust's favorite themes is the blind avarice of magistrates and the corruption resulting from their pursuit of high political office.⁹ In addition to the frequent use of avaritia, libido, and largitio, Sallust also includes the phrase cupidine caecus to denote excessive ambition and greed:

porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum
scelus rapiebatur. (Iug. 25.7).

The association of blindness with the mental faculties (animus) recalls Lucretian usage¹⁰ and Cicero's famous definition of furor as "a blindness of the mind to all things."¹¹ This quotation is taken from a passage describing the internal conflict of Jugurtha and summarizing the motivation of his resolve. He is said to be very disturbed and moved by different sentiments (primo commotus metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur: 25.6), and his irrational greed spurs him to make criminal decisions (scelus) and decide upon a morally wrong course of action (vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravom consilium: 25.8). Later, the same phrase (cupidine caecus) refers to Jugurtha in his haste to execute military plans (37.4). The phraseology also is applied to some

factious elements in Rome who are willing to take bribes for political advantages (80.4).¹²

There are a few other instances in the Bellum Iugurthinum in which the phraseology suggests some form of mental deviation. Two uses of errare refer to Bocchus and his clinging alliance with Jugurtha (Iug. 102.5 and 104.4). In both, errare is linked with the criminality of Jugurtha (sceleratissimus and scelus). Improbis is used twice (Iug. 31.28 and 67.3), both times in rather general statements to emphasize evil. There are no uses of delirare, rabies, or insania in Sallust in passages discussing madness or irrational behavior. The few terms that are employed to indicate any mental deficiencies are not generally linked together or associated. The two uses of furor are left unqualified and only by careful attention to the context can one understand the reason for the designation.

Sallust seems to accept Cicero's characterization of Catiline in terms of furere without much elaboration. Of Jugurtha and others, he does not use the word. His general term to denote political "madness" seems to be vecordia. He does not use the adjective vecors to depict any character. It is possible that both Caesar and Sallust eschewed using furere to denote political revolutionaries or opponents because Cicero had so often used it to describe the populares. Because both Sallust and Caesar deal so much with the men and policies of the populares, they would not have employed a term solely attached and derogatorily cast against them

by political opponents, i.e., the optimates. In their view, the populares were not necessarily extremists. Instead Sallust and Caesar use terminology connoting the excessive ambition, greed, and corruption of the senatorial class in its competitive struggle for high political office. Sallust was willing to use furor to describe Catiline, perhaps because Catiline had been officially declared an enemy of the state and his activities had been proved to be revolutionary.

Other Late Republicans

There are a few examples of the language of mental aberration in fragments from late Republican authors. From the surviving Sententiae of Pubilius Syrus we find two occurrences of furor. In one instance furor seems to connote intense anger, rather than madness:

furor fit laesa saepius patientia. (175).

Although the line is beset with textual problems, the reading of furor has not been disputed. Nonetheless, lack of context and modification prevent further illumination of the semantic intent. More valuable is the second occurrence of furor in the Sententiae:

insanus omnis furere credit ceteros. (228).

Admittedly the Sententiae by their very nature state general propositions and the language reflects general notions. Yet this selection shows an interesting blend of different terminology and concept. Insanus reflects a medical base,¹³ suggesting a man judged insane and needing medical attention.

On the other hand, furere is perhaps used to refer to those only alleged to be mad and to those who appear mad.¹⁴ In any case, two different terms clearly indicating insanity are used. The medical conception of mental imbalance is seen in another sententia in which a derivative of sanus is employed:

ulcera animi sananda magis quam corporis.
(775).¹⁵

It seems that Pubilius Syrus returns to the original medical notion of unsoundness to state or imply mental deficiency.¹⁶

Two uses of demens in the Sententiae should be noted. One occurs in the love vocabulary¹⁷ and the other shows a close association with error.¹⁸ The lack of more context and continuity prevents us from making significant conclusions or observations. In both cases, there is no direct linking with other terms of madness or mental deviation.

Before concluding this brief survey of late Republican authors, some consideration should be given to a fragment of Santra, a scholar of the Ciceronian age interested in literary theory. In the one surviving quotation of Santra, derived from Nonius (78.28), the rare form furenter occurs:¹⁹

ita oppletum sono
furenter omni a pacto bacchatur nemus. (1-2).

Interestingly, furere is associated with the language of the Bacchic cult and its attendant orgiastic connotations. Although we cannot understand the precise reference from this passage, we do know that some intense activity takes

place in the wilds (bacchatur nemus) whose "mad" or irrational nature is intimated by loud sounds (oppletum sono). One should recall the Catullan use of furor in describing the uncontrolled activities of the devotees of the Bacchic cult.²⁰

In summarizing the use of the language and concept of mental disturbance in late Republican authors, we find that furor is not often used, and if used to denote madness, it is not elaborated upon with the detailing of symptoms or reasons for the designation. The language of mental deviation is varied and generally derivative from previous writers. For a general concept of madness, Sallust prefers to use the archaic word vecordia; Julius Caesar employs terminology in an unspecified way, and the general nature of Pubilius Syrus' Sententiae add little to the understanding of concepts. It will remain for the Augustan writers to re-employ and develop the use and concept of furor, adding fresh nuances and conceptualizations different from their predecessors.

CHAPTER VIII

VERGIL

Eclogues

We have seen that the use of the word furere developed by degrees. After sparse employment by Lucretius and Catullus, Cicero expanded the use of the word and extended the concept into the realm of politics and mantic inspiration. The major Augustan writers, as we shall see, not only frequently utilize the word but also must be credited with developing new nuances. Because Vergil, in particular, employs furor as a major theme throughout the Aeneid, there has been much scholarly analysis and debate concerning the precise meaning, symbolism, and intent of the word as used by him. However, it is desirable to begin with a brief treatment of furere and the language of mental aberration in the Eclogues and the Georgics.

Furor occurs only twice in the Eclogues, in the same poem, Eclogue 10. In this Eclogue, Vergil presents his audience with a depiction of the urbanized elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus as he appeals to shepherds and their pastoral world to soothe him and his pains. Gallus attempts to identify himself and his elegiac sufferings with the quiet and pleasant features of the pastoral setting:

atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuisset
aut custos gregis aut maturae vinitor uvae!
certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas,
seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra),
mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret;¹
(Ecl. 10.35-40).

The furor mentioned in line 38 refers to love. Gallus envisions love in a pastoral scene with individuals from the shepherd's world, i.e., Phyllis or Amyntas, as a power as disturbing as his love for Lycoris, his mistress. Gallus continues his daydreaming and wishful thinking concerning his "new" love experience in sylvan Arcadia; he visualizes singing, piping, writing poetry on tree barks (50-54), and hunting in an idealized locale under ideal circumstances (55-60). However, the spell of Gallus' fantasy is broken by his understanding of painful realities:

...tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris,
aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat.
(Ecl. 10.60-61).

Line 60 shows that the bucolic setting serves only as a form of escapism without any true curing of the mental disturbance caused by love.² The woods, the shade, the stream, all the scenery and equipment of the bucolic life yield to the all-consuming power of love as Gallus understands it.

In fact, Gallus ends his soliloquy with the famous sententia:

omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.
(Ecl. 10.69),

which summarizes Gallus's possession and incurable condition under the power of love.

The acknowledgement by Gallus of the deranged nature of his love is foreshadowed earlier in the poem. We find sollicitos Galli...amores (6), indigno cum Gallus amore peribat (10),³ 'Galle, quid insanis?' inquit, 'tua cura Lycoris' (22), and 'ecquis erit modus?' (28). The clause Galle, quid insanis? is the question of Apollo who appears among a host of pastoral characters, who represent in life style a direct antithesis of Gallus, his experience, and his literary genre. Gallus is out of place in such company and such a setting.⁴

Insanus appears once again in the poem when Gallus realizes that his experience is far different from the imagined pastoral life style:

nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis.
(Ecl. 10.44-45).

Gallus knows that the insanity of his love for Lycoris, his world of politics and military campaigns cannot be integrated with the life of Vergil's shepherds.⁵ Vergil seems to be suggesting throughout the poem that Gallus' literary stance, i.e., elegy, and his profession as a soldier (duri Martis) are incongruous with the imagined nature of the pastoral life and experience.⁶

In his other Eclogues that deal with love or have love as a major theme, Vergil varies the language depicting the upsetting and irrational nature of love. In Eclogue 2, demens is used twice, once by the shepherd Corydon to depict Alexis (60), who rejects his love and the pastoral ideal

presumably for an urban milieu. In the other instance Corydon berates himself because of his love for Alexis (urit amor: 68) and because his lowly station and simple life style cannot convince the cultured sophisticated man of the city to follow him and join his setting (a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!: 69).⁷

In Eclogue 8 we find saevus amor (47) describing the perversion of love to make mothers kill children. Earlier in the same poem malus error (41) refers to a past happiness viewed from a more cognizant present. The entire line in which the phrase occurs shows the frenzied power of love:

ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!
(Ecl. 8.41).

The concept suggested by error becomes a major theme in Eclogue 6.⁸ The idea of errare as a mental aberration or deviation has been consistently pointed out in the treatment of previous writers.⁹ The word occurs four times in Eclogue 6.¹⁰ All uses are contained in the various "songs" of the drunken Silenus. In the mythological sections of his songs, Silenus tells the fate of Pasiphaë and her perverted love for the bull. Before any details of the story are given, we find an emotional statement introducing the sequence of action:

a, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!
(Ecl. 6.47).

It will be recalled that the only other uses of demens in the Eclogues were found in Eclogue 2 to denote Corydon's wishful love for Alexis and the disturbance that this love

caused. Only here is demens used again and the phraseology is deliberately reminiscent of the Corydon passage: a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit (2.69).¹¹

Pasiphaë is called unfortunate (infelix), a word which suggests not only unhappiness but failure to bring her love to a successful "fruition."¹² Such a failure is understandable because Pasiphaë's love is abnormal and represents an impossible mixture of two different species that is completely grotesque. Yet Pasiphaë continues to search for a possible relationship with the bull, and her search in the pastoral setting of the poem is seen as a deviation:

a, virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras:
(Ecl. 6.52),

a line that not only echoes line 47 but also serves to recapitulate the time and setting of this episode that was introduced by the following descriptive clause:

rara per ignaros errent animalia montis.
(Ecl. 6.40).

Pasiphaë's passion, represented as a madness, makes her suffer from a reversal of the ordinary aspects of pastoral life. In the bucolic setting animals are accustomed to roam unthinkingly in search of the normal pursuits of animalistic instincts.¹³ It is Pasiphaë who is out of her element, the real deviant in the pastoral society, as she searches for traces of the love object:

si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris
errabunda bovis vestigia; (Ecl. 6.57-58).

The phrase errabunda bovis vestigia is a vivid reminder of

Pasiphaë's own deviation, and points out the contrast between her aberration and the normal activity of animals in the pastoral scene.¹⁴

Within a very few lines of Silenus' song, three occurrences of error and one of dementia illustrate a deviation from a perfect pastoral world symbolized by the myth of Pasiphaë's perverted love. In the last instance of error in the poem, Silenus, continuing his list of mythological allusions and tales, refers to Vergil's contemporary, Gallus, "straying" to the waters of the Permessus river and into the Aonian mountains:

tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
(Ecl. 6.64-65).

The reference to the Permessus and Aonia is an allusion to Hesiod and his type of didactic and etiological poetry. Vergil may be suggesting an initiation of Gallus, an elegiac poet, into the realm of bucolic poetry and Apolline order.¹⁵ The participial adjective errantem marks the elegiac stance of Gallus before his entrance into bucolic poetry. Because we lack remains from Gallus' own poetry, it is not possible to know if Gallus successfully blended pastoral and elegiac techniques and themes. To judge from Eclogue 10, Vergil presents Gallus in the scenic world of shepherds unable to shake his elegiac stance and poetic conception. One should recall Gallus' final statement that love conquers all things (omnia vicit Amor)--presumably even the imagined pastoral and sylvan setting.

Complete decisiveness and interpretive certainty concerning Eclogue 6 and its relationship to the other Eclogues are probably impossible. The poem remains very enigmatic and complex both in terms of external criteria, and in internal implications, such as the moral and aesthetic climate and attitudes. However, despite our deficient abilities to understand totally the various levels of meanings and implications of the poem, we have noted the importance and prominence of things or personalities "out of control," "in a state of wandering," perverted or defective in some way.

It is not possible in this brief treatment to consider all the themes of opposite forces, particularly such as envisioned in Eclogue 1. However, in Vergil's presentation of an idealized bucolic world pitted against the realities of war and its consequence (Ecl. 1), urbanized sophistication (Ecl. 2), the progress of history (Ecl. 4), or the mental imbalance caused by love, we have found several examples of madness or deviation in terminology and concept. In these cases, the terms are not used in a helter-skelter fashion but are often repeated in the separate poems to sustain a linguistic and thematic link. Eclogue 10 contains insanus and furor; insanus appears three times in Eclogue 9; error seems to be a dominant theme in Eclogue 6, and Eclogue 2 has recurrences of ardere and demens. The other Eclogues have scattered references to madness, and, as has been pointed out, these terms are generally used to denote

warning to Vergil's farmers and indeed to his entire audience not to take this happy gift to destructive excess.¹⁸

The next seven uses of furere are found in Book III, the first of which, occurring in Vergil's general introduction to the book, refers to the Furies as the avengers in hell (3.37). After an introductory pledge to write of the glories of Octavian, Vergil quickly passes to his major theme, the rearing and breeding of cattle and horses.¹⁹ In reference to horse breeding, Vergil argues for the selection of young and vigorous steeds and the isolation of the old and weak (3.95-102), for, in mating, although the old horse may show desire and intensity, he is as useless as a brush fire, unable to overcome the physical defects that bring frigidity:

frigidus in Venerem senior, frustraue laborem
ingratum trahit, et, si quando ad proelia ventum est,
ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,
incassum furit. (G. 3.97-100).

Furit underscores the animalistic instinct of the horse, while the metaphor of military battle is applied to love-making with the stock-in-trade language of the elegist.²⁰ We shall see that amor in the animal world will become an increasingly more important theme in the Georgics.

Continuing his treatment of breeding, Vergil next mentions the role of the female of the species who should be treated gently and carefully once she is pregnant. Particular attention should be paid to guard against the attack of the gadfly. The sting of the gadfly can produce extreme misery:

furit mugitibus aether
 concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.
 (G. 3.150-151).

Literally, the air is said to be in a maddening rage from the anguished sounds, an image that recalls the use of furor in describing natural phenomena in Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus.²¹ Interestingly, this is Vergil's first use of furere in a nature scene. However, more importantly, furit suggests the intensity of the neighing of the mare, and serves to introduce the mythological allusion of Juno's relentless pursuit of Io that immediately follows this passage (3.152-153).

The section on breeding and care of horses introduces a treatment of animal passion and the debilitating effects upon the breeding animal. In this account Vergil sympathetically humanizes his description and characterization of animals.²² Ostensibly he is interested in the presentation of the effects of love and the effort that must be exerted to protect the animal from them. However, Vergil's primary aim in this presentation is to prepare the way for a major digression on love (3.242-283), and to uplift the reader's interest and attention from the specifics of the agricultural world to a more general philosophical and cosmic consideration. The rather lengthy section on the mating and training of the horse and cattle has prepared the reader for this digression, and now Vergil wants his audience to know that he is writing not just about animal passion but love for every animal, including man:

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque
 et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres
 in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.
 (G. 3.242-244).

The emotion of man is identified with the feelings of all other animals. Presumably omnibus refers to all members of the animal kingdom, including man. Following this passage Vergil details scenes from nature, history, and mythology to illustrate the destructive elements of excessive passion. Interestingly, the metaphorical phrase in furias ignemque ruunt is used to introduce the specific examples of love's power. Although furias in this instance may suggest some association with the "Furies," it clearly intimates intense desire, balancing the metaphorical ignem--i.e., "the fire of passion." This is the first case in our study in which the noun furia does not directly allude to the Furies as either bringers of destruction or as avengers, and for the first time furia is approximate to its related form furor in meaning.

In the specific examples that illustrate the important generalization that love is the same for all animals (amor omnibus idem), we find, in addition to furere, other terms indicative of mental derangement or deviation: oblita (245), saevus (246 and 248), errare (246 and 249), ignis (258), durus amor (259), caecus (260), turbare (259), and miser (262). The theme of love as a type of madness is climaxed by presentation of the love-madness of mares and its physical representation, hippomanes (3.266-283). This brief

treatment begins with the explanatory and thematic statement:

scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum;
et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, (G. 3.266-267).

The furor that delineates the intense emotion of love (similar to the furor of humans in Lucretius and Catullus) does not seem to portray the wildness of animals in nature, uncontrolled and unmanageable at the hands of man, or the possession of irrationality contrasted with reasoning power of man. Instead, it depicts a feature of animal amor separated from the uncultivated wilds inherent in nature. Animal passion is linked with human madness caused by love.²³

In the description of sheep and goats that follows the treatment of cattle and horses, Vergil passes to another important theme: disease (3.384-469). Just as he had intended that this theme of animalistic amor be applied to humans, so in the case of the theme of disease, Vergil wants to promote the idea that disease without proper care can confront and attack humans as it does the passive smaller animals.²⁴ Furor occurs describing inflaming pain that can attack sheep:

ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa
cum furit atque artus depascitur arida febris,
(G. 3.457-458).

The intensity of the pain is said to be a madness penetrating the inner bones of the animals. The entire section on disease, with its language that reflects intense heat, fear, and ominous danger, prepares for the climax of the book which concerns death by plague. As in the case of the theme of

love and disease, the treatment of death also extends to humans (3.525-530).

The language describing the plague and its effects shows only one use of furere (furiisque refecti: 511), which refers to stricken horses. Interestingly, furia is employed without any hint or suggestion of the action of the "Furies." In addition to the one use of furere, throughout the rather lengthy passage treating the plague (3.477-566), other words indicative of madness occur. There are several instances of ardere (490, 505, 512, and 564), one of which repeats the phrase ardentes oculi, symbolic of madness.²⁵ Line 496 has rabies which describes the madness of dogs. Error occurs shortly after the references to furere and one of the uses of ardere (513); saevire occurs at 551, and lastly there is a reference to hellebore (451) in the general discussion of disease.

Although there are many other words and phrases that demonstrate the intensity of the plague and its disruptive factors, the few terms that have been mentioned stress the production of the madness. Without doubt Vergil saw the plague in symbolic terms; he intended this treatment to be raised to a moral and philosophical level as an admonition to his audience: that despite the hard work, and despite both the friendly and inimical encounters in the agricultural world, man must understand and realize the brutal forces of nature and civilization that lead to death. Plague, of course, suggests some form of contamination. It seems

that Vergil is suggesting that man must always be alert to the possibility of physical and moral contamination in his civilization and that once this disease has set in, it is ruinous and difficult to contain. Hence, the need and important reminder of labor improbus.²⁶

The gloomy picture presented in Book III is relieved by Book IV. In this book Vergil demonstrates how man can overcome any contamination (suggested in Book III) and distinguish himself from the world of animals. The Aristaeus episode in part shows that for man, unlike the animals of the farm, resurrection, atonement, and rebirth are possible if some "disease" has contaminated him.²⁷ A rebirth of bees via the bougonia parallels a new life for man in the episode of Aristaeus' atonement of his sin.

Otis often mentions the prominence of the amor--furor theme in the whole Aristaeus story, generally that Aristaeus' impetuosity toward Eurydice (4.453-459) caused Eurydice's death and that Orpheus' lack of control prompted the failure of her resurrection (4.485-502).²⁸ However, in the account there is only one occurrence of the word furor. It appears in the lines spoken by Eurydice (in the mouth of Proteus) after Orpheus has failed to follow his instructions and looked back to get a glimpse at his wife. As Eurydice suddenly begins to fade, receding back to Hades as a result of Orpheus' fatal mistake, she cries out:

illa, 'quis et me' inquit 'miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu
quis tantus furor? en iterum crudelia retro
fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus.'
(G. 4.494-496).

The "madness" that Eurydice alludes to is her sudden vanishing, the reasons for which she cannot understand. Although Eurydice may not understand the immediate reason, the reader knows that it refers to Orpheus' failure to observe the condition and injunction not to look back at Eurydice before reaching the upper world. The breaking of the command is described in a previous section and Orpheus' motivation is well delineated:

cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem...
 immemor heu! victusque animi respexit...
 (G. 4.488-491).

Orpheus' inability to restrain himself, his sudden irrational lapse, and his temporary loss of mental faculties cause Eurydice's second death. Her brief but poignant phrase quis tantus furor demonstrates that she is aware of his deficiencies. Orpheus had great power in his song; he could charm all nature, and even do the mortally impossible: persuade death to resurrect his love, Eurydice. Yet, because of a flaw in character he loses that which he cherishes most, and eventually because of this loss dies a wretched lonely death.²⁹

It is not necessary to apply the symbolic deviation of Orpheus to Aristaeus' special circumstances. Aristaeus is never actually referred to as demens, furiosus, or some other phrase suggestive of mental aberration. However, the lesson implicit in the Orpheus-Eurydice episode becomes clear to him: that his atonement can be realized and there can be a rebirth of bees, if he follows instructions, per-

forms a ritualistic ceremony, and does not let his personal feelings and passion overrule his desire for a long-range result.³⁰

Although the Georgics displays many tensions, failures, loss of control, disease, and death in its agricultural context, furor is not often used to delineate such features. Mainly limited to describing animal love in Book III, furor is not a consistent thematic link in the work, nor does Vergil seem eager to employ the word in symbolic structures to represent everything that is destructive, violent, or irrational to man or animal in an agricultural setting.

The Aeneid

As we have seen, the word furere was not used too frequently either in the Eclogues or the Georgics. Nevertheless, the concept of upheaval or commotion in the pastoral and agricultural life style and environment was sometimes expressed in terms of furor. In the Aeneid, however, furere and its derived forms are found in almost one hundred cases scattered throughout each of the twelve books. More important than this statistical fact is that furor, as has often been recognized and said, represents one of Vergil's major themes.³¹ Scholars have shown that the conflict between the concepts of furor and pietas is one of the most significant motifs of the epic, and that this conflict pervades and infuses the entire poem.³² Furere in the Aeneid will be shown to connote various forces of destruction and irra-

tionality, including intense anger, madness, passion, rage, and revengeful bloodshed, in contrast with the notion of pietas, a righteous and humanitarian attitude founded upon duty to family, religion, and state.³³

Despite the fact that furor serves as a major theme and occurs frequently throughout the work, it is somewhat surprising that the first occurrence does not appear until 1.41, after Vergil's general introduction and during the narrative proper. However, some elements of the concept of the word are already introduced with the description of Juno's character and wounded pride (1.25-28). In the first twelve lines of the epic a contrast is already being drawn between the anger of a goddess (saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram: 1.4) and the man of duty (insignem pietate virum: 1.10). This thematic contrast is again emphasized in the description of Juno's motivation for her hatred of the Trojan:

necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
exciderant animo, (Aen. 1.25-26).

In the introduction special emphasis is laid upon Juno's brutal anger and her mental anguish (ira: 1.4; dolens regina: 1.9; causae irarum and saevi dolores: 1.25). Not only do these terms provide the reasons for Juno's motivation against the Trojans, but they also serve to foreshadow the bitter and brutal forces opposed to Aeneas and his men in gaining their objectives and obtaining the fulfillment of their special destiny as outlined by the prophecy of Jupiter in the first book (1.257-296).

The first episode in the first book draws the framework for the antithesis between the concept of pietas (designated by the hero Aeneas) and the forces of furor (symbolized by Juno). The first simile in the book elucidates this contrast. Neptune calms a storm which has been caused by Juno's revengeful action and sent to destroy the Trojan fleet upon the open sea:

ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
 seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus;
 iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat;
 tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant;
 ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, (Aen. 1.148-154).

The destructive forces of Juno's wrath, represented by the storm, are quelled. Interestingly, the simile is drawn from the world of politics; the raging storm is likened to an uncontrolled riot (coorta est/seditio saevit). It requires a "pious man" (pietate gravem--a phrase that recalls the description of Aeneas as insignem pietate in 1.10) displaying effective leadership to suppress the riot and abate the irrational behavior leading to violence (furor arma ministrant). The use of furor in this political context echoes the Ciceronian image of extreme political activity³⁴ and in conjunction with saevit portrays the wild and uncontrollable aspects of Juno's rage.

Before pursuing further instances of the thematic contrast and antithesis between pietas and furor manifested in the person and character of Aeneas or his enemies, such as Juno, we shall return to early occurrences of furere.

At the beginning of the narrative, we find Juno complaining about her inability to destroy the Trojans because of the opposition of fate. She compares her luck to the good fortune of Pallas Athena who was able to take revenge for Ajax Oileus' violation of Cassandra:

quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
 Argivum atque ipsos potuit sommergere ponto
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
 (Aen. 1.39-41).

The linking of noxam with furias indicates that Ajax's action was not only viewed as committed in madness or frenzy but was morally wrong. Noxa also may have overtones of sickness (Celsus 7.26); there is little doubt that Ajax's depravity and violence are conceived as a mental sickness by the coupling of noxa and furia, which is not here directly associated with the demonic goddesses, but describes Ajax's motivation and action. Although this passage does not delineate Juno's own furor, it does foreshadow the theme of madness and irrationality connected with opposing forces of destiny (quippe vetor fatis).

Immediately following this passage Juno is portrayed as arriving at Aeolia to persuade Aeolus to stir up the winds against Aeneas' fleet:

...loca feta furentibus Austris,
 Aeoliam venit. (Aen. 1.51-52).

The phrase furentibus Austris is almost a direct imitation of the Ennian furentibus ventis,³⁵ and serves to introduce numerous examples of furere employed to describe natural phenomena. The same phrase is repeated in a simile at

2.304: flamma furentibus Austris. The storm raised by Aeolus after Juno's divine order influences the action of the tide. In a mixed metaphor, the tide is said to rage wildly with sand: furit aestus harenis (1.107). Similar language and imagery are repeated later at 2.759 (furit aestus ad auras), but this clause refers to the flames of fire, not the tide. These early examples of uncontrolled nature in a state of madness underscore Juno's opposition and her symbolic representation as a force of irrationality pitted against the forces of pietas. The destructive effects of the storm (1.102-123) are counterbalanced by Neptune's calming of the waters. In this scene we are introduced to the famous first simile (1.148-154) which summarizes and tempers the issue and conflict of furor and its counterparts with pietas.³⁶ Therefore, the image of the raging storm parallels the irrational and maddening forces represented by Juno,³⁷ and if we read that the wind and tide rage and are mad, we are to understand that Juno too rages and is insane. She, after all, has caused the storm likened to a civic riot that is quelled by the "pious" statesman.

The previous reference to furere at 2.759 (furit aestus ad auras) describes the conflagration of Troy after the Greek attack. Fire is also alluded to at 5.662 where the Trojan fleet is set aflame by women encouraged by Juno (furit immissis Volcanus habenis). A little later in the same book furere depicts the shower sent by Jupiter to extinguish the fire:

...cum effusis imbribus atra
tempestas sine more furit... (Aen. 5.693-694).

The addition of sine more heightens the effect of the intensity of the unexpected thunderstorm. Furere to denote the caprice and upheavals of nature is referred to again near the end of this book. Neptune replies to Venus who complains of Juno's interference and provocation of weather to sink the Trojan ships:

saepe furores
compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor,
Aeneae mihi cura tui. (Aen. 5.801-804).

Neptune is probably referring to his calming of the storm described in 1.102-123. The mention of furores recalls the oft-quoted political simile (1.148-154) wherein the calming of the storm is likened to a civil riot. In this simile, it will be remembered, furor was one of the descriptive terms used to intimate the maddening and irrational effects of the storm. In the above passage, the intensity of the natural phenomena to which Neptune alludes is heightened by rabiem, another word highly suggestive of madness.

These uses of furere in nature images in the Aeneid continue the tradition begun by Ennius and extended by Lucretius.³⁸ Other uses of furere in nature images in the Aeneid occur in similes, and therefore must be investigated and assessed in the light of the comparison that is drawn by the similes. For example, the phrase flamma furentibus Austris in 2.304, repeating the phraseology of 1.51, introduces a long simile that characterizes the brutal horror,

destruction, and confusion which accompany the attack on Troy. The sudden upheaval and destructive wildness of nature that disrupt the agricultural and pastoral environment (2.304-308) elucidate the effect of the battle and conflagration upon Troy and Aeneas in an imagistic fashion. In the ruin, fire, and confusing violence Aeneas hurries without rationality and planning, overcome by the moment and in a state of maddened rage:

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.
(Aen. 2.314-317).

Aeneas is at a loss as much as the amazed shepherd in the simile, not understanding the reality of the natural occurrences affecting his milieu (2.304-308). In other words, the "madness" of the situation and surroundings affects Aeneas with "madness."

In the same book, the bloody attack of the Greeks is compared to the force of a flood destructive to nature, both plant and animal (2.496-499). The river in flood that has broken its banks and is out of control (furens) specifically underscores the brutal slaughter wrought by Pyrrhus, whom Vergil depicts immediately following the simile as "raging in blood-lust" (vidi ipse furentem/caede Neoptoleumum: 2.499-500).

In the fourth book the phrase flammae furentes (4.670) occurs in a simile that is used to denote the damaging confusion and emotional destruction of Carthage upon the death

Turnus

of its queen. Interestingly, the simile is introduced by the depiction of Carthaginians in orgiastic frenzy, frantically wailing and groaning after learning of their queen's death (4.665-668). The noise resounding throughout the city makes it seem that the city is under attack and set ablaze.

Not all of the similes using furere in nature images refer to large impersonal factors like the horror of war. Instead individualized and personal traits are characterized by images of violent and uncontrollable forces. For instance, when Turnus is struck by the firebrand of Allecto, the hellish Fury, he is portrayed by Vergil as raging like the flames under a kettle of water, the boiling of the water, and the resultant steam:

magno veluti cum flamma sonore
virgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis;
(Aen. 7.462-465).

The imagistic combining of fire and water out of control, violent, and in excess metaphorically illustrates Turnus' furor, that Vergil depicts more explicitly in the two lines preceding this passage:

arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit:
saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super: (Aen. 7.460-462).

Turnus' impetuosity and love for battle are couched in the language of madness and untamed rage of animals. Fremit has strong overtones of the wild noises of animals³⁹ and saevit extends this image.⁴⁰ Amens and insania lend specific reference to the irrational factors of his action; scelerata

reminds us of the Ciceronian linking of crime and madness,⁴¹ and ira recalls the most often used epithet of Juno, the ultimate representation of the demonic and mad forces delineated throughout the epic.⁴²

Similar to the description of Turnus' raging, Aeneas, in the act of killing, is pictured as a river torrent or dark hurricane:

...ductor
Dardanius torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
more furens. (Aen. 10.602-604).

The imagery of Aeneas' unnatural madness recalls previously noted similes involving storms or water out of control.⁴³ Similarly, Mezentius in Book X is likened to a rock buffeted by the grueling forces of weather and sea (obvia ventorum furiis expostaque ponto: 10.694), yet unmoved and undaunted in his slaughter.

The investigation of furere in nature images has shown that Vergil did not merely use the term to describe per se the uncontrollable aspects of nature. Instead, similes drawn from the violent caprice of nature often characterize participants in the action and illustrate one of the most dominant thematic strains presented throughout the epic: the concept and force of madness, irrationality, brutal violence, and lack of harmony or civilization. It will be seen that the word furor often expresses Vergil's concepts of these forces and is often contrasted with its counterparts to denote the major struggle and conflict of the epic itself and to convey the message to the Augustan Age of Rome.

The link of the Aeneid with the Augustan Age is first explicitly stated in the famous prophetic speech of Jupiter in Book I. More important to this investigation than the details of Jupiter's unrolling of destiny and any stylistic or rhetorical features⁴⁴ is the concluding imagery and symbolism. The speech ends with the promise of peace with the dawn of the Augustan Age and the imprisonment of the "sinful" forces of madness that lead to destruction and disorder:

aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
 cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
 iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
 saeve sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.
 (Aen. 1.291-296).

According to Vergil the Augustan achievement will lie in the successful chaining and subjugation of Furor impius.⁴⁵ This allegorical representation of the forces of madness, disorder, and destruction recalls the symbolic calming of the seas by Neptune (1.148-154) who is pictured as the "pious" statesman controlling a riot and establishing political harmony in the face of destruction.⁴⁶ Success of any Roman program (according to the speech, empire without end, imperium sine fine: 1.279) depends upon the controlling and checking of furor. The direct antithesis between the concept of furor and pietas is succinctly stated by the combination of the word furor with the negation of pietas expressed in the adjective impius. We note also the horror and wildness depicted in the personification of furor. It is involved with war (arma) that is viewed as animalistic brutality

(saeva), it is raging (fremet) and productive of bloodshed (ore cruento). The entire depiction stresses the absolute necessity of controlling this powerful and destructive force. The language and imagery are recalled later by the description of Turnus as he is incited to war (arma amens fremit...saevit amor ferri: 7.460-461).⁴⁷ Therefore, the message seems clear to both Aeneas and the Augustan Age: that the powers and capacities of madness, non-rational behavior, rage, bloodthirstiness, and excessive passion must be put under control by forces of divine and human respect.

As far as Aeneas is concerned the traditional interpretation of his character divides the epic into two major sections. The Aeneas of Books I-VI is the embodiment of the Homeric hero associated with the past represented by Troy; the Aeneas of Books VII-XII comes to understand his mission, shakes off the burdens of his past and becomes a new type of hero, not intent upon individualized feats of military prowess but conscious of establishing a sense of respect to gods, country, family, and individuals.⁴⁸ In thematic terms, Aeneas learns to control the forces of furor and gains pietas only after the apocalyptic vision of Anchises in Book VI. In the course of the rest of this investigation of furor in the Aeneid, we will note to what extent Aeneas, as the new hero and the embodiment of Augustan ideals, achieves the destined goal of pietas.

Book II of the Aeneid retells the catastrophe of Troy's destruction and Aeneas' own part in it. Several

passages emphasize Aeneas' reaction to the situation. After the vision of Hector and his warning to take up the penates, the symbols of patria, and quit the city (2.270-295), Aeneas reacts furiously and in the manner of a Homeric hero. He wants to fight and fails to heed the warning of Hector:

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.
(Aen. 2.314-317).

Aeneas' rage illustrates his domination by furor that causes him to lose his reason and risk his promised role as new leader by an impulsive, hot-headed (ardent animi) rush to arms and battle.⁴⁹

Aeneas' course of action parallels the destructive madness of the entire scene. In a few lines previously the attack on Troy and the subsequent conflagration are viewed as destructive flames fanned by raging winds (veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris: 2.304).⁵⁰ Even Aeneas is aware of the effect of the circumstances and surroundings upon him. He sees himself, as it were, possessed by an Erinys:

in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.⁵¹
(Aen. 2.337-338).

