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11

LAMENT IN LUCAN'S *BELLVM CIVILE*

ALISON KEITH

Lament in Classical antiquity has been studied extensively in Greek ritual and literature, primarily from the perspectives of anthropology, feminism, and literary criticism.[1] Roman codes and conventions of funerary lamentation, however, have received far less attention, although Vergil's *Aeneid* has been the focus of some discussion.[2] In this study I explore the literary representation of lament in Classical Rome but press the investigation beyond Vergil to Lucan, beyond female lamentation to male, and beyond public lament to private lament.[3] In a stimulating article surveying lament in the growth and eclipse of Roman epic, Elaine Fantham has suggested that "[c]ommunal public lament is . . . used by Lucan . . . to anticipate the catastrophe of Pompey's death" throughout his epic.[4] My study complements her discussion of public lament by focusing on the private personal laments for Pompey of his wife Cornelia and of his quaestor Cordus in conjunction with Cato's public eulogy of Pompey. In the course of my discussion I shall consider what thematic functions lament plays in the poem; what intertextual relationships can be traced between Lucan's depiction of lament and laments in Vergil's *Aeneid* and other epic poems, both Greek and Latin; and finally, to what extent lament can be characterized as a gendered or class-marked genre in Lucan's epic (i.e., what social hierarchies lament enacts in the poem) and how Lucan's representation of lament reflects attitudes toward lament in Roman society. I shall suggest that Lucan plays on his audience's expectation of lamentation as a female genre, and, more specifically, a wifely obligation, throughout the poem.[5] At the climactic moment of Pompey's death, however, we shall see

that lament is not only an obligation owed the dead husband by his wife but also an obligation owed the *patronus* by his social inferiors, male and female.[6]

Fantham suggests that "for Lucan public mourning is so powerful a symbol that he marks the outbreak of civil war in his second book with all the symptoms of official and unofficial mourning."[7] Indeed Lucan explicitly compares the advent of public mourning at Rome to a Roman matron's private response to death in the household (2.16–28):

> [E]rgo, ubi concipiunt quantis sit cladibus orbi
> constatura fides superum, ferale per urbem
> iustitium; latuit plebeio tectus amictu
> omnis honos, nullos comitata est purpura fasces.
> tum questus tenuere suos magnusque per omnis
> errauit sine uoce dolor. sic funere primo
> attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum
> conclamata iacent nec mater crine soluto
> exigit ad saeuos famularum bracchia planctus,
> sed cum membra premit fugiente rigentia uita
> uoltusque exanimes oculosque in morte minaces,
> necdum est ille dolor nec iam metus: incubat amens
> miraturque malum.
>
> And so, when they perceived what great disasters the faith
> of the gods would cost the world, public business ceased
> throughout the city, and funeral mourning prevailed; every
> public rank was concealed, covered in the dress of the common
> people. The purple accompanied no rods and axes. Then they
> held back their laments, and great grief wandered among all
> citizens without a word. Thus, at the first moment of death, the
> household is stunned and silent, when the corpse lies as yet
> unlamented nor has the mother unbound her hair and driven the
> maidservants' arms to savage blows, but still embraces her child's
> limbs, growing stiff with the loss of life, his lifeless face and eyes,
> menacing in death; her emotion is not yet grief, but nor does fear
> remain: out of her mind, she hangs over his bed amazed at her loss.[8]

Lucan here focuses on the citizens' "great voiceless grief," comparing it with the moment of stunned loss when a Roman matron recognizes that her child is dead, even before lamentation begins. This moment of silence and delay—in both city and household, narrative and simile—reflects the poet's own paradoxical desire *not* to narrate the civil war, *not* to reach the end of the Republic, *not* to give voice to the lamentation that is his narrative's due.[9] Thus in the midst of Pharsalia, for example, Lucan initially refuses to tell how Caesar's forces conquered Pompey's: "[H]anc fuge, mens, partem belli tenebrisque relinque . . . a potius pereant lacrimae pereantque querellae:/quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma

tacebo" (Shun this part of the war, spirit, and leave it in shadows . . . ah, rather let tears and plaints perish: I shall pass over in silence, Rome, whatever you did in this conflict; 7.552, 555–556).[10] The poet's promise of silence, however, is immediately followed by forty lines of impassioned denunciation of the very battle narrative he has just forsworn.[11]

In book 2 as well, the simile emphasizing the pervasive silence before lamentation is immediately followed by a moving description of the Roman matrons congregating in the city's shrines to fill the city with laments: "[C]rebris feriunt ululatibus aures" (They strike the god's ears with their constant cries of lamentation; 2.33). Lucan even records the lament of one of the matrons, as she anticipates the disasters that civil war will bring (2.36–42):

> [Q]uarum una madentis
> scissa genas, planctu liuentis atra lacertos,
> "nunc" ait "o miserae, contundite pectora, matres,
> nunc laniate comas neue hunc differte dolorem
> et summis seruate malis. Nunc flere potestas
> dum pendet fortuna ducum: cum uicerit alter
> gaudendum est."
>
> One of their number, whose cheeks were torn and bloody,
> her shoulders black and bruised from blows, said, "Now, o
> wretched mothers, now tear your hair, don't postpone this
> grief and save it for the height of evils. Now we can weep,
> while the destiny of the generals hangs in the balance: when
> one of the two has won, we shall be required to rejoice."

Despite the violence of the matrons' mourning here, the poet offers no criticism of their actions as socially disruptive.[12] His purpose, rather, seems to be to emphasize the desperate plight of the Republic at the outbreak of civil war, on the verge of the loss of *libertas*: only at this juncture can Rome give free rein to her mourning. Indeed the sorrowing matron pronounces the impossibility of public mourning once a victor has emerged from civil war (cum uicerit alter/gaudendum est [2.41–42]).

Elsewhere in the poem, however, Lucan associates public mourning with the death of Pompey.[13] In book 7, for example, before the battle of Pharsalia, he lingers over a description of the sleeping Pompey, who is unaware that the coming day will doom both him and the Republic (7.7–44). The poet wrings particular pathos from the counterfactual picture of the funeral rites Rome would have performed for her favorite had he died there (7.37–39, 43–44):

> [T]e mixto flesset luctu iuuenisque senexque
> iniussusque puer; lacerasset crine soluto
> pectora femineum ceu Bruti funere uolgus.
> . . .

o miseri, quorum gemitus edere dolorem,
qui te non plen pariter planxere theatro.

Youths and old men, their laments blended, would have
wept for you, Magnus, and boys too, unbidden; the crowd
of women would have unbound their hair and beaten their
breasts, just as at Brutus's funeral. . . . Wretches! Their
groans brought forth grief, though they could not lament
you in the thronged theater.

