Emotions induced, endured, interpreted: Emotional moments in Lucan's Bellum Civile

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

In his *Bellum Civile*, Lucan presents many gruesome images of the civil war raging between Caesar and Pompeius. Among other things, a highly involved narrator, bloodcurdling descriptions of fighting, and the presence of the supernatural make the work an engrossing and challenging narrative that tells a story that is larger than life, lived by grand men and motivated by supersized sentiments.

As Lucan asks (1.8): *Quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?* 'What rage was this, citizens, how large was the licentiousness of the sword?',[1] we can see that feelings run high as his work deals with a people that collectively is enduring enormous changes, of which the environment can hardly be called stable. So, what if a slightly more personal note is struck? For instance, in book 2 of the work, a veteran of Sulla's civil war tells of the horrors that accompanied Sulla's victory over the Martian party. Much of the contents of this lengthy account do not consist of the veteran's personal observations, rather presenting his narratees with an overview of the events. Suddenly, however, he tells of searching his own brother's corpse among the headless bodies and mentions the Tiber filled with human remains. This brief interlude of personal involvement betrays an undercurrent of emotions that is obfuscated by the graphic descriptions of gore. In this thesis, I look to demonstrate that behind the horror-forward epic of Caesar and Pompeius' civil war lies a world of human emotion, both on a smaller and larger scale.

1.1 Research interest and research question

Lucan's (39-65 CE) only extant work is his epic known by the names of *Pharsalia* and *Bellum Civile*. A historical epic dealing with the years 49-48 BCE during the war between Caesar and Pompeius, the *Bellum Civile* has had an enduring history, as it was used as a school text during the Middle Ages and was put to print already in 1469.[2] Scholarly interest in the text steadily increased during the twentieth century, with large-scale overviews being written by Ahl and Bramble.[3] A large portion of the scholarly literature has dealt with the political and ideological dimensions of Lucan's work and his relationship to Nero, with readings that range from a pro-Republican Lucan to a Lucan with a nihilistic worldview.[4] Furthermore, Lucan's rhetorical technique has been examined.[5] So have the horror-filled episodes present throughout the work, with a focus on the episode in book 6 that contains the witch Erichtho,[6] while the long history of reception of Lucan in European literature has also been looked into.[7]

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[1] All translations in this thesis are my own, the Latin is from the Teubner edition (Shackleton Bailey 2009[3]).

[2] Braund 2009.

[3] Ahl 1976 mainly delves into the poet and his surroundings, the characters of the *Bellum Civile*, the role of the divine in the epic and questions on the scope and title of the work. Bramble 1982 mainly examines Lucan's relationship with traditional epic and his handling of epic tropes.

[4] Marti 1945, Morford 1967, Ahl 1976, and Leigh 1997 take up a pro-Republican reading of the poem, while Henderson 1987, Johnson 1987, and Masters 1992 view the work through a deconstructionist lens and see Lucan as a nihilist whose style precludes any ideological aspirations.

[5] Morford 1967.

[6] Gordon 1987 and Johnson 1987. See Most 1992 for an interpretation of the dismemberment of bodies as representative of the literary style in works of Neronian literature.

[7] See for example Martindale 1993, 64-72 for an overview of the main issues in the reception of Lucan and Dilke 1972 for Lucan's place in English literary history.

Groundbreaking in the field of reception studies was an essay by Fraenkel, which dealt with the impact of Lucan's great pathetic capability on authors such as Dante and Petrarch.[8] The way in which Lucan wrote had a great effect on readers, both in antiquity and in the Renaissance.[9] Part of this pathos is the role of the narrator in the figure of apostrophe, which was the object of a study by D'Alessandro Behr.[10] The narrator of the *Bellum Civile* is very present in the story, including through the medium of apostrophe. According to D'Alessandro Behr, these highly emotionally charged passages function as an intervention in the narrative, hindering the audience's identification with the story's characters.[11] In this way, apostrophe functions as a guide for the audience's interpretation of the work, allowing for sympathy with the characters while instituting a certain degree of mental distance between reader and story.[12] In short, D'Alessandro Behr elucidates the role a stylistic instrument like apostrophe can have on the audience's reaction to the representation of emotions in the *Bellum Civile*.

Besides the work of D'Alessandro Behr, the emotional aspect of Lucan's work has been treated in studies that mainly dealt with other aspects of Stoicism. In the second half of the twentieth century, the role of Stoic cosmology took center stage in the research on Lucan in connection with Stoicism. Marti argues that Lucan did not intend to build his poem around a central hero, but rather around the double themes of civil war and "the tribulations of humanity in its struggle toward the Stoic ideal of wisdom and harmony with the divine principle".[13] The three main heroes, Caesar, Cato, and Pompeius, each represent a different ethical category: Caesar and Cato are "two superhuman, almost allegorical figures, standing at either pole of the dualistic ethical system of Stoicism, as uncompromisingly opposed as darkness and light."[14] As concerns Pompeius, Marti makes the case that he represents "man, buffeted between the powers of good and evil, his life determined by Fate, yet free to choose his course and to determine himself."[15] She argues that he passes through several stages of being a Stoic *proficiens*, finally being united with wisdom and virtue at the moment of his death in book 8.[16] Lapidge conceived of Lucan's work as a representation of the *ekpyrôsis* of the universe in the dissolution of the state.[17] George posits that Lucan saw the Republic as the preferable form of government, as opposed to Stoics like Seneca, who saw the Republic as

[8] Fraenkel 2010 [1924].

[9] Ibid., 17.

[10] D'Alessandro Behr 2007.

[11] Ibid., 10.

[12] See D'Alessandro Behr 2007, 9-10. This function of apostrophe fits in with the "cognitive view" of the connection between emotions and poetry in Stoicism, propounded by Chrysippus, Seneca, and Epictetus. In this view, "emotions are evaluative judgments taking place in a one-part soul, and poetry educates by forming or changing these judgments." The representation of negative characters in poetry thus gives rise to negative or ambiguous "ethical messages", evoked by the influence which poetic images have on the emotions of the audience. With instruments like apostrophe, the audience can critically examine these messages before accepting them, having developed through these means a critical and detached stance towards poetical representations. See Nussbaum 1993 for more on the cognitive and non-cognitive views on emotions and poetry in Stoicism.

[13] Marti 1945, 355.

[14] Ibid., 358. See for her interpretation of Cato as the Stoic ideal of wisdom pages 359-361, and for her evaluation of Caesar's wickedness pages 361-367.

[15] Ibid., 358.

[16] Ibid., 367-373. Bramble responds dismissively to Marti's theory: in a quite negative assessment of Lucan's literary endeavor overall, he reports on Cato and Caesar in a manner similar to Marti's but is much more critical of Pompeius' development as a Stoic *proficiens* (1982, 536).

[17] Lapidge 1979. While Lapidge commended Marti on her attempt to explain certain facets of the *Bellum Civile* on the basis of Stoic cosmology, he deemed it unconvincing (1979, 345).

doomed to fail.[18] Consequently, George argues, Lucan casts Cato as justified in his involvement in the civil war, while, for Seneca, a true *sapiens* should have kept away from the conflict, as the Republic could not have been saved.[19]

In these studies, the characters of the *Bellum Civile* mainly come to the fore positioned on two opposite ends of Stoic morality, with Caesar occupying the negative pole and Cato the positive, and Pompeius figuring as someone in-between, the representation of the ordinary man, with varying levels of character progression. It is against the background of Stoic cosmology that statements on the emotions of characters are made, predominantly in a rather rigid way. There is much emphasis on the *furor* of Caesar,[20] while Cato is portrayed as a Stoic saint.[21] Only in the case of Pompeius, who received little limelight in this research into Stoic cosmology, have we seen an argument for a development in his handling of emotions, namely by Marti.[22]

In short, emotions have been acknowledged in characterizations of the poem's three main characters but have not been the primary point of interest in these studies, rather supporting other lines of argumentation. Furthermore, while D'Alessandro-Behr treats the role of the emotions of the narrator in the ethical guidance of the reader, my interest in the emotional dimension of the work was originally piqued by the object of Lucan's narratorial interventions: characters in the work, either collectively or individually, including but not limited to the threesome of Caesar, Pompeius, and Cato. How do their emotions function in the story? In his work on affective narratology, Hogan not only posits that emotions contained in stories evoke emotions in the reader or listener and that they are manifested in certain ways "on the part of authors and characters", but additionally asserts that emotions form a crucial element in the way stories are structured, as summed up in his research interest: "the ways in which, so to speak, emotions make stories."[23]

In her introductory *Narratology and Classics*, treating the term *story*, De Jong calls focalization "the viewing of the events of the *fabula*",[24] meaning that focalization constitutes the way in which the *story* is constructed from the events contained in the *fabula*.[25] Moreover, she mentions that focalization encompasses many elements:

> "[T]here is the seeing or recalling of events, their emotional filtering and temporal ordering, and the fleshing out of space into scenery and persons into characters."[26]

In other words, the "making of" a story consists of many components that are part of the process of focalization, including the selection and the chronological ordering of the events told, the making of a story-space through description, the characterization of the persons

[18] George 1991, 243-246.
[19] Ibid., 244; 246-254.
[20] For example, Lapidge 1979, 367. Caesar's pervasive character trait of being driven by *furor* is presented as a superhuman, destructive force, capable of obliterating the laws and bonds that keep the Roman state together. See also Lapidge 1989, 1409.
[21] Bramble 1982, 535-536; Lapidge 1989, 1405; Marti 1945, 359-361.
[22] Pompeius has been negatively evaluated in various studies responding to Marti's, see footnotes 93-94.
[23] Hogan 2011, 1.
[24] De Jong 2014, 47.
[25] In this thesis, I will use the term *story* in opposition to the term *fabula* as De Jong does: "the events as dispositioned and ordered in the **text** (contrast: **fabula**)", De Jong 2004, xviii. The term *fabula* refers to "all events which are recounted in the **story**, abstracted from their disposition in the **text** and reconstructed in their chronological order", De Jong et al. 2004, xvi.
[26] De Jong 2014, 47.

contained in the fabula, and the representation of emotions. It is in these components of focalization, through which a narrative is constructed, and which involves choices on the part of the author, that the emotions of the narrator and characters are given a role.

Looking at Lucan's work in the light of (affective) narratology, I thus am interested in how the story of the *Bellum Civile* is made through emotions, primarily on the part of the characters. In such a war, human emotions can motivate leaders and soldiers to act as they do, both individually and collectively. On the other hand, what if characters just feel their emotions and do not undertake any resulting actions? What are the circumstances because of which emotions do arise? And does the representation of how characters feel their emotions have any influence on how the story develops further? Can emotions be connected to broader themes in the work? In the context of these questions, my research question is as follows: how do the emotions of characters in the *Bellum Civile* make the story? As we will see, emotions present the author with possibilities for shaping his story. They can support his choices in the selection of fabula events, inform the characterization of his characters, give rise to, or result from speeches, provide opportunities to emphasize themes like silence in the face of an enemy, and can be developed through extensive similes. In short, emotions can have many narrative functions.

Before embarking on an emotional analysis of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, I should first define what an "emotional analysis" would entail precisely. How, if even, could one identify emotion in a text? What markers would be significant? Would it be important which characters in the narrative would feel an emotion? Is a single mention of the words *furor* or *dolor* enough to warrant a closer look, or should the reader be taken on an emotional journey with the character? And where in the narrative do we find emotionally charged moments? It is difficult to systematically categorize what is emotionally salient. Therefore, I will first give a brief overview of the ways in which research into emotions in Greek and Latin narrative has been conducted (1.2) and subsequently clarify the concept of the emotional moment (1.2.1). After this I will give a brief summary of the quantitative pilot study on which I report in chapter 2, which had the purpose of identifying passages containing emotional moments and thus specifying a corpus for this thesis (1.2.2). In the final part of this introduction (1.3), I will expand on the parameters taken into account during the qualitative part of my research, the close reading of passages containing emotional moments (chapters 3 to 5).

1.2 Quantifying emotional intensity

There have been several ways in which emotions have been examined in Greek and Latin narrative. Work has been done on individual emotions, for example in the volumes compiled by Braund and Most on anger, and by Lateiner and Spatharas on disgust, or in works like the one by Fulkerson on regret.[27] Furthermore, Cairns suggests a crucial role for metaphors in constituting concepts of emotions, arguing that metaphorical language reflects the role that physical embodiment of emotions takes in this process.[28] Lastly, Kaster has done research on

[27] Other investigations of particular emotions in antiquity have been carried out by Sugar 2018, on guilt in Vergil and Lucan, by Agri 2022, on fear in Flavian epic, and in the volume edited by Caston and Kaster (2016), on hope and joy in antiquity. For a bibliography, I refer to Campeggiani and Konstan (2019). A recent compendium on emotions in ancient narrative (and beyond) is by De Bakker, Van den Berg, and Klooster (eds.) 2022.
[28] Cairns 2016.

scripts underlying several Roman concepts of emotions, like *pudor* and *invidia*.[29] This focus on scripts is connected to the methodological instrument I have chosen, the emotional moment.

1.2.1 Emotional moments

In my research, I look for so-called emotional moments as conceptualized by Adema to find textual expressions of emotions.[30] In this conceptualization, an emotional moment entails a change from a neutral emotional state to one of more intense emotion, or a change from an intense emotion to another one.[31] Methodologically speaking, Adema's use of emotional moments entails searching for events or actions that induce emotions as the first phase of an emotional moment, the manifestation of an emotion, whether it be bodily or verbally or in a combination, as the second phase of an emotional moment, and the action or reaction resulting from a character (or the narrator) feeling an emotion as the third phase of an emotional moment. This (partially) corresponds to Hogan, who posits four basic elements of emotions, namely (1) eliciting conditions, which "activate emotion systems", (2) expressive outcomes, "the manifestations of an emotion that mark the subject as experiencing an emotion", (3) actional response, "or what one does in reaction to the situation", and (4) phenomenological tone, "or just what the emotion feels like", a concept that is difficult to grasp. Hogan includes it as the way in which an emotion is experienced, i.e., as "desirable or aversive", and as the subjective experience of another element of emotions, the physiological outcomes, for example, "an increase in perspiration".[32] Adema leaves out this fourth element,[33] instead presenting the first three elements as phases of the underlying script of an emotional moment and implicitly including (parts of) the phenomenological tone, like physiological outcomes, in the ways in which the manifestation of an emotion is expressed.[34] Still, the first three basic elements of emotions that Hogan describes fit in well with the change in emotional intensity that Adema posits as constituting an emotional moment.

Presenting the first three elements as the underlying script of an emotional moment also reflects Kaster's use of scripts in understanding what culturally specific emotion words entail. These scripts, "the narratives that we enact when we experience any emotion", contain from which circumstances the emotion arises (i.e., eliciting conditions), the "psychophysical feelings the emotion engenders" (i.e., the manifestation of an emotion), and the response to the emotion (i.e., the action resulting from an emotion).[35] Thus, when an emotion word is analyzed in this way, not only the abstract concept of an emotion, but also the accompanying circumstances, feelings, and actions, are taken into account. My hypothesis is that Lucan does not give room for all three phases each time an emotional moment pops up in his narrative, and that by leaving out one phase or two, he effectively limits at least the extent to which the readership sympathizes with the characters in his epic.[36]

Considering a sample of passages from the *Bellum Civile*, it is possible to see that these phases can indeed be found when emotional moments occur and that, indeed, they do not

[29] Kaster 2005.
[30] See Adema 2023, 32-36 for her conceptualization of 'emotional moment', which in turn is based on Hogan's (2011, 2-3) and Kaster's (2005, 85) work.
[31] Adema 2023, 35.
[32] Hogan 2011, 2-3.
[33] Adema 2023, 45.
[34] Ibid., 47.
[35] Kaster 2005, 85.
[36] See Adema 2023, 46. She also observes emotional moments containing fewer than all three phases in her corpus.

always appear in three. Sometimes, an emotion is only elicited, making for a very brief note on an emotional change, as happens in the enumeration of troops mustered by Caesar from Gaul to join in the war, in 1.419-422:

1) *[…] tunc rura Nemetis*
qui tenet et ripas Aturi, qua litore curvo
molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus aequor,
signa movet, gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste

'Then those who occupy the fields of the Nemes and the banks of the Aturus, where the Tarbellians gently hem in the sea that is granted entry to the curved coast, move their standards, and the Santones are joyful because of the enemy's departure.'

In this sequence, Roman troops leave their stations in Gaul, and the remaining Gaulish tribes are pleased with this development. The eliciting conditions in the passage cited are given as *signa movet* and *amoto … hoste*, with the emotional change in the Santones only being noted by the emotion word *gaudet*.

At other moments, an emotion is induced, but instead of narrating the manifestation of that emotion, Lucan skips to the action resulting from it. This occurs, for example, when Pompeius reconsiders his next move as he observes (*sensit et ipse metum*, 2.598) the fearful and slightly lukewarm response to his exhortative speech (2.596-600):

2) *Verba ducis nullo partes clamore secuntur*
nec matura petunt promissae classica pugnae.
sensit et ipse metum *Magnus,* ***placuitque referri***
signa nec in tantae discrimina mittere pugnae
iam victum fama non visi Caesaris agmen.

'The factions follow the words of the leader with no applause, nor do they seek the promised fight with an early trumpet-call. Pompeius also noticed the fear, and he decided to withdraw the standards and not send, at the decisive moment of such a fight, an army, already defeated by the rumor of Caesar, not-yet-seen.'

In this scene, the eliciting conditions consist of the response of the soldiers to Pompeius' speech, and Pompeius' recognition of this response. Confronted with such a response, a general could conceivably experience quite a change in his emotional state of being, for example becoming angry with his soldiers or in this case, losing his previous bravado and feeling dejected. Lucan could have expanded on how Pompeius experienced the manifestation of this emotional change, but he instead skips this phase and turns to Pompeius' actions, namely cancelling his previous plans to attack and withdrawing to Brundisium (*placuitque referri signa nec … mittere … agmen*).[37]

Occasionally, an emotion simply is induced and manifests itself, without consequently giving rise to an action, for example in 1.303-305, when Caesar exhorts his soldiers in a speech by describing the mobilization of his army:

[37] This scene will be further examined in chapter 5.

