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Erica Bexley

Lucan's Catalogues and the Landscape of War*

*quantas acies stragemque ciebunt
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois!*
(Verg. A. 6.829–31)

How great the battles and slaughter they'll wreak!
The father-in-law rushing down from the rampart
of Alps, the peak of Monoecus, and his son-in-law
all ready, equipped with troops from the East.

Introduction

From these three lines of Vergil, Lucan creates two catalogues: in Book 1 (392–465) he describes Caesar's troops withdrawing from Gaul to march on Rome; in Book 3 (169–297) he lists the Eastern tribes and peoples who have come to Pompey's aid. The two passages follow standard epic precedent to the extent that they deploy a range of geographic and ethnographic detail. For Lucan's predecessors, the military catalogue's main purposes were to identify the warriors who would participate in the coming battle and to allow readers a glimpse of geography beyond the poem's scope.¹ The *Pharsalia* reinterprets these aims in order to show how civil war upsets a world previously discovered, conquered, and arranged according to Roman imperialism. To evoke the geographic confusion that civil war entails, Lucan gives his catalogues an unconventional form: in

* This article has had a rather prolonged genesis; my thanks are many and well overdue. First, I am grateful to the editors of this volume, for giving me the opportunity to write on one of my favorite topics, and to the anonymous readers, for their advice and encouragement. I would also like to thank the Classics faculty and students at Oberlin College where I presented a modified version of this paper in Feb. 2012: your thoughtful feedback helped me a lot. Thanks are likewise due to my fellow members of the Mellon Interdisciplinary Writing Group, and in particular to Sam Kurland, whose unflinching criticism saved my analysis from numerous blunders and illogicalities. As befits its subject matter, this article has accompanied me to three different continents in the past three years: my heartfelt thanks to Aristotle University, Thessaloniki; Cornell University; and the Australian National University, for being intellectual shelters in the midst of my peregrinations.

1 A common definition, expressed succinctly by Fraenkel (1945, 8–9) and, more recently, Roche (2009, 277).

Book 1, rather than list Caesar's troops, Lucan describes the lands and peoples from which they are withdrawing; in Book 3, he imagines Pompey's forces as both a triumphal parade and a funeral. In each instance the *Pharsalia* depicts a geographic expanse far exceeding the work of Homer or Vergil, and Lucan's aim in doing so is not just to challenge epic tradition, but to emphasize what civil war means when the price and prize is empire. The global dimensions of Lucan's catalogues reveal, paradoxically, how much Roman power has shrunk.²

Beyond this main idea, the final three sections of my paper examine topography, etymology, and genealogy in Lucan's catalogues. These topics are prominent throughout the *Pharsalia* as a whole, and so provide a useful means of contextualizing the catalogues within Lucan's entire work. For instance, Lucan uses topographic features – especially rivers and seas – to symbolize his main characters and motifs; the rivers in his catalogues therefore represent moral boundaries as well as geographic ones, while crossing them is portrayed as an essentially tyrannical act. Further, Lucan concentrates on whether rivers lose or maintain their names when joined by other waters, and he uses this ostensibly geographic information to symbolize Caesar and Pompey's conflict.³

Names are, of course, a crucial element of epic catalogues; including so many foreign or unfamiliar ones gives Lucan the opportunity to etymologize.⁴ In general, his catalogues define words in ways that show how language interacts with the physical world; the *Pharsalia*'s etymologies complement its symbolic landscape. Yet Roman names are noticeably absent from Lucan's catalogues, with the result that the poet draws no aetiological or genealogical connections between the poem's participants and the Romans of his own day. Since ancient readers often treated epic catalogues as sources of genealogical information, Lucan's omission represents a denial of poetic tradition.⁵ It is also a denial of historical continuity: rather than mention Romans, Lucan concentrates on foreign

² Gassner (1972, 161 and 167) asserts that creating a sense of immensity and space was one of Lucan's main aims in composing these two catalogues.

³ Masters (1992, 43–70, 93–9, 106–18, and 150–78) argues that Lucan's topography/geography replicates the civil war waged between Caesar and Pompey. On names in the *Pharsalia*, what they signify and how Lucan puns on them, see Feeney 1986, 239–43 and Henderson 1998, 165–211.

⁴ Playful etymologizing became mainstream with the Hellenistic poets: see O'Hara 1996a, 21–42. In Latin epic, it is particularly characteristic of Ovid – see Ziogas' article in this volume – and Lucretius. Vergil likewise uses etymological wordplay, on which see O'Hara 1996a, Paschalis 1997, and the extensive notes accompanying Ahl's 2007 translation of the *Aeneid*.

⁵ Hall (1997, 41–2) and Finkelberg (2005, 171) describe the epic catalogue's role in creating and preserving genealogies in ancient Greece; Hannah (2004, 141–64) analyzes genealogy in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Overall, the topic still awaits adequate investigation.

tribes and territories, demonstrating in the process how civil war has destroyed what it means to be Roman, geographically, ethnically, morally.

The World in Reverse

1. Caesar

Halfway through *Pharsalia* 1, Caesar gathers his troops and heads towards Rome. It is the moment for a catalogue, so when Lucan pauses his narrative, we expect him to enumerate Caesar's soldiers; their names, legions, and places of origin. This is precisely what Lucan does *not* do. Instead of listing Roman legionaries, he describes the tribes and regions of Gaul from which they are withdrawing; the catalogue at 1.392–465 subverts epic convention and runs inside-out.⁶ In a concise and perceptive study of this passage, Emily Batinski argues that Lucan's catalogue-in-reverse enables the poet to equate Caesar with Rome's barbarian enemies, a motif that contributes to the epic's general theme of civil war as a paradoxical and perverted activity.⁷ My current analysis expands on Batinski's ideas and interprets Lucan's unconventional first catalogue as symbolizing the geographic reversals that occur when people bent on imperial conquest fight themselves instead.

I stated in the introduction that the military catalogue's main functions are to introduce individuals who will feature in the coming battle narrative and to indicate, in snapshots, a geographic scope beyond the poem's immediate events.⁸ In fulfilling each of these functions, traditional epic military catalogues generate a sense of forward movement that is simultaneously textual: they anticipate a critical point in the narrative – and physical: they depict peoples from different towns and regions converging on a single location. The epic poet usually focalizes these gatherings from a position at or near the battle site, so that readers can 'watch' the various ranks as they arrive.⁹ Homer, for instance, introduces his catalogue of ships as ὄσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον ("as many as came beneath

⁶ Williams (1978, 222) notes this curious feature of Lucan's Caesar-catalogue. Fuller analysis of this catalogue's unconventional style is provided by Batinski (1992, 19–24). Green (1991, 244) reasons that the innovative form of Lucan's first catalogue emphasizes Caesar's individuality at the same time as it refuses the Roman soldiery their κλέος by leaving them unnamed.

⁷ On Romans as barbarians, see Batinski 1992, 21–4.

⁸ See above, n. 1.

⁹ Here I use the language of narratological analysis, of which de Jong 1987, 29–40 is a useful summary.

Ilion,” *Il.* 2.492), an expression that places his readers in Troy and imagines the Greeks’ journey as an approach rather than a departure. Forward movement is the reason why ἔρχομαι and ἰκάνω are the most common verbs in a Homeric military catalogue; Vergil, too, creates a similar effect with his list of Italian allies at the close of *Aeneid* 7, not only by employing *uenio* and its compounds (7.750; 803), but also via terms like *ecce* (7.706) that position readers directly amongst the throng of warriors.¹⁰ But Lucan’s first catalogue reverses this conventional use of perspective. The passage is framed by forms of the verb *desero*: at the outset, Lucan envisages Caesar’s soldiers deserting their camps (*deseruere... tentoria.../ castraque*, 1.396–7) and at the end his narrative voice reproaches them for leaving the banks of the Rhine (*Rheni.../ desertitis ripas*, 1.464–5).¹¹ This is a catalogue of departure, not arrival, and although other poets likewise use verbs of leaving, they do not grant them the prominence that Lucan does.¹² Three lines after *deseruere* (1.396), the verb *liquerunt* (1.399) confirms that Lucan’s narrative is positioning its readers in Gaul and focalizing the Roman withdrawal from a Gallic perspective.¹³

Further, Lucan encourages readers to sympathize with the Gauls, to share in their relief and happiness at the Roman army’s departure. He characterizes the river Atax as glad that it no longer has to carry Roman keels (*Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas*, 1.403) and describes one tribe, the Ruteni, as having been released “from long occupation” (*soluuntur... longa statione Ruteni*, 1.402). Here context transforms *longa* from a fairly neutral adjective into an expression of how the Gauls feel about Caesar’s conquest: it has been oppressive. The poet makes this point explicit later in the passage when he depicts a Gallic tribesman “happy that battle has changed direction” (*laetatus conuerti proelia*, 1.441) and another “rejoicing now that the enemy has gone” (*gaudet... amoto... hoste*, 1.422). Though calling Caesar an enemy is unremarkable for a poem that revels in reviling its monstrous main character, the *Pharsalia*’s first catalogue uses *hos-*

10 I do not agree entirely with Williams (1973 *ad loc.*), who asserts: “the reader’s viewpoint constantly changes, the troops are seen arriving, departing, en route”. True, Vergil varies his verbs and his readers’ perspective shifts accordingly, but a sense of gathering, of forward movement, is what dominates the passage overall.

11 Batinski (1992, 20–1) notes the presence of the verb *desero* at the beginning and end of the catalogue, but does not contrast the way Lucan emphasizes Caesar’s departure with the way other epic writers stress the arrival of warriors.