In this frame of mind Aeneas encourages the youth of Troy to engage in battle. His presence and encouragement add a furious desire to their already inflamed feeling:

sic animis iuvenum furor additus. (Aen. 2.355).

This reference to furor is followed by a simile that depicts in greater detail the nature of the "madness." The Trojans

are described as wolves maddened by hunger:

inde, lupi ceu
 raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
 exegit caecos rabies catulique relict
 faucibus exspectant siccis, (Aen. 2.355-358).

The language descriptive of the fierce hunger is couched in terms of a rabid madness. We note improba, caecos, and particularly rabies which delineate the emphasis of the furor. Aeneas understands the behavior as morally deficient (improba), animalistic, and wild (rabies).

The culmination of Aeneas' reckless disregard of the warning to leave the city is illustrated by his sudden desire to kill Helen whom he saw lurking at the shrine of Vesta (2.567-576). He had just witnessed the brutal killing of Priam by Pyrrhus. Outraged by this act, Aeneas wants revenge and contemplates murdering Helen. He understands his psychological state as some type of demonic possession:

taliam iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,
 (Aen. 2.588).

It requires the second divine intervention in the form of Venus to check Aeneas' madness. Questioning his useless course of action, she addresses him and shames him into concern for more lofty behavior by appealing to his sense of devotion to his family and his mission (2.594-620). Her first words to him indicate her knowledge of his irrational anger and thirst for revenge:

'nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
 quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?'
 (Aen. 2.594-595).

She also alludes to the violent opposition posed by Juno

and her role in the destruction and slaughter of Troy:

hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
 prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen
 ferro accincta vocat. (Aen. 2.612-614).

This is the first direct mention of Juno's furor, and the adjective saevissima recalls the famous epithet assigned in the introduction of the first book (saevae...Iunonis: 1.4). In her lengthy speech to her son, Venus characterizes Juno among the forces that are antithetical to Aeneas' destined duty. She demonstrates that the ruin of Troy has divine sanction and that under Aeneas' leadership something constructive can result from the destruction of the ill-starred city. Aeneas must not only escape from the disastrous environment surrounding him, but must relinquish all desire to engage in an individualistic and futile struggle befitting the courage of a Homeric hero.⁵²

The blind irrationality of all the Trojans, including Aeneas, is well illustrated in Book II. After Sinon's last speech and the death of Laocoön, the Trojans bring in the fateful horse, heedless of the portentous clank of arms and the ominous presence of the "gift" (2.240-245). The Trojans' persistence is described as a blind aberration:

instamus tamen immemores caecique furore
 et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
 (Aen. 2.244-245).

The thoughtless reaction of the Trojans recalls Cicero's definition of furor: mentis ad omnia caecitatem.⁵³ Duped by the wily Sinon and misinterpreting the signals of pos-

sible disaster, the Trojans bring on their own ruin by their lack of critical and reasoned resolve.

In other instances in the book, Vergil depicts the madness that accompanies the fall of Troy. For example, with the capture of Cassandra by Greeks (2.402-408), Coroebus, who loved her, sacrifices himself in heroic fashion when he sees her taken:

non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus
et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.
(Aen. 2.407-408).

The phrase furiata mente not only denotes Coroebus' insane momentary frenzy to risk his life for his loved one but also recalls the first mention of him earlier in the book. Coroebus had joined Aeneas and others in an attempt to defend the city. Vergil digresses to add a pathetic and ironic comment concerning him:

venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
audierit!
(Aen. 2.343-346).

Coroebus' brief association with Cassandra and indeed Troy itself has brought upon him the "madness" of the prophetess and the city. His love for Cassandra is viewed as almost unnatural. She had been ostracized in her city and not believed (2.246-247), and her prophetic warnings were looked upon as insane ravings (furentis).⁵⁴ Coroebus becomes an innocent victim of the insanity of the war and the horror of Troy's ruin. When he decides to fight the Greeks, the loss of his mental faculties (furiata mente: 2.407) is

a different consciousness. Vergil concentrates on the portrayal of Aeneas to illustrate best the opposing forces of furor and pietas. He did not find it necessary for his themes to expand on the depiction of individual Greek heroes. Instead, Pyrrhus can serve as a model for every participant in the war who contributes to the over-all brutality and destruction. In addition, Pyrrhus is prominently depicted because of his pedigree (the son of the dead Achilles) and his reputed murder of Priam, Troy's most important figure.

As Book II emphasizes the brutality and horror of furor in war, Book IV concentrates on furor manifested in a different form--love. With an examination of Dido's character and actions, we find that furor assumes added connotations. Even before Book IV, Vergil foreshadows the destruction of Dido:

At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.
(Aen. 1.657-660).

Venus has summoned Cupid to assume the form of Ascanius and inflame Dido with such a burning passion that she immediately feels her love for Aeneas. By the beginning of Book IV we notice that Dido now has the symptoms of a destructive force:

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
(Aen. 4.1-2).

The medical and thermal imagery used to describe the power of love recalls Lucretius' famous discussion on the debasing

and debilitating effects of love (usque adeo incerti
tabescunt volnere caeco: 4.1120).⁵⁷ For Dido this force has no cure and has so possessed her that her emotions and actions are inexplicable:

quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, (Aen. 4.65-69).

In this passage too there is a blending of medical and fire imagery to denote the consuming power of her love. The adjective infelix indicates the sympathy Vergil elicits for the passionate queen. Like improbus, infelix is drawn from the agricultural language suggesting barrenness and lack of fruitfulness⁵⁸ and it foreshadows Dido's death.⁵⁹

The effect of Dido's newly acquired passion does not escape the notice of divinities. In the joint bargain struck by Juno and Venus to victimize Dido, Juno details the consumptive power that has enthralled the queen:

ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
(Aen. 4.101).

Once again heat and medical imagery pervade the description of the force of love.

The three previous passages indicate Dido's inner struggle with her passion. From this point Vergil presents a distinct change in the character of Dido because of her internal conflict. She is no longer portrayed as a dutiful, devoted queen of a mighty city but is vulnerable and consumed by passion. Her emotional crisis represents a sacrifice

of her duty, or in thematic terms, a yielding to furor over her sense of pietas to Sychaeus, Anna, Carthage, and herself. Later Dido herself comes to recognize her mistake and deviation. After Aeneas informs her of Mercury's divinely sent message to quit Carthage, she rails at him, castigating herself, aware of her maddening passion and her victimization:

heu furiis incensa feror! (Aen. 4.376).

A few lines previously she calls herself "senseless" (demens: 4.374) to have shared her kingdom, and her long rebuke to Aeneas begins with a description of some of the physical manifestations of her mental agitation:

huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat
luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:
(Aen. 4.363-364).

One should recall the "darting of the eyes" and the notion of straying as indicative of deviation.⁶⁰

Later, in her appeal to Anna, Dido asks that she go to Aeneas to ask for respite. Her language shows that she is aware of her humiliation and emotional imbalance (4.416-436). Reference to furor summarizes her knowledge of the complete absorption by love:

tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori;
(Aen. 4.433).

When Dido's last appeal fails, she decides to commit suicide. Vergil leaves no doubt as to the underlying cause of her decision:

Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, (Aen. 4.474-475).

The mental anguish that drove Dido to her death haunted her

in her dreams, in which she is likened to the mad Pentheus of Greek myth:

agit ipse furemtem

in somnis ferus Aeneas...
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
(Aen. 4.465-468).

Vergil explicitly mentions Aeneas as the ultimate cause of Dido's madness. Her love for him and his deceit have caused her to betray her people, her personal honor, and her vows to her dead husband Sychaeus.⁶¹

As she goes to her death, Dido is still viewed as the maddened queen. Vergil refers to her as wild (effera: 4.642) and furiously insane (furibunda: 4.646) as she climbs to the funeral pyre with the sword of Aeneas in hand (4.641-647). Even Juno cannot stop Dido's suicide. With deep irony the all-powerful queen of the gods (omnipotens: 4.693) lacks the power to stop the destined departure of Aeneas as she sends Iris to free Dido's soul from her body. The goddess pities the Carthaginian queen, and Vergil's description of Juno's motivation shows that she understands the reason for her demise:

nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,
sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
(Aen. 4.696-697).

Dying before her time, Dido is a victim of the destructive nature of furor (accensa furore). The book ends on this gloomy note, and suggests that the destiny of Rome causes abandonment, personal victimization, and despair of individuals who have had contact with Aeneas.⁶²

Even when the Trojans are out at sea leaving Carthage and looking back upon the burning funeral pyre, they wonder what the queen has devised:

quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
(Aen. 5.4-7).

In addition to serving as a thematic link with Book IV, the reference to furens early in Book V also shows for the last time how the Trojans, and presumably Aeneas, viewed their final assessment of Dido. They leave Carthage thoroughly convinced of her irrationality and complete subjugation by love.⁶³

Before turning to a consideration of furor in relationship to the two principal characters in the second half of the epic, Aeneas and Turnus, we should examine episodes and personalities throughout the rest of the Aeneid to demonstrate versions or expressions of the theme of uncontrolled disorder and savagery. One such example is in the etiological account of Hercules and Cacus. In Book VIII Evander recounts the myth of Hercules' killing of Cacus, while Hercules is returning with the cattle of Geryon (8.184-279).⁶⁴ Evander quickly foreshadows the destructive and bestial character of Cacus:

saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.
(Aen. 8.188-189).

Emphasis is laid upon Cacus' prodigious size (monstrum: 8.198, magna se mole: 8.199), his hybrid character (semi-

hominis: 8.194, semiferi: 8.267) and his bloody savagery (8.195-197).⁶⁵ Vergil attempts to elucidate the psychological motivation of Cacus in stealing the famous cattle:

at furiis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,⁶⁶
(Aen. 8.205-206).

Cacus dared to act impiously toward a divine-like figure and son of a god; he committed a crime, and by deceit at that. In short Cacus represents an embodiment of impietas or furor. His mental faculties are said to be "wild" and influenced by demonic powers (furiis).⁶⁷

The emphasis of the narrative, however, is as much upon the behavior of Hercules as of Cacus. In the treatment of Hercules, he is twice characterized by furor, the force of disorder and bestiality that he is to overcome:

hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
felle dolor, (Aen. 8.219-220).

In his search for Cacus, Hercules blazes with demonic fury that is intensified when his search fails. His furious anger is stated in manic terms:

ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius...
(Aen. 8.228).

It seems clear, then, that Hercules' reaction to Cacus is not so much that of the rational man, but of the insane.⁶⁸ In order to destroy the incarnate representation of uncivilized savagery (Cacus=furor), Hercules, the civilizer, had to use brutal means. In other words, in the name of civilization, furor can be a positive and constructive agent. If we realize the symbolic representation of Hercules as

Aeneas, and that Cacus in the mythic environment parallels Turnus, we may understand the later climactic confrontation of Aeneas and Turnus as two embodiments of furor, each somewhat different from the other.⁶⁹ It should be remembered that Cacus acted in a criminal and impious fashion; Hercules, on the other hand, exacts revenge for this audacious impiety in a most savage way. We need not sympathize with the thief, but perhaps Vergil asks us to temper our glorification and encomium of the civilizer because of the drastic means he used.

Vergil does not normally rely upon symbolic mythic structure to express violent disorder, deviation, or furious intensity. Like Hercules and Cacus, other characters in the epic's action often possess furor. The language and metaphor attached to the description of Nisus and Euryalus in their attack upon the Rutulian camp (9.175-449) stress the impetuosity of the two youths. Fire imagery dominates the description, ardorem at 9.184, ardentem at 9.198, incensus at 9.342, and fervidus at 9.350. Nisus is spurred by a mad hunger for slaughter (vesana fames: 9.340) after being compared to a lion attacking a fold of sheep (9.339). The phrase fremet ore cruento used in the simile is reminiscent of fremet horridus ore cruento (1.296) descriptive of Furor impius in the famous Jupiter prophecy.⁷⁰ The rare intensified perfurit (9.343) perhaps best delineates their excessive love for murder which is boldly stated later:⁷¹

sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri
(Aen. 9.354).

Nisus perceives their deviation and the mistake of his friend. Because of Euryalus' excess in the murder of helpless victims (the Rutulians are mired in deep sleep induced by wine: 9.189, 236, 316-317, and 336-337), a slight delay results and eventually causes their capture and death. Even when Nisus has the opportunity to escape, he surrenders himself in self-sacrifice out of love for his friend. Nisus' decision, which leads to his suicidal attack, is depicted by Vergil as senseless (amens: 9.424). It seems that once again Vergil has depicted the victimization caused by unthinking rage.

In the case of the Trojans Nisus and Euryalus, the representation of furor was not drawn in opposition to Aeneas or his divine mission,⁷² but in his treatment of Mezentius Vergil depicts an enemy endowed with features of destructive and violent "raging." A detailed characterization of Mezentius occurs in 10.689-907. However, we learn a great deal about him from previous references and encounters. He is listed first in the catalogue of warriors in Book VII and referred to as the scorner of the gods (contemptor divum: 7.648). In his colloquy with Aeneas in 8.470-519, Evander mentions Mezentius as an arch enemy to him and, therefore, to Aeneas' cause. Evander does not hide his sentiments concerning Mezentius, characterizing him as a murderer (infandas caedes: 8.483), an extremely harsh and dictatorial ruler (facta tyranni/effera: 8.483-484), a fierce warrior (saevis...armis: 8.482), and a man of sin-

gular barbarism (8.485-488). The Etruscans revolt against his bestial nature:

at fessi tandem cives infanda furem
armati circumsistunt (Aen. 8.489-490).

Because of Mezentius' raging brutality, all of Etruria "rages" against him, assuming his own characteristics:

ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
(Aen. 8.494).

Evander assigns a just, uncivilized action to combat the forces of the uncivilized; furor is used against furor for noble ends.

Our next view of Mezentius is in Book X. After Aeneas' bloody aristeia is delineated, Vergil counterbalances it with Mezentius' own aristeia (10.689-761), which stems the battle for his side and sets up a confrontation between the two fighters. Mezentius enters the battle blazing (ardens: 10.689). Four similes follow describing the courage and fierceness of the warrior: first, as a boulder resisting the raging fury of wind and sea (10.693-696);⁷³ secondly, as a wild boar trapped yet still fighting against the hunting dogs (i.e., the Etruscans) (10.707-713); then, as a famished lion out for the kill (10.723-728), in which simile we find the clause suadet enim vesana fames, which repeats 9.340 in the lion-simile, also describing the blood-lust of Nisus; and finally like Orion (10.763-767), a classic representation in Greek mythology as a hubristic scorner of the gods.⁷⁴ Although there is an abundance of references to Mezentius' wrath (ira) and his arrogance and

fierceness as a warrior, he is not called furens, nor in fact is any form of furere used to describe him in the entire scene.⁷⁵ Aeneas alludes to his fierceness and wildness before killing him:

'ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa,
effera vis animi?' (Aen. 10.897-898).⁷⁶

Mezentius, on the other hand, refers to the violent reaction of the Etruscans in his last few words:

hunc, oro, defende furorem (Aen. 10.905).

In his dying moments, Mezentius becomes a more passive, controlled figure, asking not for mercy but a common burial with his dead son, Lausus, also killed by Aeneas (10.900-906). With the death of his son, who intervened on his behalf (10.794-820), Mezentius comes to understand the tragic consequences of what he has done. He has not faced his opponent to the death, but has allowed himself to escape and his son to be sacrificed. For this Mezentius is humiliated and rises, though wounded, to face Aeneas again to gain self-respect and to avenge his son's death, not to glory in blood-lust.⁷⁷

The sympathetic portrayal of Mezentius' end is preceded by a long aristeia of Aeneas (10.510-605) after he learns of the death of Pallas. It is Aeneas who displays the attributes of the madman. In a show of personal vendetta⁷⁸ he is twice described by ardens (10.514 and 10.552). The rare word desaevire describes his wielding of the sword;⁷⁹ he taunts his victims and exults in his bloody victories;

he is compared to the monstrous giant Aegaeon who rivaled Jove. This comparison suggests that Aeneas, like Mezentius, has become a scorner of the gods and has exceeded all reasonable and divine limits.⁸⁰ Two references are made to sacrifice (immolet: 10.519 and immolat: 10.541) of those who oppose him. In his ruthless and indiscriminate rage and slaughter,⁸¹ Aeneas shows that in this scene he is the incarnation of impius furor. Twice furere delineates his actions:

Dardanides contra furit. (Aen. 10.545)

and in a simile previously cited:⁸²

Dardanius torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
more furens. (Aen. 10.603-604).

The allusion to Aeneas as the "Dardanian" suggests that Vergil views his conduct in the mold of a Homeric Trojan hero and befitting his behavior depicted in Book II, rather than as an integrated member of the new Italic society.⁸³ Vergil does not say that Aeneas' furor is justified, although he does suggest it had its benefits and positive results. The Rutulians temporarily retreat.

Normally, Aeneas is pictured as a passive figure, e.g., a tree, a mountain, Apollo,⁸⁴ whereas his enemies are often represented as wild uncontrollable animals, such as a lion, wolf, or bull.⁸⁵ However, it is clear that in Book X, Aeneas shows little evidence of understanding or compassionate humanitas. It is only after he has killed Lausus that Aeneas shows any pity or remorse (10.825-830). Lausus' intervention

to save his father infuriates Aeneas. Once again furere is used to depict Aeneas (10.802). Only one other passage in the epic delineates Aeneas' behavior by a form of furere. When he strikes down Turnus at the end of the epic, we meet some familiar language and imagery to describe brutal slaughter and savage violence:

ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
 exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
 terribilis: ...
 hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
 fervidus. (Aen. 12.945-947, 950-951).

Besides the reference to "set on fire by hellish madness" (furiis accensus), the Homeric motif of wrath is stressed by ira,⁸⁶ and fervidus is repeated from 10.788 where Aeneas rushes to dispatch Mezentius. It seems obvious that, even if we had an "editorial" comment by Vergil upon the question of justification of Aeneas' behavior, at times Aeneas still indulges in furious violence, using the power of furor to gain his end. Further implications of Aeneas' furor will be discussed later.⁸⁷

The eight victims sacrificed to the memory of Pallas by Aeneas (11.81-82) are not characterized in detail. Therefore, it is hard to feel much sympathy for their deaths, except to comment on Aeneas' indiscriminate savagery and the general destruction caused in war. In thematic terms the chaos and destruction of war are representations of furor, and victimize many innocent young people who are the hopes of the future.⁸⁸ In this connection the portrayal of Camilla details more deeply and decisively the aspects of

furor inherent in the war. Camilla herself engages in reckless, "heroic" slaughter. She, like the Homeric archetypes, has her own aristeia (11.648-724). Twice the important epithet furens is applied to her (11.709 and 11.762). In one instance, the participle accensa is linked with furere to describe her fierceness as she engages in battle:

at illa furens acrique accensa dolore
trahit equum... (Aen. 11.709-710).

The phrase acri...dolore also adds to the picture of her furious motivations. Her martial valor is equated with the militarism of the mythic Amazons (11.648-663) and, in fact, she is called an Amazon (11.648).⁸⁹

Camilla is not the figure of the average Roman matron. She had been raised in the woods, taught to fight and hunt, and avoided all social contact with men. Her unusual and unnatural environment and upbringing perhaps lend to her description as furens. She was never obsequens to any man and was devoted only to Diana, her prototype;⁹⁰ her character and behavior show a marked deviation. Her motives for fighting in the war are not clearly drawn, and her death results from her love for booty (11.782). Therefore, although we may sympathize with her at her end, she represents one of the casualties of the war, a victim and victimizer of powerful furor.⁹¹

Book VII perhaps best illustrates Vergil's treatment and view of the irrationality of war. The book initiates what Vergil refers to as a maius opus and maior rerum ordo

(7.44-45), that is, the Trojan settlement in Italy, the founding of a new coalition, and, in thematic terms, the Iliadic part of the work.⁹² Heinze long ago recognized the important thematic link of the Trojan-Italic war and madness.⁹³ The book begins with a description of locale with emphasis on the supernatural, the wildness of place, and the ominous setting (7.8-23). In this connection saevire is used twice (7.18 and 19) and ira once (7.15). After Aeneas is assured of his destined location by an omen and a truce (foedus) is struck between Aeneas and king Latinus, Juno is aroused to extreme anger and decides to create the conditions for an outbreak of war. This scene repeats in general outline her fury and intervention to destroy Aeneas. In Book I she enlisted a minor deity, Aeolus, to stir up a storm; in Book VII she resorts to more extreme measures, enrolling a Fury from Hell, Allecto, to accomplish her will. However, there is a significant difference in her intervention. In Aeolus and the storm, we have an external, physical danger to oppose the Trojans; Allecto, although envisioned as an externalized force, affects people internally to cause dissension and violence. In Book I the storm was compared to social revolution; in Book VII, Allecto is the violent disrupter: she is furor.⁹⁴

The language proves beyond any doubt how well Vergil chose and depicted his symbol of the forces of furor. Allecto is described in terms of madness (saevae facies: 7.329, luctificam: 7.324); she is poisonous (infecta venenis:

7.341), with snaky hair (crinibus anguem: 7.346), a prodigious monster (monstrum: 7.328), hated by relations and parents (odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores/Tartareae: 7.327-328), thus showing her thematic antithesis to pietas. Not only personal features show her representation of the dread power of furor, but her victims are stirred to very violent and mad activity.

Amata is attacked first. Allecto sends a snake to stir up Amata's already angry reaction to Latinus' expedient bargain with Aeneas.⁹⁵ Amata's madness is expressed in terms of political commotion:

quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem.
(Aen. 7.348).

The poisonous power of the snake escapes the queen's notice. Vergil sees her as already mad before she does anything:

fallitque furentem⁹⁶
vipeream inspirans animam; (Aen. 7.350-351).

When her words fail to convince Latinus, Amata's frenzy becomes more acute as she wildly rushes throughout the city:

penitusque in viscera lapsum
serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat,
tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstris
immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.
(Aen. 7.374-377).

The hellish action of the Allecto-sent snake causes a deeper psychological disturbance in Amata. The deviation is emphasized by the intensified verb form pererrat which re-echoes the phrase lubricus errat (7.353) describing the snake's first contact and infection of Amata. The phrase sine more delineates the conception of a lack of orderly moderation

in her action, and the word lymphata intensifies the notion of complete frenzied possession.⁹⁷

Immediately following this passage, Amata's uncontrollability is likened to the fast spin of a top which children lash and twirl at great speed.⁹⁸ This image precedes the picture of the queen's ecstatic Bacchic possession that delineates even more her insanity: maioremque orsa furorem/evolat (7.386-387). Her Bacchic inclinations (7.385-391) arouse other Rutulian mothers to imitate and assume her madness and irrational conduct (7.392-405).⁹⁹

The linking of madness to Bacchic frenzy was not a new literary motif. The classic example of Euripides' Bacchae, his treatment of Heracles in Heracles Furens with the demonic figure Λύσσα serving as a "goddess of madness," early Roman tragedy,¹⁰⁰ and Plautus' scene in the Menaechmi¹⁰¹ tend to prove that Bacchic ritual became a normal expression of madness in almost every degree and form.

It is generally agreed that Allecto is the Vergilian disguise of the figure Λύσσα known from Greek tragedy both from Aeschylus and Sophocles.¹⁰² However, Vergil makes his divine figure of madness one of the Latin "Furies," thus relying on the Roman tradition of associating madness with the actions and effects of the three Furies.¹⁰³ Allecto's only task is to spread madness.

After Allecto finishes with Amata, she passes on to incite Turnus (7.406-474) and the rest of the Rutulians. She causes the ostensible reason for the war, the mortal

wounding of a pet deer by Ascanius (7.475-539). Language indicating madness is repeatedly applied to Allecto and the effects that she causes. The new scene is introduced by a use of furor:

Postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores
consiliumque omnemque domum vertisse Latini,
(Aen. 7.406-407).

Allecto has accomplished her mission. In driving Amata to manifested insanity, she has brought destruction and upheaval of social and political order. Later Allecto is said to change her appearance, removing the physical features of her madness:

Allecto torvam faciem et furialia membra
exiit, (Aen. 7.415-416).

Although her physical appearance may change, she still is an instrument of madness. She affects Turnus by a maddening speech (rabidoque haec addidit ore: 7.451). The idea of animalistic rage suggested in rabido is repeated in the description of the inflaming of Ascanius' hunting dogs in pursuit of game:

hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo
obicit... (Aen. 7.479-480).

The animalistic passion for the hunt is stated again later:

hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli
commovere canes, (Aen. 7.493-494).

Although Vergil makes the effort to delineate the hunting instinct of the dogs, he becomes more interested in the depiction of the pet deer and Ascanius' excesses (7.483-510). The eagerness of the dogs mirrors Ascanius' desire for

glory (ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore: 7.496).

On the other hand, the image of the deer evokes a picture of vulnerability, freedom, and victimization at the hands of a powerful destructive force.¹⁰⁴

The fierce Allecto, of course, is only an instrument of Juno who is the ultimate source of the insane civil war.¹⁰⁵ The theme of Juno's wrath (ira) and its consequences occurs frequently throughout the Aeneid. When her anger against the Trojans leads directly or indirectly to destruction, war, savagery, or some kind of excess, then we may say that she too represents the forces of furor. Numerous instances throughout the epic show the causative power of Juno's furor. However, uses of furere to describe her directly are rather limited. In 5.781, Venus mentions Juno's gravis ira to Neptune. She describes Juno's unyielding attitude and refusal to obey even the dictates of Jupiter. Venus asks for retaliation so that Juno may know the effect of her own destruction:

causas tanti sciat illa furoris. (Aen. 5.788).

Thus Venus identifies the power operating against Aeneas as divinely inspired madness and similarly in Book II, in her appearance to Aeneas, persuades him to quit the city (2.594-620). Venus alludes to the savagery of Juno's opposition:

hic Iuno Scaean saevissima portas
prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen
ferro accincta vocat. (Aen. 2.612-614).

The collocation of saevissima and furens emphasizes the motif of Juno's savage anger against Aeneas.¹⁰⁶ Her madness

is again alluded to by Venus in the assembly of the gods that opens Book X (10.18-62). Vergil introduces Juno's rebuttal by reference to her motivation:

tum regia Juno
acta furore gravi: (Aen. 10.62-63).

Furore gravi recalls gravis ira, the source of the major conflict throughout the Aeneid. We meet no other direct reference to Juno's furor until near the end of the epic.¹⁰⁷ In an interlude between the fight between Aeneas and Turnus, Juno and Jupiter resolve their differences. In exchange for peace with the final end of Troy and even its name, and with the preservation of Italic blood and name, Juno is to surrender her long standing furor:

verum age et inceptum frustra summittee furorem:
(Aen. 12.832).

Juno's furor had been a threat to Jupiter's "grand plan" for the establishment of Rome. Her opposition to destiny had been useless (frustra) and her furor must be abated. Jupiter's request of Juno recalls his famous prophecy in 1.257-296, wherein he states the conditions for Roman achievement and success: Furor impius (294) must be contained. Juno's possession or manifestation of the forces of furor prevent the furthering of the Roman cause. Whether the conditions of the divine compromise yield ultimate victory for Juno and consequently the powers she represents or signal a complete victory for pietas, the Roman cause, and Rome's special mission in the world (6.847-853), Vergil in the end leaves unanswered and does not explicitly state.

As Juno is the representation of divine furor, Turnus embodies the earthly opposition to Aeneas' mission and sometimes his character. Allecto's maddening of Turnus presents the first scene in which Turnus appears. In a passage already pointed out, Turnus enters the war in rage and insane fury under the stimulation of Allecto:¹⁰⁸

arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit:
 saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
 ira super: (Aen. 7.460-462).

The linking of amens, saevit, and insania definitely intimate madness and uncontrollability. Such depiction of Turnus' motivation and characteristic reaction is then illustrated by the simile of a boiling pot of water (7.462-465) that is described as raging (furit: 464). His blood-lust, anger, criminal (scelerata) derangement, and wild nature as illustrated in the simile portray as graphically as possible Turnus' role as a human representation of the forces of furor.

Turnus' determined motivation to fight is not necessarily induced by an external stimulation. Furere frequently describes his behavior and character. In the heat of battle described in Book IX, Turnus enters the battle near the gates of the Trojan camp. He is in a rage:

Ductori Turno diversa in parte furenti
 turbantique (Aen. 9.691-692).

Stirred by inhuman anger (immani concitus ira: 9.694), Turnus fights his way into the camp. His passion for battle and slaughter so overcomes him that he neglects to reopen

the gates of the Trojan battlements to his allies and thus win a total victory for his side:

sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in adversos. (Aen. 9.760-761).

The phrase caedisque insana cupido recalls 7.461, saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, a sentence which describes Turnus' introduction to the scene of war. Turnus' actions represent a gross deviation, a total blindness to the realities of the situation. His insane rage well illustrates the Ciceronian definition of furor as a "blindness of the mind to all things."¹⁰⁹ In another passage Vergil again depicts how Turnus loses all sense of proportion. In Book XI after Camilla's death, Turnus' rage causes him to leave his post and again prevents his side from obtaining any chance of victory:

ille furens (et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt)
deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit.
(Aen. 11.901-902).

The nature of Turnus' madness is destructive not only to his enemies but to himself and his cause. His furor causes his failure.

Other passages in the rest of the epic stress Turnus' raging character described by a use of furere. Even in preparations for battle furens delineates his psychological motivation:

cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus.
(Aen. 11.486).

Similarly in Book XII, after receiving a special sword, Turnus makes ready for his coming duel. The scene (12.81-106)

ends with a portrait of irrational characteristics in an animal simile of a bull sharpening its horns for battle (103-106). Introducing this simile is a description of the physical manifestations of Turnus' derangement:

his agitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore
scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis:
(Aen. 12.101-102).

In combination with fire imagery to denote mental imbalance, we have the allusion to flashing and movement of the eyes.¹¹⁰

The clause his agitur furiis suggests external possession rather than an innate characteristic and perhaps recalls the action of Allecto in Book VII.¹¹¹ When violence breaks the truce established in the beginning of the book, Turnus engages in reckless slaughter once again. He is compared to "bloody" Mars fighting in a chariot and giving rein to wild horses:

qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat atque furentis
bella movens immittit equos, (Aen. 12.331-333).

Turnus' rage produces wildness in animals,¹¹² a reversal of the normal metaphor and conceit that furor in man is likened to animalistic savagery. Later in the same book, when Turnus learns of Amata's suicide,¹¹³ he broods in confusion and grief (12.665-668). His sense of shame and love drive him on to heroic determination:

aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.
(Aen. 12.666-668).

This passage repeats exactly a description of Mezentius

shortly after his son's death and just before his own.¹¹⁴
Furiis agitatedus is an expression similar to the earlier
agitur furiis noting Turnus' derangement and possession
 (12.101). Once again we have heat-imagery and the linking
 of insania and furere connected with a description of mad-
 ness.

The last reference to Turnus' furor comes briefly
 after he learns of Amata's death and sees the attack on the
 Rutulian stronghold. Realizing that by facing Aeneas alone
 he can end the attack upon the city and bring the mutual
 destruction to a final conclusion, Turnus comes to realize
 the impact of his behavior. Acknowledging his own type of
 violent furor, he asks his immortal sister Juturna to let
 him indulge it one last time in order to preserve his honor
 and avert the shame of defeat for the entire Rutulian side:

hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.
 (Aen. 12.680).¹¹⁵

This poignant and pathetic statement in recognition of his
 own failure as an effective leader summarizes the inner
 conflict of Turnus' psychological bearing. He risks the
 Rutulian cause, his love for Lavinia, his personal sense of
 honor, and his political position on his heroic instinct
 and violent spirit, i.e., his furor.

In addition to the references of furere to describe
 Turnus' insane conduct, other words denote his madness and
 wildness. Three instances of insanus have already been
 mentioned (7.461, 9.760, and 12.667), and in 12.37 insania

is associated directly with his mental state. These few allusions to Turnus' unhealthy mental condition heighten the depiction of his violence, frequently expressed by some form of the word violentia. We find violenta pectora at 10.151, accenso gliscit violentia Turno at 12.9, and the famous epithet violentia Turni at 12.45. Several passages also allude to his arrogant daring. Three times the adjective audax applies to him (9.3, 9.126, and 10.276). In the last two instances the same phraseology is used:

at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit; (Aen. 9.126)

and

Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit
(Aen. 10.276).

In both instances the description is followed by a brief speech delivered by Turnus showing his braggadocio and hubristic temperament which are destructive to his cause and without rational foundation.¹¹⁶ Nor should we forget the Ciceronian conception of audax as a political term indicating an extremist whose policies and actions isolate him from the normal current of the body politic.¹¹⁷

Another indication of Turnus' uncontrolled nature is derived from the similes used to detail his actions. The comparison often takes the form of a wild animal. Turnus is like a wolf in 9.59 and 9.565, a tiger in 9.730, thrice a lion (9.792, 10.454, and 12.4), and a bull in 12.103.¹¹⁸ In almost every simile, a dramatic picture of mental derangement or irrational behavior is drawn. In 9.59-66,

Turnus is the ravenous wolf preying upon lambs, growling (fremit: 60) as he prowls. The rest of the simile characteristically heightens the degree of wildness and animalistic impulse:

ille asper et improbus ira
 saevit in absentis, collecta fatigat edendi
 ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces:
 haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti
 ignescunt irae; duris dolor ossibus ardet.
 (Aen. 9.62-66).

The futility and useless rage suggested by improbus ira/saevit are proven by Turnus' attack on the Trojan ships in the scene following the simile. Turnus once again deviates from his original tactical planning. He should have been attacking the Trojan camp but instead directs his energy to setting the ships afire. To indicate the uselessness of Turnus' angry response, the ships are miraculously changed to nymphs symbolizing that they were no longer needed since Aeneas had reached his new "land."¹¹⁹

In connection with the many pictures and delineations of Turnus' violence, brutality, and madness, he is sometimes called senseless or having lost sense (amens). In Book XII, he twice is referred to as amens (12.622 and 12.776) as he faces Aeneas in combat; in 7.460, he roars for arms (arma amens fremit) when struck by the firebrand of Allecto, and in 10.681, upon realizing a tactical mistake, he enters battle again as senseless (amens) as before.

We have seen that the dominance of the furor motif continues in the characterization of some major personalities

in the epic. Dido, Mezentius, Camilla, and Turnus represent the incarnation of furor in various forms: excessive passion that leads to neglect in leadership, brutality, savagery, unusual environment and upbringing, rashness in battle that clouds decision-making, blood-lust, and violence.