3) "*non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu*
concutitur quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes
Hannibal: […]"

'Not otherwise is Rome shaken because of the enormous commotion of war, than if Punic Hannibal would have crossed the Alps.'

In this passage, we see that the fear Rome experiences is elicited by *ingenti bellorum … tumultu*, which is given a historical parallel in Hannibal surmounting the Alps. The manifestation of this fear is shown in the figurative verb *concutitur*.

Oftentimes, all three phases are present, giving a full overview of the character going through an emotional experience, as in 3.141-143, where Metellus does not shrink back after Caesar has spoken and the latter becomes even more enraged:

4) *Dixerat, et nondum foribus cedente tribuno*
acrior ira subit: saevos circumspicit enses
oblitus simulare togam;

'He had spoken, and a sharper anger sprung up on him, as the tribune had not yet yielded from the gates: forgetting to behave civilly, he looks around at his ruthless swords.'

In this case, the eliciting condition is the Metellus' refusal to yield from the gates, which results in the manifestation of the emotion anger as "springing up" on Caesar. Consequently, the actions resulting from the emotion are that Caesar looks around at his swords while he forgets to behave civilly.

In short, these three phases and the emotional moments in which they appear constitute the way in which I measure the emotional intensity of the narration of emotions. In the following section, I set forth in what way I have selected passages containing emotional moments in specifying my corpus.

1.2.2 Quantitative pilot study

Having established the instrument that I use to locate emotions in Lucan's text, namely emotional moments, I will establish a corpus to examine in chapter 2. It is preferable to include comparable scenes, as in this way I am able to analyze how Lucan incorporates emotional moments into the focalization of his narrative, and to discover what his tendencies are across several different scenes and see when he differentiates in his treatment of emotional moments. To see what kinds of scenes would be suitable for my emotional analysis and to present as systematic an overview of this process as possible, I have cast my net wide in a pilot study aimed at identifying emotional moments, a report of which I present in chapter 2. In this pilot study, I have gone over books 1, 2, and 3 of the *Bellum Civile* in two phases. In the first phase, I identified what kind of scenes can be found in these books, taking them to be representative of what could be found in the rest of the work. Subsequently, I counted the emotional moments in each of the scenes, also taking into account how many phases each emotional moment contained. This second phase of my pilot study answered the question which scenes are more emotionally developed than others. In this way, I was able to narrow down my corpus, the entire *Bellum Civile*, to the kinds of passages that would benefit from

using the concept of emotional moments and the phases contained within as an analysis parameter. The selected types of passages can be broken down into three categories: the epic structure of the battle scene (treated in chapter 3), scenes of lament and grief (chapter 4), and the broad, recurring structural element of interactions with speech (chapter 5),

1.3 Parameters for qualitative research

When selecting the passages I will use for my qualitative analysis, I will consider passages that contain more than one of the three phases of an emotional moment, as I consider these passages to be more emotionally charged than, for example, passages in which characters are simply said to be angry or sad. Furthermore, there are a few aspects of the narrative that I will take into account while analyzing the selected passages. Before naming these aspects, I do have to note that, due to the scope of this thesis, not every one of these aspects will always come to the fore in my analysis, as each of the passages that I will analyze has its own role in my argument.

Firstly, I will look into which of the phases in an emotional moment has been most fully developed or which of the phases is the focal point of the passage: perhaps certain types of scenes lend themselves to a focus on, for example, the manifestation of an emotion. I will also look at the implications the emotional moment in a passage has for the development of the story, as emotions perhaps can help the reader with the interpretation of this development: what is the interplay between the emotional moment and the context in which the emotional moment is to be found? Are the actions of a character explicable from their emotional reaction to a preceding event? Moreover, I will examine whether the use of emotional moments supports broader themes in Lucan's epic, like the emphasis on the abominable nature of civil war that is present throughout the epics, or the use of silence in opposition to the enemy. When a simile or metaphorical language is used by Lucan, I will also give these linguistic instruments attention, as they can help with understanding the emotional moments in which they appear. Besides these very general questions I will ask when considering passages, I will also take into account the mechanism of characterization, as briefly introduced in the section below.

1.3.1 Characterization and its role in understanding emotions

To make sense of what someone, whether in real life or in literature, is feeling, it helps to have an idea of some sort of emotional baseline: what is their neutral state of mind and how would they normally react? This neutral state of mind could be called someone's character, defined as "the *relatively stable* moral, mental, social and personal traits which pertain to and individual" by De Temmerman and Van Emde Boas, while the manner in which someone would normally react is informed by someone's character traits. To constitute a character, an author and their audience participate in the process of characterization, defined by the same scholars as such:

> '"Characterization" refers both to the ways in which traits (of all kinds) are ascribed to a character in a text, and to the interpretative processes by which readers of a text form an idea of that character.'[38]

[38] Both the definition of 'character' and 'characterization' can be found in De Temmerman and Van Emde Boas 2018, 2.

When characters are developed, one of the means of characterization is emotion, which De Temmerman and Van Emde Boas consider a form of metonymical characterization:

> 'Emotions: in ancient ethics and rhetoric there is a traditional distinction between *ēthē* (permanent characteristics) and *pathē* (emotions, temporary feelings more easily influenced than *ēthos*). The emotions displayed by characters and ascribed to characters by narrators can tell us something about their mental qualities or psychological outlook.'[39]

Emotions thus can tell the audience something about the character of someone about whom they are newly learning, or they can add to an existent characterization. Furthermore, every bit of information the audience has on someone's character can give a clue as to how emotions should be interpreted.

An example of this feedback loop can be found in the case of Caesar's characterization as it is continued from book 1 (as a destructive, willful force, see section 3.1.2) into book 7, just before the battle of Pharsalus breaks out. Caesar, seeing that Pompeius' troops are moving to the battlefield, is startled from his usual countenance of haste and irritation, as he had previously wanted the battle to come more quickly, in keeping with his characterization in book 1, but as the moment finally arrives, he is faced with doubt (7.240-249):

5) *aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni*
coeperat exiguo tractu civilia bella
ut lentum damnare nefas. discrimina postquam
adventare ducum supremaque proelia vidit
casuram †fatis† sensit nutare ruinam,
illa quoque in ferrum rabies promptissima paulum
languit, et casus audax spondere secundos
mens stetit in dubio, quam nec sua fata timere
nec Magni sperare sinunt. formidine mersa
prosilit hortando melior fiducia vulgo

> 'Naturally, sick of delay and burning with desire for power, he had begun, in the short period of time it had been going on, to curse the civil war as a sluggish crime. When he saw coming the turning-point and the final battle of the leaders, when he felt the ruins of fate staggering to their fall, even that most ready frenzy for violence of his faltered, and even though he was audacious enough to be confident in a favorable outcome, he was of two minds, because, as much as his fortunes did not allow for fear, Pompeius' did not allow for hope. As fear subsided, confidence burst forth, better suited to exhorting the multitude.'

Previous results do not guarantee victories ahead, and Caesar realizes this, showing an awareness of his own uncertain position that is unexpected with regard to his usual drive forward. However, he is able to hide his uncertainty behind a façade of confidence and begins with his speech to his troops, which is the only logical thing he can do in the face of battle: performing the action that is expected of him on the basis of his confident baseline of bravado.

[39] De Temmerman and Van Emde Boas 2018, 22.

His outward appearance is thus bolstered by hiding the emotion and getting on with his speech, at least externally meeting the expectations set by his character, while the audience of the *Bellum Civile* has gained some insight in how Caesar can face unexpected emotions and in how he meets new challenges as a character in this work. While his character informs the reader in which background his emotions should be placed, his emotions conversely nuance his previous characterization. As I treat passages from the *Bellum Civile* in chapters 3 through 5, I will present short characterizations of important characters when we first encounter them, based on Lucan's text and with a brief accompanying overview of scholarship. In this way, I will be able to keep in mind the interplay between characterization and emotions, making note of the instances in which the baseline as presented previously by Lucan is perturbed and examining the ways in which characterization through emotions adds to the focalization of the events presented in the story.

In the following chapter, I will report on the quantitative pilot study undertaken to test the fruitfulness of the concept of the emotional moment for the selection of emotionally developed passages.

Chapter 2 - Pilot study: identifying emotional moments and corpus specification

In my pilot study, I operated in two phases, which will be elucidated below. First, I determined which kinds of scenes were present in the first three books of the *Bellum Civile*, after which I proceeded with the second phase of this pilot study: using the concept of emotional moments and the phases contained within to determine the types of scenes that would be most fruitful for further research. This process provided me with a manageable corpus containing ample emotional moments to examine through qualitative research and the opportunity to compare and contrast the emotional behavior of characters in a range of similar scenes.

2.1 Where would we find emotional moments?

To determine a corpus, I considered it prudent to search for the type scenes which could contain the most emotionally intense or at least the most emotional moments. Type scenes were first recognized in Arend's 1933 dissertation *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* as recurring segments of narrative of a recognizable "type" and pattern.[40] Reitz and Finkmann go further and speak of epic structure, or *Bauform*. These structures contain set forms, sequences, and other recognizable features.[41] However, authors can vary in their rendition of the features ascribed to the various epic structures.[42] When using the concept of epic structures to categorize passages, this provides a broad selection of epic structures in which it is possible to identify emotional moments. In the case of my thesis, I take this flexibility of the epic structure to mean that, as there is no exhaustive list to be made of epic structures in this flexible conceptualization, any recurring structural element in epic narrative can be systematically analyzed in the context of emotional moments.

The fruitfulness of this very flexible approach occurred to me in the first phase of my quantitative analysis, as, at first sight, three structural elements seemed promising, the first of which, speeches, is not included as an epic structure in the chapters of Reitz and Finkmann's compendium, but nevertheless structures much of the corpus I used for my initial pilot study. These three structural elements included the epic structure mass battle and the inspection of the dead besides speeches. The factor of the passage of time during the course of battle underlay this first hypothetical selection. The points of the narrative at which these scenes occur (before, during, and after battle, respectively) namely result in a chronological overview of where in the narrative Lucan conceivably could incorporate emotion. Inspection of the dead is an obvious candidate for a scene containing poignant emotional moments. Combined with speeches and mass battle, one could in this way follow the narrative as it revolves around the loss of human life and whatever leads up to such an event, which in the case of mass battle could entail, for example, rage and fear on the battlefield, or in connection with exhortative speeches fear and pride in preparation for battle. To ensure that this preliminary choice of epic structures would indeed be fruitful for the qualitative and more detailed phase of my research, I went through the initial three books of the *Bellum Civile*, resulting in the following identification of the type scenes these books contained, chronologically ordered as per the story presented by Lucan:

[40] Loney 2020, 213.
[41] Reitz and Finkmann 2019, 1-2.
[42] Ibid., 7.

Table 1: Chronological overview of epic structures in book 1, 2, and 3

Verses	**Epic structure**	**Notes**
1.1-66	External/initial proem	Core structure[43]
1.185-194	Apparition scene	
1.195-203/212	Speech	By Caesar, until 212 including actions stemming from speech
1.225-227	Speech	By Caesar, proclamation
1.239-243	Arming scene	
1.272-291/296	Speech	By Curio, until 296 including reactions
1.299-351/358	Speech	By Caesar, until 358 including reactions
1.359-386/391	Speech	By head centurion, until 391 including reactions
1.392-465	Catalogue of Gaul	Core structure[44]
1.486-522	Flight scene	From Rome at Caesar's approach
1.522-695	Prophecy	1.522-583: omens; 1.584-638: peace offerings and haruspicy; 1.639-673: astrological prediction by Nigidius Figulus; 1.674-695: prediction by phrenetic mother
2.16-42	Ritual scene	Before the actual deaths have occurred
2.43-63/66	Speech/War preparation	Lamentation during preparation for battle, until 66 including reactions
2.67-232/233	Speech	By old man, reminiscing on horrors of civil war, until 233 including reactions
2.67-93	Flight scene	Marius' flight to Africa
2.98-220	Death scenes/Mass combat	During Marius' reign of Rome and Sulla's revenge
2.234-284	Speech	By Brutus to Cato
2.284-325	Speech/Reaction to speech	Reply to Brutus by Cato
2.326-380	Ritual scene	Wedding ritual between Cato and Marcia
2.392-438	Catalogue of Italic rivers and description of the Apennines	Core structure
2.439-477	Arming scene/preparation for battle	During Caesar's advance into Italy
2.478-506	Mass combat	Caesar's army approaches Corfinium
2.507-525	Domitius' "Aristeia"	
2.526-595/609	Speech	By Pompeius to his army, until 609 including actions stemming from speech
2.596-649	Flight scene	Pompeius goes to Brundisium and decides to flee
2.680-736	Departure by sea	Continued flight scene
3.1-45	Apparition scene	By Julia to Caesar
3.112-121	Spoils	
3.121-153	Speeches	By Metellus (121-133), Caesar (134-140), and Cotta (145-152), with reactions in 133-134, 141-144, and 153
3.154-168	Spoils	
3.169-297	War preparation	In a catalogue

[43] See Schindler 2019, 495-506, on initial proems.

[44] See Reitz, Scheidegger Lämmle, and Wesselmann 2019, 700-704, on catalogues in Lucan.

3.303-355	Speech	By citizens of Massilia
3.355-374	Reaction to speech/Speech	Reply by Caesar to citizens of Massilia
3.375-452	War preparation	For the siege of Massilia
3.453-508	Mass combat	Siege of Massilia
3.509-557	War preparation	
3.558-582	Naval battle	
3.583-646	Single combat	Zoomed in from mass combat
3.647-696	Naval battle	
3.696-751	Single combat	Zoomed in from mass combat
3.752-762	Naval battle	A brief coda to the naval battle

A wide variety of epic structures is found in these three books, providing a relevant pilot corpus for a preliminary test of where emotionally intense moments are found. For this purpose, I cross-referenced the categories of epic structures present in books 1 to 3 of the *Bellum Civile* with the three phases presented in section 1.2.1, eliciting conditions, manifestation of emotion, and resulting action, taking account of how many times an emotional moment entailed one, two, or three of the phases specified, and the average number of words, working under the assumption that the more room the author gives to an emotional moment, the more emotionally intense this moment is. I also took note of the epic structures that contained no emotional moments, as such an occurrence gives rise to the question why we do not find emotional moments in situations where we reasonably could conceive of them. This resulted in the following cross tabulations:

Table 2: Overview of number of scenes, emotional moments per epic structure, and epic structures without emotional moments[45]

Epic structure category	Number of scenes		Emotional moments		Scene without emotional moments	
	n	Avg. # of words	n	Avg. # of words	n	Avg. # of words
Apparition scene	2	175,5	4	24,8	0	N/A
Arming scene/war preparation	6	311,3	7	43,1	1	301
Death scene	**6**	**389,2**	**2**	**103,5**	**4**	**396,5**
Departure by sea	1	360	1	18	0	N/A
Flight scene	3	247,7	2	100	1	166
Mass combat	**3**	**434,7**	**0**	**N/A**	**3**	**434,7**
Naval battle	*3*	*178,3*	*1*	*49*	*2*	*232*
Prophecy	1	1058	3	62	0	N/A
Reaction to speech	*12*	*59,8*	*8*	*32*	*5*	*75,6*
Ritual scene	*3*	*279,7*	*5*	*64,6*	*1*	*326*
Single combat	*2*	*374,5*	*2*	*103,5*	*0*	*N/A*
Speech	**15**	**235,9**	**2**	**4**	**13**	**257,2**
Spoils	2	74	0	N/A	2	74

[45] My preliminary selection of "epic structures" is bolded in tables 2 and 3. After my quantitative analysis, I concluded that each of my initially chosen epic structures should be replaced with or extended to other structural elements, which are italicized in tables 2 and 3.

Considering the cross tabulation above and the first selection of "epic structures", it becomes apparent that the recurring narrative element of speech is not as rich in emotional moments as initially thought (only 2 out of 15 speeches included emotional moments), with characters expressing their or others' emotions not very frequently during speeches. However, if we take into consideration the category "reactions to speeches", we see a lot more emotional moments (8 emotional moments for 12 reactions to speeches). In these reactions to speeches, we can see, as can be gleaned from table 3 below, that most often, speeches resulted in actions, mostly by a group reacting to an individual speaker, with eliciting conditions and manifestations of emotions also present (7 of the 8 emotional moments within reactions to speeches contained all three phases). My conclusion from this is that, rather than on focusing on the emotional contents of speeches themselves, I should inspect how (other) characters react to or more broadly, interact with speeches instead, and therefore, I replace the category of "speeches" with "interactions with speeches".

Furthermore, inspection of the dead as an epic structure was difficult to find. Partial examples were found in the category "death scene", but scenes of this kind were not structurally present in the first three books of the *Bellum Civile*. Therefore, I pointed my attention elsewhere and found quite extensive descriptions of grief and other emotions in the epic structure of "ritual scene" (5 emotional moments for three instances of the epic structure, on average 64,6 words). In ritual scenes, emotion is often experienced performatively, the public aspect of which is interesting to consider, but frequently, "genuine" emotion is experienced in more private experiences of grief. Furthermore, table 3 shows that emotional moments in ritual scenes contain at least two or three phases. For these reasons, ritual scenes seemed to be a suitable replacement for the epic structure of inspection of the dead. However, for reasons of space and because of the wide-ranging pluriformity of the epic structure of the ritual scenes, I will consider only a subset of passages that could be categorized as ritual scenes, namely scenes of lament and grief, which deal with mourning rituals.

Thirdly, scenes of mass combat containing emotional moments were not prevalent throughout the first three books (I found three scenes of mass combat, none of them containing emotional moments).[46] When I broadened my scope to also include single combat (when zooming in in the context of mass battle) and naval battle, I found a few more emotional moments. However, even though emotional moments are not abundant in combat scenes, they are all the more pathetic when they do appear, as they mostly deal with the brutal death of a character. Because of the intensity of these emotional moments[47] and the curious absence of emotional moments where they could be conceivably found, namely in situations where death is prevalent, I decided to broaden this category of epic structure to include mass combat, single combat, and naval battle.

[46] See Adema 2019, 293-294. She notes that during battle, speeches and thoughts of the warriors are represented in a specific way, namely as battle cries. It is also possible for the narrator to zoom in on individual warriors and give an account of their specific thoughts and speeches.

[47] When an emotional moment occurs, two or three phases are present, as seen in table 3: the naval battle contains one emotional moment consisting of three phases, and scenes of single combat contain one emotional moment consisting of two phases, one consisting of three phases.