12 See, for instance, A. R. 1.40 and 105; Verg. A. 7.670, 676, and 728. Roche (2009, 281–2) remarks that the language of departure is common in catalogues. It is, however, noticeably absent from Homer’s catalogue of ships, which emphasizes the leaders’ home towns but not their movement away from them.

13 A point noted but not explored by Batinski (1992, 21).

tis for the more precise purpose of reinforcing a pro-Gallic narrative perspective.¹⁴ Lucan's reader is encouraged to accept the Gauls' vision of Rome. It is as if Homer had written from the Trojan viewpoint a catalogue of Greek forces leaving Troy after the war. As Caesar withdraws from his province, Lucan suggests that there may be other, non-Roman, ways of looking at the world.

Innovation of this kind enables Lucan to differentiate his work from his famous predecessors', but poetic novelty is not his catalogue's only or even most important purpose. When Lucan inverts traditional catalogue motifs, he does so to complement Caesar, who reverses the traditional direction of war. Instead of moving outwards from Rome to conquer other lands, Caesar has turned around and is heading back to conquer Rome. Geographic expansion is the medium of empires which, William Mitchell notes, "move outwards in space as a way of moving forward in time".¹⁵ Any civil war waged by an imperial power will therefore provoke a sense of contraction and spatial dislocation as the conquering nation narrows its focus to the area within its own borders. Rome's dwindling geographic reach is a recurrent theme in Lucan's epic, and the *Pharsalia's* first catalogue provides a neat, illustrative example: when Romans fight each other, empire turns inwards, and the poetry used to describe such warfare must likewise change direction.¹⁶

So, Caesar's soldiers march into war and towards their homes, a combination that differentiates civil conflict from the more traditional kinds of war described by Homer and Vergil. The standard epic military catalogue mentions the towns and regions from which its participants have arrived, and these places are invariably the participants' homes: forms of ἔχω and νέμω appear frequently in *Iliad* 2, as do forms of *habeo* and *teneo* in *Aeneid* 7. Lucan appropriates the idea and turns it inside-out when he describes Caesar's soldiery holding sway over regions that are patently *not* their own:

*Tunc rura Nemetis
qui tenet et ripas Aturi, qua litore curuo*

14 I say 'revels' because Lucan appears as attracted to Caesar as he professes to be repelled by him. At 9.985–6, he even combines his venture with Caesar's, declaring: *uenturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra/ uiuet*. Zwielerin (1986, 477) interprets this line as non-complimentary, as Lucan promising to condemn Caesar eternally, but I prefer to read it in the same manner as Masters (1992, 214), who regards Lucan's iconoclastic, rule-breaking poetic style as inherently "Caesarian". Viewed in this way, Caesar is a crucial part of the *Pharsalia's* success.

15 Mitchell 1994, 14.

16 Geography is a popular topic in recent studies of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, many of which emphasize themes of boundary transgression, center/periphery, and Roman/non-Roman. See Masters 1992, 150–78; Bexley 2009, 459–75; Pogorzelski 2011, 143–70; Myers 2011, 399–415.

*molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus aequor,
signa mouet*

(1.419–22)

Then the cohorts that hold the regions of Nemes
and the banks of Aturus, where the Tarbellian
on his curving shore encloses the tides
that come in so gently – they pack up and march.

In contrast to Homer’s ἔχρον, Lucan’s *tenet* means “to control a place *as a conqueror*”, not “*as an inhabitant*”. Caesar’s army has been living in *castra* and *ten-toria*, outpost fortifications intended to protect Rome and Romans as well as increase the empire’s geographic scope. Homer’s warriors, on the other hand, have come to Troy from cities most often described as strong and well built (ἐὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον) and in the heroic world of the *Iliad*, such phrasing implies not just that these towns are beautiful, but that they are also well fortified against would-be besiegers.¹⁷ In keeping with its subject matter, Lucan’s text is almost perfectly antithetical to Homer’s: the Romans withdraw from their military camps and endanger their own homes by leaving a barbarian enemy free to attack.

And attacking is just what Lucan’s Gauls seem most likely to do. To complete the effect of his anti-catalogue, Lucan lists Gallic tribes rather than Roman soldiers, and he portrays them fully armed. In doing so, he adapts another convention of the epic military catalogue where individuals are described principally in terms of their weaponry, the difference being that when Lucan emphasizes the Gauls’ prowess in battle he implies a geographic reversal wrought by civil war: conquered foreigners now pose a threat to their Roman masters.¹⁸ Thus the Ligones are *pugnaces pictis... armis* (“warlike in their painted weaponry,” 1.398); the Leuci and Remi excel in hurling the javelin (*excusso... lacerto*, 1.424); the Belgians are skilled at driving the *couinnus*, a British variety of war chariot (1.426). Although some scholars have dismissed Lucan’s Gallic excursus as an inept attempt at learned digression, such depictions have a clear poetic purpose aside

¹⁷ Kirk (1985, 173–7) discusses Homer’s use of such epithets in the catalogue of ships and concludes that they more likely reflect conventional diction and metrical demands than actual fact. Lucan, however, is not interested in their historical validity (or lack thereof); he treats Homer’s epithets as standard epic *topoi* and reinterprets them accordingly.

¹⁸ A point brought out by Batinski (1992, 22). Gassner (1972, 160) makes a similar observation, namely that Lucan describes the weapons of warriors not currently heading into war. The threat, of course, is that they may do so.

from any issues of historical accuracy.¹⁹ Ethnic diversity is, for instance, a key theme in Vergil's catalogue of Italian allies (A. 7.647–817), and Vergil focuses on his warriors' peculiar weaponry not just to impress his readers with a display of arcane knowledge, but also to evoke solidarity: despite their manifest internal differences, Vergil's Italians have united against a common enemy. That Lucan's Gauls are similarly united shows just how divided his Romans are; a catalogue focused on Gallic military aggression illustrates the paradox of Romans going into battle against their fellow citizens.

In fact, the major effect of Lucan's first catalogue is to leave readers with the image of barbarians and Romans both menacing Rome. Batinski remarks that 1.392–465 assimilates Caesar's army to a foreign enemy.²⁰ Like the verb *desero*, the phrase *Romam petit* frames the *Pharsalia's* first catalogue (1.395; 464) and its two potential interpretations – “to head towards” and “to attack” – sum up Caesar's position as *hostis*. Notably, this section of Lucan's poem stresses Caesar's association with the North-West, even though the historical Caesar approached Rome from Ravenna, that is, from Italy's Eastern seaboard.²¹ At 1.185 and 1.219, Lucan even implies that the Rubicon descends from the Alps instead of the Apennines, blurring cartography not out of ignorance, as Charles Haskins and Robert Getty assume, but in order to create a closer parallel between Caesar and Hannibal.²² It is a regular conceit of Lucan's poem that those pursuing civil

19 Samse (1939, 164) and Martindale (1976, 50) both classify Lucan's Gallic excursus as an attempt at learned digression. Mayer (1986, 54) groups it among “Lucan's excesses”. Many scholars have faulted Lucan for what they regard as this passage's historical and/or geographic inaccuracies. Samse (1939, 164–79) is particularly harsh, asserting that ignorance led Lucan to mistake the Vosegus mountain range for a river, and to misplace the tribe of the Nemeti. Discussions in Getty (1940) and Le Bonniec/Wuilleumier (1962 *ad loc.*) reach similar conclusions, as does Bourgery (1928, 31). Roche (2009 *ad loc.*) refutes previous commentators and argues that Lucan's description of the Vosegus is, in general, accurate. While such discussion is useful to the historian of ancient geography, it tends to downplay or forget Lucan's poetic aims; it is not, in other words, a fair assessment of Lucan's *literary* talents.

20 Batinski 1992, 21. On the topic of Caesar as foreign invader, Masters (1992, 104) notes that the exiled Republican senators compare themselves to Camillus and thereby cast Caesar as the Gauls who sacked Rome in 387 B.C.

21 Although Lucan mentions the Rubicon and Ariminum (modern Rimini), both of which are close to Ravenna, he stresses the N-W so much in *Pharsalia* 1 that readers could be forgiven for thinking the Rubicon bordered Gaul.

22 Haskins (1887) and Getty (1940 *ad loc.*) point out the Rubicon's location as a mistake, but at 1.255, Lucan likens Caesar to Hannibal, and his mention of the Alps doubtless serves the same purpose. On the identification of Caesar and Hannibal in Lucan, see Ahl 1976, 199–200.

war are imagined as non-Roman.²³ In this instance, Lucan likens Caesar to Northern invaders (1.254–6) and stresses that Caesar’s fellow Romans view him as “more savage than his defeated enemy” (*uicto... inmanior hoste*, 1.480). Whether he is seen from the Gauls’ perspective or from that of the Romans fearing his arrival, Caesar plays the role of hostile aggressor; both sides treat him as the ‘other’.

