A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MARCUS ANNAEUS LUCANUS
AND SENeca THE PHILOSOPHER
DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the principate of Augustus produced a profound change in Roman political history. Politics as practiced during the Republic was no longer possible. Under the new regime there was no place for rival factions with conflicting political beliefs. The princeps might permit critics but dared not condone opposition. Consequently, the political history of Rome narrows to matters of foreign relations and events at the capital where associates and officers of the princeps strove for a dominant voice in his councils. Although it could not yet be said that the will of the princeps was the law of the state, it certainly determined the policy of the government and the character of the laws. Hence the personality of the ruler was a matter of the greatest importance for the empire as a whole and had great effect upon the welfare and happiness of both Romans and provincials.

With the introduction of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties Rome embarked upon a new era not only in the realm of history but also in the field of literature. This era, which was one of the most brilliant and attractive that Rome had witnessed, is usually designated by the epithet of "Silver". The Silver Age, even when restricted to the years between A.D. 14 and 117, was a longer period chronologically than the Golden Age. Of great historical
importance, and of great significance for understanding
Silver Age literature, is the knowledge that the crucial
problem for the empire was consolidation and containment.
Rome in the first century had become highly cosmopolitan
and although she possessed a miraculous ability to assimilate
foreigners, there was certain to be some outside influence
on her own life and thought. This large cosmopolitan and
international element in the capital city widened the hori­
zons of literary men and helped to inject the human note
which can be seen in Silver Age Latin literature.

In its literary aspects the whole age makes a
fascinating study. The epithet "Silver" concedes the
classic superiority of the Golden Age; but silver, whether
viewed as a metal or as literature, has a value in itself,
and the metaphorical title, whether it calls to mind a
glittering style or a literary convention, is both pic­
turesque and evocative. Parallel with its administrative
triumphs and its services to civilization, we discover
among Silver Age masterpieces artistic creation of high
quality, thought no poorer than the achievement of the
times, and vivid portrayal of life. Convention was main­
tained, and we may trace it among many authors; yet the
Silver Age had its own unique geniuses. Nowhere else in
Latin literature are there figures comparable to Seneca,
Lucan, Tacitus, and Juvenal each with certain distinctive traits, and each among the greatest names in literary history.

The chief formative features of this literature may be reviewed rapidly. One of the most important influences at work was the contemporary education in letters and rhetoric. While the general training opened up the treasures of Greek and Latin literature as sources of inspiration, the special training in rhetoric affected style deeply. The predominant study of poets in the rhetorical schools tended to obliterate distinction between prose and poetry. The imitation of Virgil, traceable in Lucan, was by no means confined solely to epic. Nor is poetic color the only distinction: the language itself was affected by altered syntax and grammar.

Mode of expression came to be modified by the systematic instruction in rhetoric and by the declamatory exercises (especially the controversia and suasoria) composed by the student practicing the use of figures of speech, exclamations, apostrophes, interrogations, and innumerable other artifices, which he had been taught by a rhetor for the purpose of argument or display.

Literature, then, in the Silver Age, with this background of rhetorical training, was destined to have the qualities of a show-piece. The ideal desired was the
production of telling effects. Hence ingenuity was expected in narrative, description, and argument, with the resultant opportunity for the precious and far-fetched which at times might result in lapses of taste. A discourse, oration, or a poem frequently was composed to exhibit its author's ability to transmute common places into sententiae; it also had to be clothed in the vestments of rhetoric, which often caused the style to become wildly baroque. Artificiality driven to such extremes often meant a divorce from ordinary common sense; for natural feeling frequently became lost in the maze of epigram, word-play, antithesis, apostrophe, and other devices.

When considering the Silver Age, in style so easily contrasted with its golden predecessor, one must beware of so isolating its artificialities as to produce an impression that it teems with faults. The truth rather is that the Silver Age does, by a natural process of literary evolution, continue tendencies already present in Augustan times. There are in Horace characteristics which anticipate Persius and Statius; there are in Ovid ingenuities prophetic of Seneca and Lucan; and in Sallust and Livy aspects of prose which foreshadow Tacitus. There was no violent break, but in time the changes became too obvious to miss. It is not only reasonable, it is indeed necessary, to state the differences, but they must also be
categorized to include not merely stylistic variation and vice, but virtue as well.

Another phenomenon which must not go unmentioned is the change in the ethnic background of the writers of Silver Age Latin. In Republican times most Latin authors were born and reared upon the Italian peninsula, while the leading figures of the literature of the Empire come not only from Italy, but also Spain, Africa and Gaul. This garnering of talent throughout the Empire was one of the many advantages of being masters of the world. For Rome as the center of the civilized world attracted peoples of various nations as does any center of culture. Now, after various periods of civilizing influence, the provinces could contribute the resources of their minds as well as the material benefits of their territories. Foremost among these regions in the first century A.D. was the old province of Spain. With some claim to a partially independent culture of its own, it spoke a Latin which naturally retained certain words, idioms and sounds used by the previous generations of colonists. It is not altogether impossible to construct a case for detecting a Spanish note in certain parts of the Silver Literature; for among Romano-Spaniards of the time were the Senecas, Lucan, Columella, Quintilian, and Martial,
besides several rhetors of repute.

The Seneca family belonged to Corduba, the chief city of Baetica, which was the most civilized province of Spain. It was there that L. Annaeus Seneca, second son of the so-called "rhetor" was born. His mother Helvia, we learn in the Consolatio sent to her by her exiled son, had a philosophical bent—a contrast in this respect to her husband, whose interest lay in rhetoric. The family was well-to-do and talented. The elder Seneca and Helvia had three sons. The eldest was Novatus, to whom his brother dedicated his treatises De Ira and De Vita Beata. The second son, called "Seneca" by his father, became, as a statesman and writer, the most famous bearer of the name. The youngest son, Mela, proved himself a successful money-maker, and possesses his best title to fame as the father of Lucan.

M. Annaeus Lucanus was born, about the year of his grandfather Seneca's death, in the city of his uncle's birth, Corduba. He was brought to Rome as an infant, when eight months old. There are interesting later references by Seneca the Philosopher to the child. In the Consolatio he writes about a nephew, who must be Lucan, as a winning boy whose merry playfulness and talkativeness would keep anyone amused (ad cuius conspectum nulla potest durare tristitia . . . cuius non lacrimas illius hilaritas...
His education under the best teachers was directed toward the hope that one day he might rival his uncle's eloquence. Grounded in literature and in the traditionally wide range of learning subsidiary to "grammar" he proceeded in due course to the study of rhetoric and philosophy. His declamations in Latin and Greek were of astonishing ability, eclipsing the efforts of his fellow-students, if not of his masters, and commanding the applause of his hearers. Such brilliance was at once the result and cause of self-confidence: and the habitual desire to win attention confirmed him in many artificial conceits inseparable from the rhetorical system. Some philosophy undoubtedly he derived from his uncle, but he had at least one other famous Stoic teacher in Cornutus.

When it is remembered that the essential aim in academic declamation was to appear clever and striking at all costs, the central characteristic of Lucan's epic is at once grasped. The dominant note is one of display. The object, not to be natural, but above everything to be piquant and impressive, is pursued with marvelous vigor and with mastery of all effective artifices.

1. Ad Helviam Matrem xviii 4-5.
To his training, therefore, and to this aim we owe the parade of erudition which leads him into digressions and enumerations; the descent into realistic detail which is calculated to cause a shudder; the subtlety of argument which makes a debating speech cogent; the tendency to hyperbole which is bound to arrest attention; the love of point, epigram, and antithesis which produces memorable phrases; and the recollection or invention of pithy maxims which embody human experience. His erudition is in part encyclopedic, based on the science of the day, and in part mythological, based on the ancient literary education. The former accounts for excursuses on subjects such as astronomy and geography, many of which are out of place; the latter appears in allusions or descriptions.

Lucan’s spirit also had its creative side, where he proves himself an original genius. Apart from possessing a distinctive style, he refused to be encumbered by tradition. His originality lay not in the choice of a Roman historical theme, but in the decision to treat his theme without the conventional introduction of gods as controllers of the action. This novel method was criticized by Petronius.² Well aware of the intrinsic greatness

² Petronius Satyricon 118.
of the leading actors in a colossal struggle, Lucan relied for his effects more upon history than romance. In his theme he thus broke with Virgilian precedent, and the Homeric before him, to substitute the interest of a fierce human conflict waged in comparatively recent times for one of legendary glamor.

The writings therefore of Seneca the Philosopher and of Marcus Annaeus Lucanus contain elements of great interest and value in themselves. As independent literature their work possesses no little merit and has received just fame. They also are of considerable importance as an illustration of the literary characteristics of the Silver Age in general and the Age of Nero in particular.

There was a tendency in the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century among literary critics to neglect Seneca's and Lucan's endeavors, but it is pleasant to note that this trend has been reversed in recent decades. There is no doubt that these works, as

judged by modern standards, are open to criticism. Their florid rhetorical style, their exaggeration, their ostentatious pride in displaying learning and mythological lore, and their over-sensationalism, which readily embraces the uncanny and horrible, tend to militate against widespread admiration of their talents.

In answer to these criticisms it is necessary to point out that these were also and primarily the faults of the age in which Seneca and Lucan were living. It was an age in which rhetorical form, dramatic presentation and realism were magnified to extremes and had come to be expected as the norm.

It should be mentioned at the outset that this dissertation has been undertaken because of personal interest in whether or not there might actually be a Spanish school of Latin writers. It is felt that there could be no better place to begin than with two of the most prominent of the Latin writers who were born in Spain, particularly when they were as closely related by blood ties and as influential as were Seneca and Lucan. Moreover, I soon perceived that a work dealing with the relationship of Lucan to Senecan writings could be of some value for a future study of other Spanish authors. In addition it is to be hoped that a detailed study of Lucan and his uncle will provide a concrete base for determining
the validity of the assumption of scholars, such as Heitland, that much of Lucan's manner is to be traced to Seneca. 4

In the present investigation I have attempted to ascertain how extensively comparable elements occur in the two writers as they reflect some of the literary characteristics of their age; the nature of their treatment of these characteristics; and the purpose of their employment. I have also endeavored to delineate their philosophic usages as well as the parallels in their language. I intend this study to be principally an investigation of the comparable ideas, views, subjects, and to a certain extent techniques used by both Lucan and Seneca. It is, of course, selective because of the proportions of the originals, but I have tried to examine all the evidence both for and against Senecan influence. This evidence is fully cited, I think, either in the text or in the notes. References to their predecessors have been included only where they are deemed to be of profit.

The basic texts used for citation in this dissertation are Emil Hermes, L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum

4. C.E. Haskins, Pharsalia (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887), p. cxxix. Heitland remarks in his introduction that it would seem to serve little purpose to prove what is manifest on the face of it.
Libri XII, 1923; Carl Hosius, L. Annaei Senecae De
Beneficiis Libri VII and De Clementia Libri II, 1914;
Alfred Gercke, L. Annaei Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum
Libri VIII, 1907; Otto Hense, L. Annaei Senecae Ad Lucilium
Epistularum Moralium Quae Supersunt, 1914; and Peiper-
Richter, L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae, 1902. All these
texts are to be found in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana
published in Leipzig. The text used for Lucan's Pharsalia\(^5\)
is that of Carl Hosius' third edition, 1913, which also is
included in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

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\(^5\) For the purpose of text citation Pharsalia
has been adopted throughout this dissertation but
occasional references will be found to its other title
The Civil War.

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CHAPTER I

THE SUPERNATURAL AND THE GROTESQUE

The scanty and fragmentary remains of Roman tragedy before Seneca preclude any definite establishment of Senecan relation to it. Furthermore, the extent of Seneca's knowledge of the works of Republican tragedians seems cloudy, since he never mentions Livius Andronicus and Pacuvius. Although Ennius and Accius are quoted, there is no reason to surmise that Seneca greatly admired them. How familiar he was with their works is a debatable question. It is worth noting, however, that five Senecan themes had been subjects of tragedies by Accius.\(^1\) Apparently, as Leo has shown, Varius and Ovid were more influential on his drama.\(^2\)

Seneca's chief models, of course, lie in Greek tragedy, but he was no slavish imitator. In many instances he is surprisingly different and introduces independent material. This is particularly true in regard to the supernatural and the macabre, which are to be discussed in the present chapter.

---

1. Atreus, Clytaemnestra, Medea, Phoenissae, Troades.

2. F. Leo, L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), I, 147-159.
Lucan's position is clearly another matter because his predecessors in the epic tradition are well known. Inasmuch as he was following in the mighty footsteps of Homer and Virgil, it is not surprising to find him casting about for a way to be different and yet still effective. He first decided upon a historical epic, then in a departure from tradition removed the gods as controllers of action. The gap left by the absence of the gods could be easily filled with the sundry devices of which his age was so fond, and which his illustrious uncle had used with such success: the supernatural, the gruesome and macabre, learning and philosophy. Thus he exercised his talent and genius in writing an epic which combines and embodies the influences of earlier writers, his rhetorical education, the taste of his times, and his family tradition.

One of the most striking features of Seneca, particularly in his tragedies, is his use of extremely vivid and sometimes horrifying detail. His nephew Lucan is equally noted for this same characteristic. In fact, Lucan's realism has been described as "now natural, now morbid, now grotesque". 3 A comparison of the two men

reveals that one general and three specific usages con­
trive to set this somber and morbid tone: interpreters
of fate, divination, magic, and horror.

Interpreters of Fate

The interpreters of fate who are comparable in
Seneca and Lucan may be classified in two groups: the
soothsayers who served to advise both individuals and
representatives of state upon important matters; and women
imbued with either temporary or lasting prophetic insight.

Soothsayers.---There are two soothsayers in
Seneca's tragedies, Calchas of the Troades, and Tiresias
of the Oedipus. Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, simply
enumerates for her blind father the presages of the fire
and sacrifice. Lucan, clinging to the genuine tradition
of historical Rome, employs Arruns, a seer from Etruria,
and Figulus, an astrologer. A sort of pseudo-soothsayer
is introduced in the form of the Thessalian witch.
Calchas, as introduced in the Troades, is designed to
reveal the fates directly. In demanding the sacrifices
of Polyxena and Astyanax he is also responsible for
motivation. This is the will of the gods and if it is
obeyed the Danai can then begin their return home upon
their ships. After Calchas has set forth the demands of the gods, his role is finished. A partial counterpart to Calchas is Figulus. Both are used to give specific answers to direct questions. While Agamemnon wants to know from Calchas if he must relinquish his captive maiden, the Romans ask Figulus the answer to the terrifying omens and portents. Figulus, as behooves a creation of Lucan, does not give his answer briefly. He combines a long list of rhetorical questions with a notably learned discourse as well as prophecy. He concludes on a definite note and assures the Romans that civil war is upon them and that when peace comes a tyrant will come with it. Both Calchas and Figulus prophesy Fate directly, although their ability to do so stems from different sources.

The most awesome scene in the first book of the Pharsalia is undoubtedly the abandonment of Rome and the attendant panic. This scene comes to its climax in the record of the omens and portents, the pathetic and desperate search of Arruns for a thread of hope amidst the divination, and has as its overwhelming finale the

4. Troades 360-370.
5. Pharsalia 1 668-670.
portrait of a matron, possessed by frenzy, revealing the
grand scope of what is to come. This series of events,
filling nearly two hundred lines, could have been extreme-
ly tedious were we not spared by dramatic effect. It is
a drama of stark, bleak despair, of scenes so vivid that
they seem all too real, and of tragedy so conceived and
executed that it must remain ineffaceable in the mind.
Lucan has indeed lived up to his reputation and is here
deeply indebted to his uncle. It is Seneca's *Oedipus* that
presents the master outline for a major portion of the
closing scenes, which depict the sacrifices offered to the
gods and the terrible consequences of this divination.

Arruns, the oldest of the seers summoned from
Etruria, begins by bidding the destruction of monsters.
Next he orders the citizens to march round the city and
while they are performing this task he himself prepares a
sacrifice. A long list of horrors and evil omens follows
and finally he speaks:

\[
\text{Vix fas, superi, quaecumque movetis,} \\
\text{Prodere me populis; nec enim tibi, summe,} \\
\text{litavi, Iuppiter, hoc sacrum, caesique in} \\
\text{pectora tauri Inferni venere dei.}^6
\]

---

Behind these lines there are clear echoes of Tiresias in Seneca's Oedipus. Full of foreboding even before the sacrifice has been performed, Seneca's Tiresias has Manto explain every detail. Having kindled the fire and poured the wine, she trembles at the split flame and the libation turned to blood. She asks what it means and Tiresias replies:

Quid fari queam
inter tumultus mentis attonitae vagus?
Quidnam loquar? sunt dira, sed in alto mala;
Solet ira certis numinum ostendi notis.7

The failure of Tiresias to disclose the meaning of the oracle is strange in light of his usual ability for revelation. But had he exercised his power of direct inspiration there would have been no need for the divination and necromancy which consumes a large segment of the Oedipus. Seneca's purpose was apparently dramatic. In all probability this was also Lucan's purpose in causing Arruns to be vague and obscure. The immediate revelation would have obviated the appearance of Figulus and his interpretation through learning and astrology, a pseudo-science. Lucan's preference for a scientific or partially scientific basis is shown by his removal of the gods as controllers of action. Moreover, there can be

7. Seneca Oedipus 328-331.
little doubt that Lucan was no less attracted than his uncle to divination in its horrible aspects, and to necromancy. Seneca's Tiresias and Lucan's Arruns then are represented as possessing similar abilities in the rites of divination. Tiresias' ability to evoke the spirits of the dead by incantation is assumed, perhaps more properly, by Erichtho, the Thessalian witch in the sixth book of the Pharsalia.

Prophetesses.—Two women in the plays of Seneca, Hecuba in the Troades and Cassandra in the Agamemnon, though equally endowed with prophetic power, have somewhat different functions. Hecuba's prophecies concern events which will take place at a future time outside the immediate framework of the play. She foresees her own fate and the shipwreck of the returning Greek fleet. Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, whose prophecies are never believed, does not speak of her own volition but rather because of divine pressure from Apollo. Lucan's nearest comparable figure is a frenzied matron at the close of Book I, whom he has delineated as a combination of Hecuba and Cassandra. Her prophecy is similar to Hecuba's in that it does not concern immediate events but foreshadows what will come. She is like Cassandra in that Phoebus has possessed her spirit for his own purpose.
Divination

Divination by means of the entrails of sacrificial animals is given much attention in both Seneca and Lucan. In the Oedipus the rites of divination are performed on the stage. Omens from fire and smoke are described, then those from the organs of the slaughtered animals. These omens are inauspicious and while they tend to magnify the coming evil they do not state its nature specifically. This is equally true of the sacrificial scene conducted by Arruns in Book I of the Pharsalia.

The scenes involving the investigation of the entrails are similar in several respects and therefore are worth examining. In the Oedipus (353-370), Manto conducts her inspection and relates the horrible omens with marvelous aplomb:

non levi motu, ut solent, agitata trepidant exta, sed totas manus quatiunt novusque prosilit venis cruor. Cor marcet aegrum penitus ac mersum latet liventque venae; magna pars fibris abest et felle nigro tabidum spumat iecur, ac (semper omen unico imperio grave) en capita paribus bina consurgunt toris; sed utrunque caesum tenuis abscondit caput membrana, latebram rebus occultis negans. Hostile valido robore insurgit latus septemque venas tendit; has omnes retro prohibens reverti limes oblicus secat. Mutatus ordo est, sede nil propria iacet sed acta retro cuncta: non animae capax in parte dextra pulmo sanguineus iacet,
non laeva cordis regio, non molli ambitu
omenta pingues visceri obtendunt sinus.

In Book I of the *Pharsalia* (618-629), Arruns pales as he
snatches up the entrails:

Terruit ipse color vatem; nam pallida taetris
Viscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore
Plurimus asperso variabat sanguine livor.
Cernit tabe ie scor madidum, venasque minaces
Hostili de parte videt. Fulmonis anheli
Fibra latet, parvusque secat vitalia limes.
Cor iacet, et saniem per hiantes viscera rimas
Emittunt, produntque suas omenta latebras.
Quodque nefas nullis inpune apparuit extis,
Ecce, videt capiti fibrarum increscere molem
Alterius capitis. Pars aegra et marcida pendet,
Pars micat et celeri venas movet inproba pulsu.