Table 3: Emotional moments categorized by amount of phases

Epic structure category	Emotional moments		1 of 3 phases[48]		2 of 3 phases		3 of 3 phases	
	n	Avg. # of words	n	Avg. # of words	n	Avg. # of words	n	Avg. # of words
Apparition scene	4	24,8	0	N/A	2	37,5	2	12
Arming scene/war preparation	7	43,1	1	35	5	46,8	1	41
Death scene	**2**	**103,5**	**0**	**N/A**	**1**	**23**	**1**	**184**
Departure by sea	1	18	0	N/A	1	18	0	N/A
Flight scene	2	100	0	N/A	1	89	1	111
Mass combat	**0**	**N/A**	**0**	**N/A**	**0**	**N/A**	**0**	**N/A**
Naval battle	*1*	*49*	*0*	*N/A*	*0*	*N/A*	*1*	*49*
Prophecy	3	62	0	N/A	1	31	2	91,5
Reaction to speech	*8*	*31,9*	*0*	*N/A*	*1*	*89*	*7*	*23,7*
Ritual scene	*5*	*64,6*	*0*	*N/A*	*3*	*42,3*	*2*	*98,5*
Single combat	*2*	*103,5*	*0*	*N/A*	*1*	*23*	*1*	*184*
Speech	**2**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**0**	**N/A**
Spoils	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A

2.2 Use of metaphorical language and similes

Furthermore, when going through books 1, 2 and 3 of the *Bellum Civile*, another aspect of Lucan's narration style sprang forward: his use of metaphorical language and similes. This invited me to add another layer of analysis to my quantification of emotional intensity, namely, whether metaphorical language or a simile is added to (part of) an emotional moment. Metaphorical language is mainly employed in narrating the bodily manifestation of emotions, giving the readership a sensory aid in feeling the emotion felt by the characters. I would argue that this increases the emotional intensity of such a moment and forms part of the focalization with which Lucan structures his narrative. Furthermore, the phases of manifestation and (re)action are oftentimes explicated by a simile in which the character's emotion and reaction were compared with, for example, a lion making itself angry and bursting forth upon its enemies (1.204-212).[49] By illustrating the emotional moment with an image, the emotional intensity of that moment also becomes deeper. Whenever metaphorical language or simile makes an appearance in an emotional moment during further qualitative research, I make note of it and explore what it means for the interpretation of the emotional moment.

2.3 Chapter conclusion

As a result of the pilot study undertaken for this chapter, I decided on three "epic structures" to explore further. In going through the first three books of the *Bellum Civile*, I took note of each kind of epic structure I encountered, keeping in mind my intuitive preliminary selection of epic structures. With the third book, I had encountered enough instances of most kinds of epic structures (based on the compendium by Reitz and Finkmann) and in analyzing these instances, the opportunity to rethink my assumptions arose. Combat scenes, including naval battle and single and mass combat, form a category of epic structures I will explore, curious

[48] All phases are counted per emotional moment, as a single epic structure could contain multiple emotional moments, especially if the epic structure is on the longer side.

[49] See my discussion of this passage in chapter 3.

to see how Lucan would depict the emotion of (groups of) characters in crisis and why so often the emotion is absent in these horror-filled passages. Secondly, ritual scenes in the form of scenes of lament and grief form the next group of passages I will investigate, as characters could experience emotions in a performative manner in these scenes. Finally, instead of focusing on the contents of speeches, I prefer to further explore the recurring, broadly interpretable narrative element of the interaction with speeches, testing the hypothesis that speeches give rise to intense emotions and consequently to manifestations of and reactions to emotions. In chapter 3, I first turn to emotional moments in combat scenes.

Chapter 3 - Emotional moments in battle scenes

1) *Stant gemini fratres, fecundae gloria matris,*
quos eadem variis genuerunt viscera fatis:
discrevit mors saeva viros, unumque relictum
agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes,
aeternis causam lacrimis; tenet ille dolorem
semper et amissum fratrem lugentibus offert.

'There stand twin brothers, the pride of a fertile mother, whom the same womb has borne to different fates: cruel death separated the men, and through the removal of uncertainty, the unhappy parents recognized the remaining one, cause for everlasting tears; he forever keeps up the ache and presents the grieving with the missing brother.'

Wars bring deaths, and deaths bring grief and other emotions. At times, it takes a while for these emotions to arise, while in other cases, they arise instantaneously. In the example above (3.603-608), during the naval battle near Massilia, the death scene that follows this look forward in time does not provoke any apparent emotions at the time it occurs, not in the dying nor in the surviving twin. The focus is on the postponed grief that affects the parents. However, in another scene later in the same battle, the father of the mortally wounded Argus, who sees his son fatally struck, is so overcome that he rushes to his own death before his son can actually perish (3.723-751). In this chapter, several battle scenes at various stages in the civil war between Pompey and Caesar will come to the fore, analyzed through the lens of the emotional moments they contain.

In considering my selection of epic structures that occur in battle scenes, I included representations of combat at both a larger and smaller scale, on land and at sea.[50] In his overview of the epic structure of mass battle, Telg genannt Kortmann characterizes the structure as being presented in a birds-eye-view,[51] in which the masses are anonymous.[52] Scenes of mass battle are integrated into the course of the narration, often starting or closing out a battle,[53] or sometimes appearing as a *caesura* that marking transitions in the course of the battle.[54] Furthermore, in scenes of mass combat, fighting between individual soldiers occasionally becomes the object of focus. These shifts in focus to a smaller, more zoomed-in narratological scale are what for Telg genannt Kortmann define single combat.[55] In his definition, such scenes of single combat present single warriors that function as the embodiment of the warring forces as a whole, and that can "symbolize the combat's overall development".[56]

I join Telg genannt Kortmann in treating these scenes with a focus on individual soldiers as single battle, as they provide the opportunity to examine the emotional moments experienced by individual characters and compare these to the emotional moments that involve the masses fighting the same battle. However, Littlewood gives a more exclusive

[50] An overview can be found in table 5 below.
[51] Telg genannt Kortmann 2019, 113.
[52] Ibid., 112.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 115.
[55] Ibid., 113.
[56] Ibid.

definition of single battle or combat. She presents single combat as emerging from mass combat in three different ways, namely 1) within a hero's *aristeia*, as 2) a sequence of vengeance killings, or 3) in passages where mass battle is avoided by instead fighting out a duel between two preselected warriors.[57] However, in the case of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, she acknowledges that these kinds of single combat are not frequent, only mentioning Scaeva as an example of *aristeia*.[58] It therefore seems more fruitful to me to keep to Telg genannt Kortmann's broader definition of single battle/combat, which enables me to analyze the emotional moments of all participants in a battle, whether as individuals or as a collectivity.[59]

Throughout my analysis, I will show that Lucan utilizes the emotions that arise during battle scenes for various purposes, including as an aid in his characterization, and that he supports several themes in his work with the deployment of emotional moments, like silence in the face of oppression and the criminality of civil war. Before turning to the actual battle scenes, however, I will first examine two passages that present emotional moments in the context of war preparation to see how a group of Roman citizens handles an imminent threat and to already provide some insight into how the characterization of Caesar plays a role in how the story is presented.

Table 4: Scenes selected for chapter 3

I	Citizens of Ariminum arm themselves at Caesar's army approaching		1.236-261	War preparation
II	Preparations for siege of Massilia		3.375-452	War preparation
III	Naval battle between the Caesarean fleet and the Massilians		3.538-762	Naval battle (combination of mass combat and single combat)
	a.	Fleets approach each other, the first combats occur (no individual combatants named)	3.538-582	
	b.	Single combats	3.583-646	
	c.	Combats between groups of soldiers	3.647-696	
	d.	Single combats	3.696-751	
	e.	Coda to the naval battle	3.752-762	
IV	Fraternization during the battle of Ilerda		4.169-205	Mass "battle"
V	Battle of Pharsalus		7.385-760	Mass battle (combination of mass combat and single combat)
	a.	Narrator's reflection on the battle's consequences	7.385-459	
	b.	Start of the battle	7.460-505	
	c.	Defeat and flight of Pompey's cavalry	7.506-544	
	d.	*Narration of the battle's center (mass combat); narrator's refusal to narrate this part of the battle*	*7.545-556*	
	e.	Caesar's participation in the battle	7.557-585	
	f.	Brutus in the battle	7.586-596	
	g.	Single combat of Domitius Ahenobarbus	7.597-616	
	h.	Narrator's lamentation on consequences of the battle	7.617-646	
	i.	*Pompey's flight*	*7.647-727*	
	j.	Caesar's troops take Pompey's camp	7.728-760	
VI	Scaeva's *aristeia* in northern Greece		6.118-262	Single combat

[57] Littlewood 2019, 78.
[58] Ibid., 100-101.
[59] In section 3.2.4, I will, however, present a brief analysis of the emotional moments contained in Scaeva's *aristeia* in the context of the theme of *amor mortis* (cf. section 3.2.1).

3.1 Prelude: emotional moments during scenes of war preparation (scenes I and II)

3.1.1 Scene I: the first confrontation at Ariminum

Let us start with the moment in time to which a Roman citizen in the first century BCE never hoped to return: the beginning stages of a civil war. On 11 January 49 BCE, the citizens of Ariminum were the first to be confronted with Caesar's forces (scene I from table 5). This event is portrayed in the first book of the *Bellum Civile* and it is the reaction of the citizens of Ariminum to this first confrontation that merits a closer look. The scene unfolds as follows: Caesar has just crossed the Rubicon, bringing his troops in his train, and approaches the town of Ariminum at dawn (1.228-235). Thereupon, the Ariminians awaken due to various eliciting conditions that can be divided into two phases: a first phase in which they do not yet see the intruders but only hear them, and a second, in which seeing their opponents changes the way in which they react. In 1.236-243, the citizens of Ariminum are roused from their beds as follows:

2) *Constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles*
signa foro, stridor lituum clangorque tubarum
non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
rupta quies populi, stratisque excita iuventus
deripuit sacris affixa penatibus arma
quae pax longa dabat: nuda iam crate fluentis
invadunt clipeos curvataque cuspide pila
et scabros nigrae morsu robiginis enses.

'When the soldiery stood still in the captured forum, ordered to lay down the standards, the shrill sound of cornets and the clang of clarions sounded together with the screeching horn of impious trumpets. The quiet of the citizenry was broken, and the young men, roused from their beds, ripped down the weapons that were fixed to the sacred Penates, rendered so by a long period of peace: they take up the shields, already deteriorating to their ribs, and the javelins with curved points, and the swords, rough because of the dark bite of rust.'

In a ringing summation (emphasized by the repeating of 'c' in verse 1.238),[60] the invading sounds are named: *stridor lituum*, *clangor tubarum*, and *rauco … cornu* (1.237-238). These sounds have an effect on the entire citizenry of Ariminum, whose *quies*, a neutral emotional state, becomes *rupta* (1.239). Then, in a reaction to these sounds and their new state of mind, the citizens take up their arms, neglected for such a long time that they have deteriorated. Even though the state of their weapons suggests that the men are not used to defending their city, they still spring to action, the shock of the sudden sounds leading them to an automatic response.

Once they have armed themselves, the Ariminians go to where the Caesarians are and are met with a frightening visual (1.244-261):

3) *ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaque signa*

[60] Roche 2009, 226.

et celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar,
deriguere metu, gelidos pavor occupant artus,
et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus:
'o male vicinis haec moenia condita Gallis,
o tristi damnata loco! pax alta per omnes
et tranquilla quies populos: nos praeda furentum
primaque castra sumus. melius, Fortuna, dedisses
orbe sub Eoo sedem gelidaque sub Arcto
errantesque domos, Latii quam claustra tueri.
nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque ruentem
vidimus et Martem Libyes cursumque furoris
Teutonici: quotiens Romam Fortuna lacessit,
hac iter est bellis.' gemitu sic quisque latenti,
non ausus timuisse palam: vox nulla dolori
credita, sed quantum, volucres cum bruma coercet,
rura silent, mediusque tacet sine murmure pontus,
tanta quies.

'When familiar eagles and Roman standards flashed and Caesar was visible, towering in the middle of the troop, they grew rigid with fear, a shudder crept over chilly limbs, and they pondered quiet complaints in their silent hearts: "Unfortunately founded are these walls, with Gauls for neighbors, and cursed by an unhappy location! All people experience deep peace and calm rest, but we present madmen with their first pillageable encampment. You, Fortuna, would have done better giving us a place to inhabit in the East, under the cold North Star, or letting us roam, than giving us the barrier of Latium to defend. We first saw the advance of the Senones, the rush of the Cimbri, the war effort of Libya, and the march of Teutonic rage: however many times Fortuna provokes Rome, the road to war is through here." Everybody privately lamented in this manner, nobody dared to openly be afraid: no word was entrusted to their grief, but a silence was, as quiet as the silent fields when a winter chill tames the birds, and as quiet as the open sea is, without grumbling.'

Seeing the opposing soldiers makes for a marked difference in the composure of the Ariminians. Reacting to three different parts of the eliciting conditions (the *aquilae*, *signa* and *Caesar* himself), the manifestation of their fear also comes in three: [61] they stiffen (*deriguere*), tremble (*pavor*), and become silent (*tacito … in pectore*). In their silence, the citizens utter a complaint: they internally curse the unfortunate situation of their city and recall how in previous wars Ariminum always fell victim to foreign enemies first (1.248-256). They conclude with the consideration that if war is upon Rome, its itinerary always is through their city (1.256-257). Then, the eliciting conditions brought upon them in seeing Caesar and his army and their resulting actions are emphasized anew in a simile. The citizens are stunned into silence, like the fields are by *bruma* and like the sea is at its midpoint (1.259-261).

The Ariminians thus range from battle readiness to fear and ensuing silence in their emotional response to first hearing, then seeing Caesar and his army. This transition illustrates a theme that is propagated throughout the *Bellum Civile*: the abnormality of civil war. At first,

[61] See Roche 2009, 227 for this stylistic observation.

a collection of loud sounds elicits an automatic response on the part of the citizens. Even though they do not yet know who their opponents are, and their weapons have long gone unused,[62] they spring into action. It is only when they recognize the threat to be Roman that they are discouraged. The cruelty of this recognition is underscored by their consideration of the usual itinerary of war: historically, when war had been waged against Rome, Ariminum was the first outpost, and its citizens would pose the first line of defense to the enemy. Now, however, the conflict is internecine, a fact apparent from the familiarity of the Roman eagles and standards (*notae … aquilae Romanaque signa*; 1.244).[63] In the face of their fellow countrymen, the only option for the citizens of Ariminum is to be silent.

This use of silence as expression of the Ariminians' fear is also noted by Anzinger.[64] She emphasizes the difference in the kinds of silence the Ariminians experience. From the night's silence, which can be doubly interpreted as the previously enduring silence of peace (*rupta quies populi*, 1.239), they move to readying their weapons in reaction to being woken by loud sounds. However, they consequently are stunned by the sight of their familiar opponents, and finally are left to silently lament their fate. In this complaint, the citizens mention *quies* as the ideal situation they no longer find themselves in (*pax alta per omnes* / *et tranquilla quies populos*, 1.249-250). This idealized *quies* stands in stark contrast with the chilly silence that hangs over the citizenry.[65] The character of this silence (*tanta quies*, 1.261) is underscored by the simile of the stillness of winter and the middle of the sea.

In short, the familiarity of their opponents turned the fighting spirit of the Ariminians into fear and resignation which they expressed with silence. However, the fact that Caesar was the opposing general cannot have helped their disposition. What is it about Lucan's Caesar that makes him so formidable? In the following excursus, I look into Lucan's characterization of Caesar.

3.1.2 Excursus: the characterization of Caesar

In book 1 of the *Bellum Civile*, the two generals that stand at the foreground of the story, Pompeius and Caesar, are characterized by the narrator in an extended passage (1.125-157).[66] The former, Pompeius, is depicted as a great general of old, who is supported by his previous victories and aged glory, but who is not very energetically decisive.[67] Caesar, however, is very energetic (*acer et indomitus* 'vicious and unrestrained', 1.146) and restless, always moving (*nescia virtus* | *stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello* 'unknown was the value of staying in place, and his only shame was failing to triumph in war', 1.144-146).[68] He is so willful and ambitious that he turns into a destructive force, reveling in the process of destruction (1.148-150): *instare favori* | *numinis, impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti* | *obstaret gaudensque viam fecisse ruina* 'He is in pursuit of fortune's good will, overthrowing whatever is in the way

[62] Roche 2009, 230. The memories of foreign enemies named in 1.254-256 all stem from at least a few decades beforehand, sometimes centuries: Ariminum faced the Senones in the early 4th century BCE, the Punic war effort in 207 BCE, the Cimbri in 101 BCE, and its citizens recall that the Teutones came through Transalpine Gaul in 102 BCE.

[63] Ibid., 227.

[64] Anzinger 2007, 114. See also Zientek 2018, 126-131 and also Roche 2009, 231, who references the topos of silent complaint against the tyrant.

[65] Roche 2009, 223 calls it "the oppressive silence of subjugation".

[66] For further reading on the characterization of Caesar, see Marti 1945, 361-367, Ahl 1976, 190-230, Helzle 1994, Nix 2005, Roth 2011, and Neely 2016.

[67] I will expand on Pompeius' characterization in section 3.2.3.2.

[68] Nix 2005, 9.

of his reaching the summit, and happy to make a path through ruin.' From the observation that Caesar is content with using force to reach his goals, we can see that Caesar normally is gladdened by situations of violence and destruction. This is further illustrated when Caesar and his armies advance through Italy (2.439-446):

4) *Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso*
gaudet habere vias, quod non terat hoste vacantis
Hesperiae fines vacuosque irrumpat in agros
atque ipsum non perdat iter consertaque bellis
bella gerat, non tam portas intrare patentis
quam fregisse iuvat, nec tam patiente colono
arva premi quam si ferro populetur et igni.
concessa pudet ire via civemque videri.

'Caesar, raging for war, is happy that he does not have any path forward without bloodshed, that he does not violate the borders of an Italy lacking in enemies, that he does not invade empty fields, that he does not lose use of the advance itself, and that he connects battle to battle. He is not pleased to enter open gates instead of shattering them and is likewise not pleased to press upon resigned farmers rather than having the opportunity to ravage them with sword and fire. He is ashamed to go down a conceded road and seem civilized.'