Lucan’s first catalogue, then, anticipates not a glorious battle but a grim future in which both Caesar and his formerly conquered Gauls pose a threat to Roman power. It also shows how civil war has the potential to distort the geographic and ethnic hierarchy predicated on Rome’s *imperium*: ideally, the *urbs* maintains its metaphorical centrality by sending soldiers out to conquer and control peripheral territory; when these same soldiers move back from periphery to center, their action destabilizes Rome’s power and, by association, its geographic and ethnic supremacy.²⁴ Geography is never neutral, or, to use Denis Cosgrove’s words, “landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world.”²⁵ It follows that any imperialist project alters “spatial and environmental order (both real and imagined).”²⁶ So when the *Pharsalia*’s first catalogue presents Caesar from a Gallic viewpoint, its shift in ethnic and spatial perspective implies a potential shift in power relations between Rome and the rest of the world. It is one of the colonizer’s many privileges that he or she may establish as normative a specific way of looking at geography and landscape: in Lucan’s case, Gallic vision threatens to usurp the Roman one, since Romans have turned their gaze inwards.²⁷

In its concern for imperial geography, Lucan’s first catalogue does not make us look forward to Pharsalus so much as backwards to a past Caesarian war, the *Bellum Gallicum*. By writing about Caesar’s departure from Gaul, Lucan engages with, even challenges the *Bellum Gallicum* in its dual status as an historical event and as a text. Thanks to the work of Michel Rambaud²⁸ and Jamie Masters²⁹ it is

23 Roller (1996, 322–32) discusses this phenomenon as the difference between Pompey’s “communitarian” view and Caesar’s “alienating” one.

24 On the theme of center and periphery in Lucan, see Bexley 2009, 459–75; Pogorzelski 2011, 143–70; Myers 2011, 399–415. Jal (1962, 261–7) analyzes how Roman writers of the late Republic and early Empire condemn civil war because of its internality but praise externally directed wars of conquest.

25 Cosgrove 1998, 13.

26 Cosgrove 1998, 8.

27 Riggsby (2006, 123) describes the trope of surveillance that features in colonial descriptions of landscape and analyzes its application in Caesar’s *Bellum Gallicum*.

28 Rambaud 1960.

29 Masters 1992 and 1994.

now widely recognized that Lucan used Caesar's commentaries when composing his epic, and Caesar's history of the Gallic campaigns appears to be the main source of material for 1.392–465.³⁰ Seventeen of the twenty-two tribes mentioned by Lucan in this passage also feature in the *Bellum Gallicum*, while Lucan's catalogue and Caesar's narrative (*Gal.* 1.2) begin with the same location: Lemmanus, the modern Lake Geneva.³¹ In Caesar's version, his first act is to quell the Helvetii, who are causing trouble in the lake's surrounding regions. In Lucan's version, Roman troops leave Lake Lemmanus unguarded and consequently undo Caesar's expansionist project.

Emphasizing Gallic rebelliousness and danger is Lucan's main means of dismantling Caesar's conquests. We have seen already how the poet of the *Pharsalia* carefully describes the Gauls' various weapons and preferred fighting styles; interestingly, seven of the tribes that feature in Lucan's catalogue also appear in Caesar's list of forces that joined Vercingetorix's rebellion in 52 B.C. – the Ruteni, Santoni, Bituriges, Suessones, Sequani, Averni, and Nervii (*Gal.* 7.75).³² This may, of course, be mere coincidence, since both authors are attempting to catalogue the Gauls systematically by tribe and territory, yet the fact that Caesar composed his own mini catalogue suggests that Lucan engaged with this section of the *Bellum Gallicum* deliberately rather than accidentally: re-writing Caesar's story was too good an opportunity to miss, especially for a poet well acquainted with that general's commentaries and impatient to promulgate his own version of history.³³ Lucan is so eager to revise Caesar's historical achievements that he even introduces the Lingones as *pugnaces* (1.398), although they remained loyal to the Romans during Vercingetorix's uprising (*Gal.* 7.63).³⁴ Of course, the historical

30 Connecting Lucan and Caesar seems self-explanatory, but prior to the work of Rambaud (1960), the majority of scholars sided with Pichon (1912), who proposed that Lucan drew upon Livy alone. For the Gallic excursus, Pichon (1912, 24–6) assumed that Livy was Lucan's main source, while Bourgery (1928, 39) suggested some kind of chorographia. Roche (2009, 42–3) provides fair and succinct discussion of Lucan's sources for Book 1. For detailed discussion of how Lucan uses (and abuses) Caesar's work, see Masters 1992, 13–25.

31 Roche (2009, 279) notes that Lucan's list of tribes corresponds very closely to those mentioned in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.

32 For Caesar's account of the rebellion (and Lucan's use of it at 1.392–465), see Le Bonniec/Wuilleumier 1962 *ad loc.* and Roche 2009 *ad loc.*

33 Two good studies of Lucan's historical bias are Lintott (1971, 488–505) and Bartsch (2011, 303–16). As regards the arrangement of Gallic tribes, it seems that Lucan followed a (roughly) circular pattern, except in N-W Gaul, where he omits an entire region. The gap was recognized by a scribe, who has tried to fix it with an interpolation (1.436–40). Bourgery (1928, 31) and Samse (1939, 167–8) discuss the Gallic tribes and their location in Lucan.

34 An observation made by Roche (2009 *ad loc.*).

Caesar defeated Vercingetorix and conquered Gaul, but revisiting and adding to this list of rebellious tribes is Lucan's way of portraying Roman imperial collapse: in deciding to turn and march against the *urbs*, Lucan's Caesar negates his own – and so, Rome's – victories over foreign enemies. The *Pharsalia* reimagines history to render Caesar's victories futile; with the onset of civil war, Gaul acquires another opportunity for freedom.

Where Lucan's writing is blatantly biased, Caesar's is covertly so. His detached, scientific tone gives the appearance of objectivity while at the same time articulating the conquering power's desire to explore, map, classify and hence, control foreign territory.³⁵ The famous opening lines of his *Bellum Gallicum* provide a perfect example:

Gallia est omnia diuisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona Sequana dividit.

(*Gal.* 1.1)

All Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the Belgae inhabit one, the Aquitani another, and those who in their own language are called Celtae, in ours Galli, inhabit the third. All of these differ from each other in language, customs, and laws. The river Garumna divides the Galli from the Aquitani and the river Matrona divides the Sequani from the Belgae.

The passive *diuisa est* creates the illusion that this is Gaul's natural state, as if it were in three parts before Romans ever beheld it. Caesar expresses his colonizer's attitude with great subtlety, yet it is undeniably present: divisions seem to occur naturally, by means of rivers, or linguistic and cultural divergence, but when Caesar distinguishes between the Latin name, Galli, and the local name, Celtae, his otherwise seamless narrative reveals momentarily that the inhabitants of Gaul might view things differently from their Roman subjugators. In fact, what Caesar is describing is not Gaul *per se* so much as a map of its territory, designed for Romans, by Romans.³⁶ Or, more exactly, the conqueror's act of

35 O'Gorman (1993, 135–51) gives a very clever analysis of how ethnographic/geographic writing can express an imperial power's desire for control; Leach (1988, 84–90) discusses Roman cartography and its relationship to written works like Caesar's; Nicolet (1991, 2) summarizes as follows the imperial need to classify foreign territory: “the ineluctable necessities of conquest and government are to understand (or believe that one understands) the physical space that one occupies or that one hopes to dominate, to overcome the obstacle of distance and to establish regular contact with the peoples and their territories (by enumerating the former and by measuring the dimensions, the surfaces and the capacities of the latter).”

36 Leach (1988, 84–90) analyzes the relationship between maps and literature. Nicolet (1991, 9) remarks on one instance where diagram and text seem to have been combined: Agrippa's map was situated close to Augustus' *Res Gestae*, a document that likewise reads like a geographic/

describing foreign territory is always an act of cartography; for instance, Caesar later calls Britain a triangle (*Gal.* 5.13) thereby “reducing unfamiliar regions to an understandable geometric abstraction.”³⁷ However many natural boundaries Gaul may seem to have, Caesar is in the end responsible for its tripartite division, and his written work contributes to this act, shaping the land for Roman readers and dictating how they will come to view it.³⁸

Lucan's first catalogue, in contrast, makes it clear that such maps are drawn up by powerful individuals, and that even a slight change in the balance of power will result in a new geographic arrangement. Concluding his catalogue with a reproachful apostrophe, Lucan reminds Caesar's soldiers that the map could be redrawn at a moment's notice:

*et uos, crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos
oppositi, petitis Romam Rhenique feroces
deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus orbem.*
(1.463–5)

Even you, stationed to block
the hairy Chauci from waging their wars,
you are marching on Rome and leaving the Rhine –
savage river! – and a world now exposed
to all tribes.

Whether we read *bellis* or *Belgis* in the first line of this passage, the meaning remains essentially the same: the army stationed in Gaul maintains social order by enclosing tribes (*arcere*) within designated geographic regions.³⁹ Ethnic divisions

ethnographic catalogue. Such contextual information makes Caesar's opening description of Gaul even more 'maplike'.

37 Leach 1988, 86.

38 Granting shape to a foreign land/people is yet another function of imperial geographic literature: see O'Gorman (1993, 136–7), who analyzes how descriptions in Tacitus' *Germania* impose 'shape' on the unknown.