The instances in which Aeneas is referred to by furere have already been pointed out.¹²⁰ In these cases Aeneas acts under impulse to fight, either at the devastation of Troy described in Book II, or in an aristeia fighting the Rutulians and their allies depicted in Book X. It can be argued that in his slaughter of his enemies Aeneas is fulfilling the directive of his father Anchises "to war down the arrogant" (debellare superbos: 6.853);¹²¹ however, to do so, Aeneas must assume the form of the unthinking warrior. The language with its references to furere strongly intimates that Aeneas represents the manic, ferocious, and destructive forces of Furor impius. In other words, as the Cacus-Hercules episode in Book VIII suggests, sometimes the forces of furor must be expediently used to destroy another representation of furor.¹²²

Any interpretation of Aeneas' character and, consequently, of the imperial ideology of the Augustan Age, depends ultimately upon the evaluation of Book XII. Most of the book concentrates on Turnus and his developing sense of responsibility. However, concerning Aeneas, scholars have long puzzled on his characterization and actions that affect interpretation of the gloomy ending to the epic. The ques-

tion remains whether Aeneas in killing the defeated Turnus becomes the embodiment of furor and not a man known for his humanity and pietas.

In Book XII, various images are linked to Aeneas. The images of fire, serpent, storm, wounding, and hunting are almost invariably connected with representations of furor.¹²³ Discounting the death scene at the end of the book, Aeneas is associated with at least one of these images ten times in the book.¹²⁴ In addition, the epithet saevus is twice attributed to him (12.107 and 12.888); fervidus (12.748), indicating Aeneas' hot pursuit of Turnus, perhaps foreshadows the emphatically placed fervidus used at 12.951 when he stabs Turnus. Besides these imagistic and verbal references to Aeneas as an embodiment of destructive elements, his behavior as a Homeric-type warrior is emphasized by literary parallels to the Achilles-Hector duel of the Iliad.¹²⁵ For example, Turnus' statement to Aeneas that "he had such a father in Anchises" (fuit et tibi talis/ Anchises genitor: 12.933-934) recalls Priam's address to Achilles:

καὶ δὲ νῦ τῷ γε πατὴρ τοῖοσδε τέτυκται
 Πηλεΐς. (Il. 22.420-421).

Equally indicative of destruction and sacrilege is the scene in which Aeneas' spear is wrested from the trunk of a tree sacred to Faunus (12.766-790). As an Italic god, Faunus cannot withstand the forceful power used by Venus,

Aeneas' mother and protecting deity. Symbolically, the necessities of force overrule the religious values of native Italy.¹²⁶

Two similes in the book also demonstrate Aeneas' violent destruction. In order to force Turnus to defend the citadel, Aeneas decides to attack and set it afire. Aeneas is compared to a hunter smoking out a hive of bees. The disruptive chaos that ensues kills enemies (e.g., Amata) and innocents alike. The simile of the bees recalls an earlier image of bees in Book I when Aeneas arrives at Carthage (1.430-436). We are reminded that by the time Aeneas left Carthage, its queen was dead and the city in turmoil.¹²⁷ No doubt Aeneas' strategy worked to perfection, but the cost in destruction and lives was heavy and Aeneas displays no pity for the innocent Latins nor any regret for his decision. In the other simile (12.749-757) Aeneas is the relentless hunting dog after a trapped stag. In the simile, the pathetic vulnerability of the stag is contrasted with the potential violence and persistence of the dog. We may not necessarily become totally sympathetic to Turnus, who is represented by the frightened deer, but we might stop to consider what implication the simile has for an evaluation of Aeneas' behavior.

How one ultimately interprets Aeneas' character and by implication the character of empire and the Augustan Age and its leader depends largely upon the assessment of the final scene of the epic. Aeneas has wounded Turnus and is

ready to kill him. Turnus requests of Aeneas that he consider a father's feeling and return him to Daunus. The Rutulian admits his defeat, concedes his power and Lavinia, and humanely asks for a cessation of hatred. For a moment Aeneas hesitates, but when he sees the belt of Pallas taken as spoil, Aeneas kills:

ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
 exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
 terribilis: 'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
 eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
 immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
 hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
 fervidus. ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
 vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
 (Aen. 12.945-952).

Besides the explicit reference to furiis, we note the fire imagery in fervidus (951) and in furiis accensus, a phrase that recalls his agitur furiis (12.101), furiis agitatus (12.668) used of Turnus, illa furens acrique accensa (11.709) of Camilla, furiis exarserat (8.219) of Hercules, furiis accensas (7.392) of Rutulian women, furiis incensa (4.376) of Dido, and furiis agitatus (3.331) of Orestes. Immolat recalls the use of the word to depict Aeneas' conduct during his aristeia in Book X, specifically, 10.519, where eight captured youths are to be sacrificed to the memory of Pallas, and 10.541 describing the slaying of a priest of Apollo and Trivia.¹²⁸ Interestingly, the word is used to describe Aeneas' vindictive killings and demonstrates his lack of true humanity.

It is possible, of course, to argue that Aeneas' killing of Turnus represents the fulfillment of his pledge

of pietas to Evander and Pallas. Meritorious as this evaluation is, the language and imagery in the final scene show a deliberately evoked instance of furor. On the other hand, we need not glorify Turnus at the expense of blackening Aeneas' character. Turnus' portrayal in Book XII assumes many features referring to his furor.¹²⁹ Besides a direct reference to furiis (12.101), ardere is frequently used (12.3, 55, 71, 101); violentia (12.9, 45) stresses his violent nature, and numerous similes with their attendant language and imagery depict his wildness and animalistic irrationality.¹³⁰ We may say that the depiction of Turnus becomes a little more sympathetic when he realizes the consequences of his policies and behavior (12.680), when he, too, shows a sense of pietas to his countrymen and his father Daunus (12.631-649 and 12.932-937), and when it is stated that he loves Lavinia (12.70 and 12.668).¹³¹ Such details in characterization point out Turnus' vulnerability¹³² and help to elicit a sympathetic interpretation in viewing Turnus' death as a victimized sacrifice at the hand of a furious Aeneas.

Interpretation of the end of the Aeneid has engendered much scholarly controversy. The dispute centers on the following conflict: is Aeneas' display of violent furor justified and the natural fulfillment of pietas toward Evander and Pallas, or do his actions show an aberration and represent his complete failure to discharge successfully Anchises' directive (6.847-853) that embodies the imperial

ideology of the Augustan Age? In other words, is the interpretation pro-Aeneas or anti-Aeneas?¹³³

It seems clear that there exist some inconsistencies in the character and behavior of Aeneas. At times he is a new-styled leader, displaying humane values and thoughtful consideration to friends and enemies alike, aware of the moral consequences of military and political victory. On the other hand Aeneas is sometimes ruthless, both in interpersonal relationships (for example, in the case of Dido) and in his destructive violence toward enemies. In thematic terms he is both pius and furiosus. Book XII ends with the conflict of pietas and furor emphatically depicted and staged. We have a presentation of both forces represented in one man. The implication of this conflict shows that in order to establish a new rule, a new power, and new values, expedient, ruthless, and violent measures are required to combat the forces of destruction, non-reason, and uncivilized wildness. In thematic terms furor is needed to destroy embodiments of furor. Just as Hercules resorted to violence to root out and destroy the wild and ruinous Cacus in order to establish a civilized standard and control over animalistic caprice,¹³⁴ so Aeneas has recourse to aspects of furor to finally eliminate furor. Therefore, both Turnus and Aeneas in their classic Homeric duel represent the forces of furor. It would have been satisfactory to have ended the Aeneid with an act of mercy by Aeneas, thus establishing beyond doubt the triumph of pietas over furor. However,

Vergil, I believe, wishes his reader to realize that the empire of the Augustan Age was won by expedient, sometimes cruel and bloody means with a great cost in lives and ruin, and that the true humanitas and pietas of Rome was to be a desirable goal of the future. Aeneas' angry violence depicted in his slaying of Turnus at the end of the epic assures the reader that he is not the perfect example and representation of pietas and that Furor impius still needed to be chained and locked up.¹³⁵

Because furor is one of the dominant themes pervading the entire Aeneid, every use of the word is somehow integrated into the action and the motif of madness. We have seen that even those occurrences of furere describing natural phenomena are associated with forces of destruction and irrationality. Furere was employed to show the power of excess passion, of irresponsibility in leadership, of military blood-lust, of uncivilized wildness, of rage, of anger, of violence, of divine hatred and political opposition. Whereas Cicero also used furere as a persistent theme, for example, to indicate political extremism, Vergil, on the other hand, does not limit the denotation of the word. In the Aeneid, furere assumes a combination of aspects, all suggesting madness or irrationality, not necessarily applied only to politics, love, or violence. It has not been necessary to treat in detail every occurrence of furere in the Aeneid or even to quote a use to support a particular thesis.¹³⁶

Furor in the Aeneid represents and suggests the same basic

motif: a blindness to rationality, to moral consequences,
and to a sense of pietas, i.e., dutiful respect for country,
family, gods, and one's fellowmen.

CHAPTER IX

PROPERTIUS

When we turn to Propertius to consider the concept of furere, we find that the language of Propertius in articulating furor is reminiscent of Vergil's treatment of Dido in Book IV of the Aeneid and of the language of Lucretius and Catullus. The political implications of furere which were discovered in Vergil and Cicero are not found in Propertius; nor is furere linked in his poetry to a thematic contrast, as in the Aeneid, between the dutiful actions of one individual and the violent raging of an opposing god, a people (the Rutuli), or an individual (Turnus). Propertius' love-experience provides the basis for our study of furor.

In the Propertian corpus, forms of furere occur twelve times,¹ five of which are from the first book that deals almost exclusively with Cynthia and the celebrated affair. These five represent a coherent theme of Propertius' love for Cynthia. From the introductory poem, we see that Propertius' situation with his lover Cynthia has grated on him for an entire year and forced him to regard his troubles as due to unpropitious supernatural powers:

et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno,
cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos.
(1.1.7-8).

Although Propertius complains of a certain compulsion (cogor), there is no indication that his form of madness (furor) is totally imposed from without.² He says that he has become unlucky and unfavored by gods because of his year-long problem. In this case, neither is anything sensual suggested by furor, nor does the word definitely signify a raving frenzy of a poet or prophet. We grasp, of course, the nuance of the word from the context, what precedes and what follows the quotation. From the two previous lines, we learn that Propertius' form of "madness" is an extreme irrationality:

donec me docuit castas odisse puellas
improbis, et nullo vivere consilio.
(1.1.5-6).

Besides driving him into a life without patterned regularity, love (the subject of docuit) has forced him into the most ironic and for a lover the least desirable position of all: to hate "nice" girls.³

To illustrate his psychological state, Propertius introduces a mythological example pointing out a contrast to his own situation:

Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit Iasidos.
nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris,
ibat et hirsutas ille videre feras;
ille etiam Hylaei percussus vulnere rami
saucius Arcadiis rupibus ingemuit.
(1.1.9-14).

The wooer of Atalanta is pictured as a hero continually struggling to win his love. His love Atalanta has driven him to undertake seemingly impossible tasks, suffer wounds, and disregard reason. Milanion deviated (errabat) from the

normal and had lost control of his senses (amens) before he subdued the savage unrelenting heart of this woman (saevitiam and durae). With the addition of saucius to the description we are at once reminded of the brutal picture of love's effects upon Dido in the Aeneid⁴ and upon Medea as portrayed by Ennius.⁵ Propertius continues with Milanion's situation:

ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam:
 tantum in amore preces et bene facta valent.
 in me tardus Amor non ullas cogitat artis,
 nec meminit notas, ut prius, ire vias.
 (1.1.15-18).

The mythological exemplum demonstrates and implies a deliberate contrast between the results that Milanion was able to attain (even though he is driven by love "to wander without sense") and the lack of Propertius' success in overcoming the problems of his love affair: in me tardus Amor (in my case love is slow to come, i.e., it is unfulfilled). Propertius implies that he (like Milanion) is in a state of "wandering" and "loss of mind," due to his inability to capture and finally tame his love object (domuisse).⁶

Our next use of furor again focuses on Propertius' view of and role in his experience. In describing the beauty and yet destructive power of Cynthia, Propertius admits the psychological control she has over him:

haec sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris;
 (1.4.11).

This statement is made in a rebuke to a certain Bassus whom Propertius regards as an intruder upon his relationship with Cynthia. In the poem Propertius constantly tries to intim-

idate Bassus by noting Cynthia's power of debasement, shrewdness, and enslavement of her lover. Propertius warns that he has been able to live with Cynthia's demands and controls (his furor) but that Bassus will not be able to bear her irrational conduct:

non impune feres: sciet haec insana puella
(1.4.17).

The last distich of the poem (27-28) shows Propertius' willingness to accept conditions as they are and to endure the pain and frustration of being Cynthia's lover.

In the next instance that Propertius mentions his own furor, the concept is linked with other terminology of "madness." In the poem Propertius is chiding Gallus who is making an attempt for Cynthia's pleasure:

quid tibi vis, insane? meos sentire furores?
infelix, properas ultima nosse mala,
et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignis,
et bibere e tota toxica Thessalia.⁷
(1.5.3-6).

We notice immediately the balance of insanus with furor and are reminded of the many other collocations of the two terms in previous writers.⁸ The medical conception in insanus was generally felt in Latin, as the famous dictum of Juvenal explicitly attests (mens sana in corpore sano). Propertius, then, is telling Gallus that if he pursues the favors of Cynthia, he will end up sick in mind and body, and will undergo irrational acts such as treading fires and drinking poison.⁹ The adjectives infelix and miser, although they are conventional epithets to describe distraught lovers,

contribute to the over-all picture of psychological and corporal debilitation and damage.¹⁰ The choice of sentire well illustrates the degree of affectation. This verb does not simply mean to "feel" in a physical sense. The furores which Propertius feels affect all the senses.

In another poem addressed to this same rival, Gallus, Propertius again uses furor, as he describes the passionate lovemaking of Gallus and his girl friend:

non ego complexus potui diducere vestros:
tantus erat demens inter utrosque furor.¹¹
(1.13.19-20).

Interestingly demens (out of mind) directly modifies furor and recalls the lovesick senselessness of the wandering Milanion in poem 1.¹² Furor in this case indicates sensual love but with the addition of demens portends some sort of unstable power operative upon Gallus' emotional well-being. Propertius claims as much later in the poem (1.13.25-29 and 33-36), particularly in the expression te tuus ardor aget (1.13.28), a clause which underscores the compulsive nature that Gallus' newly found experience will bring.

In several poems Propertius claims that he is separated from Cynthia by a long distance.¹³ Complaining in one of these poems (1.18) of the initial anguish that the separation has caused him, Propertius admits a deeper psychological disturbance due to her infidelity. He describes his own emotional state by not wishing upon Cynthia the agony he feels because of her:

sic mihi te referas, levis, ut non altera nostro
 limine formosos intulit ulla pedes.
 quamvis multa tibi dolor hic meus aspera debet,
 non ita saeva tamen venerit ira mea,
 ut tibi sim merito semper furor, et tua flendo
 lumina deiectis turpia sint lacrimis.
 (1.18.11-16).

Propertius' dolor is the mental anguish occasioned by a particular circumstance, the separation. The addition of saeva and ira emphasize the psychological effect of this separation upon Propertius. Propertius admits to an anger on his part, although he says it could never be so ferocious and unrelenting that he would not take Cynthia back. He is unwilling to repay Cynthia in kind, not wishing her to bear the same anguish and madness that he has undergone, even though she deserves to suffer his pains. Furor in the above passage is not just a synonym for ira¹⁴ but strongly expresses Propertius' mental state. His love for Cynthia demands that he not be the source of any "madness" of the type that he experiences, living without a regular pattern (nullo vivere consilio--1.1.6), senselessly wandering (amens errabat--1.1.11) and feeling wounded (saucius--1.1.14).

The five passages quoted from Book I exhaust all the references to Propertius' own self-styled furor. The word is used several other times in the corpus, twice depicting the furious rage of Cynthia (3.8.3 and 4.8.52). In each instance furibunda describes her. In 4.8.52 furibunda characterizes Cynthia's wild behavior as she breaks down doors and fumes with rage:

nec mora, cum totas resupinat Cynthia valvas,
 non operosa comis, sed furibunda decens...
 (4.8.51-52)
 fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saevit,
 (4.8.55).

Besides the addition of saevit to suggest her rage, we note the "fire in her eyes," reminiscent of many previous descriptions of insane or irrational behavior. The juxtaposition of furibunda and decens expresses a contradiction in concept, an oxymoron. It seems improbable that anything could be "fitting," "becoming," or "proper" and at the same time be "wildly mad." However, Propertius' love for Cynthia leads him to accept and appreciate her inconsistencies.

The other example of Cynthia furibunda also describes her in a rage. Propertius begins 3.8 by relating a quarrel with Cynthia at night that was particularly violent and destructive:

Dulcis ad hesternas fuerat mihi rixa lucernas,
 vocis et insanae tot maledicta tuae,
 cum furibunda mero mensam propellis et in me
 proicis insana cymbia plena manu.
 tu vero nostros audax invade capillos
 (3.8.1-5).

The familiar linking of furere with insana underlines Cynthia's fury and rage, but to Propertius the evening's brawl was something to be cherished (dulcis).¹⁵ The two uses of insana in close proximity with the addition of audax in line 5 combine to heighten the wildness and bedlam of the scene.¹⁶

Several references to furere occur in mythological allusions in the poems. In 3.5 we find two references closely linked:

sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta gigantum,
 Tisiphones atro si furit angue caput,
 aut Alcmaeoniae furiae aut ieiunia Phinei,
 (3.5.39-41).

Propertius is referring to possible themes he will treat when he is old and no longer influenced by love. Furit verbalizes the concept in Furiae, the Roman "Furies," evoked in the passage by the mention of Tisiphone.¹⁷ Her wildness is suggested not only by furit but also by the reference to the black, snaky hair, a traditional attribute. The maddening influence of the Furies is reinforced by an allusion to Alcmaeon, who killed his mother and was haunted and afflicted with madness by the Furies.¹⁸

Another reference of furere in a mythological setting concerns the treacherous love of Tarpeia for Tatiush, which is treated in 4.4. In her sleep Tarpeia is infected with a madness inspired by Vesta:

nescia se furiis accubuisse novis.
 (4.4.68).

Following this line Vesta imposes an inflamed feeling in Tarpeia whose distraction is then compared to a wild Amazon (4.4.69-72).

Propertius preserves the nature image inherent in furere in 3.22 where he lists Rome's freedom from horrors, crimes, and supernatural happenings. Among them Propertius alludes to monsters of the sea:

Itala portentis nec furit unda novis;¹⁹
 (3.22.28).

At first glance it would seem that furit more adequately

should describe the ominous creatures (portentis) rather than the waves of the sea (unda). However, recalling the numerous examples of natural phenomena and the inanimate objects in nature that possess or express furor, we may conclude that the metaphor is appropriate and somewhat conventional.²⁰

The last instance of furere in Propertius refers to the mantic frenzy of Cassandra:

ille furor patriae fuit utilis, ille parenti:
experta est veros irrita lingua deos.
(3.13.65-66).

The immediate reference to furor as something profitable to the Trojan cause and to Priam alludes to Cassandra's unheeded prophecies, looked upon as wild ravings.²¹ However, the mythological allusion to Cassandra serves to underscore Propertius' own warning throughout the poem. He is admonishing his audience on the destructive powers of greed and in particular on the love of luxury by women. He argues that Roman lovers in their greed for money destroy the bonds of true love. He imagines that he, like Cassandra, utters prophetic truths that go unbelieved:

proloquar:--atque utinam patriae sim verus haruspex!--
frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis.
certa loquor, sed nulla fides; (3.13.59-61).

Rather than setting himself up as a praeceptor amoris, an experienced instructor of love, Propertius wishes to impart a true moral message in order to influence social behavior. There are no direct references to Cynthia, Gallus, or any other character so often presented in his poems. He appears

sincere in his appeal to Eastern customs (15-22) and to an earlier primitive period of Roman culture (25-46). Although Propertius' treatment reflects the past glories of an untainted Golden Age and of a pastoral paradise, he uses the conventional descriptions and argument to point out a contrast in the mores of later society, concentrating not only on the environment of the lover, but mentioning also the effects of greed upon law (49-50) and kinship (47-48). Therefore, Propertius sees his poetry regarded like the prophecies of Cassandra, true but unheeded. The useful madness (furor... utilis) of Cassandra in her mantic inspiration can be associated and identified with Propertius' own poetic prophecies. Although not explicitly stated as such, his "ravings" are a furor poeticus resulting from his inspections of the inner core of Roman society (haruspex: 3.13.59).

With this compilation and brief discussion of the uses of furor, we return to the implications of Propertius' presentation of love and of his love experience. Propertius often portrays a lover as lacking sense. In connection with furor, we have already noticed the single occurrence of amens and one use of demens.²² Demens commonly refers to Cynthia when Propertius believes she is acting in a foolhardy, lovesick manner:

Tunc igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur?
 an tibi sum gelida vilior Illyria?
 (1.8a.1-2).

Cynthia is contemplating leaving Propertius. After a brief reference to her mental state (demens) in the above lines,

he lists the dangers and uncomfortable circumstances of her planned trip (4-10). The implication is obvious: that Cynthia has lost her senses and has not fully thought out her plans for such a venture. In another poem, apparently addressed to Cynthia, the same idea is stressed:

Quo fugis a demens? nulla est fuga: tu licet usque
ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor.
(2.30a.1-2).

Again Cynthia is planning a voyage, leaving Propertius alone. His disclaimer that love is impossible to escape underscores the futile senselessness of Cynthia's decision to leave him. In a similar fashion, Propertius begins to chastise Cynthia for wearing make-up:

Nunc etiam infectos demens imitare Britannos,
ludis et externo tincta nitore caput?
(2.18c.1-2).

Although Propertius' motives for his censure of Cynthia's methods of beautification may be suspect, he portrays her as without sense, which reflects Milanion's wandering state of mind in 1.1.²³

The final use of demens to be treated describes Propertius himself. In a long recusatio (3.3) as Propertius dreams that he is inspired at the Helicon, i.e., taking up epic themes, Apollo spies and berates him for his arrogant aspirations, calling him "out of his mind:"

'quid tibi cum tali, demens, est flumine? quis te
carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?
non hic ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:
(3.3.15-17).

Apollo continues to detail to Propertius his proper themes

(18-24). The god perceives Propertius' dreamy flirtation with epic as a kind of deviation from his normal undertaking and poetic abilities. Demens assumes the approximate meaning of "foolish," as in the previous instances. However, no strong suggestion of a fit of madness or raving frenzy because of misguided inspiration (furor) is intended. Apollo does not seem to be attacking Propertius' ability in poetic creativity but only his slight aberration in the choice of his material. On the other hand, the adjective furens or furiosus would have suggested a more serious derangement and mental impairment²⁴ and be indicative of the elegiac poet wasting his talent.²⁵

In three previous passages (1.4.7, 1.5.3, and 3.8.2-4) we have already noticed the close association of furere and insanus.²⁶ Propertius also uses the concept of "unsoundness" (insanus) to describe himself in the important poem 1.1. In a personal appeal to friends, he says that he is sick and his emotional stability is unsound:

et vos, qui sero lapsum revocatis, amici,
quaerite non sani pectoris auxilia.
(1.1.25-26).

In 1.9 Propertius admonishes the slipping Ponticus, an epic poet whom Propertius warned previously (1.7) that his genre was ill-suited for a love affair. Ponticus has fallen in love and is now at a loss:

quid si non esset facilis tibi copia? nunc tu
insanus medio flumine quaeris aquam.
necdum etiam palles, vero nec tangeris igni:
haec est venturi prima favilla mali.
(1.9.15-18).

Ponticus' newly discovered experience is the beginning of his end. His epic themes are useless and his own emotional state will reflect an absurd and insane behavior.

At times Propertius applies the epithet insana to describe Cynthia. We have already noticed her wild and uncontrollable temper and behavior expressed in terms of mental derangement (3.8.1-5).²⁷ In these lines insana is used twice and linked with furibunda and audax which further show the picture of a demented personality. In two other instances insanus is directly applied to Cynthia. In 1.9.16 (insanis... manibus) her hands are called insane because they attack and scar the face in a violent reaction to her lover. Elsewhere, Propertius directly calls Cynthia insana for her constant wailing over his supposed infidelities (2.20.3). His love experience produces what he styles as insane-like behavior in both its participants, himself and Cynthia.

The same concept is articulated in regard to a certain Lynceus who, like Ponticus, discovers the maddening nature of love:

Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores!
solum te nostros laetor adire deos.
(2.34b.25-26).

Propertius associates himself with Lynceus' situation and thereby views the effect of his experience as a derangement.

In statements which reflect more general philosophical musings, yet which are indicative of Propertius' situation, the same ideas of unsoundness and instability are suggested:

ante pedes caecis lucebat semita nobis:
 scilicet insano nemo in amore videt.
 (2.14.17-18).

The blindness of lovers was proverbial, and even Propertius uses the concept elsewhere.²⁸ The phrase insano...amore encapsulates the view of love as an aberration which Propertius states again in similar language:

errat, qui finem vesani quaerit amoris:²⁹
 (2.15.29).

Vesanus, like its linguistic relative insanus, indicates the manic quality of love that Propertius continually notes by various words.³⁰

Returning to the opening poem of the Propertian corpus in order to investigate further the cause of Propertius' furor which he claims that he has had to live with for an entire year (1.1.7), we find that he blames the god of love for his "madness." Amor is first characterized as improbis. The sinister implications of this word have already been noted.³¹ In a transferred moral sense it suggests impropriety. In no other instance does Propertius use improbis to describe love.³² However, he does occasionally depict lovers as "improper." Cynthia herself is so termed:

ergo iam multos nimium temerarius annos,
 improba, qui tulerim teque tuamque domum?
 (2.8.13-14).

The word serves almost as a curse and recalls a complaint that Cynthia once makes against Propertius when he arrives late to her house drunk:

o utinam talis perducas, improbe, noctes,
 me miseram qualis semper habere iubes!
 (1.3.39-40).

The circumstance of Cynthia's rebuke to Propertius in this poem re-echoes the complaint that Propertius makes of his love-experience as articulated in the opening elegy:

in me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras,
et nullo vacuus tempore deficit Amor.
(1.1.33-34).

Cynthia calls Propertius improbus because she has been forced to spend lonely nights which make her miserable. In actuality she is undergoing some of the symptoms of a furor not unlike the furor that Propertius describes for himself in 1.1. In the opening elegy Propertius blames love and calls it improbus; in poem 1.3, Cynthia blames Propertius for her misery and calls him improbus. In Propertius' case love again is blamed for the bitter nights and called vacuus-- "empty," "unfulfilled." The nights of Cynthia also have been empty and unfulfilled by her promised lover.³³

The misery that Cynthia complains of besetting her:

me miseram qualis semper habere iubes!
(1.3.40)

is similar to the depiction that Propertius gave of himself when he is gripped by Cynthia's love:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis,
(1.1.1).

In describing their state Propertius uses the adjective miser. The misery that is symptomatic of furor can be seen again in 1.4, a poem addressed to Gallus. The collocation of insanus with furor in the opening of the poem (1.5.3) has already been pointed out.³⁴ In addition, Propertius uses infelix (1.5.4) and miser (1.5.5) to admonish Gallus about

impending trouble.³⁵ The furor that comes from love will make Gallus all the things that Propertius says or implies that he himself is--miser, insanus, and amens.³⁶

In the same poem Propertius continues to warn Gallus of approaching disaster if he gains Cynthia's favors:

et quaecumque voles fugient tibi verba querenti,
nec poteris, qui sis aut ubi, nosse miser!
(1.5.17-18).

Gallus will be so doomed that he will walk miserably about in a pitiable daze not even knowing who or where he is. Gallus' loss of direction will be similar to Milanion's situation described in 1.1; in addition, perhaps Gallus' state reflects what Propertius means by nullo vivere consilio (1.1.6).³⁷

Another of the features of Propertius' love affair is the quality of "hardheartedness" or savage-like behavior represented by forms of the word saevus. In poem 1.3 Propertius hesitates to awaken Cynthia from her deep sleep because he fears he will be savagely and bitterly rebuked by her:

non tamen ausus eram dominae turbare quietem,
expertae metuens iurgia saevitiae
(1.3.17-18).

Propertius is reminded of Cynthia's saevitia even when he is alone and away from her. In 1.17.5-7 he imagines her wicked, harsh threats and complaints as stormy winds from which to escape. In the same poem Propertius discards the metaphorical language and addresses the "savage" Cynthia:

tu tamen in melius saevas converte querelas:
(1.17.9).

It is obvious then that Cynthia can be quite a shrew; not only can she make potent, sharp, "little" complaints, but her wrath can be quite pungent and her behavior wild. Propertius depicts such wildness in 4.8 after Cynthia has broken down the door and attacked him, her eyes flashing:

fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saevit,
(4.8.55).

The manic wildness that Cynthia displays in this poem has already been treated.³⁸ In a few lines previously she is called furibunda (52), which underscores her violent reaction. The saevitia of Cynthia recalls the savage stubbornness that Milanion had to overcome to conquer Atalanta:

Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit lasidos.³⁹
(1.1.9-10).

In contrast to Milanion, Propertius does not always have success in overcoming Cynthia's wild character.

The poet also uses saevus to characterize his own feelings concerning his affair. He claims that the anger to which he sometimes admits could never be as severe as Cynthia's:

non ita saeva tamen venerit ira mea,
ut tibi sim merito semper furor,
(1.18.14-15).

We note here a close association of the madness (furor) of the affair with angry wildness (saeva). In another poem (3.24) Propertius uses saevus to suggest the brutal compulsion of his experience. Admitting that he overestimated Cynthia, the poet seems to be writing a farewell regretting

his absorption in her:

correptus saevo Veneris torrebar aeno;
(3.24.13).

Claiming that he has regained sanity after much tumult and anguish, Propertius vows to cure his disease by exercising rational stability:

nunc demum vasto ferri resipiscimus aestu,
vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere mea.
Mens Bona, si qua dea es, tua me in sacraria dono!
(3.24.17-19).

His expression of returning to good sense contrasts sharply with "living without plan" (nullo vivere consilio--1.1.6) which was the effect of his furor, or, as he says in this poem, the savage bronze (saevo...aeno) of love.⁴⁰

As has been shown, the idea of deviation as part of the effects of love was well illustrated by the "senseless wandering" (amens errabat) of Milanion in pursuit of his love object.⁴¹ Although Propertius uses error elsewhere, it is not commonly employed to depict his own experience.⁴² In 1.20.15 miser modifies error to describe the helpless wandering of Hercules after Hylas. In the same poem Propertius delineates the mistake of Hylas in straying too far from known locales and circumstances. In this connection error once again masks his form of deviation (1.20.42). It may be implied from the error of Hylas and Hercules that Propertius intends to admonish Gallus for his "strayings" and the potential deviation of his love object. In any case there is little light shed upon Propertius' own situation,

except to remark that Propertius recognizes the possibility of lovers "going astray," i.e., forsaking the mutual experience of love.

Error also indicates Gallus' new situation in 1.13. Gallus has fallen in love and Propertius wishes him well with his new experience:

quae tibi sit felix, quoniam novus incidit error;
et quod cumque voles, una sit ista tibi.
(1.13.35-36).

Propertius seems to doubt the efficacy and blessings of Gallus' current position. The affair is a mistake (error) and has already displayed symptoms of madness (tantus erat demens inter utrosque furor: 20).

The most frequent term that expresses and shows the result of Propertius' furor or mental agony is dolor. The noun dolor, of course, is derived from the verb doleo which literally means "be in pain." This pain can be physical or mental. Propertius often uses the word to mean "the cause of grief," mental or emotional pain.⁴³

The view that love is dolorous, reminiscent of Lucretius' treatment,⁴⁴ pervades much of Propertius' work. Mental anguish (dolor) is a central idea in the famous paraclausithyron (1.16).⁴⁵ Often warning others of the pangs of love that experience has taught him, Propertius sometimes characterizes features of his own affair as dolores.⁴⁶ In general, dolor expresses or summarizes a specific cause or occasion for lament or grief. If he is not inveighing against Cynthia's infidelity, then Propertius alludes to

the frequency of his sexual contact with her.⁴⁷ Infrequent meetings and association elicit charges of painful torture.

Dolor is also found linked with other terms indicative of Propertius' psychological state. In poem 1.18.13-15 saeva, ira, furor, and dolor⁴⁸ combine to delineate Propertius' instability that results from his separation from Cynthia and his psychic fears consequent of such separation. However, most of Propertius' fears arise because of his mistrust of Cynthia's fidelity and because of her perjury.⁴⁹

The theme of fear appears quite frequently in the poems, and is one of the major keys to understanding Propertius' furor and its symptoms. It seems that Propertius cannot allow even the possibility of a rival since the mistrust of Cynthia's character induces him to doubt her faith. His fear is the general psychological fear of many lovers: the desire never to be bested. The loss of Cynthia to another would indicate that Propertius had failed as a lover and would suggest his sexual deficiency.⁵⁰ In 2.22b Propertius claims that the worst pain of all is to wait expectantly for a lover who does not come and to toss and turn thinking that she is with another man:

hic unus dolor est ex omnibus acer amanti,
 speranti subito si qua venire negat.
 quanta illum toto versant suspiria lecto,
 cum recipi, quae non venerit, ipse vetat!
 (2.22b.45-48).

As mentioned above,⁵¹ in poem 1.18 the theme of anger is linked with various symptoms of Propertius' furor, including anguish (dolor). Intense anger induced many of

Propertius' charges of duplicity against Cynthia. Others have shown the important contribution of anger to Propertius' scheme of inspiration as represented by the word dolor.⁵²

In 1.1.27-28 Propertius admits that he cannot indulge his anger and that his love allows him no expression of his true feelings.⁵³ Poem 2.5 combines the themes of anger and anguish in the love affair, but offers Propertius hope for escape and release from the impasse suggested by 1.1.

By his poetry Propertius escapes from the constant servitude of his love.⁵⁴ Recognizing the painful demands of his own experience, Propertius offers advice to Ponticus, a dabbler in epic poetry:

nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori
 cogor et aetatis tempora dura queri.
 hic mihi conteritur vitae modus, haec mea fama est,
 hinc cupio nomen carminis ire mei.
 (1.7.7-10).