In this passage, Caesar's joy is sparked by encountering resistance: only hard-won victories are worthy of his ambition. Taking this disposition of Caesar's as someone who enjoys violence and terror into account, it makes sense that characters are afraid when they come into contact with Caesar and turn to silence, as we have seen in the scene at Ariminum and as is present in another scene dealing with Caesar's advance on Rome, at 3.80-83:

5) *non illum laetis vadentem coetibus urbes*
sed tacitae videre metu, nec constitit usquam
obvia turba duci. gaudet tamen esse timori
tam magno populis et se non mallet amari.

'Cities did not see him proceed through happy crowds, but were silent with fear, and nowhere stood a crowd that went to meet the leader. Even so, he is happy to inspire such great fear in the people and he would rather not be adored.'

Caesar not only enjoys violently advancing through Italy, he also revels in the fearful reaction he evokes in the subjugated people. Their emotional reaction to Caesar's frightfulness can be further explicated by returning to the characterizing passage in book 1, in which this Caesar's destructivity is further exemplified by a simile likening Caesar to a bolt of lightning (1.151-157):

6) *qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen*
aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
emicuit rupitque diem populosque paventes
terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
in sua templa furit, nullaque exire vetante

materia magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.

'Precisely like a lightning bolt, pushed out through the clouds by wind, with the sound of struck air and the crash of the world, broke forth and burst through the day and terrified the shuddering people while it weakened their eyes with a slanted flame: it runs ragingly into its own temples, and because no material thing forbids its advance. as it falls and turns back it causes great destruction everywhere, and it gathers up its spread-out fires.'

When confronted with an obstacle, the bolt of lightning, like Caesar, deals with it in a furious manner. It, like Caesar, moves swiftly, producing much noise and carrying much destruction in its train. Furthermore, it, also like Caesar, terrifies everyone who is confronted by it and cannot be stopped by anything, ruining its own home. Nix argues that the comparison of Caesar to the *fulmen* works on two levels, the first of which is Caesar as a force of nature, "an elemental force that will overcome other forces of nature in a paradigm of civil war."[69] The second level on which Caesar is likened to a *fulmen* is that in which the *fulmen* is understood as a symbol for Jupiter.[70] Like the power of a god like Jupiter would, the almost god-like[71] Caesar terrifies the people of Rome. Additionally, the phrase *in sua templa furit* again emphasizes the fact that Caesar has embarked upon a civil war against his fellow Romans.

It follows from the reactions to Caesar's behavior during his advance into Italy (which he himself enjoys), and from the two levels of comparison in the *fulmen*-simile that Caesar is extensively characterized as a violent, impulsive, and ambitious figure, who pushes through obstacles and who inspires fear in others, friends and foes alike, like we will see in the next section.

3.1.3 Scene II: preparations for the siege of Massilia

Silence in the face of a fear-inducing figure such as Caesar is also present in scene II, in which the Caesarians prepare for their siege of Massilia. Caesar orders his soldiers to fell a sacred forest, which is described in 3.399-428 as having induced fear throughout the ages through its mysterious tranquillity, its veneration being carried out by being left alone by the populace and priests (3.422-425). The frightful air the forest excudes is also felt by the Caesarians, who hesitate to fulfill Caesar's orders and consequently have to be exhorted to do so (3.429-439):

7) *sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda*
maiestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
in sua credebant redituras membra securis.
implicitas magno Caesar torpore cohortes
ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
ausus et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum
effatur merso violata in robora telo:
"iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam,
credite me fecisse nefas." tum paruit omnis
imperiis non sublato secura pavore

[69] Ibid., 12-13.
[70] Ibid., 13-15.
[71] Ibid., 11.

turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.

> 'But strong hands trembled and moved by reverence for the majesty of the site, they believed that, were they to fell the sacred trees, the axes could turn back on their own bodies. When Caesar saw that his cohorts were compromised by great numbness, he dared to be the first one to seize a battle-axe, brandish it, and cleave a lofty oak with iron. He spoke, having violated the wood with the push of his weapon: "Now, let none of you hesitate in destroying this forest, just believe that it is me who carries out the sin." Then, everyone obeyed his command, the crowd not soothed by a removal of anxiety, but instead weighing Caesar's anger against that of the gods.'

In the first place, the hallowed forest elicits awe and fear in the soldiers, which manifests itself in their trembling hands (*tremuere manus*, 3.429). The soldiers reason that, were they to desecrate the forest, they could be punished for this by their axes rebounding from the trees. Caesar perceives this inaction on the part of his soldiers and consequently decides to set an example. He takes up an axe and desecrates the first oak,[72] after which he exhorts his soldiers, saying that he will take the blame of the sin of cutting down a sacred forest (*credite me nefas*, 3.437). This assurance does not pacify the soldiers, but the dreaded anger of Caesar proves to be a more important motivator than the fear of the gods' anger. The concrete possibility of his anger puts more weight in the scale than possible divine repercussions,[73] adding to the characterization of Caesar as someone who approaches divine might that was already signaled by the *fulmen*-simile I treated in the previous section. Because of the eliciting conditions of Caesar setting an example and his possible anger, were they not to obey his commands, the soldiers are pushed out of their stupor, the manifestation of their superstitious fear, and begrudgingly take up their own axes.

In the above, silence has come to the fore as one of the ways in which the masses expressed their emotions. Their relation to Caesar is marked by their fear and silence, which in turn strengthened Caesar's characterization as a forceful, frightening figure. In the next scenes I examine, the masses take on a different role, namely that of the anonymous background through and against which battle scenes enfold. First, I briefly consider how Lucan differs in his approach to employing the masses in battle scenes compared to other epic poems.

3.2 Emotional moments during battle scenes (scenes III to VI)

Before I turn to actual battle scenes, I will give some preliminary remarks on how Lucan utilizes the masses in his battle scenes. Telg genannt Kortmann observes that, in contrast to other epics, single warriors are not foregrounded, with Lucan instead writing battle narratives that "become de-personalised and anonymized by generalization."[74] Telg genannt Kortmann connects this tendency partly to the character of Roman contemporary warfare, in which it is

[72] In the context of the characterization of Caesar and Pompeius, it is important to note that this tree is an oak, to which Pompeius is likened in his characterization in book 1 (see section 3.2.3.2). With this and the characterization of Caesar as a *fulmen* in mind, this image of Caesar striking an oak at Massilia could evoke a connection between the two generals in the figurative sense: in Caesar striking down a venerable oak, Caesar's eventual defeat of Pompeius is alluded to. See also Hunink 1992, 180-181.

[73] Hunink 1992, 182.

[74] Telg genannt Kortmann 2019, 129.

the masses that fulfill the most important role,[75] but he also explains the lack of focus on individual warriors through the nature of the poem's subject: in the civil war, being a successful warrior is perverse, as the winners and losers of the conflict are both Roman.[76] In discussing the predominance of the masses in Lucan, Gall suggests that the people appear as a third protagonist, consciously taking action through their collectivity.[77] In the following, I will test to what extent the anonymized masses do take conscious action in emotionally charged scenes during several battle scenes, comparing and contrasting this with the way individuals that are singled out during the narration act.

3.2.1 The naval battle of Massilia (scene III)

After the Caesarians have failed to break the defenses of Massilia (3.455-508), they prepare for a naval battle (3.509-537). In section 3.2.1.1, my focus is on the way the masses of soldiers act and are portrayed in the battle that ensues, after which I will turn my attention to two instances in which the narrator zooms in on individual warriors: a pair of twins (section 3.2.1.2) and Argus and his father (3.2.1.3).

3.2.1.1. Emotional moments and the masses during the naval battle of Massilia

The masses of fighting soldiers are foregrounded in the narration of the naval battle at Massilia in three sections, the first of which is the commencement of the battle and the maneuvering of the ships in such a forceful way that it causes the first soldiers to perish horribly (3.538-582). The second section consists of the accidental drowning deaths that occur due to the chaos of the battle, which is also cause for a fast-spreading fire, which brings another flurry of deaths (3.647-696). Finally, the battle is concluded in a short section in which, after fast-forwarding through the end of the battle, the Caesarians emerge victorious (3.752-762). The fighting can be characterized as exceedingly gruesome overall, with Lucan focusing on the bizarre ways in which soldiers perish,[78] which, as I will show, has as its consequence that emotional moments in the sense that I utilized previously are non-existent in these passages. This lack of emotional moments can be explained by the appearance in this passage of several themes that elucidate the way in which the masses are represented and their motivation for fighting.

The first of these themes is the depersonalization of the soldiers, who are repeatedly named only by the individual parts of their body. In this way, the death process of a soldier who is crushed by a ship is minutely described, but in a rather abstract way (3.652-661):

8) *tunc unica diri*
conspecta est leti facies, cum forte natantem
diversae rostris iuvenem fixere carinae.
discessit medium tam vastos pectus ad ictus,
nec prohibere valent obtritis ossibus artus
quo minus aera sonent; eliso ventre per ora
eiectat saniem permixtus viscere sanguis.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 130. I will discuss the perversity of being a successful warrior in a civil war further when I examine Scaeva's *aristeia* in section 3.2.4.1.

[77] Gall 2005, 91-92.

[78] Cf. *multaque ponto* | *praebuit ille dies varii miracula fati* 'That day offered many wonderous forms of variegated death.' (3.633-634), Hunink 1992, 201.

postquam inhibent remis puppes ac rostra reducunt,
deiectum in pelagus perfosso pectore corpus
vulneribus transmisit aquas.

'Then an unprecedented example of dreadful death was witnessed, when opposing ships pierced a man, who by chance was swimming, with their beaks. He was severed at the center of his chest at the enormous impact, and his limbs did not, with their crushed bones, have the power to prevent the bronze from ringing out; after his belly had been crushed, blood mixed with entrails cast out bloody matter through his mouth.[79] After the ships had been rowed backwards and the beaks had been brought back, the corpse, having sunk into the sea with its transfixed chest, let water pass through its wounds.'

This anonymous man is stuck between and struck by two ships, and the description of his death does not personalize him, rather, it further dehumanizes him by focusing on isolated body parts.[80] First, he is torn asunder at the center of his chest in a very violent way (*discessit*, 3.655), a process in which his limbs cannot make use of his bones to prevent the loud sound of the beaks hitting each other (*nec prohibere valent obtritis ossibus artus*, 3.656). Then, in a rather bizarre image, his blood and bowels together push out another substance, *sanies* (3.657-658). There is no mention of any emotions, only a focus on how the body of an anonymous man experiences a brutal death.

The second theme found in this passage connects to this theme of depersonalization, namely in the motif of *amor mortis*. The narrative of the battle of Massilia is characterized by a focus on the collective frenzy exhibited by the masses of soldiers, which culminates into blind fury in 3.670-679:

9) *Iamque omni fusis nudato milite telis*
invenit arma furor: remum contorsit in hostem
alter, at hi totum validis aplustre lacertis
avulsasque rotant excusso remige sedes,
in pugnam fregere rates, sidentia pessum
corpora caesa tenent spoliantque cadavera ferro.
multi inopes teli iaculum letale revulsum
vulneribus traxere suis et viscera laeva
oppressere manu, validos dum praebeat ictus
sanguis et, hostilem cum torserit, exeat, hastam.

'Now that every soldier had become stripped through slinging their projectiles, fury found weapons: one person whirled an oar at his enemy, while others employed, with strong arms, entire sterns, and swung torn-away benches around, after their rower had been driven away: ships are broken down for the fight, they grabbed slain corpses, while these sank, and stripped the cadavers of their armor. Many that were without a projectile pulled lethal javelins from their own wounds and pressed upon their innards

[79] See Hunink 1992, 242 for how this absurd image of blood mixed with bowels casting out *sanies*, which denotes "the substance thinner than blood discharged from ulcers or wounds", can be explained through Lucan's preoccupance with presenting novel, horrific ways to die.
[80] Hunink 1992, 242.

with their left hands, so that their blood could supply a strong thrust and would only flow out, when they had turned the enemy's lance back.'

Even though the soldiers are portrayed to be without weapons, they improvise in their drive to keep on fighting, starting with utilizing oars, then benches and eventually breaking down entire ships. Soldiers that have been fatally struck even go as far as to make use of the weapons that haved felled them, a move that Hunink calls "another desperate attempt at achieving something even while dying."[81] This tenacity, that characterizes both the masses and the individuals upon whom Lucan zooms in (for example Tyrrhenus, who in 3.715-722, having been blinded, exhorts his fellow soldiers to position him in a way that enables him to function as "a machine for discharging missiles")[82], constitutes the motif of *amor mortis*: "the idea that glory can only be achieved in death, in which a man can express his freedom and fulfill himself."[83] In their tenacity, the soldiers neglect their own well-being and do not yield from fighting until they have thrown their last possible weapon.

While the passages containing the warring efforts of the masses in the battle of Massilia are rife with depersonalized sequences of death and the unyielding collective frenzy expressed through the soldiers' efforts to keep fighting, emotional moments explicating how emotions that could conceivably be present in a battle scene, like fear and personalized anger, are few and far between. In the next two sections, I will investigate whether this picture changes when Lucan zooms in on named characters.

3.2.1.2 Zooming in: the death of a twin (3.603-626)

Telg genannt Kortmann argues that in epic, passages of single combat during scenes of mass battle normally offer a re-personalization of sorts, which can create a chance for the audience of epics to identify with the individual soldiers depicted.[84] As we will see in this and the following section, Lucan differs in this tendency from other epicists in his narration of events involving individual characters.[85] Recalling passage 1, which I used in the introduction of this chapter, a pair of twins emerges from the mass battle, as one of them will die, while the other will provide their parents with grief at a later moment in time.

In this scene, the themes of depersonalization and *amor mortis* again take shape: the process in which one of the twins dies, is presented as fight to the bitter end, in which limb after limb is cut off. First, his right hand is amputated as he uses it to climb a ship (*sed eam gravis insuper ictus* | *amputat* 'but a heavy blow hews this hand from above', 3.611-612), then his left hand (*haec quoque cum toto manus est abscisa lacerto* 'this hand is also cut off, together with the entire arm', 3.617), which had been trying to recover his lost hand. He then provides cover for his brother and absorbs many other weapons with his body (*telaque multorum leto casura suorum* | *emerita iam morte tenet* 'and through already worthy death he hindered weapons that would have felled many of his allies', 3.621-622). Finally, he utilizes his body to harm a ship by throwing himself against it (*insiluit solo nociturus pondere puppem* 'he jumped up to harm the ship with solely his weight', 3.626). As his death unfolds through the continuous, depersonalizing loss of limbs, he uses his truncated body as a weapon, participating in the collective drive for experiencing glory in death. However, I must note that

[81] Ibid., 246.
[82] Ibid., 255.
[83] Ibid., 90.
[84] Telg genannt Kortmann 2019, 113.
[85] See also Stocks 2019, 59, who characterizes both of these scenes as "dark parod[ies] of familiar type scenes."

in this representation of his death, there still is no room for an emotional moment involving him or the other twin at the moment of the battle itself. Instead, Lucan projects an emotional moment into the future. The fact that one of the twins has perished is distilled into the now distinguishable appearance of the other: the possibility for misrecognition has vanished (*sublato errore*, 3.606). This eliciting condition causes the twins' parents to wallow in eternal grief (*aeternis causam lacrimis*, 3.607), adding to the theme of the *nefas* of civil war. The perversion of familial relations that parents mourning their children constitutes, is also taken up again in the epilogue of the battle (at 3.756-757), when the grief of the defeated Massilians is exemplified through parents' grief.[86] Another, very different example of the perversion of familial relations is present in the following section.

3.2.1.3 Zooming in: the deaths of Argus and his father (3.721-751)

In the passage that concerns the deaths of Argus and his father, the themes of depersonalization and the *nefas* of civil war are continued, this time within an emotional moment. Argus' father sees Argus struck by a javelin the blind Tyrrhenus has thrown (3.721-730), an event that functions as the eliciting condition for the ensuing bewilderment of Argus' father, which manifests itself as follows: he stumbles to the back the ship (*saepe cadens … pervenit ad puppim*, 3.731-732), where he encounters the body of Argus, who is still alive, but backgrounded through the depersonalization of his body (*spirantisque invenit artus* 'he finds breathing limbs', 3.732). Consequently, he stiffens, neglecting to engage in the usual gestures of grief (3.733-740):

10) *non lacrimae cecidere genis, non pectora tundit,*
distentis toto riguit sed corpore palmis.
nox subit atque oculos vastae obduxere tenebrae,
et miserum cernens agnoscere desinit Argum.
ille caput labens et iam languentia colla
viso patre levat; vox faucis nulla solutas
prosequitur, tacito tantum petit oscula vultu
invitatque patris claudenda ad lumina dextram.

'Tears did not fall down his cheeks, nor did he beat his chest, but his body completely stiffened, reaching his palms outwards. Darkness overcame him and vast shadows covered his eyes, and, while he looked at him, he did not recognize the wretched Argus. He, at the sight of his father, lifted up his bowed head and already feeble neck; no voice followed from his broken throat, he only asked for a kiss with his silent face, and invited his father's right hand to close his eyes.'

Argus' father does not cry, nor does he beat his chest. Instead, his emotion manifests itself through him growing rigid and becoming temporarily blinded. He does not recognize Argus, whose silent request for the usual rites administered after death is not heard. The old man has to recover from his petrifaction, the manifestation of his pain (*ut torpore senex caruit*, 3.741). Even after he has recovered, Argus' request remains ignored. Instead of fulfilling his duties as a father, the old man hastens himself to die before his son does, asking his son to forgive him for having fled his embrace and final kiss (3.741-742). At last, he takes up the

[86] Hunink 1992, 264. We will encounter this topos of parents mourning their children again in section 4.1.1.

action that results from his emotions, and he uses a twofold method of killing himself: he uses a sword and also jumps into the sea (3.748-751). In portraying this neglect of fatherly duties, this scene illustrates Lucan's theme of civil war destroying family ties.[87]

3.2.2 Fraternization during the battle of Ilerda (scene IV)

The theme of the *nefas* of the civil war is continued through an emotional moment during the fraternization between the parties at Ilerda in book 4. While it was not possible for either side to recognize their enemy at the battle of Massilia, as the opposing sides consisted of Roman Caesarians and Greek Massilians, this possibility is very present at Ilerda. The actualization of this possibility unfolds through an emotional moment in 4.169-182:

11) *postquam spatio languentia nullo*
mutua conspicuos habuerunt lumina vultus,
[hic fratres natosque suos videre patresque]
deprensum est civile nefas. tenuere parumper
ora metu, tantum nutu motoque salutant
ense suos. mox, ut stimulis maioribus ardens
rupit amor leges, audet transcendere vallum
miles, in amplexus effusas tendere palmas.
hospitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinquum,
admonet hunc studiis consors puerilibus aetas;
nec Romanus erat, qui non agnoverat hostem.
arma rigant lacrimis, singultibus oscula rumpunt,
et quamvis nullo maculatus sanguine miles
quae potuit fecisse timet.