39 All the MSS have *bellis* at 1.463. The line's vagueness prompted Bentleigh to suggest *Belgis* as an alternative; Housman (1926 *ad loc.*) accepted the emendation. But Lucan has mentioned the Belgae already, at 1.426, so repetition here seems unlikely. Bourgery (1928, 39) labels the emendation “peu nécessaire”; Getty (1940 *ad loc.*) maintains that the Chauci were a peaceful tribe – *quieti secretique nulla prouocant bella* (Tac. *Ger.* 35.3) – and this induces him to choose *bellis*, which he translates as instrumental: “by means of wars”. As my translation shows, I follow Le Bonniec/Wuilleumier (1962 *ad loc.*) and Roche (2009 *ad loc.*) in taking *bellis* as an ablative of separation: “kept away from wars”. Moreover, Tacitus' comments on the Chauci are irrelevant here, because Lucan is keen to stress the warlike capacities of North-Western tribes, regardless of what the reality may have been.

depend on spatial location and the borders that Rome has created. Once Rome begins to fight itself, though, it can no longer hope to impose external geographic control, and the world it defined is now – frighteningly – open to redefinition (*apertum gentibus orbem*). With this final phrase, Lucan implies that the Roman withdrawal frees the Gauls and that a new spatial perspective is the inevitable consequence of such an event. *Orbem* is also an ironic final word, because it recalls the geographic scope of conventional military catalogues at the same time as it accuses Caesar of losing the world through his own misdirected ambitions. In keeping with the overall unorthodox style of his first catalogue, Lucan uses *orbem* to acknowledge traditional epic (and traditional epic warfare), and to show how Caesar has altered both its form and its function.

2. Pompey

The response to Caesar's catalogue comes in Book 3 (169–297), where Pompey's forces assemble. Lucan's second list of troops is twice as long as his first and far more traditional in structure, two details that indicate the poet's favoritism. A catalogue-in-reverse suits Caesar, who typically flouts order and transgresses boundaries; on the other hand, standard epic conventions evoke Pompey's status as the doomed representative of a long-established oligarchy.

To emphasize the traditional form of Pompey's catalogue, Lucan frames it with allusions to the *Iliad's* catalogue of ships. Our first invitation to compare the two passages comes at 3.174, where Lucan announces the arrival of the Boeotian leaders, who similarly occupy prime position in Homer's list (*Il.* 2.494–5).⁴⁰ Though more succinct than Homer, and characteristically bereft of names, Lucan's *Boeoti coiere duces* cites the *Iliad* both because of its introductory position and because of the word *duces*, which picks up on Homer's ἤρχον.⁴¹ Later, after an exhaustive account of Pompey's forces, Lucan revisits the *Iliad* via the culminating assertion that “the one who avenged his brother's desire / did not pound through the sea with so many ships” (*non.../ .../ ... fraternique ultor amoris/ aequora cum tantis percussit classibus*, 3.284–7). Marion Lausberg is right to re-

⁴⁰ Hunink (1992 *ad loc.*) remarks on the correspondences between Lucan's passage and the *Iliad's*.

⁴¹ Strictly speaking, the Delphians (*Phocaicas manus*, 3.172) are the first group of warriors to feature in Lucan's list, with the Boeotians following immediately after. But the latter's position is still prominent, and the word *duces* confirms Lucan's allusion to Homer. On Lucan's tendency to avoid naming individuals and hence endowing them with a κλέος that would contradict the crime of civil war, see Gorman 2001, 266–77.

mark: “mit dem Wort *classibus* ist... das Stichwort νεῶν κατάλογος zitiert.”⁴² Here Lucan cites Homeric precedent in order to exceed it: not only does he imagine Pompey as greater than Agamemnon and, by implication, the civil war of 49–8 B.C. as greater than the Trojan War, but he also stresses that the *Pharsalia*'s geographic scope far outstrips that of the *Iliad*.⁴³ The incredible reach of Pompey's catalogue, from Greece to Asia Minor, the Far East, and Africa, is Lucan claiming a totalizing, almost cosmic breadth for his work and its subject matter.⁴⁴ Conventional as Pompey's catalogue may be, Lucan is still at pains to show civil war's exceptional and excessive nature.

Equating civil war with world war is one of the *Pharsalia*'s major conceits.⁴⁵ Pompey's catalogue begins in Greece (3.171–202), moves across to Asia Minor (3.203–13) and down through Syria (3.214–24) before heading north again, to the Taurus mountains (3.225–6), and northwest to Cilicia (3.228); next Lucan takes us to India (3.229–41), returning via Cappadocia and Armenia (3.244–6), moving southwards to Arabia (3.247–8), then north to Scythia (3.266–70) and Colchis (3.271–9), and finally, southwest to Libya (3.292–5). Appropriately enough, the entire catalogue begins and ends with the word *orbem* (3.169 and 297) and the term serves a double purpose in this context: it draws attention to the passage's geographic expanse at the same time as it literally encloses a large portion of the world as the Romans knew it.

This portion of the world is also relevant to Pompey specifically. With a few fantastic exceptions, like India, the regions Lucan lists are those Pompey either annexed or pacified during his eastern campaign that occupied four years from 66 to 62 B.C. Lucan uses such historical data to make his second catalogue mirror his first: Pompey sides with the East; Caesar comes from the West: both generals are associated with their most famous conquests and their lands just happen to be balanced on either side of Rome.⁴⁶ Further, Lucan's tendency to favor Pompey leads us to expect that this catalogue will celebrate his past military successes, but again, Lucan thwarts readers' expectations and shows how Pompey's ac-

⁴² Lausberg 1985, 1577.

⁴³ Scholars have noted that throughout the *Pharsalia* as a whole, Pompey parallels Agamemnon, and Caesar Achilles: see von Albrecht 1970, 276; Lausberg 1985, 1574–8 and 1583–6; Green 1991, 234–8.

⁴⁴ Hunink (1992 *ad loc.*) and Gassner (1972, 161) remark on the cosmic dimension of Lucan's second catalogue. Hardie (1986) studies epic in general as a cosmic – and in many cases, cosmological – genre. In a study both broader and shorter than Hardie's, Robertson/Inglis (2004, 42–7) survey Roman writings from the first two centuries A.D. and conclude that it was common for intellectuals of this era to think in 'global' terms.

⁴⁵ A motif examined by Myers (2011, 401–2).

⁴⁶ Masters (1992, 93–4) analyzes the importance Lucan ascribes to E/W compass bearings.

tions, like Caesar's, contribute to the collapse of Roman power and the potential rearrangement of Roman imperial geography.

The first hint that Pompey's gathering might not be a positive event comes near the catalogue's end, where Lucan likens the procession to a funeral train. "Fortune," the poet declares, "has roused peoples and granted a procession/worthy of Magnus' death" (*exciuit populos et dignas funere Magni/ exequias Fortuna dedit*, 3.291–2). With these lines, Lucan draws our attention to the reversal Pompey's catalogue represents: the list is, in some sense, a record of Pompey's conquests, but all these peoples are about to participate in *civil* war, to fight an internal, essentially Roman dispute, which means that they symbolize the empire's contraction rather than expansion. Whereas Pompey once labored to subdue peripheral territory, civil war is now drawing even the most distant inhabitants closer to the center. Lucan's long list of recruits illustrates the paradox that Rome uses the world to fight itself and loses the world by fighting itself.

A heavy sense of doom follows Pompey throughout the *Pharsalia* and this catalogue of troops in Book 3 is no exception. Even though Lucan claims a broader geographic expanse than the *Iliad*'s, he also depicts Rome's Eastern territories as used-up, drained, and dying. Repeated references to weakness and depletion create the feeling that Pompey's soldiers rank far below their Homeric counterparts and that Rome's civil war, despite being greater than the Trojan War, is also more terminally destructive. For instance, Lucan remarks of Athens:

*exhausit totas quamuis dilectus Athenas,
exiguae Phoebea tenent naualia puppes,
tresque petunt ueram credi Salamina carinae.*

(3.181–3)

Although the conscription drained all Athens dry
few vessels came to the dock-yards of Phoebus.
with just three boats they ask us to believe
they won at Salamis.

In his commentary on Book 3, Vincent Hunink notes that Athens' weakness may have been a reality at the time Pompey was recruiting, but adds that whatever possible historical details lie behind Lucan's claim, the passage clearly invites comparison with Homer's catalogue, where Athens appears with fifty ships (τῶ δ' ἄμα πεντήκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο, *Il.* 2.556).⁴⁷ Mention of Salamis

⁴⁷ Hunink 1992 *ad loc.* He cites a fragment of Livy preserved by the *Commenta Bernensia*: *nam Athenienses de tanta maritima gloria uix duas naues effecere*. But Lucan's reference to Salamis could just as easily have been prompted by the sequence at *Il.* 2.546–58, where Ajax's Salaminian contingent follows upon the Athenians' keels.

similarly prompts us to think of Athenian naval prowess, even though it was the relatively small number of Greek ships that made this particular battle exceptional (Hdt. 8.48). Either way, Lucan portrays Athens as a dying city, with scarcely enough soldiers to fill three vessels. Its moribund state is like Pompey's and its pathetic contribution adds to the catalogue's overall feeling of imminent loss and decay.

Such visions are typical of the *Pharsalia's* literary landscape, in which once-great towns and territories appear as mere ruins.⁴⁸ A further example from Book 3's catalogue occurs at the beginning of the Asia Minor section (3.203–13), where Lucan calls the town of Arisbe *nimum glaebis exilis* ("having very thin soil", 3.204) in contrast to its Homeric epithets, *διος* (*Il.* 2.836) and *ἐυκτίμενος* (*Il.* 6.13). Granted, both Homeric terms are formulaic, with *ἐυκτίμενος* being particularly suited to the second half of a hexameter line; what matters is not geographic reality but the fact that Lucan chooses to respond to these epithets with a negative version.⁴⁹ In fact, *nimum glaebis exilis* picks up on and inverts the Homeric *ἐπιβώλαξ* ("having rich earth"), another standard epithet to appear in the *Iliad's* catalogue of ships. At 2.841, Homer applies this adjective to Larissa just five lines after he has mentioned Arisbe, and the two places' proximity in Homer's catalogue suggests a direct and deliberate allusion on Lucan's part. Like Athens, Lucan's Arisbe is less than Homer's; its infertility and poverty make it a fitting participant in Pompey's doomed enterprise.