In this poem Propertius contends that in order to produce love poetry of his kind a certain amount of difficult suffering is required. In other words dolor functions not only to describe a feature of or an occasion in the amatory experience but as a source of inspiration for the elegiac poet which is sharply contrasted with the easy use of natural talent (ingenium) for the non-suffering epic poet (e.g., Ponticus).⁵⁵ To Propertius the anguish of the love affair is a type of furor poeticus, inspiring him to his style of poetry. Without his pain (dolor) Propertius would exercise the normal channel of artistic endeavor (ingenium) and write a different type of poetry.⁵⁶

Thus, one must consider many aspects of Propertius' love experience in order to comprehend why he states that love has brought him madness (furor). Propertius' love affair was never stable. To ease the furor of which he complains in elegy 1.1, Propertius must also be constant and true to his love object and experience. He must not give Cynthia the opportunity to blame him for any break or cause for anguish in the love affair (1.3.39-40).⁵⁷ Naturally, Propertius' situation would be alleviated if Cynthia were to avoid reciprocally causing any anguish to Propertius. It seems probable that Propertius could easily have been able to overcome or endure the petty situations that give him cause to rant or lament for Cynthia's offenses and indiscretions, but not to erase or soothe his furor, the quality and effect of his love for Cynthia.

Because of the instability of the affair, Propertius frequently tries to remedy his situation by running away, making attacks upon Cynthia, warning his rivals and by many other means. Occasionally he succeeds in enticing Cynthia to return to him, as we see in 1.8. But more often than not, Propertius complains of his bad situation, its symptoms, and its causes.

It can be seriously questioned that Propertius could have had a smooth relationship with Cynthia or even wanted one. In 3.8, a poem which well reflects the nature of Propertius' love affair, he begins by referring to a fight:

Dulcis ad hesternas fuerat mihi rixa lucernas,
 vocis et insane tot maledicta tuae,
 cum furibunda mero mensam propellis et in me
 proicis insana cymbia plena manu.⁵⁸
 (3.8.1-4).

The repetition of insana and link with furibunda heighten the effect of Cynthia's rage. However, to Propertius the evening's brawl was a pleasant reminder of his love. The lover's fight, Cynthia's anger, and the general anguishes of a love experience delight Propertius. He later claims that the signs of violence are an indication of true love, and love is not love without pain and torment:

nimirum veri dantur mihi signa caloris:
 nam sine amore gravi femina nulla dolet.⁵⁹
 (3.8.9-10).

These are the pains against which Propertius railed so often. The same sentiment is expressed later:

aut in amore dolere volo aut audire dolentem,
 sive meas lacrimas sive videre tuas,
 (3.8.23-24).

Propertius must have torment and physical pain. We have seen the necessity of Propertius' anguish both for his amatory relationship with Cynthia and his literary stance.⁶⁰ He has become a masochist wanting no sedate relationship:

odi ego quae numquam pungunt suspiria somnos:
 semper in irata pallidus esse velim.
 (3.8.27-28).

Although Propertius claims to have suffered much from his affair with Cynthia, he came to realize (as he stated in 1.1 in terms of furor) how destructive and manic his experience was. It could not be otherwise. His poetry demands it and love wants no cure for its pains:

omnis humanos sanat medicina dolores:
 solus amor morbi non amat artificem.
 (2.1.57-58).

The reference to love as a disease and the accompanying language suggesting unsoundness re-echoes previous depiction of its nature.⁶¹ Propertius' awareness that true love could not be anything else than an uncontrolled habit recognizes that in love there are no such things as the golden mean or Epicurean moderation:

errat, qui finem vesani quaerit amoris:
 verus amor nullum novit habere modum.
 (2.15.29-30).⁶²

Lack of an end to his pain, immoderate activity, and insane deviation mark the power of love's habit-forming nature and underscore Propertius' lack of rationality articulated in elegy 1.1 (nullo vivere consilio). This irrationality extends to Propertius' inspiration for his genre of poetry. Although he never explicitly states it, Propertius becomes a poeta furiosus because of the patternless, immoderate features of his love experience.

On the whole the effects of love upon Propertius were not gentle but very destructive. In poem 1.1 Propertius identifies his state of mind as a furor; although the term is not found too often throughout the corpus, he articulates in his poems the symptoms of his problem. The problem is his love affair with Cynthia which was an emotional disaster from its very beginning. Cynthia, of course, only represents to Propertius his entire love experience or as he says:

Cynthia prima fuit, Cynthia finis erit.
 (1.12.20).

Propertius' use of the concept of furor is not inconsistent with definitions and application of Cicero and Vergil. He has expanded the concept drawn by Vergil in depicting the effects of love on Dido in Aeneid IV to include the pattern of his life style resulting from his encounter with love. His statement that he lives without plan (nullo...consilio) reflects Cicero's definition as a "blindness of the mind to all things" (mentis ad omnia caecitatem). In addition, his debt to Lucretius and Catullus in concept, language, and imagery for describing his furor is heavy. However, Propertius, in contrast to any other Roman writer, extended the range of the concept by linking it to his entire personal love experience and associating the irrationality of love with poetic creativity and achievement.

CHAPTER X

HORACE

Epodes and Odes

In the works of Horace various forms of furere occur twenty-eight times in numerous contexts.¹ The Epodes and Odes will be examined first, followed by the Satires and Epistles. It will be demonstrated that Horace's variable uses of furor illustrate his poetic versatility. We shall see that Horace employs furere to suit different aspects of life, e.g., love, poetry, philosophy, and politics. Unlike Vergil, Horace does not envision a concept of furor as a persistent poetic theme to unify any of his four major genres of lyric poetry. Instead, the type and style of Horatian lyric and satirical compositions with their multiple themes limit the employment of furere to particular poems or sections of poems. The poems in which forms of furere occur may illustrate ideas or motifs more general in nature than those suggested by furere. In other words, although the idea suggested by the use of furere may be well integrated into the whole conception and treatment of a poem, it usually does not constitute the central theme, but only a part of the whole design.

We shall first consider Epode 5. In this poem, in which in dramatic form Horace views some practices of black magic, a young boy is buried alive by witches, led by a sorceress named Canidia. The boy responds with a curse to Canidia's incantations and ritual (Epod. 5.47-82) and vows revenge:

quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
 nocturnus occurram furor
 petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus,
 quae vis deorum est Manium,
 (Epod. 5.91-94).

The boy will take the form of a demonic spirit to avenge his own murder. Such a concept is a restatement of the idea of the Greek ἐπιτύες haunting their victims, but expressed in Roman terms. The di Manes, of course, are the shades of the dead, often addressed on funerary inscriptions, and referred to in the literary sources.² This use of furor, then, parallels many previous occurrences of furia or furiae that denote the idea of revenge in the form of a hellish spirit.³ In this case, furor is virtually a personification of a maddening power like the Vergilian Allecto who was represented as furor.⁴ The boy, of course, is no supernatural demon like Allecto, but his function will be the same as Allecto's.

Although there are difficulties in dating Epode 7,⁵ Horace writes of the horrors of civil war so common during the 40's and 30's B.C. In dramatic form, Horace laments that not even wild animals kill their own kind (Epod. 7.11-12) and that for men to engage in civil war is an aspect of madness:

furorne caecus an rapit vis acrior
 an culpa? (Epod. 7.13-14).

The stronger power suggested by vis acrior balances the reference to blind madness (furor caecus). This combination suggests a force directed by a supernatural power beyond the understanding and control of man. The idea of some outside compulsion is also hinted at in lines that follow the quotation (Epod. 7.15-20). Regardless of the quality of externalization, furor caecus shares in concept the Vergilian picture of violent rage and blood-lust depicted in the Aeneid.⁶ The phraseology also reflects Cicero's definition of furor as a "blindness of the mind to all things,"⁷ and is closely linked with other presentations of mental derangement connected with a "blind" force.⁸ However, unlike most of the Ciceronian references to furor depicting the "madness" or aberration of an individual, Horace in this passage applies furor to society at large. The Romans, as a people, are blindly insane. Horace is not arguing against war in general but specifically periodic civil discord and bloodshed among Romans. He sees such behavior as unnatural, a form of ἀδύνατον, comparable to one species of wild animals killing members of their family. At the end of Epode 7 Horace associates this type of Roman "madness" with a crime committed in the remote past, a form of congenital disease that has dogged the Roman people from the very conception of the city.⁹

In Epode 11 Horace complains that his passion has kept him from his poetic creativity. In a poem filled with elegiac conventions Horace continues the concept of sexual passion as a furor:

hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
 Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.
 (Epod. 11.5-6).

Detailing his emotional involvement caused by his love (Epod. 11.7-22), Horace notes that his aberration was a serious disease (16-18). The beginning of the poem declares that Horace's recent love makes him deviate from his calling. However, such a claim may be an ironic and comic form of a recusatio, providing Horace a convenient way to introduce this poem and its elegiac themes. This use of furere underscores the degree of "madness" conventionally articulated in poems dealing with the effects of love.

The same idea of the "madness" of passion is suggested in one of the Odes (1.13). Horace portrays his jealousy over his girl friend, Lydia, as a violent reaction inducing pallor and rage (Carm. 1.13.3-8). Horace's anger is combined with scenes that detail the immoderate features of love:

uror, seu tibi candidos
 turparunt umeros inmodicae mero
 rixae, sive puer furens
 inpressit memorem dente labris notam.
 (Carm. 1.13.9-12).

Furens suggests not only that the boy is in the throes of passion but also looks forward to the quasi-violent behavior of lip-biting so often featured in love poetry.¹⁰ The lovers' bites, the quarrels, brawls, jealous emotion, and rage all

contribute to the portrayal of the violent and irrational nature of love.¹¹

The Odes, like Epode 7, also present an example of furor used to indicate civil discord. In a poem addressed to Augustus, Horace acknowledges that under Augustus' leadership peace had been achieved and an end of ruinous civil war and internal strife had come:

custode rerum Caesare non furor
civilis aut vis exiget otium,
non ira, quae procudit ensis
et miseram inimicat urbem;
(Carm. 4.15.17-20).

The reference to furor civilis directly recalls the furor caecus of Epode 7.13 descriptive of the upheavals of the 40's and 30's B.C. In the ode Horace looks back from 13 B.C.¹² and praises the peace and leisure instituted and fostered by Augustan reforms. The political implications of furor in the ode seem quite clear. Horace does not simply use furor to indicate opposition to a political program or a certain politician,¹³ but instead suggests the destructive, uncontrolled violence and disruption that civil war and political instability had brought to Rome and Italy. For a long time Roman had been pitted against Roman; this internal struggle for power had weakened Rome's constitutional and social framework with the result that political and military power ultimately settled in the hands of a single man. Horace restates his sentiments concerning the derangement of civil war as a deviation from rational control (vis consili

expers: Carm. 3.4.65) in phraseology reminiscent of Propertius' meaningless life (1.1.6).

The political implications of furor are apparent in the famous "Cleopatra Ode" (Carm. 1.37). With the defeat at Actium Cleopatra had to abandon hope of encroaching upon the Roman empire and had to accept the dominance of Octavian over Antony and the victory of Italian forces over the East. In his ode Horace contrasts the defeated Cleopatra with the victorious Octavian:

...dum Capitolio
regina dementis ruinas
funus et imperio parabat

contaminato cum grege turpium
morbo virorum, quidlibet inpotens
sperare fortunaque dulci
ebria. sed minuit furorem

vix una sospes navis ab ignibus
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Caesar ab Italia volantem
(Carm. 1.37.6-16).

We need not limit the interpretation of the antithesis between Cleopatra's "mad" behavior (furorem) before Actium and Octavian's victory to the historical and political confrontation of Antony and Octavian, of Egypt and Rome, and of Eastern and Western civilization.¹⁴ Besides the explicit reference to furor (12) to note Cleopatra's aberration, other terms and phrases highlight her drunken and manic illusions. She has grand delusions of destroying Rome (dementis: 7); she is drunk with power (ebria: 12), an image that is picked up by reference to the realities of a Caesarian victory

(mentemque...volantem: 13-16). Lymphatam emphasizes her irrational demeanor since she has been frenzied by hope of power.¹⁵ Cleopatra's expectations and illusionary triumph are viewed as useless and ineffective (inpotens: 10) against a superior power. Added to these verbal indications of her derangement, the picture elicited by the description of her eunuchs stresses the un-Roman and corrupted deviation of Cleopatra's milieu. The eunuchs are not even complete men, and the presentation of their effeminacy strongly contrasts with the masculine strength of Octavian. Horace seems to be implying that a part of Cleopatra's "mad" schemes and unnatural surroundings reflects a feminine base to her Eastern culture in contrast to the manly efficacy of Roman power and resolve.

After this negative delineation of Cleopatra, Horace changes the view of her character. When she suffers defeat and realizes its reality, she no longer is drunk, mad, or surrounded by deviants, but is a pathetic figure pursued by stronger forces. She becomes the dove preyed upon by the hawk, the hare hunted down in the snow (17-20), images that evoke a sense of victimization. However, the idea of weak femininity is rejected in nec muliebriter (22) and non humilis mulier (32), and the word deliberata (29) suggests that Cleopatra in defeat has regained a sense of rationality not depicted in her previous state.¹⁶ This woman becomes a defiant, heroic figure, bravely facing death and scorning

the thought of being led in a Roman triumph (25-32). In other words she loses her "madness:" minuit furorem (12) as Horace says.

The implication that parts of Eastern culture were alien to Roman thought and sensibility is more clearly implied in another ode. In Carm. 2.16 Horace argues for peace of mind and happiness (otium) over personal position and wealth. He mentions the wild, warlike nature of Thrace and Parthia as lands that need to seek inner calm, something like the Lucretian ideal of ἀταραξία :¹⁷ in Horatian terms, the ability to live well with little (vivitur parvo bene: Carm. 2.16.13). Thrace is described as the place "mad" from war:

otium bello furiosa Thrace,
(Carm. 2.16.5).

Furiosa purposely contrasts with the ideal stated in otium.

The wildness and uncontrolled nature of Thrace are portrayed in another ode. In a scene that sets the atmosphere for the conventional figure of the exclusus amator chilled by a blowing wind from Thrace,¹⁸ the wind is depicted as a wild bacchanal:

flebis in solo levis angiportu
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento, (Carm. 1.25.10-12).

As a locale far away from Rome and having a different climate from Italy, Thrace seemed an alien place and one subject to queer happenings. The reference to the bacchant intensifies the image of uncontrolled activity.

The image of cold in the above quotation introduces a stanza devoted to the consumptive power of love expressed in thermal language and imagery:

cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
 quae solet matres furiare equorum,
 saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
 (Carm. 1.25.13-15).

The conflict in imagery between hot and cold demonstrates the difference in the youth of the lover and the old age of the courtesan, the central figures in the poem. In the above quotation, furiare notes the intense degree of sexual instinct in mares¹⁹ and saeviet continues the image of uncontrollable forces and animalistic wildness.

The language descriptive of madness is applied elsewhere to animals. In a mythological allusion illustrating the intense nature of the heat of the Italian countryside, Horace praises his life style in contrast to the hustle and confusion of Rome and the politics of the capital:

iam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
 ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit
 et stella vesani Leonis
 sole dies referente siccos;
 (Carm. 3.29.17-20).

In the reference to the rising constellations and their attendant intense heat in midsummer, the description of the animals is unimportant in itself, but serves to draw atmosphere for the over-all effect of hot days. The immediate reference to the "raging" of the Procyon, the lesser dog star, and the maddening power of Leo exaggerates the effect and blends with many extremes that are pictured throughout the poem.²⁰

In a treatment of the memento mori theme in another ode, Horace uses a personification of the "Furies:"

dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti,
(Carm. 1.28.17).

The context shows that the Furiae in this line are not goddesses of vengeance but bringers of death or destruction, a concept that is traceable to Ennius.²¹ The use of Furiae may suggest visions of the underworld and contribute to the overall scene of death (cf. Proserpina: Carm. 1.28.20). In any case, no hint of revenge is likely in this passage. The association of death and the underworld is more clearly drawn by a reference to furere that describes Cerberus:

Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
muniant angues caput eius...
(Carm. 3.11.17-18).

Cerberus attains the attributes of the "Furies" with their snaky hair. The word furiale links Cerberus with them and their symbolic representation as bringers of death.²²

In an ode that recounts the myth of Europa (Carm. 3.27), Horace uses furere to note a type of deviation. Europa begins a dramatic soliloquy regretting her behavior and lamenting her fate, since she has been deserted on the shores of Crete:

... 'pater--o relictum
filiae nomen pietasque' dixit
'victa furore!

unde quo veni?... ' (Carm. 3.27.34-37).

Europa's lack of respect to her father and family (her lack of pietas), her lack of awareness, and her inability to recognize the realities of the circumstances in which she finds

herself point out the nature of her madness. Her deviation from normal dutiful concerns results, of course, from her passion to mount the Jove-disguised bull that has brought her to Crete;²³ because of this unnatural passion she is led to contemplate suicide (49-52). Only the epiphany of Venus at the end of the poem (66-76) can explain the reason for Europa's deviation and unnatural behavior.

Like Carm. 3.27, Carm. 1.15 is concerned with epic themes. Treating the Paris-Helen episode that triggered the Trojan war and the consequent destruction of Troy, the poem is cast in the form of a prophecy by Nereus. Addressing his ominous words to Paris, Nereus warns him of the awesome power of Diomedes:

...ecce furit te reperire atrox
 Tydides melior patre:
 (Carm. 1.15.27-28).

Furit indicates the fierce rage of military battle, familiar in our study of the Aeneid.²⁴ The reference to the military power of an earthly figure balances the mention of the maddening rage of a divine participant earlier in the poem. Pallas readies her animal-like madness against the Trojans (rabiem parat: 12). The intensity of Diomedes' military fervor is heightened by a simile in the following stanza (29-31); Paris becomes the helpless deer entrapped by a wolf (Diomedes) in surroundings familiar to the deer. The poem ends with a gloomy reminder of Troy's utter destruction, the fulfillment of divine intervention and partisanship.²⁵

In an ode (1.16) that has been called a hymn to ira,²⁶ the theme of anger is consistently drawn. Horace applies this theme to his writing of iambics, that is, satiric verse in the style of Archilochus:

conpesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
temptavit in dulci iuventa
fervor et in celeres iambos

misit furentem: (Carm. 1.16.22-25).

Horace admits to an anger on his part that has led him in his youth to abusive and personal satire. He describes his mental attitude as a "rage." Context suggests that furentem means intense anger that is only momentary and characteristic of youth. Interestingly, Horace links the concept with a specific genre of poetry intimating that youthful dabbling into iambic satire is a form of non-serious derangement. He also infers that by writing lyric poetry in the form of highly polished odes, he is no longer the madly inspired poet gushing forth poetic outpourings based on emotions, but is in complete control of his feelings (conpesce mentem) and deliberately careful to compose.²⁷ The reference to "quick iambics in sweet youth" suggests its converse: "slow lyric in the mellowing of middle age."

In a famous ode that welcomes home an exiled veteran soldier (Carm. 2.7), Horace applies furere to describe himself. He asks an old friend to join him in celebration, merriment, and boisterous carousal:

...quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis; recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico (Carm. 2.7.25-28).

The negation of mental healthiness (non...sanius), the reference to wild orgy (bacchabor), and the allusion to uncultivated Thrace²⁸ all contribute to the atmosphere of carefree, riotous behavior. The mention of furere in the last line adds with finality to the scene of deviation or momentary derangement. After all, Horace and his friend Pompeius are to celebrate a special occasion that takes place very seldom. The demands of military service are harsh and do not always allow gambling, bacchic orgies, and drinking with friends. The merriment enjoyed with an old friend affords an escape from realities, whether political or military (for Pompeius) or even literary and social (for the poet of Maecenas' circle). Rather than being concerned primarily with politics and Horace's relationship to Republican and Augustan politics,²⁹ the last three stanzas show that the call for celebration and merriment is a variation of the old theme of memento mori. When we recognize this fact, interpretation of the poem becomes clearer. Horace calls for a relief from political and military concerns and asks for a few fleeting moments of "madness," that is, an engagement in activities reflective of uncontrolled emotion. He makes the same appeal in Carm. 4.12, whose final line re-echoes in language the ending of Carm. 2.7: dulce est desipere in loco (Carm. 4.12.28). Eccentricity and individualized deviation from an accepted norm can have their place and be a fitting activity and mode of conduct.

Satires and Epistles

In the Satires there are several scattered references to furere. Serm. 2.3 treats various philosophical aspects concerning madness and has six uses of furere that form a thematic link in the poem. However, before discussing Serm. 2.3 in more detail, we shall begin our investigation with two occurrences in Book I of the Satires. Serm. 1.8 returns us to the world and setting of witchcraft and magic. Two witches mentioned in Epode 5, Sagana and Canidia, re-appear in Serm. 1.8. Cast in the form of a dramatic monologue spoken by a statue of Priapus, the poem relates, among other things, the demonic, ritualistic activities of the two old witches. Near the end of the poem Priapus likens them to hellish Furies:

ut non testis inultus
horruerim voces furiarum et facta duarum?
(Serm. 1.8.44-45).

Priapus had described the weird conduct and gloomy appearance of the two demonic creatures (23-36). His evaluation of their activities and special nature shows various aspects not only of black magic but also of wild and deviant behavior. The characterization of the "Furies" summarizes the atmospheric description of Priapus and contributes to the overall effect of the entire poem as a piece of macabre humor and rather gruesome satire.

In Serm. 1.3 Horace discusses the notion of inconsistency. After jibes against Tigellius Hermogenes (2), a certain Maenius (21), Balbinus and the dwarf Sisyphus (47),

Horace mentions a Labeo. There are two references to his mental condition and his insanity. Insanior (82) alludes directly to Labeo for some supposed maddened activity or foolishness.³⁰ Furiosus (83) is used in a general statement and reiterates the idea of Labeo's supposed insanity which in context seems to indicate no more than an extreme case of foolhardy conduct.

Serm. 2.3 has six uses of furere reflecting the nature of its major theme. In this poem Horace treats the Stoic paradox that all men except the sapiens are mad. A number of types illustrate the concept that all fools are insane. Reference is made to poets, misers, politicians, lovers, profligates, and others who exemplify the theme of the rather long diatribe. In numerous examples that mention the mental state or condition of various characters in the satire, insanus occurs twenty-five times.³¹ Several references are made to demens/amens and error; rabies and cerritus appear once each and delirare occurs twice.³² Horace seems to take for granted the reader's ability to distinguish various terms for insane behavior and his audience's familiarity with a number of philosophical concepts concerning madness.³³

The first occurrence of furere in Serm. 2.3 refers to the haunting of Orestes by the Furies. In a mythological allusion designed to show that misers who externally reveal no manifestations of madness are as insane as those who display their form of insanity by violence, the classic

example of the maddened Orestes is used in the argument:

an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente
 ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
 in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
 (Serm. 2.3.134-136).

In addition to the reference to insanisse, dementem, which repeats the description of demens...Orestes in 133, demonstrates the typical representation of Orestes. At this particular point, Horace (via Damasippus, the speaker) is arguing that Orestes' violence was an overt manifestation of his madness stimulated by the Furies. However, he was already insane, calling his sister Electra a fury (hanc Furiam: 141) and getting angry at Pylades. Orestes' anger assumes the form of madness, hinted at by reference to black bile (iussit quod splendidis bilis: 141).

The next use of furere in the poem occurs in an imagined interview with Agamemnon. The dialogue is intended to point out that Agamemnon in sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis was as insane as Ajax slaying sheep thought to be Greek heroes. In the interview Agamemnon argues that his sacrifice of his daughter was a necessary religious ceremony. When asked if it were his own blood relationship that was sacrificed, Agamemnon disclaims his madness:

'...prudens placavi sanguine divos.'
 nempe tuo, furiose? 'meo, sed non furiosus.'
 (Serm. 2.3.206-207).

The two uses of furiosus continue the employment of furere in mythological scenes. Horace seems to be distinguishing

degrees of madness, referring to the madness of Ajax with the words insanus (197, 201), and desipere (211), while he links Agamemnon's type of insanity with violence (208 and 221). In any case, despite the difference in language, in the Stoic view various representations of madness illustrate foolish deviation and gross stupidity (208, 211, 221, and 225).

After the specific examples of Ajax and Agamemnon, Horace generalizes and summarizes the importance of the mythological allusions. Leading a daughter to sacrifice is an extreme case of stupidity, folly, and criminality. Such action manifests a mental unsoundness:

integer est animi? ne dixeris. ergo ubi prava
stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
et furiosus erit; (Serm. 2.3.220-222).

The combining of stultitia, insania, scelus, and furor is reminiscent of Cicero's famous philosophical distinctions and definitions of madness in the Tusculan Disputations, wherein he discusses the Stoic view of madness.³⁴ It will be recalled that he defined insania as an unhealthy folly and stupidity, and furor as a serious mental blindness to all consequences (mentis ad omnia caecitas: Tusc. 3.11). In the above passage Horace also links insanity with criminality, a common association found in the speeches of Cicero.³⁵ Horace does not seem to add any new nuance or development to the Stoic concept as expounded by Cicero. The basic argument is a re-interpretation and restatement of the Socratic dictum that no one willingly does wrong. Crim-

inality results from ignorance or folly. If this is not the case, the perpetrator must be possessed in some way to act stupidly or like an insane person.

In the next instance of furere, once again a mythological allusion furnishes the example for the particular argument of the poem's section. The general argument is that a madman's opinion of his own mental state proves nothing and is not to be used as conclusive evidence for sanity. The mythological case of Agave is used to illustrate this point:

'quid, caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agave
gnati infelicis, sibi tunc furiosa videtur?'
(Serm. 2.3.303-304).

Agave's Bacchic orgies, her killing of her son, and her lack of awareness of what she had done are only alluded to and suggested by the context. The reference to furiosa delineates her inability to recognize the importance and nature of her acts.

The poem ends with several references to insane activity. Damasippus catalogues how Horace himself betrays the features of a madman: his poetic inclinations and satiric nature, his sensuous and sumptuous living, and his passion for young girls and boys:

'non dico horrendam rabiem--' 'iam desine.' '--cultum
maiores censu--' 'teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.'
'--mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores--'
(Serm. 2.3.323-325).

Excessive passion caused by love has often been expressed in terms of furere; in this particular reference to madness

Horace is following the Lucretian concept of the ruinous nature of love and the language and metaphor of the elegists. In any case Horace ironically and deftly ends the carping criticism of Damasippus by a curt remark:

'o maior tandem parcas, insane, minori.'
(Serm. 2.3.326).

The word insane neatly summarizes Horace's own view of the satiric philosopher who attacks all others for not following precise Stoic dogma. Horace has the last laugh and makes the suggestion that philosophers too can engage in excesses and be insane. The word also linguistically and thematically ends a satire almost entirely devoted to a discussion of various forms of madness considered from the point of view of a Stoic. That a moderate believer or practitioner like Horace notes the excesses of a proselytizer and a philosophical system attests to his satiric intent and ability to judge the absurdity of dogmatic rigidity.³⁶

The last occurrence of furere in the Satires also involves discussion of another Stoic paradox: that all men except the sapiens are slaves. A slave, Davus, upbraids Horace for some foolish behavior. He argues that it is slavish for a free man to attempt to seduce Roman matrons on the sly. For in the act of seducing and if caught, the seducer is put in compromising situations at the mercy of the outraged husband:

ibis sub furcam prudens dominoque furenti
committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam
evasti:
(Serm. 2.7.66-68).

The use of furenti suggests an intense anger rather than any overt form of deviation. The master who has caught the unlucky lover may temporarily lose his senses and act in violent reaction. However, no details are specifically given to indicate clearly that this is the case, although it may be highly suspected and judged as a normal reaction to the circumstance.

The same Stoic idea that the inability to control one's emotion leads to personal slavery is restated in Epist. 1.2. Incorporated into a discussion of moderation, the theme of anger is listed among aphoristic statements of things to avoid. In arguing for emotional self-control, Horace concludes that a show of anger signals a temporary madness:

ira furor brevis est: animum rege;
(Epist. 1.2.62).

It is not difficult to understand how a fit of anger can be interpreted as a sign of madness. A man in the heat of anger may become violent, loud, abusive, and ranting or assume qualities not normally associated with his character or behavior. For a short time, he is "out of himself," not in character.³⁷ The previous quotation from the Satires suggested intense anger expressed by furenti and we have seen other authors in other passages employ furor to connote uncontrolled anger, the most notable example being the Vergilian character of Juno in the Aeneid.³⁸

From this Horatian passage, we notice that the poet stresses the uncontrollable feature of the emotion. A display of anger to Horace indicates a loss of emotional stability. One of the aspects of furere that has often been demonstrated in this investigation is its uncontrollability or wildness. In the Stoic view, indulgence in anger indicates a closeness to uncivilized wildness. For this reason, in the above passage Horace calls for the control of the emotions (animum rege).

The last two uses of furere in the Horatian corpus appear in the literary Epistles and are concerned basically with the same idea: the inspiration of a poet. In the first of these Horace discusses the nature of poets and the necessity for recognizing and nurturing the common bonds between them. "Togetherness" and the unique powers of poets are applied and commented upon:

qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas?
 carmina compono, hic elegos: mirabile visu
 caelatumque novem Musis opus. adspice primum,
 quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
 spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus aedem;
 (Epist. 2.2.90-94).

More important to us than the formation of a mutual admiration society among poets³⁹ is the use of furor to denote the swelling genius of poets to create. In this connection, in the Ars Poetica Horace uses furor to criticize poets who claim they are somehow divine-like creatures and need not submit their poetic outpouring to public and professional criticism. Horace sees such individuals, no matter how much

raw talent they possess, as a danger to society and to be avoided (Ars P. 453-476). The unbridled, uncriticized, and uncritical poet is a madman and impetuously dangerous as a bear:

certe furit ac velut ursus,
 obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,
 indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
 (Ars P. 472-474).

Horace is castigating him whom he earlier calls a vesanus poeta (455) for his lack of training and unwillingness to erase early attempts and rewrite.⁴⁰ Emotional outpourings in verse justified by divine guidance or vision cannot be allowed precedence over laborious and painstaking craftsmanship.

With regard to the previous quotation from Epist. 2, some scholars maintain that the elegiac poet (hic elegos: 91) alluded to must be Propertius because of the later reference to Callimachus (100) in contrast to Horace as Alcaeus (99).⁴¹ The reference to furor (90) enhances this theory because Propertius and the other elegists often claim the destructive and manic disease of love.⁴²

The idea that poets were inspired and write with some divine help can be traced back to Homer.⁴³ Hesiod, Pindar, Callimachus, and many others visited the mountains and streams of the Muses to find assistance for their skill. The Roman poets may have diminished the status of the Muses, but there are countless invocations for their guidance, if only in a literary conceit.⁴⁴ By eliminating the power of

the Muses, Latin poets began to describe the creative process as inspired either by their talents (ingenium or natura) or by their own learned craftsmanship (doctus or ars).⁴⁵

As a subdivision of the basic argument between the acceptance or rejection of Alexandrian canons (ingenium vs. ars), there developed a dispute over the role of the poet in society expressed in the concept of vates, i.e., poet as solemn "priest" with religious and social functions, in contrast to poeta, the learned, skillful, yet playful versifier.⁴⁶ While the distinctions between vates and poeta soon broke down,⁴⁷ the conflict between ingenium and ars survived. Throughout his career Horace seemed to have to look for a moderate position,⁴⁸ but in the Ars Poetica (408-418) clearly chose ars as the standard for poetry.

The dispute over poetic creativity is also manifested in Horace (Epist. 1.19) by reference to wine drinkers or water drinkers. Intoxication by wine supposedly produced moments of inspiration, when the mind was released from inhibitions or had completely lost rationality.⁴⁹ Such a theory directly linked poetic inspiration with Dionysus and helped to clarify Horace's ambivalent attitude to drunken sots who versified (Epist. 1.19.1-14), and to explain his many pledges of Bacchic indulgences.

With the literary debate over talent and skill centering on the words ingenium, natura, ars, vates, and poeta, not much discussion of the concept of furor poeticus is found. Roman poets could refer to their earlier counter-

parts as great in talent but lacking art, but did not seem willing to charge an Ennius or Pacuvius with a frenetic madness that inspired their works. The literary confrontation of ingenium and ars was generally kept on a sophisticated level. Horace's two references to poetic madness⁵⁰ indicate extreme positions and are not in his general treatment of the ingenium/ars controversy. The low-keyed handling of the major dispute and the terminology employed diminished the importance of considering the idea of furor poeticus: creativity without rational control. To Horace as well as other Latin poets ingenium was not synonymous with manic ecstasy or irrational outpourings of verse (furor).

In connection with the consideration of furere in Horace, other words denoting mental incapacity are also used. Insanus occurs frequently,⁵¹ amens/demens do not often appear, but Horace has resurrected the use of delirare.⁵² The phrase fanaticus error in Ars P. 454 describes the mad-dened poet (vesanum...poetam: 455) who will not submit to criticism. In Serm. 2.3 which deals almost exclusively with a philosophical discussion of madness, included in the numerous references to furere, insanus, demens (or amens) is one use of helleborus (82), the supposed cure for madness;⁵³ in the same poem, Horace employs the word cerritus, rare and almost extinct by his time and seldom used thereafter. In Horace, we very seldom find combinations and direct linking of manic terms, although the idea of mental derangement may

be expressed by various terms and phrases within the same poem.

In our presentation of furere in Horace we have seen various uses of the term. We have noted the philosophical distinction articulated in the Satires to denote the Stoic view that everyone except the sapiens was mad. Furor also was used in nature images and described the wildness of animals. Witchcraft and magic as irrational acts and their practitioners were delineated by forms of furere. In addition, Horace comments on political matters, describing civil discord as madness among citizens (furor civilis). Horace also alluded to poetic inspiration performed with the loss of rationality expressed by furor. Lastly, Horace intimates that in private life there can be a time for irrational derangement by engaging in carousal, drinking with friends, and withdrawal from the concerns of life. This idea Horace expresses as "sweet madness" (Carm. 2.7.28).

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

This investigation has surveyed the uses of the word furere, its derivatives, and some of the concepts involved in its employment for a span of about two hundred years of Latin literature, beginning with Ennius and ending in the middle of the Augustan Age. It would, of course, be profitable and enlightening to continue the study throughout later ancient, medieval, Renaissance, and even into neo-classical literature to note changes or continuity and new nuances in usage and conception. Such a desirable expanded study in detail must await future investigation.

The student of Latin learns to translate the word furor by "madness," "rage," "insensate cruelty" or some other term that somehow intimates irrationality or mental derangement. Our study has noted that furere often does denote or connote such qualities. However, it has not been the intention here to submit to research a broad topic such as madness in Roman literature or life which would involve evaluation or interpretation of much of the Roman cultural achievement and experience. Although our study has compiled some linguistic terminology of designated or implied madness, we have not consistently covered the phenomena or

qualities in Roman society which the Romans called "mad." The Latin words for "mad" or "insane" were used very loosely, characterizing different aspects, behavior, and events.