Public lament, Lucan imagines, would have prominently included men (iuuenisque senexque / . . . puer) in addition to the expected crowd of women (femineum . . . uolgus). Such scenes of public lament for Pompey, however, are eclipsed in number, extent, and intensity by Lucan's obsessive elaboration of Cornelia's obligation to observe the traditional rites of mourning not only after Pompey dies but also before and even during his death.[14]

In two speeches before Pompey's death, Cornelia rehearses the substance of the lamentation she will actually pronounce when she witnesses her husband's murder in Egypt (8.637–662). At her first appearance in the poem, she responds to her husband's decision to send her from the battlefield with a plaintive speech (5.759–815) that implicitly likens their parting to the final parting of death. Pompey determines to conceal her on Lesbos in order that his destiny may not overwhelm her too (5.754–759):

[T]utior interea populis et tutior omni
rege late, positamque procul fortuna mariti
non tota te mole premat. si numina nostras
inpulerint acies, maneat pars optima Magni,
sitque mihi, si fata prement uictorque cruentus,
quo fugisse uelim.

Meanwhile you must be concealed, safer than peoples and
every king; the fate of your husband may not crush you, placed
far away, with its whole mass. If destiny should have impelled
our battle lines to defeat, Magnus's best part would remain, and
I would have a place where I would wish to flee, if destiny and
a cruel victor pursue me.

Pompey's suggestion that with his wife hidden on Lesbos his best part will remain (5.757) implicitly canvasses the possibility of his demise in civil war, and, in response, Cornelia collapses in an overwhelming access of grief (5.759–760): "uix tantum infirma dolorem/cepit, et attonito cesserunt pectore sensus" (scarcely did she sustain such great grief in her weakness, and her senses fled from her stricken breast). Swooning is the conventional female response to both the anticipation and the discovery of a loved one's death in Classical epic, and Cornelia's collapse here evokes the long epic tradition of female lament—from the famous scene in *Iliad*

22 where Andromache learns of Hector's death (Hom. *Il.* 22.447–448); through the scene in which the mother of Euryalus, following Andromache's model, swoons and drops her wool work when she hears the news of her son's death (Verg. *Aen.* 9.473–476); to an equally famous scene in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where Alcyone learns of her husband Ceyx's intention to consult the oracle of Apollo on Delos and immediately imagines his death (Ov. *Met.* 11.416–420). Moreover, the plaintive words Cornelia utters when she recovers from her swoon contribute further to her implicit characterization as a lamenting widow ("tandem vox maestas potuit proferre querellas" [at last she was able to utter her sad plaints; 5.761]; cf. Luc. 7.555, quoted above), for the Augustan elegists had made the term *querella* a quasi-technical term for elegiac lament in their emphasis on that genre's association with death and derivation from funerary lament.[15]

Yet Cornelia's opening words seem to deny the funerary implications of Pompey's speech: "[N]ostros non rumpit funus amores/nec diri fax summa rogi, sed sorte frequenti/plebeiaque nimis careo dimissa marito" (Death does not break our love nor the final torch of the dread pyre, but, dismissed with a common and all too familiar lot, I lose my husband [i.e., by divorce]; 5.763–765). Her description of her dismissal by Pompey as divorce implies her rejection of his ill-omened allusion to his own death. As her speech progresses, however, she is unable to sustain the analogy with divorce and reverts to the imagery of their parting as death. She imagines first her death alone ("[S]ecura uidetur/sors tibi, cum facias etiamnunc uota, perisse?" [Does it seem a happy lot to you, when you are even now making your prayers, that I should have perished {i.e., by separation from my husband}?]; 5.771–772) and then their joint death ("[U]t nolim seruire malis sed morte parata/te sequar ad manes" [Suppose that I were unwilling to wait on these evils, and by preparing my own death I followed you to the underworld]; 5.773–774). In thus picturing her death as the result of his, Cornelia returns full circle to Pompey's anticipation of his imminent death, and she concludes by accepting her widowhood: "[F]eriat dum maesta remotas/fama procul terras, uiuam tibi nempe superstes" (Until the sad report strikes those faraway lands, I will surely live, surviving you; 5.774–775).

Despite her initial attempt to disavow the suggestion of her husband's death, then, Cornelia's first speech in the poem is marked as a lament as much by the poet's designation of her words as *querellae* as by her speech's content and form—including rhetorical questions and reproaches, expressions of contrast between her life of mourning and his in the shadow of death, and her wish for a better outcome, all of which are hallmarks of the genre of lament.[16] Lucan thus casts her speech as an anticipatory lament, and the scene ends as it began, with Cornelia swooning at the prospect of Pompey's death ("[L]abitur infelix manibusque excepta suorum/fertur ad aequorea . . . harenas" [The unhappy woman swooned and, taken up in the hands of her attendants, is carried to the seashore]; 5.799–800). Lucan explicitly characterizes her departure for Lesbos, without Pompey, as widowhood (5.804–810):

[F]ida comes Magni uadit duce sola relicto
Pompeiumque fugit. quae nox tibi proxima uenit, (805)
insomnis; uiduo tum primum frigida lecto
atque insueta quies uni, nudumque marito
non haerente latus. somno quam saepe grauata
deceptis uacuum minibus conplexa cubile est
atque oblita fugae quaesiuit nocte maritum! (810)

Magnus's faithful companion goes alone, her master left
behind, and flees Pompey. The night that came next brought
you no sleep; then for the first time in a widowed bed rest
was cold for you, unused to being alone, without a husband's
naked flank pressing near. Weighed down in sleep how often
she embraced the empty couch with her deceived hands and
forgetful of her flight sought her husband in the night!

Two books later, Lucan depicts Cornelia waiting for Pompey on Lesbos in the same state of crushing grief (8.40–49):

[C]onscia curarum secretae in litora Lesbi (40)
flectere uela iubet, qua tunc tellure latebas
maestior, in mediis quam si, Cornelia, campis
Emathiae stares. tristes praesagia curas
exagitant, trepida quatitur formidine somnus,
Thessaliam nox omnis habet; tenebrisque remotis (45)
rupis in abruptae scopulos extremaque curris
litora; prospiciens fluctus nutantia longe
semper prima uides uenientis uela carinae,
quaerere nec quidquam de fato coniugis audes.

Pompey bids them set sail for Lesbos's shores, entrusted
with his beloved Cornelia, where then you were concealed,
Cornelia, sadder than if you stood in the midst of Emathia's
fields. Forebodings harass her sad cares, her sleep is interrupted
by anxious fear, every night brings the Thessalian battlefield
before her; in the morning you run to the rocks over the sheer
cliff at the edge of the shore; looking out over the waves you
are always the first to see the sails of a coming craft nodding
from afar, nor do you dare to ask anything about your husband's fate.

Cornelia already lives a life of quasi mourning in anticipation of Pompey's death, and with the arrival of her defeated husband the poet urges her to give full rein to lament: "[V]ictus adest coniunx. quid perdis tempora luctus?/cum possis iam flere, times" (Your conquered husband is here. Why do you lose the opportunity for mourning? Though you could weep, you fear; 8.53–54). Lucan's address to his character draws attention to the fact that lamentation is Cornelia's perpetual mode throughout the poem.