'When eyes on both sides, not strained by any space, spotted distinguished faces, the evil of civil war was understood. For a little while they kept their mouths shut in fear, and only greeted their own with a nod or a movement of the sword. Soon afterwards, when, inflamed by greater urges, love broke laws, the soldiery dared to cross the palisade, to stretch out their arms for an embrace. One person calls out the name of a friend, another calls a relative, time spent together during youthful endeavors makes another remember; there was no, who did not recognize an enemy. Weapons are wet with tears, kisses are interrupted by sobs, and although the soldiery is not stained by any blood, it fears the things it could have done.'

Having set up camp very close to one another, the opposite sides finally see each other clearly. This recognition spawns a newfound understanding of the horrors of civil war, this time explicitly named in *civile nefas* (4.172), which elicits hesitation at first. The soldiers barely dare to greet each other! As soon as another eliciting condition arises, namely the love felt for each other (4.175), the soldiers take action: they cross the palisades, embrace each other, and seek each other out (4.175-178). While they take these actions, their overflowing emotions are also manifested through tears and sobs (4.180). Additionally, a new emotion, fear of what they could have done to each other, arises due to the recognition between the two sides. Through the portrayal of this emotional moment, civil war is once again painted as unnatural. When

[87] Hunink 1992, 257.

not fighting to the brink of death, the masses can go through emotional moments like these. It is just impossible to do so when their lives are threatened.

3.2.3 The battle of Pharsalus (scene V)

Because of the scope of this thesis and the great length of the narrative of the battle of Pharsalus, I have chosen to make a narrow selection in the passages I will discuss in this section. Broadly speaking, the narrative of the battle is constructed through alternating the commentary of the narrator with his description of the goings-on.[88] Because of this structuring principle, I have chosen to place a spotlight on a brief passage in which the narrator refuses to fulfill his role (3.2.3.1). Furthermore, as this battle marks Pompeius' defeat by Caesar, this narrative provides the opportunity to briefly delve into Pompeius' characterization and how it interacts with his reaction to being defeated at Pharsalus (3.2.3.2).

3.2.3.1 Zooming in: the narrator and his refusal to narrate (7.545-556)

In the middle of the battle of Pharsalus, the narrator emerges prominently, and the theme of silence makes a reoccurrence. Just as Pompeius' troops manage to start fighting back against the previously overwhelming might of the Caesarians, the narrator stops fulfilling his role. He recognizes that Caesar is no longer dealing with foreign troops, rather with soldiers that are familiar to his own (7.548-550),[89] again evoking the *nefas* of civil war.[90] He then takes up an apostrophe directed at Caesar, himself, and Roma (7.550-556), in which he personifies this *nefas* through his description of Caesar's sins:

12) *ille locus fratres habuit, locus ille parentis.*
hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar,
hanc fuge, mens, partem belli tenebrisque relinque,
nullaque tantorum discat me vate malorum,
quam multum bellis liceat civilibus, aetas.
a potius pereant lacrimae pereantque querellae:
quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo.

'This place presented brothers and fathers. Here your fury, your madness, your crimes, Caesar! Flee from this part of the war, my mind, and relinquish it to darkness, do not let, because of my role as a poet,[91] any age learn of so many horrors, as many as are allowed by civil war. It is better to stave off tears and let lamentations perish: I will keep quiet about everything you have carried out in this battle, Rome.'

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[88] See table 4 for an overview of how the narrative of the battle of Pharsalus is structured. The scenes I discuss are italicized.

[89] Roche 2019, 190-191.

[90] Anzinger 2007, 152.

[91] See Leigh 1997, 16-19, 102-103 for a discussion of Lucan's self-description "as a *vates*, that is, the Augustan national priest-prophet-poet." Summarily, this term is problematic for Lucan's self-conception as a poet, as it lays bare an incongruency in what his role as a patriotic *vates* implies and how he actually carries it out. The term appears in three places in his poem: 1) in the proem (1.63), when Lucan accepts Nero as his poetic muse, 2) in passage 12 quoted above, when Lucan refuses to fulfill his role as narrator because of his desire to avert himself from the horrors before him, which proves to be futile, and 3) in 9.980-986, when Caesar is welcomed to Troy and promised poetic immortality. These instances differ so much from each other, that Leigh concludes that they emphasize Lucan's inability to take part in the epic tradition he subverts through his work (102).

The narrator is personally affected by Caesar's crimes, that are enumerated thrice (7.551). They form the catalyst for Roman soldiers meeting each other in battle, an example that the narrator, Anzinger argues, does not wish to emulate.[92] For this purpose he turns to silence, so as to prevent being a mentor in the subject of civil war. This attempt at silence turns out to be futile, as immediately after his apostrophe, he picks up where he left out, narrating, one after the other, Caesar's behavior on the battlefield, and the roles that Brutus and Domitius Ahenobarbus play in the battle (7.557-616). While the narrator's silence may have been short-lived, it still can be interpreted as a protest against Caesar, casting the narrator in the role of someone who Caesar has subjugated by inhabiting the story the narrator has to tell. In this way, the themes of silence and the *nefas* of civil war interact with each other, the former being the way in which the narrator can renounce being a representative of the latter, however briefly.

3.2.3.2 Excursus: Pompeius' characterization and the significance of the battle of Pharsalus

Opinions on the characterization of Pompeius have varied. Some have disparaged him as a weak figure,[93] while others have shown him more grace, allowing for character growth.[94] In this section, I aim to show this character growth through the emotional moments surrounding Pompeius' flight from Pharsalus, with stands in contrast with his characterization in book 1. It is to this preliminary characterization that I first turn.

As I mentioned in my discussion of Caesar's characterization, Pompeius is first characterized in book 1, mainly by his qualities as a great general of old, constantly in search of renown (*famaeque petitor*, 1.131), but also as someone who has aged and who is no longer as belligerent. He leans on his old victories, a character trait that is exemplified in a simile likening him to an oak (1.135-143):

13) *stat magni nominis umbra,*
qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
exuvias veteris populi sacrataque gestans
dona ducum nec iam validis radicibus haerens
pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aera ramos
effundens trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram,
et quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant,
sola tamen colitur.

'He stands as a shadow of his hallowed name, like a lofty oak in a fruitful grove stands fixed by its own weight, carrying an ancient people's spoils and the sacred gifts of leaders, no longer kept firm by healthy roots, and spreading out bare branches through the air, it casts a shadow with its trunk, not with its leaves. Even though it is ready to fall at the first gust of the east wind, even though so many trees elevate themselves around it with firm power, still it alone is honored.'

[92] Anzinger 2007, 153.
[93] For example, Ahl 1976, 150-189, Johnson 1987, 67-100 and Pypłacz 2014.
[94] So Marti 1945, 367-373 and D'Alessandro Behr 2007.

From this simile, several characteristics emerge: first, he is rooted in his spot, not advancing further, crushed by his own weight (1.139).[95] Secondly, he is surrounded by competition, apparent from *frugifero* and the trees that are rising up around him (1.142).[96] Still, he is, for now, the only one actually revered, as he desires, though Roche suggests that this veneration stems "more from habit than merit."[97] Finally, he is at the brink of being felled (1.141), a warning sign which will ring true at Pharsalus.

When the moment of Pompeius' defeat actually arrives, many of his previous character traits are subverted, signaling a growth in his previously rather stilted character. First off, once he is actually defeated, he no longer seeks to prolong his renown, instead happy if the generations following him survive (7.654-657):

14) *nec sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum*
mersa iuvat gentesque suae miscere ruinae:
ut Latiae post se vivat pars maxima turbae,
sustinuit dignos etiamnunc credere votis
caelicolas †voluitque† sui solacia casus.

'Yet, he was not, as is a custom to the wretched, pleased pulling down everything along with him and involving the people in his own ruin: that the largest part of the Latin people may live beyond his years, that wish he still believed to be worthy of praying to the gods, and he wanted the relief of his fate.'

In the next passage, he, having detailed his personal loss rather than the loss of his renown, he prevents his soldiers from sacrificing themselves for him (7.666-669):

15) *Sic fatur et arma*
signaque et afflictas omni iam parte catervas
circumit et revocat matura in fata ruentis
seque negat tanti.

'He thus spoke and he went around weaponry, standards, and the distressed droves present everywhere, and he recalled those rushing to their deaths, and denied being worth that much.'

Then, in an apostrophe of the narrator to Pompeius, his countenance is highly spoken of (7.680-684):

16) *non gemitus, non fletus erat, salvaque verendus*
maiestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebat
Romanis praestare malis. non impare vultu
aspicis Emathiam: nec te videre superbum
prospera bellorum nec fractum adversa videbunt;

[95] Roche 2009, 187.
[96] Ibid., 186.
[97] Ibid., 189.

‘There were no groans or tears, only dignity and an honorable sadness, preserved from Roman calamities, like was fitting for you, Magnus. You look at Pharsalia with an even face: prosperous times in war did not see you haughty, nor will adverse times see you broken.’

Finally, Pompeius’ previous merits honor him, providing him with the correct stance to take in the face of his defeat.

3.2.4 Amor mortis *and the perverted glory of an aggressive “hero”: Scaeva’s* aristeia *(scene VI)*

The concept of *amor mortis* has previously appeared during my examination of the battle of Massilia, characterizing the urge of both individual soldiers and the masses to fight until and even through death, emphasized by Lucan’s tendency to focus on the people dying in spectacular, absurd manners, rather than on the people killing them. When he does focus on the perpetrators of death, this results in a perverted kind of *virtus* through *amor mortis*. In this section, I will briefly discuss such a scene (VI): Scaeva’s *aristeia* (6.118-262).

Fighting in northern Greece, Pompeius’ troops are given a fright when they are hindered in their advance on Caesar’s camp (6.118-148): one man, Scaeva, appears. He first censures his fellow Caesarians for running away, exhorting them to return to the battle (6.149-169). A series of impressive feats follows: first, the defense of the fortifications (6.169-179), then taking on the entire Pompeian army by himself (6.180-213). Projectiles are sticking out of his body, and finally, he is struck with an arrow in his left eye, after which he removes not only the weapon, but also the eye from its socket (6.214-219). This wound forms the eliciting condition for the augmentation of his anger. Like a Pannonian bear, he becomes even more furious, but rather than manifesting the pain that sharpens his rage, he decides to conceal it, feigning defeat and thus fooling Aunus, who tries to carry him away (6.220-239). Scaeva consequently kills Aunus and utters the following proclamation (6.240-246):

17) *incaluit virtus, atque una caede refectus*
“solvat” ait “poenas, Scaevam quicumque subactum
speravit. pacem gladio si quaerit ab isto
Magnus, adorato summittat Caesare signa.
an similem vestri segnemque ad fata putastis?
Pompei vobis minor est causaeque senatus
quam mihi mortis amor.”

‘His ardor was boldened, and refreshed by a single death, he said: “Let whoever hoped that Scaeva was subdued be punished. If Magnus seeks peace through this sword, let him lower the standards for the revered Caesar. Maybe you think that, like you, I am slow to accept my fate? Love for the cause of Pompeius and the Senate is of less importance to you than love of death is to me.”’

It is for his revered Caesar that Scaeva fights, and he is willing to do so until the bitter end. While, as Stocks posits, *aristeiai* in Roman epic usually offer the best warriors an opportunity to show off their prowess and their *virtus* (‘manly excellence’), glorifying themselves and the Roman state, the *virtus* shown in Scaeva’s *aristeia* does not serve the interests of the Roman

state, rather those of an individual, Caesar.[98] This allegiance is further illustrated through Scaeva's desire to please Caesar, even lamenting that Caesar is not there to witness his actions, again expressing his *amor mortis* (6.158-159): *peterem felicior umbras* | *Caesaris in vultu* 'I would be happier to seek out the shades in view of Caesar.' In the context of civil war, seeking glory through the aggression inherent to an *aristeia*, in service of an individual like Caesar, is an act of *nefas*.[99]

3.3 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, several themes of Lucan's historical epic came to the foreground through emotional moments or the collective experience of emotion. The first of these themes was silence, first being ruptured and then leading to silence in the face of subjugation. This tendency towards silence played a part in the characterization of Caesar as a frightening figure, inspiring silence and fear in his own soldiers and the citizens of Ariminum, as well as in the narrator's refusal to tell of the events spawning from the clash of Romans against Romans at Pharsalus, lest he be instructive about the *nefas* civil war in his narration.

This *nefas* of civil war constitutes the next theme, appearing in connection with the theme of depersonalization, which Lucan, in contrast with other epicists, did not reverse when zooming in on individual participants in mass battle, rather portraying their deaths, like those of the twin and of Argus, in highly detailed sequences of limb after limb being torn asunder, or as the still breathing body becoming unrecognizable to a father. These deaths illustrated how the *nefas* of civil war can mainly be found in the severing of familial ties. This theme of cruelty of familiarity also appears in the reoccurring recognition of soldiers from the enemy party, a theme upon which the fraternization at Ilerda touches.

This theme of depersonalization also informed the final theme that emerged from fighting sequences: *amor mortis*. In neglecting their own bodily integrity by fighting for the chance to win glory in death, the masses at the naval battle of Massilia as a collective experience a strong fury, not illustrated through their experiencing concrete emotional moments as elsewhere, but rather in perishing in bizarre ways and in refusing to yield when death is nigh.

Finally, the battle of Pharsalus also provided examples of a change in Pompeius' characterization, which I will further discuss in the next chapter.

[98] Stocks 2019, 58.
[99] Gorman 2001, 266. See also Rutz 1960.

Chapter 4 – Emotional moments in scenes of lament and grief

Every human being deals with grief differently, but the loss of a loved one is often accompanied by certain ways of feeling emotion. Infamous are the five stages of grief as proposed by Elisabeth Kübler-Ross,[100] in which several states of mind come to the fore, like anger and depression. Based on several cross-cultural studies, George Bonanno proposes four trajectories of grief, which describe how a person would psychologically and physically function in the aftermath of a grievous event.[101]

Apart from contemporaneous attempts to classify and systematize grief, which we should be careful to apply to classical literature (for fear of anachronisms or erroneous cross-cultural application),[102] any layperson can sum up several ways to express emotions that accompany loss. An individual might cry, feel physically ill, feel as if the world is falling away, laugh from shock, want to punch someone or something, or remain silent: all kinds of personal responses are possible. As soon as personal feelings of grief are expressed collectively in culturally prescribed ways, grief turns into mourning.[103] It is in both these expressions of grief, personal and public, that I am interested in this chapter.

First, I turn to expressions of grief in the form of laments. Roman women often had the task of publicly mourning their and others' dead and, as we see in section 4.1.1, in the *Bellum Civile* are portrayed as such. Secondly, I examine the personal, formal lament of Cornelia for Pompeius, with the purpose of showing how she relates to the standard forms of mourning previously discussed (section 4.1.2). Lucan follows this scene with the display of emotion of the Roman people at Pompeius' death, which offers the opportunity to discuss Cornelia's role in this process (section 4.1.2). Then, I turn to Caesar's way of showing grief at being presented with Pompeius' head (section 4.2): is this display of grief genuine? In the same section, Cato's reaction to Pompeius' death is examined, providing the possibility to compare the several different reactions to this death through the instrument of the emotional moment.

Table 5: Scenes of lament and burial selected for chapter 4

I	Lament by Roman *matronae* before deaths have occurred	2.16-42
II	Cornelia's lament	9.51-116
III	Bestowing of honors onto Pompeius	9.167-214
IV	Caesar "grieving" Pompeius in Alexandria	9.1010-1108
V	Cato's reaction to Pompeius' death	9.19-33

[100] Kübler-Ross 1969. The five stages are: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance, which were first applied to patients coming to terms with their own impending death, with the application of the model only later being extended to loved ones experiencing a loss (Kübler-Ross and Kessler 2005). This model has been met with much criticism over the years for lack of empirical evidence, for example by Kastenbaum (Kastenbaum and Moreman 2024, 155-157).

[101] Bonanno 2019. The four trajectories after a traumatic event are *resilience*, in which someone retains the ability to function psychologically and physically on a relatively stable level, *recovery*, when normal functioning temporarily (for a few months) is displaced by symptoms of depression or PTSD, *chronic dysfunction*, when these symptoms replace normal functioning for a longer period of time, and *delayed grief/trauma*, when normal functioning is maintained at first, but later becomes impaired by the symptoms.

[102] In any case, scenes of grief and lament form an interesting enough corpus to have spawned considerable secondary literature, for example, Corbeill 2004, in which mourning is viewed through the lens of gestures, Suter (ed.) 2008, in which the function of lament in the ancient world is examined through several essays, Fögen 2009, who investigates crying as emotional expression, or Konstan 2016, which examines several conceptions of grief in classical texts.

[103] Robben 2004, 7.