So, when Lucan ends Pompey's catalogue on an ominous note, he suggests that this military gathering is not what it initially appears: it is not a glorious display of empire but a grim parade of imminent defeat. Further, it symbolizes the death of Rome's imperialist ambitions not only because it envisages movement from periphery to center, but also because the catalogue's processional quality evokes and inverts a Roman triumph.

One of the main functions of triumphal parades was to display the captives and spoils of conquest – they literally brought the *orbis* into the *urbs*.⁵⁰ The catalogue of Pompey's forces achieves an equivalent effect by depicting a procession composed largely of subject or allied peoples who are defined according to ster-

48 Troy (9.950–1000) is the most famous of Lucan's ruins: see Zwierlein 1986, 460–78; Rossi 2001, 313–26; Spencer 2005, 51–6; Tesoriero 2005, 202–15. Less well known is his depiction of Italy as a ruined landscape (1.24–9), which Bartsch (1997, 132) and Zwierlein (1986, 475–6) associate with the later portrayal of Troy.

49 On the metrical necessity of Homer's epithets, see Kirk 1985, 173–7.

50 Beard (2007, 123) writes: "the obvious point is that the triumph and its captives amounted to a physical realization of empire and imperialism... the procession... instantiated the very idea of Roman territorial expansion, its conquest of the globe."

eotypical cultural traits. Hence: the Scythians are nomadic (*errantes*, 3.267); the Sarmatians eat horses (3.282–3); the Indians practice self-immolation (3.240–41). Lucan’s catalogue also pays much attention to rivers, which, as territorial markers, were a regular feature of triumphal placards and statuary. For Lucan’s readers, then, proceeding through this catalogue is a visual experience akin to attending a triumph, except of course that all of these peoples are marching into civil war, and that civil wars were the one form of Roman military engagement that did not allow triumphs.⁵¹ At his poem’s outset, Lucan as narrator bemoans the fact that Rome could have conquered as far as China (1.19) but chose instead “to wage wars that would bring no triumphs” (*bella geri... nullos habitura triumphos*, 1.12). By granting Pompey’s catalogue a triumphal quality, Lucan draws our attention to the self-defeating nature of this particular conflict: it does not bring captives and spoils into the city, but squanders the results of previous conquests.

This motif of inverted triumphs appears elsewhere in the *Pharsalia*, and almost always in relation to Pompey. In Book 2, for instance, the republican general declares, “let all my triumphs return to my camp” (*omnes redeant in castra triumphi*, 2.644). It is an ornate way of saying that Pompey will recruit from the lands he has conquered, but by putting the idea in these precise terms, Lucan shows how civil war negates conquest and so, contradicts and cancels out a triumph. The catalogue in Book 3 reifies Pompey’s wish in Book 2, where the world that he has brought into the empire now follows him into civil conflict. Appropriately enough, the historical Pompey’s triumphs pretended to the same kind of global dimensions that Lucan claims for his account of civil war. Pompey celebrated victories over Africa in 79 B.C., Spain in 71, and the East in 61, and at the last of these processions, he included trophies from all his previous conquests along with a large depiction of the *orbis terrarum* (D. C. 37.21.2).⁵² It was a clear declaration not just of Pompey’s power, but of Rome’s imperialist worldview. Lucan replicates this geographic scope in his list of Pompey’s forces, yet does so in order to show Rome’s territory contracting to the narrow confines of rivalry between two Roman generals.

So, Lucan portrays Pompey’s military catalogue as both a triumph and a funeral. Evidence from Cassius Dio suggests that this connection could also occur outside of Lucan’s fertile imagination: at Augustus’ funeral in A.D. 14 τοῦ

⁵¹ Valerius Maximus (2.8.7) explains that, in the case of civil war victories, *imperator... eo nomine appellatus non est... neque aut ouans aut curru triumphauit, quia... lugubres semper existimatae sunt uictoriae, utpote non externo sed domestico partae cruore*.

⁵² Nicolet (1991, 32–3) discusses how Pompey himself represented these triumphs in global terms. Beard (2007, 7–41) is a readable account of Pompey’s triple triumph in 61 B.C.

Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰκῶν ὤφθη, τά τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτίσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σοφίσιν ὡς ἕκαστα ἀπηκασμένα ἐπέμφθη (“there was seen an image of Pompey the Great, and all of the tribes he had gained, each represented in images that bore their local characteristics, appeared in the procession”, D. C. 56.34). As in an actual triumph, the inclusion of these images at Augustus' funeral implies achievement.⁵³ In Lucan's *Pharsalia*, however, Pompey's demise implies the end of Rome's imperial expansion.

Lucan takes this idea to an even more paradoxical level at the catalogue's end, where he imagines Caesar conquering the world simply by claiming victory over Pompey's army: “to ensure that fortunate Caesar could seize everything in one go/ *Pharsalia* gave him the world to be conquered all at once” (*acciperet felix ne non simul omnia Caesar/ uincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem*, 3.296–7). Such a tight, paradoxical conclusion makes us aware of how internal Caesar's victory will be: he will gain territory by defeating a fellow Roman. As in Caesar's catalogue, *orbem* is the ironic final world that recalls Rome's imperial ambitions and acknowledges precisely what the empire will lose by engaging in internecine conflict.

The Sea is the Limit

Having analyzed the most significant themes in the *Pharsalia*'s military catalogues, I shall now address some lesser motifs, ones that appear in these passages by virtue of their presence throughout Lucan's entire epic. The first of these is bodies of water, which the poet treats as physical and metaphorical boundaries, often simultaneously: besides delineating territory, Lucan's rivers, seas, and Ocean hold back anyone too greedy for knowledge and power, so that crossing a body of water becomes synonymous with transgression, and represents the moment when inquisitive behavior transforms into acquisitive.

⁵³ Because these images would represent the lands and tribes that Augustus had gained (though not conquered in person) by taking over command of Rome's empire. Dio (56.34) adds that another part of the procession displayed an image of Augustus riding in a triumphal chariot. Beard (2007, 284–6) examines the possible links between triumphs and state funerals in ancient Rome; Versnel (1970, 115–31) argues that although the two rituals had no essential or originary relationship, funerals for members of the imperial family often resembled triumphs: “it is abundantly clear that the *funus imperatorium* took over a number of the features of the triumph” (Versnel 1970, 122).

Of all the topographic features available to ethnographers and geographers, rivers are by far the most frequently mentioned.⁵⁴ The reason for this is straightforward: they form a natural boundary to an area of land, delimiting its confines in the same way as lines on a map.⁵⁵ Yet Lucan's preference for describing rivers does not just stem from his use of ethnographic literature; in the *Pharsalia*, streams, creeks, and mighty watercourses everywhere contribute to the theme of Caesar's transgression and Pompey's opposition. From the moment he crosses the Rubicon (1.204–5, 213–24) Caesar ignores or flouts deliberately those boundaries that demarcate not only his geographic position but also how he should conduct himself.⁵⁶

The Rubicon is, then, the original site of Caesar's revolt, yet the *Pharsalia's* first catalogue presents it with an unexpected rival when Lucan makes the river Var into the boundary of Italy (*finis et Hesperiae, promote limite, Varus*, 1.404). Scholars have debated whether or not this remark is an anachronism – an insoluble question because it is impossible to tell whether Lucan is referring to his own time or to the world contemporary with Caesar's act.⁵⁷ When the real Caesar marched his forces through the Rubicon on a chill winter day in January 49 B.C., the Var was not yet Italy's boundary; it became so a few months later in March 49, when under Caesar's direction the *lex Roscia* enfranchised the Cisalpine Gauls.⁵⁸ So where does this leave Lucan's Caesar? As the poet portrays it, Italy seems to have more than one boundary and the rebellious general more than one crossing to make. But puzzling topographic tricks like this one are stock in trade for Lucan and, as Masters' work has shown, there is almost always method in the seeming madness of the *Pharsalia's* map.⁵⁹ Earlier in the narrative,

54 Thomas (1982, 3) points out that rivers define landscape more than most other natural features. Whittaker (2004, 76) asserts that Romans generally experienced space “by lines and not by shapes”, that is, they thought in terms of itineraries and linear divisions. If Whittaker is correct, it seems likely that Roman geography would emphasize rivers more than, say, forests or deserts.

55 Thomas 1982, 3.

56 In Roman custom, the Rubicon represents a social as well as physical boundary because, like the *pomerium* and the triumphal ritual, it separates *miles* from *ciues*. On transgression in the *Pharsalia*, see Bartsch 1997.

57 Getty (1940 *ad loc.*) contends that Lucan's remark is parenthetical, meant to explain the river's status in Lucan's own day. Roche (2009 *ad loc.*) disagrees and calls Lucan's comment an anachronism. Though I am inclined to agree with Getty, I feel that the issue is essentially irresolvable.

58 As explained in Getty (1940 *ad loc.*) and Roche (2009 *ad loc.*).

59 The work of Masters (1992, 45–53 and 150–78) has been instrumental in showing how the puzzling details of Lucan's geography often serve a poetic purpose.