Pompey disembarks as a figure of mourning himself, in imitation of the social death that he experiences as a result of his defeat at Pharsalus (8.54–57):

...[T]um puppe propinqua
prosiluit crimenque deum crudele notauit,
deformem pallore ducem uoltusque prementem
canitiem atque atro squalentes puluere uestes.

Then as the ship neared, Cornelia jumped up and
marked the god's wicked crime, the commander
ghastly with pallor, the white hair around his face and
his clothing dark with black dust.

His pallor and clothing dark with dust are the conventional symbols in antiquity of death and mourning (as an imitation of death).[17] Cornelia responds to the anticipatory vision of his death by swooning once again, in a passage that illustrates the reciprocal relationship between death and mourning in Roman thought (8.58–67):

[O]buia nox miserae caelum lucemque tenebris
abstulit, atque animam clausit dolor; omnia neruis
membra relicta labant, riguerunt corda, diuque (60)
spe mortis decepta iacet. Iam fune ligato
litoribus lustrat uacuas Pompeius harenas.
quem postquam propius famulae uidere fideles,
non ultra gemitus tacitos incessere fatum
permisere sibi, frustraque attollere terra (65)
semianimem conantur eram; quam pectore Magnus
ambit et astrictos refouet conplexibus artus.

Night came over the poor wretch, covering sky and light
in shadows, and grief stopped her breath; abandoned by
her muscles her limbs collapsed, her heart stood still, and
for a long time she lay deceived by the hope of death. Now
with the ship tied up on shore Pompey walked over the
empty strand, and after her faithful attendants saw him approach
they did not allow themselves to reproach destiny beyond uttering
stifled groans, and they tried in vain to raise their half-dead
mistress from the ground; Magnus folded her in his arms and
warmed her rigid limbs by his embrace.

Cornelia's physical response to the sight of her defeated husband also mimics death. But Pompey reproves her for succumbing to grief while he still lives (8.78–83):

...[N]unc sum tibi gloria maior
a me quod fasces et quod pia turba senatus

tantaque discessit regum manus: incipe Magnum
sola sequi. deformis adhuc uiuente marito
summus et augeri uetitus dolor: ultima debet
esse fides lugere uirum.

I am now a greater source of glory for you because the
magistrates, the devoted crowd of senators, and so great
a band of kings, have abandoned me: begin to be
Magnus's sole follower. The highest grief, grief that is
forbidden to be increased, is unbecoming while your
husband still lives: to mourn your husband ought to be
the final mark of loyalty.

In response to his rebuke, however, Cornelia continues to give voice to her grief, rehearsing several of the most prominent themes of the genre of lamentation in her pervasive self-reproaches and expressions of desire for death.

She opens with a conventional feature of lamentation in her wish that Pompey's victorious enemy had suffered his fate (8.88–89): "[O] utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem/infelix coniunx et nulli laeta marito!" (O would that I had married hated Caesar, ill-fated wife that I am and fortunate for no husband!). This wish is really a curse, for she has brought disaster to both her husbands (8.90–97):

[B]is nocui mundo: me pronuba ducit Erinys (90)
Crassorumque umbrae, deuotaque manibus illis
Assyrios in castra tuli ciuilia casus,
praecipitesque dedi populos cunctosque fugaui
a causa meliore deos. o maxime coniunx,
o thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat (95)
in tantum fortuna caput? cur inpia nupsi,
si miserum factura fui?

Twice I have harmed the world: a Fury presided
as matron of honor over my wedding, and the shades
of the Crassi, and I, devoted to their shades, brought
the Assyrian disaster into the camp of civil war, hurled
nations headlong to their destruction, and drove all the
gods in flight from the better cause. O greatest husband,
unworthy of marriage with me, did chance hold this law
over so great a life? Why did I impiously marry you, if I
was going to make you wretched?

As a mourner who holds herself responsible for the death she laments, she observes a perpetual state of lamentation throughout the poem and repeatedly expresses her desire to die (8.97–102):

...[N]unc accipe poenas,
sed quas sponte luam: quo sit tibi mollies aequor,
certa fides regum totusque paratior orbis,
sparge mari comitem. mallem felicibus armis
dependisse caput: nunc clades denique lustra,
Magne, tuas.

Now pay the penalty, but a penalty that I shall willingly
pay: that the deep may be smoother for you, the loyalty
of kings certain, and the whole world readier to serve you,
scatter your companion over the sea. I would rather have
laid down my life in exchange for your victorious arms:
now finally expiate your disaster, Magnus.

Yet her closing words also reveal what Sheila Murnaghan has characterized as "a normally hidden world of competition among women, centered on the validating attention of men" (8.102–105):[18]

...[U]bicumque iaces ciuilibus armis
nostros ulta toros, ades huc atque exige poenas,
Iulia crudelis, placataque paelice caesa
Magno parce tuo.

Wherever you lie, cruel Julia, avenge our marriage with
civil war, come here, exact the penalty, and spare your
Magnus, sated by the death of your rival.

Cornelia's jibe at Julia recasts the murderous confrontation of Roman strongmen in a civil war over the spoils of empire as a catfight between two women competing for Pompey's marital attention. Her words recall Julia's apparition as a ghost to Pompey at the opening of book 3, when she predicts disaster at the start of his voyage (Luc. 3.20–23) and calls his new wife a sexual rival (*paelex* [3.23]). Here Cornelia accepts Julia's accusation in an effort to placate her ghost and preserve her husband.[19] Her efforts, however, cannot succeed in preserving the bonds of community in the midst of the civil war and serve only to disrupt them.

Georgia Nugent and Sheila Murnaghan, among others, have observed that women's lamentation may pose a threat to the masculine ideal of heroic glory espoused in epic poetry by emphasizing the pain and suffering this ideal causes the wider community.[20] And this dynamic animates the reunion of Pompey and Cornelia, for her proleptic lament provokes her listeners to tears (8.105–108):

...[S]ic fata iterumque refusa
coniugis in gremium cunctorum lumina soluit
in lacrimas. duri flectuntur pectora Magni,
siccaque Thessalia confudit lumina Lesbos.

So saying she collapsed again in her husband's embrace
and melted the eyes of all to tears. The breast of hard
Magnus is broken, and Lesbos flooded the eyes that were
dry at Pharsalia.

Even Pompey, who was able to witness the battle of Pharsalia with dry eyes, is stricken by her lamentation, silenced by the power of her grief.

He decisively rejects the Lesbians' invitation, however, to make their island his base and insists on departing immediately with Cornelia, a sight to which the Lesbians respond with further lamentation (8.146–158):

. . . [D]ixit maestamque carinae
inposuit comitem. cunctos mutare putares
tellurem patriaeque solum: sic litore toto
plangitur, infestae tenduntur in aethera dextrae.
Pompeiumque minus, cuius fortuna dolorem (150)
mouerat, ast illam, quam toto tempore belli
ut ciuem uidere suam, discedere cernens
ingemuit populus; quam uix, si castra mariti
uictoris peteret, siccis dimittere matres
iam poterant oculis: tanto deuinxit amore (155)
hos pudor, hos probitas castique modestia uoltus,
quod summissa animis, nulli grauis hospita turbae,
stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.