4.1 Scenes of lament

The Romans had their own culturally prescribed ways of mourning. These ways of mourning were diverse and included, as Corbeill describes them, posing the body in ways that are inwardly turned and appear contemplative,[104] and more outwardly expressive gestures, most often performed by women, ranging from unbinding their hair and baring their chests to tearing out their hair, and lacerating and beating their faces and chests.[105] That these acts of mourning were public and formed an external manifestation of emotions, is noticeable from the vocabulary used for the processes, as emphasized by Corbeill:

> "Mourning gesture in antiquity involved not the inward contemplation and quiet solemnity familiar in modern American practice. Grief found expression that was both ***visible*** *and* ***audible***. The common Latin words that describe states of mourning focus not on internal emotions but on external manifestations. *Luctus*, *planctus*, *squalor* - words all synonymous in Roman texts with the mourning process in general - describe, respectively, the ***sound*** of wailing, of the mourner's body struck by self-inflicted blows, and the disheveled and dirty ***appearance*** of the living mourner. The act of mourning was public expression."[106]

In the context of the emotional moment with its three phases, the phases of manifestation and action seemingly are represented in these rituals. Someone experiencing grief can give room to the internal process of feeling this emotion by outwardly translating it into actions that are culturally defined, for example in mourning rituals. In the following sections, I will examine this interplay between the internal experience of grief and its externalizing through actions. Pointing out what events induced the expression of grievous emotions in mourning rituals is, unexpectedly, not always cut-and-dried, as is visible in the following section.

4.1.1 Lament for future deaths (scene I)

At the encroaching of Caesar's troops at the end of book 1, the citizens of Rome perceived omens (1.522-583), performed sacrifices and a haruspicy (1.584-638), and listened to the prophecies of Nigidius Figulus (1.639-674) and a phrenetic mother (1.675-695). Having thus been stirred up into a panic at the end of book 1 and understanding that ruin is on the horizon, the Roman public acts in a very peculiar way in passage I: in a passage that can be divided in four parts, the public and personal spheres of experiencing and performing grief become intermixed in unexpected ways.

Even though there have not been any deaths yet, grief descends upon the city, but does not yet elicit any of the outwardly expressive mourning rituals (2.16-21):

1) *Ergo, ubi concipiunt quantis sit cladibus orbi*
constatura fides superum, ferale per urbem
iustitium; latuit plebeio tectus amictu

[104] Corbeill 2004, 77-82. Two prevalent poses on sarcophagi are a "thinker" pose, 77-80, and a pose in which the knee is clasped, 80-82.
[105] Ibid., 82-84.
[106] Ibid. 2004, 68, emphasis is mine. *Maeror* is noted as an apparent exception, as it describes "the expression of internal grief".

omnis honos, nullos comitata est purpura fasces.
tum questus tenuere suos magnusque per omnis
erravit sine voce dolor.

'So, when people understood how much destruction the divine affirmation would mean for the world, there was public mourning throughout the city; every token of rank was concealed, covered by common clothes, purple did not accompany any lictor's rod. At that time, they suppressed their complaints and a deep sadness spread to everyone without sound.'

There is a visual cue to the state of mourning the citizens are in: their clothing does not reflect their class differences (*latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos*, 2.18-19). It seems that all rituals performed at the end of book 1 that initially pushed the Romans into a frenzied state, have now given way to silent, contemplative state, as signaled by the use of the word *iustitium*, which etymologically stems from *ius* and *sistere*, meaning 'bringing the courts to a halt'.[107] Lucan illustrates this delay by making a comparison to the grief felt in a private household (2.21-28):

2) *sic funere primo*
attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum
conclamata iacent nec mater crine solute
exigit ad saevos famularum bracchia planctus,
sed cum membra premit fugiente rigentia vita
vultusque exanimes oculosque in morte natantes,
necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus: incubat amens
miraturque malum.

'In this way, a household, stunned, is silent directly after a death has occurred, when the body does not yet bemoaned lie, and when the mother does not yet, donning unbound hair, prompt the arms of her maidservants to wild beating, but rather when she presses on the limbs that are stiffening because of life's departure, and gazes at the lifeless face and the eyes, swimming in death. This is not yet sadness, nor any longer fear: she lies upon him, without thought, and wonders about the sorrow.'

At the inducing moment consisting of a sudden death, the household is silent. The *corpora* are not yet *conclamata* and the mother of the dead, specified by the choice for the word *mater*,[108] has not yet urged her servants to beat their bodies, instead embracing her child's body as it is lifeless. Lucan notes himself that this state of being is one of an emotional vacuum, drifting between but not quite experiencing fear and sadness: *necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus*. The death of a child thus is the inducing moment for the manifestation of grief in a stilted, silent manner. The delay in bodily or verbal manifestation **constitutes** the manifestation. Furthermore, as this is the "mother's **dazed** incomprehension hovering between fear and full realization of grief",[109] we cannot really speak of an action resulting from the emotion, which would be the outwardly expressive wailing over the body, the unbinding of the hair and the

[107] Fantham 1992, 82-83.
[108] Ibid., 83-84.
[109] Ibid., 83, my emphasis.

beating of the body. This silence preceding lament, however, is broken when the *matronae* of the city do eventually move towards performing mourning rituals (2.28-36):

3) *cultus matrona priores*
deposuit maestaeque tenent delubra catervae:
hae lacrimis sparsere deos, hae pectora duro
afflixere solo, lacerasque in limine sacro
attonitae fudere comas votisque vocari
assuetas crebris feriunt ululatibus aures.
nec cunctae summi templo iacuere Tonantis:
divisere deos, et nullis defuit aris
invidiam factura parens.

'The matrons took off their previously-worn garmens, and filled the temples in sorrowful droves: some drenched the gods in their tears, some threw their bodies on solid ground, stunnedly shed their torn-out hair on sacred thresholds, and struck ears accustomed to being called by prayers with numerous wails instead. Not every woman was laying at the temple of the supreme Thunderer: they had divided the gods, and no altar was free of a mother providing her resentment.'

Now the Roman *matronae* take position in the temples (*maestaeque tenant delubra catervae*) after having bared their bodies (*cultus matrona priores deposuit*) and break the silence by shedding tears, throwing themselves and their torn-out hair to the ground, and sounding out wails of grief (*ululatibus*). Still, they perform these rituals in a state of shock: *attonitae* (2.32). The inducing moment of the surprising approach of Caesar's army had first pushed them into the manifestation of their shock and grief in silence, and it is this shock that pushed them to come together in the performance of their mourning rituals. It is difficult here to draw the line between manifestation of emotions and actions that result from them, and it is possible that these phases overlap in this passage. The specific case of one of the *matronae* helps makes this a bit clearer (2.36-42):

4) *quarum una madentis*
scissa genas, planctu liventis atra lacertos,
'nunc', ait 'o miserae, contundite pectora, matres,
nunc laniate comas neve hunc differte dolorem
et summis servate malis. nunc flere potestas
dum pendet fortuna ducum: cum vicerit alter,
gaudendum est.' his se stimulis dolor ipse lacessit.

'One of them, who had scratched open her now dripping cheeks, whose upper arms were dark from beating them, said: "Now, wretched mothers, beat your chests, now rip out your hair, and do not postpone your grief and be of service to the ultimate sorrow in that way. Now we have the possibility to cry, while the fortune of the leaders hangs in the balance: when one of the two will have won, we are obligated to appear joyful." Grief lacerates itself through these kinds of incentives.'

She, having participated in lacerating her cheeks and beating her limbs, encourages her fellows *matronae* to continue beating their chests and ripping out their hair while they still have the chance. By heeding her encouragements, the women continue to consciously manifest their emotions outwardly by performing their rituals. By taking a head start on their grieving process in this way, instead of performing a supplication, which would be more usual before the start of a war,[110] the delay in reaction is effectively reversed, making the transition from stunned silence to vociferous wailing and sounds of beating a marked one, from the subdued manifestation of emotions to a more conscious, outwardly expressive manifestation.[111] They do not, however, move on from their grief by undertaking other conscious actions, which emphasizes the overlap between the phases of manifestation and action in this scene.

4.1.2 Zooming in: a scene of personal lament (scene II)

4.1.2.1 Excursus: the characterization of Cornelia

Cornelia, Pompeius' fifth wife, first appears in person in book 5. From this scene, an initial image of a loving and tender relationship emerges, as Cornelia worries about Pompeius' troubles.[112] When Pompeius makes his speech to send her away, however, the beginning of an evolution in Cornelia's character is signaled: she starts out as an amicable and kind-hearted woman who loves Pompeius very much, and the civil war denotes a shift to a pervasive sense of sadness (as we will see in section 5.2). In this new context, the death of Pompeius presents itself as a transition to a more prominent role in the war for Cornelia: both De Saegher and Bruère argue that, by carrying out the order with which Pompeius has trusted her, exhorting her stepson Sextus to continue his father's war, she actively participates in the continuing war effort.[113] Keith nuances this image by emphasizing that this exhortation takes place in a private setting with only Sextus as her audience, making Cornelia's contribution not as significant.[114] Having thus provided a brief overview of Cornelia's characterization,[115] I will delve deeper into how she experiences her grief in the following section, when she is making her formal lament after Pompeius' death.

4.1.2.2 Cornelia's lamentation of Pompeius' death (9.51-116)

After she has seen Pompeius struck (but not yet killed), Cornelia has fainted and has been carried away (8.661-662). She returns to our story when she performs her final lament for Pompeius, beginning as follows (9.55-62):

5) *"ergo indigna fui," dixit "Fortuna, marito*
accendisse rogum gelidosque effusa per artus
incubuisse viro, laceros exurere crines
membraque dispersi pelago componere Magni,
vulneribus cunctis largos infundere fletus,
ossibus et tepida vestes implere favilla,

[110] Ibid., 85.
[111] See also Anzinger 2007, 114-116.
[112] De Saegher 2009, 15, 20.
[113] Bruère 1951, 232, and De Saegher 2009, 29.
[114] Keith 2008, 249.
[115] See also on the characterization of Cornelia Tzounakas 2018, and Mulhern 2017.

quidquid ab extincto licuisset tollere busto
in templis sparsura deum.

'She said: "Seemingly, I was unworthy, Fortuna, to set fire to the funeral pyre for my husband, to embrace my man having thrown myself over his cold limbs, to burn my torn-out hair, to gather Magnus' limbs, after he has been scattered by the sea, to moisten every wound with plentiful tears, and to fill my garments with bones and tepid ashes, so as to scatter in the temples of the gods, whatever could be brought from the extinguished pyre.'

Cornelia would have liked to carry out all the usual gestures of mourning (9.56-62), but she is not able to. It is impossible for her to follow up on the eliciting condition through acts of mourning, as her husband's corpse is still in Egypt, unburied (9.62-83). In her speech, she heavily laments this fact before begrudgingly carrying out Pompeius' last request,[116] a token of his trust in her: exhorting his son to carry on his war effort (9.84-97). She then returns to her wish to follow her husband in death, expressed so firmly that Keith speaks of a marked difference between Cornelia's earlier "practice lamentations" and this real version.[117] Instead of fainting and being carried away by her servants, she has found a kernel inside her previously mild-mannered character, expressing her desire for death (9.100-116):

6) *iam nunc te per inane chaos, per Tartara, coniunx,*
si sunt ulla, sequar, quam longo tradita leto
incertum est: poenas animae vivacis ab ipsa
ante feram. potuit cernens tua funera, Magne,
non fugere in mortem: planctu contusa peribit,
effluet in lacrimas: numquam veniemus ad enses
aut laqueos aut praecipites per inania iactus:
turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore."
sic ubi fata, caput ferali obduxit amictu
decrevitque pati tenebras puppisque cavernis
delituit, saevumque arte complexa dolorem
perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum.
illam non fluctus stridensque rudentibus Eurus
movit et exurgens ad summa pericula clamor,
votaque sollicitis faciens contraria nautis
composita in mortem iacuit favitque procellis.

'"Now I will follow you, husband, through empty chaos, through Tartarus, if such places exist. How far away the moment is that I am handed over to death, is uncertain: before then, I will punish my soul for being so lively. While seeing your death, Magnus, she had it in her not to flee away in death: she will perish, shocked by my complaint, she will disappear in tears; never will we employ a sword or noose or fall from up high through the air: it is shameful not to be able to die after you solely through grief." As she had thus spoken, she covered her head in mourning attire, wished to be afflicted

[116] Pompeius' request hinders Cornelia in her desire to perish, as she first had to deliver his message, leading her to view her assignment as a ruse (*insidiae*, 9.99). See De Saegher 2009, 29-30
[117] Keith 2008, 249.

with darkness, and concealed herself in the holds of the ship. Clasping her wild sorrow firmly, she enjoys her tears and holds dear the sadness for her husband. No wave, no east wind, hissing in creaking rigging, moved her, nor did the cries that arise at great dangers. Uttering prayers contrary to what the agitated seamen wished, she was laid out for death and favored the storms.'

Having stated that she will never turn her hand upon herself (9.106-107), she acknowledges her shame in not being able to die from sadness alone. She then revels in the manifestation of her grief and continuously wallows in her sorrow, donning *ferali … amictu* (9.109), stowing herself away in darkness (9.110-111). She even seems to enjoy being stuck in this phase of experiencing grief, as is apparent from *perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum* (9.112). Furthermore, she even welcomes approaching storms (9.115-116). They, in any case, cannot be worse than the grief she is already experiencing by not being able to die after her husband has, a wish that she now holds with such tenacity. After all, wallowing in grief, stashed away in a dark shiphull, is about as close as one can get to death without actually dying.

4.1.3 Zooming out: the people mourn Pompeius (scene III)

Therefore, the moment that Cornelia's grief does no longer only serve her own wish for death merits a closer look. It is only when her grief is put into the context of the masses, as an eliciting condition for renewed grief, that she moves on from her self-imposed exile (9.167-173):

7) *Interea totis audito funere Magni*
litoribus sonuit percussus planctibus aether,
exemploque carens et nulli cognitus aevo
luctus erat, mortem populos deflere potentis.
sed magis, ut visa est lacrimis exhausta, solutas
in vultus effusa comas, Cornelia puppe
egrediens, rursus geminato verbere plangunt.

'Meanwhile, after the death of Magnus had become known, the air over the entire coast sounded, as it was struck with wailing. It was grief missing a precedent and unknown to any age, the people deploring the death of a powerful man. But what is more, as soon as Cornelia was seen, exhausted by her tears, with unbound hair hanging in her face, leaving her ship, they lamented again, with doubled fervor.'

The physical manifestation of Cornelia's grief, her cried-out countenance and her unbound hair (9.171-172), elicits lament on the part of the people. They had already been lamenting the news of Pompeius' death, but Cornelia serves as an extra eliciting condition in their emotional moment. In the continuation of the narrative, Cornelia finally has the opportunity to perform the rites she had so longed for (9.173-185). This marks a new phase in the management of her grief. Having functioned as an eliciting condition for other people's grief, she can move on by turning to the next phase in her own emotional moment: action.

4.2 Insincere grief (scene IV) and sudden passion (scene V)

In this section, I deal with two scenes in which the news of Pompeius' death evokes very different emotional reactions. First, I turn to Caesar, who at the end of book 9 is stationed on ships near Alexandria. When an Egyptian has approached Caesar's ship with a grueling gift, the head of Pompeius, and an accompanying speech (9.1014-1032), Caesar receives his "gift" as follows (9.1032-1043):

8) *Sic fatus opertum*
detexit tenuitque caput. iam languida morte
effigies habitum noti mutaverat oris.
non primo Caesar damnavit munera visu
avertitque oculos; vultus dum crederet, haesit;
utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit
iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis
effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto,
non aliter manifesta potens abscondere mentis
gaudia quam lacrimis, meritumque immane tyranni
destruit et generi mavult lugere revulsum
quam debere caput.

'Having thus spoken, he uncovered the head and held it high. Already had the sight of the familiar face, languishing in death, been altered in its appearance. Caesar did not judge at the first sight of the gift and did not avert his eyes; he kept looking at it until he believed it; as soon as he saw the truth of the crime and thought it safe to show himself a good father-in-law, he let tears fall, albeit not spontaneously, and expressed a groan with a joyful heart, in his mind not able to conceal his obvious joy in another way than with tears. He counteracted the extraordinary service of the king and rather wanted to grieve the removed head of his son-in-law than be guilty.'

The severed head elicits a thought process in Caesar: what if he would conceal his obvious joy? So, what could seem as the genuine manifestation of grief felt for his son-in-law, instead is called out by the narrator in the lengthy apostrophe that follows as a conscious action, taken in order to escape guilt for Pompeius' death (9.1043-1062). D'Alessandro Behr argues that with this apostrophe, the narrator helps the audience make sense of "Caesar's fake clemency."[118] The narrator rips into Caesar for his nonsensical behavior: why would he now, having chased Pompeius all around the Mediterranean, be saddened by his enemy's death? D'Alessandro Behr explains this behavior of Caesar's as a conscious act of manipulation, a scheme being constructed through his tears.[119] The internal audience of Caesar's tears does not need the narrator's help: they have already seen through the scheme and have understood what is expected of them, but bereave Caesar of the response he desires (9.1104-1108):

10) *nec talia fatus*
invenit fletus comitem nec turba querenti

[118] D'Alessandro Behr 2007, 64.
[119] Ibid., 63.

credidit: abscondunt gemitus et pectora laeta
fronte tegunt, hilaresque nefas spectare cruentum,
o bona libertas, cum Caesar lugeat, audent.

'After having said such things, he did not find a companion for his wailing and the multitude did not believe his lament: they hide away their sorrow, put on a happy heart as a façade, and dare to, oh sweet liberty, happily behold a bloody crime, while Caesar grieves.'

While the soldiers seemingly do regret Pompeius' fate, they do not join Caesar in the behavior that could give expression to their grief. This makes for a highly ironical scene, in which both parties fake their behavior, Caesar attempting to convince his audience of his sincerity in his *clementia*, his audience disregarding the way they sincerely feel by refusing to let their emotions manifest.

How different is scene V! Cato, usually characterized as an example of Stoic behavior,[120] has, together with Brutus, been imbued by Pompeius' spirit in 9.15-18. This elicits an unusual passion in Cato (9.19-30):

11) *Ille, ubi pendebant casus dubiumque manebat*
quem dominum mundi facerent civilia bella,
oderat et Magnum, quamvis comes isset in arma
auspiciis raptus patriae ductuque senatus;
at post Thessalicas clades iam pectore toto
Pompeianus erat. patriam tutore carentem
excepit, populi trepidantia membra refovit,
ignavis manibus proiectos reddidit enses,
nec regnum cupiens gessit civilia bella
nec servire timens. nil causa fecit in armis
ille sua: totae post Magni funera partes
Libertatis erant.