Despite the evidence from and use of medical works on disease or delusion,¹ our view of the Romans' understanding of madness must be tempered by constant reminders of their inadequate articulations of certain problems. Modern science and psychology have made us aware and interested in aspects of abnormal behavior, hysteria, schizophrenia, traumata, fixations, neuroses, and a host of other psychological disturbances either unknown, not investigated, or unarticulated by the ancient Romans. What we moderns consider mad, often the Romans had no conception of, and conversely what they considered as abnormal behavior or an aspect of madness, we often do not conceive of as insane or even irrational. Strange or alien behavior, extreme anger, intense love, violence, philosophical or political differences or cultural variations may possibly involve a degree of pathological forces but do not necessarily represent elements of insanity or mental derangement. The same statement may be made concerning religious orgies, mantic possession, poetic ecstasy or inspiration, dreams, and natural phenomena. Unfortunately, we lack a Roman scientific treatment of the psychological phenomenon known as madness; therefore, we must rely on the eclectic and sometimes misleading collections of terms and of conceptions of madness accumulated and articulated by the various authors in dif-

ferent times and with varying viewpoints. Often even the same author alters his expression and conceptualization of the nature of madness within his literary works. In any case, our study has been made not to amass clinical data in order to state definitively and conclusively the nature and causes of madness in Roman society, but rather to examine in a partial survey of Roman literature the use and concept of furor. Our inquiry has been restricted to a linguistic and literary approach. As a consequence, the contributions that a detailed study of related evidence in the spheres of religion, anthropology, and psychology could supply have been only tangentially considered. They await further research.

Our evidence for a consideration of furere begins with the dawn of Latin literature. We have seen that Ennius used the word in two distinct forms, the participle furens (fuventibus ventis) and a derived form furiae, personified to denote creatures of destruction. Abstract nouns ending in -ia usually are derived from some adjectival form.² Therefore, it seems likely that in Ennius' day or earlier an adjectival form beginning furi-, derived from the verbal stem fur-, existed before the noun furia. This hypothetical form could have possibly been furiosus, furibundus, or even furius. In any case, the two Ennian uses of furere with their two different forms and apparently dissimilar semantic values help to demonstrate that already furere had undergone and was in the process of undergoing morphological and semantic changes. Indeed, the fact that there existed side

by side two forms derived from the same stem proves that the words based on the stem fur- had a viable vitality and meaningful existence at least in the minds of the literati.

The two occurrences of derivatives of furere in Ennius do not indicate any concept of mental disorder or aspect of madness. Lack of context in both cases must temper our judgments concerning specific nuances and conceptualization in the poet's mind. The brief phrase furentibus ventis indicative of nature imagery does not in itself suggest a metaphorical use of furere, although it may suggest that the winds described are out of control. In any event, such uncontrollability would be a physical manifestation of a natural phenomenon observable by humans and not demonstrable as a gross deviation perpetrated by supernatural powers.

The other use of furere in Ennius contributes little to a picture of madness. I have argued that the Ennian conception of the Roman Furiae does not convey the Greek idea of the ἐπιτύδες as upholders of a system of justice; instead they are bringers of destruction or ruin without necessarily imparting madness. The concept of the Furies as hellish creatures either indicating or imparting madness or maintaining a moral system is first clearly articulated in Latin literature by Cicero in the Pro Roscio Amerino. To express notions of mental disorders such as manic possession, or a diseased or incapacitated mental state, Ennius resorts to other terms such as demens, insania, rabies, or

error. In fact these are the terms most frequently used by all the other poets of the later third and entire second century B.C., including Plautus and Terence.

The early chapters of this investigation have compiled and analyzed the many instances and contexts in which expressions and ideas of madness, irrational behavior, marked deviation, or uncontrolled wildness have occurred. In no case is furere ever used to express these ideas, although the word certainly existed in the time of Ennius. However, the early Roman poets often employed nature and animalistic imagery and metaphors to delineate what they called "insane" or "mad" in human conduct, i.e., deviant behavior, violence, external possession in some form or other, extreme cruelty, intense passion, or orgiastic ritual. From the very beginning of Latin literature we find that almost anything alien or strange to the Roman way of thinking or social behavior, any case of supposed irrational demeanor or conduct, or any instance that violated an accepted societal norm or convention was portrayed by these poets as instances of mental derangement or deviation. We learned from later sources that the satirist Lucilius treated madness or a disorder later described by furor, but nowhere in his numerous fragments is the word furere found.³

Cicero quotes a law of the Twelve Tables that mentions the disposal of the property of the mentally incompetent and uses the word furiosus to denote the man judged legally insane. It is doubtful that Cicero is quoting the ancient

law verbatim; he is probably relying upon a modern or contemporary recension. I have argued that Cicero bases his language upon a possible edition made by Sextus Aelius Paetus in the early second century or by Mucius Scaevola in the early first century B.C. In any case the Ciceronian citation of the law does not furnish definite proof of the use of furiosus before the first century B.C. Therefore, the meaning or a concept of madness invested in the word furere can not be firmly established before the time of Lucretius.

Lucretius was the first writer to use furere extensively. Among the thirteen occurrences in De Rerum Natura, more than a few are found describing natural phenomena; these uses link it with the Ennian precedent. In Lucretius we notice for the first time that furere denotes some form of mental aberration. Judging from the remains of the literature, we must credit Lucretius with the literary development of the concept of furere as madness. Evidence seems to suggest that before the first century furere was never applied to descriptions or ideas of manic qualities, irrationality, or any sort of deviation. It would seem reasonable to expect that in all the fragments of the early dramatists, the plays of Plautus and Terence, and the approximately 1400 lines of Lucilius that at least one occurrence of furere would have survived, since there are numerous passages and lines dealing with insanity, deviation, and irrationality manifested in various ways. I suggest that before the first century the conception of furere in the sense of

"to be mad or irrational" was not viable and part of the literary language. The word probably was limited in use to describe the commotion and uncontrolled aspects of nature and had not been transferred to other images or scenes.

The impetus for relating furere to individual madness or irrational conduct may have derived from the legal language. Legalists, or for that matter poets, could have adopted furere or any of its derivatives from nature imagery to describe the inconsistent behavior of humans. More likely, it seems to me, is that the language descriptive of nature would first be applied to animals and their natural habitat and/or environment, and then likened to human conduct. Since the Romans often described or associated manic, violent, or wild behavior in men with the bestial, uncultivated actions of untamed animals in the wilds, furere could have passed from animalistic imagery to delineations of similar characteristics in man. Naturally, much of this theory rests on certain suppositions and speculations; however, we have the strong evidence of furere used in nature imagery, the association of other manic terms, such as rabies, saevire, and delirus, with the uncontrolled wildness of animals, and the numerous examples in later writers of animals' "raging" expressed by some form of furere.

Once the image of furere was transferred from nature "out of control," "in commotion" to animals or man "out of control," somehow "disturbed," writers were quick to apply and adjust the imagistic and symbolic representations to

various spheres of human endeavor and conduct. Besides employing furere in nature scenes, Lucretius relates furere to a philosophic and rational system of thought, to an aspect of religious worship, and to intense love. On occasion he associates other terms indicative of aberration or deviation with furere to emphasize the degree of "madness" or irrationality that he believes the situation or action demands or warrants. A case in point is his treatment of love in which he links furere with rabies, animalistic wildness, and associates both of these concepts with disease and blind aberration. A total representation of love as a violent, wild, uncontrollable, blind, destructive, and maddening power is then integrated into his own philosophical beliefs and system. Lucretius' particular view of love is continually echoed by later writers who did not necessarily share or follow his philosophical system or tenets. Catullus, Vergil, Propertius, Horace, Ovid, and even as late a writer as Apuleius pictured love as a destructive maddening disease.⁴

In Catullus, too, we have noted the concept of furere associated with love. However, more important than Catullus' adaptation of Lucretian language and concept to describe impassioned lovers is the treatment of the character Attis and religious practices of the Cybele cult outlined in poem 63. In this poem furor and rabies serve as thematic links, often repeated and often associated together in some form. The use of these words frequently detail the contrast between civilized society and wild nature, between the rational

world of Greece and the orgiastic cults of the East, between humanism and barbarism. Description of Attis' psychological bearing is connected with the ecstatic frenzy and wild behavior of cult practice. The young man undergoes a complete loss of identity and assumes characteristics of a woman, as he is dominated by the goddess and everything that she symbolizes, i.e., the mysticism and uncivilized practices of Eastern religion, the loss of personal identity and control, and violent wildness. The various occurrences of furor together with other terms denoting some degree of "madness" form a constant theme illustrating the alien environment into which Attis is cast and delineating the savage and wild effects this new setting has upon his mental condition.

In addition to the Attis poem treating the non-rational features of the Cybele cult, Catullus characterizes Bacchic frenzy and worship in his famous epyllion (64) by reference to furere. Linked closely with the manic term lymphatus, furor delineates the nature of Bacchic possession and revelry. By characterizing features of religion and cult worship by various forms of furere Catullus expands the concept of furor and contributes to its general use. In addition to symbolic references in the religious sphere, Catullus directly modifies various forms of furere with other words indicative of derangement. Rabidus furor (63.8), amenti furore (64.197), furor vecors (15.14), and furenti rabie illustrate Catullus' penchant for combining terms to heighten description and effect.

Whereas Catullus contributed to the notion of deviation in religion by using furere several times, Cicero develops the idea of furor as a political derangement. In numerous occurrences of furere in the speeches and letters, Cicero details various representations of what he envisions as revolutionary activity. Numerous examples of furere and its many derivatives combine with other terms (mainly insania, audacia, scelus, effrenatus, and pestis) to describe the political outsider and extremist dangerous to the body politic. It is Cicero who coins the phrase furor tribunicus which for him delineates the revolutionary power and intent of the so-called populares. Needless to say, Cicero's observations of the political scene in Rome are seldom objective. Only his political and personal enemies or members of the rival faction are depicted as mad revolutionaries.

Interesting and important as Cicero's treatment and descriptions of political enemies and his transfer of the concept of furor to the world of politics may be, more edifying and useful to us are his reflections in his philosophical works about the nature of furere in other realms of experience. Often using furere to depict mantic inspiration and prophecy, Cicero illustrates his views concerning prophetic "madness" by the example of Cassandra. He clearly sees prophetic inspiration as a form of divine possession. Whereas Catullus could hint that the furor of Ariadne or Attis might be a divinely sent phenomenon, Cicero explicitly states that possession by supernatural powers guides mantic

furor. His clairvoyant Cassandra speaks for the god Apollo; to Cicero she is no longer the real Cassandra but is totally possessed by a superior power, not just uttering her visions from a kind of psychic intervention (deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra, loquitur). Amid his discussion about mantic frenzy Cicero associates with it the idea of poetic inspiration which he also views as a type of demonic possession.

With Cicero's delineation of mantic and poetic madness by the use of furor, Latin literature fully displays in separate authors (Lucretius, Catullus, and Cicero) the four types of "divine madness" that Plato discusses in the Phaedrus (244 A-B). The four categories are: 1) prophetic madness induced by the god Apollo; 2) ritual madness, which we have noted involved the cult of Dionysus or Cybele, both known for their wildness; 3) poetic madness; and 4) erotic madness.⁵ Unlike the Platonic conception which viewed all these types of madness as a divine possession and not due to any natural causes such as human disease, Lucretius, as we have seen, conceived love as a madness wrought by disease. Therefore, in Latin literature by the Ciceronian period we have two separate basic conceptions of madness, a medical one and a religious one.⁶ Regardless of the foundation of these conceptions, the person who was considered mad either from a natural disease or a strong supernatural power was no longer himself; his personality could change (as the Attis myth illustrates in Catullus 63); he could reject

certain social responsibilities, engage in wild orgiastic rituals, or compose poetry setting himself apart from the rest of humanity.

In addition to Cicero's treatment of furere in political, religious, and poetical matters, he also furnishes us with a definition of furor. Attempting to illustrate the Stoic paradox that all fools were mad, Cicero distinguishes the term insania from furor, understanding insania as an unhealthy stupidity that cannot possibly befall the sapiens, the true follower of Stoicism. On the other hand, he defines furor as a "blindness of the mind to all things" (mentis ad omnia caecitatem). His philosophical comments on madness indicate that furor can seriously disrupt regular social functions and duties. Whereas the use of insania conforms to a medical conception of madness, furor is envisioned as an externalized power that can be destructive or constructive, as in the case of mantic or poetic inspiration. In any case, Cicero's definition of furor can be applied to his employment of the term in other spheres. In the case of politics the definition conforms to his many references to "madness." Political extremism and revolutionary intent would be conceived as a blindness to constitutionality and social order.

Definitions of furor are rare in Latin literature. However, the conception of a deviation or aberration producing behavior inconsistent with an established norm or action which portrays a new personality in an individual

continues to be presented in almost all phases or spheres of life. The idea that a person under the influence of furor was outside of himself (exisse ex potestate in Latin, or ἐξίστασθαι ἑαυτοῦ in Greek) or was conducting himself in whatever circumstance without an awareness of reality is embodied in almost every occurrence of the word furere. Even the second century jurist Gaius repeated the Ciceronian concept of furor as a blind aberration: furiosus nullum negotium gerere potest, quia non intellegit quid agat (Instit. 3.106). Gaius' definition also corroborates Propertius' view of his special kind of "madness" produced by his love experience. To Propertius furor is life without meaning or pattern (nullo vivere consilio). Both Gaius and Propertius are restating in their own terms the basic conception of Cicero's definition drawn in a philosophical argument to keep distinctions in terminology between insania and furor.

Although verbal definitions are helpful in establishing essential conceptions, the works of Vergil show a vast expansion of the use of furere to many levels of experience and thematic areas. In the writers before Vergil furere had been employed in limited spheres, i.e., politics, nature, love, religious practice, philosophy, or literature. In the Aeneid Vergil combines many of these elements into an integrated unitary conception, so that furor becomes a consistent theme throughout the poem. In numerous occurrences scattered throughout the twelve books, the concept of furor is contrasted with its counterpart pietas to signal

a significant motif of the epic. In all its uses in the Aeneid, furere connotes various forces of destruction, irrationality, intense anger, madness, passion, rage, and revengeful bloodshed. This concept of furor is contrasted with the notion of a righteous and humanitarian attitude founded upon duty to family, religion, and state. The forces of non-reason, destruction, violence, and all those other characteristics that I have mentioned are illustrated or symbolized in the setting and atmosphere of the poem (e.g., a storm at sea), in major characters (e.g., Dido, Turnus, and even Aeneas), in divine motivation and personality (e.g., Juno), in supernatural symbolic powers (e.g., the fiend Allecto, a direct personification of furor), in military blood-lust, in similes, and in ideological prophecy. The motif of madness in some form or other pervades the entire poem, and the antithesis between irrationality and the forces of reason, goodness, and respect are continually emphasized and drawn both on a human and divine level. The conflict of these two separate forces (furor vs. pietas) is settled by a compromise on the divine level between Jupiter and Juno, but on the human level Vergil leaves the issue of this conflict unanswered and unresolved. Not limiting the denotation of the word furere to only specific experiences, such as love, politics, or violence, Vergil inclusively applies furere to suggest pervasive madness or irrationality. Furere in the Aeneid intimates the same basic motif: a blindness to rationality, to moral consequences, and to

dutiful respect for country, family, gods, and humanity in general. In this respect, Vergil's vision of the concept of furor conforms to Cicero's definition of the term as a mental blindness to all consequences.

The Eclogues and Georgics show a more amoebian usage of furere. It is difficult to establish the existence of a consistent thematic link represented by furere in the two works, although they both display many tensions, failures, loss of control, and destruction in their sylvan and agricultural contexts. Nor in these works does Vergil employ furere in symbolic structures regularly illustrating everything that is destructive, violent, or irrational to man or animal in their environment.

Propertius associates furere not only with passion but his entire love experience, asserting that such an experience under the influence of furor has induced him to lead a life without patterned regularity and meaning. He claims that his form of madness results from an externalized compulsion and that the goddess Venus exercised a cruel and ruthless force over his life are difficult to reconcile with his conception that love was also a disease. It seems that Propertius envisions two primary concepts of madness (furor) in his love experience, one the consequences of a powerful impulse, the other resulting from natural causes. In any event, Propertius identifies his state of mind affected by his famous love affair as a furor and details in many of his poems the symptoms of the psychological problems be-

setting him. The modern psychologist would not claim that Propertius was raving mad or suffering from schizophrenic symptoms or in a state of delusion. Indeed, Propertius does not reveal his situation as such. Instead, the poet's loneliness, jealousy, depression, anger, and fears that trouble his mind perhaps only demonstrate his inability to adjust to the circumstances of the love affair. The opening elegy shows the disturbance and irregularity in Propertius' life. His furor forces "unnatural" and inconsistent habits upon him that persist throughout the length of his love-affair. In other words, his entire experience with Cynthia and its effects upon his mental condition he views as one grand deviation, upsetting the balance and control of his chosen life style.

Upon considering the works of Horace, we find little that is new in concept, but there are a few fresh nuances and applications of the word furere. Although Vergil symbolically used furor in his mythical structure to delineate the destructive violence of civil war, Horace is the first to allude to contemporary events of civil discord during his lifetime. His references to furor civilis illustrate his sentiments concerning the upheavals and shock of recent history. Horace had personally suffered from the ruin of war and came to realize the unnatural and deviant behavior inherent in such enterprise. Importantly, the madness of civil war is applied to society as a whole, and Horace can envision an aggregate deviation.

In his personal life, Horace could speak of an individual engaging in furor by neglecting his ordinary duties and by engagement in merriment. He could poke fun at the pompous philosopher claiming the ludicrous theory that all men except an elite knowledgeable few were mad. In this case Horace often used furere to express a philosophical notion of madness wherein he was following the example of Cicero. He also followed his predecessors by referring to the wildness and uncontrollability of nature and animals. In several of these instances he employs furere to emphasize the idea. Furere also delineates the unnatural and demonic features of the hellish "Furies" and witches, an earthly counterpart to hellish creatures. In this connection Horace personifies a character as an incarnation of madness bent on exacting revenge, a device that follows the Vergilian concept of Allecto as a demonic goddess of furor.

Horace also adopts the concept of furor poeticus articulated first by Cicero in Latin. He views the inspired poet creating from some inner or outer source as a danger to literature and society as a whole. He does not clearly state whether the poet working under the influence of furor derives his inspiration from an externalized possession or delusion or from an internal psychic knowledge. To Horace this question seems unimportant because he came to believe that artistic skill was more conducive to good poetry than moments of brilliance in individual poets.

It would be possible to continue demonstrating the various uses and treatment of furere by individual Roman writers. Although there may be passages illustrating a new nuance, a fresh allusion, or different context in the employment of the term, the conception and semantic suggestion of the word did not drastically change throughout later antiquity. We have seen that the use of furere developed slowly and by degrees. After limited occurrences in Lucretius and Catullus, Cicero expands the use of the word, and by the time of the Augustan writers, furere is employed to detail various aspects of life. In all instances the context wherein furere is found suggests something "out of control," or a type of deviation. Winds may rage, animals be savage, religious practices be abnormal, and love be uncontrollable; all of these descriptions delineate an unusual state or situation whose effects in the conception of a writer may reflect a deviant, sometimes alien nature. Cicero's view of the political extremist and revolutionary illustrates his attitude that the radical engages in deviant behavior alien to the body politic or his own personal political beliefs and practices. For much the same reason Cicero often links the criminal with the extremist because he considered his conduct as a deviation from established law or custom.

The quality of being "out of control" that separates behavior or practice from a norm or customary standard is also reflected in Cicero's philosophical works. The in-

spired seer or poet displays qualities and abilities beyond the range of the normal individual to the extent that his conduct or expressions represent an extraordinary mental capacity. Mantic and poetic compositions betray an abnormal mental state, a mind possessed or deluded that demonstrates an added mental ability. The possession can be so intense that an individual loses control of the normal reasoning faculties and creates or expresses himself without awareness of his powers or as Cicero defines this type of complete deviation: a mental blindness to all circumstances.

In the Aeneid we have seen furere denoting and connoting forces of non-reason or uncontrolled activity pervading all levels of a cosmic society. The forces of irrational destruction, violence, brutality, inhumane behavior, and uncivilized structure in life contrast with representation of an idealized mode of conduct and civilized state modeled upon a standard of responsible morality. In effect there is symbolized in the work two opposing forces, one exemplifying or illustrating furere, the other the opposite of furere. In more specific terms forces of one cultural pattern oppose another, East against West, Trojan against Italic, old values and responsibilities versus new ones. Cultural differences in religious practices between a more civilized society (Greece) and a more wild one was symbolized in Catullus' treatment of the Attis myth. Horace, too, contrasted Roman strength and civilized standards with effeminacy and deviant behavior of the Alexandrian East.

With Vergil's symbolic structures in the Aeneid, the poet argues for a humane world order, designating any behavior or feature that undermines his idealized view of his new society, whether of an internal or external nature, as a form of deviation. This deviation (furor) need not necessarily be foreign but could also be manifested in the fabric of human life. Cicero, Propertius, and Horace recognized that Romans, as well as members of an Eastern culture, could engage in excesses and display an attitude or belief in such extreme manners that warped the perception of their responsibilities. In effect, they lose control of their rational faculties, and because of this loss they deviate from an idealized norm set by their own society. The experience of a lover could distort his sense of proportion; war could deny man's basic humanity toward his fellowman. If mentally deranged, an individual could partake in mysticism, witchcraft, or political extremes that ran counter to the mainstream of Roman life or basic traits in his national character. The first century B.C. in Rome witnessed many social upheavals. Perhaps such commotions were more marked and discussed in the Augustan Age than previously. The writers of the period were especially cognizant of deviation witnessed and expressed in many spheres of life. Such deviation they called a furor. They did not invent the term nor the concept, but drew upon their literary predecessors to state their acknowledgement of the role that deviation played in their society.

Neither the word furere nor its concept died with the passing of the Augustan Age. Writers continued to speak of uncontrolled factors in nature, in human behavior, and in abstract ideas. Romans were to witness the insanity of emperors, the adoption of Eastern cult practices, insensitivity to human life in gladiatorial shows and wars and many uncontrolled excesses in daily living. They often expressed these matters and their consequent disruptions by employing various forms of furere.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine⁴ (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959) 263. Ernout and Meillet argue that furere was applied first to humans and then extended metaphorically to things. This thesis will show the very opposite to be the case.

²Alois Walde and Johann B. Hofmann, Lateinische etymologisches Wörterbuch⁴ (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965) s.v. furo; see also Ernout-Meillet, and the Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v. furo.

³Cf. Tusc. 3.11, a passage particularly important in our discussion. See infra pp. 200-203.

CHAPTER I

ENNIUS AND OTHER EARLY DRAMATISTS

Ennius

¹Johannes Vahlen, Ennianae Poesis Reliquae² (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. Reprinted Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963) 110.

²H. D. Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 202-207. Jocelyn points out that some of the fragments attributed to the Alexander may come from some other tragedy depicting the fate of Priam's house (p. 206).

³Ibid. 218.

⁴See ibid. 219 for further elaboration on this point.

⁵Cf. also Cic. Div. 1.66: inest igitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa divinitus. ea si exarsit acrius furor appellatur cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.

⁶Quoted from the previous Ciceronian passage. The entire fragments of early Roman dramatists are collected in Otto Ribbeck, Scenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1852). Unless noted otherwise, Ribbeck hereafter will be used for numeration.

⁷See Jocelyn, 210.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Otto Skutsch, Studia Enniana (London: Athlone Press, 1968) 183-184. Skutsch rejects Vahlen (54) who compares the usage to oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape (Tragica incerta 48).

¹⁰Jocelyn, 212.

¹¹Hdt. 1.182, Paus. 10.12.2. Cf. Jocelyn's note, 212, and H[erbert] J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology (New York: Dutton, 1959) 143.

¹²Erwin Rohde, Psyché: le culte de l'âme chez les grecs et leur croyance à l'immortalité, French ed. by Auguste Reymond (Paris: Payot, 1928) 280, 310.

¹³See Jocelyn, 399.

¹⁴Several authors both Greek and Latin underscore this significant sociological problem. For typical examples see Eur. El. 375-376 and Ter. An. 275 (coactum egestate ingenium immutarier).

¹⁵Cic. Phil. 2.50, 2.62, Prov. Cons. 43, and Jocelyn, 398.

¹⁶See infra p. 42 and p. 294.

¹⁷Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, Madness in Ancient Literature (Weimar: Wagner Sohn, 1924) 11-20. O'Brien-Moore discusses the popular conception of madness as a possession by a supernatural power, regularly expressed in Greek by κακοδαίμωνία. Jane Ellen Harrison in Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion³ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) 165-173 elaborates on this point, showing that many of society's ills were considered the result of spirits (κῆρες).

¹⁸Ernest Diehl, Poetarum Romanorum Veterum Reliquiae (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1961) 22.

¹⁹See supra p. 8.

²⁰Aegra is the older reading (212-213: Ribbeck). I prefer Jocelyn's reading because of the common joining of aeger animus and because the position of aegro makes the word very ambiguous, suggesting that it could agree with either animo or amore.

²¹Keith Preston, "Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1916) 3-4. For further indication of mental infirmity expressed by error see Scaenica 241: incerte errat animus.

²²Skutsch, 160-161.

²³Cf. Jocelyn, 356, who also cites Theoc. 11.15, 30.10, and Callim. Ap. 12.134.1. I will point out other Latin examples in other writers below.

²⁴Norma L. Drabkin, The Medea Exul of Ennius (Geneva, N.Y.: Humphrey, 1937) 25.

²⁵Jocelyn, 356.

²⁶Ennius is not subtle in introducing this theme. He probably had other major themes which he wanted to stress throughout the play, explaining the early deviation from the Euripidean model. The title of the play, Medea Exul, suggests that Ennius may have written another Medea. The plot of Ennius' Medea Exul may have been quite different from Euripides' version. For a discussion of this point, see Jocelyn, 342-350, and Drabkin, 7-14.

²⁷Achilles 2-3, Hectoris Lytra 145, Phoenix 266, Incerta 391. All numbers are from Ribbeck.

²⁸Will de Grummond, "Ennius' Induta fuit saeva stola," CP 66 (1971) 249-252.

²⁹145 and 266: Ribbeck.

³⁰Eric H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin. 4 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1967) 1:287 and 335.

Livius Andronicus

³¹Ibid. 2:23.

³²Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.9.18; Pis. 20.47. Dorothy May Paschall, "The Vocabulary of Mental Aberration in Roman Comedy and Petronius," Language, suppl. 27 (1939) 23 treats vacerra in the same class as stultus and stolidus, as abusive epithets to denote stupidity and ignorance. She quotes the line in the following manner: vacerra corde et malefica vecordia and argues (following Festus) that the original meaning of the word, "hitching post," presumes the rustic agricultural base of the image. See infra pp. 23-24.

³³Hom. Od. 9.106-109, 275-278.

Naevius

³⁴Warmington, 2:83.

³⁵Ibid. 2:46-51.

³⁶The assignment of this line by Warmington (132) to Lycurgus is completely arbitrary. It could as easily have been spoken by Dionysus.

³⁷Warmington, 1:518.

³⁸See supra pp. 10-12. Paschall, 71, states that sanus/insanus is never used in comedy to indicate only physical or bodily functions, but always indicates mental stability (sanus) or instability (insanus).

³⁹Warmington, 1:527.

⁴⁰See supra pp. 8-9.

⁴¹Cf. Ennius 228-230 for the destructive element of excessive anger.

⁴²See supra pp. 13-15.

Pacuvius

⁴³Paschall, 83, argues that demens was a medical term for madness and amens only literary, with no medical basis. She cites three occurrences from Celsus for dementia, opposed to no occurrence of amentia in Celsus to prove her contention. I am not completely convinced by her argument, because dementia even in the medical literature was not the normal term for madness and because the literary figures appear to use dementia and amentia about equally and with no apparent distinction in meaning or nuance.

⁴⁴The entire fragment runs for some ten or eleven lines depending upon the acceptance or rejection of the final line, which is suspect as a scholiast's note. The last few lines are irrelevant as concerns a concept of madness, and each adjectival description of Fortuna is further expanded

and explained. See Ex incertis fabulis 37-46, Warmington, 2:318, for the entire fragment.

⁴⁵For error see note 21 and infra pp. 112 and 115 for error and incertus combined to denote irrationality.

⁴⁶Turbare is often used with the language of aberration. Cf. Verg. Aen. 12.599-601:

subito mentem turbata dolorem...

multaque per maestam demens effata furorem.

See also infra p. 30 for the use of vecors from Sextus Turpilius.

⁴⁷See supra p. 17 for vecors in Livius Andronicus and Paschall, 83, for vecors as a common term in comedy.

⁴⁸See supra pp. 13-16.

⁴⁹Cf., however, semper satis agere ut ne in amore animum occupes for similarity of expression and thought to Ennius' Medea Exul 216 (supra p. 13).

⁵⁰See supra p. 16.

⁵¹Warmington, 2:294, and Giovanni D'Anna, M. Pacuvii Fragmenta (Rome: Ateneo, 1967) 155 attribute the fragments to the Teucer because of the sea imagery recurrent in the fragmentary remains of that play.

⁵²See supra p. 16.

⁵³See supra pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴See infra p. 246.

⁵⁵Warmington, 2:306.

⁵⁶See supra pp. 13-14.

⁵⁷Paschall, 58-59. To prove her contention the author quotes P. Festus 107.17: Lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. Vulgo autem memoriae proditum est quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, viderint, furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci συμφολήπτους vocant, Latini lymphaticos appellant. Paschall, however, realizes that lymphatus does not resemble συμφολήπτος in formation or meaning (60), despite the authority of Varro Ling. 7.87.

She concludes that lymphatus was a totally Roman word reflecting a Roman concept of water spirits affecting the mental condition.

⁵⁸Richard B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 34.

⁵⁹O'Brien-Moore, 22-36 adequately presents the medical basis for madness. He notes that the Hippocratic corpus distinguishes four bodily humors composed, in turn, of four qualities, the moist (τὸ ὑγρὸν), the dry (τὸ ξηρὸν), the hot (τὸ θερμὸν), and the cold (τὸ ψυχρὸν), which are present in all of nature. An excess of any of these qualities affected the proper proportion of the four humors. If there were not the proper mixture (κρᾶσις) of humors, ill health and serious disturbances could follow. A disease, physical or mental, was cured by restoring the normal balance of humors. The most common cure was the taking of hellebore to relieve the body of excess bile (see 28-29 and footnote 67). However, sometimes control of the climate or environment was urged to eliminate an excess of one of the four natural qualities. Cf. Aretaeus De Curatione Morborum Diuturnorum 1.4, advising a warm dry environment to combat the pathological excess of cold and moisture.

⁶⁰Onians, 34. Rohde, 294-347, also considers the irrational and mad aspects of the Dionysiac cult. Cf. also Hor. Carm. 2.7.26-28:

...non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis: recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico

and Catull. 64.254-255:

quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant
euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes.

Whether or not the mind is watered from within or is due to some outside spiritual influence is difficult to ascertain from these early references.

⁶¹Onians, 35 and 66.

⁶²Cf. also Hor. Carm. 1.37.14 mentemque lymphatam Mareotico in reference to the "drunken" Cleopatra; Ov. Met. 11.3-4 tectae lymphata ferinis pectora velleribus of the wild attacks made by women upon Orpheus; Pliny HN 29.17.164 hac pota lymphari homines. For further references, see Onians, 35, who also suggests that the Muses (Camenae and Carmentia) were water nymphs, so that to drink from their stream was to become mad, i.e., frenzied, possessed by their power. Such a concept would explain Hesiod's and Callimachus'

references to the drinking from the spring of the Muses on Helicon or Parnassus.

⁶³Cf. the references above from Horace and Catullus (note 60). Both use furere clearly to indicate "madness." See infra p. 140.

Accius

⁶⁴Warmington, 2:477.

⁶⁵See supra p. 23.

Sextus Turpilius

⁶⁶See supra p. 23.

Lucius Afranius

⁶⁷See supra p. 24 for Pacuvius 415-416, and supra p. 28 for Accius 450. The parallel is closer, of course, in Accius where ira fervit occurs and amentia and ira are tightly linked together.

⁶⁸See supra p. 23 and pp. 28-29.

⁶⁹In two fragments (164 and 301), Afranius uses terms (saevus and improbus) that in other contexts may connote unusual activity or behavior. In these particular instances little can be added for further understanding of the nature of the wild and uncontrollable.

Novius, L. Pomponius Bononiensis, Titinius

⁷⁰See supra pp. 23-24 for this fragment and Festus' definition of vecors.

⁷¹One is reminded of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, Act 1 Scene 2:

Let me have about me men that are fat,
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look.
He thinks too much; such men are dangerous.

⁷²From Plaut. Mostell. 24-26 and Truc. 70-71 and Paulus ex Fest. (215: Müller) excessive partying, drinking, and carousing seem to be the intent of the metaphor.

Unassigned Fragments

⁷³Cf. TLL and Lewis and Short for citations. Lucretius uses it several times (cf. 2.1169, 3.458, 3.491, 3.826, 3.1054, 4.1239, 5.308, 5.1424 and 6.1126), and only once in a military context (5.1424), and never to balance or describe furor.

⁷⁴Sacratae in the last line is highly suspect, with many emendations proposed. The most obvious seems to be sacrata.

⁷⁵Cicero in the opening of the Cat. (1.1) uses audacia to describe the extreme political activity of Catiline. In the following sentences Cicero calls his behavior a furor (quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?).

⁷⁶See supra pp. 6-14.

CHAPTER II

PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Plautus

¹See the O.C.T., Wallace M. Lindsay, Plauti Comoediae. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

²Men. 282, 292, 309, 336, 373, 517, 819, 831, 832, 843 (twice), 873a, 877, 916, 921, 927, 934, 937, 947, 953, 958, 962, 1046.

³Drunkenness, of course, is not a normal state, nor is it considered a part of one's "normal" regimen or constitution. The behavior stemming from inebriation, although possibly understandable, reflects the excess of liquid affecting the mental faculties. See supra pp. 26-27 and notes 57-63.

⁴See supra p. 8 for the imagery.

⁵Menaechmus' insanity is called a morbus.

⁶O'Brien-Moore, 57.

⁷Men. 291, 314, and 516.

⁸See supra p. 12 for the idea of a κακοδαίμων, possession by a divine spirit.

⁹Eleanor Winsor Leach, "Meam Quom Formam Noscito, Language and Characterization in the Menaechmi, Arethusa 2 (1969) 38-41.

¹⁰For further instances of inops animi in Plautus and Terence, see Plaut. Bacch. 615, Cas. 629, Trin. 131, Truc. 829, Ter. Ad. 310 and An. 879.