The similarities in these two passages is indeed so remark-
able that they have led some scholars to emend Lucan’s
*fibra latet* and *cor iacet* by transposing the verbs to read
*fibra iacet* and *cor latet*. There is another point in
this connection, as Manto continues her exploration and
discovers a fetus in the heifer. This at once calls to
mind the line in which he says that Arruns had ordered all
the fruit of a sterile womb destroyed. This phrase of
Lucan’s has usually been interpreted to mean the offspring

9. Seneca *Oedipus* 373.
10. Ibid., 590-591.
of mules, but in view of this passage in Seneca and also Oedipus (637-639) it seems quite plausible that this remark refers to the unnatural births mentioned by Lucan in Book I (562-563).

The slaughter of the children in the Thyestes of Seneca is not chiefly a portrait of divination or sacrifice. Atreus has by his actions tried, however, to give this grisly murder a sacrificial flavor. He first binds their brows with purple fillets and we are informed that the wine, knife and meal are all present. The prodigies that precede and the omens that follow the horrible sacrifice reveal the continued anger of the gods. The earth quakes, a comet is seen, the wine turns to blood, the crown falls from the king's head, and the statues in the temples weep. Later darkness settles upon the land and the sun refuses to shine.

After reporting the panic and flight that is taking place in Rome, Lucan launches into an elaborate account of the portents of the menacing gods. Some of these portents are remarkably though not exactly similar to those related by the messenger in the Thyestes. The earth stops short on its axis, the Alps tottering dislodge

ll. This conclusion is held by Getty, De Bello Civili I, p. 109.
their snows, shooting stars and a comet are seen, offerings fall from their places, and the national deities weep. It is a plausible conjecture that Lucan means in his description that there were earthquakes and that he has equated the falling offerings with the falling crown of Atreus. It is impossible to say with certainty that this is the case, but his allusion to the darkness over Rome as comparable to that over Mycenae, the city of Thyestes, would tend to illustrate the trend of his thought. 12

Magic

Magic may be loosely defined as the compelling of nature to do one's bidding either by supernatural or subnatural means. 13 The magic which appears in Seneca and Lucan is primarily the magic of primitives—that is, magic of an evil or black variety. The enchantment in Seneca's Medea and the necromancy in the Oedipus are logically combined and relegated to Erichtho, Lucan's

monumental witch.

Enchantment.—The distinction between the magic of the Medea and that of Erichtho in Book VI of the Pharsalia is rather difficult. Medea is typical of ancient sorceresses in that she can employ magic either for good or for evil. Her purpose in Seneca's play is strangely evil, although she could easily have lured Jason back with a love potion. That she did not want him on those terms and preferred revenge seems obvious. The plot and her character are so drawn and Jason is such a scoundrel that her action seems understandable if inexcusable. Among her wondrous talents is the ability to draw down the sky (674), to entice serpents from their lairs, and to change the seasons. Her power to invoke the dead is only implied (740 ff.).

Erichtho by contrast is a disagreeable and unmitigated witch. Medea is young, passionate, and beautiful; Erichtho is old and ugly. Medea exercises her magical powers and especially those of black magic only as a last resort; Erichtho, on the contrary, lives only for the ghoulish and ghastly; she gloats, thrives and revels in it. Her purpose in the Pharsalia is simply to relate the future by any means at her disposal. From this standpoint it is not an ignoble purpose, but she leaves no doubt that she is not only the embodiment of evil, but also a living
personification of everything foul, filthy, hideous and horrible.

Necromancy.---The two most detailed accounts of necromancy are to be found in Seneca's Oedipus and Lucan's Pharsalia Book VI. In the Oedipus Tiresias first tries divination to discover Laius' murderer, but failing in that he decides upon necromancy. It is described in great detail; ditch, firebrands from funeral pyres, offerings of oxen and black sheep, magic chant, and libations of blood, milk and wine. These were the usual ingredients for performing the necessary ritual. Again it is clearly marked that Seneca, although daring enough to include a scene of necromancy, does not depart from convention. His Tiresias, although involved in almost unspeakable rites, is still the priest and sorcerer. His technique follows a pattern much like that of Medea, with incantations, offerings, and magic songs.

There is little that is entirely conventional in Lucan's portrayal of Erichtho. Whereas Medea and Tiresias use their left hands conventionally in the magic rites, Erichtho uses hers to sever a lock of hair from a dying

14. L. Fahz, De Poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica: Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten (Giessen, 1904), II, 110-121.
boy's head (562). Whereas, according to convention, the incantations of Medea and Tiresias are answered almost immediately, the Thessalian spell of Erichtho seeks a request so vile that it is only partially granted and she must rant and threaten to invoke even worse before the ghost actually revivifies the corpse.

Horror

Upon page after page in both Seneca and Lucan a reader is confronted with a realism that is so gruesome as to be classed as revolting. Seneca's love for ghosts, monsters, Furies, and tormented denizens of the underworld is almost fantastic, nor is he hesitant about describing in detail scenes of necromancy, dismemberment as a preface to a cannibalistic feast, or the hideous mutilation of parts of the body. Lucan in a similar vein goes even further. He revels in harrowing his readers with descriptions of torture, the ghoulishness of a witch, aspects of cremation and putrefaction, and agonies of the wounded and dying. This type of realism is generally given free rein by Seneca only where the story demands it, as in the Oedipus and Hippolytus. Lucan on the other hand searches it out and brings into the epic scenes which are obviously sensational and which could justifiably have been omitted without affecting the story.
The Eerie

This category of the weird and strange, which of necessity would include the general facets of ghost raising, enchantment, necromancy and witchcraft has already been discussed in part under magic. Its more specific classification contains elements ascribable only to the gruesome and horrible. This leaves but one scene worth mention.

The Grove of the Druids.— The two groves depicted in Seneca's tragedies are each placed so as to give a sinister preface to horrors yet to follow. In the Oedipus (530-548) the grove creates an atmosphere of mystery and anticipation with its cypress and ancient oak crumbling in decay. There is a tangle of uprooted trees and beneath a central mighty tree there is a gloomy spring, a sluggish pool and oozy swamp. The grove in the Thyestes (650-682) is painted more thoroughly as a requisite prelude for the grisly murder of Thyestes' sons by Atreus. Again there are cypress, dark ilex-trees and a towering oak. The flow from a dismal spring creeps in a sluggish pool. The gods of death moan, and the clanking of chains and howls of ghosts can be heard at night. Flames flicker through the wood, the tree branches glow without fire, and the horror of the underworld reigns even at midday.
Lucan's description of the Druids' grove ostensibly has two purposes. The first is that it is to be felled to provide timber for support to bolster the attacking fortifications used against Massilia; the second is possibly that its destruction will illustrate the sacrilegious aspect of Caesar's character. It contains a touch of somber romance as well as some similar detail described in the *Thyestes*.

There was a grove untouched from ancient times. It is a haunted wood, polluted by inhuman rites, and aquiver with a mysterious thrill—a grove of black waters, misshapen images, awesome from decay and nameless terrors, where flame plays among non-burning branches and serpents embrace an oak.15

The Gruesome and the Revolting

Up to this point only the general aspects of horror in the realm of the supernatural or unnatural have been explored. These traits reflect the overtones of the somber and macabre which pervade so much of Seneca's and Lucan's work. There now remain the more specific aspects relative to the horror concerning the physical or anatomical structure

15. *Pharsalia* iii 399-421. It appears probable that Lucan borrowed this play of fire in the forest from the previously mentioned lines of Seneca.
of the human being. In scope and intensity Seneca and Lucan show a predilection for gruesome detail which cannot be equaled in any of their predecessors either Latin or Greek.

This inclusion of scenes of a horrible, brutal, or revolting nature was naturally not without some precedent in Latin literature, but the extent to which it was employed by Lucan still is unprecedented. The fragments of Ennius tell us that in describing the usual horrors attendant on war, he was not content with the usual formulae. In speaking of the punishment of Mettius Fufetius by Tullus for refusing to help Rome he remarks that he was dragged over the smooth flat plain and later:

Vulturus in silvis miserum mandebat homonem. Heu! Quam crudeli condebat membra sepulchro! 16

In another passage as monstrous as anything in Lucan he describes the fate of a trumpeter with:

Quomque caput caderet, carmen tuba sola peregit et pereunte viro raucus sonus aere cucurrit.17

Not content with the beheading alone he goes on:

Oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.18

17. Ibid., 499-500.
These passages, although indicative of Ennius' inclinations, are too few to be absolutely conclusive. In all there are only eight passages of this nature and not even all of these are extraordinarily grotesque.19

Dismemberment and Mutilation.—There are three principal narratives involving dismemberment in the poetry of Seneca and Lucan. All three have justifiable reasons for existing. The stories of Hippolytus and Thyestes were indeed horrible under any circumstances. Lucan's story of what happened to a certain Marius was apparently widely known and serves as a useful example of the atrocites of civil war generally and of the time of Marius and Sulla in particular.

Hippolytus, fleeing because of his stepmother's illicit love for him, is accused falsely and is cursed by Theseus who asks Neptune to grant him the boon of killing his own son. Hippolytus on his journey is suddenly confronted by a bull-like monster, and although he himself remains firm his horses plunge in terror. Hippolytus loses his balance, falls and is caught in the traces and dragged.

Late cruentat arva et inlisum caput
scopolis resultat; auferunt dumi comas,

et ora durus pulchra populatur lapis
peritque multo vulnere infelix decor.
Moribunda celeres membra provolvunt rotae;
tandum raptum truncus ambusta sude
medium per inguen stipite erecto tenet,
paulumque domino currus affixo stetit.
Haesere biugus vulnere— et pariter moram
dominumque rumpunt. Inde semianimem seçant
omnisque truncus corporis partem tuit.20

In the *Thyestes* there are specific details not
only of a foul murder of children and their dismemberment
and the handling of organs but also of the cooking and
roasting of human flesh. Needless to say, the actual but
inadvertent cannibalism which takes place later is
anticlimatic.

erupta vivis exta pectoribus tremunt
spirantque venae corque adhuc pavidum salit.
At ille fibras tractat ac fata inspicit
et adhuc calentes viscerum venas notat.
Postquam hostiae placuere, securus vacat
iam fratris epulis. ipse divisum secat
in membra corpus, amputat trunco tenus
umeros patentes et lacertorum moras,
denudat artus durus atque ossa amputat;
tantum ora servat et datas fidei manus.
Haec veribus haerent viscera et lentis data
stillant caminis, illa flammatus latex
candente aeno iactat. impositus dapes
transiluit ignis inque trepidantes focos
bis ter regestus et pati iussus moram
invitus ardet. stridet in veribus iecur;21

Lucan by way of comparison in this genre is tame
indeed. Nevertheless his description of torture is not

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easily forgotten.

Cum laceros artus aequataque volnera membris
Vidimus, et toto quamvis in corpore caeso
Nil animae letale datum moremque nefandae
Dirum saevitiae, perentis parcere morti.
Avolsae cecidere manus, exsecta lingua
Palpitat et muto vacuum ferit aera motu.
Hic aures, alius spiramina naris aduncae
Amputat; ille cavis evolvit sedibus orbes;
Ultimaque effodit spectatis lumina membris. 22

This last passage of Lucan's is especially significant
because descriptions of actual torture are very rare in
Latin literature. 23

Decay and Corruption.---This category appears to
be exclusively Lucan's property, with no definite counter­
parts to be found in the tragedies of Seneca. In Book II
of the Pharsalia (166) heads dissolve in corruption; in
Book VIII (777-778) Pompey's body melts slowly, feeding the
fire with his flesh. In Book VII (838-840) rotting flesh
and blood drip from the sky as vultures drop their burdens.
But it is in the ninth book (700-825) that Lucan reaches
the pinnacle of horror with a series of sensational deaths
caused by the poison of African serpents. It is then
quite logical that we should expect the most hideous
description as a result of the bite of the serpent with

22. Pharsalia ii 177-185.

23. Consult the words supplicium, poena, and
servus in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des
antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et
les monuments (Paris: Hachette, 1877-1918).
the deadliest powers. We are not disappointed in the account of Sabellus' encounter with the *seps*:\(^{24}\)

\[\text{Nam plagae proxima circum} \]
\[\text{Fugit rupta cutis pallentiaque ossa reexit;} \]
\[\text{Iamque sinu laxo nudum sine corpore volnus.} \]
\[\text{Membra natant sanie, surae fluxere, sine ullo} \]
\[\text{Tegmine poples erat, femorum quoque musculus omnis} \]
\[\text{Liquitur, et nigra destillant inguina tabe.} \]
\[\text{Dissiluit stringens uterum membrana, fluuntque} \]
\[\text{Viscera; nec, quantus toto de corpore debet,} \]
\[\text{Effluit in terras, seavum sed membra venenum} \]
\[\text{Decoquit, in minimum mors contrahit omnia virus.} \]
\[\text{Quiquid homo est, aperit pestis natura profana:} \]
\[\text{Vincula nervorum et laterum textura cavumque} \]
\[\text{Pectus et abstrusum fibris vitalibus omne} \]
\[\text{Morte patet. Manant umeri fortesque lacerti,} \]
\[\text{Colla caputque fluunt: calido non ocius Austro} \]
\[\text{Nix resoluta cadi nec solem cera sequetur.} \]
\[\text{Parva loquor, corpus sanie stillasse perustum:} \]
\[\text{Hoc et flamma potest; sed quis rogus abstulit ossa?} \]
\[\text{Haec quoque discedunt, putresque securta medullas} \]
\[\text{Nulla manere sinunt rapidi vestigia fati.} \]
\[\text{Cinyphiast inter pestes tibi palma nocendi est:} \]
\[\text{Eripiunt omnes animam, tu sola cadaver.}\(^{25}\)

Lucan in awarding the palm to the *seps* for destruction undoubtedly designed and assuredly has gained one for himself in the realm of horror.

Anatomical Horror

Although Lucan and Seneca are both fond of describing the crushing of a skull or the severing of a neck, it is Seneca who introduces such incidents with greater

\[24. \text{Seps borrowed from the Greek means, of course, decay, rot, or putrefaction.}\]
\[25. \text{Pharsalia ix 766-788.}\]
consistency. Amphitryon tells us in the *Hercules Furens* (1006-1007) that the head of Hercules' son crashed loudly against the stones; the room is drenched with scattered brains. In the *Troades* (1115-1116) it is the messenger who relates that Astyanax's skull is crushed, his brains dashed out. In dwelling upon severed heads Seneca has Cassandra relate the fate of Agamemnon by saying that the scarce-severed head hangs by a slender part; here blood streams over his headless trunk, there lie his moaning lips.\(^{26}\) The messenger in the *Thyestes* (727-728) reports only a slight variation in the death and mutilation of Tantalus. His head was severed with a blow; the head rolled away, grieving with an inarticulate murmur.

In the third book of the *Pharsalia* (711) the fate of Tyrrhenus is told in similarly graphic terms. Hit by a missile from a Balearic sling, his hollow temples were crushed by the solid lead. In the eighth book (670-672) Lucan tells with morbid fascination the atrocity wreaked upon Pompey's head. Septimius is accused of seizing the still breathing head, then of severing the muscles and veins and hacking at the bones. A little later (688-691) Lucan describes how the head was embalmed. The blood was drained, the brain torn out, and the skin dried; the

\(^{26}\) *Agamemnon* 901-903.
corrupting moisture was drawn out from the inmost parts. The final example and perhaps the most horrible is to be found in part of the description concerning Erichtho in the sixth book. While kissing the head of a corpse, she mutilates it and opens the closed mouth with her teeth; then, biting the tip of the tongue that lies motionless in the dry throat she sends a message to Hell (564-568).

In general it can safely be said that Lucan's references to the head and neck are not only more imaginative than Seneca's but also more varied and hideous. This is particularly true if one takes into account his references to these parts of the body in a state of decay and corruption.

Relative to matters of the head we can find several examples of horror when eyes are discussed by Seneca and Lucan. All of Lucan's references to horrors depicting the eyes are brief and succinct. In Book III (713) blood bursts all the ligaments, and the eyes, forced from their sockets, rush forth. Earlier Lucan had ended the torture of Marius with:

\[\text{ille cavis evolvit sedibus orbes,} \]
\[\text{Ultimaque effodit spectatis lumina membris.}^{27}\]

In Book VI (216-219) he describes Scaeva's action following

\[\text{27. Pharsalia ii 184-185. Ille here refers to a citizen who happened not to be the famous Marius.}\]
the wounding of his left eye with:

Ille moras ferri nervorum et vincula rumpit
Adfixam vellens oculo pendente sagittam
Intrepidus, telumque suo cum lumine calcat. 28

Later Lucan adds another grisly touch to his witch
Erichtho by mentioning that she thrusts her fingers into
the eyes of corpses, and scoops out gleefully the
stiffened eyeballs (541-542).

For the most part, Seneca seems little concerned
about using the eyes as a vehicle for shocking, but in the
Oedipus he has a ready-made situation already present in
the story. The ardor which he spends on the mutilation
scene can leave little doubt that he was capable of rising
to the occasion.

at contra truces
oculi steterunt et suam intenti manum
ultro insecunctur, vulneri occurunt suo.
Scrutatur avidus manibus uncis lumina,
radice ab ima funditus vulsos simul
evolvit orbes; haeret in vacuo manus
et fixa penitus unguibus lacerat cavos; 29
alte recessus luminum et inanes sinus.

No classification of anatomical horror could be
complete without some discussion of the abdomen and
viscera. Seneca makes only casual mention of entrails

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28. This passage demonstrates clearly Lucan's
desire to be sensational and to horrify.

29. Oedipus 962-969.
except of course in Tiresias' divination sequence. Lucan, however, handles the topic with his usual morbidness. In Book III there are no less than four deaths caused by damage to this region. In the first (601-602) he pictures Gyareus as caught through the middle by a grapnel and left dangling in the air. Another man (655-658) has his belly crushed and Lucan describes minutely the blood mixed with flesh, and the gore seeping from his mouth. In lines 676-678 Lucan states that not one but many men, for lack of a missile, pulled out a javelin from their entrails and hurled it back while clutching their protruding vitals. Lastly, Argus (724) is pierced where the lower part of the belly meets the groin. These deaths are all reasonably expected in a battle at sea, but it is doubtful that it was necessary to keep driving the point home with such repetition. Moreover, two other deaths are described with the embellishments of entrails being dragged over gangways. One man even is stepping and sliding in his own bloody viscera. 30

The material that is revolting in Lucan is so extensive that it is difficult to know where to stop and where to begin. Perhaps it is fitting to turn once again

and finally to the most foul and hideous of all his creations—the Thessalian witch Erichtho. For when the dead are preserved by stone, which drains off internal moisture, soaks up the slime of the marrow, and stiffens the corpse, then the witch eagerly defiles all the limbs, pushing her fingers into the eyes, scooping out with rapture the congealed eyeballs, and gnawing the ivory nails on the wasted hand. 31

31. Ibid., vi 538-543. Other remarks of an equally grotesque nature are vi 529-537, 544-568.
Summary

To sum up, Seneca and Lucan employ supernatural elements for revelation and prophecy, sensational and spectacular effects, and general diablerie.

In the use of soothsayers and prophetesses Lucan and Seneca differ little from the traditional Greek practice. They evidently prefer seers to oracles, although Seneca uses the latter where the tragic story demands and Lucan makes perfunctory mention of the oracle of the Delphic Apollo and that of Ammon. Both authors seem to have curtailed the importance of oracles deliberately, although they are used for dramatic effect. A comparison with the Greek original shows that a great metamorphosis had taken place in Seneca's portrayal of Tiresias. Seneca turns him into a firstrate magician and develops his prowess along the lines taken by the witches inaugurated by the Roman elegiac poets. Lucan's witch Erichtho is conceived as the ultimate of evil and goes far beyond Tiresias and Horace's Canidia in delving into black magic. Otherwise, Seneca and Lucan tend only to exaggerate the traditional Greek concepts.

Since divination was widely practiced among the Greeks and Romans it is not startling to find it depicted in our authors' works. The novelty of their treatment of this category stems from the relation of the actual process
of sacrificial slaughter and the intensive details with which they have adorned these descriptions. Augury, which is little mentioned by Lucan and Seneca, was far more widely accepted and portrayed in Greek tragedy.\textsuperscript{32}

Although magic and ghost-raising was occasionally utilized by Greek tragedians, it enjoyed its greatest vogue during the Roman period. References attesting to this fact are numerous.\textsuperscript{33} Lucan's departure from the norm in revivifying a corpse is probably a personal trait of seeking to be unusual and clever. In any case the scene from the \textit{Oedipus} as well as those which are present in the \textit{Pharsalia} appear to have been included because of Roman interest in these features.