Lucan has made Caesar cross the Rubicon twice (once at 1.204–5 and again at 1.213–24), and Masters resolves this apparent error in continuity by calling it a narrative delay, a means by which Lucan postpones Caesar and Pompey's inevitable meeting at Pharsalus.⁶⁰ I see similar cleverness at work in Lucan's treatment of the Var. To some extent, this second river reminds us of Caesar's initial transgression – a likely parallel since both the Rubicon and the Var are described as *limes* (1.216 and 1.404).⁶¹ Further, when the historical Caesar confirms the Var as a boundary, he necessarily reinterprets the Rubicon's status, deliberately or not. Such an act has powerful implications for Lucan's Caesar, who typically transforms established order and reorients it to his own liking.⁶² For Lucan to mention the Var at the moment when Caesar marches on Rome is tantamount to suggesting that Caesar will in time redefine his own transgression by repositioning Italy's borders. As Gore Vidal says, "it is the perquisite of power to invent its own past."⁶³

The motif of the Rubicon returns in Book 9, in Lucan's Troy episode, when Caesar wanders the ruins and unwittingly crosses "a small stream snaking through the dust". It is Xanthus: *inscius in sicco serpentem puluere riuum/ transierat, qui Xanthus erat* (9.974–5). Kirk Ormand remarks that in this instance, Caesar's ignorance makes him seem incredibly powerful – one step and he stands on the opposite bank of a once famous river.⁶⁴ I believe the scene also symbolizes Caesar's increasing confidence: at the *Pharsalia's* opening, Caesar hesitates at the Rubicon, shocked by the vision of *Roma* (1.192–4), but by the time he reaches Troy, transgression has become such a simple act that he crosses a boundary without even realizing.

As boundary markers, Lucan's rivers also represent the meeting point of continuity and change: they demarcate regions though they themselves are fluid. Their mutability interests Lucan as much as their fixity does, and he is drawn to speculate on the names of watercourses and whether they retain those names in confluence. The *Pharsalia's* first catalogue describes the Isère as follows:

⁶⁰ Masters 1992, 1–3.

⁶¹ Meaning both "boundary limit" and "water channel", this word captures the river's double identity. The terms Lucan uses are quite ironic: Bartsch (1997, 14) notes that Caesar violates and renders "uncertain" the Rubicon's *certus limes* (1.215–16); Green (1991, 240) remarks that the *paruus* Rubicon (1.185) "is small in size but not in significance."

⁶² The main argument in Henderson (1998, 165–211) is that over the course of the *Pharsalia*, the name Caesar becomes the center of all signification; it outstrips Pompey's 'greatness' (*Magnus*), and redefines and reorients Roman discourse around itself.

⁶³ Vidal, *Julian*.

⁶⁴ Ormand 1994, 52.

*hi uada liquerunt Isarae, qui, gurgite ductus
per tam multa suo, famae maioris in amnem
lapsus, ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas*
(1.399–401)

They left the streaming Isère, which flows down
through so many regions in its own torrent
then spills into a river of greater renown
and so cannot carry its name to the sea.

Ironically, Lucan does not name the more famous river (it is the Rhone).⁶⁵ Yet his circumlocution, *famae maioris in amnem*, has greater purpose than irony alone: the words *maior* and *nomen* recall Pompey, that *magni nominis umbra* (“shadow of a great name/ of the name Magnus”, 1.135) whose name will be overtaken in the course of the poem by the transcendental greatness of ‘Caesar’.⁶⁶ Like Pompey, the Isère retains its name until it encounters a *greater* force, a force that surpasses its own *magnitude*. Paul Roche’s commentary on *Pharsalia* 1 cites other poets speculating about the names of rivers (for instance: Ov. *Fast.* 4.337–8) and it may be that such remarks formed a standard part of ethnographic and geographic literature.⁶⁷ But Lucan’s relentless puns on Pompey’s name give this terminology new meaning. John Henderson detects similar wordplay at 4.16–23, where Caesar challenges Pompey by stationing his camp *nec... colle minore* (“on a non-lesser hill”, 4.17) and where the river Hiberus robs the Cinga of its name (*aufert tibi nomen Hiberus*, 4.23).⁶⁸ In fact, the theme is pervasive; in his catalogue of Pompey’s troops, Lucan spends a few lines wondering which of the two would triumph if the Euphrates and the Tigris met: “if earth mingled the rivers together,/ who knows which name would prevail over the waters” (*incertum, tellus si misceat amnes, quod potius sit nomen aquis*, 3.258–9). Who knows indeed, but when at 3.256 Lucan calls the Euphrates *magnus*, he surely gives us a clue as to which of the rivers would win.

Greater and lesser rivers, higher hills and lower ones: the natural world in the *Pharsalia* reifies Caesar and Pompey’s conflict repeatedly, from the very first similes of oak (1.136–43) and lightning (1.151–7).⁶⁹ Episode after episode, Caesar’s swift, fiery capacity for destruction is slowed, checked momentarily

⁶⁵ As noted by Roche 2009 *ad loc.*

⁶⁶ On the significance of Pompey’s name and Lucan’s tendency to pun on it, see Feeney 1986, 239–43; Henderson 1998, 177 and 202–3; Hardie 1993, 7–8.

⁶⁷ Roche 2009 *ad loc.*

⁶⁸ Henderson 1998, 189–90.

⁶⁹ Rosner-Siegel (1983, 65–8) analyzes these similes in depth.

but not permanently by some ponderous obstruction: in Book 3 (432–9), Caesar chops down a sacred oak; in Book 5 (597–667), he faces the stormy Adriatic.⁷⁰ Caesar's initial encounter with an impeding body of water is an image that Lucan reprises throughout the *Pharsalia*, so that when Pompey breaks out of his camp at Dyrrachium, the poet compares him to the Po in spate (6.272–8).⁷¹ The same set of associations lies behind Lucan's description of the Ganges in his second catalogue. Here it is not Caesar, but his prototype, Alexander, who pauses before the river's greatness and the flat expanse of Ocean: *hic ubi Pellaeus post Tethyos aequora ductor/ constitit et magno uinci se fassus ab orbe est* (3.233–4).⁷² Though Caesar's hesitation is only ever momentary, Alexander here confesses himself defeated by the world's *magnitude*; in Lucan's symbolic topography, this is one rare instance in which Pompey snatches victory.

In Lucan, as in many other writers of the early imperial period, a strong moralizing tone accompanies narratives of geographic exploration, and large bodies of water often symbolize the permitted limits of knowledge and possession.⁷³ Repeated encounters with rivers and seas are a major part of what characterizes Lucan's Caesar as a tyrannical over-reacher. In this regard he resembles the declaimers' Alexander, whose ambition to sail across *Oceanus* is interpreted as excessive (*Suas.* 1). *Oceanus* in particular represents not just the edge of the known world, but the edge of the world it is permitted to know; marching, sailing, or mapping further is an act of greed and recklessness.⁷⁴ Lucan appropriates this rhetorical tradition and incorporates it into his depiction of Caesar. Like the declaimers' Alexander, Lucan's Caesar is a conqueror for whom "the world is not enough": in the first *Suasoria* (1.5), Cestius Pius describes the Macedonian general with the phrase, *orbis illum suus non capit*; Lucan repeats it, once in reference to Caesar: *cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis* (10.456), and once to his

⁷⁰ Episodes analyzed by Rosner-Siegel (1983, 172 and 176).

⁷¹ Noted by Rosner-Siegel (1983, 174–5) who, like Masters (1992), pays careful attention to the symbolism of the *Pharsalia's* topography.

⁷² Hunink (1992 *ad loc.*) interprets this passage as a reference to Pompey and Caesar. On Alexander as a "Caesar prototype" in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, see von Albrecht 1970, 275–6; Ahl 1976, 222–30; Zwierlein 1986, 465–9; Narducci 2002, 240–7.

⁷³ Romm (1992, 123) remarks: "the idea of Roman conquest of Ocean had its darker side, especially to those who saw Alexander's exploits as a paradigm of reckless greed: thus the philosopher Seneca and others see Rome's maritime expansion as the final stage in a long slide toward reckless ambition, amorality, and self-annihilation."

⁷⁴ Romm 1992, 123.

army: *quibus hic non sufficit orbis* (5.356).⁷⁵ Further, Lucan portrays both Alexander (10.40, 272–5) and Caesar (10.191–2) as wanting to know the Nile’s source. For each, this desire symbolizes megalomania in its purest form, a compulsion to see, know, conquer, and possess every place on earth.⁷⁶

In this matrix of moral significance that Lucan accords to rivers, seas, and Ocean, ignorance is often synonymous with innocence. In *Pharsalia* 10, the Egyptian priest Acoreus admits that he can reveal of the Nile’s secrets only as much as the divinity has allowed him to know (*tua flumina prodam,/ qua deus undarum celator, Nile, tuarum/ te mihi nosse dedit*, 10.285–7). His words form a not-so-oblique warning to Caesar, whose frequent transgression of natural boundaries Lucan equates with transgression of moral ones. A fragment of Albinovanus Pedo preserved at the end of *Suasoria* 1 expresses the same idea: describing Germanicus’ exploratory North Sea voyage, the poet exclaims, “the gods call us back and forbid mortal eyes/ from knowing the end-point of nature” (*di reuocant rerumque uetant cognoscere finem/ mortales oculos, Suas.* 1.15). It is against this background that we should read a passage from the *Pharsalia*’s first catalogue, in which Lucan the narrator refrains from inquiring into the reason for Ocean’s tides:

*quaerite, quos agitat mundi labor; at mihi semper
tu, quaecumque moues tam crebros causa meatus,
ut superi uolueret, late.*

(1.417–19)

Let them seek answers, those who ponder
the ways of the world; but whatever the cause
of your ebb and flow, keep it hidden from me,
just as the gods wish.