¹¹Amph. 704 (twice), 719, 753, 798, and 1084. In 971, i sane, at quantum potest parvata fac sint omnia, the

text is suspect and there may be grounds for the reading of insane.

¹²For irony and the basis of comedy in the play, see Leon Halkin, "La parodie d'une demande de triomphe dans l'Amphitryon de Plaute," L'Antiquité classique 17 (1948) 297-304 and Walter E. Forehand, "Irony in Plautus' Amphitruo," AJP 92 (1971) 633-651.

¹³Cf. 730 for the same terminology and emphasis:
AL: equidem ecastor sana et salva sum.

¹⁴See infra p. 45 for a use of the noun deliramenta. Paschall, 34-35, explains that the lira was properly the ridge between two furrows and delirare denotes that oxen were not able to keep a straight line and make straight furrows (cf. Varro fr. 2.75: Funaioli). Clearly, the idea is an error, a straying from a straight path, i.e., a deviation.

¹⁵O'Brien-Moore, 20-52, explores the Greek background of the use in the medical literature of hellebore. Paschall, 76-77, writes briefly about the atra bilis as it occurs in Plautus. In short, the Hippocratic corpus distinguishes two types of hellebore, white and black. The white was used as an emetic, the black as a purgative. Both Greek and Roman writers prescribe hellebore as a cure for diagnosed mental disorders, since it was believed that like diseases of the body diseases of the mind were produced by excess of humors. Peculiarly potent in rendering madness was black bile (μέλαινα χολή) which also caused a specific degree of madness of depression (μελαγχολία). The taking of hellebore was supposed to restore the natural harmony of the four bodily humors. Herbert N. Couch, "The Medical Equipment of the Hippocratean Physician," TAPA 67 (1936) 193-195 investigates the Hippocratic corpus to determine the correct prescription of hellebore. He finds that careful attention had to be paid for the correct application. An overdose might produce worse results, both physical and mental, than no dosage at all. Hellebore was always taken with a special diet and hygienic regimen. See supra p. 27 and note 59.

¹⁶Cato Agr. 141. Cf. also Livy 8.18 for intemperies caelo.

¹⁷Cf. Aul. 71 where intemperiae is used shortly after a reference to insania in 69; Epid. 475 which repeats almost the same language as Aul. 71 and Mil. 434 for quae te intemperiae tenent, clearly in the sense of insanity. See

commentary of Mason Hammond, Arthur M. Mack, and Walter Moskalew, Miles Gloriosus (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963). Cf. also Wilhelm Wagner, Aulularia² (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1881) 150, note to 643.

¹⁸Cf. Cic. Att. 4.6, Tac. Hist. 1.64, Gell. NA 1.23.11 and 18.7.4.

¹⁹See Petron. Sat. 62.10 and Pliny HN praefatio 24.

²⁰O'Brien-Moore, 18.

²¹Wilhelm H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie (Leipzig: Teubner, 1894-1897) bd. 2^a, s.v. Larvae.

²²See supra pp. 8-9 for ardent oculi, and p. 43 for atra bilis.

²³Capt. 556, 559, 601, 605, 613, 620.

²⁴547 and 557. See supra p. 40 for Men. 837. Varro Sat. Men. 217--quid est, quid latras, quid rabis, quid vis tibi--shows the wildness and dog-like nature of the image. See also Paschall, 40-42.

²⁵Plautus probably derived the idea of hellebore as treatment for madness from his Greek sources. Diphilus wrote a play entitled οἱ Ἐλληβοριζόμενοι. Cf. Theodor Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880-88) 2:549. Nonetheless, the Roman audience probably was aware of the concept.

²⁶See supra pp. 13-15.

²⁷262-265, 324-325, and 446-447.

²⁸Aul. 653, Bacch. 761, Cas. 667, Cist. 286, Curc. 19, Epid. 575, Merc. 265, 325, 446, 951, Mil. 371, 755, Mostell. 450, Trin. 673, Truc. 286, 950, frag. Nervolaria 96.

²⁹Saara Lilja, "Terms of Abuse in Roman Comedy," Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Ser. B., 141.3 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965) 10.

³⁰See supra pp. 13, 23, and 30.

³¹166.

³²16-38 in particular. Preston, 3-16, discusses at length the language used in this passage from the Merc. He argues that most of the terms are Latin translations of Greek concepts and that most of the words describing the effects of love make up a list of vitia common to Stoic categories. He shows that the writers of comedy, both Greek and Latin, used these philosophical terms to fit the vocabulary of love and adapted them for their dramatic needs. He also argues that Plautus did not slavishly translate literally from his Greek sources but infused other nuances and ideas, blending the philosophical with the medical conception in the case of a word like insania.

³³An. 218-219.

³⁴Asin. Argumentum 6 and Aul. Argumentum 1.4.

³⁵Cist. 222 and 531, Pseud. 271.

³⁶See supra p. 48 and accompanying note 30.

³⁷7-10.

³⁸Paschall, 85, and 14-21, gives full references to occurrences and the links with such terms as rusticus, barbarus, and indoctus. However, these words are often only abusive epithets, and are seldom linked with the vocabulary of love or passion.

³⁹See supra p. 13.

⁴⁰Of course, Charinus does not prefer ploughing to loving. However, the obvious pun on amare and arare, with its sexual connotations, points out that Charinus viewed love as merely sexual without accompanying social and psychological reverberations.

⁴¹See supra p. 28.

⁴²Bacch. frag. II, Lindsay; Bacch. 763; Cas. 646; Epid. 658; Poen. 335; Pseud. 1249, 1290; Rud. 684; Trin. 1060; Truc. 673 and 896, which has manuscript variants and corruption. Bacch. 763 and Truc. 673-674 both have saevus and

truculentus used together, which helps reinforce the brutality and wildness suggested in the term saevus. Interestingly, truculentus and saevus occur directly after Charinus mentions the mad plan (insanum negotium) he is devising.

⁴³See supra p. 51.

⁴⁴Cf. Ennius' furentibus ventis (supra p. 5), a phrase that also could be a metaphorical expression for uncontrollable problems.

⁴⁵If we accept Schoell's addition of saevire in Rud. 684, certumst moriri quam hunc pati [saevire] leonem in me, the bestial and wild character of nature is even more evident. Schoell's addition makes sense and is corroborated by the context. The lion is, of course, the standard figure of "wildness" in nature.

⁴⁶Lilja, "Terms of Abuse," 32-36.

⁴⁷Ibid. 22-23.

Terence

⁴⁸An. 218-219. See supra p. 50, note 33.

⁴⁹Terence, I think, is playfully punning upon the name Demea. At least the collocation Demea/demens suggests to me a deliberate wordplay.

⁵⁰Ad. 111, 197, 562, 727, 937; An. 535, 692; Eun. 63, 254, 556, 616, 657, 861; Haut. 32 (prologue); Phorm. 6 (prologue), 642.

⁵¹See supra pp. 41-42 and 45.

⁵²Eun. 556 has the juxtaposition sanus...insaniam. An. 534-535 shows a similar context. Chremes asks Simo whether he is mad or are others who say Simo's son will soon be marrying his daughter (id viso tune an illi insaniant?).

⁵³See supra pp. 49-53 for a discussion of the madness of love in Plautus and infra pp. 204-205 for Cicero's use of Terence.

⁵⁴Cf. Eun. 861, Phorm. 642, An. 692, Ad. 727. Lilja, "Terms of Abuse," 10.

⁵⁵See supra p. 62 and cf. An. 752, Ad. 761 and 997 for similar uses.

⁵⁶See supra pp. 8-9 and 40.

⁵⁷An. 868; Eun. 854; Phorm. 213, 744; Ad. 866.

⁵⁸The elegists exploit this notion. See e.g. infra pp. 306-308.

⁵⁹Demea's language is perhaps a translation or adaptation of Men. K III, f. 10:

ἐγὼ δ' ἄγροῖκος, ἐγράτης, σκυθρὸς πικρὸς
φειδωλός.

⁶⁰An. 150, Eun. 1069, Hec. 488, Haut. 440, Ad. 17 and 682.

⁶¹Cf. Hec. 488 and Eun. 1069 where vementer velim forms a pleasant alliteration.

⁶²Ad. 699-710.

⁶³Elaine Fantham, Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972) 8-11 has cited these occurrences: An. 308; Haut. 367; Eun. 72, 84-85, 274; Phorm. 82, 107-108, 186, 974-975; Hec. 562; Ad. 310.

⁶⁴Asin. 420, Pseud. 201, Merc. 600, and Epid. 55.

⁶⁵See supra p. 45.

⁶⁶See supra p. 39.

⁶⁷See Fantham, 14, for a list of these metaphors and parallels from Menander.

CHAPTER III

LUCILIUS, EARLY INSCRIPTIONS AND THE TWELVE TABLES

Lucilius

¹1178 (incerti libri) according to Frederick Marx, C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Reprinted Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963) whose numeration I shall use hereafter in quoting Lucilius.

²See supra p. 51 for the Stoic conception of stupidity as madness and see also Cicero's quotation there.

³This passage initiates a long formal monologue on the Stoic view that everyone is insane who is not a Stoic philosopher.

⁴Warmington, 3:58.

⁵See supra pp. 6-7.

⁶Some other readings--furi (Tischeret), surdi (Warmington), and spurci (Seiffert) appear to me to be no more than scholarly guesses. Rossback's sura has the authority of one manuscript and is appealing because it refers to a bodily part. However, the syntax becomes strained and the meaning, "thigh," is hard to accommodate in the ablatives in stomacho and pulmonibu. I suggest surum as another possibility, standing as the object of sisto, to be taken closely with pulmonibu. Gladium in stomacho would then be balanced by surum ac pulmonibu, leaving sisto as the transitive verb with gladium and surum as objects. Surus apparently is an old agricultural term attested by Varro and was used by Ennius to indicate a means of defense: unus surus surum unum ferrit, tamen defendere possent (L. L. 10.73). Therefore, the word is found in a military context and would easily fit in our Lucilian passage, meaning "stake" or "shaft of spear." The word also reflects an earlier plebeian lineage that passed out of the literary language. I do not wish to categorically defend this reading, but I make the suggestion as another possibility in lieu of the other doubtful guesses.

⁷See supra p. 66.

⁸Cf. Hor. Sat. 2.1.21-22, especially tristi...versu.

⁹Marx argues that 574 is an expression of anger, quoting Herondas 6.37 as a parallel in Greek. However, Petron. Sat. 62 (mihi anima in naso esse) expresses shock and surprise rather than anger. Anger or simply opposition is already well suggested in 573 by reprehendi.

¹⁰Conrad Cichorius, Untersuchungen zu Lucilius (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1908) 112-113.

¹¹Cic. in Fin. 1.43 similarly expresses the philosophic ἀταραξία: qua praeceptrice [i.e., sapientia] in tranquillitate vivi potest omnium cupiditatum ardore restincto. Terence in Eun. 1038 uses in tranquillo to apply to successful love.

¹²Cf. Plaut. Rud. 903; Lucr. 6.517, Pliny HN 17, 24, 37; Quint. 9.4.7.

¹³629, 1025, and 1220.

¹⁴See supra pp. 71-73.

¹⁵Cf., e.g., the Horatian ira furor brevis est (Epist. 1.2.62).

¹⁶See supra pp. 54-56 where anger is associated with the word saevire.

¹⁷Leonard R. Palmer, The Latin Language (London: Faber, 1955) 70. Palmer quotes Accius (672-673):
 probae etsi in segetem sunt deteriorem datae
 fruges, tamen ipsae suapte natura enitent
 to verify his contention that probus meant "that which grows properly." Vergil's famous clause, labor omnia vicit (G. 1.145-146), well illustrates the transference of improbis from the natural scene to abstract ideas. Labor improbus in this context seems to mean "work that is unproductive." See infra p. 234, note 17, and p. 240.

¹⁸Cf. 263, 385, 749, 1224, 1283.

¹⁹Cf. his notes on this passage.

²⁰For Lucilius' connection with the so-called Scipionic Circle, see Alan E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) 294-306.

²¹See supra p. 51.

²²See supra p. 78, note 13.

Early Inscriptions

²³Cf. CIL I².1222; 1223; 2139; 2520²⁸; 2520³².

²⁴CIL I².2525.

²⁵Enrica Malcovati, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta² (Turin: Paravia, 1955) s.v. "C. Asinius Pollio, 27."

The Twelve Tables

²⁶In 16.4.4 Gellius uses morbis sonticus in a list of exceptions when a soldier need not answer the summons of a consul. This passage also indicates the social importance attached to the legal designation of a morbis sonticus.

²⁷See supra pp. 38-39.

²⁸I shall be returning to this point from time to time.

²⁹Ettore Pais, Storia di Roma (Turin: Unione Tipografico, 1898) 1.1.550-604; Eduoard Lambert, La Question de l'authenticité des XII Tables et les annales Maximi (Paris: Libraire de la Société du Recueil général des lois et des arrêts, 1902) 2-30, 51-52.

³⁰Herbert F. Jolowicz, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 108-111; Wolfgang Kunkel, An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History, trans. by J. M. Kelley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966) 23-24; Warmington, 3:xxviii-xxix; Franz Wieacker, "Die XII Tafeln in ihrem Jahrhundert," Les Origines de la République Romaine (Geneva: Foundation Hardt 13, 1967) 296-299.

³¹Warmington, 3:xxix-xxx; Jolowicz, 106; John Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1874) 509-513; Palmer, 64; Wieacker, 300-303; William W. Buckland, A Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian, rev. ed. by Peter Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 2 and 168; Paul F. Girard, Textes de Droit Romain (Paris: Rousseau, 1923) 9-11.

³²Fritz Schulz, Classical Roman Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951) 199.

³³Palmer, 64; Wordsworth, 509-513; Warmington, 3:xxx.

³⁴Wordsworth, 509.

³⁵We would expect something like fusionsos with intervocalic S→R, onsus→osus and the common os suffix. Cf. Palmer, 209-232.

³⁶Jolowicz, 110; Wieacker, 295-296; Warmington, 3:xxx; Alan Watson, Roman Private Law Around 200 B.C. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971) 9.

³⁷See Schulz, 197-199; Watson, 41-42; Jolowicz, 121.

³⁸See Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae (Berlin: Reimer, 1894) 2:971-975 for a complete list of the occurrences of furius/furor. All are taken from imperial sources and jurists.

³⁹My argument is made ex silentio, but I believe it is valid. From the early literature before the first century B.C., only two occurrences of furere in Ennius are well attested. The other uses are ill-established, as in Lucilius, or undatable, as in the unassigned fragments of tragedies. In any case, the meaning of "madness" from the two occurrences in Ennius is not definitive. See supra pp. 5-7.

CHAPTER IV

LUCRETIUS

¹Henri Quellet, Les Dérivés latins en -OR (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969) 28-29 admits as much, discounting an early emendation (Pacuvius 393). Quellet concludes that furor was a usage first current in the Ciceronian Age.

²2.593, 2.621, 2.985, 3.828, 3.1011, 4.1069, 4.1117, 6.49, 6.111, 6.367, 6.687, 6.1045, 6.1184.

³See supra p. 5.

⁴Some manuscripts read furerent for fuerint in 49, a reading which, if accepted, would further heighten the image of an uncontrollable storm.

⁵For petulantibus cf. Paulus-Festus (226.4): petulantes et petulci etiam appellantur qui protervo impetu et crebro petunt laedendi alterius gratia.

⁶See 5.47 for the noun petulantia and 2.368 for petulci.

⁷See notes to this passage in William Ellery Leonard and Stanley Barney Smith, T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

⁸William S. Anderson, "Discontinuity in Lucretian Symbolism," TAPA 91 (1960) 5-11.

⁹Cf. also Lucretius' irony and disdain in 2.638.

¹⁰See supra pp. 42-43.

¹¹See supra p. 51. See also infra pp. 200-203 for Cicero's discussion, pp. 330-334 for Horace's discussion, and pp. 105-108 for further discussion of delirare and the Lucretian rejection of other philosophers and their tenets.

¹²Lethargus is described by Celsus (3.20) as a morbus phreniticus.

¹³Cf. morbeis and aegret (824), macerat (826), and remordent (827).

¹⁴Cf. supra pp. 26-27.

¹⁵See supra pp. 6-7.

¹⁶Cf. 3.992-994 for excess of passion and sex. N.B. volucres...curae and anxius angor; 3.1008-1010 for allusions to the violence of Danaids; 3.1012-1023 for the horrifying description of Tartarus and the agonies of repentance.

¹⁷R. F. Arragon, "Poetic Art as a Philosophic Medium for Lucretius," Essays in Criticism 11 (1961) 380-381.

¹⁸Donald R. Dudley, "The Satiric Element in Lucretius," in Lucretius, ed. by Donald R. Dudley (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) 121.

¹⁹Cyril Bailey, Lucretius (London: Oxford University Press, 1947) 1303.

²⁰Cf. Leonard and Smith's note to this passage. N.B. roborat (1038), commovet and laccessit (1039), ciet and vis (1040), ciet again in 1043, and tument in 1045 for the language and metaphor.

²¹See supra p. 13.

²²See 1049-1057 in which there are many words and phrases often used in the military setting. Cf. for example cadunt in vulnus (1049), sanguis (1050), icimur ictu (1050), hostem...occupat (1051), telis accipit ictus (1052), and others.

²³1060 and 1064.

²⁴One wonders what particular direction Lucretius is urging his readers to follow, presumably the Epicurean way of trusted needful friendships and withdrawal from political life. See John B. Stearns, "Epicurus and Lucretius on Love," CJ 31 (1935-36) 343-351 who tries to show that Lucretius is not slavishly following a static Epicurean dogma but is ad-

justing his material and moral judgments to a contemporary Rome far different in political and social spirit from the Athens of Epicurus.

²⁵See supra p. 24 for comments on turbare, often used to describe madness or irrational behavior.

²⁶See supra pp. 37-39 and 60-63.

²⁷Miser occurs later in 1159 and 1179 to indicate the lovesick.

²⁸For discussion of error see supra pp. 13 and 23. Cf. 3.1052 for similarity in language and metaphor:
atque animi incerto fluitans errore vagaris.

²⁹The fire imagery is continued in 1085-1091 where ardoris, flammans, and ardescit occur.

³⁰Love-making as the planting of fields (atque in eost Venus ut muliebria corpora conserat arva: 1106) recalls the image of plowing in Plautus (Merc. 356, see supra p. 53). Leonard and Smith, notes ad loc., list some occurrences of the metaphor from Greek literature.

³¹E.g., Dudley, 121-130; Archibald W. Allen, "Sunt qui Propertium malint," in Critical Essays in Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric, ed. by John P. Sullivan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962) 123; Kenneth Quinn, Latin Explorations: Critical Studies in Roman Literature (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963) 144-147.

³²For example, see infra pp. 258-261 and 291-297.

³³Ion 533 D-E.

³⁴See supra pp. 24 and 99-100.

³⁵Cf. Leonard and Smith's notes to this passage; Bailey, Lucretius, 1731-32 with parallels; Charles Segal, "Lucretius, Epilepsy and the Hippocratic On Breaths," CP 65 (1970) 180-182. John P. Elder, "Lucretius 1.1-49," TAPA 85 (1954) 92-93 stresses the psychic connotations of the terminology employed in the description of the plague.

³⁶Furiosus is probably derived from furia rather than furor or furere. It is difficult linguistically to assume furiosus from furere without the intermediate form furia.

³⁷See supra p. 94.

³⁸See supra pp. 42-43.

³⁹E[dward] J. Kenney, Lucretius De Rerum Natura Book III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) 138.

⁴⁰Kenney, Lucretius, 140 and Bailey, Lucretius, 1076.

⁴¹See supra p. 12.

⁴²For the political overtones of the passage, see Raffaele Papa, L'Originalità di Lucrezio filosofo e poeta nel L. V del "De Rerum Natura" (Naples: Loffredo, 1955) 64-72.

⁴³See supra p. 107.

⁴⁴See supra p. 106.

⁴⁵See supra pp. 101-102.

⁴⁶Elder, "Lucretius," 114-119 in comparing the imagery and language of Book IV with the proem of Book I forcefully demonstrates the deep psychological reverberations that love has upon the male.

⁴⁷See supra p. 8.

⁴⁸See supra pp. 40 and 45 and note 24.

⁴⁹Cf. Ov. Am. 3.12.21; Verg. Ecl. 6.74-77, Aen. 3.426-432; Sen. Med. 350.

⁵⁰Louis Roberts, A Concordance of Lucretius, Suppl. to Agon (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968) lists twenty different forms of errare.

⁵¹See supra pp. 100-101.

⁵²See supra pp. 98-103.

⁵³See supra pp. 107-108.

⁵⁴For avius as a term for a departure from rationality, cf. also 2.82.

⁵⁵For other instances of Lucretian censure of previous philosophical mistakes, cf. 1.332, 1.393, 1.711, and 3.105, where the deviation suggested in errare is classified and heightened by the adjective diversi, "turning aside" from Epicureanism:

sic animi sensum non certa parte reponunt,
magno opere in quo mi diversi errare videntur
(3.104-105).

⁵⁶Lucretius is trying to translate Epicurus' ἐπιβολὴ τῆς διανοίας, by which obscure process the mind somehow represents images without dependence on the senses. Cf. Cyril Bailey, The Greek Atomists and Epicurus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928) 559-576; W[illiam] H. D. Rouse, Lucretius' De Rerum Natura, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1966) 136-137; and William S. Maguinness, "The Language of Lucretius," in Lucretius, ed. by Donald R. Dudley (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965) 72.

⁵⁷See supra pp. 107-108 and 113.

⁵⁸Note the similarity in language in the two previous passages: non...longiter errat and haudquaquam...longe...errant.

⁵⁹Kenney, Lucretius, 232.

⁶⁰Ibid. 237.

⁶¹For incertus and error see supra p. 112 and cf. Pacuvius (302) for similarity in diction and thought (see supra p. 23). For vagare linked again with error, cf. 3.860-861:

inter enim iectast vitai pausa, vageque
deerrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.

⁶²See supra p. 113.

⁶³See supra p. 101.

⁶⁴Cf. 1077 for incertis erroribus and 1104 for errantes incerti and see supra p. 101.

⁶⁵See supra p. 102 and cf. for similarity in language and thought Ov. Her. 4.20: caecum pectora vulnus habent and Juv. 10.350-352:

nos animorum
inpulsu et caeca magnaue cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus.

Verg. Aen. 4.2 will be discussed later (see infra pp. 258-259).

⁶⁶The simile (55-58):
nam veluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis
in tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus
interdum, nihilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam
quae pueri in tenebris pavitant finguntque futura
is repeated in 3.87-90 and 6.35-38.

⁶⁷1.277, 1.295, 1.328, 2.129, 2.136, 2.714, 2.798,
3.247, 3.269, 4.456, 4.928, 6.1016.

⁶⁸1.277, 1.295, 1.1110.

⁶⁹See supra pp. 13-16, 24-25, 52-56, 65-66.

⁷⁰Leonard and Smith quote a passage from Aulus Gellius defining vexat (NA 2.6.5). According to Gellius vexare indicates a lack of control imposed by some external force. For perfurit, see Alfred Ernout and Léon Robin, Lucrece, De Rerum Natura². 3 vols. (Paris: Budé, 1962) ad loc. notes. The other rare occurrences of perfurit appear in Verg. Aen. 9.343 and Stat. Theb. 4.388.

⁷¹Francesco Giancotti, Il Preludio di Lucrezio (Florence: D'Anna, 1959) 201-234 discusses the various counterpoints drawn in the proemium.

⁷²Edward M. Bradley, "Lucretius and the Irrational," CJ 67 (1972) 319.

⁷³See supra pp. 92-93 for the deviation that Lucretius believes this entire cult displays.

⁷⁴See supra p. 79.

⁷⁵Roberts, 21.

⁷⁶See supra pp. 89-90.

⁷⁷See supra pp. 97-103.

⁷⁸For "boiling over" of the mental state to express anger, cf. 3.295 (iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira).

⁷⁹See supra p. 45.

⁸⁰Included in this description of the effects on the mental condition are words (vacillanti) and phrases (swimming eyes: nant oculi) indicative of derangement.

⁸¹See supra pp. 44-45.

⁸²Oscar Weise, Language and Character of the Roman People³, tr. by H. A. Strong and A. Y. Campbell (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1909) 18-20, and Jacques Marouzeau, Quelques Aspects de la formation du Latin littéraire (Paris: Klincksieck, 1949) 10-25 indicate the agricultural and rustic base of many Latin words and concepts.

⁸³Elder, "Lucretius," 88-120; Anderson, "Discontinuity in Lucretian Symbolism," 6-22, 25-27; Phillip De Lacy, "Process and Value: an Epicurean Dilemma," TAPA 88 (1957) 115-118.

⁸⁴De Lacy, 88-89, 114-118.

⁸⁵Anderson, "Discontinuity in Lucretian Symbolism," 6-11; David West, The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969) 103-114.

⁸⁶3.830-1094.

⁸⁷Henry S. Commager, Jr., "Lucretius' Interpretation of the Plague," HSCP 62 (1957) 110-118, and Bradley, 322.

⁸⁸I avoid the whole question of Lucretius' supposed insanity brought on by a love-philtre and his death by suicide. This tradition, preserved by Jerome, has been rejected by most scholars: e.g., L. P. Wilkinson, "Lucretius and the Love-philtre," CR 63 (1949) 47-48; D. E. W. Wormall, "Lucretius: The Personality of the Poet," G & R 7 (1960) 54-65; and Bailey, Lucretius, 8. E[dward] J. Kenney, "Doctus Lucretius," Mnemosyne 23 (1970) 366-369 believes that Jerome misunderstood Statius' comment (Silv. 2.7.76: et docti furor arduus Lucreti). Kenney views furor as poetic inspiration loosely used for ingenium and contrasted with Lucretian Alexandrian elements. In any case Lucretius' work does not definitely show any derangement on the poet's part, only a vehemence and strong conviction in his belief and treatment. Lucretius does not use furor to mean inspiration, a concept developed by later writers and a cliché by Statius' time.

CHAPTER V

CATULLUS

¹15.14, 46.2, 50.11, 68.129.

²See supra pp. 5 and 89-92.

³See supra pp. 23-24, 29, 30, and 64.

⁴Cf. Prop. 1.14.21 (miserum toto iuvenem versare cubili) and 2.22b.47 (quanta illum toto versant suspiria lecto) for details of the description of a love scene.

⁵C[hristian] J. Fordyce, Catullus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 217, notes ad loc.

⁶Eric A. Havelock, The Lyric Genius of Catullus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939) 114, and Eckart Schäfer, Das Verhältnis von Erlebnis und Kunstgestalt bei Catullus. Hermes, Einzelschriften 18 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966) 38-40.

⁷Robinson Ellis, A Commentary on Catullus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889) 251-260, and Edwin Oliver James, The Cult of the Mother Goddess (New York: Barnes, 1959) 161-172.

⁸Wilhelm Kroll, Catull³ (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1959) 129-130; Ellis, 260; Fordyce, 262.

⁹See supra pp. 101-103.

¹⁰See supra pp. 92-93.

¹¹See supra pp. 110-112 and cf. 63.58 (rabie fera carens) for the connotations of wildness that Attis lacks in his moment of regret.

¹²Rationality is expressed in this poem by the phrase liquida mens (46).

¹³John P. Elder, "Catullus' Attis," AJP 68 (1947) 395-399.

¹⁴Schäfer, 95-107, argues that furor throughout all the poems of Catullus is a madness inspired by an external power. I can agree with this assessment only in this section of this poem. In the other instances externalization can not be well established and in some cases is contradictory and counter to the theme, e.g., 50.11, 15.14, and 68.129.

¹⁵For similarity of expression cf. Ov. Fast. 4.116: a nobis sit procul iste furor.

¹⁶Line 85 has the collocation rabidum incitat.

¹⁷Fordyce, 264. Compare also his notes to the comments of previous scholars on this poem.

¹⁸It does not seem accidental that the orgiastic followers of the Bacchic cult are represented as female. Similar to the feminine aspects represented by Attis' conversion to Cybele's cult, the bacchantes are consistently portrayed as wild demonic figures affecting male society. The literary prototype is already well established by Euripides' Bacchae. Cf. Lucr. 6.34 (volvere curarum tristes in pectore fluctus) for similarity in metaphor.

¹⁹See supra pp. 124-125.

²⁰D. P. Harmon, "Nostalgia for the Age of Heroes in Catullus 64," Latomus 33 (1973) 320-322 stresses Ariadne's lack of self-consciousness, emphasizing her desperation and mental imbalance due to her lack of fulfillment.

²¹See supra pp. 117-119, especially for Lucretius' use of caecus.

²²See supra pp. 26-27 and notes 57-63.

²³I must take exception to Michael C. J. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64," HSCP 65 (1961) 187-188, who maintains there is a distinct change of mood preparing the reader for a return to the more joyous picture of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. I believe that Catullus is linking one type of furor to another and that the happy circumstances of the wedding are illusory. The poem's conclusion certainly does not portend joy or optimism, and one must remember the destructive qualities that the offspring of such a marriage

(Achilles) displayed and brought. It should also be noted that the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was a very turbulent one and Thetis finally abandoned the hero Peleus. See Meyer Reinhold, Past and Present: The Continuity of Classical Myths (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972) 282.

²⁴Putnam, "Art of Catullus 64," 195-200, argues that the conclusion of this poem reflects Catullus' own day and his views toward Roman society. To Putnam the references to sexual crimes and impietas are symptoms of Roman decadence. I fail to see the necessity of modernizing the ending. For an interpretation different from Putnam, see Leo C. Curran, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age," YCLS 21 (1969) 171-192 who avoids any autobiographical interpretation and argues that the basic antitheses in the two myths deny any gap between past and present (189-192). A more balanced view seems to be struck by Harmon, 330-331, who argues for a certain amount of Catullan irony in the praise of heroes expressed in the poem and partial acceptance of Theseus' moral deficiencies. These factors form the basis for Catullus' nostalgic view of previous time.

²⁵Cf. impia in 403 and 404 preceding the quoted passage and, for similarity in diction and idea, cf. 67.23-26 where impiety (impia mens) is linked with the language of love (caeco flagrabat amore: 25).

²⁶See supra pp. 101-102.

²⁷See infra p. 144.

²⁸See supra pp. 23-24, 29, 30, and 64.

²⁹See supra p. 130.

³⁰See supra p. 5.

³¹22.20, 61.35, 63.18, 64.113, 64.115.

³²See supra pp. 97-103. Note the importance Lucretius gives to error in his argument.

³³Vergil definitely borrows in language and metaphor from the Catullan passage. Of the labyrinth he has indeprensus et inremeabilis error (Aen. 5.591), inextricabilis error (Aen. 6.27) and caeca regens filo vestigia (Aen. 6.30).

³⁴See supra pp. 6-7 for the use in Ennius and pp. 95-96 for the single Lucretian usage.

³⁵See supra p. 7 and note to that discussion.

³⁶Impiety or lack of proper respect is one of Catullus' favorite themes expressed in all types of his poems. For impius as a common expression of this idea, cf. 14.7, 23.10, 30.4, 64.403-404, 67.25, 68.128, and 90.4.

³⁷See supra pp. 112-117.

³⁸See supra p. 137.

³⁹Kenneth Quinn, The Catullan Revolution (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1959) 70-84; Frank O. Copley, "Emotional Conflict and Its Significance in the Lesbia Poems of Catullus," AJP 70 (1949) 22-40, and Schäfer, 49-72, all discuss the experience, emotion, and the language of the so-called Lesbia poems, and point out Catullus' wounded sense of truth, trust, and fidelity as the source for his treatment and handling of the theme of his own love experience. In no case does Catullus consider his dilemma a source of madness (furor).

⁴⁰Cf. 8, 70, 72, and 85 (Odi et amo) for excellent examples of Catullus' realization of the emotional impasse and pain that love produces. Godo Lieberg, Puella Divina (Amsterdam: Schippers, 1962) 177-194 argues that Lesbia becomes both domina and diva. These epithets demonstrate that Catullus is aware of and admits Lesbia's influence and power exerted over him. Lesbia, as goddess, can be as exacting as any divine figure exercising an external control over human behavior.

⁴¹For an opposing view see Lieberg, 175-263, who favors the view that Catullus presents his impasse as an externalized matter due to his deification of Lesbia. Cf. Putnam, "Art of Catullus 64," 174, for Ariadne's lack of pietas that leads her to a spiritual demise.

CHAPTER VI

CICERO

Speeches

¹Lucr. 6.367; Catull. 63.31 and 54. See supra pp. 92 and 134-135.

²Sest. 15 and 117 and Phil. 13.19.

³See supra p. 7 and note ad loc.

⁴See supra pp. 95-96.

⁵See the Scholiast ad loc. for the reference to Orestes and Alcmaeon.

⁶The phrase summus furor atque amentia is a repetition from 62 in a general discussion of crimes and criminals.

⁷Scaevola was viewed as a conciliator between disputatious factions. Perhaps Cicero understands his role in this speech and in politics as some sort of unifier and spokesman for moderation as Scaevola was before him. For Scaevola see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1933) 16¹:437-447.

⁸See supra p. 152.

⁹See supra pp. 124-125 and 138-139 for Lucretian and Catullan linking of ardere and furere.

¹⁰2.4.38; 39; 41.

¹¹The phrase oculis arderet is reminiscent of the Ennian and Plautine description of "mad" behavior. See supra pp. 8 and 38.

¹²5.73, 85, 106, 139, 153, 161, 188.

¹³Clu. 15, 177, 182, 191, 194.

¹⁴Leg. Agr. 1.1; 2.32; 2.92.

¹⁵See particularly 2.86-97 for details of Cicero's argument. In 2.92 Cicero compares Rullus and his policy to the activities of Marcus Junius Brutus, the father of the "tyrannicide," who as tribune in 83 established Capua as a colony. The extremism of the tribune and his supporters is detailed in 2.92 and the noun furor introduces a list of what Cicero regards as impious and unpatriotic actions.

¹⁶For a discussion of the political machinations involved, see Engbert J. Jonkers, Social and Economic Commentary on Cicero's De Lege Agraria Orationes Tres (Leiden: Brill, 1963) 73-76, 126-130.

¹⁷See supra pp. 153 and 156.

¹⁸See supra p. 79 and note 17.

¹⁹See infra pp. 164-165 and cf. Livy 2.27.10, 3.16.5, and 4.2.1 for similarity in thought and diction. Cicero regarded the tribunician activity of Tiberius Gracchus as extreme, describing it with furor in Amic. 11.37. The same designation is used later by Velleius Paterculus (2.6.1) to delineate the political leanings of the Gracchi brothers.