The horror and revolting aspects associated with physical parts of the human body along with their innovations in divination and magic comprise the main contributions of Seneca and Lucan in the realm of the supernatural and grotesque. Here again Lucan seems consciously to be striving to surpass his uncle and he has succeeded.


\textsuperscript{33} Horace \textit{Sat.} i 8; Ovid \textit{Am.} i 8; Cicero \textit{In Vat.} vi 14.
Homer, of course, writes of horrible deaths, but the descriptions are perfectly natural in light of the atrocities which any warfare must inevitably cause. Virgil did the same but gingerly and with no great enthusiasm. The fragments of Ennius show that he had also indulged in some grotesqueness, but they are hardly extensive enough to be conclusive. Perhaps the nearest that any Roman had come to this genre can be found in Lucretius (vi 1138-1286) where he writes in very graphic terms of the awful horror of a pestilence and its effect on the human population.

It is difficult to believe that Seneca and Lucan would have included these innovations unless they felt that they would be well received. The mutilations and agonies of death in war could hardly have been censured among a people inured to brutality from centuries of warfare. Moreover, it must be remembered, however much we may regret to, that the Roman people must have possessed an innate streak of cruelty and a passion for the brutality which they not only tolerated but even demanded in the gladiatorial combats, the beast baiting and general slaughter and carnage that took place at the public games.34 It is evident that Seneca and Lucan reflect some of the characteristics of their age.

34. I am well aware of the influences which came from Etruria and elsewhere, but it was not necessary for these practices to be continued and adopted on such a wide scale unless they were genuinely admired and liked.
Moreover, Lucan had not the personal experience of war which Ennius probably had and which Lucretius and Virgil may have had. Lucan clearly wishes to focus on the horrors of war, not on simple realism, and to impress it on an audience of the Neronian period he had to be drastic. To write great poetry free from the morbid fascination which horror gave to the jaded tastes of the Neronian Age would have taken considerable courage. It is apparent that Seneca and Lucan did not disapprove of catering to contemporary mores.
CHAPTER II

Learning

One of the best antidotes for the clever artificiality which the rhetorical schools helped to create in the literary writings of the Silver Age lay in a display of extended erudition. Cicero had made a sweeping demand for a wide knowledge of all great subjects; Quintilian, although more moderate, believed that the study of subjects outside of the training in rhetoric was profitable, particularly law, history, ethics, dialectic and physics.¹

In the earlier periods of Latin literature it was assumed that a well educated Roman would have covered many realms of knowledge. Cato had included among other things a study of agriculture and medicine. For Varro a century later the departments of education were grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, medicine and architecture. As knowledge deepened and culture advanced an encyclopedic knowledge and education became more and more difficult to attain. Under the later Republic the search for breadth of education was amply exemplified by such famous authors as Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and Ovid.²

¹ Institutio Oratoria, I proem. 16, XII ii–iv.

By the first century A.D. knowledge had become so extensive that writers were tending to specialize more and more, although Celsus and Pliny still continued by their works the encyclopedic heritage from Cato and Varro. The specializing tendency is well illustrated by Manilius' Astronomica, the De Situ Orbis of Mela, and the De Re Rustica of Columella. In view of this, it is not surprising that Seneca, since the whole Stoic school was keenly interested in physics, turned his talents toward the domain included under physical science and physical inquiry. For science in the Neronian Era was still considered as a branch of philosophy, or at any rate philosophy embraced everything that could claim to be treated as science.3

Seneca's Sources

Since Seneca, in the writing of his Quaestiones Naturales, was naturally not altogether independent of the scientific research that had preceded him, a brief review of the sources from which he drew may help to clarify some of the later discussion.

Aristotle may be rightly said to have summed up the

knowledge of ancient Greece on all subjects. Aristotle
drew, of course, upon a great many authorities whose
works have subsequently been lost. Many of these same
authorities are also quoted by Seneca in his work—
Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, etc. The researches of
these individuals were undoubtedly available to Seneca
in much larger quantities than they are to us today.4
Aristotle had systematized the existing materials, added
his own comments, and clarified the whole with his usual
penetrating analysis. His chief work upon which Seneca
drew was the *Meteorologica*. The extent to which Seneca
borrowed from it for his *Naturales Quaestiones* is phenom-
enal.

Other Greek writers referred to by Seneca are
Theophrastus and Aratus. Among the extant treatises of
Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, there are tracts
dealing with fire, winds, stones, signs of weather, etc.
Aratus wrote two poems entitled *Phaenomena* and *Prognostica*.
The *Phaenomena* is an introduction to the knowledge of the
constellations; and *Prognostica* treats a method of fore-
casting weather from astronomical phenomena.

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4. The extant material is contained in H. Diels,
Of the Latin writers only Lucretius can be said to have had specialized influence. In his De Rerum Natura he had expounded the Epicurean view of the universe. In the field of poetic exposition of science he had no peer. The Romans were generally a practical people, and any deviation into speculation, such as in Lucretius and Seneca, is extremely noteworthy. It is in keeping with this practical trait that works on agriculture, architecture, and even cookery received special attention. However Columella, Vitruvius and others such as Manilius and Mela apparently had only an indirect effect upon the physical science of their age.

Before passing to a review of Lucan's sources it is well to mention that aside from Seneca's works on physical science and philosophy, the uncle and nephew had much the same models for general literary achievement and learning. In addition, it would be a reasonable assumption that Seneca naturally would have had some influence upon Lucan.

Lucan's Sources

When it is remembered that the essential aim in academic declamation was to appear clever and striking at all costs, the central characteristic of Lucan's epic can be grasped at once. The dominant note is one of display. The object, not to be merely natural, but above
everything to be piquant and impressive, is pursued with marvelous vigor and exceptional mastery of artifices. To his and Seneca's training and to the accomplishment of this aim we owe the parade of erudition, which leads to digression and enumeration. This erudition is in part mythological, based on the ancient literary education, and in part encyclopedic, based on the science of the day. Convention kept allusion to mythological detail time and again in various episodes or descriptions. The encyclopedic habit accounts for excursuses on subjects such as astronomy and geography, many of which are out of place.

Lucan's as well as Seneca's literary training naturally involved acquaintance with the work of their great predecessors. It would not do, however, to call him a disciple of Virgil: his spirit is far too alien to the Virgilian, and yet some indebtedness to this great epic poet was inevitable because of the educational system of the times. While Lucan was never independent of Virgilian influence, there is no reason to believe with Heitland that Lucan was "steeped" in Virgil's language. Even M. 5

5. Heitland has listed an immense number of supposed borrowings from Virgil in C.E. Haskins, Pharsalia (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887), intro. pp. cx-cxxvi. Far too many of Heitland's citations consist of vague similarity of wording or of phrases that contain one or two relatively unimportant words which could be ascribed to terminology.
Pichon fails to convince us that the vanishing of Julia's ghost is modelled on that of Creusa, or even more far-fetched, that a father's anguish over a dying son is modelled on Anna's grief over Dido.  

Horace probably influenced Lucan only slightly. There are, to be sure, reminiscences; but no important episodes seem to have been suggested by imitation or rivalry. Horace's influence is not particularly traceable in Lucan. Ovid on the other hand probably influenced Lucan considerably. Sharing his uncle's admiration for Ovid, Lucan must have borrowed from him not only mythological material but also much of his rhetorical dexterity. The Ovidian technique of repeating an idea in new ways reappears in Lucan. Although Lucan never has Ovid's wonderful lightness and facility, it seems likely that the Heroides and the Metamorphoses may have had considerable influence upon him. Resemblances to earlier poets like Ennius are not distinct enough in this category to base conclusions upon; and evidence adduced from Manilius, the Aetna, Livy and


8. e.g. in Pharsalia ix 357-367 the richness of golden fruit is noted 361, 365, 366; the golden gleam 360, 362, 364, 367.
Q. Curtius, although it may be conclusive, is comparatively scanty. In the comparison of one author with another some casual resemblances in word and phrase may be due to parallelism of subject; other resemblances may be ascribed to a community of source; others are simply part of normal Latin expression. An exceptional case is that of Seneca, some of whose works, as will be shown, appear to have affected Lucan.

Mythological Allusion

One of Seneca's most significant and obvious faults is his conventional handling of mythology in plots which had already been thoroughly covered by the Greek dramatists. His penchant for rhetorical display, which results in long dialogues and pedantic declamation, does not usually enhance the value of the incorporated mythological detail. In the story of Hippolytus the chorus dwells on the youth's beauty, supporting with various mythological examples the theme that beauty has always been dangerous. Hippolytus' locks are not surpassed by those of Bacchus. His gleaming neck would rival that of Phoebus. As an adolescent he had


10. Seneca Hippolytus 740-824.
the muscles of Hercules and a chest broader than that of Mars. His hands are more agile than Castor's. The list goes on and on. In the *Medea* the choral song praying that Jason may never suffer a fate like his Argonautic comrades is almost as long and too learnedly allusive. Tiphys, Orpheus, Hercules, Hylas, Palamedes, Ajax, Admetus and Alcestis are just some of the names either mentioned or frequently alluded to. But even these two passages are not as irrelevant as the description of the labors of Hercules which follows the brief appearance of Agamemnon.

Also indicative of this technique is the way Medea in the midst of her raving against Jason pauses to discuss her anger mythologically:

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   quae ferarum immanitas
   quae Scylla, quae Charybdis Ausonium mare
   Siculumque sorbens quaeve anhelantem premens
   Titana tantis Aetna fervebit minis? 13
```

Another mythological group of which Seneca never tires is that of the tormented sinners, Ixion, Sisyphus, Tantalus, and Tityos. Mentioned in a number of plays, they amply demonstrate that Seneca was remarkably fond of alluding

12. *Agamemnon* 829-867.
to the stock characters of Hades. Seneca seems to take almost ostentatious pride in belaboring his readers with his knowledge of legend.

Lucan in his mythological allusions presents something of a paradox. His uncle, content to follow the traditional and customary representation of mythology in Greek tragedy, was confined to certain limits. Lucan as a firm son of Stoicism was undoubtedly faced with the problem of not believing the legends which the literary education deemed an integral part of erudition. As a free-thinker he could not resist the temptation to question these openly. Cornelia promises to follow her husband Pompey per Tartara, si sunt uilla. Earlier when Pompey had reached Cyprus Lucan ignored the opportunity for a romantic tale about Venus and dismissed her with:

\[ \text{si numina nasci} \]
\[ \text{Credimus aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum.} \]

On the other side of the ledger Lucan does not hesitate to introduce material if it will gain the imagery or color that he wants. Part of this is straightforward,

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16. Ibid., viii 458-459.
as when Caesar tortured by ghosts is likened to Pelopean Orestes. In Book IX Lucan seizes upon the excuse offered by Caesar's visit to Troy to construct a telling scene in which geography and legend are interwoven profusely, but with control. Helle, Nephele, Ajax, Apollo, Anchises and Paris are but a few of those alluded to, and with his usual knack, Lucan makes it all seem reasonable with the succinct phrase:

nullum est sine nomine saxum.

Nor is he afraid to allude to the gods if it serves a purpose. Thus he compares the preparations before the battle to the preparations before the giants' war:

Non aliter Phlegra rabidos tollente gigantas
Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis,
Et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis,
Spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit,
Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines,
Pallenaea Iovi mutavit fulmina Cyclops.

Upon occasion these allusions may be more recondite, as when the olive branch is termed "the leafage of Cecropian Minerva" but for the most part Lucan much prefers a scene

17. Ibid., vii 777.
18. Ibid., ix 954-973.
19. Ibid., ix 973.
20. Ibid., vii 145-150.
of larger scope that will allow him fuller rein for inserting erudite allusions.\footnote{Pharsalia ix 357-367. The golden apples of the Hesperides contains several sets of synonyms and is typical of Lucan's manner of expression.}

Hades

References or allusions to the underworld and its various parts, its monsters, creatures, and inhabitants by their many names are profuse in Seneca and Lucan. There would be no purpose or profit in trying to list them here.\footnote{For these references consult any index of Lucan or Seneca; e.g. Antaeus, Cerberus, Styx, etc. in G.W. Mooney's \textit{Index to Lucan}, R.J. Deferrari's \textit{Concordance to Lucan}, and in W.A. Oldfather, A.S. Pease, and H.V. Canter's \textit{Index to the Tragedies of Seneca}. Additional information can also be derived from the \textit{Index} of Seneca's prose works which is being prepared at the Ohio State University.} However, some specific discussion is needed on broader classifications such as Hades.

The torments of the damned after they have reached the underworld are described in the \textit{Thyestes} (1-121) by the ghost of Tantalus in dialogue with a Fury. Tantalus, doomed by his sins to come back to earth, must inspire his house to even greater sin. The Fury drives him on to do what he is supposed to do. This episode consumes many lines, and finally the chorus (152-175) narrates the
punishment which Tantalus is forced to suffer in Hades. Again in the Oedipus the hellish regions and its inhabitants are seen by Creon through the chasm made by Tiresias' incantations. The most complete description by far, however, of the underworld is the account of Hercules' trip to procure Cerberus as it is told by Theseus. In reply to questions from Amphitryon, Theseus first describes Hell's way of approach (662-679) through the Spartan land and the gorge of Taenarus, next topography including the Lethe, Cocytus, and Hell's creatures; Hunger, Shame, Fear, Pain, Disease, etc. In lines 710-726 he describes the dwelling-place of Dis. Passing on, he tells of the judges Minos and Rhadamanthus, and the operations of justice in the underworld. This particular episode concludes with the inevitable reference to Ixion, Sisyphus, Tantalus, Tityos and others. A sixty-line account follows depicting the actual conquering of Cerberus.

Although this scene is entirely extraneous to the action of the play, Seneca apparently wished to show off

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23. Oedipus 58 ff.
24. Hercules Furens 547-827.
25. Ibid., 681-696.
26. Ibid., 731-747.
27. Ibid., 782-827.
his learning and erudition. It is indeed decorative, and resembles to a certain extent some other Senecan choral songs in that it merely consumes precious time, while the real action of the play, Hercules killing Lycus, takes place off stage. It is excellent description but rather a poor dramatic technique. This, of course, runs contrary to Marti's belief that these repetitious scenes of punishment were designed to point up the neo-Stoic propaganda element.28

Lucan, whose opportunity for wide digression was greater in epic poetry than that of Seneca within the confines of drama, seems to have tried to give somewhat more justification for the inclusion of material about Hades. In Book III the ghost of Julia, Pompey's ex-wife, appears driven from the Elysian Fields and recounts the preparation of the Furies, Charon, and the Parcae to receive many sinners. Tartarus is enlarging its borders to receive the many to be slaughtered, and she concludes that she will haunt Pompey and that he will die:

Te faciet civile meum.29

bellum


29. Pharsalia iii 33-34.
More thorough attention, however, is given to the underworld and its horrors in Book VI. Here for heightened effect Lucan compares the terrain about the abode of Erichtho to that of Hades. The very ground sinks almost to the depths of Pluto's caverns. There is a dim wood that the sun cannot penetrate. The air in the gorge of Taenarus is less dead and stagnant than that within the caves. The witch tells Sextus Pompey not to feel dread because even if she were to display the Styx and the fiery bank, the Furies, Cerberus, and the giants he would be safe because they all fear her. Her spell, which will be treated presently, contains an exaggerated array of mythological references. When her spell is only partially successful she threatens Tisiphone and Megaera. She castigates Hecate and makes a mysterious allusion unknown to modern readers and commentators to some vile story about Proserpina. Next she turns her venom upon Pluto, and lastly threatens to appeal to Demiurgus, who looks upon the Gorgon's head unveiled and considers the infernal powers as the gods above. He alone dares swear by the Styx and then break his oath. It seems clear that Lucan had a twofold

30. Ibid., vi 642-651.
31. Ibid., vi 662-666.
32. Ibid., vi 730-747.
purpose. First, this scene quite readily would admit a certain display of erudition; second, his witch has supernatural powers and uses them for infernal purposes and black magic. This would of necessity require detail to enlarge the horror and sensationalism connected with her creation. The very fact that she can control such unspeakable things makes her a being perhaps worse than the evil she commands.

The Argo

Inasmuch as the story of the Argo and the Argonauts was one of the oldest of Greek sagas, its inclusion in part could be normally expected from authors bent upon mythological display.

The Argo is mentioned in two of Seneca's plays. In the Troades (819) there is a casual reference to the fact that it sailed from Iolcus in Thessaly, but it understandably receives a much fuller treatment in the Medea along with the Argonauts. In the framework of this play there is no doubt as to its pertinence and value. Lucan mentions the Argo twice, once to describe the Symplegades,33

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33. Ibid., II 717-719.
and a second time to say that the voyage was impious. 34

A comparison of these passages with those of Seneca
reveals some differences and one striking similarity.
Lucan remarks that when the Argo had sailed from Thessaly
to the river Phasis, earth launched the Cyanean Rocks
against it; but the ship survived and the Symplegades
struck the sea in vain and remained at rest forever (et
statura redit). There is no mention of this in Seneca, but
after describing even more vividly the noise of their
closing and its result he tells us that bold Tiphys paled
and let the helm slip from his grasp. 35 In addition, the
implication in line 318 is that Tiphys was considered by
Seneca as the builder of the Argo. One would have expected
perhaps that Lucan would either have agreed by including
his name or have refuted it by mentioning Argus, provided
of course that he had recalled his uncle's remarks. That
they, as had their predecessors, both considered this
building and voyage of the Argo as a mixed blessing or even
as a curse is demonstrated by Seneca's remark that lands
well separated by nature's laws were made one, and that
the sea then became part of human fear. 36 Lucan utters

34. Ibid., III 193-197.
35. Medea 347-348.
36. Ibid., 335-339.
the same sentiment about the nations and concludes that a new form of death had been added to the old.\textsuperscript{37}

Medea and Erichtho

As Medea is the queen of sorceresses, so is Erichtho designed by Lucan to be the queen of witches. Their basic visages are extremely diverse, but they share the traits of witchcraft. Medea is unique in literature; she is capable of scaling wondrous heights or sinking to dismal depths. Wherever she appears, whether it be in Euripides, Apollonius, Ovid or Seneca, she is fascinating. Erichtho is on the contrary a lean, filthy old woman, of horrible visage, deathly pale, with dishevelled locks. The only common trait of the two women is their sorcery, and Seneca and Lucan introduce them in order to give us our most complete surviving account of magical practice. Moreover, these two witches provide situations which contain almost unlimited opportunity for the dazzling display of lore, mythological, geographical, and supernatural.

Various aspects concerning the episodes involving

\textsuperscript{37} Pharsalia iii 194-197.
these two have been examined before and will undoubtedly arise again. The purpose here is to discuss in particular the scenes of each that involve incantation and more specifically the descriptive and mythological allusions that depict the underworld. Incantations were employed during the performance of a magic rite, and were necessary ingredients for invoking either a deity or more frequently a deity of the nether world. These incantations were made in a sort of barking howl, like the cry of a dog or wolf, and were usually unintelligible to the uninitiated.\footnote{38}

In Seneca's tragedy, the magic power of Medea is obvious from the very beginning. Even in the prologue she mourns that she is impotent unless she turns once more to her old sorceries. Later the nurse forsees what is about to happen and in a long monologue which serves as an introduction to Medea's entrance recites Medea's magic deeds of the past and gives a detailed account of her present preparations.\footnote{39} Then Medea's voice is heard and the nurse, as Medea enters singing, remarks that all

\footnote{38. Tibullus I ii 47 \textit{iam tenet infernas magico stridore catervas}; Ovid \textit{Metam.} XIV 405 \textit{magicas Hecaten ululatibus ovet}; Lucan vi 687 ff. See also J.E. Lowe, \textit{op. cit.}}

\footnote{39. \textit{Medea} 670-739.}
nature shudders at her song (mundus vocibus primis tremit).

Medea begins by supplicating the throng of the silent, murky Chaos and shadowy Dis, and the abysses of Death. Next she commands the wheel to stop and Ixion to come on earth; Tantalus is to be allowed to drink and the Danaids, too, are to gain respite. Sisyphus, Creon's father, alone is to be unrelieved. Now Medea launches into a list of her powerful controls over astronomical bodies and offers gifts to Hecate. Among these are a wreath wrought with hands containing Nessus' blood and feathers from a Harpy, quills from the Stymphalian bird wounded by Lerna's darts. Next Medea slashes her arms and lets the blood flow upon the altar. Finally she catalogues the fiery ingredients of the poison: fire from Prometheus; fires lurking in sulphur from Mulciber; and bolts of living flame from Phaethon. As if this were not enough, she claims gifts from the Chimaera's middle part, and flames caught from the bull. All these ingredients are mixed with Medusa's gall. Needless to say, her prayers are heard, as we learn when Hecate bays three times. The determination of Seneca that his acquaintance with

40. One more of the innumerable indirect allusions to Hercules' feats.
41. Medea 740-843.
ancient legend be unmistakable helps to explain the over-elaboration and the desire to embellish a plain and simple tale. It was a characteristic also shared by Lucan and the incantation of Erichtho, to be described in the next paragraph, amply demonstrates this.

Seneca's exaggerated description of Medea's voice causing all nature to shudder is restrained indeed when compared to Lucan's tribute to Erichtho's voice. All these things were heard: a dog's bark, a wolf's howl, the complaint of a screech-owl, the shrieking of wild beasts, the thunder from a riven cloud, a serpent's hiss, the beat of waves, and the sound of forests. \(^4^2\) Beginning her spell, Erichtho invokes the Furies, Chaos, Pluto, the Styx and Elysium, Persephone, Hecate, the Parcae, and Charon. \(^4^3\) When the shade of the corpse returns but does not enter the body, she continues with threats against Tisiphone, Megaera and a hint of calling upon Demiurgus. \(^4^4\) This whole scene is crabbed and detailed and quite typical of the profuse references and allusions which begin with the description of Thessaly and carry through the last

\(^4^2\) Pharsalia v1 687-693.
\(^4^3\) Ibid., 695-704.
\(^4^4\) Ibid., 730-749.
five hundred lines of Book VI.\textsuperscript{45} It is unquestionably
one of the longest and most hideously fascinating di­
gressions in ancient literature. These two episodes in
Seneca and Lucan can be attributed only to their own
predilection and the taste of their age. The Medea of
Euripides tends to suppress the magic element, and we
are given no picture of Medea engaged in any rite or
incantation. With the knowledge of Thessaly necessary
for a work on the civil war, his love of the grotesque,
and his uncle's treatment of Medea, it seems safe to infer
that Lucan had every intention of molding Erichtho to
rival and surpass all previous witches, including Medea.

Hercules

Many details must inevitably remain obscure con­
cerning the most popular and widely worshipped of Greek
heroes. The older continuous accounts have all perished.
Nevertheless, there are certain conclusions which may be
taken for granted. First, he was a hero, not a god,

\textsuperscript{45} The obvious omission of reference to Tantalus,
Ixion, Sisyphus, and Tityos both here and in most of the
passages describing the underworld makes us suspect that
Lucan felt that Seneca's wearisome parade of these stock
characters had exhausted their potential.
although he was occasionally worshiped as a god.\textsuperscript{46} Second, he was probably an Argive, although Thebes very early made an attempt to claim him. His labors and adventures sometimes led him throughout the Mediterranean world. It was natural that sundry identifications arose with other deities, and his ambiguous status could not help causing local varieties in the rituals of his cult. The Cynic and particularly the Stoic schools seized upon his reputation for hardiness, simple living, and service for mankind to idealize him as an exemplar of their doctrines. This in itself is sufficient to account for the fact that Seneca devoted two complete tragedies to him, as well as burdening his others with innumerable references which, when pieced together, provide an almost complete history of everything known about Hercules.

Apparently for the purpose of mythological neatness and order in interrelating his series of tragedies, Seneca felt called upon to justify the Theban claim of Hercules' birth.\textsuperscript{47} Perhaps the fact that Hercules' first wife was Megara, the daughter of Creon the king of Thebes, whose

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{46} L.R. Farnell, \textit{Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality}, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 95 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{47} \textit{Oedipus} 749.
\end{itemize}
fate and her children's are so vividly portrayed in the *Furens*, persuaded Seneca to accept the Theban claim. Aside from the *Furens* and *Oetaeus*, the *Agamemnon* (808-866) provides the major recapitulation of Hercules' deeds. Such a narrative in such a play seems out of place, but so steadfast is Seneca's fondness for Hercules that not a single one of his plays fails to have at least one or two references to him, however slight. In addition, Seneca as a Stoic could hardly be expected to overlook the death of Hercules even if the story of a play did not demand its inclusion, and though the manner of Hercules' death was an early addition to the saga, the Stoics were quite willing to accept this version. It is fitting and characteristic of Seneca that his account of Hercules' death is not only more detailed than that of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, but also more positive in philosophical outlook.

It is noteworthy that Lucan's epic, contrary to expectation, contains nothing but casual allusions to Hercules and his feats except in one instance—the story


of Antaeus. Two of Lucan's citations refer to the Vale of Tempe. The one in Book VI fits quite properly into his discussion of Thessaly. The story of Antaeus in Book IV is equally justifiable. Curio sails from Sicily and Libya, and Lucan recalls that the war was blazing there then. Hence he includes this legend in order to inform the reader of the origin of Libya. Why Lucan with his Stoic training avoids Hercules is difficult to ascertain. There would possibly be two rational explanations. Seneca, with his usual knack, had again exhausted the possibilities of this topic, at least for a writer so closely related and contemporary. Moreover, Lucan's policy is clearly to avoid fostering these legends in which he has little faith unless they produce a telling narrative. But the legend of Antaeus is suitable on all grounds, in that it is interesting, quasi-historical, and not thoroughly chronicled by Seneca.

Historical References

The historical value of Lucan's epic must, in the final analysis, remain debatable. It is not difficult,

50. Lucan's references to Hercules are Pharsalia ii 164, iv 589-655, vi 347-354, viii 1-2.
though it is time-consuming, to construct a list of his ambiguities and departures from fact. His strong bias against Caesar needs no illustration. But some of his errors do not readily explain themselves as coming from bias instead of ignorance, or the reverse. When for instance he introduces Cicero in Pompey's camp before Pharsalia, it is impossible to believe that he did so due to ignorance or carelessness. Rather it would appear that as a Republican he could not bear to leave Cicero out. In short, we must allow for the fact that some of Lucan's inaccuracies arise from his partisan feeling, and sometimes they arise as the result of an artist interpreting history from the standpoint of a poet. Although Lucan selected a historical subject, we should not presume to demand scientific history from a poet.

Comparison with Seneca in this category is virtually impossible. The tragedies are indeed quasi-historical in that they are compounded of myth and legend, but even this is of another era and country. None of the extant

51. Heitland in his introduction to C.E. Haskins' text carps at great length about Lucan's historical blunders.
works of Seneca is deliberately historical, although much information about earlier history is included throughout. Some benefit, however, can be derived from an examination of certain passages in terms of direct borrowing of similar attitudes and individual statements.

Marius and Sulla.---Early in Book II Lucan portrays an unhappy parent who begins reminiscing about the civil war of Marius and Sulla. He says that Marius, victorious, allowed death to stalk the city, and that no one was safe from a slayer who had no scruples. Young and old alike were slain:

nec primo in limine vitae
Infantis miseris nascentia rumpere fata. 52

Seneca had, of course, used exactly this same phrase in a somewhat different framework in his Hercules Furens. This time it was the chorus which intoned:

quas in primo limine vitae. 53

Later in this same speech the old man exclaims about the heaps of slain that encumbered the Colline Gate:

Aut Collina tulit stratas quot porta catervas 54

and goes on to describe Sulla's vengeance:

52. Pharsalia ii 106-107.
53. Seneca Hercules Furens 1140.
54. Pharsalia ii 135.
Sulla quoque inmensis accessit cladibus ultor.
Ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi
Hausit; dumque nimis iam putria membra recidit,
Excessit medicina modum, nimiumque secuta est,
Qua morbi duxere, manus.\(^{55}\)

That Seneca shared this sentiment in damning Sulla is
shown in the *De Beneficiis* (V xxvi 3). He refers to
Sulla as *ingratus* and then charges:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cum a Praenestina arce usque ad Collinam} & \\
\text{portam per sanguinem humanum incessisset,} & \\
\text{alia edidit in urbe proelia, alias caedes:} & \\
\text{legiones duas, quod crudele est, post victoriam,} & \\
\text{quod nefas, post fidem in angulo} & \\
\text{congestas contrucidavit et proscriptionem} & \\
\text{commentus est.}
\end{align*}
\]

The mention of the Colline Gate and the agreement about
Sulla's deeds are of no great importance, because all of
this was recorded history by the time of Seneca and Lucan.
Some significance may be seen, however, if we take into
account that Seneca and Lucan may both have been using
the now lost books of Livy; moreover, Seneca in this
section had applied the adjective *ingratus* to such
personages as Coriolanus and Pompey, as well as Marius
and Sulla. Lucan with his Republican inclinations
could hardly agree with his uncle on this point, even
though he is willing to admit that Pompey had some faults.

\[^{55}\text{Ibid., ii 139-143.}\]
Striking similarities between two given authors may assume many forms, but one of importance is the obvious penning of a similar phrase. The meaning may be different but the words alike; the words may be common ones, not at all unusual, but sometimes they may convey a like meaning or a slightly modified one. Book III of the *Pharsalia* contains a few of these both within and outside the scope of the siege of Massilia. The examples that lie outside the actual siege are certainly of no great import but they serve to illustrate that Lucan had more than merely a casual knowledge of his uncle's writings. The examples from Lucan are:

\[
\begin{align*}
in \text{ multas laxantur Tartara poenas.} \\
aut mors ipsa nihil \\
libertas inquit populi, quem regna coercent, libertate perit; \text{56}
\end{align*}
\]

On first inspection they seem both clever and original, but upon closer examination one recalls three similar phrases in Seneca:

\[
\begin{align*}
hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis, \\
post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil. \\
eius libertatem libertas non tulit. \text{57}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{56. *Pharsalia* iii 17, 40, 145-146.} \\
\text{57. Seneca *Hercules Furens* 673, *Troades* 397, *De Tranquillitate Animi* V 3.}
Massilia.---Book III of the Pharsalia is chiefly concerned with Caesar's doings on his return to Rome and his siege of Massilia. It is impaired by a long list of Pompey's allies in the East, in the manner of Homer's and Virgil's catalogues. There is also featured an almost never-ending series of spectacular deaths.

During the actual siege, Lucan describes the preparations for the actual attack and pictures two towers placed upon a structure. With typical exaggeration (459-460) he says that when the tall structure nodded, the besieged believed that wind, seeking to burst forth, had shaken the caverns of the earth. Later, in describing the Romans' despair of success on land, he tells us of their resolve to try the sea. In their haste to build platforms for fighting at sea they used unshaped trees. He also mentions (511) that the ships had no painted timbers or figure-heads.

Cato.---A strange facet of the Pharsalia is that it can be interpreted to have three heroes, Caesar, the ostensible hero; Pompey, the sympathetic hero; and Cato.

58. cf. Seneca Naturales Quaestiones VI xxv 1

59. cf. Seneca E IX ν 13 navis bona dicitur non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est nec cul argenteum aut aureum rostrum est nec culius tutela ebore caelata est.
the hero of Book IX, the moral hero. Cato is introduced dramatically in Book II; and as Stoics, Lucan and Seneca held him in great esteem, and visualized him as the hero of all Roman Stoics. As the champion of the Senate, he was but a slender reed trying to stem a mighty tide, but his reputation was well deserved, even if he is treated with loving care by both Lucan and Seneca. Cato was a man of great moral character and courage, and the fact that he refused to vacillate shows that he was a man of rare principle, even though he was misunderstood. It is not surprising under the circumstances to find that Cato is the figure about whom noble and Stoic beliefs are uttered. Brutus in his attempt to dissuade Cato from entering the fray says:

\[
\text{Melius tranquilla sine armis}\\
\text{Otia solus ages; \ldots}\\
\text{Lege deum minimas rerum discordia turbat,}\\
\text{Pacem magna tenent.}^{60}\]

This sentiment that Cato should exercise judicious restraint coincides quite closely with Seneca's view of the wise man:

\[
\text{Talis est sapientis animus, qualis mundus}\\
\text{super lunam; semper illic serenum est.}^{61}\]

---

60. *Pharsalia* ii 266-273.

61. E LIX 16. Both of these passages more or less express the Stoic doctrine of apathy.
Book IX of the Pharsalia, in which Cato is the central figure, allows Lucan in the story of the march along the north of Africa an opportunity not to be missed of bringing in the real and fabled plagues of Africa, its geography, climate, winds, sandstorms, Ammon's shrine, the Oasis, and the Tropics. Historically Lucan is correct, but geographically he has Cato land in the wrong place and all northern Africa seems disarranged. The book as a whole is impressive but unimportant to the narrative, since we know that Cato's expedition does not affect the main issue of the war. At line 190 Cato begins a eulogy of Pompey. In the course of this he remarks:

Nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus. ⁶²

Lucan's judgment of the Senate as a screen is most apt, and reflects to a certain extent a Senecan remark about the things most men pray for:

  tum inania et specioso
  ac deceptorio fuco circumlita inveni,
  intra nihil habentia fronti suae simile. ⁶³

At line 566 Cato replies to Labienus, who has urged him to consult the oracle about the future, in typical Stoic terms. Lucan prefaces this speech thus:

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⁶³. Ad Helviam Matrem V 6.
Ille deo plenus, tacita quem mente gerebat,  
Effudit dignas adytis e pectore voces:64

This time, however, there is an echo of his grandfather  
rather than his uncle in:  

erratis nisi illam vocem non M. Catonis  
sed oraculi creditis.65

A few lines later Cato asks Labienus philosophical  
questions about life:

An sit vita nihil, et longa? an differat aetas?  
An noceat vis nulla bono fortunaque perdat  
Opposta virtute minas.66

Senecan parallels are:

Licet aetas eius imperfecta sit, vita perfecta est.  
non est virtus maior quae longior.67

All this naturally involves some Stoic allusion especially  
the an differat aetas, which in Stoic language would be  
adiaphoron. Cato proceeds:

Estque dei sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer  
Et caelum et virtus? superos quid quaeque ultra?  
Iuppiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris.68

64. Pharsalia ix 564-565.

65. Seneca the Rhetor Contro. I 9. For a concrete  
example of Seneca the Philosopher on Cato see De Providentia  
ii 9-12.

66. Pharsalia ix 568


68. Pharsalia ix 578-580.
Lucan here has made Jupiter the equivalent of God in our sense. He is the prime mover, and what need have we of deities? Since Seneca and Lucan are basically Stoic, their ideas should and do correspond. Traces of Seneca can be detected in the preceding passage of Lucan when we compare the following passage from Seneca.

prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. 
Ita dico, Lucili: sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorumque observator et custos. 69

ipse enim est hoc quod vides totum, partibus suis inditus, et se sustinens et sua. 70

This digression, brief as it is, into Stoic concepts connected with Cato, has been included only because it illustrates sharply the character ascribed to Cato, and the attributes of the historical as well as the actual Cato. Cato's daring and dramatic march can be surmised to have leaned heavily upon Livy's account in Book 112, but unfortunately we have only an epitome. This whole scene of Cato in Africa and his visit to the temple of Ammon, all of which is a side issue, seems but a grandiose vehicle for glorifying Cato in particular and for presenting

69. E XLI 1-2.
70. Naturales Quaestiones II xlv 3.
Stoic ideas in general, although other interpretations may be cited.  

Astrological Allusion

The difference between astrology and astronomy was in ancient times much less clearly defined than today. Astronomy was, of course, considered to be an integral part of a liberal education. Moreover, the literary men did not hesitate to compound astronomy and astrology. A heavenly body was not merely mentioned for its position or its influence (here mythology enters the picture): it was usually associated with the legend which had given it its name and so two elements frequently appeared; the didactic and the poetic. Thus to a man of Ovid's temperament, the constellation of Andromeda leads from science to imagination:

Sed poenae facies remanet districtaque pandid
Bracchia ceu duri teneantur robore saxi.  

Fundamentally astrology professed to be a science capable of forecasting earthly destinies which depended upon the heavenly. Its blend of scientific and religious elements


gradually spread from Mesopotamia to Egypt, and throughout the Mediterranean. It reached its apogee during the early empire and was embraced by almost all levels of society. Most creative literature utilized it in connection with augury and divination, but Manilius gave it great poetic expression in his *Astronomica*.73

Seneca and Lucan naturally follow the pattern mentioned above. Excluding for the moment Seneca's work on physical science, we still can find a number of passages in the tragedies where with deft sure strokes he paints the glory of nature and the boons of the heavens, as in the *Hippolytus*, where the chorus invokes Nature, the mother of the gods, and fire-bearing Olympus' lord, who whirled the scattered stars through the firmament, and who makes the heavens turn. Now the wintry frosts strip the forests, now the foliage comes again, that now the Lion's heat may ripen grain, and the year temper its effect.74 Lucan, too, though with more specific detail, can depict a scene of subdued beauty as when the changing


74. *Hippolytus* 959-971.
hue of the Eastern sky foretells the rising sun; and the
rosy glow, not yet white, steals its color from nearer
stars; and now the Pleiads grow faint, the Wain of
circling Bootes grows dim and merges with the unfathomable
glow of the sky, the greater stars are indistinguishable
and Lucifer himself flees the warming day. 75

Constellations and the Zodiac.—The first evidence
of knowledge about constellations in the Graeco-Roman
world appears in Homer and Hesiod. The knowledge of the
zodiac and its signs was probably obtained from the
Babylonians. 76 This knowledge of the stars progressed as
the centuries advanced, and within less than a century
after Seneca's and Lucan's death, Ptolemy had catalogued at
least forty-eight constellations. 77 For the sake of
brevity it should suffice to say that Lucan and Seneca
employ a great many of these primarily for the purpose of
display, and their labored allusions to the signs of the
zodiac do little toward enhancing their poetic reputations.


76. F. Boll and C. Bezold, Sternglaube und Stern-
deutung: die Geschichte und die Wesen der Astrologie

77. The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 231. Lucan and Seneca had only
a few less to draw upon.
Prodigies.—Numerous types and kinds of prodigies and portents are used by Lucan and Seneca to foreshadow coming disaster. This has already been discussed in connection with Arruns in Book I and the vivid account given in the Thyestes. The most frequently employed signs or omens are meteors and comets. In Book I (528-529) Lucan speaks of the hair of the baleful star—the comet which portends the change of monarchs (mutantem regna cometen). Again in Book II he asks who would not choose to watch the starry vault fall down and not feel fear.78 Finally in Book VII Lucan tells us that as Caesar's army made for Thessaly the whole sky set itself against the march. In a passage that consumes some thirty lines dealing with these portents, he begins by saying that the sky hurled down meteors and huge columns of fire.79 Seneca's use of this technique is little different. In the Troades, Agamemnon speaks to Calchas and adds that he is the one to whom the star with its long, flaming trail discloses the fates.80 In the Phoenissae, a messenger,

78. Pharsalia ii 289.
79. Ibid., vii 155.
80. Troades 289.
referring to Jocasta compares her departure to that of a star which is dislodged from the firmament and sweeps over the heavens.81 Again in a passage from the Thyestes, a messenger describes the beginning of the horrible sacrifice performed by Atreus as being preceded by dire omens, one of which is a star rushing from the left quarter of the sky, dragging a murky trail.82

Geographical Allusion

Lucan, like many of his contemporaries, was extremely interested in progress and discovery, and in his endeavors to display his knowledge was careful not to omit geography. Indeed it is sometimes displayed on the slightest pretext. Elaborate descriptions involve Gaul, Italy, Brundisium, Thessaly, and Libya, among others.83 In Seneca's works geographical allusions are much more brief; but then his subjects did not readily lend themselves to such digression. Nevertheless, Seneca does manage to mention among his various works such widely-scattered places as Armenia, Africa, and Germany.

81. Phoenissae 430-431.
Much profit can be gleaned from a re-examination of some of the criticisms voiced against Lucan's geography. The most frequent indictment leveled was, of course, the apparent confusion between Philippi and Pharsalia.  

The fallacy of this type of criticism can be shown by the fact that after Virgil's time it was a convention of the Roman poets to speak of Pharsalia and Philippi as fought on the same ground. In Book III, Lucan confounds the city of Phocaea, the mother-state of Massilia, with the district of Phocis in Greece.  

Seneca, however, had made exactly the same mistake in writing to his mother to console her. It does not seem impossible that both Seneca and Lucan were using Phocis for Phocaea by metonymy, although they probably were simply mistaken. One final point is the matter of Alexander's turning back from the Ganges when in fact he never reached it.  

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85. Pharsalia iii 301, 697.  

86. Ad Helviam Matrem VII 8.  

87. Pharsalia iii 230.
impossible to believe that Lucan was unaware of this fact concerning Alexander's journey. We know that, upon occasion, Lucan was prone to use a synonym, as when he speaks of Cirrha, the port of Delphi, for the oracle itself. In examining Lucan closely it rather becomes apparent that he intends the Ganges to connote the East in general and, as Haskins says, the hic must not be pressed into meaning anything but "in India." In dealing with errors made by ancient poets, one of the most important concepts to remember is that of poetic license. Most poets are by nature far more concerned with beauty of expression and universal truth than with ordinary reality. Their distortions, then, are usually deliberate or they arise simply because the poet does not feel bound by the rules which govern other people. The concept, then, of poetic geography would account neatly for Lucan's equating Pharsalus with Philippi and the Ganges with the East.

Even Heitland, who is ever eager and ready to find fault, pays Lucan a dubious compliment when he admits

88. Pharsalia v 95.
89. C.E. Haskins, op. cit., p. 88 see note on line 233.
that some of the blunders which he has catalogued were quite natural for a prolific writer in his twenties. He concludes that on the whole we might marvel that Lucan's deficiencies were not greater.90

Technical Allusion

Seneca's bent for Stoic philosophy naturally led him into questions about natural phenomena, which he has treated at great length in the Naturales Quaestiones. Lucan, with much the same background, as has been said before, was extremely interested in the current natural philosophy and even his similes and metaphors abound with figures taken from law, medicine, trade, mechanics, etc.

As instances of the discussion of natural phenomena we may take the digression on certain tides on the Belgian coast, and other similar passages:91 the description of Africa, its geography, climate, winds and so forth:92 and last and most notable the long narrative of the marvels of the Nile River.93

90. Ibid., p. liii.
91. Pharsalia i 412-419.
92. Ibid., ix 411-471.
93. Ibid., x 194-331.
The Nile.—Book X, the last of the Pharsalia, belongs in action to a new poem. It deals with Caesar in Egypt, and Cleopatra has a significant role. The book and the poem break off abruptly, but there is a certain poetic freshness as if Lucan were really beginning a new poem. One of the largest segments is that dealing with the Nile. Although its inclusion, as in so much of Lucan's work, is unnecessary, nevertheless it is vivid and shows strikingly Lucan's extraordinary capacity to transform a passage innately dull into a piece of glowing poetry. His material is understandably not new. Lucan had no qualms about borrowing, and although Seneca will give credit to Anaxagoras or Thales or Diogenes, Lucan does not bother to. We may suspect that Lucan used his uncle's work on Egypt, but that book is not extant. In any case, Lucan does not vary appreciably from the known theories and his uncle's elaborate explanations in the Naturales Quaestiones.

Lucan's device for exploring the course and flow of the Nile River is to have Caesar question Acoreus, an aged Egyptian, about the Nile's history and origin. At one point Lucan has Acoreus voice as his own the Stoic concept

94. Ibid.
that certain waters had their beginning at the very formation of the universe:

Ast ego, si tantam ius est mihi solvere litem, Quasdam, Caesar, aquas post mundi sera peracti Saecula concussis terrarum erumpere venis Non id agente deo, quasdam conpage sub ipsa Cum toto coepisse reor, quas ille creator Atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coercet.95

A summary of this whole passage as it corresponds to Seneca is as follows:

Vana fides veterum, Nilo, quod crescat in arva, Aethiopum prodesse nives.96

Anaxagoras ait, ex Aethiopiae iugis solutas nives ad Nilum usque decurrere.97
testis tibi sole perusti
Ipse color populi calidique vaporibus Austri.98

primo Aethiopiam ferventissimam esse indicat hominum adustus color.99

and

auster quoque, qui ex illo tractu venit, ventorum calidissimus est.100

These passages cover only the reason for the overflow of the Nile, and of course the argument that Ethiopia cannot

95. Pharsalia x 262-267.
96. Ibid., x 219-220.
97. Naturales Quaestiones IVa 2, 17, 3-4.
98. Pharsalia x 221-222.
100. Ibid., IVa 2, 18, 7-8.
have snow because it is too hot. The next series discusses the proper time for rivers to rise from melting ice, then the attribution of the Nile's overflow to the west winds.

Adde, quod omne caput fluvii, quodcumque soluta Praecipitat glacies, ingresso vere tumescit
Prima tabe nivis: 101
atqui horum montium flumina vere et prima aestate intumescunt. 102

Zephyros quoque vana vetustas
His ascripsit aquis, quorum statu tempora flatus
Continuique dies et in aera longa potestas,
Vel quod ab occiduo depelliunt nubilia caelo
Trans Noton et fluvio cogunt incumbere nimbos,
Vel quod aquas totiens rumpentis litora Nili
Adsiduo feriunt coguntque resistere fluctu;
Ille mora cursus adversique obice ponti
Aestuat in compos. Sunt qui spiramina terris
Esse putent magnoque cavae conplagis hiatus.
Commixt hac penitus tacitis discursibus unda
Frigore ab Arctoo medium revocata sub axem,
Cum Phoebus pressit Meroen tellusque perusta
Illuc duxit aquas; 103

Lucan, in addition to discussing the west winds in the section above, also mentions that some think there are air-passages in the earth, and water travels in them. These theories had already been well expressed by Seneca.

Si Thaleti credis, etesiae descendenti Nilo resistunt et cursum eius acto contra ostia mari

101. Pharsalia x 223-225.
102. Naturales Quaestiones IVa 2, 19, 5-6.
103. Pharsalia x 239-252.
Lucan next relates a tale that the Nile bursts forth from the distant ocean, and that the brine grows fresh from the distance it travels. Further that the sun is fed by the ocean, and that it sucks up more water than it can digest, and that this is, of course, poured down upon the Nile.

Rumor ab Oceano, qui terras alligat omnes, Exundante procul violentum erumpere Nilum Aequoreosque sales longo mitescere tractu. Nec non Oceano pasci Phaobumque polosque Credimus: hunc, calidi tetigit cum bracchia Cancri, Sol rapit, atque undae plus quam quod digerat aer Tollitur; hoc noctes referunt Niloque profundunt.  

Seneca's parallel:

ceterum dulcis mari sapor est et similes Niloticis beluae.

Diogenes Apolloniates ait; Sol umorem ad se rapit: hunc adsiccata tellus ex mari ducit.

104. Naturales Quaestiones IVa 2, 22, 1-4, 6-7; IVa 2, 28, 4-5.
105. Pharsalia x 255-261.
106. Naturales Quaestiones IVa 2, 22, 10.
107. Ibid., IVa 2, 28, 1-3.
and so

ergo undique sol trahit, sed ex his, quae premit, maxime: haec meridiana sunt.\textsuperscript{108}

The argument could be raised in regard to these passages that Lucan need not have used this information as he found it in Seneca, but could rather have consulted the original sources. Perhaps, but it seems doubtful that Lucan would have bothered under the circumstances to verify his uncle's statements. Lucan is in too many instances completely inaccurate to allow belief that he performed elaborate and scientific research.

In concluding the evidence, it is necessary to note that Lucan in deciding upon the reason for the overflow of the Nile, has Acoreus, as his own opinion, state the prevalent Stoic attitude about this problem. Acoreus' opinion coincides exactly with Seneca's. Lucan offers this explanation:

\begin{align*}
quasdam conpage sub ipsa \\
Cum toto coepisse reor, quas ille creator \\
Atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coercet.\textsuperscript{109}
\end{align*}

Seneca's elucidation of the Stoic's belief on this matter is:

Aliud est aquarum genus, quod nobis placet

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{108} Ibid., IV a 2, 28, 6-8.
  \item \textsuperscript{109} Pharsalia x 265-267.
\end{itemize}
In this matter of similarity between Lucan and Seneca it is imperative to keep in mind that both had received extensive and intensive immense Stoic training. But regardless of this fact, it should not be overlooked that the ideas and tenets taught in school were primarily oral. For an aspiring young author like Lucan, trained in Stoicism, Seneca's writings would provide a ready handbook. Assuming that Lucan was as familiar with his uncle's works as we have been led to believe, Lucan could hardly have avoided this wealth of philosophical material. Some borrowing, either consciously or unconsciously, would be inevitable. As for the rest of Book X it should suffice to say that Lucan expands upon the whole course of the Nile. This too Seneca had covered, not quite so thoroughly, but then we have no way of knowing how closely Lucan

110. Naturales Quaestiones III 22.

111. Pharsalia x 286-331.
may have followed Seneca's lost book on Egypt.

One final reference can be made to Lucretius, who actually had paved the way for discussions of this type. In his sixth book, dealing with meteorology and geology, he discusses both celestial and terrestrial phenomena, and in particular gives a remarkable though brief survey of the theories on the annual inundation of the Nile valley. In fact, Lucan and Lucretius seem to share numerous traits, and it is quite possible that the Epicurean poet may have had more influence upon the Stoic than has previously been ascertained; but that is outside the scope of our present investigation.
SUMMARY

On poetry regarded as a work of imagination as well as history, the mass of artificial and conventional learning became a heavy burden indeed on the Roman poets of the Empire. But they had little choice, because they were forced to write for an urban audience whose tastes had become sophisticated and who recognized and appreciated learned allusion. Moreover, men often admire to excess a display of erudition which they themselves lack, while often they simply tolerate poetic flights which are foreign to their natures and which strike no responsive chords.

A display of learning, then, had become one of the essential ingredients in academic declamation and a necessary accoutrement to most literary prose and poetry. Thus one of the dominant notes in Seneca and Lucan is that erudition which should, if possible, be clever, recondite, and striking. The natural simplicity of earlier days was disappearing; the object was not to be merely natural but to be engaging, and to pursue erudite allusion while demonstrating poetic control and a thorough mastery of artifices and rhetoric. This erudition coupled with great skill tends to produce a poetry which is both beautiful and

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eloquent. It is neither better nor worse than a less sophisticated poetry—merely different in its appeal. To this purpose and to the training of the age we owe the learned digressions and enumerations which may be found in Lucan and Seneca. This erudition, as we have said before, is in part mythological, based on the ancient literary heritage, and part encyclopedic, based on the scientific curiosity of the day.

The examples which best illustrate this premise deal with Medea, Erichtho, and the description of the Nile River. I fully believe that the comparison of Lucan and Seneca on these points warrants the assumption that Lucan must have had Seneca’s portrayal of Medea in mind when he created Erichtho and that he molded Erichtho to rival, indeed to surpass Medea’s dabbling in black magic. By no means would I discount the possibility of influence from Horace’s Canidia or the witches of the Roman elegiac poets. In fact I think it quite likely that Seneca too framed part of his characterization under the influence of earlier descriptions of witches.

The evidence concerning the passages covering the Nile indicates direct borrowing and is virtually unassailable. It would certainly tax one’s ingenuity to
arrive at any other explanation and there seems to be no reason to do so. Seneca, as we know, had written an entire work about Egypt and it is understandable that Lucan should not trouble to question his uncle's authority in this particular matter.

The unfortunate truth is that by the time of Seneca and Lucan, the Homeric type of poetry was dead. Gone was the warmth, the personal aspect of human interest, and the charm of simple narrative. Instead of this we find a tendency toward cool impersonal detachment and a charm that frequently derives from extremely cultured embellishments. Early poetry had as its center Man, and Man was everything; the scene merely accessory. In the Homeric poems even the scene seems to arise from and to be created by its human participants, but by the time of Virgil the scene has become more important, although the human interest element is still there, as in Dido, Turnus, Nisus and Euryalus. Descriptive passages, however, are introduced with obvious pleasure, and erudition is beginning to make its appearance. By the Neronian Era, men have become accessory to the scene, the scene is everything,

and although characters are still drawn, they often seem unreal. They appear, that is, much more restricted and possess great self-consistency, but it is that very consistency which makes them seem less real. The breadth and complexity of the characters of the Homeric Epic is missing. Detailed description and a carefully conceived display of erudition have given a new dimension and look to the art of poetry. Granted that it may be on occasion strained and artificial, it also has a grandeur and eloquence of its own as well as touches of poetry of the old style.

The simple and direct quality of Homer's poetry and his apparent confidence in basic human dignity were never equalled by epic writers after him. In Homer, it is people as they are or as they seem to be in all their rich complexity that gives rise to dramatic situations. With Virgil and Lucan it is the great issues, the abstract ideals more than human character which take precedence. If then the highly developed techniques anatomical structure of later poetry and of Lucan's epic have become so conspicuous it is because of a difference of poetic approach. One of the glories of epic poetry always has been its richness and diversity.
Lucan then is working in an old tradition, some of which he follows faithfully with a new point of view and in new directions. Thus, he gladly accepts as much of Seneca’s work as seems of value to his points of view and literary purposes. But he is far from being a slavish follower either of tradition or of current fashion.
CHAPTER III

Philosophy: The Late Stoa or Neo-Stoicism

During the period of the late Roman Stoa philosophers were increasingly concerned with the practical everyday problems of men, rather than with philosophical problems of a theoretical nature.\(^1\) To the late Roman Stoics, questions involving ethics were much more interesting than those questions which could be solved only by the intellect and which had no practical application. Thus the shape of Stoic philosophy of the period was one of precepts guiding behavior, rather than of great philosophical ideas, although matters of cosmology and theology were far from neglected.

The predominant line of thought for the Stoics was that Man should learn to live in accordance with nature. In fact it was nature which had the power to ordain all things into existence. As this Stoicism matured and developed after Zeno, *natura* meant that

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specific nature of man which distinguished him from the animals. Through *philosophia* man could rise above his tribulations and thus avoid many of the problems that plague mankind. It can be noted, however, that in discussing such questions as death, virtue, and happiness, the late Stoa was constantly re-examining numerous points, this apparently being necessary for a philosophy of practical precepts.

Even if Seneca had been no more than an exponent of Roman Stoicism he would have deserved considerable fame. The spirit of the laterNeo-Stoicism can be culled from his Latin essays and letters, and in Greek from the summary of Epictetus' philosophy recorded by Arrian and from the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. In the eyes of all three of these men, the Stoic method of thought was that philosophy should help to heal the wounds of life. But inner tranquillity can be attained only by conquering self and circumstance, by progress toward virtue—a progress which is in itself virtue. The precept of Epictetus, "endure and abjure" (ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι), expresses much of this ascetic faith. The *ataraxia* which the stricter Stoics of Greece would limit to the

3. Epictetus *Fragmenta:* x.
perfect sage is, in the more sensible Roman vein, claimed by Seneca for him who is advancing. In Seneca the system has become an enlightened and a broadened one, too practical to mistake paradoxes for real sustenance. Cosmopolitanism has transcended the dichotomy between Greek and barbarian. Kindliness, humanity, and forbearance were the fruits of such a creed: so that out of a rigid system, disdainful of emotion and intolerant of human weakness, evolved Neo-Stoicism—a doctrine less harsh, less haughty, less punctilious, and less callous in its ataraxia.

That Lucan was brought up as a Stoic we know, for he was the nephew of Seneca and the pupil of Cornutus. It is a study not devoid of profit to examine the marks of Stoic influence in the Pharsalia. This will be done by citing various statements of Stoic doctrine in adapted form and annotating them with material from Lucan and Seneca.

There are two profitable goals to be realized from a comparison of the philosophical beliefs of the two men. One is to lend authority to an assumption that Lucan because of his training and his uncle's influence must be basically Stoic in his approach to things. The
other is that a thorough discussion of Neo-Stoic and Stoic elements might in a comparison reveal whether or not Seneca is really influencing his nephew in this category. By citing standard Stoic doctrine and comparing the two men to this we can note where Seneca departs or innovates. If Lucan in this situation follows his uncle's rather than the traditional concept then we can maintain the inference that Seneca did influence his nephew and to what extent. The material here then is new only in the sense of its application and purpose. An incidental benefit is given, I hope, by the brief but consistent outline of late Stoic beliefs particularly where they might tend to be modified.