Carin Green interprets Lucan’s *recusatio* as deliberate avoidance of material better suited to the cosmological tradition of poets like Lucretius.⁷⁷ Her argument is

⁷⁵ Bonner (1966, 273–4) and Thomson (1951, 437) identify this intertext. Schmidt (1986, 71) has culled numerous examples of Alexander and Ocean from declamatory texts.

⁷⁶ Quint 1993, 155. As Romm (1992, 155) notes, Lucan appears to contradict himself by advocating imperial conquest at the same time as criticizing Alexander and Caesar for conquering excessively. Romm resolves the contradiction by suggesting that, in Lucan’s view, conquest “undertaken for the benefit of an entire society” is good, while conquest “arising out of self-serving impulses” is to be condemned.

⁷⁷ Green 1991, 245–6. That Lucan refrains from a poetic digression at this point is made even more interesting when we consider that Greek and Latin literature often presented rivers and Ocean as sources of poetic inspiration. Jones (2005, 51–80) and Manolaraki (2011, 177–81) analyze this topic as it appears in Vergil and Lucan.

valid, but I feel that the primary reason for Lucan's hesitation is his tendency to present extensive geographic knowledge as an essentially autocratic desire. The phrase *ut superi uoluere* fits the sentiments expressed by Acoreus and Pedo, and implies that even scientific inquiry – as is the case in this passage – passes beyond permitted moral limits. By pulling himself back from Ocean's brink, the *Pharsalia's* narrator signals that in this instance he will not behave like Alexander or Caesar.

The rivers and seas in Lucan's catalogues thus represent some of the major themes in his epic: boundary transgression, geographic and moral limitation, and the ways in which topography replicates Caesar and Pompey's conflict. Besides delineating areas of land, each river in the *Pharsalia* evokes ethical issues that flow from Caesar's initial crossing of the Rubicon, and reminds Lucan's characters that they cannot possess nature entirely.

Wordscape

Just as rivers constitute a *locus classicus* of ethnographic writing, so do proper names shape and define a catalogue; names are what catalogues are built from.⁷⁸ As such, they provide opportunities for the poet to play with etymologies, and Lucan's work is no exception to this trend.⁷⁹ Unlike many of the Augustan poets, however, Lucan does not concern himself with how true (ἔτυμον) his *logoi* are; he is far more interested in how physical characteristics – of landscapes in particular – can reflect or be influenced by the names they are given.⁸⁰ I have described already the remarkably symbolic quality of Lucan's landscape, how it exemplifies Caesar and Pompey and the war they wage against each other. Lucan's etymological work exhibits similar concerns, presenting a cycle in which the natural world is both producer and product of verbal meaning.

A brief digression in Lucan's second catalogue illustrates clearly how words and nature interact in this epic. At 3.220–4, Lucan pauses over a curious piece of

78 Regarding the role of names in catalogues, Kyriakidis (2007) makes many interesting observations.

79 To give just one example: Paschalis (1997, 264–74) analyzes the etymological wordplay in Vergil's catalogue of Italian allies (A. 7.647–817).

80 In an attempt to detect intentional etymologies, Maltby (1993 268–9) focuses on markers like *uerum*. My analysis inclines more toward the list supplied by Cairns (1996, 26), because Lucan's catalogues present etymologies by glossing foreign words, so *uerum* does not appear.

parenthetical information, Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Phoenician invention of lettering:

*Phoenices primi, famae si creditur, ausi
mansuram rudibus uocem signare figuris:
nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
nouerat, et saxis tantum uolucresque feraeque
sculptaque seruabant magicas animalia linguas.*

(3.220 – 4)

The Phoenicians first dared, so they say,
to fashion a permanent sound from rough outlines
long before Memphis even knew how
to weave paper from reeds, and only in stone
did its birds and wild beasts and animals sculpted
preserve the speech of the wise.

Like Lucan's other digressions, this passage functions partly as a display of learning.⁸¹ But its purpose is more profound than mere entertainment. Notably, Lucan focuses on the Egyptian ability to preserve speech not through abstract symbols but via configurations of the natural world (*uolucresque feraeque/ sculptaque... animalia*); hieroglyphs transform the outlines of nature into the rudiments of writing and in doing so, they emphasize nature's pre-existing symbolism. When Lucan resumes his catalogue at 3.225, the first place he mentions is the deserted groves of mount Taurus (*deseritur Taurique nemus*), a locale whose pictographic name recalls the Egyptians' pictographic language. As in his other descriptions of topography, here Lucan emphasizes nature's capacity for representation – landscape is never meaningless in the *Pharsalia*.

Let us turn now to Lucan's etymologies. For the most part, the poet of the *Pharsalia* follows the standard literary practice of using a modifying phrase or adjective to explain a word's meaning. Hence he etymologizes the Heniochi as "a fierce people when they shake their reins" (*moto gens aspera freno*, 3.269; translating ἡνίοχος); he describes the river Meander as *errans* (*errantem Meandron*, 3.208); he calls the Ruteni "blond" (*flauī*, 1.402); he translates the Gallic wind, the Circius, with the verb *turbat* (1.407).⁸² In each case, Lucan's definitions correspond to their subjects directly, but the poet also uses antonymic descrip-

⁸¹ On Lucan's digressions, see above n. 19.

⁸² Hunink (1992 *ad loc.*) detects Lucan's etymology of Heniochi; Pichon (1912, 29), Le Bonniec/Wuilleumier (1962 *ad loc.*), and Roche (2009 *ad loc.*) note the play on *flauī*/Ruteni; Getty (1940 *ad loc.*) and Roche (2009 *ad loc.*) cite Cato *apud* Gel. 2.22, who explains that the Gauls named the wind "Circius" *a turbine*.

tion when, in his first catalogue, he matches the river *Cinga* with the verb *pererrat* (1.432).⁸³ It is an ironic pairing. Lucan is aware that in order to live up to its name, the *Cinga* should encompass something, and this is exactly how he portrays the river in Book 4: *camposque coerces,/ Cinga rapax* (“greedy *Cinga*, you enclose the fields,” 4.20–1). Running through (*pererrare*) is something an encircling river (*cingere*) should not do.

Lucan's treatment of the *Cinga* demonstrates that the *Pharsalia's* natural features are rich in symbolism, whether they are named according to their behavior or behave according to their names. Further, when Lucan imagines Caesar and Pompey as elemental forces, he makes nature an active participant in civil war: topography in the *Pharsalia* replicates human conflict and also changes in response to it. In his second catalogue, Lucan suggests that ethnic identity is similarly affected. Here he mentions a tribe, the “distant *Orestae*”, whom “Roman madness has roused” and compelled to join Pompey's forces (*tum furor extremos mouit Romanus Orestas*, 3.249). Hunink detects a geographic oddity in the line, and argues that Lucan cannot really mean the *Orestae*, who live in Epirus, because the catalogue has by this stage passed beyond Greece.⁸⁴ He proposes instead that the poet has misspelled either the *Oretae*, “a very obscure people living in Southern India”, or the *Oreitai/Oritae*, from a region near Gedrosia.⁸⁵ Although Hunink's explanation is reasonable, Abel Bourgerly seems to me to come nearer the mark when he notes the close resemblance of *Orestas* and *Orestes*: both the distant tribe and the mythological hero experience *furor* (3.249), while Lucan's use of the verb *mouere* reinforces the idea of mental as well as bodily disturbance.⁸⁶ The line thus combines ethnography with etymology: interpreted literally, the *Orestae* are an obscure tribe whose presence in the catalogue emphasizes the global effects of civil war, but the collocation of significant words like *furor* and *mouit* suggest that the tribe derives its name from *Orestes*. Further, the verb *mouit* indicates a changed state, as if the madness of Roman civil war had actually transformed this distant tribe into Orestean figures.⁸⁷

I have saved for the last the most important example of etymologizing in Lucan's catalogues: *Haemonia*. Obviously derived from the Greek αἴμα, the region

⁸³ For antonymic forms of etymologizing, see Maltby 1993, 263–4.

⁸⁴ Hunink 1992 *ad loc.*

⁸⁵ Hunink 1992 *ad loc.*

⁸⁶ Bourgerly 1928, 30: “Le jeu de mots est trop manifesté pour qu'on puisse modifier le nom du peuple, et il est tout à fait dans le goût de Lucain qui aime à appuyer, sous une forme ou sous une autre, sur la signification, vraie ou supposée, des noms propres.”

⁸⁷ *OLD s.v. moueo*, entry 2 g.

around Mt. Haemus claims a long tradition and prominent status in Latin verse, where its brutally apt nomenclature is used to signify both Pharsalus and Philippi even though the three areas are not that close to each other.⁸⁸ By Lucan's time, the word carries such strong and evocative connotations that it requires barely any explanation on the poet's part, so when the place appears in the *Pharsalia's* second catalogue, it is in a passing reference to "the men through whose toil the Thessalian plough furrows Haemonian Iolcos" (*quorumque labore/ Thessalus Haemoniam uomer proscindit Iolcon*, 3.191–2). Here Haemus' etymology does not emerge via a modifying phrase or adjective – as is usually the case – but via Lucan's allusion to *G.* 1.491–7, a passage in which Vergil describes Haemonia's grim potential for agriculture:

*nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.
scilicet et tempus ueniet cum finibus illis
agricola incuruo terram molitus aratro
exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila,
aut grauibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.*
(*G.* 1.491–7)

Twice over the gods thought it right to enrich
Emathia and Haemus' fields with our blood.
and then I've no doubt that one day the farmer,
rolling up earth with the curve of his plough
in these very lands will uncover some lances
old and corroded and scabrous with rust,
or he'll strike with his mattock those helmets now empty
and wonder at old bones dug out of their graves.