²⁰Andrew W. Lintott, Violence in Republican Rome (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 156-157 discusses the official declaration of hostis and its purpose, concluding that Cicero was unable to obtain senatorial backing against Catiline. He thinks that Sallust (Cat. 36.2-3) was correct, in that Catiline was not declared a hostis until sometime after the First Catilinarian was delivered and that Cicero's silence on the matter in the first speech and Catiline's presence in the senate support Sallust's position. Simply because Cicero in a speech alludes to an individual as a hostis does not necessarily mark him as officially so designated and, therefore, subject to arrest, prosecution, and loss of civil rights.

²¹2.19, 20, 21 where also the conspirators' actions are contrasted with the senatorial party (mens sana vs. amentia).

²²See supra p. 140.

²³See supra pp. 160-161 and note tribunicium furorem.

²⁴C. MacDonald, Pro L. Murena Oratio (London: Macmillan, 1969) 83 and cf. Red. Sen. 11 for contra tribunicios furores esse voluerunt in reference to a precedent in Roman history. The subject of voluerunt is maiores nostri.

²⁵Sull. 29, 56, 67, 75, and 76.

²⁶Cf. Red. Sen. 19 for another reference to the madness of the opposition that is contrasted with the courage, wise policy, and resolve of T. Annius, a champion of Cicero's position.

²⁷In chapter 5 Cicero details the exact crimes he has in mind, adding that Clodius is a deadly pollution to the country (funesta rei publicae pestis).

²⁸55, 103, 113, and 123.

²⁹See supra pp. 131, 133, and 137.

³⁰11, 25, 63, 64, 66, 68 (bis), 91, 107, 119, 130, 133, 144, 145.

³¹Robert G. M. Nisbet, De Domo Sua ad Pontifices Oratio (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939) ad loc. For the use of pestis with furor, cf. supra p. 163.

³²Furor: 2, 10, 39, 48, 50, 52; furere: 4, 39, 46; furia: 4, 12; furialis: 39; furenter: 39.

³³Note the recurrent indomitos furores and the adjective effrenatos which was used to characterize Catiline's revolutionary activities. See supra pp. 161-162.

³⁴Praeter tribunum plebis furiosum et audacem (20); praeter furiosum illum tribunum (25); cessi tribuni plebis despiciatissimi hominis, furori (36).

³⁵For other references to furor or related forms used to describe political extremism cf. 14, 15, 33, 39, 53, 63, 106, 109, and 112. In chapter 39, furia is again linked with pestis.

³⁶Chaim Wirszubski, "Cicero's cum dignitate otium: A Reconsideration," JRS 44 (1954) 5-7, 9, has adequately discussed Cicero's idealized government and the role of the optimates as the keepers of civil concord, responsible administration and governmental dignity. J[ohn] P. V. D. Balsdon, "Cicero the Man," in Cicero, ed. by T[homas] A. Dorey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) 189, maintains that Cicero set political opponents into different categories: personal enemies (inimici), morally bad men (improbi) and those envious of his influence and position (invidi). Such men do not belong to the optimates. Unfortunately, there is no attempt to categorize the audaces and furiosi. See infra p. 190 and note 71.

³⁷Cf. 14, 18, 26, and 31 (bis) for reference to Vatinius and his furor. Section 18 has tribunicios furores.

³⁸33 (bis) and 40.

³⁹Lewis G. Pocock, A Commentary on Cicero in Vatinius (Reprinted Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967) 5-9, 17-28, 161-179.

⁴⁰Cicero imagines Q. Metellus Celer resisting the operations of his cousin P. Clodius:

quonam modo ille furenti fratri suo consularis restitisset, qui consul incipientem furere atque tonantem sua se manu interfecturum audiente senatu dixerit? (Cael. 60).

It should be noticed that there can be a furor consularis depending upon the character and politics of the holder of the office and the degree to which Cicero opposes him, R[oland] G. Austin, M. T. Ciceronis Pro Caelio Oratio³ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) notes ad loc. that furor is a common designation of Cicero to denote "left-wing" radicals among the populares.

⁴¹Dom. 23 and Robert G. M. Nisbet, M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) x, 172, 189. Piso did not leave Macedonia until the summer of 55 B.C.

⁴²Nisbet, In Pisonem, 199-201, thinks that it was published sometime in mid 55 B.C. from July to September. For other views as to the exact month see his notes ad loc.

⁴³See supra pp. 150-152, 156, and 169.

⁴⁴See supra p. 169.

⁴⁵Nisbet, In Pisonem, 90, note ad loc.

⁴⁶The phraseology is similar in a like reference in 16: quorum ego furori nisi cessissem, where Cicero also makes the charge of violence and illegality against both Piso and Gabinius. Cf. also in that same chapter: eorum ferro ac furori.

⁴⁷For similarity in thought and language cf. Rosc. Am. 67 and supra p. 151.

⁴⁸Nisbet, In Pisonem, 109, cites Mommsen, Staatsrecht, iii, 1083, to show that consulting the senate before demobilization was only a custom and not a legal or constitutional requirement. Other references in the In Pisonem to furor occur in 49, 50 (bis) and 78, all in a political context.

⁴⁹Nisbet, In Pisonem, xiv-xvi, and Pierre Grimal, Cicéron, Discours: Contre L. Pison (Paris: Budé, 1966) 51-60, conclude that Cicero, because of his extreme bitterness over his exile misrepresented the case against Piso and later had to recognize that Piso's political career had been moderate and statesmanlike. Cf. Att. 7.13.1: amo etiam Pisonem, where Cicero apologetically admits his unfairness to Piso.

⁵⁰3, 14, 26, 27, 32, 35, 77, 78, 88, 91.

⁵¹Marcell. 21; Lig. 18; Deiot. 15 (bis), 25, 36.

⁵²Deiot. 15 refers to the furor of a king in his political and diplomatic relations with other nations, kings, and people.

⁵³Furere or related forms appear in the following chapters almost exclusively referring to Antony or his supporters: 1.22, 2.1, 2.68 (bis), 2.101, 3.3, 3.5, 3.17, 3.31, 4.3, 5.23, 5.37, 5.43, 6.4, 6.18, 10.11, 10.21, 11.2, 11.4, 11.7, 11.37, 12.26, 13.16, 13.18, 13.19, 13.20, 13.39, 13.43, 14.14, 14.15, 14.33.

⁵⁴2.68 (bis) and 101 where furere is linked with the term vinolentus to describe Antony's excesses in engaging in "parties" and drinking bouts.

⁵⁵Cf. 3.5, 3.31, 4.3, 5.23, 5.43, 6.18, 10.11, 13.19. All these passages point out the contrast between Octavian and Antony, emphasizing Cicero's strong partisan opposition to Antony.

⁵⁶For other references to furor describing Antony, cf. 12.26, 13.18, 13.39 (where Cicero addresses him as "o mad one," furiose), 14.14, and 14.15 (which involves an emendation by Madvig).

Letters

⁵⁷This diminutive is used again to designate Clodius in Att. 2.22.1 where there is a reference to Clodius' rage and lack of emotional control: volitat, furit; nihil habet certi...

⁵⁸Appius Claudius Pulcher and Publius Clodius were brothers and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (an old enemy of Cicero who forbade the delivery of a "farewell address" when Cicero laid down the consulship) was their cousin. Cf. W. W. How and A. C. Clark, Cicero Select Letters. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 2:182-183.

⁵⁹Cf. supra pp. 169-173.

⁶⁰Cf. Q. Fr. 2.1.3 (bis), 2.2.2, 2.3.2, and 3.1.11 for other references to Clodius' furor and Cicero's vehement opposition.

⁶¹Att. 7.8.4, 7.14.1, 10.4.2.

⁶²Att. 11.10.1 also has a reference to Caesar's madness (furor and amentia).

⁶³Cf. Fam. 12.25.4; ad Brut. 2.2.3; Fam. 12.3.1 (bis); Fam. 11.18.2 (concerning Lepidus); ad Brut. 2.3.2 (referring to Gaius Antonius), ad Brut. 1.15.9 (referring to Lepidus).

⁶⁴See supra pp. 163 and 168-169 for a discussion of pestis patriae and for vinolentum furorem, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁵Fam. 10.11.

⁶⁶Caes. B. Gall. 1.40 and How and Clark, 531.

⁶⁷Att. 4.1.

⁶⁸Att. 13.10.3; Fam. 8.11.1, 8.14.1, 12.14.3, 12.15.4, Q. Fr. 2.15b.2.

⁶⁹Att. 4.3.3, 11.9.2, 14.19.2; Q. Fr. 1.1.19.

⁷⁰Att. 6.1.12, 8.5.1.

⁷¹Alfons Weische, Studien zur politischen Sprache der Römischer Republik (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966) 28-38. Weische (23-28) notices the importance of furor in the political language of Cicero and connects it with audacia and temeritas (28-38) to describe revolution, extremism, or opposition to senatorial policy or propaganda. It is regrettable that Chaim Wirszubski, "Audaces: a Study in Political Phraseology," JRS 51 (1961) 12-22 did not consider the obvious link of furor with audacia. However, he does a thorough investigation of the development of audacia as a political term to denote extremism, defining audax as "a public man who dared in public life to do what no good man (bonus) would think of doing." This definition would also conform to a man designated as furiosus.

⁷²See supra pp. 150-152, 169, 173-175.

⁷³See supra pp. 188-189. Note that these uses appear chronologically late in the Ciceronian corpus.

⁷⁴See supra pp. 150-152.

⁷⁵See supra pp. 169, 173-175, and Weische, 27.

⁷⁶See supra p. 158 regarding Sassia in the Pro Cluentio.

⁷⁷Weische, 24-25.

Philosophical Works

⁷⁸Weische, 30-32, demonstrates the link between furor, audacia, and temeritas and their uses by optimates to designate the ill-founded and uncritical policies of populares. Cf. Har. Resp. 55 commenting upon Clodius: plenus inconsideratissimae ac dementissimae temeritatis, and cf. Off. 1.26 regarding Julius Caesar: temeritas C. Caesaris, qui omnia iura divina et humana pervertit propter eum, quem sibi opinionis errore finxerat principatum. These passages well express deviation and the lack of proper respect for institutions.

⁷⁹Nec vero convenit, cum furiosorum bona legibus in adgnatorum potestate sint, quod eorum iam... Cf. supra pp. 85-88 for the legal designation of the insane (furiosus).

⁸⁰See supra pp. 150-152.

⁸¹In Off. 2.58 Cicero alludes again to Clodius' extremism, speaking of the Milo incident: omnes P. Clodi conatus furoresque compressit.

⁸²Cicero then draws an antithesis between the virtuous and the bad: quam ob rem ut improbo et stulto et inertī nemini bene esse potest, sic bonus vir et fortis et sapiens miser esse non potest (19).

⁸³Non igitur illa tum civitas cum leges in ea nihil valebant, cum iudicia iacebant, cum mos patrius occiderat, cum ferro pulsīs magistratibus senatus nomen in republica non erat (27).

⁸⁴Cicero implies this assessment in the same passage: ego vero te non stultum, ut saepe, non improbum, sed dementem esse et insanire... (27).

⁸⁵There follows a list of the escapades and mortal acts in which the gods engage, such as adultery, quarrels, and imprisonments.

⁸⁶See supra pp. 98-103.

⁸⁷The De Natura Deorum also has a discussion of the Furiae. Cicero refutes the argument that the Furies are not divine, equating the Roman Furiae with the Greek Eumenides, both of which have cults, the Eumenides in Athens, the Furiae (lucus Furinae) in Rome. He concludes: Furiae deae sunt, speculatrices credo et vindices facinorum et sceleris (3.46) which conforms with Cicero's previous presentations and concept.

⁸⁸Phdr. 244c.

⁸⁹Ex quo genere saepe hariolorum et vatū furi-bundas praedictiones... (1.4). See supra pp. 108, 114-116, for Lucretian references to the mental confusion of dreams.

⁹⁰Atque haec, ut ego arbitror veteres rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti probaverunt. (1.5).

⁹¹Cicero employs this concept in a quotation from his own poetry: multaque per terras vates oracula furenti/pectore fundebant tristis minitancia casus, (1.18).

⁹²Div. 1.34.

⁹³See supra pp. 7-10 for comment upon Ennian passages and the features of mental derangement.

⁹⁴One of the features of the oracle at Delphi was said by some to be an exhalation from an earthly chasm; the Pythian goddess was thought to be possessed by the fumes from this chasm (Strab. 9.3.5; Plut. De def. or. 46; Paus. 10.5.7). At some time early in the history of the oracle, it was probably believed that the god entered into the body of the priestess via the fumes. Cf. Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité. 4 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1879-1882) 1:351-369, and 3:100-104, where the various stages of the process of divine inspiration are discussed; he concludes that the goddess was half-inspired by the mysterious exhalation and by chewing on a laurel leaf, becoming intoxicated, and, hence, possessed with prophetic ecstasy. James G. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece. 6 vols. (1898; reprinted New York: Tannen, 1965) 5:235 relates a parallel among modern primitive women who become frenzied by inhaling fumes from burning cedar. He says of the Pythia that perhaps the fumes from burning laurel threw her into the convulsive and delirious agitation which the ancients identified as divine inspiration. For a summary, see O'Brien-Moore, 206-210. Bouché-Leclercq, 1:352-359, and Rohde, 280-281, summarize the Bacchic elements associated with the Pythian goddess, an association Cicero does not seem to be aware of or ignored, but he is aware of the divine afflatus and its effects--oracula quae instinctu divino afflatuque funduntur and vis illa terrae quae mentem Pythiae divino afflatu concitabat (1.34-35). Rohde, 305-311, also discusses the entrance of Apollo into manic and orgiastic features of cult worship.

⁹⁵Cf. Stat. Theb. 10.160-161 concerning Thiodamas: superis animum lymphatis horror...subit; 166-167 nudus per ora stat furor; Achil. 1.525 about Calchas: vox eluctata furorem est; 536 amissique furoris viribus; Sen. Aga. 720 concerning Cassandra: furoris incitam stimulis novi; 724 cui nunc vagor vaesana, cui bacchor furens? and 775, 801, 869, 872, and 1012, all with uses of furere. Lucan, Phars. 5.150 instinctam sacro mentem testata furore concerning a Delphic priestess; 169 bacchatur demens; 190-191 spumea tum primum rabies vaesana per ora effluit; 210 perstat rabies. Cf. O'Brien-Moore, 212 and 218-223, for a summary of the symptoms and list of ancient references. Vergil's use of

this concept will be treated later in this investigation. It should be noted that the concept of possession differs from the mantic activity of Cassandra as pictured in Aeschylus. In Aeschylus Cassandra's madness and prophetic powers are due to her contact with the supernatural, not by possession. There was no need of Apolline possession if he could extend to her a supernatural ability to see both past and present. As a victim, Cassandra was to see for herself, not simply to be a mouthpiece for oracular responses of Apollo. The chorus sees her as possessed (1140-1212) but soon learns that her madness is not a form of hallucination or delusion but a forecast of reality. Cf. O'Brien-Moore, 74-101, and Eduard Fraenkel, Aeschylus: Agamemnon. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950) 539-543 for a discussion of this concept.

⁹⁶The reference to Plato comes from Phdr. 244A-245A, wherein Plato makes the comparison between poetic and mantic inspiration. The Greek term is μανία.

⁹⁷See supra pp. 7-8 for the Ennian quotation. Cassandra's mental capacity is called deranged (furibunda mens). For other general references to mantic inspiration as furor, cf. 1.118, 1.126, 2.100, 2.101, 2.110 (bis) and 2.16 where there is a discussion of the importance of the lack of making mistakes (error) and guidance by reason (ratio), that is, the employment of human faculties in contrast to the divine or supernatural.

⁹⁸See supra p. 43 and note 15.

⁹⁹For the best and most complete discussion of the Ciceronian concept of insania, see Sven Lundström, Vermeintliche Glosseme in den Tusculanen, Studia Latina Upsaliensia 2 (Uppsala: Acta Univ. Upsaliensis, 1964) 33-45.

¹⁰⁰O'Brien-Moore, 36-45. Ar. Av. 14 used μελαγχολᾶν to indicate lunacy.

¹⁰¹O'Brien-Moore, 44, and see supra p. 43, note 15.

¹⁰²See supra pp. 85-88 for a discussion of the phraseology of the Twelve Tables.

¹⁰³For caecus used in Lucretius to intimate mental incapacity see supra pp. 117-119, and for Catullus' direct link of caecus with insanity (amenti caeca furore) see supra p. 139. The complete concept is similar to the Greek ἄτη, a type of delusion. For the Greek concept and operation

of ἄτη, see E[ric] R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1964) 1-27.

¹⁰⁴John E. King, Cicero: Tusculan Disputations, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1927) 238. Cf. also the argument of Paradox 4 in the Paradoxa Stoicorum where Cicero discusses the Stoic argument that every foolish man is mad. Furere appears a number of times in this connection and is also used to describe Catiline's revolutionary activity (27).

¹⁰⁵See supra pp. 196-200 for comments on poets and inspiration, especially: negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse.

¹⁰⁶Vinolentia, dementia, insani, and ebrii are the terms employed to denote the aberration. However, Cicero then refutes the argument that anger can be useful.

¹⁰⁷See supra pp. 33-34. Cf. as well 4.54 where Cicero also presents counter-arguments to the Stoic tenet that irascibility is a mental disorder and does not have a use. He uses furere to express the intense anger or rage when an irascible man is unexpectedly awakened. Also included in the section is the discussion on the usefulness of anger in private life in which rabies is employed to denote the frenzied activity of a general or orator.

¹⁰⁸The quotation is introduced with a reference to furor to denote the madness which the Terentian passage details: nam ut illa praeteream, quae sunt furoris, haec ipsa per sese quam habent levitatem. See supra pp. 62-63 for a discussion of the Terentian passage. Cf. Cato Maior 47 for Sophocles' reaction to his loss of the sex drive in old age: a domino agresti et furioso profugi.

¹⁰⁹For two other uses of furere cf. 3.25, which continues the argument in 3.11, and 4.77 which discusses the effect of excessive anger.

¹¹⁰2.48 (bis), 52, 53, 88 (bis), 89, 90 (bis).

¹¹¹See supra pp. 196-200.

¹¹²Cf. 2.74 furere tibi Empedocles videtur.

Rhetorical Works

¹¹³Cum hominem seditiosum furiosumque defenderet is the immediate use, and cf. 2.91 furit in re publica.

¹¹⁴See supra p. 198.

¹¹⁵Cicero refers or alludes to this type of excess three times in the Brutus (233, 241, and 276). In the last of the passages the language is relatively similar to Orator 99: quod eos quorum altior oratio actioque esset ardentior furere atque bacchari arbitraretur.

Poetical Works

¹¹⁶All references are derived from Aemilius Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886).

¹¹⁷See supra pp. 196-200.

¹¹⁸See supra pp. 130-131 and 139 for Catullan echoes.

CHAPTER VII

LATE REPUBLICAN AUTHORS

Julius Caesar

¹See supra pp. 159-186.

²Donald C. Earl, The Political Thought of Sallust (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) 5-10; Lilly Ross Taylor, Party Politics in the Age of Caesar (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949) 51-58.

Sallust

³Cf. the Plautine phrase ardent oculi, supra p. 45.

⁴It is difficult to ascertain Sallust's source for his portrait of Catiline's mental condition. The description seems to agree with the Ciceronian characterization.

⁵The only other use of demens in the Bellum Catilinae occurs late in the work in the final speech of Catiline before his troops:

nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. (Cat. 58).

This very generalized notion is reminiscent of the Caesarian use in B. Gall. 4.13 and B. Afr. 8.

⁶72.2: ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari, and 99.3: nostris instantibus tumultu formidine terror quasi vecordia ceperat!

⁷Ronald Syme, Sallust (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1964) 260.

⁸There are two usages of demens in the Sallustian corpus. The generalized statement extremae dementiae est occurs twice, Iug. 3.3 and H. Or. Phil. 12 to denote futility or absurdity.

⁹Karl Büchner, Sallust (Heidelberg: Winter, 1960) 100-105, 143-145, 155-160, 165-166; Taylor, 9-18; Donald C. Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967) 47, 51-58; Syme, 18, 56, 136, 157-159, 166-173.

¹⁰See supra p. 118.

¹¹See supra pp. 202-203. Again the idea of ἄτη or delusion is suggested.

¹²Syme, 262, shows Sallust's idiosyncrasy for abstract nouns ending in -ido and -ia, eschewing those ending in -itas. For example, saevitia (eight occurrences: Cat. two times, Iug. four times, H. two times) is preferred over crudelitas (Cat. three times, none in Iug. or H.). Cf. Syme, 312.

Other Late Republicans

¹³See supra pp. 37-39.

¹⁴I do not insist upon this interpretation because of the lack of context; however, I do think the significance and nuance would be somewhat different if the line had read: furiosus omnis insanire credit ceteros.

¹⁵A symbolic use of sanus, maybe understood in another case: etiam sanato vulnere cicatrix manet (585). The wound and scar may refer to mental conditions rather than physical ones.

¹⁶See supra pp. 37-39 and 60-63 for Plautine and Terentian uses of insanus. One must note again the avoidance of insanus in many of the authors that have been treated. Outside of Plautus and Terence, only Cicero uses the word extensively, which serves for his general term for madness (see supra pp. 153, 155, 175-176, 181) and for a political label.

¹⁷In Venere semper dulcis est dementia (232).

¹⁸Demens est, quisque praestat errori fidem (118).

¹⁹See supra p. 188.

²⁰See supra p. 140, quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant/euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes (64.154-155).

CHAPTER VIII

VERGIL

Eclogues

¹Michael C. J. Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) 342-394, and Robert Coleman, "Gallus, the Bucolics, and the Ending of the Fourth Georgic," AJP 83 (1962) 55-71, both discuss the blending of elegiac and pastoral elements in Eclogue 10.

²Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 377-378; Charles Segal, "Vergil's Sixth Eclogue and the Problem of Evil," TAPA 100 (1969) 431-434; Jacques Perret, Virgile (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959) 64-65. For similarity in language and conception of a diseased state due to love, cf. Prop. 1.5.27-28:

non ego tum potero solacia ferre roganti
cum mihi nulla mei sit medicina mali.

³Cf. also 8.18 for indigno...deceptus amore.

⁴Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 357. The Eclogues in general portray matters and characters "out of place," or inimical to the bucolic setting. For a treatment of this idea see Friedrich Klingner, Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis (Zurich: Artemis, 1967) 106-111.

⁵Jean Hubaux, Les Thèmes bucoliques dans la poésie latine (Brussels: Lamartin, 1930) 91-95, and Charles Fantazzi, "Virgilian Pastoral and Roman Love Poetry," AJP 91 (1970) 174-176.

⁶Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 368-369; Segal, "Vergil's Sixth Eclogue," 413. Other uses of insanus in the Eclogues do not apply to love. In 3.36 insanire is the madness of engaging in song, and in 9.43 insani agrees with fluctus which describes the waves of Galatea's unsylvan world, strange and antithetical to the shepherd's environment.

⁷Cf. 56-59 for Corydon's realization that Alexis will not accept him or his gifts. Other words and phrases suggestive of the disturbing power of love are miser (58), perditus (59), ardere (1), quis...modus adsit amori? (68), crudelis (6), and mori...cogis (7).

⁸Segal, "Vergil's Sixth Eclogue," 427; Eleanor Winsor Leach, "The Unity of Eclogue 6," Latomus 27 (1968) 28-29; John P. Elder, "Non Iniussa Cano: Virgil's Sixth Eclogue," HSCP 65 (1961) 118-119; Ernst A. Schmidt, Poetische Reflexion: Vergils Bukolik (Munich: Fink, 1972) 144-145, who believes that the concept and language are derived from Theocritus.

⁹See e.g. supra pp. 13, 100-101, 112-119, and 144-145.

¹⁰6.40, 6.52, 6.58, and 6.64.

¹¹G. Karl Galinsky, "Vergil's Second Eclogue: Its Theme and Relation to the Eclogue Book," C & M 26 (1965) 178.

¹²For the agricultural base of the word, cf. Palmer, 70, who argues that the word quickly was applied outside of the agricultural scene to denote favor of the gods, hence, "propitious." Vergil is intimating that Pasiphaë has lost the favor of the gods and cannot have or produce a fruitful and meaningful relationship with her love object.

¹³Putnam, Vergil's Pastoral Art, 208-209.

¹⁴Segal, "Vergil's Sixth Eclogue," 425 and 429; Brooks Otis, Virgil: a Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 126; and Zoja Pavlovskis, "Man in a Poetic Landscape: Humanization of Nature in Virgil's Eclogues," CP 66 (1971) 156-157. Cf. 1.9, 4.19, and 7.7 where errare denotes the usual "wandering" of things in nature.

¹⁵Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 211-212, who quotes Prop. 2.10.25-26, where the Permessus symbolizes the source of his inspiration for elegiac poetry. See also Fantazzi, 182-185; Segal, "Vergil's Sixth Eclogue," 432, and Schmidt, 277-278, for the same idea concerning Gallus' initiation.

¹⁶Günther Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico," Maia 5 (1952) 173.

Georgics

¹⁷The important clause labor omnia vicit/improbis (1.145-146) that encapsulates one of the major themes of the first book has elicited much comment. Otis, Virgil, 157, following Heinrich Altevogt, Labor improbus, eine Vergilstudie, Orbis Antiquus VIII (Münster: Aschendorff, 1952), has listed the views of modern scholars on the precise meaning of improbis. I agree with them that improbis always has sinister connotations. If we recall the agricultural base of the word, in the sense of "unfruitful," labor improbus would seem to mean "work that produces no fruit, no good result." It appears, as Otis observes, that Vergil is suggesting that the farmer's work is a struggle against bad powers, natural decay and extreme difficulty, and that any possible progress in civilization must be done under these circumstances, however bad they are. The effort must be made if only for spiritual survival.

¹⁸Friedrich Klingner, "Über das Lob des Landlebens in Virgils Georgica," Hermes 66 (1931) 160-164.

¹⁹W. Liebeschuetz, "Beast and Man in the Third Book of the Georgics," G & R 12 (1965) 64-67.

²⁰Ovid exploited par excellence the combining of metaphors of love and war in the poem beginning militat omnis amans (Am. 1.9).

²¹See supra pp. 5, 89-92, and 129.

²²L. P. Wilkinson, The Georgics of Virgil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 126-127, and Otis, Virgil, 172-174.

²³Klingner, Virgil, 288-291. Cf. also 3.258-263 where Vergil drops the pretense of treatment of only the animal world and directly discusses the effect of human passion, associating it with the passion of other animals.

²⁴Brooks Otis, "A New Study of the Georgics," Phoenix 26 (1972) 54.

²⁵See supra pp. 8 and 45.

²⁶See supra p. 234 and note 17.

²⁷Otis, Virgil, 189-214; Charles Segal, "Orpheus and the Fourth Georgic," AJP 61 (1966) 307-325; Friedrich Klingner, Virgils Georgica (Zurich: Artemis, 1963) 234-243. Otis, "New Study of the Georgics," 55-56, somewhat retracts his earlier interpretation, agreeing with Wilkinson's scepticism about over-interpretation of the resurrection idea (119-120). Otis now thinks that more emphasis should be placed on the themes of love and death by connecting the Aristaeus episode and Orpheus-Eurydice epyllion with the major themes in Book III and the first part of Book IV concerning the civitas of bees.

²⁸Otis, Virgil, 199, 201, 205, 212-214.

²⁹Orpheus' emotional stance is foreshadowed early in the account of Proteus: rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit (456). Saevit underscores Orpheus' irrational and uncontrolled feelings.

³⁰We need not allegorically identify Augustus with Aristaeus. Symbolically, we may say that life arises from death, that Italy can emerge to a new golden age and that the Augustan settlement that ended civil war and chaos can emerge "reborn" with stability and peace, if only all men atone for their mistakes and realize a high moral stance and attitude.

The Aeneid

³¹A. J. Boyle, "The Meaning of the Aeneid: a Critical Inquiry: Part 1--Empire and the Individual: An Examination of the Aeneid's Major Theme," Ramus 1 (1972) 64-65. Boyle summarizes previous scholarly views, particularly those expounded in the 1960's.

³²The study of the symbolic intent of the furor-pietas contrast has become a commonplace. See Otis, Virgil, e.g., 226, 232-233, 347-348, 377-382; Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968) 13-21, and 271-276; Klingner, Virgil, e.g., 442-443, 450-466, 510-515, 548, 590-595; Vinzenz Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms (Heidelberg: Winter, 1963) 64-66, 103-107, 118-119, 127-133; Karl Büchner, "Vergilius," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2nd ser., 8A (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1958) 1342-1343; A. F. Lossev, "Les Mouvements affectifs exaltés dans l'Énéide, leurs sens philosophique et stylistique," in Vergiliana: Recherches sur Virgile, ed. by Henry Bardon and Raoul Verdière (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 192-211; W. R. Johnson,

"Aeneas and the Ironies of Pietas," CJ 60 (1965) 360-364; W[illiam] A. Camps, An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 24, 29; John W. Zarker, "The Heracles Theme in the Aeneid," Vergilius 18 (1972) 34-46; William S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969) 88-100; Michael C. J. Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965) 151-201; Viktor Pöschl, The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid, trans. by Gerda Seligson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962) 20-33, 93-95. I list these authors as typical; I do not intend them to be exhaustive. For a further list see Boyle, 90, n. 90.

³³Johnson, 360-364; and Boyle, 64-65.

³⁴See supra pp. 154-188.

³⁵See supra p. 5.

³⁶See supra p. 244.

³⁷Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 24; Otis, Virgil, 229; Klingner, Virgil, 387; Buchheit, 64-65; Boyle, 82, who explicitly says that "they (i.e., images of serpent, fire, wound, and storm) are to a very large extent the major imagistic representations of furor."

³⁸See supra p. 5 for Ennius' use, and pp. 89-92 for furor in nature by Lucretius.

³⁹For Vergilian usages of fremere to denote the untamed features of animals, cf. 9.341 (a lion), 9.60 (a wolf), and 11.496 and 599 (horses).

⁴⁰See supra pp. 15-16, 24-26, 54-55, 76.

⁴¹See supra pp. 162-163, 166.

⁴²See supra p. 243, and infra pp. 254-255, 275-276.

⁴³See supra pp. 245-247. Cf. 1.51, 5.694, 5.801, and 4.498.

⁴⁴Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 47, mentions the ingeniously mathematical progression (Aeneas reigning for three years, Ascanius for thirty, descendants for three hundred years and

then unlimited power). Thomas Halter, Form und Gehalt in Vergils Aeneis; zur Funktion sprachlicher und metrischer Stilmittel (Munich: Parcus, 1963) 13-29, divides the speeches into six major parts, pointing out in detail the symbolic parallels between Aeneas and Octavian. He also notes the subtle uses of sound and metrical respersions, syntactical balance and thematic parallels to point out the artistic structure of the speech as a whole. Gilbert Highet, The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) 98-99, also notes the logical structure of the speech.

⁴⁵Readers would have recalled the closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus in Rome, a religious ceremony symbolizing the end of war in the Roman world.

⁴⁶Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 25.

⁴⁷See supra p. 249.

⁴⁸Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 60-62; Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 54, 173-174; Otis, Virgil, 216-224.

⁴⁹Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 17-22; Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 3-26; Lossev, 204; and Bernard M. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the Aeneid," AJP 71 (1950) 379-400, discuss recurrent imagery, such as the horse and snake, that symbolize the forces of wild furor, a type of foreshadowing of Aeneas' character as depicted in the rest of the book. See supra p. 248 for other discussion of 2.314-317.

⁵⁰See supra p. 246.

⁵¹N.B. the use of fremitus that indicates the wildness of nature. See supra p. 269 and note 40. Cf. also Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 9 and 17, who argues that fremere is a manifestation of furor. For discussion of external possession and the relationship of Erinyes to madness, see supra pp. 149-153.

⁵²Otis, Virgil, 243; Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 120, Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 29.

⁵³See supra pp. 202-203.

⁵⁴See supra pp. 197-199 for the Ciceronian discussion of prophetic madness as a possessive furor, and see supra pp. 7-10 and 197-199 with accompanying notes 93-97 for discussion of Cassandra.

⁵⁵Furiare may be a coinage of Vergil, although Horace has it in Carm. 1.25.14, a poem that has escaped precise dating. In any case, the verb furiare is a new formation of the Augustan Age and the participial form in these two instances suggests that some sort of externalization is involved.

⁵⁶See supra p. 248.

⁵⁷See supra pp. 101-103 and 117.

⁵⁸Palmer, 70. See supra pp. 230-232 for the discussion of Pasiphaë in Ecl. 6, who is also called infelix and who strays (errat), paralleling vagatur in the case of Dido.

⁵⁹Otis, Virgil, 70; Lossev, 193-194.

⁶⁰See supra pp. 100-101, 112-117, 145, 230-232.

⁶¹Despite many changes in Dido's actions and moods, her sister remains unaware of the cause of Dido's many decisions, but she is aware of Dido's instability:

non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
concipit (4.500-502).

⁶²Roger A. Hornsby, Patterns of Action in the Aeneid (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1970) 60 and 91-93, discusses Dido as a symbol of victimization.

⁶³During the portrayal of Dido's character and her confrontation with the power of love, Vergil "editorializes" to inform the reader directly how love affects human behavior: improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis! (4.412). Note the adjective improbe that suggests uselessness and lack of productivity and fulfillment. Cp. supra p. 79 and note 17.

⁶⁴For discussion of Vergilian adaptations of the basic myth, see Friedrich Münzer, Cacus der Rinderdieb (Basel: Rectoratsprogramm, 1911) e.g., 12, 33-36, 52-53.

More recently Otis, Virgil, 335, and G. Karl Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII," AJP 87 (1966) 26, treat this myth. Other ancient sources are Livy 1.7.5-15 and Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.39.

⁶⁵Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 131, 134, points out the importance of the name Cacus, which in Greek (κακός) means evil.

⁶⁶Mynors' reading (OCT) of furis should not stand. Many have rejected this reading: Münzer, 55, n. 68; Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode," 28; Buchheit, 118; and most recently Zarker, 48. Furis, "thief," is a clever gloss. We already know that Cacus is a thief and such information is entirely superfluous. Besides furiis has manuscript authority (PR γ'c) and conforms to the imagery and depiction of the brutal Cacus. It also expands and explains the adjective effera and describes the reason for the epithet.

⁶⁷In addition to this direct description of Cacus' insanity, there is further hint in the phrase caligine caeca (253) of Cacus' mental instability. Caeca is a clever pun on the name Cacus and with caligine suggests a "clouding" of the senses. We also recall the use of caecus to indicate mental aberration. Cf. Buchheit, 118, and Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode," 29-30, who make this point. Galinsky even quotes the Ciceronian definition of furor: mentis ad omnia caecitas. See supra pp. 202-203.