The Universe and God

The origin of all things is found in primordial fire: this fire is God, Aether, the all pervading Soul of the universe, the Universal Law, Nature, Providence, Destiny—these and other names according to how He is regarded at the time. God is the founder and maker of the universe.\(^4\)

The most complete comment made by Lucan about the origin of the universe is stated at the beginning of

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Book II (7-15). Here he says that whether the author of the universe, when the fire gave place and he first took in hand the shapeless realm of rough matter, established the chain of causes for all eternity, and bound himself as well by universal law, and proportioned out the universe, which endures the ages prescribed for it, by a fixed destiny; or whether nothing is ordained and Fortune, moving at random, brings the cycle of events, and Chance is the master of mankind—let the purpose be sudden. At any rate Lucan presents two cardinal points of Stoicism: one, that the universe had a maker; two, that the universe was created in primordial fire. These two points Lucan appears not to equate in exactly the usual manner. A third point occurs in line 10 when he says: se quoque lege tenens in reference to the maker of this universe. This sentiment had also been expressed by Seneca but in much more positive terms (scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur). It is important to notice that Lucan's

5. This last remark expresses Lucan's belief that neither God nor Fortune should deliberately prolong our earthly agonies.

phrase, while isolated, is in absolute agreement with Seneca's, but the whole passage creates an element of doubt which Lucan deliberately intends and fosters with his use of sive... sive. This phraseology, while not casting doubt upon the existence of a creator, does seem to question the matter of preordination which most Stoics accepted.

Lucan's doubt on this particular matter reappears in Book V (91-92). Here he mentions that God is great and mighty, no matter whether He merely predicts the future or determines it by fiat. He adds that possibly a large segment of the divine element is, perhaps, embedded in the world to rule it. This latter statement is, of course, standard Neo-Stoic doctrine. His equally interesting remark that God is patient of contact with mankind shows the trend of this later Stoicism. Seneca criticizes the Epicureans for ignoring this concept of personal communication and maintains that, since they

7. The word world is used here and throughout this chapter in the sense of universe or cosmos.

8. Pharsalia v 91 contactusque ferens hominum.
believe God to be shut off from man by a vast and impenetrable wall, there is no reason to stand in awe of Him; He has no means of bestowing either blessing or injury. This more personal attitude toward God once more appaers in Lucan's Book IX, on the lips of Cato. Cato asks if God has any dwelling-place save the earth and sea, the air of heaven and virtuous hearts and then answers his own question with: *Iuppiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris*\(^1\)---i.e., both the external world and the soul of each individual.\(^2\) It is perhaps novel that Lucan has here chosen to equate God with Jupiter rather than using *deus* as might be expected of one so conversant with philosophy. It is true that this was sometimes done under the guise of conformity with the traditional state religion, but nevertheless it seems odd for a young man who employs the gods primarily as a mythological framework for displaying erudition and preserving the outward

\(9.\) *De Beneficiis* IV xix 2. According to the Epicureans, the gods dwelt in the *intermundia*---the spaces between the countless worlds of infinity.

\(10.\) *Pharsalia* ix 578-580.

appearances of conventional epic poetry. Lucan's equating of God with Jupiter is significant in that as a rule his tone toward the Roman gods is strikingly contemptuous.\textsuperscript{12} At any rate, Lucan's remark that God is all that we see and every motion that we make is very much in harmony with Seneca's belief that God is near you, with you, and within you.\textsuperscript{13} This whole question of identifying Jupiter with an all-pervading God will be treated presently.

The universe therefore has had a beginning: it will also have an end, after which a new order of things will begin, which will also end in its turn. Greatness sinks beneath its own weight. These concepts are expressed most explicitly by Lucan in the first book of the \textit{Pharsalia}. There he undertakes a discussion of causes for the civil war and likens the doom facing Rome to that of the world when its framework is dissolved. In the final hour, when so many ages close and everything reverts to primeval chaos, the

\textsuperscript{12} e.g. \textit{Pharsalia} iv 808-809, v 400-402.

\textsuperscript{13} E XLI 1.
fiery stars will drop into the sea, and earth will shake off the ocean; . . . and the whole distracted fabric of the shattered firmament will overthrow its laws. Great things come crashing down upon themselves ---such is the limit of growth ordained by heaven for success.\textsuperscript{14} Again in Book VII Lucan condemns Caesar for refusing to burn the corpses, but concludes that it matters not, because if fire does not consume them now, it will hereafter, together with the earth and sea; there remains a conflagration which will destroy all the world and bring the stars and dead men's bones together.\textsuperscript{15} The Stoics indeed taught that the world would be destroyed by fire, but Seneca, in his essay to Marcia, consoles her with the thought that when the time comes for the world to be blotted out it will be done in order that the world may begin a new life. Seneca also mentions, as does Lucan, that great things will destroy themselves by their own power, that there will be a huge conflagration and also a deluge.\textsuperscript{16} This is not, however, the only

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Pharsalia} i 72-81.  
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, \textit{vii} 812-815.  
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Consolatio Ad Marciam} xxvi 6.
reference by Seneca to greatness sinking beneath its own weight. In discussing the shortness of life he remarks that Fortune too comes crashing down\textsuperscript{17} and again in the \textit{Agamemnon} he makes further allusion to this idea.\textsuperscript{18} This seeming ambiguity between Lucan and Seneca over whether the world renews itself from fire or water can be easily elucidated by citing some of Seneca's remarks in his \textit{Naturales Quaestiones}. As Stoics the two agree that a conflagration will destroy the world, but Seneca explains that the Stoics also accept the view of Thales that water is the most powerful of elements and the one to which all others may be reduced. It is certainly fire which lays hold upon the world and changes all things into its own nature, but it is supposed that fire eventually fades and sinks. When this fire is extinguished, nothing will be left in nature but moisture, in which lies the hope of the world to come. So fire is the end, moisture the beginning of the world.\textsuperscript{19} With this in mind one easily sees

\begin{flushright}
\textbf{17. De Brevitate Vitae iv 1.} \\
\textbf{18. 88 ff. sidunt ipso pondere magna ceditque oneri Fortuna suo.} \\
\textbf{19. Naturales Quaestiones III xiii 1.}
\end{flushright}
that Lucan's remark that the world springs anew from fire is nothing more than a broad comprehensive statement which was basically correct. As an epic poet he was under no compulsion to define and explain some of the finer points elucidated by his uncle. In fact it may be noticed that Lucan on several occasions does indeed refer to the fact that the universe, or at least the earth had already been well-nigh destroyed by a great deluge. He does not, however, give the deluge the attention and the significance that Seneca did when he said that when a new creation of the world has been resolved upon by Heaven, the sea will be let loose on us from above and we will perish. Then, as if unsure of himself, Seneca adds that it may be a raging fire. In fact, Seneca seems to vacillate throughout the whole passage, first saying that the deluge will come in the way that the great conflagration is destined to come, then that both will come when God sees fit, or

20. Pharsalia v 75-76, 622-624.
perhaps one or the other. He does finally go on to describe the final catastrophe in terms of inundation. After this Lucan's precise statement is refreshing indeed, although Seneca may be exercising his right of philosophical uncertainty.

In general, the one great all-pervading God, the universal Soul, is identified with Zeus or Jupiter and clearly distinguished from the inferior gods, except in so far as they are regarded as integral parts of the One. This particular tenet inevitably leads to a discussion of the nature of deity and what is God according to Seneca and Lucan. In the preface of the Naturales Quaestiones God is defined as the universal intelligence: all that one sees and all that one cannot see. His greatness exceeds the bounds of thought. The difference between human and divine nature is that in us the better part is spirit, in Him there is nothing except spirit. He is wholly reason.

22. Ibid., pref. 12-13.
Later in Book II Seneca equates God with Jupiter and claims that the ancient sages recognized the same Jupiter as we do, the guardian and ruler of the universe, its soul and breath, the maker and lord of this earthly frame, to whom every name of power is appropriate. If one prefers to call Him Fate, one will not be wrong. All things depend upon Him, from whom proceed all causes. If one calls Him providence, one will still be right.\textsuperscript{23} If one prefers to call Him Nature one will not be mistaken; for it is He who gives all things being. Finally if one wishes to call Him the World, one will not err; for He is everything that one can see. He is wholly infused in all His parts, self-sustained through inherent power.\textsuperscript{24} In the light of such power and eloquence it is sufficient to say merely that Lucan's beliefs are understandably quite similar.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{23} M. Pohlenz, \textit{Die Stoa}, p. 320.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{Naturales Quaestiones} II xlv.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} e.g. \textit{Pharsalia} v 93-96, ix 578.
\end{itemize}
Heavenly Bodies

The great Sun and the lesser lights, the Moon and stars, are fed by evaporation from the sea and other waters. They are living and divine, animated by the universal soul. This doctrine from the Porch is amply sustained by both Lucan and Seneca. Lucan speaks at least twice of these heavenly bodies feeding upon water. In Book IX (11. 313-14) he mentions that the parching sun, feeding his light with ocean, sucked up the water near the torrid zone. By this statement Lucan may conceivably be trying to explain the Syrtes, the great shallows off the coast of North Africa. In Book X he has Acoreus tell Caesar that we believe that the sun and sky are fed by the Ocean (nec non Oceano pasci Phoebumque polosque credimus) and that since more water is digested than can be handled the nights necessarily pour down rain. A bit later he gives as his own opinion that the Nile inundates its valley not because of this

26. Ibid., x 258-259.
but because it was created along with the universe and the creator restrains it under a law of its own. Seneca too had already spoken of the abundant and constant exhalations of marshes and rivers that form by day the sun's nourishment. It is indicative of his independent nature that Lucan, although accepting this, disregarded it as the true explanation for the overflow of the Nile.

In discussing some of the effects of the sun and the lesser heavenly bodies, Lucan clearly shows an odd penchant, both philosophical and poetic, which has been pointed out from time to time; namely, that when he mentions something like the tides along the Belgian coast he offers not one but several explanations. Perhaps some wind from the horizon drives the sea on but then fails and lets it return. Or are the waves attracted by and stirred by the phases of the moon? Or does Titan, in order to quaff the waves that feed him, lift up the

27. Ibid., 265-266.
Ocean? He concludes by remarking that he will leave it to those who study the workings of the universe and piously adds that the cause, whatever it may be, will remain hidden for him, as the gods wish.\footnote{29} This modesty, false as it is, is naturally quite deliberate. Seneca had stated in the \textit{De Providentia} that these tides do not occur by blind fluctuation but are attracted by the star called the moon, at whose bidding the ocean rises.\footnote{30}

It is, I think, safe to surmise that Lucan realized that grand epic was not the means whereby to resolve such questions; but at the same time by citing various possible causes he could demonstrate that he was conversant with the theories, that his knowledge was extensive, and that his poem, although carrying on a tradition, nevertheless offered elements of contemporary interest to its audience.

The Earth is likewise animate: a globe poised in air, round which the heavenly bodies steadily revolve. These beliefs, common among the ancient scientists and

\footnote{29. \textit{Pharsalia} i 412-419.}
\footnote{30. \textit{De Providentia} i 4.}
philosophers, Lucan supports without equivocation. He states, as has been said, that it may be that a large segment of the divine element is embedded in the world to rule it, and that it supports the globe poised upon empty space.\textsuperscript{31} Earlier, in the very first book, Lucan had disclosed that loyalty between sharers of tyranny would be impossible as long as earth supports the sea and air the earth; and as long as the creator's unending task shall make the sun go around.\textsuperscript{32} Seneca's argument had followed similar lines in Book VII of the \textit{Naturales Quaestiones}. He proposed at the outset to endeavor to ascertain whether the earth stands still while the universe revolves around it, or if it is the universe that remains at rest while the earth revolves. But led on from one topic to another, he did not really arrive at a definite solution of this problem before the volume came to an end. From various expressions, however, we may infer that he adhered to the earlier belief that

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Pharsalia} v 94.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, i 89-90.
it is the universe which goes round the earth. Thus in Chapter IX he speaks of the movement that drags the universe along and asks what is swifter than that revolution. In Chapter XXV he adds that the heavenly bodies may not stand or turn aside, but they all move onward with the irrevocable movement of this eternal creation.

Fate

The concept of Universal Law, the absolute necessity on which all things depend, is expressed by the term Destiny or Fate (sylvania, fatum). This Fortune, Fate or Chance means to Seneca and to the Stoics the cyclical events which happen to affect the life of man in this world. Inconsistency existed among the Stoics inasmuch as some thought Fortuna was God, while others considered God as synonymous with Providence and Fate. Seneca resolves some of this disagreement by looking upon deus as a more personal God, and upon fatum or fortuna perhaps as an inexorable course of events. One way alone appeared to offer to man a clear method of rising above Fortune, and that
way is through *philosophia*. Countless things that happen call for advice; and such advice is to be sought in philosophy. The clearest exposition of Seneca's view about this matter lies in his sixteenth Epistle. He says that perhaps someone will say: "How can philosophy help me, if Fate exists? Of what avail is it, if God rules the universe? Of what avail is philosophy, if Chance governs everything? For not only is it impossible to change things that are determined, but it is also impossible to plan beforehand against what is undetermined; either God has forestalled my plans, and decided what I am to do, or else Fortune gives no free play to my plans." He then adds that whether the truth lies in one or all of these views, we must still be philosophers; whether Fate binds us down by an inexorable law, or whether God as arbiter of the universe has arranged everything, or whether Chance drives and tosses human affairs without method, philosophy ought to be our defense. Philosophy will encourage us to obey God cheerfully, but Fortune defiantly; it will teach us to follow God and endure Chance.33

33. Seneca E xvi 3-5. Seneca does not mention by name any of the Stoic philosophers with whom he disagrees.
When a work is so thoroughly permeated with the idea of Fate as is the Pharsalia it might be superfluous to support remarks by citing passages: still I think it well to give at least some illustration of Lucan's notions. In Book II when reminiscing about the civil war of Marius and Sulla he remarks that Marius, a man of blood, has been guarded not by the favor of divinity, but by the wrath of heaven because Fortune had discovered in him a perfect instrument for the destruction of Rome.\textsuperscript{34} In Book IV Vulteius encourages his men to die nobly because Fortune is designing some mighty and memorable example for posterity.\textsuperscript{35} In Book VII, on the eve of the battle, Lucan mentions vividly the aspect of doom that appeared on many faces and points out that it was clear to all that a day had come which must settle the destiny of mankind for ages and decide what Rome was to be.\textsuperscript{36} Finally in Book IX he bemoans divine law and hapless destiny.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34} Pharsalia ii 87-88.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., iv 496-497.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., vii 131-132.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., x 410-420.
As for Lucan's own personal beliefs, I can say little more than that throughout the poem the ruling divinity is indeed the capricious abstraction Fortuna. Moreover, it is evident that Lucan has no intention of confusing her with a real divinity, but merely wants and creates her as a substitute for one. In a sense fatum and fortuna as they are employed by Lucan might best be defined as only partly Stoic: fatum is impersonal but still presupposes gods, Fortuna is personified only to negate this presupposed existence. All this creates a strange paradox, for fatum in the Stoic conception of universal law meant that everything is bound together by an unbroken chain of cause and effect, while Fortuna was nothing more than Chance. If the universe is bound by an unbroken chain of cause and effect then there must be certain signs indicating the existence of these causes. These signs can upon occasion be detected by the divine soul of man. Hence we have divination which was given to man by the gods out of benevolence. The frequency of references to divination and its concomitant agencies in the Pharsalia would seem to indicate that Lucan held the usual doctrine
on fatum and was merely using Fortuna as a poetic device.\textsuperscript{38}
Indeed it was not unnatural for Lucan to personify a goddess worshipped in Italy in ancient times. As these ancient beliefs faded away Fortuna had come to be regarded as no more than a poetic abstraction.\textsuperscript{39}

The Soul and Will

The soul of man is part of the universal soul; both are material, and as the universal soul extends through the whole universe so the soul of man extends through the whole human body. The Stoic view, besides making the four categories of "substance," "form," "variety," and "variety of relation," regarded material things as the only things which possessed being. The Stoics and Seneca thus differ from Plato and Aristotle in holding that nothing is real except matter; moreover, they relate everything to one ultimate cause, the acting force or efficient cause.\textsuperscript{40} Seneca also alludes to the "soul of the world," of which each living soul is a part.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} Enrica Malcovati, M. Anneo Lucano (Milan: Hoepli, 1940), p. 53 says they seem almost synonymous.  
\textsuperscript{39} L. Preller, Römische Mythologie (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881-1883), vol. II, pp. 178 ff.  
\textsuperscript{40} E LXV 2.  
\textsuperscript{41} E CXXI 10.
The Stoics believed that it was situated in the heart. Zeno had called it ἐπικρατέων, "ruling power"; while the Romans used the term principale or principatus. The diffusion of the soul throughout the body was another widely held Stoic doctrine—the doctrine of interpenetration. Seneca raises this theory in discussing accidents and comments that it really makes little difference whether a watchtower or a mountain falls upon us, for if the soul is immortal it will easily survive a crushed body. The soul then in a fashion is "body," "world stuff". It is therefore, according to the Stoics, a living entity, a unit.

And as the world-soul is spread through the universe, so the human soul (as fire, or breath) is diffused through the body, and may take its departure in various ways.

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44. E CXIII 14.

45. E LXXVI 33.
Seneca although he states clearly his belief that the soul has a divine origin, also states elsewhere that there is a definite separation of the soul from the body and that great souls are sometimes put into poor bodies by Nature. He remembers that man is made up of two parts: one part is irrational, which may be bitten, burned, or hurt; the other part is rational, which holds resolutely to opinions, is courageous, and unconquerable. This dualism of soul and body apparently goes back to earlier religions, and appears to be quite ancient. The rational part (τὸ λογιστικόν), though generally held by most Stoics to be corporeal, or part of the world-stuff, is however closely related to the ἀρετή, or "principate."

This Stoic doctrine probably made it easier for Lucan to assume the habit, very common in ancient times,

46. E XLI.
47. E LXXI 27.
of recognizing a body as two separate things and then fusing them together.

In Book VI 719-723 the \textit{umbra} and \textit{cadaver} are present separately at the same time. The body is referred to as the \textit{carcer} of the \textit{umbra}. When, however, the ghost fears to enter the lifeless frame, Erichtho, enraged at death, threatens Tisiphone and Megaera with dire consequences if they do not drive that wretched soul through Erebus. Here in line 732 the word used is \textit{anima}, which is obviously meant to be distinct from the \textit{umbra} used earlier. Indeed most striking is the fact that Lucan not only separates the soul from the body, but also makes an implied distinction between a ghost and a soul. Along similar lines in VIII 762-763 Cordus begs Pompey: \textit{manes animamque potentem officiis avertite meis}, and although there seems to be special identity with the dead body, the separation is still plain. Further the words \textit{manes}, \textit{umbra}, and \textit{anima} seem distinct from \textit{corpus}, \textit{cadaver}, and \textit{cineres} in many other passages,\footnote{e.g. Pharsalia vii 770,776; viii 432,860; ix 1 ff.; x 336.} but the soul itself is constantly conceived of as material. Confusion begins
to appear when we note that Medusa in IX 640-641 is described as congealing the anima in the human frame. As previously stated this would be an antithesis to Stoic doctrine but it seems reasonable to assume that Lucan is simply ignoring an obvious tenet in order to gain by exaggeration a heightened effect of Medusa's hideous power. In VI 621-623 we also learn that the umbra of a freshly slain man can speak more intelligibly than that of one long dead. This association with the physical properties of the lips and mouth well illustrates the idea of the soul's extension throughout the body, although it conveys a closer relation to the body than would usually be maintained for the soul. In fact in a number of passages manes and umbra are really in a sense equal to corpus. Whether this is due to carelessness, laxity, or outright confusion on Lucan's part is impossible to determine, but it would seem, in the light of what our investigation has already uncovered, that Lucan on many occasions knew exactly what Stoic doctrine said and deviates from it only slightly.

50. e.g. Pharsalia viii 696,747,751; ix 151,963,976.
In VIII 432-435 Crassus' umbra is supposed to tell Pompey that it has long hoped for his coming to avenge the cineres of a nuda umbra, that is, the ashes to which the umbra belongs. As we have said, Lucan, it would seem, is trying to make a clear distinction between umbra and anima. If I may venture to put forth a rather bold view, it seems to me that Lucan's distinction both in the case of Erichtho's corpse and of Crassus' is that they have not received the necessary last rites and further that the umbra or "ghost" is merely the image of the body or the manifestation of its likeness which may return to earth while the true "soul" or anima remains forever in the realms below. When a specter, ghost, or apparition returns to earth it is simply an umbra (as ethereal physical appearance). The fact that Erichtho wants the actual anima and can get it only by exercising the most unusual and most powerful of supernatural magic lends, I think, credence to this explanation. At any rate it was not easy for most poets to distinguish clearly between a soul and a body, especially when both were considered material.
Virgil felt the difficulty; and Ovid speaking of the Feralia says in Fasti II 565-566 *nunc animae tenues et corpora functa sepulchris errant; nunc posito pascitur umbra cibo.*

In concluding the remarks about the soul it is perhaps fitting to sketch briefly Seneca's and Lucan's belief that the souls of the great and good find a place among the stars in heaven. Pompey in Book IX 1 ff. illustrates Lucan's acceptance of this procedure. Seneca also intimates this in Epistle LXV 17. Elsewhere (Consolatio ad Marciam) he states that the soul goes through a sort of purifying process, a view which may have had some influence on Christian thought. The souls of the good, the Stoics maintained, were destined to last until the end of the world, the souls of the bad to be extinguished before that time.

**Virtue**

Virtue as pictured by the Stoics is a rational activity conformable to Nature, that is, to the universal

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51. *Georgics* IV 475.

52. The Stoics taught that the souls of the virtuous ascend to the moon's orbit, at which the dark air ends and the bright ether begins.