He spoke and placed his sad companion aboard ship.
You would think all were exchanging their land, the
ground of their fatherland: so the whole shore rang with
lament, and hostile hands strained against heaven. They
felt less for Pompey, whose fate indeed roused their grief,
but watching her leave, whom they'd seen during the whole
period of war as their fellow citizen, the people groaned
aloud; if she had sought the camp of a victorious husband,
scarcely could the matrons have sent her away with dry eyes;
with such love had her modesty bound the people to her,
along with her goodness and the diffidence of her chaste
demeanor, because humble of spirit and troublesome in her
visit to none, she lived as if her husband had been defeated
when his fortune still stood firm.

Lucan implicitly compares the Lesbians' lamentations at the departure of Cornelia and the defeated Pompey to a lament for the fall of a city (8.147–149), thus apparently assimilating Pompey's defeat to the conquest of Lesbos.[21] Singled out in this general scene of lamentation are the Lesbian matrons (*matres* [8.154]), the female representatives of the community of Lesbos (cf. *cunctos* [8.147], *populus* [8.153]) that has sheltered both Cornelia and her defeated husband. In marking lamentation as an essentially female genre, Lucan follows both Classical epic convention (e.g., Hector's mourners, Hecuba, Helen, and Andromache in *Iliad* 24; and the Trojan women mourning Anchises on the Sicilian strand in *Aeneid* 5) and Roman social custom, which not only prescribed mourning for female family members but also made provision for hiring paid female mourners (*praeficae*).[22] It is striking, however, that the Lesbian matrons in this scene reflect not on the glorious epic achievements of Pompey but on the sorrows of his wife.[23] Pompey's defeat is viewed in this passage primarily through the lens of Cornelia's personal grief, but her private lamentation provokes further (public) lamentation in the throng, with the poet privileging her private loss at the prospect of Pompey's death over his public calamity in the defeat at Pharsalus.

In the two speeches we have considered thus far, Cornelia rehearses the substance of the lamentation she will actually pronounce when she witnesses her husband's murder at the hands of Ptolemy's minions later in the book (8.637–662).[24] As in her first appearance in the poem, she tries to prevent Pompey from abandoning her when he leaves his flagship on the invitation of the Egyptian king's ministers to enter their small craft, though on this occasion she fears not her husband's death but his disgrace in submitting to alien authority (8.577–595). Pompey ignores her pleas, however, and leaves her to watch his murder at the hands of a Roman soldier on the orders of Ptolemy. As in her earlier laments, Cornelia here reproaches herself as the cause of Pompey's death (8.639–642, 647–650):

[O] coniunx, ego te scelerata peremi:
letiferae tibi causa morae fuit auia Lesbos,
et prior in Nili peruenit litora Caesar;
nam cui ius alii sceleris?
. . . haud ego culpa
libera bellorum, quae matrum sola per undas
et per castra comes nullis absterrita fatis
uictum, quod reges etiam timuere, recepi.

O husband, I have wickedly destroyed you: the cause
of your deadly delay was inaccessible Lesbos, and Caesar
reached the shores of the Nile earlier; for who else has the
prerogative of the crime? . . . By no means am I free from
blame for the wars; for I was the only one of the matrons who
followed him on sea and in camp, deterred by no misfortunes,
and received him defeated, which even kings feared to do.

Interspersed with these self-reproaches are expressions of Cornelia's determination to die (8.653–658), which recall her expressions of desire for death in the earlier speeches. Other conventional themes of lament, moreover, appear for the first time here, such as the questions she

addresses to her dead husband (8.651–653): "[H]oc merui, coniunx, in tuta puppe relinqui?/perfide, parcebas? Te fata extrema petente/uita digna fui?" (Did I deserve, husband, to be abandoned to the safety of the ship? Were you trying to spare me, faithless one? Was I worthy of life when you were seeking the limits of your destiny?). Yet the highly rhetorical presentation of her questions and their location in the middle of her speech differentiate them strikingly from mourners' traditional expressions of anxiety in the form of hesitant questions at the beginning of a lament, even in the aftermath of violent death, as here.[25] Similarly, the contrast she draws between Pompey's disdain for his own death and his anxiety about hers plays on a traditional theme of lament, the contrast between the mourner's condition and that of the dead, but again in a series of highly mannered *sententiae* more typical of Lucan's epigrammatic style than of earlier laments in the Classical epic tradition (8.642–647):

> . . . [S]ed, quisquis in istud
> a superis inmisse caput uel Caesaris irae
> uel tibi prospiciens, nescis, crudelis, ubi ipsa
> uiscera sint Magni; properas atque ingeris ictus,
> qua uotum est uicto. poenas non morte minores
> pendat et ante meum uideat caput.
>
> But whoever you are (*sc.* who is attacking Pompey), sent
> by the gods against that life, either attending to Caesar's
> anger or your own, you do not know, cruel man, where
> Magnus's very vitals are; you hasten to heap on the blows
> where the defeated man wishes. Let him pay the penalty
> no less than death and see my head fall first.

Cornelia concludes with her determination to die now, for in the aftermath of Pompey's death she will be enslaved to Caesar (8.653–661):

> . . . [M]oriar, nec munere regis.
> aut mihi praecipitem, nautae, permittite saltum,
> aut laqueum collo tortosque aptare rudentes,
> aut aliquis Magno dignus comes exigat ensem;
> Pompeio praestare potest, quod Caesaris armis
> inputet. o saeui, properantem in fata tenetis?
> uiuis adhuc, coniunx, et iam Cornelia non est
> iuris, Magne, sui: prohibent accerser mortem;
> seruor uictori.
>
> I shall die, nor by the gift of the king. Allow me, sailors,
> either to leap headlong or to fit a noose of twisted rope
> around my neck; or let some friend of Pompey prove worthy
> of him by driving home his sword in my body. He can do for
> Pompey's sake what he can claim as a service to Caesar's
> arms. Cruel men, do you restrain me in my haste to die? You
> are still alive, husband, yet already Cornelia has ceased to be
> independent, Magnus: they prevent me from summoning death;
> I am saved for the victor.

Here Cornelia alludes to another conventional theme of lamentation, the contrast of the mourner's former freedom and social prominence with her future slavery. The wish for death expresses her recognition of the social death she suffers when she loses the man through whom her social position is defined. This speech, like the earlier ones, concludes with her mini-death in a swoon as she is led away by attendants (8.661–662): "[S]ic fata interque suorum / lapsa manus rapitur trepida fugiente carina" (So saying she swooned among friendly hands and is snatched away trembling as the ship flees).