'He, when the outcome hung in the balance and doubt remained who the civil war would make ruler of the word, detested Magnus as well, even though he had gone to arms as an ally, carried away by the authority of the fatherland and by the leadership of the Senate; however, after the Thessalian defeat, he was a Pompeian through and through. He took care of the fatherland without a guardian, revitalized the people's trembling limbs, he returned swords thrown away by cowardly hands, and went to fight the civil war without desiring dominion and unafraid to be enslaved. While at arms, he did nothing for his own cause: after the death of Magnus, he fully took part in Freedom.'

Suddenly, he is inspired, skipping over whatever manifestation of grief he might have experienced, instead taking point in the Pompeian war effort. That he skips the manifestation of grief is not unusual from a Stoic standpoint and can be further explained by taking account of the fact that he does not have as close a personal connection to Pompeius as Cornelia does,

[120] See for example Marti 1945, 358-361, and Ahl 1976, 231-279.

who, as we have seen, in no way skips over the manifestation of her grief. It also makes sense that he does not act in the way Caesar does: Cato does not have a scheme to unfold and an audience to fool. Instead, he is unabashedly acting in the interests of liberty, drawing us back to the *libertas* called upon in 9.1108 as an exclamation of pity for the audience who have to hide their grief.

4.3 Chapter conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate the various ways in which the internal experience and the outward expression of grief interact. First, I turned to a scene of lament at a point in time when the deaths that were being mourned, had not even happened yet: the state of public mourning in Rome at the approach of Caesar. This scene could be divided into four stages of shock and mourning, the first of which represents a mother delayed in the manifestation of her shock over the death of her child. This delay is characterized by silence, Lucan again taking up a theme also present in other scenes (for example, the scene at Ariminum). As the stages follow one another, the grieving process grows louder, more public, and more ritualized, finally resulting in a more outwardly expressive manifestation of grief.

The mourning rituals that are instrumental in this enaction of public mourning, also prove to be of importance in Cornelia's lament, in which her wish to die and her incapability to perform the rites expected of a wife cause her to draw away into darkness, wallowing in the manifestation of her grief and thus tenaciously holding onto her desire for death, as this wallowing allows her to be as close to death as possible. However, the mourning rituals also are instrumental as an impetus for turning Cornelia away from internal grief to actually performing the mourning rituals she so wished for, as she provides an extra eliciting condition for the masses mourning Pompeius.

Finally, I discussed the ways in which Caesar and Cato respectively feigned or possibly felt grief at the news of Pompeius' death. Caesar used this news to feign grief in an opportunity to manipulate his soldiers, while Cato, due to his Stoic nature and his genuine interest in preserving freedom, skips the manifestation of any grief he could have felt altogether, directly undertaking action.

In summary, internal manifestation can turn into more external manifestation when an entire city is enveloped by grief. Furthermore, when comparing the several reactions to the same death, the internal, feigned, or skipped manifestation of grief can be characterized as something with which to defer action (Cornelia), as something to use connivingly (Caesar), or as something to draw passion from (Cato).

Chapter 5 – Emotional moments and interactions with speech

Whenever somebody says something, it can very well have consequences for both the speaker and the listener. Human speech can direct, exhort, extol, sadden. In short, it has an ability to influence emotions. Keeping this in mind, I have taken a broad approach to define what I consider "speech" in the *Bellum Civile*, taking it to mean an instance in which a character speaks in direct speech. Therefore, I included every instance of direct speech in my possible corpus: passages where it is not the narrator who describes the plot, setting or characters, but rather a (group of) character(s) moving the story further by giving new impulse to the plot through speaking, expressing their feelings through words, or negotiating their relationships in a conversation.

When considering the passages containing direct speech in the *Bellum Civile*, the topical exhortative speech immediately stood out as a category.[121] Other instances of direct speech were pluriform, for example, the conversations between Cornelia and Pompeius, the population of a city encouraging Pompeius and wishing him luck, and the utterances of Cornelia and Pompeius as he is about to be killed. From the totality of these two groups, the more specific exhortative group and the general one, I picked seven passages containing a "speech" and its circumstances and ensuing reactions to further look into. Through the examination of these passages, I will answer the following question: how do emotions on the part of the characters make the story through interactions with speech?

When presenting a speech in his narrative, Lucan often writes *ait*, *dixit*, *sic fatus*, and comparable phrases, and no emotional moment is connected to the speech.[122] However, in certain passages, direct speech does form part of an emotional moment involving its speaker, or gives rise to an emotional moment in its narratees, thus serving as the outlet of, or as the impetus for emotions. Taking into account the importance of focalization in structuring the narrative, the choice to make characters speak directly is a significant one. The narrator also could have told his narratees that a character gave an order, uttered his fears, or expressed his motivations, consequently summarizing what the contents of those utterances were. When, instead, the speech is given directly, its contents apparently are important to understand the way in which the narrative is structured. This also means that when an emotional moment is present in the context of a speech, the choice for direct speech could add to the analysis of the emotional moment itself, whether the speech formed part of the eliciting conditions for, the manifestation of or the action resulting from the emotions included in the emotional moment. Here I list the seven passages, numbered for later reference:

Table 6: My selection of instances of direct speech

I	Roma's apparition scene; Caesar's speech + reaction	1.185-212	
II	Pompeius' exhortative speech to his troops + reaction and action	2.526-609	Exhortative speech
III	Conversation between Cornelia and Pompeius on the eve of her departure to Lesbos	5.722-794	

[121] See Albertus 1908 for an overview of this kind of topical speech in Greek and Roman literature. See also Highet 1972, 82-89 on commanders' speeches in the *Aeneid*. Further reading in Latacz 1977, Iglesias Zoido 2007, Verhelst 2017.

[122] For example, when Pompeius sends king Deiotarus to Parthia to muster troops (8.211-240), or when Pothinus gives Achillas the order to kill Caesar (10.349-402).

IV	Caesar's speech before the battle of Pharsalus	7.240-336	Exhortative speech
V	Pompeius' speech before the battle of Pharsalus	7.337-384	Exhortative speech
VI	Pompeius' response to knowing he will be killed	8.613-636	
VII	Set of speeches during mutiny in Cato's army	9.217-293	Exhortative speech

An emotional moment can not only give rise to a speech or provide its circumstances, but also can be elaborated through a speech or result from it. In the following sections, I examine several passages in which the emotional moments that appear contain two or more of the familiar phases: eliciting conditions, manifestations of emotion and actions resulting from emotion. First, I will consider eliciting conditions and highlight a few passages in which this phase plays a particular role (section 5.1). Then, I will turn to an instance of a speech that occurs as part of the manifestation of an emotional moment (section 5.2). Lastly, passages in which the speech forms a part of the resulting action phase of an emotional moment will be examined (section 5.3).

5.1 Speech as part of the eliciting conditions in emotional moments (scenes II, IV, V, and VII)

In this section, I will treat four passages in which military leaders, namely Pompeius, Cato, and Caesar, make a speech that in itself is peculiar as eliciting condition. First, I turn to Pompeius' speech in 2.526-609 (scene II).

With this speech, which follows Caesar's advance into Italy and Domitius' brave actions in the face of this advance, Pompeius means to test the fightings spirits of his men, who thus far, have not yet come into contact with Caesar's troops (as is apparent from *non visi* in 2.600). For this purpose, he makes a speech with *veneranda voce* (2.530), in which he touches upon the following themes (2.531-595).[123] First, in 2.531-540, he makes clear that his soldiers have followed the right party and that they have been provoked, as Caesar's army attacked first (*coeperit inde nefas*, 2.538), making this war a justified act of revenge by the fatherland (*patriae sed vindicis iram*, 2.540). Then, in 2.541-554, he characterizes Caesar as a madman (*o rabies miseranda ducis*, 2.544) and after considering his own merits (2.555-568), he minimizes Caesar's, questioning whether Caesar's bark is worse than his bite (2.566-575):

1) "[…] *Caesarne senatus*
victor erit? non tam caeco trahis omnia cursu
teque nihil, Fortuna, pudet. multisne rebellis
Gallia iam lustris aetasque impensa labori
dant animos? Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis
Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi
territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?
an vanae tumuere minae quod fama furoris
expulit armatam patriis e sedibus urbem?
heu demens, non te fugiunt, me cuncta secuntur. […]"

[123] See Fantham 1992, 180-181

'"Will Caesar be conqueror of the Senate? Fortuna, you do not pull away everything in so blind a motion, nor are you so shameless in anything. Do many years of insurgence in Gaul and an age devoted to effort give courage? Or does the fact that he fled away from the cold waters of the Rhine, and that he, while calling waters of alternating depth Oceanus, showed his frightened back to the sought-out Britons? Or have his idle threats become puffed up because rumor of his fury has driven armed citizens from their ancestral homes? Alas, you madman, they are not fleeing you, but all are following me."'

Caesar's victories in Gaul and Britain are no reason for panic, according to Pompeius. After tooting his own horn some more (2.576-595), he, against his expectations, does not hear a rousing roar of assent, but rather a quite unresponsive crowd of soldiers (2.596-597):

2) *Verba ducis nullo partes clamore secuntur*
nec matura petunt promissae classica pugnae.

'The factions follow the words of the leader with no applause, nor do they seek the promised fight with an early trumpet-call.'

With this speech, which was meant to function as an eliciting condition for a strong increase in the soldiers' confidence and to embolden his sense of self-confidence, built on years of honor and good reputation, he instead receives a knock to this confidence. With their reaction, the soldiers neither manifest their emotion, which Pompeius himself identifies as *metum* (2.598) nor undertake any action in response to it, leaving Pompeius to reflect on the situation. The main problem for the soldiers is this: Pompeius' own reputation, which he let shine in his speech, may be very good, Caesar's reputation, even though Pompeius minimizes it in his speech, is unknown and therefore frightening (2.598-600):

3) *sensit et ipse metum Magnus, placuitque referri*
signa nec in tantae discrimina mittere pugnae
iam victum fama non visi Caesaris agmen.

'Pompeius also noticed the fear, and he decided to withdraw the standards and not send, at the decisive moment of such a fight, an army, already defeated by the rumor of Caesar, not-yet-seen.'

The troops have already fallen victim to Caesar's *fama*, even if he himself has not been seen yet (*non visi*).[124] In terms of eliciting conditions, we can posit Pompeius' speech as non-effective, giving rise to no positive emotional reaction from the soldiers, instead prompting a reconsideration on Pompeius' part. His mentioning of Caesar's merits could even have lessened his troops' fighting spirits, reminding them of the military leader that they have never encountered and who has crossed the Alps and the Rubicon. Pompeius' speech has become an eliciting condition for a probable change in his soldiers' emotions and through the

[124] Fantham 1992, 196, connects this defeat by an unseen Caesar with the scene in book 1 when only the rumor of Caesar's advance is enough to make the inhabitants of Rome go into a panic and flee (1.466-522). This fits in with Caesar's characterization as a fright-inducing figure, which we have also seen in the scenes at Ariminum and Massilia, and during the advance of Caesar into Italy in book 3.

unenthusiastic reaction of the soldiers, an eliciting condition for his own shrinking back. In other words, his speech reflexively affects him through the soldiers' reaction, like a bull having to regain his strengths after having been pushed out of the herd and returning to the pasture to then lead his herd away. It is through this simile that the change in Pompeius' attitude towards taking an offensive stance is exemplified (2.601-609):

4) *pulsus ut armentis primo certamine taurus*
silvarum secreta petit vacuosque per agros
exul in adversis explorat cornua truncis
nec redit in pastus nisi cum cervice recepta
excussi placuere tori, mox reddita victor
quoslibet in saltus comitantibus agmina tauris
invito pastore trahit, sic viribus impar
tradidit Hesperiam profugusque per Apula rura
Brundisii tutas concessit Magnus in arces.

'Like a bull, driven from his herd after a first struggle, seeks the remote parts of the wood and, an exile on deserted fields, tests his horns on tree trunks, and does not return to the pasture if his muscles do not pass inspection, his strength regained, and when he as victor regains his troop and leads it to whatever forest-pasture pleases him, accompanied by steers and against the will of the herdsman, so Magnus, weak compared to other men, gives up Italy and as refugee through Apulian fields he retires to the safe citadel of Brundisium.'

Like Pompeius, the bull is presented with his first defeat (*primo certamine*, 2.601) and has to retreat as a result, the exile providing him with an opportunity to regroup and gain his strengths, like Pompeius does in reconsidering his battle plans. While Pompeius is not actually exiled by the failed speech itself, it forces him to rethink his course of action, while Fantham mentions that only Pompeius is repeatedly described as *pulsus* (a word with a political force) throughout the *Bellum Civile*.[125] Moreover, the simile is not entirely successful in the likeness of the manner in which Pompeius and the bull return: while the bull triumphs over his challengers upon his return to the herd and has the young bulls following him (*comitantibus … tauris*, 2.606), Pompeius does not triumph over anyone, instead being forced to take a defensive stance and being turned away on a retreat towards Brundisium, fleeing the advancing Caesarian army and leaving behind the Romans in Italy. The bull also leaves but does so to wherever he pleases (*quoslibet in saltus*, 2.606) and with his own kin(e) in tow (*reddita … comitantibus agmina tauris*, 2.605-606). The simile thus only partially illustrates how Pompeius' speech is the impetus for the change in his stance.

Another interesting case in which a speech changes the course of emotions and of actions is scene VII, in which Cato deals with a mutiny after Pompeius' death (9.217-293). After Tarchondimotus, leader of the Cilicians, convinces his troops to desert, Cato races after them and chastises them, after which a soldier explains why they have joined the war and why they are now leaving: they followed Pompeius into the war purely out of sympathy and admiration for him, and since he now is dead, they are deferring to another Roman consul, namely Caesar. Cato is uninhibited in his response (*erupere ducis sacro de pectore voces*, 'from the venerable

[125] Fantham 1992, 197. *Loci* are 2.728, 3.48, 7.698, 8.271, and 8.503.

heart of the leader burst the following words', 9.255), as he strikes up an *argumentum ad absurdum*: they should go further in their new fealty to Caesar than Ptolemaeus had in sending Caesar Pompeius' head. He advices them to capture Cornelia and Pompeius' sons and even to get it over with and kill him to offer his head up to Caesar. After his speech has concluded, the Cilicians again fall in line and go back into the fold of Cato's army, proving this speech to be more successful than Pompeius' speech in scene II.

What is most interesting about this speech as an eliciting condition, is the emphasis placed by Lucan on the auditory elements it encompasses. In the entire passage, Lucan makes note of the sound of crowds and of the voices cutting through them. First, when the soldiers are led into desertion by Tarchondimotus, Lucan describes this as *fremit interea discordia vulgi* 'In the meantime, the recalcitrance of the crowd grumbled' (9.217), and after Cato chases them, his stern voice is briefly, but explicitly noted (*tali Cato voce notavit* 'Cato reprimanded [him] with the following words', 9.221).[126] When the soldier explains their reasoning, he does as follows: *tali compellat voce regentem* 'he addressed the commander with the following words' (9.226). After his speech, he can count on the enthusiasm of his fellow soldiers, whose reaction to his speech follows in a roaring assent: *sic ille profatus insiluit puppi iuvenum comitante tumultu* 'After he had spoken in this way, he jumped aboard a ship with the accompaniment of the roaring soldiers.' (9.251-252). Finally, Cato's speech is portrayed as a feat of auditive violence (*erupere ducis sacro de pectore voces*) and his speech is even compared to a Phrygian gong that wakes up the withdrawing bees in the simile that is made in 9.285-292, in which the soldiers are compared to leaderless bees that, woken up by a good startle, return to their task at hand. Lucan recapitulates this once more with *sic voce Catonis* in 9.292. The instances of speech in this passage have thus functioned as very forceful eliciting conditions in emotional moments, with first Cato being angered by the indifference of the soldiers and his explosive counter-speech being the reason for their change in motivation.

Finally, I will take a brief look at how the contents of the speeches by Caesar (scene IV, 7.240-336) and Pompeius (scene V, 7.337-384) before the start of the battle of Pharsalus function in the emotional moments that follow from them. As these speeches are both exhortative, the speakers touch on themes that are meant to arouse fighting spirits in their soldiers. I will examine what themes are brought up, and how they, as eliciting conditions contained within the speeches, influence the emotions of the audiences.

Caesar, who hides his own trepidation in the face of such a battle (see section 1.3.1) by concealing his fear with confidence and starting his speech, touches on themes like the power and rewards promised by victory (7.264-265, 298-300), minimizes the opponent, calling them weak and unaccustomed to fighting (7.270-273), and calls Pompeius' previous triumphs unworthy in comparison to his own (7.277-289). His exhortation finally culminates in warning his soldiers not to be stunned by the familiarity of their opponents (7.318-325): instead, they still have to mutilate faces that they previously honored (*vultus gladio turbate verendos*, 7.322). Consequently, Caesar's troops are hastily preparing for battle (7.329-336), without order (*stant ordine nullo*, 7.332) and chomping at the bit to fight (7.335-336). In short, Caesar's speech emphasizes the fact that the Caesarians have much to gain from this battle and for this purpose, have to keep on fighting, even if that means killing family, recalling the previous theme of the *nefas* of civil war personalized by Caesar. These themes fire up the soldiers, making them hasty and eager, which translates to their disorderly preparation for battle.

[126] For this particular "zensorische Verwendung" of *notare*, see Wick 2002, 87.

Contrastingly, Pompeius, while also taking up the theme of family, instead focuses on the fact that his soldiers have so much to lose, repeatedly naming fatherland, children, wives, and Penates (7.346, 7.369-375) and making his soldiers imagine Rome spurring them on, personified through their mothers (with *crinibus effusis*, 7.370) and honorable senators (7.371), but also presented as approaching Pompeius' soldiers herself, as she is fearful of Caesar (7.373). Finally, Pompeius finishes his speech by begging his soldiers to spare him the shame of defeat (7.376-382). His speech is successful: his soldiers are emboldened by his sad voice and their Roman spirit is encouraged (7.382-384), and finally, they are presented as willing to accept death (*placuitque mori*, 7.384). The fact they are willing to die for their cause is not difficult to understand, as Pompeius presented them with an overview of everything they could lose by being defeated: Pompeius' reputation, their families, and Rome itself. In short, Pompeius and Caesar have different ways to rouse their soldiers, focused on either what can be lost in defeat or what can be gained through victory. These differences are reflected in the soldiers' ensuing behavior, which either is hasty and eager, or informed by Roman spirit.