law of the world and the essential constitution of the being, which in the case of man is reason. It is rational self-control. This idea of virtue is of course expressed in the Pharsalia in the character of Cato, particularly II 380 sq. In this account Lucan sums up three major traits of Cato's character. It was his inflexible rule to observe moderation, to follow nature, and to believe that he was born to serve the whole world and not himself. How closely Lucan adheres to the traditional Stoic concepts can easily be seen from a glance at Seneca's letters. In Epistle XXIII 6 Seneca explains that pleasure, unless it has been kept within bounds, tends to rush headlong into the abyss of sorrow. In XXV 4 he tells us that none of our possessions is essential. Let us return to the law of nature; for then riches are laid up for us. Finally, in XCV 52-53 he writes at length about the cosmopolitan feeling held by the Stoics. He begins by saying that all that you behold, that which comprises both God and man, is one—we are the parts of one great body. Nature produced us related to one another, since she created us from the same source and to the same end. Continuing he says that we should
possess things in common; for birth is ours in common. Our relations with one another are like a stone arch, which would collapse if the stones did not mutually support each other.

The character of Cato is further delineated in II 239 sq., where Brutus admires his serenity, but Cato nevertheless enters into the unserene war. He is, however, by no means deluded as to Pompey's ambition, and after Pompey's death he takes the lead, calm, unbiased, and as undeceived as ever. He is unswayed by the emotions which affect ordinary people and is indeed the personification of *virtus dura*. He has no fear of anything whatsoever and is ever ready to face adversity. He also sets an example of self-abnegation and self-devotion.

Moreover, he is conscious of his virtue and even talks like an oracle. Finally Lucan remarks that here we can

behold the true father of his country, a man most worthy to be worshipped by Romans; and if ever, now or later, they can free their necks from the yoke and stand upright, they will make a god of Cato.\textsuperscript{59} This opinion, which is so unstinting in its praise, was on the contrary quite typical of how the Stoics felt about a great and virtuous man; and how such a man could be equated with the gods is evidenced by Seneca's remarks about the very same man. "But lo! Here is a spectacle worthy of the regard of God as he contemplates his works; lo! here a contest worthy of God,---a brave man matched against ill-fortune, and doubly so if the challenge be his. I do not know, I say, what nobler sight the Lord of Heaven could find on earth than the spectacle of Cato, after his cause had been shattered more than once, nevertheless standing erect amid the ruins of the commonwealth."\textsuperscript{60}

To the Stoics Good and Bad are absolute notions, admitting no degrees. So the virtuous, good, or wise man is absolutely good; the vicious, bad, or foolish man is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[59.] \textit{Ibid.}, IX 601-604.
\item[60.] \textit{De Providentia} II 9.
\end{footnotes}
absolutely bad. There is therefore no mean; for the value of an action depends wholly upon the intention. Seneca, we can see, accepts this standard doctrine that goods are equal, absolute, and independent of circumstances; although he maintains in Epistle LXXI 17 that circumstances may bring one or another of them into fuller play.

Perhaps the fullest illustration in Lucan of the absence of degrees of Good and Bad is to be found in the characters of Caesar, Pompey, and Cato. Lucan, to judge by his portrait of Caesar must have had little admiration for Caesar. Caesar was not only the overthrower of the Senate but was also known to lean toward the school of Epicurus. Caesar then appears as a man who can do nothing right; he is vilified and castigated, and when this pales his motives are pictured as the worst possible. Caesar thus emerges as the standard concept (Stoic) of a bad man. The attempt by Lucan to credit Pompey with only the highest of motives presents the opposite side of the Stoic ledger. In trying to paint Pompey as virtuous and Caesar as vile

61. E LXVI 5 ff. The only thing which a man needs to attain a life of virtue is to wish to attain that sort of life. Max Pohlenz, op. cit., p. 319 says der entscheidende Faktor bei der Selbsterziehung ist aber für Seneca der Wille.
Lucan has succeeded only in demonstrating that the Stoic concepts of good and bad were too inflexible and needed more relative measures. Cato is especially interesting because he actually seems to have been a man who would fit into this narrow scheme. To be succinct—he practiced what he preached. Thus if we accept the evidence and Lucan's obvious intent, which would be to extol the Stoic sentiments with which he agreed, the necessary conclusion would be that he really intended Cato and only Cato to be the true hero of the Pharsalia. For it is Cato who demonstrates that the tendency to independence, to live for oneself alone, and to dispense with society and cultivate the inner freedom of virtuous life, leads to the condition of the self-sufficing Wise Man; so the tendency to follow the social instinct and live for the common good, to seek society and cultivate the social virtues, leads, as has been said above, to the condition of the Citizen of the World. 62 All this makes Cato by far the most conspicuous character in the Pharsalia.

62. It is logical to assume that this humanity probably includes Romans primarily, the rest of the world only in a definitely secondary sense. This illustrates the somewhat narrow outlook of the ancient civilized peoples.
Life and Death

Life and death are in themselves indifferent. Suicide is sometimes allowed and even enjoined. When, owing to circumstances beyond our control, it has become undesirable that we should live longer, then it is time for us to assert our freedom and depart.

Lucan's utterances on the subject of death are specially interesting in light of his training and his youth. In Book I 459-460 he speaks of the fear of death as *timorum maximus*. On at least two other occasions it is curious to note that he seems to imply that death is a penalty. For the most part, however, his view is thoroughly Stoic. Book IV gives a concentrated and clear look at what Lucan really seems to think about this subject. A very striking passage is Vulteius' speech when he perceives that his soldiers are trapped. He tells his men to use a short interval of time to decide upon their course in this extremity. He adds that no life is short that gives a man time to slay himself. The future of life is uncertain for all men;

and, though it is noble in the mind to forfeit years, it is no less noble to cut short even a moment of remaining life, provided that it is done by your own act. No man is forced to die voluntarily. He asks them to resolve upon death, for then all fear is dispelled; and a man should desire whatever he cannot avoid. Later in his own person Lucan laments that even this glorious example will not make cowardly nations understand how simple a feat it is to escape slavery by suicide; but the tyrant is dreaded for his sword, and freedom is weighed down by cruel weapons, and men are ignorant that the purpose of the sword is actually to save every man from slavery. He concludes by wishing that death were the reward of the brave only, and would refuse to release the coward from life.

Seneca's views on suicide and death are virtually the same but naturally more extensive references abound. In Epistle LXX 4 he remarks that the wise man will live as long as he ought, not as long as he can. It is evident that although Socrates (Phaedo 61 ff.) says that

64. Ibid., iv 467-487.
65. Ibid., 575-581.
the philosopher must not take his own life against the will of God, the Stoics interpreted the problem in a different way. Some held that a noble purpose justified suicide; others that any reason was good enough. Later in the same letter Seneca reflects that there are times when a man should, if he must choose between suicide or staying alive under torture in order to endure and practice virtue, choose the latter. He concludes with a statement saying that no general rule can be given about this question but that one should simply let the soul depart as it wishes. This then implies that when the "natural advantages" (\(\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\nu\ )) of living are outweighed by the corresponding disadvantages, that the honorable man may take his departure. Therefore Socrates and Cato were right in so doing; but Seneca would condemn (E XXIV 25) those contemporaries who had recourse to suicide as a mere whim of fashion. But the most eloquent view about death in general he propounds in the Troades (401-409). "Death is a something that admits no cleavage, destructive to the body and unsparing of the soul. Taenarus and the cruel tyrant's kingdom
and Cerberus, guarding the portal of no easy passage—all are but idle rumors, empty words, a tale light as a troubled dream. Do you ask where you shall lie when death has claimed you? Where they lie who never were born."
Summary

After noting the general Stoic tone of the Pharsalia it is necessary to remark that the comparison with Seneca has shown that Lucan, as we expected, is indeed a consistent user of Stoic doctrine and that Stoicism dominates most of the philosophy stated in the Pharsalia. There are, however, some elements which are not Stoic at all. As we have mentioned, he seems deeply impressed with the predominance of Chance and the indifference of the gods. Hence the evil may prosper. 66 Now and then he even breaks out into utterances distinctly Epicurean, as when he doubts whether Chance is not the arbiter of human destiny, or cries aloud that there are no gods---at least none who care about our welfare. At the opening of Book IX the passage describing the apotheosis of Pompey is distinctly Platonic in tone. All of this perhaps indicates a young unripe mind, possessing certain convictions but lacking the settling influences of age---a brilliant mind not content merely to accept everything but engaged in thought for its own benefit. Perhaps it was this very youth and talent that

66. Pharsalia iii 448-449.
overcame the impregnation of Stoic doctrines and permitted him to be more than just a blindly consistent disciple of the Porch.

Lucan then, as we have said, sometimes deviates considerably from strict Stoicism or expresses doubt in certain situations. This brings up the problem of poetic versus philosophic needs. Lucan's Pharsalia is after all not a poem devoted to philosophy. It is a poem far more in Virgil's manner than in the manner of Lucretius. The predominant philosophy is, of course, Stoic where possible, but in the writing of an epic based upon recent historical events Lucan faced a real problem. He might color his work to suit his purposes but in many areas such coloring would have meant utter distortion. Lucan was not above this but he exercises it with reserve. The philosophical exposition of the Pharsalia then is designed to enhance and make Lucan's work more meaningful and universal—a work of great epic not a handbook on philosophy.
CHAPTER IV

Language

In the course of a comparison of the language of Lucan and Seneca I have collected a great number of passages on which a definite opinion may, as I think, securely rest. These passages may be classified under the following heads:

(a) those in which it is quite evident that the words of Lucan are an echo of those of Seneca;

(b) those in which a word, a turn of phrase, or a construction is similar in certain details, or is traceable only to Seneca;

(c) those in which there is some correspondence of geographical, mythological, philosophical, and technical material.

I have endeavored so to classify all these passages in this chapter for the sake of convenience, even though a few may already have been treated in previous chapters.

In the classification of these comparative references I have tried to consider as a whole each passage listed under direct influence. Those cited under indirect influence when examined as a whole show little or no
intimate borrowing, but do contain certain elements of vocabulary, phraseology, or grammar which can be found in Latin literature no earlier than in the writings of Seneca. Where some are obviously also borrowed from even earlier writers I have included appropriate references. Although I have checked as far as I could to determine that Seneca and Lucan are not both quoting someone whose work survives, it is possible that some such cases may have been overlooked, but I think few. The passages catalogued under "Correspondence" attempt to show that Lucan may have had in mind certain remarks of Seneca which he naturally modified to fit the scheme of his own work.

These sections indeed treat a delicate matter and although I believe that most of the parallels included can be justified I can see no need to argue for them too insistently (particularly in the case of those listed under "Correspondence"). I hope that the parallels will serve to illustrate Lucan's penetration into and adoption of the Senecan spirit. Although conservatism has been the guiding principle in classifying these parallels, I can envision inevitable disagreement. Only the danger inherent in trying to carry subjective literary criticism too far has prevented me from listing many of the parallels as
direct influence.  

Book I

Direct:

Lucan 74-75:

\begin{quote}
mixtis
\textit{sidera sideribus concurrent:}
\end{quote}

Seneca MC xxvi 6:

\begin{quote}
cum tempus advenerit quo se mundus renovaturus exstinguat, viribus ista se suis caedent et \textit{sidera sideribus incurrent}.
\end{quote}

Lucan 98:

\begin{quote}
temporis angusti mansit \textit{concordia discors}
\end{quote}

Seneca NQ VII xxvii 3:

\begin{quote}
tota haec mundi \textit{concordia ex discordibus} constat
\end{quote}

---

Lucan 109-111:

populique potentis
quae mare quae terras quae totum continet orbem
non cepit fortuna duos.

Seneca CS ii 2:

potentiae immensa cupiditate quam totus orbis
in tres divisus satiare non poterat.

Lucan 637-638:

flexa sic omina Tuscus
involvens multaque tegens ambage canebat.

Seneca Oed. 214-215:

ambage flexa Delphico mos est deo
arcana tegere.

Indirect:

Lucan 16:

quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat horis

Seneca HF 235-236:

penetrare iussus solis aestivi plagas
et adusta medius regna quae torret dies

Lucan 31-32:

nulli penitus descendere ferro
contigit: alta sedent civilis vulnera dextrae

2. flagrantibus horis is equivalent to aestate.
-127-

Seneca HC iii 1:

gravissimum est ex omnibus quae umquam in
corpus tuum descenderunt recens volnus, fateor.  

Lucan 151-154:

qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen
aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
emicuit rupitque diem populosque paventis
terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:

Seneca NQ I i 6:

nubes conflisae mediocriter fulgurationes
efficient, maiores impetu impulsae fulmina:

Seneca MC xviii 3:

obliqua fulmina et caeli fragorem

Seneca Thyest. 358-359:

quem non concutiet cadens

obliqui via fulminis

Lucan 212:

per ferrum tanti securus volneris exit.

Seneca I. III ii 6:

gaudent feriri et instare ferro et tela
corpore urgere et per suum volnus exire.

3. cf. Livy I xli 5 ferrum haud alte in corpus
descendisse.


5. These two passages present the theory that
thunder and lightning are caused by the collision of clouds.
Lucan 610:

\[\text{coeperat obliqueque molas inducere cultro;}\]

Seneca Thyest. 688:

\[\text{tangens salsa victimam culter mola.}\]

Correspondence:

Lucan 81-82:

\[\text{in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus crescendi posuere modum;}\]

Seneca BV iv 1:

\[\text{nam ut nihil extra lacessat aut quatiat in se ipsa fortuna ruuit.}\]

Lucan 128:

\[\text{victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni.}^6\]

Seneca P vi 6:

\[\text{ferte fortiter: hoc est quo deum antecedatis ille extra patientiam malorum est, vos supra patientiam.}\]

Seneca E IX ii 15:

\[\text{Iuppiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est: sapiens nihil se minoris aestimat quod virtutes eius spatio breviore cludentur.}\]

---

6. The Stoics regarded the "wise man" as having attained such an exalted position that they did not shrink from comparing him with the gods.
Lucan 156-157:

magnamque cadens magnamque revertens dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes. 7

Seneca E 57 v 8:

quomodo fulmini etiam cum latiss sme percussit ac fulsit per exiguom foramen est reditus.

Lucan 170:

longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis. 8

Seneca VB xvii 2:

turpiter aut tam neglegens es ut non noveris pauculos servos, aut tam luxuriosos ut plures habeas quam quorum notitiae memoria sufficiat.

Lucan 414:

unda vagae lunaribus aestuet horis 9

Seneca P i 4:

iam vero si quis observaverit nudari litora pelago in se recedente eademque intra exiguom tempus operiri, credet caeca quadam volutatione modo contrahi undas et introrsum agi, modo erumpere et magno cursu repetere sedem suam, cum interim illae portionibus crescant et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat.

---

7. The lightning was supposed to return again to the sky.

8. This probably implies that the estates were so large that the owners did not know the cultivators.

9. With the phases of the moon.
Lucan 531:

et varias ignis denso dedit aere formas:

Seneca NQ VII xxi 1:

placet ergo nostris cometas ... denso aere creari.

Book II

Direct:

Lucan 106:

nec primo in limine vitae

Seneca HF 1133-1134:

quas in primo limine vitae
scelus oppressit patriusque furor.

Indirect:

Lucan 10:

se quoque lege tenens

Seneca P v 8:

ille ipse omnium conditor ac rector scripsit
quidem fata, sed sequitur. semper paret,
semel iussit;

10. Binding himself by the law by which he orders all things.
Lucan 141-143:

dumque nimis iam putria membra recidit
excessit medicina modum nimiumque secuta est
qua morbi duxere manus.\textsuperscript{11}

Seneca BV xvi 3:

ingratus L. Sulla, qui patriam durioribus
remediis quam pericula erant sanavit.

Lucan 147-148:

\textit{iusserat}.\textsuperscript{12} \hspace{1cm} \textit{semel omnia victor}

Seneca P v 8:

semper paret, \textit{semel iussit}.

Lucan 162:

quidquid ubique \textit{iacet} scelerum.\textsuperscript{13}

Seneca E LXXI 37:

si quid ultra Dahas bellicosum \textit{iacet}.

Lucan 230-231:

\textit{concurrent}. \hspace{1cm} \textit{olimque potentes}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} Sulla is compared to a surgeon who in great
haste cuts away not only the diseased flesh but also the
well.
\item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{semel} in both instances means "once for all".
\item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{iacet} is equivalent to \textit{est}.
\end{itemize}
Seneca E LXXVII 3:

olim iam nec perit quidquam mihi nec adquiritur. 14

Lucan 310-311:

cunctis ego pervius hastis excipiam medius totius volnera belli.

Seneca HO 151:

nullis volneribus pervia membra sunt.

Correspondence:

Lucan 266-268:

melius tranquilla sine armis otia solus ages, sicut caelestia semper inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu;

Seneca E LIX 16:

talis est sapientis animus qualis mundus super lunam: semper illic serenum est.

Lucan 272-273:

minimas rerum discordia turbat, pacem summa tenent.

Seneca I. III vi 1:

pars superior mundi et ordinatio ac propinqua sideribus nec in nubem cogitur nec in tempestatem

14. Silver Age use of olim for dudum occurs perhaps first in Seneca and Lucan.
impellitur nec versatur in turbinem.
oni tumultu caret. inferiora fulminantur:

eodem modo sublimis animus, quietus semper
et in statione tranquilla collocatus, omnia
intra se premens quibus ira contrahitur,
modestus et venerabilis, quorum nihil invenies
in irato.

Lucan 380-384:

hi mores haec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit, servare modum finemque tenere
naturamque sequi patriaeque impendere vitam,
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo. 15

Seneca E XXIII 6:

ita dico: in praecipiti voluptas: ad dolorem
vergit nisi modum teneat. modum autem tenere
in eo difficile est quod bonum esse credideris.

Seneca E V 4:

nempe propositum nostrum est secundum naturam
vivere.

Seneca E XCV 52-53:

omne hoc quod vides, quo divina atque humana
conclusa sunt, unum est: membra sumus corporis
magni. natura nos cognatos edidit, cum ex isdem
et in eadem gigneret. haec nobis amorem indidit
mutuum et sociabiles fecit, illa aequum iustum-
que composit. ex illius constitutione miserius
est nocere quam laedi. ex illius imperio paratae
sint iuvandis manus. ille versus et in pectore
et in ore sit: homo sum, humani nihil a me
alienum puto. habeamus in commune: nati sumus.
societas nostra lapidum fornicationi simillima
est, quae casura, nisi invicem obstarent, hoc
ipso sustinetur.

15. These, of course, are Stoic formulas.
Book III

Direct:

Lucan 39-40:

aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum
aut mors ipsa nihil.

Seneca Tro. 397:

post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil. 16

Lucan 145-146:

libertas, inquit populi quem regna coercent
libertate perit

Seneca T v 3:

qui tuto insultaverat agmini tyrannorum civis,
eius libertatem libertas non tulit.

Lucan 235:

quaque ferens rapidum diviso gurgite fontem

Seneca HO 501:

Evenos altum gurgitem in pontum ferens

Indirect:

16. Although I still believe that Lucan borrowed this phrase from Seneca I know that Seneca, who often quotes Epicurus and Epicureans with respect and praise, may have remembered one of the best known lines of Lucretius Nil igitur mors est neque ad nos pertinet hilum (III 828).
Lucan 17-19:

in multas laxantur Tartara poenas.
vix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores
sufficiunt: lassant rumpentis stamina Parcas.

Seneca HF 673-674:

hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis
in quae omne mersum pereat humanum genus.

Seneca HF 803:

et cuncta lassus capita summisit canis

Seneca HO 563-564:

prolata vis est quaeque Palladia colu
lassavit omnem texta famularum manum.

Lucan 58:

nescit plebes ieiuna timere

Seneca BV xviii 5:

cum ventre tibi humano negotium est: nec
rationem patitur nec aequitate mitigatur nec
ulla prece flectitur populus esuriens.

Lucan 297:

vicendum pariter Pharsalis praestitit orbem. 17

Seneca E XXXVII 4:

hos tam graves dominos, interdum alternis

17. pariter equals "all at once".
imperantis, interdum pariter, dimittit a te sapientia.

Lucan 631:

vicinum involuens contorto vertice pontum.\(^{18}\)

Seneca HF 682-683:

\textit{involuit} amnem

Correspondence:

Lucan 459-460:

telluris inanes concussisse sinus quaerentem erumpere ventum.

Seneca NQ VI xxv 1:

cum spiritus magna vi vacuom terrarum locum penitus opplevit coepitque rixari et de exitu cogitare, latera ipsa inter quae latet saepius percutit.

Book IV

Direct:

Lucan 54-55:

atque omnis propior \textit{mergenti} sidera caelo aruerat tellus hiberno dura sereno.

\(^{18}\) involuens means here "whirling around".
Seneca Thy. 776-778:

O Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet
medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem,
sero occidisti.

Indirect:

Lucan 36-37:

his virtus ferrumque locum promittit, at illis
ipse locus.19

Seneca Hipp. 569-570:

et amica ratibus ante promittit vada
incerta Syrtis.

Lucan 50-51:

pigro bruma gelu siccis Aquilonibus haerens
aethere constricto pluvias in nube tenebat.20

Seneca HF 704-705:

immutus aer haeret et pigro sedet
nox atra mundo

Lucan 437-441:

sic dum pavidos formidine cervos
claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnae,
aut dum dispositis altollat retia varis
venator, tenet ora levis clamosa Molossi,
Spartanos Cretasque ligat

19. promittit is "gives hope of occupying".
20. haerens is equal to "retarded".
Seneca I. II xi 5:

nec mirum est cum maximos ferarum greges linea
pinnis distincta continent et in insidias agat,
ab ipso affectu dicta formido.

Seneca Hipp. 33-47:

teneant acres lora Molossos
et pugnaces tendant Cretes
fortia trito vincula collo.
at Spartanos
(gemis est audax avidumque ferae)
nodo cautus propriore liga:
veniet tempus,
cum latratu cava saxa sonent;
nunc dimissi nare sagaci
captent auras
lustraque presso quaeant rostro,
dum lux dubia est, dum signa pedum
rosida tellus impressa tenet.
alius raras
cervice gravi portare plagas,
alius teretes properet laqueos.
picta rubenti linea pinna
vano cludat terre ro feras.

Lucan 578:

ob ferrum et saevis libertas uritur armis²¹

Seneca HO 620:

urit miserum gloria pectus

²¹ uritur equals "is galled".
Lucan 632:

Herculeosque novo laxavit corpore nodos.  

Seneca E LXXXVII 38:

bonum animum habe; unus tibi nodus sed Herculanus restat.

Lucan 742:

fraude sua cessere parum, dum colle relictum

Seneca E CXVI 7:

dolebimus, sed parum: concupiscemus, sed temperate; irascemur, sed placabimur.

Book V

Direct:

Lucan 571-572:

si murmura ponti consulumus, Cori veniet mare.

Seneca Thy. 578:

Bruttium Coro feriente pontum

Lucan 811-812:

22. nodos refers to the binding arms of Hercules. There is probably an allusion to the famous knot of Hercules.

23. parum here "a little". It generally means "too little", but is used by post-Augustan writers without any idea of comparison.
nam flamma quamvis tacitas urgente medullas non iuvat in toto corpus iactare cubili

Seneca Hipp. 282:

sed vorat tectas penitus medullas.

Indirect:

Lucan 233:

et tumidis infesta colit qua numina Rhamnus

Seneca B II xvi 2:

*tumidissimum* animal

Lucan 409-410:

turpe duci visum rapiendi tempora belli in segnes *exisse* moras

Seneca BV vi 4:

vestra mehercules vita, licet supra annos *exeat*, in artissimum contrahetur.

Lucan 602:

et dubium pendet vento *cui* pareat aequor.

---

24. Silver Age tendency to use *tumidus* as "the proud".

25. *exisse* used as "should have been protracted".

26. *cui* for *utri*. This use is very rare in Golden Age Latin; but cf. Virgil *Aen.* XII 719.
Seneca Agam. 139-140:

ut, cum hinc profundum ventus hinc aestus rapit,
incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo.

Book VI

Direct:

Lucan 625:

maestum tecta caput squalenti nube

Seneca Oed. 2:

et nube maestus squalida exoritur iubar

Indirect:

Lucan 475:

Maeander direxit aquas

Seneca NQ I x 1:

coronam si diversis, arcus erit, si
direxeris, virga.

Lucan 476-477:

explicuere iugum submisso vertice montes

27. direxit has the sense of "has straightened".

28. explicuere is equal to "have made level".
Seneca HO 456:

cessante vento, turbidum explicui mare

Lucan 484:

prospectumque dedit circumlabentis Olympi.

Seneca HF 566-568:

fatum rumpe manu, tristibus inferis
prospectus pateat lucis et invius
limes det facile ad superos vias.

Lucan 764-766:

nam vera locutum
immunem toto mundi praestabimus aevo
artibus Haemoniae

Seneca E LXXXV 3:

alicuius animum immunem esse tristia

Lucan 785-787:

vidi Decios natumque patremque
lustrales bellis animas flentemque Camillum
et Curiosis

Seneca Agam. 162-163:

Tyndaris caeli genus,
lustrale classi Doricae peperi caput.

29. immunis is construed with the genitive in Virgil and Ovid.

30. It is possible that bellis is dative.
Book VII

Direct:

Lucan 475-476:

\[ \text{tum stridulus aer elius lituis conceptaque classic cornu} \]

Seneca Oed. 733-734:

\[ \text{lituusque adunco stridulos cantus elisit aere.} \]

Indirect:

Lucan 596:

\[ \text{vivat et ut Bruti procumbat victima regnet.} \]

Seneca H0 348:

\[ \text{me nuptiali victimam feriat die} \]

Correspondence:

Lucan 470:

\[ \text{di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur} \]

Seneca HC xiii 2:

\[ \text{si ultimam diem non quasi poenam, sed quasi naturae legem adspicis, ex quo pectore metum eieceris, in id nullius rei timor audebit intrare.} \]

31. \textit{victima} is rarely used metaphorically.
Lucan 814-815:

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communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra mixturus
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Seneca MC xxvi 6:

```
cum tempus advenerit quo se mundus renovaturus exstinguat viribus ista se suis caedent et sidera sideribus incumbent et omni flagrante materia uno igne quidquid nunc ex dispositivo lucet ardebit.
```

**Book VIII**

**Direct:**

Lucan 280:

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expromam mentisque meae quo pondera vergant.
```

Seneca Med. 391:

```
quo pondus animi vergat
```

**Indirect:**

Lucan 810-811:

```
commercia tuta gentibus et pavidos Cilicas maris
```

Seneca HF 293:

```
lucisque pavidos ante te populos age.
```

---

32. This is Stoic doctrine.

33. Community of source seems obvious. Virgil Aen. XII 727 *quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum.*
Book IX

Direct:

Lucan 769:

iamque sinu laxo nudum est sine corpore volnus

Seneca Oed. 582-583:

subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.

Indirect:

Seneca HC v 6:

inania et specioso ac deceptorio fuco circumlita, . . . intra nihil habentia fronti suae simile.

Lucan 207:
	nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus.

Lucan 739-740:

ipsaque leti
frons caret invidia, nec quicquam plaga minuntur.

Seneca Hipp. 281-282:

non habet latam data plaga frontem, sed vorat tectas penitus medullas.34

34. frons is equivalent to aspectus.
Lucan 927:
plurima tum voluit spumanti carmina lingua

Seneca Oed. 561-563:
carmenque magicum voluit et rabido minax
decantat ore quidquid aut placat leves
aut cogit umbras.

Lucan 966-969:
iam silvae steriles et putres robore trunci
Assaraci pressere domos, et tempia deorum
iam lassa radice tenent, ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis

Seneca Oed. 534-537:
curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ
annosa ramos. huius abrudit latus edax
vestustas; illa, iam scissa cadens
radice, fulta pendet aliena trabe.

Correspondence:

Lucan 28:
nec servire timens.

Seneca E XII 10:
noli timere aliquid secum fert. quare aliquid
dixi? multum. quid enim hac voce praeciliarius,
quam illi tradis ad te perferendum "malum est
in necessitate vivere: sed in necessitate
vivere necessitas nulla est". quidni nulla
sit? patent undique ad libertatem vias multae
breves facile. agamus deo gratias quod nemo
in vita teneri potest: calcare ipsas necessitates
licet.
Lucan 332:

arboribus caesis flatum effudere prementem 35

Seneca Phoen. 429-430:

qualis insano ratis premente vento rapitur

Lucan 333:

abstulit has ventis liber contraria voluens

Seneca Thy. 438-439:

sic concitatam remige et velo ratem aestus resistens remigi et velo refert.

Lucan 335-336:

has vada destituunt, atque interrupta profundo terra ferit puppes

Seneca Agam. 571-573:

haerent acutis rupibus fixae rates; has inopis undae brevia comminuunt vada, pars vehitur huius prima, pars scopulo sedet

Lucan 979:

Herceas, monstrator ait, non respicis aras? 36

Seneca Agam. 448:

sparsum cruore regis Herceum Iovem.

35. Perhaps a metaphor from horse-racing.

36. Verbal substantives in -tor such as monstrator are listed on pp. 152-153.
Book X

Direct:

Lucan 172-173:

postquam epulis Bacchoque modum lassata voluptas
imposuit

Seneca B IV vi 3:

inritamenta lassae voluptatis

Lucan 336-337:

ultricesque deae dant in nova monstra furorem.

Seneca Med. 967-968:

discedere a me, frater, ultrices deas
manesque ad imos ire securus iube.

Indirect:

Lucan 114-115:

nec summis crustata domus sectisque nitebat

Seneca B IV vi 2:

non temues crustas et ipsa qua secantur
lamina graciliores sed integras lapidis
pretiosissimi moles.
Lucan 314:
qua dirimunt nostrum rubro commercia pontum

Seneca NQ IV ii 4:
egressus Aethiopiam harenas, per quas iter
ad commercia Indici maris est, praelabitur

Lucan 472:
orator regis pacisque sequester

Seneca HC xii 5:
Menenius Agrippa qui inter patres ac plebem
publicae gratiae sequester fuit.

Language of the Imperial Period

rictus:
Seneca C I xxv 1; Lucan VI 757, IX 637.

inputo:
Seneca, very frequent; Lucan VII 325, VIII 658.

rubicundus:
Seneca I. III iv 1;\(^{37}\) Lucan X 274.

planta:
Seneca E CXI 3; Lucan II 359, IX 353.

\(^{37}\) Seneca actually uses subrubicundum.
Sequester:
Seneca HC xii 5; Lucan X 472.

Neologisms

Matutinum:
Seneca NQ IV iv 1; Lucan III 521. 38

Niloticus:
Seneca NQ III xxv 11, IV ii 22; Lucan IX 130.

Petitor:
Seneca O i 3; Lucan I 131. 39

Rare Words

Clamosus:
Seneca I. I iv 2; Lucan IV 440.

Technical Terms

Cardo:
Seneca NQ V xvii 2; Lucan IV 73.


39. Although Horace uses petitor it is a neologism in the sense of one who aspires to anything.
excoquere:
Seneca NQ I iii 13; Lucan IX 524.

coalesce:
Seneca E LXXXIV 4, NQ III xxv 10; Lucan I 79.

proscindo:
Seneca E XC 21; Lucan III 192, 434.

coloratus:
Seneca CS xiii 2; Lucan III 239.

digere:
Seneca E XCV 19; Lucan VI 88, X 260.

finitor:
Seneca NQ V xvii 3; Lucan IX 496.

puteus:
Seneca NQ I xiv 1; Lucan IV 295.

Philosophic Terms

adfectus:
Seneca I. I xvi 7; Lucan VIII 132, IX 1100, X 96.

communis:
Seneca E V 4; Lucan VII 814.40

Substantives

Verbal substantives which end in -tor are used with much greater freedom by Lucan than the authors of the Golden Age. Many of the following words are newly used in poetry or with a new connotation.

**editor:**
Lucan II 423.

**fuscator:**
Lucan IV 66.

**haustor:**
Lucan IX 591.

**humator:**
Lucan VIII 854.

**mutator:**
Lucan X 212.

**simulator:**
Lucan IV 722.

**finitor:**
Lucan IX 496; Seneca NQ V xvii 3.
monstrator:
Lucan IV 979; Seneca MC xxv 2.

Certain substantives used by Lucan have extreme fluctuation in their sense. Nisard holds that much of the reason for abandoning the precision of the Augustan writers probably lies in the fact that Silver Age authors wanted greater metrical convenience.\(^{41}\)

fides: I 467, II 17, VI 433, VIII 688, IX 585.
fœdus: I 80, II 378, IV 365, IX 1048, X 471.
fatum, fortuna: IX 700-889.
pignus: I 111, II 370, III 33, VI 456, VII 662, IX 906.
pondus: I 500, II 188, III 626, VII 686, IX 366, 801.

Adjectives

New adjectives coined by Lucan are:\(^{42}\)

bellax:
Lucan IV 406.
harenivagus:
Lucan IX 941.

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42. Of great convenience in cataloging Lucan's adjectives was R.J. Deferrari, A Concordance of Lucan (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940).
inocciduus:
Lucan VIII 175; Seneca Epigr. 36.

irredux:
Lucan IX 941.

quassabilis:
Lucan VI 22.

Rare Words from Ovid

belliger:
Lucan I 62, VI 84; Ovid Metam. III 534.

colubrifer:
Lucan IX 677; Ovid Metam. V 241.

liniger:
Lucan X 175; Ovid Metam. I 747.

resonus:
Lucan VII 480; Ovid Metam. III 496.

saxificus:
Lucan IX 670; Ovid Metam. V 217, Ib. 551.

Two other words used by Lucan which are not common are fatilegus (IX 821) and sortilegus (IX 581). These were probably formed by analogy to Ovid's florilegus (Metam. XV 366) and frugilegus (Metam. VII 624).
A final point is Lucan's obvious liking for adjectives compounded with -fer. These words come from some of Cicero's prose works, Virgil, and Ovid.43 But many of these compound words appear to have been formed by Lucan himself. The list appended here is merely for the sake of completeness.44

**astrifer:**

Lucan IX 5.

**aurifer:**

Lucan III 209; Cicero *Tusc.* II 22.

**colubrifer:**

Lucan IX 677; Ovid *Metam.* V 241.

**flammifer:**

Lucan V 402; Cicero *Ac.* II xxviii 89; Ovid *Metam.* XV 849.

**florifer:**

Lucan IX 290.

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ignifer:
Lucan III 41; Ovid Metam. II 59.

imbrifer:
Lucan VIII 852, IX 455; Virgil G. I 313; Ovid Metam. XIII 725.

laurifer:
Lucan V 332, VIII 25.

letifer:
Lucan III 500, IV 728, VI 92, VI 522, VII 619, VIII 640, IX 384, IX 729; Virgil Aen. X 169; Ovid Metam. V 133, VIII 362, XII 606.

monstrifer:
Lucan II 3, V 620.

ostifer:
Lucan IX 959; Virgil G. I 207.

pacifer:
Lucan III 305; Virgil Aen. VIII 116; Ovid Metam. XIV 291.

pestifer:
Lucan VII 412, IX 729; Cicero Sest. 78, Planc. 98; Livy XXV xxvi 11; Virgil Aen. VII 570; Ovid Metam. VIII 784.

pinifer:
Lucan I 389, II 431; Virgil Ec. X 14, Aen. IV 248.

sceptrifer:
Lucan V 57; Ovid F. VI 480.
signifer:
Lucan IV 800, VII 163, IX 737; Cicero Div. I 77, II 89, Planc. 74, Sull. 34, Mur. 50.

somnifer:
Lucan IX 701; Ovid Metam. I 672, IX 694.

squamifer:
Lucan IX 709.

taurifer:
Lucan I 473.

velifer:
Lucan I 500; Ovid Metam. XV 719.
Summary

I readily admit that when we compare the language of one author with another some resemblances, which are not overly impressive, may be due to analogy of content (some things are much alike the world over, and prompt similar terminology): other resemblances may be ascribed to a community of source; and still others are simply part of the common stock of Latin expression. Moreover, it should be remarked that many passages, if taken separately and considered individually, would seem to have little significance. Casual parallels will always occur. But when these parallels are numerous and located in many areas, when the lines of an earlier author occur in or near a passage proved to have been well known by the later author, then the situation is altered, and the value of this evidence becomes manifest whether it is direct or indirect.

I would maintain, therefore, that Lucan, while not steeped in his uncle's language, is imbued with Senecan spirit and feeling. He uses Senecan language with selectivity and discrimination while clearly demonstrating a close familiarity with his matter. This discrimination
is, I think, substantiated by the fact that it requires careful and continuous reading to detect any but the most obvious of the influences of the philosopher upon his nephew. Moreover, it is to be hoped that the listing here of some of Lucan's innovations in language and of his terms and neologisms peculiar to Silver Latin will amply illustrate that his poem, although not devoid of these, does not exhibit them in the expected quantities. His language, generally, is far more Augustan than has been suspected, and inclines much more toward the confines of the "classical" vein than his uncle's. I find, therefore, in the use of language a partial antithesis to the findings in matters pertaining to horror, learning, and philosophy. This need not be surprising if we stop to reflect that Lucan after all is still writing epic poetry, and though he will change and modify in his attempts to be original and different, he is not an anarchist wishing to destroy the honored and revered form for grand epic established by Homer and Virgil. His work is in the final analysis the searching of a young and brilliant mind to produce a great epic about great events and not a poor imitation of the work that preceded him.
Conclusion

In concluding this paper it is necessary to reflect upon what we set out to accomplish and to see whether or not it has been accomplished. I sincerely believe that most of the material which justifiably deserves comparison in Seneca and Lucan has received sufficient attention. The extent to which parallels occur, their nature, and the use which Seneca and Lucan made of these and why they did so, I believe has been reasonably covered. It remains to note the salient points of each phase of the discussion and to recount how much or how little influence Seneca would seem to have had upon his nephew.

In dealing with the supernatural and the grotesque Seneca follows more conventional lines than Lucan. Most of his material was ingrained in the stories which he explores. He departs from earlier tradition in that he dwells upon more morbid aspects and gives more grisly detail to his portrayals. Lucan, of course, is obviously striving to be different from earlier epic poetry and yet just as good. As a young man he naturally wished to emulate his uncle's success. The sensational elements which we find in the Pharsalia are undoubtedly designed to attract attention. Because of his close blood tie and training Lucan is, in a sense, standing in the shadow of
a mighty man. Either he must avoid emulation or if he borrows and imitates he must surpass.

The grotesqueness then in Seneca is for the most part functional. There are some decorative passages---such as the scenes involving Laius, which are departures from the usual standards. Lucan's purposes in infusing this grotesque quality into his work are sometimes quite normal for a realistic presentation, but are frequently just decorative. He cannot seem to resist the temptation to embellish. The difference then in Seneca and Lucan lies in the fact that the former is portraying realism primarily for dramatic effect; the latter uses realism as a means to shock and to indulge in sensationalism.

Much of Lucan's sensationalism is designed to fill the gaps left by the removal of the gods as controllers of action. Far too much of it is intended to lift a poetic account of historical incidents into a showpiece. To say that Lucan has borrowed and imitated his uncle in this category is perhaps an understatement. The Pharsalia is suffused with scenes of horror reminiscent of Seneca's pioneer work on such a large scale, but by introducing new details and a larger scope Lucan clearly attests to the fact that he wished not only to rival his
uncle but also to excel him.

In the realm of learning it is extremely difficult to isolate Seneca's influence upon Lucan. This difficulty arises primarily because of the ancient educational training given to the two men and partly because of the tastes and desires of the literary audiences of their time. The catalogue of their peculiar erudition is included to illustrate principally the way in which they tended to think and the use which they made of the poetic and rhetorical heritage from the past. Two outstanding exceptions to this rule would have to be Medea and Erichtho and the descriptive narratives about the Nile. That Lucan borrowed information about the latter directly from the *Naturales Quaestiones* seems unassailable. Moreover, I thoroughly believe that the evidence points to the fact that Erichtho was modelled upon Seneca's rather novel portrayal of Medea, and was included in the *Pharsalia* deliberately to outdo Seneca.

Chapter III with its discussion of Stoic beliefs and doctrine and the extensive use of this doctrine by Lucan reveals that although both men had been thoroughly trained in a particular branch of philosophy, nevertheless they are not blinded and can and do exercise the power
of independent thought. This is especially true of Lucan, but we must keep in mind that poetic and philosophic needs are sometimes quite different.

Lucan's departure from Stoicism is then upon occasion dictated by the ingredients of his story. His view of suicide in the mouth of Vulteius not only is fitting and proper for epic and for the essential nobility of a hero, but also happily coincides with his uncle's view which apparently was not accepted by many of the Stoics. Moreover, can we not see an implied scorn of Epicureanism in Caesar's character delineation and in Cato the acceptance of Stoicism as the best and fullest philosophy?

In the matter of language there is rather a strong influence traceable to Seneca, but, as has already been said, it is considerably less than might have been suspected. The reason for this is, I believe, obvious. Seneca was predominantly a prose writer (except for the tragedies) as contrasted to Lucan's poetic bent. Seneca's innovations in the Latin language were rich and abundant but much of them were colloquial in nature. This type of language, that is the freedom of expression allowed in essays and letters, could hardly be used for grand epic and therefore must generally be ignored. Lucan
however was no nihilist. He follows traditional concepts where practical and reserves the right to discriminate in choosing vocabulary peculiar to the Silver Age.

In Lucan's borrowings from Seneca whether direct or indirect we must be careful to remember that the Romans did not view this matter in the same light. It was not an act of plagiarism or a sign of a lack of talent or inventiveness, but rather a tribute to the author whose works were liked and admired. No one would dream of taking seriously a condemnation of Virgil because his great poem is done in the manner of Homer. Thus one need not criticize Lucan unless it is felt that he has indulged in borrowing to excess.

The only problem that now remains is to essay an opinion as to how extensive the influence of Seneca was upon Lucan. The aforementioned characteristics which can be indisputably traced to Seneca are indeed numerous, but do they in any way detract from the accomplished product ascribed to Lucan? Do they besmirch his eloquence or diminish his originality? I think not. The evidence points to the fact that the loss of some of Seneca's material, if removed from the Pharsalia, might impair its effectiveness, but it does not state that without Seneca there would be no epic.
Therefore, although one can safely describe Seneca's influence on his nephew as considerable, his predominant effect lies in several distinct areas. The evidence derived from this comparative study indicates that the primary areas are those of magic, necromancy, and anatomical horror, while the secondary areas would seem to lie in some technical data, philosophic details, and certain elements of language. It is difficult to conceive that the scenes involving Erichtho and the grisly over-sensational aspects of realism were not inspired by his uncle's emphasis. Yet, his training and upbringing as a Stoic, while supervised by his uncle, probably differed little except in its intensity from that given any student. The slightness of Senecan influence traceable in the employment of vocabulary and language seems in part not only easily ascribed to the differences in themes and the style required for epic poetry as contrasted with those of prose and of drama, but also to Lucan's choice of a Virgilian and Ovidian tradition as the style we required.

While both the primary and secondary areas of influence are sometimes extensive in certain portions of the Pharsalia, by no means do they encompass the
totality of Lucan's work. Lucan has used his own unique talents in seizing upon certain traits which he obviously admired in his uncle's work. He then has changed, modified, transformed, and elaborated many of these until they appear with a character of their own, of Lucan's not Seneca's.

Thus, it is that the reader of the Pharsalia is not immediately struck by the Senecan overtones, just as perhaps he does not at once notice Virgil's influence. Lucan has far too much power and ability to be completely submerged in a mass of literary borrowing from the giants who preceded him. His debt to the literary works of Seneca is perhaps much less than his debt to Seneca the man, who guided, fostered and helped to train a brilliant young nephew in the hope of producing a fine literary talent capable of equalling or surpassing his own considerably ability.
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Articles:


Autobiography

I, Kay Don Morris, was born in Pikeville, Kentucky, November 27, 1932. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, and Livonia, New York. My undergraduate training was obtained at Kent State University, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Science in Education in 1954. I also received the degree Master of Arts from the same university in 1955. While in residence at the Ohio State University, I taught in the Department of Classical Languages during the years 1955-1958 as an Assistant and as an Assistant Instructor. In 1958, I received the position of Research Assistant in the same department, and I held this position while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.