Since Pompey's flagship flees the scene of his death, however, the laying out of the corpse and ritual lament over it are conducted by his *cliens*, the quaestor Cordus (8.712–822). Nonetheless, Lucan shows Cordus explicitly acknowledging the Roman social expectation of the wife's performance of these duties (8.739–742): "[S]it satis, o superi, quod non Cornelia fuso/ crine iacet subicique facem conplexa maritum/imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti/infelix coniunx nec adhuc a litore longe est" (Be content with this, o gods, that Cornelia does not lie prostrate with disheveled hair—does not embrace her husband and bid the torch be applied; that his unhappy wife, though still not far distant from the shore, is not here to pay her last tribute to the dead). In Cornelia's absence, Cordus must retrieve Pompey's body from the sea (8.715–726), and he also pronounces a lament over the corpse. He begins by reproaching Fortuna for her abandonment of a former favorite (8.726–738):

> . . . [P]ostquam sicco iam litore sedit,
> incubuit Magno lacrimasque effudit in omne
> uolnus, et ad superos obscuraque sidera fatur:
> "non pretiosa petit cumulato ture sepulchra
> Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus, non pinguis ad astra
> ut ferat e membris Eoos fumus odores,
> ut Romana suum gestent pia colla parentem,
> praeferat ut veteres feralis pompa triumphos,
> ut resonant tristi cantu fora, totus ut ignes
> proiectis maerens exercitus ambiat armis.
> da vilem Magno plebei funeris arcam,
> quae lacerum corpus siccos effundat in ignes;
> robora non desint misero nec sordidus ustor."
>
> When Pompey's body came to rest on dry land, he cast
> himself upon Magnus, pouring tears into every wound;
> and thus he addressed Heaven and the dim stars: "No costly

pyre with heaped-up incense does your favorite, Pompey, ask
of you, Fortune; he does not ask that the rich smoke should
carry to the stars Eastern perfumes from his limbs; that
devoted Romans should bear on their shoulders the dear father
of their country; that the funeral procession should display his
former trophies; that the Forum should be filled with mournful
music; or that a whole army, with dropped arms, should march
mourning round the burning pile. But grant to Magnus the paltry
bier of a pauper's burial, to let down the mutilated body on the
unfed fires; let not the hapless corpse lack wood or a humble
hand to kindle it."

Of particular interest here is Cordus's contrast between the grand public funeral so prominent a general should receive (8.729–735) and the mean private funeral he can actually offer Pompey (8.736–738). The contrast Cordus draws here between the funeral Pompey deserves and the funeral he actually receives is itself another topos of lament (we may compare Catullus 101). This contrast is conventionally drawn in Greek lament too, but Lucan Romanizes it by representing the grand public funeral Pompey should have had as the ceremony of the ***funus publicum***, "a special kind of ***funus indictiuum***, to which all citizens were invited . . . decreed to a benefactor of the State and paid for by the State treasury."[26] Instead, Pompey receives a pauper's funeral without even the services of a professional ***ustor*** (who was employed to burn dead bodies). Moreover Cordus has to rob the funeral pyre belonging to another corpse in order to kindle a poor one for Pompey, thereby acting as ***ustor*** himself (8.752–758).[27]

Cordus does his best, however, to supply the full obsequies to Pompey's corpse, and he accordingly utters a lament over Pompey's corpse (8.759–775):

[I]lle sedens iuxta flammas "o maxime" dixit
"ductor et Hesperii maiestas nominis una, (760)
si tibi iactatu pelagi, si funere nullo
tristior iste rogus, manes animamque potentem
officiis averte meis: iniuria fati
hoc fas esse iubet; ne ponti belua quidquam,
ne fera, ne volucres, ne saevi Caesaris ira (765)
audeat, exiguam, quantum potes, accipe flammam,
Romana succense manu. fortuna recursus
si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescent
tam sacri cineres, sed te Cornelia, Magne,
accipiet nostraque manu transfundet in urnam. (770)
interea parvo signemus litora saxo,
ut nota sit busti; si quis placare peremptum
forte volet plenos et reddere mortis honores,

inveniat trunci cineres et norit harenas,
ad quas, Magne, tuum referat caput." (775)

Sitting by the flames, Cordus said: "O greatest general
and sole grandeur of Hesperian name, if this pyre is more
bitter for you than to be tossed by the sea, or than no
burial at all, then turn away your shade and mighty spirit
from my services; the injury of Fate bids this be lawful;
that no monster of the deep nor beast nor bird nor rage of
cruel Caesar may dare, receive the flame, all that you can
(receive), kindled by a Roman hand. If Fortune should grant
a return to Italy, such sacred ashes as these will not rest here,
but Cornelia will receive you, Magnus, and will transfer
them from my hand to an urn. Meanwhile, let me mark the
shore with a small stone to be the mark of your grave; if
perhaps anyone wishes to appease your shade and return
death's full dignities to you, let him find the ashes of your
body and recognize the sands to which he must restore your head."

We find here the traditional themes of the ritual lament, especially in the contrasts between Pompey's glory in life and ignominy in death and between Cordus's makeshift grave for Pompey and Cornelia's permanent memorial for her husband. An innovation in the epic tradition of lament is struck here, however, in the contrast Lucan implies between Pompey's patronage of Cordus in life as his commanding officer (***ductor*** [8.760]) and Cordus's burial of Pompey in death, depicted as his duty (***officiis . . . meis*** [8.763]) to his erstwhile commander. Throughout the passage Lucan emphasizes the social obligation that motivates Cordus's piety toward his patron. In addition to Cordus's reference to the services owed to his commander that he performs, he closes the burial rites at the approach of daybreak with the observation that ***pietas*** compels him to bring his service to an end by gathering up the half-burned bones and burying them and quenching the fire (8.785–789):

. . . [C]ogit pietas inponere finem
officio. semusta rapit resolutaque nondum
ossa satis neruis et inustis plena medullis
aequorea restinguit aqua congestaque in unum
parua clausit humo.

Pietas compels him to bring to an end his service. He
snatched up the half-burned remains, the bones not yet
sufficiently released from the tissue, and he extinguished
them with sea-water, heaped them together, and enclosed
them in a bit of earth.