5.2 Speech as part of the manifestation of emotions (scene III)

After emotions have been elicited, characters will oftentimes show them, for example, with their bodies or by letting loose a roaring sound or sob. The role of speech itself in this phase can be diverse: speech sometimes intensifies previously manifested emotions, it evokes new emotions, or it even lessens emotions, which also makes for a new state of mind in a character. In this section, I deal with a passage in which the manifestation of emotions through speech takes a central role and intensifies the emotional moment, namely the passage containing the eve of Cornelia's departure to Lesbos (scene III, 5.722-794). Pompeius' wife is already very emotional when she notices her husband crying, and in the conversation that follows, her emotional state reaches a boiling point, exacerbated by her own speech.

In book 5, the audience encounters Pompeius in an uncharacteristically vulnerable position: his love for Cornelia has made him fearful of battle and he has made his mind up to send her to Lesbos but has not let her know this yet. In their last night together, Cornelia embraces a Pompeius vexed by worries about the advance of Caesar's army into northern Greece,[127] when she suddenly notices that her husband is very emotional (5.734-738):

5) *nocte sub extrema pulso torpore quietis*
dum fovet amplexu gravidum Cornelia curis
pectus et aversi petit oscula grata mariti,
umentis mirata genas percussaque caeco
vulnere non audet flentem deprendere Magnum.

'In their final night, as silent sleep had vanished, while she cherishes him, heavy with worries, in her arms, and seeks out the beloved kisses of a husband turned away, wonders about his moistened cheeks, and she, struck by an unknown wound, dares not look at the weeping Magnus.'

[127] Barratt 1979, 244 suggests that by the position of the name "Cornelia" in the verse, . The use of *gravidum* also hearkens back to Pompeius' likening to an oak weighed down by its own mass (1.139).

Pompeius' tears form an eliciting condition in the shock that Cornelia experiences: she is surprised (*mirata*, 5.737) and does not know what to do with the situation, not daring to look at the crying Pompeius, who is turned away from her. He consequently gives her the bad news, after which she is devastated and even more shocked (5.759-765):

6) *Vix tantum infirma dolorem*
cepit, et attonito cesserunt pectore sensus.
tandem vox maestas potuit proferre querellas:
"nil mihi de fatis thalami superisque relictum est,
Magne, queri: nostros non rumpit funus amores
nec diri fax summa rogi, sed sorte frequenti
plebeiaque nimis careo dimissa marito. […]*"*

'She could barely sustain such a sorrow, feeble as she was, and her senses fled her stunned heart. Finally, her voice could utter mournful complaints: "No complaint, Magnus, about the role of fate or the gods in our marriage remains for me; death did not tear asunder our love, nor did the final torch of a grim funeral pile, but through a fate all too frequent and common I am deprived, dismissed by my husband.'

Pompeius' speech is the eliciting condition for an even greater shock than seeing him weep caused, leaving Cornelia with the task of grappling with her sorrow, the attempt at which is signified by Lucan's use of *vix*. She does this through a very pathetic speech, through which the manifestation of her sadness is exacerbated. In this speech, she states how she has received Pompeius' message: as the separation she is now going to experience (7.762-765). In the rest of her speech, she blames Pompeius for his cruelty in leaving her alone when this will not increase her safety and in letting her get accustomed to living without him (7.766-778). She also considers the two possible outcomes of the war, saying that she will be fearful even if he is victorious, as a fleeing Caesar can still come to Lesbos to capture her (7.778-786), and that she wishes that he not come to Lesbos if he were to be defeated, as his enemies would come to search for him on Lesbos, were he to flee (7.787-790). In either case, their separation would be definite. This understandably leads Cornelia to even deeper despair. She blames Pompeius for blindsiding her with his speech and plan, and after exacerbating her sorrow with her own speech, her emotions lead to her speeding the process of separation along. In this resulting action, she jumps out of bed, no longer wanting to touch Pompeius (5.790-798):

7) *Sic fata relictis*
exiluit stratis amens tormentaque nulla
vult differre mora. non maesti pectora Magni
sustinet amplexu dulci, non colla tenere,
extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris,
praecipitantque suos luctus, neuterque recedens
sustinuit dixisse vale, vitamque per omnem
nulla fuit tam maesta dies; nam cetera damna
durata iam mente malis firmaque tulerunt.

'After she had so spoken, she jumped up from their abandoned bed, frantic and not willing to defer her torment with any delay. She does not bear having the chest of sad Magnus in a sweet embrace, nor grasping his neck, and the final enjoyment of such a long love perishes, they hasten their sorrow, and neither endured saying farewell at his leaving. In their entire life, no day was as sad as this one; for they carried other injuries with a mind already steeled and hardened because of their sorrows.'

By letting herself get so distraught by her speech, Cornelia has worsened her sorrow, as Cornelia and Pompeius now avoid each other. This conscious deterioration of their happiness is is followed by a fast-forward in the story and suddenly Pompeius has left, and Cornelia falls to her knees in grief. In this way, they have for the foreseeable future wasted their opportunity to enjoy each other's presence.

5.3 Speech as part of the actions resulting from emotions (scenes I and VI)

In some instances of emotional moments, speeches can constitute the action that results from the eliciting condition contained in that emotional moment. Looking at speeches through this lens, as a phase included in an emotional moment, can help us understand the manner in which characters act during an emotional moment. For this purpose, I am not interested in whether the audience acts in concordance with the contents of a previously uttered speech, but rather, in how speeches are used by characters to act in accordance with their emotions. For instance, in the passage on his impending death (scene VI, 8.613-636), Pompeius utilizes his speech in addition to other conscious actions in order to regulate his emotions and die honorably.

Let us, however, begin with the very first speech in my selection (scene I in table 4): the speech Caesar gives in reaction to the apparition of the goddess Roma and Caesar's ensuing actions (1.185-212). Roma has tearfully questioned why Caesar and his troops are moving in on Rome as if they are not part of her citizenry, projecting an image of grief (1.188-189):

8) *turrigero canos effundens vertice crines*
caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis

'with her gray locks streaming from her turret-circled head, in a distraught bundle of hair, and she stood with exposed arms'

Incidentally, the goddess' statement in 1.190-192 could be characterized as a mini speech, in turn evoking its own reaction in its own audience, Caesar, who is struck with trepidation and who in that moment experiences a bodily manifestation of that emotion, as his hair rises (*riguere comae*, 1.193) and the *languor* ('faintness') evoked by the apparition of Roma arrests him at the bank of the river. This incertitude does not fit in with the characterization of Caesar as presented earlier in book 1 (see section 3.1.2.): that of Caesar as fear-inspiring, ambitious person of tenacity, who does not shrink from using violence.[128] Nevertheless, Caesar's

[128] However, we have seen uncertainty in Caesar before, for example while steeling himself to suppress his fear and speak to his men before the battle of Pharsalus (7.240-249, see section 1.3.1 and 5.1). Caesar also experiences a brief moment of hesitance when he is at Ariminum and its citizens already have silently submitted

reaction to his trepidation merits some attention: instead of replying to Roma, he first calls to Jupiter, the gods transported by Aeneas from Troy, and Romulus (1.195-203), acknowledging Roma as goddess in 1.199-200. Caesar presents himself as servant of Roma, unwillingly turned into an enemy (1.200-203). Excusing himself and his actions to the city goddess in this manner, he has overcome his hesitation and consequently crosses the Rubicon (1.204-205). This entire emotional moment, with Roma's speech as eliciting condition, Caesar's rising hairs and halting body as manifestations of his trepidation and his own speech as reaction, is elucidated in a simile that follows (1.204-212):

9) *inde moras solvit belli tumidumque per amnem*
signa tulit propere: sicut squalentibus arvis
aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram;
mox, ubi se saevae stimulavit verbere caudae
erexitque iubam et vasto grave murmur hiatu
infremuit, tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
haereat aut latum subeant venabula pectus,
per ferrum tanti securus vulneris exit.

'Then he breaks the delay of war, and swiftly carries the standards over the swollen stream: so a lion sits down on the untilled soil of fiery Libya, wavering, having seen an enemy nearby, while he gathers his entire wrath; soon, when he has vexed himself with the lash of his wild tail, has erected his mane, and has growled a deep roar with a wide mouth, then he, not worried by such a wound, leaves through the weaponry, even if the thrown lance of a nimble Moor hits him or if hunting-spears enter his broad chest.'

Roma appearing is compared to the lion's enemy (*viso … hoste*) and constitutes the eliciting condition that provokes a hesitation (*subsedit dubius*). However, the lion willfully makes himself more and more angry, swishing his tail (*se saevae stimulavit verbere caudae*) and raising his mane and roaring (*erexitque iubam et vasto grave murmur hiatu infremuit*). Both the lion and Caesar only have to take a beat and regroup before trotting on, leaving aside the opposition like water off a duck's back. As the lion is able to engage with anger as an actively acquired emotion (*colligit iram*, 1.207), for example, by letting his roar sound, so Caesar also consciously uses his speech to confront his emotions of trepidation and doubt.

When speaking of characterization, scene VI (8.613-636) is very interesting. After Pompeius realizes he will be killed as he sees the eliciting condition in the *comminus ensis*, the portrayal of his actions furthers the shift in his characterization that had been sparked by his defeat at Pharsalus (8.613-621):

10) *ut vidit comminus ensis,*
involvit vultus atque indignatus apertum
Fortunae praebere caput; tum lumina pressit
continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces
vellet et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam.

(*dubiae … menti*, 1.262). In that case, *fata* (1.264) is responsible for Caesar snapping out of his doubt (Roche 2009, 232). Also see Anzinger 2007, 124-127.

sed, postquam mucrone latus funestus Achillas
perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum
respexitque nefas, servatque immobile corpus,
seque probat moriens atque haec in pectore volvit: "[…]"

'When he saw the nearing sword, he covered his face, as he did not intend to offer Fortuna an uncovered head; then, he closed his eyes and held his breath, because he did not want to utter any sounds, and sully his eternal reputation by lamenting. But, after pernicious Achillas had struck his side with the sharp point, he was transfixed, he acquiesced to the blow without a groan and did not consider the crime, keeping his body immobile. He proved himself in dying and considered these words: "[…]"'

Pompeius, having been previously described as ineffectual and dependent on his good name and glory, is shown to have already shed some of these negative characteristics in the narration of his flight from Pharsalus (section 3.2.3.2). This character development continues at the moment of his death. Knowing he is going to die, he still attaches great value to his reputation and wants to die honorably. He covers his face (*involvit vultus*, 8.614), closes his eyes (*lumina pressit*, 8.615), and prepares not to scream (*continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces* | *vellet*, 8.616-617). When he is struck (*perfodit*, 8.619), he still does not utter a sound (*nullo gemitu*, 8.619) and remains unshaken (*immobile corpus*, 8.620). By dying so steadfastly, he makes good on his old glory. In terms of his actions corresponding to the internal speech that follows, we see that he is self-reflective, remembering his fame (*nunc consule famae "*"now consider your fame"', 8.624), but also acknowledging that his legacy is only definitively set by his death (8.625-627, repeated in the idea that his wife and child love him if they admire his death, 8.635), and he asks himself not to show his fear in sight of Cornelia and Sextus (8.632-636):

11) "[…] *videt hanc Cornelia caedem*
Pompeiusque meus: tanto patientius, oro,
claude, dolor, gemitus: gnatus coniunxque peremptum,
si mirantur, amant." talis custodia Magno
mentis erat, ius hoc animi morientis habebat.

'"Cornelia and my Pompeius behold this death: I ask, all the more patiently, hold of pain and groans; my son and wife love me, if they admire me at my death." So great was Magnus' self-control, that he held it together while dying.'

His self-control (*custodia … mentis*) is venerable, and it is clear that this act of keeping up appearances is a conscious decision. However, when we compare Cornelia's experience of seeing Pompeius attacked, which takes place contemporaneously, we notice how, even if actions to keep one's emotions under control are taken, this does not have to mean that the same effect is achieved in another's emotional state.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I considered speeches in context of the manifold purposes they fulfill as a structural element in emotional moments. First, I considered speeches behaving as an eliciting

condition, with Pompeius' speech less successful than Cato's in turning their armies' opinion around. In the case of Pompeius, his speech gave rise to a reconsideration on his part and an adjustment of his emotions and ensuing actions: whereas first he was proud, he had to reign himself back in, chased by Caesar for the majority of the work. Cato's auditive violence, as portrayed in Lucan's choice of words and simile, countered the army's indifference, causing a certain turn up of their spirits. The contents of Pompeius and Caesar's speeches before the battle of Pharsalus also were instrumental in informing the way in which their respective soldiers prepared for the battle, either as soldiers with everything to lose, or to gain from the battle.

Then, we turned to the manifestation of emotions as influenced and expressed in speeches. In this context, the speech of Cornelia reacting to Pompeius' message that he was leaving her on Lesbos was a way for her to manifest her sadness and analyze the possible outcomes of her separation from Pompeius, both of which leave her so distraught that she, as a consequence, hastened along the separation itself.

Then, I considered speeches as purposeful actions in regulating and emboldening emotions. Caesar could use his speech to overcome his trepidation at the apparition of Roma, and by making his statements public in a speech, he was compared to a roaring lion. Finally, the emotional regulation of Pompeius at his impending death shows an instance of using an internal speech as an action in direct response to one's emotions. Intending to die honorably, Pompeius is successful in this intent through being undisturbed at his death, which is shown as a conscious undertaking, of which his internal speech is a part. In this internal speech, Pompeius can be read as nuancing his old fame, as, instead of leaning on his previous glory, he reminds himself of the fact that one's reputation is decided at the moment of their death. This speech thus provides information as to how Pompeius' characterization has evolved.

In short, speeches as a structural element do make the story through informing phases in emotional moments, acting as eliciting conditions, manifestations, or constituting actions resulting from emotion, providing information on the characterization of the characters involved and often reminding us of themes present throughout the *Bellum Civile*.

6. Conclusion

In a gory, awful war, an awful lot of heavy-duty emotions should be present. With this inkling of an idea, I was directed to the poem that is Lucan's all-encompassing *Bellum Civile*, which proved to be rich in such heavy-duty emotions, felt by all kinds of people in all kinds of situations, that an alien arriving on earth would not be unjustified in making the observation that war seems to be mainly a human affair, having read only the *Bellum Civile*.

In the introduction to this thesis, I asked the research question how the emotions of characters make the story. I take this process of story-making to be one of choices in focalization, made by the author to now narrate this, then narrate that, to ignore the possibility of emotions being present in all characters, all the time, or, rather, to focus on only those emotions that could serve a purpose in constructing a narrative. How would one characterize "serving a purpose in the narrative"? How would one categorize emotions into two categories, "purposeful" and "useless"? The structuring element of the emotional moment, as conceptualized by Adema, proved to be useful, an instrument with which it is possible to measure changes in the emotional state of characters and consequently, (semi-)neatly categorize the start, middle, and end of these emotions into three phases: 1) the eliciting condition, meaning the circumstances or events that evoke an emotion, 2) the manifestation, constituted by the bodily or verbal expression of an emotion, and 3) the resulting action, signifying what is done in reaction to experiencing an emotion.

As looking for emotional moments in an epic of these proportions is like looking for a needle in a haystack, I first undertook a pilot study of the first three books of the *Bellum Civile*, with which I, in the first place, aimed to chart the various kinds of scenes that function as the building-blocks of the *Bellum Civile* (chapter 2). Then, I examined each type of scene that was present in the first three books for the presence of emotional moments and the measure in which they were elaborated (during this process of selection, I took an emotional moment containing more phases than one to be more "emotionally charged"). From my pilot study emerged three types of scenes or structural elements rich in emotional moments, that consequently formed the basis of the three chapters that follow the report of the pilot study: a collection of epic structures that have to do with battle scenes, scenes of lament and grief, and the structural element of interactions with speech.

In chapter 3, I examined battle scenes through the lens of emotional moments, looking into examples of mass and single combat. Emotional moments were more commonly present in the interactions of groups of characters with Caesar, as was shown in scenes of war preparation, where the characterization of Caesar is informed by the fear shown in his presence. In the actual scenes of combat, emotional moments usually were not easily defined in the heat of the moment, rather illustrating themes of future grief. When emotions were present, or, conversely, absent on purpose, several themes that were carried throughout the *Bellum Civile* sprang out, namely the themes of 1) silence in the face of subjugation, 2) the *nefas* of civil war, mainly illustrated through the severing of familial ties, 3) depersonalization by a lack of focus on the human characteristics of (masses of) soldiers, and by a superfluity of focus on individual body parts, 4) the topos of *amor mortis*, the idea of finding glory only in death, which causes a collective emotion, a fighting frenzy.

In chapter 4, emotional moments proved to be an instrument with which the interplay of the internal experience of grief and the more outwardly focused expression of grief could be analyzed in a satisfactory manner. Some of the themes that emerged from chapter 3 arose again in chapter 4, mainly in the role of silence and sound in private grief and public mourning

rituals. Furthermore, I examined the reaction of three people to the same death, that of Pompeius, and each of them experienced their grief differently, giving emphasis to one of the three phases in the emotional moment: Cornelia to manifestation, Cato to resulting action, and Caesar making a conscious action look like a manifestation.

In chapter 5, speech functioned as a structural element within emotional moments. When a speech acted as an eliciting condition, it could influence its audience in experiencing their emotions, in the cases of Cato and Caesar and Pompeius at Pharsalus, or, more rarely, its speaker, as became apparent when Pompeius changed his own mind after his speech in book 2 failed to reach its intended effect. When speech acted as the manifestation in an emotional moment, it could strengthen the emotions felt, as was the case for Cornelia in book 5. Finally, when speech was part of conscious action, it could both regulate and embolden the emotions of its speaker.

To conclude, I could answer my research question in a plethora of ways, but three main observations are pre-eminent. The emotions of characters "made the story" of the *Bellum Civile* by illustrating broader themes contained within the work, by aiding in the characterization of the characters themselves, and by helping characters make sense of the events that happen to them.

7. Bibliography

Image:

Painting of Adolphe Yvon, in the public domain. Source as follows: Wikimedia Commons. "*César franchit le Rubicon*, Adolphe Yvon, huile sur toile, 1875. 169 x 101 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Arras (Pas-de-Calais, France)." Accessed 13 August 2024. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eug%C3%A8ne_Yvon_C%C3%A9sar_1875.jpg.

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