⁶⁸Zarker, 41-43; Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 134; and Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode," 40-41, who claims that Hercules recovers his senses before killing Cacus. Galinsky makes the same point in "Hercules and the Hydra (Vergil Aen. 8.229-300)," CP 67 (1972) 197, where he argues that the phrase non te rationis egentem describing Hercules is modeled upon Pl. Euthydemus 297C, where he equates reason and cleverness with the Hydra. In this connection Hercules must use these same qualities in overcoming many of his foes, making him an example par excellence of the man of ratio to justify his furor. All this sophistry is meant to show that Hercules is a worthy model for Aeneas and the defeat of Cacus a pattern for Aeneas' victory over Turnus.

⁶⁹Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode," 26-51; Buchheit, 128-132; Zarker, 34-38; and Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 78, draw the conclusion that the imagery and language used of Hercules often parallel that of Aeneas and that the description of Cacus balances that of Turnus.

Galinsky and Anderson argue for a justified use of furor by Hercules (and thus Aeneas) and stress the differences in treatment of the two characters, pointing out, in particular, the impiety of both Cacus and Turnus which causes them to deserve punishment. Zarker traces the complete development of Aeneas as a Hercules-figure and sees the furor of Hercules as destructive and brutal (46). He asks the important relevant question: would Aeneas and consequently Augustus avoid the excesses of the Roman Hercules in determining imperial policies?

⁷⁰Boyle, 66, and George E. Duckworth, "The Significance of Nisus and Euryalus," AJP 88 (1967) 134-135 note the recurrent imagery.

⁷¹For perfurit cf. Lucr. 1.275. See supra p. 121.

⁷²Duckworth, 147-150, and Otis, Virgil, 348-350, both adequately show the structural unity of the episode, linking the furor displayed by Nisus and Euryalus with the action of Turnus in subsequent books. Lossev, 195-196, also notes the recurrent language of madness.

⁷³See supra p. 250.

⁷⁴Hom. Od. 5.121-124; Apollod. 1.4.3-5; Hor. Carm. 3.4.71.

⁷⁵As he arises for his final attack against Aeneas, Mezentius' motivation is summarized thus:

aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu.
[et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.]
(10.870-872).

Line 872 is missing in most manuscripts and appears to be a transposition from 12.668. Insania, of course, depicts Mezentius' madness. I discount the reference to furiis because of the major textual problem. In any case line 871 well illustrates Mezentius' recognition of the disastrous results of his violence and brutality.

⁷⁶See supra p. 263 for a description of Cacus:
at furiis Caci mens efferata (8.205).

⁷⁷For an excellent discussion of Mezentius' tragic yet heroic end, see Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 229-232, 332-333; and Klingner, Virgil, 573-576.

⁷⁸Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 224.

⁷⁹Cf. 4.52 where desaevire appears in a nature image describing a storm at sea.

⁸⁰Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 84; Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 224; Boyle, 67.

⁸¹It is interesting to note the ambiguity in 514-515 (te, Turne, superbum/caede nova quaerens) where the ablative can refer to either Aeneas, the subject of quaerens, or to Turnus, the object of quaerens.

⁸²See supra p. 250.

⁸³Boyle, 68.

⁸⁴Pöschl, Art of Vergil, 98-99; and Hornsby, 47-77, give a more detailed list.

⁸⁵Turnus alone is a wolf in 9.59, a lion in 9.792, a bull in 12.101. Again see Pöschl, Art of Vergil, 98-99, and see supra pp. 265-267 for the references to Mezentius.

⁸⁶Cf. for example saevae...irae (10.813) when Aeneas attacks Lausus.

⁸⁷See infra pp. 283-289.

⁸⁸We immediately think of Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas and Lausus, as well as the young Italians.

⁸⁹Camilla the Amazon recalls Vergil's vivid picture of Penthesilea in Book I as a participant in the Trojan war: Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
(1.491).

⁹⁰See Rose, 112-121, for the attributes of Artemis and her connection with the Roman Diana.

⁹¹Dante saw Camilla as a protectress of Italy, dying to keep the land free:

Di quella umile Italia fia salute
per cui mori la vergine Cammilla,
Eurialo e Turno e Niso di ferute.

(Divina Commedia, Inferno 1.106-108).

I am indebted to Pöschl, Art of Vergil, 94, for the reference. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, "Virgil and Heroism: Aeneid XI," CJ 55

(1960) 159-164, argues that Camilla is a heroic figure unable to function in a non-heroic world, which links her with other characters, e.g., Nisus, Euryalus, Pallas, Turnus, trapped by the exigencies of war. Unlike the victim Dido, Camilla never comes into firsthand contact with Aeneas.

⁹²Otis, Virgil, 313-319.

⁹³Richard Heinze, Virgils Epische Technik⁴ (Leipzig: Teubner, 1957) 179-193. Heinze clearly understands the disastrous effects of civil war, linking the Italic war of the Aeneid with the civil wars of Rome in the first century B.C.: "Krieg ja soll entbrennen, und was Krieg bedeutet, wusste Vergil und wussten seine Zeitgenossen: die Hölle kennt keine furchtbarere Plage; nur Wahnsinnige können den heiligen Frieden brechen." (179)

⁹⁴Otis, Virgil, 322.

⁹⁵Amata clearly shows the symptoms of madness before Allecto strikes: feminae ardentem curaque iraque coquebant (7.345). Cf. Lossev, 199, and Heinze, 180-182.

⁹⁶The idea of a snake or other representation of a monstrum is perhaps best illustrated by the plot and imagery of Book II. See Knox, 379-400. Furentem in the quoted passage either shows Vergil's use of psychological foreshadowing in depicting Amata's character or shows that Amata already is mad to resist the divinely portended arrangements with Aeneas and not to assume the proper role of a mother and queen. Therefore, the poison of the snake reveals the madness in greater degree.

⁹⁷For discussion on lymphata see supra pp. 26-27 and notes 57-63. Notice also that lymphata is used here without any direct mention of Bacchic possession, perhaps indicating its original conception as "watered" in the mind, lacking any association with nymphal bacchanals.

⁹⁸Cf. Tib. 1.5.3-5 for similarity of language and simile, where the spinning top metaphorically represents the effects of the deep passion of love.

⁹⁹The women's intense emotion is portrayed by a reference to furere: furiisque accensas pectore, (7.392). The madness of Dido is also associated with Bacchic orgy. She is on fire, straying throughout the city:
 uritur infelix, Dido totaque vagatur
 urbe furens. (4.268-269)

Also see supra pp. 259-260. Later in the same book the same image is used, definitely linked with Bacchic frenzy:

eadem impia Fama furenti
detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.
(4.298-303).

Note, in addition to furenti, the other terms indicative of madness: saevit, inops, incensa (which recalls uritur in the previous quotation), and bacchatur. The simile that follows seems unneeded to stress the notion of Bacchic possession and wild madness.

¹⁰⁰See supra pp. 17 and 19 for possible plays concerning madness.

¹⁰¹See supra p. 38.

¹⁰²O'Brien-Moore, 162-174; Eduard Fraenkel, "Some Aspects of the Structure of Aeneid VII," JRS 35 (1945) 1-14. Otis, Virgil, 322-326, and Klingner, Virgil, 511-512, mention Ennius' picture of the goddess Discordia (Ann. 322-323) as contributing to the portrayal of Allecto. O'Brien-Moore, 171, lists the parallels in description of Vergil's Allecto and Euripides' Lyssa.

¹⁰³I have continually pointed out references to the association of the Furies and madness. The first clearly defined example appears in Cic. Rosc. Am. See supra pp. 150-153.

¹⁰⁴Boyle, 82.

¹⁰⁵Allecto is described as saeva...dea in 7.511, and the insanity of the ensuing war is noted at 7.530 (insani Martis) and at 7.608 (saevi...Martis) and repeated at 11.153 (saevo...Marti).

¹⁰⁶See supra pp. 243-245.

¹⁰⁷Note, however, the violent outbreak of the war when Juno breaks open the iron gates (7.622-640) symbolic of a declaration of war. Included in the description is a reference to the furious onslaught and intense preparation of cavalry:

pars arduus altis
pulverulentus equis furit (7.624-625).

¹⁰⁸See supra p. 249.

¹⁰⁹See supra pp. 202-203.

¹¹⁰See supra p. 260.

¹¹¹Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 93.

¹¹²Cf. 11.609-610 where horses possess furor when they are stirred on to battle.

¹¹³Amata's suicide is viewed as the behavior of an insane person, and the description of her final actions recalls the delineation of her actions in Book VII under the powerful stimulation of Allecto. She is mentally disturbed (mentem turbata, 599) by anguish, out of her senses (demens, 601), and speaking in wild frenzy (effata furorem, 601). The effect of her suicide causes uproar and intense excitement (turba furit, 607). The terminology of Amata's death reflects her irrationality in the face of the circumstances which she concludes are beyond hope and disastrous to her stance.

¹¹⁴Cf. 10.870-871, and see supra pp. 266-267, note 75.

¹¹⁵12.672-696 details the agonizing recognition of Turnus, the Rutulians' position, and Turnus' fateful decision to oppose Aeneas in a manly duel.

¹¹⁶Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 200; Otis, Virgil, 347; Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 82. Note also the metaphorical use of superbus at 12.326 to describe Turnus' bearing and demeanor.

¹¹⁷See supra pp. 161-163.

¹¹⁸For a more detailed list cf. Pöschl, Art of Vergil, 98-99, and Hornsby, 47-77. The lion simile in 12.4-9 interestingly repeats the phrase fremet ore cruento (8) that recalls Jupiter's prophetic picture of Furor impius as fremet horridus ore cruento (1.296).

¹¹⁹Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 76-77; Otis, Virgil, 348.

¹²⁰See supra pp. 252-255 and 268-269.

¹²¹Otis, Virgil, 355-361.

¹²²See supra pp. 262-264.

¹²³Boyle, 69-70 and 82.

¹²⁴For images of fire, cf. 167, 521, 560, 573, 748; of storm, cf. 451-455, 524, 923; of wounding, cf. 528 and 720.

¹²⁵Scholars have always been conscious of Iliadic features in the Aeneid. In reference to Book XII and Aeneas as an Achilles-figure, cf. Otis, Virgil, 381-382; Klingner, Virgil, 589-597; Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 117, note 10; Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, 267-271 (in Quinn's words the "heroic impulse" is a manifestation of furor and anyone pictured as a Homeric hero would not be a new type of hero with a sense of pietas); Boyle, 70; and William S. Anderson, "Virgil's Second Iliad," TAPA 88 (1957) 29.

¹²⁶Boyle, 70-71; Putnam, Poetry of the Aeneid, 189-190.

¹²⁷Anderson, Art of the Aeneid, 96.

¹²⁸Boyle, 90, n. 86, and see supra pp. 268-269.

¹²⁹See supra pp. 277-280.

¹³⁰A lion (12.4-9), a bull (12.103-106), Mars (12.331-332), and Boreas (12.365-367).

¹³¹In contrast, we never learn of Aeneas' feelings toward Lavinia, nor her own sentiments in regard to the two men. The proposed marriage with Aeneas is purely an expedient political arrangement.

¹³²See supra p. 285 for discussion of the deer simile (12.749-757).

¹³³Boyle, 90, n. 90 has listed the relative positions taken by the most recent scholars on the question of Aeneas' furor and pietas. He shows that scholarly opinion is about equally split on the essential question.

¹³⁴See supra pp. 262-264.

¹³⁵Cf. Jupiter's prophecy (1.294-296) about the containment of Furor impius that illustrates the idealized ideological stance of Rome. Only with the divine compromise between Juno and Jupiter in 12.791-842 does furor seem to be abated. Whether such a compromise on earth between humans is possible, Vergil leaves unanswered.

¹³⁶Instances of furere not quoted or treated in the text occur in 1.348, 2.771 (where furenti is a textual variant for ruenti), 3.252, 3.313, 4.42, 4.91, 4.547, 5.202, 5.659, 5.662, 5.670, 5.694, 6.99, 6.101, 6.262, 6.605, and 10.68.

CHAPTER IX

PROPERTIUS

¹1.1.7, 1.4.11, 1.5.3, 1.13.20, 1.18.15, 3.5.40, 3.5.41, 3.8.3, 3.13.65, 3.22.28, 4.4.68, 4.8.52.

²For an opposing view, see P. J. Connor, "Saevitia Amoris: Propertius 1.1," CP 67 (1972) 53, who argues that furor is a frenzy imposed on Propertius from the outside. His theory corroborates his main thesis that the entire poem's starkness and chill atmosphere result from saevitia, the harshness of Cynthia, which is "divorced from individual experience" (52). I add here the following reminder: the situations that Propertius describes need not be autobiographical but may be due to his Muse. However, whether imaginary or real, the poems show and reflect a psychological understanding of the lover's experience. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana, Cambridge Classical Studies 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956) 1-2, and Archibald W. Allen, "Sincerity and the Roman Elegists," CP 45 (1960) 145-160, have convincingly discounted the validity of the biographical tradition in the study and interpretation of Propertius.

³Much discussion has centered on the precise meaning of the phrases castas...puellas and nullo vivere consilio. Joseph Fontenrose, "Propertius and the Roman Career," University of California Publications in Classical Philology 13 (1949) 371-388, discusses nullo vivere consilio as it relates to a political career and Propertius' general lack of interest in a public office. Archibald W. Allen, "Elegy and the Classical Attitude Toward Love," YCLS 11 (1950) 255-277, also notes the above lines in his discussion of the traditional remedium amoris to avoid the furor of real love: the use of a prostitute as suggested by Lucretius (see supra pp. 97-103) and described by Hor. Sat. 1.2.119--parabilis Venus facilisque. On the other hand, John P. Sullivan, "Castas odisse puellas: A Reconsideration of Propertius 1.1," Wiener Studien 74 (1961) 96-112, although introducing much about Propertius' conformity to a pattern of psychological behavior explained and schematized by Sigmund Freud, rightly, in my view, interprets castas as "virtuous women of some sort" in contrast with Cynthia (107).

Hence, he concludes, in agreement with Fontenrose, 371-378, who first correctly interpreted castas...puellas, that love has taught Propertius "to despise what would be naturally regarded as proper love-objects" (109). We may object to Sullivan's use of modern day psychological studies to build up a case for over-all interpretation of the poem; however, in interpreting the phrase castas...puellas, he and Fontenrose have shown the way in demolishing the long-held theory that castas...puellas refers to whores or "loose" women like Cynthia. The entire controversy is summarized by Brooks Otis, "Propertius' Single Book," HSCP 70 (1965) 10-13.

⁴See supra pp. 258-262.

⁵Nam numquam era errans mea domo efferret pedem.
Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia.
(Medea exul 253-254)

See supra p. 13 for the collocation of amens and error and cf. Cic. Phaenomena 422 (see supra pp. 210-211).

⁶Tardus seems deliberately chosen to contrast with the swiftness of Atalanta (velocem: 15). Milanion is described as having been able to successfully woo his girl (ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam); the use of the perfect tense infinitive denotes the finality of his actions. Propertius implies that he cannot for a single fleeting moment capture his love (domare).

⁷For a comparison in diction and concept, see Ecl. 10. 22-23 of Vergil:

'Galle, quid insanis?' inquit, 'tua cura Lycoris
perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est.'
Several of the Eclogues point out the disruptive nature of love, upsetting the balance of pastoral and idyllic life. See supra pp. 227-232.

⁸See supra pp. 200-204, 249.

⁹Ignis, of course, is metaphorically used of passion, while the reference to Thessalian poison was proverbial for the worst and most potent ones. Thessaly was considered the region par excellence of witchcraft, an uncivilized place where strange magical occurrences inevitably happened. See P[etrus] J. Enk, Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber I (Leiden: Brill, 1946) notes ad loc.

¹⁰See infra pp. 305-306 and note 36.

¹¹For the idea and expression cf. 1.10, which is also addressed to Gallus:

non tamen a vestro potui secedere lusu:
tantus in alternis vocibus ardor erat.
(1.10.9-10)

¹²See supra pp. 292-293.

¹³Cf. 1.11, 1.12, 1.17, 1.18, and 3.20. Note that Propertius may not literally be separated from Cynthia but sitting in his study utilizing a poetic convention of elegy.

¹⁴W[illiam] A. Camps, Propertius: Elegies Book I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) notes ad loc.

¹⁵The entire poem reflects the nature of Propertius' love affair; I shall return to the idea that madness caused by love was Propertius' masochistic desire. See infra pp. 311-314. Eckard Lefevre, Propertius Ludibundus: Elemente des Humors in seinen Elegien (Heidelberg: Winter, 1966) 84-86, argues that the scene depicted in the passage is a clever and playful contrivance of the poet.

¹⁶The political connotation of audax should be recalled, particularly as associated with revolutionary activity and often connected with furere. See supra pp. 162-163.

¹⁷Hermann Tränkle, Die Sprachkunst des Properz und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache. Hermes, Einzelschriften 15 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960) 83-84.

¹⁸Rose, 194 and 222, n.43. Interestingly one of Alcmaeon's children received the name Teisiphone. Cf. Apollod. 3.7.5-7, who refers to Euripides for the names of Alcmaeon's children.

¹⁹The consensus of the better manuscripts read fruit instead of furit which is in some inferior ones. I follow Eric A. Barber, Sexti Properti Carmina (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) ad loc., who accepts the reading of the inferior manuscripts.

²⁰Cf. Vergil's description of the raging of the tide in Aen. 1.107 (fruit aestus harenis) and Aen. 2.759 (fruit aestus ad auras). See supra p. 246.

²¹See supra pp. 7-10 and pp. 197-198 for references to Cassandra's madness and Cicero's discussion of mantic possession.

²²See supra pp. 292-293 for amens and p. 295 for demens, where Propertius speaks of Gallus' mindless love-making.

²³See supra pp. 292-293 for Milanion amens. For another reference to Cynthia's senseless behavior (demens) cf. 2.32.18. The noun form dementia occurs in 2.6.17 in a mythological allusion. In 3.8.15 the frantic unreality of dreams is suggested by dementia.

²⁴We must remember that this recusatio takes the form of a dream, which in itself is momentary loss of reality, not a total blindness to or deprivation of actuality.

²⁵See infra pp. 309-311 for a discussion of Propertius' dolor as a source of inspiration.

²⁶See supra pp. 294, 297, 303.

²⁷See supra p. 303.

²⁸Cf. 2.4.10 and 3.14.32. For a list of Greek precedents, see P[etrus] J. Enk, Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber II (Leiden: Sythoff, 1962) notes ad loc., 207. Saara Lilja, "The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women," Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 135 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965) 112-113, connects the blindness of lovers with the concept of love as a disease.

²⁹We have seen the phrase insanus amor previously in Verg. Ecl. 10.44 and Aen. 2.343. Cf. Enk, Liber II, 207-208, for a list of occurrences in later literature.

³⁰For other uses of insanus or vesanus cf. 1.8a.5, 2.9.10, 2.22.16, 3.7.6, 3.12.7, 3.17.3 (applied to Venus), 3.17.23, 4.1.134, and 4.8.60.

³¹See supra p. 408, n. 17.

³²For the other uses of improbis cf. 3.6.25, 3.7.53, 3.16.20, 4.4.44, and 4.11.25, none of which is directly concerned with Propertius or his particular situation.

³³For the same sentiment concerning loneliness at night expressed in similar language, compare the following:
 horum ego sum vales, quotiens desertus amaras
 expleri noctes, fractus utroque toro (2.17.3-4);
 and
 at mihi cum noctes induxit vesper amaras. (4.3.29)

³⁴See supra p. 294.

³⁵For infelix as a designation for unfruitful love, cf. Aen. 4.68, used of Dido. See supra p. 259.

³⁶For miser used of lovers, cf. Lucretius supra pp. 100, 115. Antonio LaPenna, "Note sul linguaggio erotico dell'elogia Latina," Maia 4 (1951) 187-209, and Allen, "Elegy and the Classical Attitude toward Love," 261, both note the importance of miser as part of the language indicative of the disease of love.

³⁷For typical instances of miser employed to depict lovers, cf. 1.7.17, 1.9.9, 1.14.21, 1.16.25, 1.16.45, 1.20.15, 2.28a.7, 2.34.41.

³⁸See supra pp. 296-297.

³⁹Dura appears frequently in the poems in descriptions of women. In almost every case it means harsh denial or rejection of a man's advances. For typical examples cf. also 2.24b.47 and 2.30.1.

⁴⁰Several other occurrences of saevus in the Propertian corpus point out the animalistic wildness suggested in the word. Elegies 2.22b.35 and 3.7.71 describe winds; 4.4.39 depicts the rage of Scylla; 4.4.40 and 3.16.17 describe the fierceness of dogs (in the latter their wildness is reinforced by rabies); and the orgiastic behavior of bacchantes is depicted in 3.22.33. For other examples describing characters from mythology cf. 2.25.12, 2.28c.48, 2.33a.19, and 3.15.11.

⁴¹See supra pp. 292-293.

⁴²Error does not invariably in Propertius depict or imply the deviation caused by love. Often it is used of the physical wanderings of mythological or historical figures: 2.14.3, 3.12.36, 3.15.35, 3.18.10, 4.7.90, 4.9.35, or sometimes to describe bodily features: 2.1.7, 2.22a.9, 2.34a.22, 3.14.27. Instances of vagari add little to the pictures of the "wandering, senseless" lover. Already noted is errat

in 2.15.29: errat, qui finem vesani quaerit amoris, a phrase that notes the insane aspect of love.

⁴³Cf. 1.14.17-18.

⁴⁴See supra pp. 97-103.

⁴⁵Cf. 1.16.21, 24, 25, and 35, which stress both the physical discomfort and mental anguish caused by the door. The lament directed to the door is a disguised complaint meant for the woman inside the house. See Frank O. Copley, Exclusus Amator (Baltimore: American Philological Association, 1956) 32-34.

⁴⁶Cf. for example 1.7.6, 1.9.7, 2.16.13, 2.25.1, 2.33a.1.

⁴⁷Cf. 1.18.3 and 26; 2.16.13 and 32.

⁴⁸Emotional distraction (dolor) is also combined with the theme of savage anger in 2.8.35-36. In addition to dolor, the word saevire is integrated in the context of love. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2.532 and 7.461 for saevit amor in different contexts. Enk, Liber II, 131-132, lists parallels in expression from later literature, e.g., Petron. Sat. 17.8.

⁴⁹Cf. 1.2, 1.15, 2.5, 2.16, and 2.19 for fear as a dominant theme. Poems 1.11 and 1.12 are occasioned by Propertius' fears of potential rivals. His admonishments to Bassus in 1.4, Gallus in 1.5, and 1.10, and Ponticus in 1.7 and 1.9 are caused by his dread.

⁵⁰A limited study of sexual fears in antiquity, Philip Slater, The Glory of Hera (Boston: Beacon, 1968), has some interesting material, although not so much addressed to literary interpretation of authors as to an investigation of familial patterns from Greek mythology. Some information about Propertius' sexual fears can be gleaned from Sullivan, 99-105. The best argument for Propertius' psychological neurosis due to fears over a lack of virility is contained in Nicole Tadic-Gilloteaux, "A la recherche de la personnalité de Propertius," Latomus 24 (1965) 249-250. Tadic-Gilloteaux also amasses quotations about the madness of love (247-251) to show Propertian manic tendency resulting from an Oedipus complex.

⁵¹See supra p. 296.

⁵²Charles F. Saylor, "Propertius' Scheme of Inspiration," Wiener Studien 84 (1971) 153-160.

⁵³Cf. also 2.4 for the same theme.

⁵⁴Roman elegies are filled with references to and imagery of slavery; the theme is so frequent that it is a commonplace. See Frank O. Copley, "Servitium Amoris in the Roman Elegists," TAPA 78 (1947) 285-300.

⁵⁵Saylor, 142-145.

⁵⁶Ibid. 147-148. The type of poetry would be etiological and patriotic following the style and spirit of Callimachus the Alexandrian. Cf. 2.1.4-5, 1.8.41-42, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, and 3.9.

⁵⁷Cf. 4.8.73-80 where Cynthia lays down rules by which Propertius is to abide, showing that she, too, has reason for jealousy over his fickle behavior.

⁵⁸Cf. supra p. 297.

⁵⁹In the following line rabida...lingua describes the enraged woman in love in one of the few references to rabies, and the only one describing love as animal mad.

⁶⁰See supra p. 311.

⁶¹See supra pp. 302-304.

⁶²It is interesting to note that this quotation comes from a poem in which Propertius is happiest. There are times when his affair with Cynthia produces moments of ecstasy or joy. Usually his joys are short-lived and reflect the attainment and consummation of physical passion. But these moments too are part of his entire experience, and Propertius generally takes pride in the happy moments he shared with Cynthia. Cf. 1.8b, 2.7, 2.14, 2.15, 2.22a, 2.22b, 3.10, and 4.8 which show these characteristics. Petrus J. Enk, "De Vero Propertii Erga Cynthia Amore," Miscellanea Pro-perziana (Assisi: Pasqua, 1957) 25-30, shows the depth of Propertius' love.

CHAPTER X

HORACE

Epodes and Odes

¹The number 30 is possible if we accept two variant readings, furens for virens in Epod. 17.33, which refers to fiery Mt. Aetna, and furit for urit in Epist. 2.2.75, describing a sow. Although a strong defense could be made for these variants because of recurrent imagery and concept, in both instances the weakness of manuscript authority mitigates against acceptance.

²Cf. Livy 3.58: manesque Virginiae...per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati, nullo relicto sonte, tandem requiverunt for the di Manes as avengers of those murdered. Cf. also Kurt Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte (Munich: Beck, 1960) 99.

³See supra pp. 95-96, 149-153, 209-210.

⁴See supra pp. 271-275.

⁵Eduard Fraenkel, Horace (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) 55-66.

⁶See supra pp. 265-270, 277-282.

⁷See supra pp. 202-203.

⁸See supra pp. 117-119, 258-259, 413, n.35. Robert W. Carrubba, "The Curse on the Romans," TAPA 97 (1966) 32-33, notes the linguistic association in connection with the central idea of blind insanity.

⁹Cf. Epod. 17 and Carm. 3.3.18-68 and Verg. G. 1.501 where the perjury and deceit of Ilium are blamed for the taint upon Roman character.

¹⁰Robert G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1970) 175 notes ad loc., point out occurrences of this theme in ancient literature.

¹¹For Horace's use and adaptation of a literary convention in this poem, cf. Steele Commager, The Odes of Horace, A Critical Study (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) 152-155.

¹²For dating of this poem cf. Fraenkel, Horace, 449, and for similarity in concept of the madness of civil war cf. Carm. 3.24.25-26:

o quisquis volet inpias
caedis et rabiem tollere civicam.

¹³See supra pp. 154-186 for Cicero's many uses of furor to denote political or personal opposition.

¹⁴Cf. Walter Wili, Horaz und die augusteiche Kultur (Basel: Schwabe, 1965) 136-137, for the historical approach in interpretation that is soundly rejected by Commager, Odes of Horace, 89.

¹⁵For lymphatus as a manic term see supra pp. 26-27. Porphyrio's note on lymphata "ex ebrietate vesanam" shows the re-echoing effect of ebria in line 12 and the thematic link of drinking in the opening line nunc est bibendum.

¹⁶Commager, Odes of Horace, 94.

¹⁷Ibid. 333 and Fraenkel, Horace, 212-214, who incidentally points out the Horatian difference in otium with Catullus' view in poem 51.

¹⁸Nisbet and Hubbard, 296-297, notes ad loc.

¹⁹Cf. Verg. G. 3.266 for the sexual power of mares: scilicet ante omnes furor est insignis equarum and see supra p. 238. For comment on the word furiare cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 298, notes ad loc. and see supra pp. 254, 256.

²⁰Similarly Carm. 1.10.15-17 pictures the rays of the sun arousing the lion to fury, where furibundus and rabiem are used to indicate the intensity.

²¹See supra pp. 6-7.

²²Friedrich Klingner, Q. Horati Flacci Opera (Leipzig: Teubner, 1959) 83, believes that these lines are a spurious scribal explanation of Cerberus and therefore puts the entire stanza in brackets as a gloss.

²³Cf. Ariadne's loneliness and desperate situation described in Catull. 64. See supra pp. 137-141.

²⁴See supra pp. 252-258, 264-269, 276-282.

²⁵Wili, 119-120, and Archibald Y. Campbell, Horace, A New Interpretation (London: Methuen, 1924. Reprinted Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970) 110, both argue for an allegorical interpretation of the poem and that the characters Paris and Helen are a disguised Antony and Cleopatra. Fraenkel, Horace, 188-189, convincingly rejects this theory which has its roots in Renaissance scholiasts. Nisbet and Hubbard, 189-190, and Commager, Odes of Horace, 218, also are skeptical about allegorizing the ode.

²⁶Commager, Odes of Horace, 137.

²⁷Cf. supra pp. 310-311 for Propertius' poetic and amatory madness occasioned by the pain of his youthful love experience.

²⁸See supra p. 323.

²⁹Viktor Pöschl, Horaz und die Politik (Heidelberg: Winter, 1956) 22-23; Karl Büchner, "Altrömische und horazische Virtus," Die Antike 15 (1939) 161-162.

Satires and Epistles

³⁰Various attempts have been made to identify this person named Labeo. Porphyrio thinks it was M. Antistius Labeo who criticized Augustus (Suet. Aug. 54) and, therefore, is referred to as the "mentally sick one." Fraenkel, Horace, 89, argues that C. Atinius Labeo, a tribune in 131 B.C. is probably meant. The reference to insanus and furiosus balances a Ciceronian designation of this tribune (ille furor tribuni plebis) in Dom. 123 and in this poem Horace limits his jibes at persons either dead or insignificant to the political and social scene.

³¹For insanus cf. 32, 40 (bis), 44, 48, 52, 63, 64, 67, 74, 81, 102, 130, 134, 159, 174 (vesania), 184, 197, 201, 221, 225, 271, 302, 306, 326.

³²For cerritus (278), a word which has been conspicuously absent since Plautus, see supra p. 44. For delirus cf. 293 and 107 where it is linked with amens. Occurrences of this word are not common after Lucretius, although Horace seems fond of its usage. Cf. also Serm. 2.5.71; Epist. 1.2.14, 1.12.20, 2.2.126.

³³Niall Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 182.

³⁴See supra pp. 200-204.

³⁵See supra pp. 154-182.

³⁶For possible Stoic influences upon Horace and his partial acceptance of some Stoic standards cf. Wili, 291-297; Kenneth J. Reckford, Horace (New York: Twayne Publications, 1969) 30-31, 98, 109-111; and Jacques Perret, Horace, trans. by Bertha Humez (New York: New York University Press, 1964) 64-67. Rudd, 175, explains that Horace's lack of complete acceptance of Stoic tenets contributes to the humor and satire.

³⁷The idea that anger was a manifestation of insanity intrigued the ancients. Seneca wrote a treatise on the effects of anger and specifically restates Horace's dictum: quiddam itaque ex sapientia viris iram dixerunt brevem insaniam. (De Ira 1.1.2).

³⁸See supra pp. 243, 275-276 for Vergil, and pp. 188-189 for Cicero.

³⁹J. K. Newman, Augustus and the New Poetry, Collection Latomus 88 (Brussels: Latomus, 1967) 139.

⁴⁰Charles O. Brink, Horace on Poetry 2: the Ars Poetica (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) 429, thinks that furor represents some religious curse and that the vesanus poeta (455) is conceived of violating some taboo.

⁴¹Newman, 140; Commager, Odes of Horace, 33-34; Walter Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit. Hermes, Einzelschriften 16 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960) 284-287; and more recently Dieter Flach, Das literarische Verhältnis von Horaz und Properz (Giessen: Mittelhess, 1967) 92-96, who cites many others who have discussed this problem (93).

⁴²See supra pp. 291-296 and 311-314 for furor and its connection with poetic inspiration.

⁴³Hom. Od. 1.1; 8.43-45, 479-482, 488.

⁴⁴Commager, Odes of Horace, 3-16.

⁴⁵Ovid succinctly summarizes the tension between the two concepts. Of Ennius whom he regarded as rough and crude in technique he says: Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis (Tr. 2.424) while of Callimachus' Alexandrian craftsmanship he writes: quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet (Am. 1.15.14).

⁴⁶The most detailed discussion of the concept of vates in Latin poetry has been made by Newman, 99-206.

⁴⁷Ibid. 204-206.

⁴⁸Commager, Odes of Horace, 31-49.

⁴⁹The dispute goes as far back as Cratinus who claims that water drinkers cannot create good poetry: ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἄν τέκνους (fr. 199K). Cf. Hans Lewy, "Sobria Ebrietas," Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentlich Wissenschaft 9 (1929) 45-50; Fraenkel, Horace, 340; Commager, Odes of Horace, 28.

⁵⁰See supra pp. 336-337.

⁵¹See supra p. 330 and cf. Lane Cooper, Concordance of Horace (Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1916) s.v. vesanus for about fifty occurrences.

⁵²See supra p. 330 and n. 32. Cf. also Serm. 2.3.107 (delirus et amens), 2.3.292, 2.5.71 (and vecors in 74); Epist. 1.2.14, 1.2.20, and 2.2.126.

⁵³Cf. also Epist. 2.2.137 for hellebore and cf. Ars P. 300 and Serm. 2.3.166 for other references to Anticyra, the place noted for hellebore.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

¹Cf. for example De Morbo Sacro of the Hippocratic corpus and Celsus' De Medicina which treats, among other things, supposed mental disorders.

²Palmer, 237.

³Emendation of specific passages which suggest some form of furere must be rejected as unlikely or textually and contextually unsound. See supra pp. 71-73.

⁴For Apuleius' treatment of the familiar motif, cf. Met. 6.2, 6.9, 8.6, and 8.8.

⁵Dodds, 64.

⁶Dodds, 71, argues that Cicero's view of mantic madness is not one of true possession but of a "shamanistic" quality, i.e., madness was produced by an innate faculty within the soul. Under certain favorable conditions prophecy could be attained when there was no bodily interference or there was a loss of rationality.

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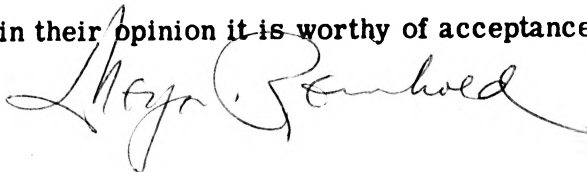
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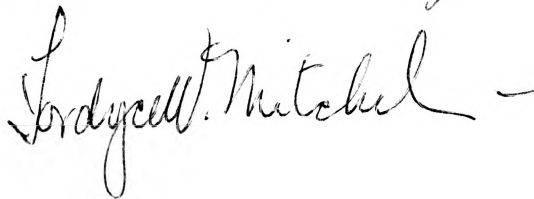
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