Cordus's disposal of Magnus's corpse is ritually correct, inasmuch as he kindles the corpse on the pyre, drenches the remains, and collects the

ashes for safekeeping until Cornelia can transfer them to an urn (8.786–793).[28] He has thus discharged the duties of the relatives and dependents toward the deceased insofar as he can. Lucan, however, emphasizes the pathos of his solitary lament and burial of Pompey's corpse through his performance of these rituals alone, on a hostile foreign shore, and especially, as Cordus himself reiterates in his lament, in the absence of Pompey's wife, Cornelia, who should perform the ritual herself.[29]

In the following book, Lucan represents Cornelia discharging her wifely obligation to the dead Pompey when she delivers a formal lament for him off the shore of Egypt in sight of his pyre (9.55–108). She begins by reproaching Fortune at some length for preventing her from performing the funerary rites Cordus has furnished (9.55–72), before turning to lament proper with a direct address to her dead husband (9.73–75; cf. 9.98, 9.104) that draws a contrast between his former good fortune ("elapsus felix de pectore Magnus" [the Magnus of prosperous days has slipped from my heart]; 9.81) and his ignominious death and burial in Egypt ("hunc volumus, quem Nilus habet" [I want this man, whom the Nile holds]; 9.82). Cornelia's lament opens and closes with the self-reproaches with which we are familiar, but its central message is addressed to Pompey's sons, and thence to Cato and Pompey's followers, urging them in Pompey's name to avenge his death by continuing to prosecute the war against Caesar (9.84–97):

> [T]u pete bellorum casus et signa per orbem,
> Sexte, paterna moue; namque haec mandata reliquit (85)
> Pompeius uobis in nostra condita cura:
> "me cum fatalis leto damnauerit hora,
> excipite, o nati, bellum ciuile, nec umquam,
> dum terris aliquis nostra de stirpe manebit,
> Caesaribus regnare uacet. uel sceptra uel urbes (90)
> libertate sua ualidas inpellite fama
> nominis: has uobis partes, haec arma relinquo.
> inueniet classes, quisquis Pompeius in undas
> uenerit, et noster nullis non gentibus heres
> bella dabit: tantum indomitos memoresque paterni (95)
> iuris habete animos. uni parere decebit,
> si faciet partes pro libertate, Catoni."

> You, Sextus, seek the hazards of war and raise your father's standards throughout the world; for Pompey left for you, his sons, these instructions stored in my care: "When the destined hour has condemned me to death, take over the civil war, my sons, and never, while any offshoot of our line remains on earth, grant Caesars the chance to rule. Stir up kings or states strong in their own freedom by the fame of our name; I leave you this role and these arms. Any Pompey who goes to sea will find fleets, and our successor will bring war to many nations; only keep your spirits unconquered and mindful of your father's power. Cato alone it is fitting to obey, if he rallies a party for freedom."

Cornelia's call to renewed aggression invites comparison with what Helene Foley has characterized as the "ethics of vendetta" that informs such laments as Electra's in Sophocles' tragedy of the same name.[30] Indeed, Cornelia's incitement of Pompey's sons to further military action, whether on their own authority or under the command of Cato, inspires the narrative action of the rest of the epic.

Yet the comparison of Cornelia's laments to an "ethics of vendetta" must not be pressed too far because Rome employed judicial and political mechanisms (including the senatorial sanction of military force) in place of feuds or vendettas. Lucan is careful to distinguish the private setting of Cornelia's lament at the beginning of book 9—delivered as a reproach to Fortune aboard Pompey's flagship, her only audience Pompey's son Sextus—from the public context of military and political action. And just as her earlier speeches rehearsing the themes of lamentation ended in her fainting and removal by devoted attendants, so her final lament concludes with her veiling and retreat to the innermost recesses of the ship (9.109–116):

> [S]ic ubi fata, caput ferali obduxit amictu
> decreuitque pati tenebras puppisque cauernis (110)
> delituit, saeuumque arte conplexa dolorem
> perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum.
> illam non fluctus stridensque rudentibus Eurus
> mouit et exsurgens ad summa pericula clamor,
> uotaque sollicitis faciens contraria nautis (115)
> conposita in mortem iacuit fauitque procellis.

> So saying, she covered her head with a mourning veil; she determined to endure the shadows and withdrew to the ship's hold; and hugging her savage grief closely, she enjoys her tears and loves her grief in place of her husband. She is unmoved by the waves, the howling of the east wind in the rigging, and the shouts that rose at the greatest dangers, and uttering prayers opposed to those of the harassed sailors, she lay disposed in the attitude of death and favored the storms.

Cornelia's voluntary removal from the sailors' view recalls, and respects, the gendered separation of lamenting women from the public gatherings of men in Vergil's *Aeneid* (books 5 and 9).[31]

When Pompey's flagship arrives at Cato's camp in Libya where the army is already in mourning, however, Cornelia emerges from her self-imposed seclusion and prompts the people to lamentation by her example (9.167–181):

[I]nterea totis audito funere Magni
litoribus sonuit percussus planctibus aether,
exemploque carens et nulli cognitus aeuo
luctus erat, mortem populos deflere potentis. (170)
sed magis, ut uisa est lacrimis exhausta, solutas
in uoltus effusa comas, Cornelia puppe
egrediens, rursus geminato uerbere plangunt.
ut primum in sociae peruenit litora terrae,
collegit uestes miserique insignia Magni (175)
armaque et inpressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
exuuias pictasque togas, uelamina summo
ter conspecta Ioui, funestoque intulit igni.
ille fuit miserae Magni cinis. accipit omnis
exemplum pietas, et toto litore busta (180)
surgunt Thessalicis reddentia manibus ignem.

Meanwhile when Magnus's death was reported the air rang
with the sound of mourning along the whole shore, and
unexampled and unknown to any age, there was general
grief, and the people lamented the death of their leader. But
more, when Cornelia was glimpsed, worn out by weeping
and with her loosened hair spread over her face, leaving the
ship, they renewed their lamentation with redoubled blows.
As soon as she reached the shores of the allied land, she gathered
the clothing and insignia of poor Magnus, his arms and the robes
embroidered with gold, which he had once worn, his colored
togas and the triumphal toga that he had thrice worn in Jupiter's
sight, and put them on a funeral pyre. They constituted wretched
Magnus's ashes. All devotion to duty followed her example, and
on the whole shore funeral pyres arise, returning fire to the
Thessalian dead.

By collecting the garments and military insignia of her dead husband to throw on the funeral pyre she erects for him here (9.174–179), Cornelia shows exemplary devotion (*pietas*) to her dead husband, and her example is contagious. She inspires individual soldiers in the army to imitation, as they erect pyres for their dead up and down the shore (9.179–181). The army's mimetic response to the sight of Cornelia intensifies their earlier spontaneous mourning at the death of Pompey, which Lucan singles out as unparalleled in Roman history (9.167–170). Whether or not that was the case historically, such grief for a dead commander is not without parallel in the poem itself, as we have seen already in Cordus's discharge of Roman funerary ritual over Pompey's corpse. Indeed, we may link Cordus's mourning for his dead commander with the army's collective lament for their leader, in their shared capacity as his military subordinates and dependents. The juxtaposition of these successive scenes thus illustrates

both the gender affiliations and the class lines of lamentation: lament is not only an obligation owed the dead man by his wife but also an obligation owed the ***patronus*** by his social inferiors.[32]

The gendered and class-marked contrast that distinguishes this kind of spontaneous private lamentation from organized public commemoration is decisively illuminated in the dead Pompey's eulogy by Cato soon after Cornelia's shipboard lament (9.190–214):

"[C]iuis obit" inquit "multum maioribus inpar (190)
nosse modum iuris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aeuo,
cui non ulla fuit iusti reuerentia; salua
libertate potens, et solus plebe parata
priuatus seruire sibi, rectorque senatus,
sed regnantis, erat. nil belli iure poposcit, (195)
quaeque dari uoluit uoluit sibi posse negari.
inmodicas possedit opes, sed plura retentis
intulit. inuasit ferrum, sed ponere norat.
praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amauit.
iuuit sumpta ducem, iuuit dimissa potestas. (200)
casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam
fortuna domini. clarum et uenerabile nomen
gentibus et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi.
olim uera fides Sulla Marioque receptis
libertatis obit; Pompeio rebus adempto (205)
nunc et ficta perit. non iam regnare pudebit,
nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus.
o felix, cui summa dies fuit obuia uicto
et cui quaerendos Pharium scelus obtulit enses.
forsitan in soceri potuisses uiuere regno. (210)
scire mori sors prima uiris, sed proxima cogi.
et mihi, si fatis aliena in iura uenimus,
fac talem, Fortuna, Iubam; non deprecor hosti
seruari, dum me seruet ceruice recisa."

"A citizen has died," he said, "much inferior to our ancestors
in acknowledging the limit of the law, but useful nonetheless
in this day and age, which has no reverence for what is right;
he was powerful while freedom was safe and alone remained
a private citizen though the people were ready to serve him;
he was the ruler of the Senate, but the Senate ruled. He
demanded nothing by right of war, and what he wanted to be
given he wanted to be able to be denied him. He possessed
boundless wealth, but he brought in more than he held back.
He seized upon the sword, but he knew how to lay it down.
He preferred arms to the toga, but, though armed, he loved
peace. Assuming power pleased our general, but so did laying

> it down. His household was pure and lacking in extravagance,
> never corrupted by the fortune of its master. His name is famous
> and revered among all peoples and benefited our city greatly.
> True faith in freedom perished long since, with the reception of
> Sulla and Marius within the city; now even the pretence of
> freedom has perished with Pompey's loss to the state. Now there
> will be no shame in ruling, nor will there be any pretence of
> possessing military authority legally conferred, nor will the Senate
> be any screen. Happy the man whose last day followed closely on
> his defeat and whom the Egyptian crime offered the sword he
> should have sought. Perhaps, Pompey, you could have lived
> under your father-in-law's tyranny. Men's happiest lot is to know
> how to die, but the next is to be compelled. And if we are fated to
> come into the power of another, make Juba such for me, Destiny;
> I do not disdain to be saved for my enemy, provided that he saves
> me by cutting off my head."

Before the army Cato pronounces a funerary eulogy that offers public testimony to Pompey's allegiance to the legal conventions of Roman warfare and politics (9.215–217) and celebrates Pompey wholly as a public citizen—*ciuis* is the opening word of his speech (9.190)—and one, moreover, who had always acted within the parameters of Roman law (9.195–196). While deprecating Pompey's ambition, Cato praises him for respecting the forms of Republican government and lending his name to the Republican cause.[33]

Cato's eulogy of Pompey functions as an expression of Roman order and hierarchy in its appeal to the political values of the community.[34] It is designed to inspire in Pompey's soldiers a renewed commitment to Republican government and, therefore, to the continuation of the war against Caesar. Yet, although Lucan praises Cato's speech as a greater honor to Pompey than a funerary eulogy delivered from the speaker's rostra in the forum (9.215–217), the soldiers, impervious to Cato's appeal, turn mutinous (9.217–220): "[F]remit interea discordia uolgi,/ castrorum bellique piget post funera Magni;/cum Tarcondimotus linquendi signa Catonis/sustulit . . . " (Meanwhile mutiny raged in the crowd, and after Pompey's funeral, the camp tired of war; when Tarcondimotus raised the signal for deserting Cato . . .). In this crisis, Cato taunts the soldiers that in abandoning the Republican cause at this juncture they are implicitly aiding the tyrannical cause of Caesar by turning over to him both Cornelia and Pompey's sons (9.276–278): "[R]apiatur in undas/ infelix coniunx Magni prolesque Metelli,/ducite Pompeios, Ptolemaei uincite munus" (Let Pompey's unhappy wife, Metellus's daughter, be seized and carried over the sea, lead Pompey's sons, and outdo Ptolemy's gift to Caesar).

In the context of the epic's narrative it is Cato's public argument here, rather than Cornelia's private call for vengeance earlier, that ultimately

carries the day, as he appropriates the themes of Cornelia's lament and adapts them to political ends and finally persuades the army to fight a legitimate war against Caesar (9.292–293): "[S]ic uoce Catonis/inculcata uiris iusti patientia Martis" (In this way by Cato's speech was the endurance of lawful warfare inculcated in his men).[35] In undertaking to prosecute the war against Caesar, Cato confers political legitimacy on the personal pleas for vengeance and curses enunciated in Cornelia's laments, thereby underlining the public and political aspects of her laments and pleas for vengeance. But for the audience of Lucan's epic (as opposed to the characters in it), this conclusion must be complicated by the power of Cornelia's laments and their continuing impact on the narrative impetus of the poem.[36] For as we have seen, within the narrative economy of the epic, the determination to continue to prosecute the war with Caesar after Pompey's death is first sounded by Cornelia, in her final lament in the company of Pompey's son Sextus. By giving voice to Cornelia's series of impassioned lamentations and by following in the closing books of his epic the narrative course proposed in her final lament, Lucan affirms the power of women's lamentation in ancient Rome and the central role of Cornelia in the commemoration of Pompey.

NOTES

1. Alexiou 1974, 2002; Derderian 2001; Dué 2002, 2006; Foley 2001; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 2000; Loraux 1990; Seremetakis 1991.

2. On Roman funerary ritual, see Bodel 1999; Corbeill 2004, with full bibliography; Hopkins 1983; Toynbee 1971. For women's lament in Roman funerary ritual, see Richlin 2001; Dutsch, this volume. On lament in Vergil's *Aeneid*, see Fantham 1999, 223–226; Nugent 1992; Perkell 1997; Wiltshire 1989. Recent scholarship has also analyzed the many scenes of female lament in Statius's *Thebaid* from literary, feminist, and sociohistorical perspectives: see Dietrich 1999; Fantham 1999; Lovatt 1999; Pagán 2000.

3. I was unable to consult Behr 2007 while drafting this chapter. For discussion of male lament, albeit in a Greek context, see Suter, this volume. Richlin (2001) argues that at Rome male lament was a conventional feature of the law courts.

4. Fantham 1999, 222–223.

5. On the gendered expectations of public lament in Rome, see Dutsch, this volume.

6. Treggiari 1993, 484–498, esp. 493–495; Richlin 2001. On the function of class distinctions in Roman lament, see Richlin 2001, 241–245.

7. Fantham 1999, 223.

8. I quote the text from Housman's *Lucan* (1958); unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

9. Masters (1992, 3–10) brilliantly sketches Lucan's thematization of delay as a means of registering an anti-Caesarian ("Pompeian") reluctance to renarrate the civil war in his *Bellum Ciuile*; the simile (2.21–28) stands as yet another instance of this thematization.

10. Cf. Masters 1992, 5: "Lucan is always on the sidelines, so to speak; often entering into the poem in his own person, he shouts encouragement or cries out in

dismay," as here. For this Lucanian reflex, see the bibliography collected in Masters 1992, 5 n. 14.

11. Cf. ibid., 10: "The poem is a civil war. Lucan is Caesarian in his ambition, but Pompeian in his remorse; the Pompeian in him condemns Caesar, but the Caesarian in him condemns—kills—Pompey."

12. Cf. Fantham 1999, 223. Corbeill notes of mourning ritual in classical antiquity that "the woman's function tends to concentrate on ensuring the destiny of the individual corpse, while men use grieving to maintain the continuity of the community and the status of families within the community" (2004, 69). This statement encapsulates the gender ideology of lament in ancient Rome, where women's laments—with the exception of the *nenia*, on which see Dutsch, this volume—were ideally restricted to the private sphere. For this reason, excessive (i.e., public) lament, particularly by women, was restricted by senatorial legislation at Rome: see Corbeill 2004, 75–77. Livy 22.55.3–8 records the Senate's public decree confining women to their homes and forbidding them to lament publicly in the aftermath of Cannae. This gender division contrasts strongly with the Greek tradition, where women's public lamentation was used to showcase the families' status. The results were similar however: repeated legislative efforts to limit women's public lament; see Alexiou 1974, 14–23; Loraux 1990, 19–48. For a comparison between Greek and Roman conventions of lament, see Loraux 1990, 49–56.

13. Fantham 1999, 223.

14. On the Roman association of women with excessive emotion, especially in the context of grief and mourning, see Richlin 2001, 231–235.

15. See Papanghelis 1987; Saylor 1967; cf. Hor. *C.* 2.9.9, Domitius Marsus fr. 7 Courtney; and Ov. *Am.* 3.9.1–4. Classical literary criticism had long associated the genre of elegy with mourning, and this association was the subject of renewed elaboration in the elegiac and lyric poetry of the Augustan period: see Hinds 1987, 103–104; cf. Hor. *C.* 1.33.2, 2.9.9, *AP* 75–78; Prop. 1.22; and Cat. 65.12.

16. On the conventional themes and formulas of lament, based on Greek culture but mutatis mutandis applicable to ancient Rome, see Alexiou 1974, 161–184; Derderian 2001, 35–40. Perkell (this volume) questions the normative value of the laments in *Iliad* 24, and her literary critical reading of these laments persuasively demonstrates both their individual force and their closural propriety within the epic. By Lucan's day, the cultural authority of the Homeric epics had lent these laments a "canonical" status—whether for emulation, transgression, or problematization.

17. Murnaghan 1987, 27 n. 12. Richlin (2001, 240–243) argues—in dialogue with Stears (this volume)—that this attire is an indicator of low social status.

18. See Murnaghan 1987, 209.

19. Cf. Mayer 1981, 99.

20. See Nugent 1992, on Verg. *Aen.* 9.477–502; Murnaghan 1999. Cf. Derderian 2001, 15–62. See also Perkell, this volume, with more bibliography, for Homer's manipulation of this function of lamentation.

21. On city laments, a very ancient pan-Mediterranean genre, see Bachvarova, this volume; Alexiou 1974, 83–101.

22. See Corbeill 2004, 77; Toynbee 1971; Dutsch, this volume.

23. Cf. Perkell, this volume, on the Iliadic focus on "bitterness and pain" in female lament and the lamenting woman's expression of an alternative range of moral and human value, unrelated to martial glory.

24. Lucan's portrait of Cornelia is reminiscent of the Iliadic Helen. See Martin (this volume), who analyzes her speeches and finds them so full of lament characteristics (in, e.g., diction and imagery) that he argues that she is portrayed as a lamenter long before her lament for Hector in *Iliad* 24.

25. Cf. Alexiou 1974, 161–165.

26. Toynbee 1971, 55. Cf. Alexiou 1974, 178–181, esp. 179, where she notes the frequency of this conventional topos of lament in Latin epigraphy. The funeral of Sulla, described by Appian in his *Civil Wars* (*BC* 1.105–106), was a particularly magnificent example of the kind, as Toynbee notes: "His corpse was carried on a golden litter and was accompanied by more than two thousand golden crowns and by axes and other symbols of the offices held by him in life. In the procession were trumpeters and pipers, Vestal Virgins, the senators and magistrates, and vast crowds of soldiers, horse and foot, as well as of citizens" (1971, 55).

27. Lucan writes:

> [S]ic fatus plenusque sinus ardente fauilla
> peruolat ad truncum, qui fluctu paene relatus
> litore pendebat. summas dimouit harenas
> et collecta procul lacerae fragmentea carinae
> exigua trepidus posuit scrobe. nobile corpus
> robora nulla premunt, nulla strue membra recumbent:
> admotus Magnum, non subditus, accipit ignis. (8.752–758)

> So saying he filled his pockets with the burning embers
> and rushed back to the body, which, as it hung upon the
> shore, had nearly been carried back by a wave. He scraped
> away the surface of the sand, and hastily laid in a narrow
> trench the pieces of a broken boat which he had gathered
> at a distance. No wood supports that famous corpse, on no
> pile are the limbs laid; the fire that receives Magnus is not
> laid beneath him but beside him.

28. Toynbee 1971, 50.

29. Corbeill (2004, 77–84) adduces visual and textual evidence to show that men and women performed some of the same mourning gestures in the domestic funerary context but that certain gestures (such as bare feet) were gender specific to women, as was the more excessive wailing. See also Suter, this volume, for similar evidence in the Greek materials.

30. Foley 2001, 151, with bibliography on modern Greek comparanda.

31. Cf. Nugent 1992.

32. Corbeill (2004, 83) comments that the performance of private mourning ritual is commonly gender specific to women but notes the performance of such ritual by clients of the deceased, slaves and freedmen, on a relief from the tomb of the Haterii. For reliefs that show women taking the lead in the expression of grief in ancient Roman funerary ritual, see Corbeill 2004, figs. 8 and 13.

33. The antitheses of Cato's speech are typical of Greek lament; cf. Alexiou 1974, 131–160.

34. Cf. Corbeill 2004, 68–82. On the conventions of the Roman *laudatio funebris*, see Kierdorf 1980; for the manipulation of aristocratic funerals for political ends, see Flower 1996, 91–127.

35. Male co-option of women's laments is a recurrent theme of the contributions to this volume, especially those by Bachvarova, Rutherford, Perkell, and Stears.

36. Cf. the conclusions of Perkell 1997 and her chapter in this volume.

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