Lucan speaks of a *uomer* (3.192) to parallel Vergil's *aratum* (*G.* 1.494) and confirms his allusion by employing *Haemonius* in an agricultural context: underneath Lucan's "Thessalian plough" lies the suggestion that it will soon be turning up remnants of Roman conflict. Further, it is Vergil who etymologizes Haemus with the verb *pinguescere*, by which he presents Roman blood as fertilizer; *Luc.* 3.191–2 recalls the etymology obliquely.⁸⁹ It is not until the end of Book 7 that Lucan pursues Vergil's idea more fully:⁹⁰

88 Thomson (1951, 433–4) and Mayer (1986, 49–50) explain that significant distances separate Pharsalus, Philippi, and Mt. Haemus. Latin poets' conflation of these various locations is intended to serve a poetic purpose, not to represent geographic reality.

89 Putnam (1979, 71–2) and Thomas (1988 *ad loc.*) both read Vergil's *pinguescere* as an etymological gloss.

*quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
 quo non Romanos uiolabis uomere manes?
 ante nouae uenient acies, scelerique secundo
 praestabis nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos.*

...

*plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur,
 pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa.*

(7.851–4; 858–91)

What crop will not grow with stained, discolored stalks?
 Where will one not disturb Roman ghosts with the plough?
 Fresh troops will arrive, and you will present
 for this second crime fields still wet with our blood.

...

More ashes ploughed up in Haemonian furrows,
 more bones that are struck by the tooth of the hoe.

As much as Lucan alludes to Vergil, he also tries to surpass the earlier poet in this instance, stressing that the second round of civil conflict at Philippi will bring *more* ashes and *more* bones (*plus cinerum.../ pluraque... ossa*), and that Roman blood will taint crops permanently (*infecta, decolor*) rather than simply nourish them. The basic idea, however, remains the same: civil war provides Mt. Haemus with a kind of reverse aetiology, an anachronistic reason for the title it possesses already; bloodshed is bound to occur at 'Blood Mountain'.

For Lucan, such play on 'Haemonia' is more than just aetiology and etymology; it is also an example of how Roman conflict affects the landscape in which it occurs. Civil war transforms the region's name into a physical reality; it confirms Haemus' symbolic potential. Robert Maltby remarks that Greeks and Romans treated etymologies as a means of accessing "the nature of the thing named".⁹¹ The etymologies in Lucan's *Pharsalia* tend instead to stress that that 'nature' is always in flux, that language transforms the physical world and vice versa.

90 For more on this particular allusion, see Leigh (1997, 254), who also detects many other allusions to the *Georgics* in *Pharsalia* 7 (1997, 292–9). Thompson/Bruère (1968, 1–21) show how Lucan uses the *Georgics* more generally throughout the *Pharsalia*.

91 Maltby 1993, 257.

Bloodlines

Although Lucan's catalogues abound with the names of foreign mountains, rivers, regions, and tribes, the names of Romans are noticeably absent. The catalogue of Caesar's troops in Book 1 mentions Gauls in place of Roman soldiers, and the parallel list of Pompey's forces in Book 3 spans territory from Greece to India without including a single Latin name. The result is that, unlike Vergil, Lucan draws no aetiological links between the individuals in his catalogues and the Roman families famous in his own day. Tracing descent was a common occupation among ancient readers, who treated epic catalogues – military or otherwise – as a *locus* of genealogical information, no matter how fanciful.⁹² But Lucan denies his catalogues this function, omitting Roman names in order to promote the tendentious idea that all Romans of any significance died at Pharsalus.⁹³ The claim is manifestly false, but it enables the poet to rework epic tradition in innovative ways: if the *Pharsalia's* catalogue contains no genealogy, it is because all the great Roman bloodlines have soaked into Thessalian soil.

While genealogy features more prominently in Greek epic,⁹⁴ Vergil is the most immediate source for this aspect of Lucan's work. Constructing continuities between the remote, proto-Roman past and its Augustan future is a technique that pervades the entire *Aeneid*, and it stands out especially in Vergil's catalogues. For instance, at the end of *Aeneid* 6, Anchises presents Aeneas with a genealogy in the future tense, a parade of Romans who are both famous in their own right and represent some of Roman history's most significant families. Next, at the end of Book 7, Vergil's catalogue of Italian allies connects pre-Roman Italy with the poet's own time. When Vergil asks the muses to sing of the men *quibus Itala iam tum/ floruerit* ("that Italy even then produced in abundance", *A.* 7.643–4), the *iam tum* reveals his contemporary perspective.⁹⁵ As two single syllables filling the line's final foot, *iam tum* occupies an emphatic position and so displays its programmatic importance for the catalogue: Italy's strength is the same, then and now.⁹⁶ In the list that follows, Vergil combines

92 For example, the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* was a major source of genealogical information in the ancient world – see Hall 1997, 41–2. Greeks wishing to define their ethnic localities and substantiate claims to cultural unity treated the *Iliad's* catalogue of ships in a similar manner, as Finkelberg (2005, 8–10, 18–19 and 171) makes clear.

93 At 7.540–3, Lucan goes so far as to claim that there will be no Romans left after Pharsalus, and that Galatians, Syrians, Cappadocians, Gauls, Iberians, Cilians, and Armenians will become the people of Rome instead.

94 On the prominent role of genealogy in Greek epic, see above n. 92.

95 Fraenkel 1945, 9.

96 Williams (1973 *ad loc.*) notes the emphasis Vergil places on *iam tum*.

continuity with genealogy when he pauses to describe the descent of the *gens Claudia* from the Sabine leader, Clausus (A. 7.705–9). To some degree genealogy is the inevitable consequence of Vergil inventing a past to fit the present.

Lucan, in contrast, not only avoids genealogy, but expressly denies it. He makes this clear by placing Trojan recruits in the catalogue of Pompey's forces and explaining that they support the republican leader because they do not believe Caesar's claim of descent from Iulus: *nec fabula Troiae/ continuit Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli* ("the story of Troy did not hold them back nor did Caesar claiming descent from Phrygian Iulus", 3.212–13). With these words the poet denies not just a Roman genealogy, but *the* Roman genealogy; he exposes the Julio-Claudian origin myth for what it is: a myth. Not even the Trojans are convinced by it. Invented by Caesar and substantiated by Vergil, the story of Aeneas is repudiated by the real Trojans who live in historical time in the pre-*Aeneid* world of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.⁹⁷ Frederick Ahl is right to remark that Troy's presence in this catalogue anticipates the Roman dead at Pharsalus: when Caesar conquers Pompey he will not only gain eastern territories but also cut off his own – supposed – lineage.⁹⁸ It is yet another way in which Lucan portrays the self-defeating, self-implicating nature of civil war. In Lucan's catalogues, genealogy is a dead end.

Its death, moreover, is the subject of another catalogue, one that is quite minor and until now has passed unnoticed by Lucan scholarship. It comes at the end of Book 7, where Lucan lists the animals that arrive on the battlefield to feast on Roman bodies. Since the passage is quite short, I take the liberty of citing it in full:

*non solum Haemonii funesta ad pabula belli
Bistonii uenere lupi tabemque cruentae
caedis odorati Pholoen liquere leones.
tunc ursae latebras, obscaeni tecta domosque
deseruere canes, et quidquid nare sagaci
aera non sanum motumque cadauere sentit.
iamque diu uolucres ciuilia castra secutae
conueniunt. uos, quae Nilo mutare soletis
Threicias hiemes, ad mollem serius Austrum
istis, aues.*

(7.825–34)

⁹⁷ Tesoriero (2005, 202–15) examines the *Pharsalia*'s complex temporality: Lucan's readers know the *Aeneid*, but Lucan's Caesar does not. The poet frequently exploits the situation's ironic potential.

⁹⁸ Ahl 1976, 219.

To feed on the dead of Haemonia's war
 wolves came from Bistonia and lions that smelt
 the blood, rot, and slaughter left dens on Pholoe.
 Bears came out of hiding, disgusting dogs
left houses and homes, and they all gathered there,
 whatever could sense with its keen, upturned nostrils
 the air so unhealthy, so tainted by corpses.
 Birds flock together, the birds that had followed
 our civilian armies, day after day.
 And you, the cranes that migrate to the Nile
escaping the winters in Thrace, you will come
 to the soft southern sun a bit late this year.

Close reading of this passage reveals a host of structural and linguistic features typical of epic catalogues: Lucan uses verbs of leaving (*liquere*, *deseruere*), approaching (*uenerere*), and convening (*conueniunt*) to create a sense of forward movement; for the wolves and lions he states places of origin (Bistonia and Pholoe); he even records some 'ethnographic' information for the cranes that migrate between the Nile and Thrace. The entire description is simultaneously bitter and humorous. These animals converge on the battlefield like warriors; they are identified by their geographic locales and associations; but they come to Thessaly after the battle, not before it, and to feast rather than fight (*ad pabula belli*).⁹⁹ Being eaten is the fate of Roman families that might otherwise have figured in a catalogue display of rank and file. Interestingly, Lucan's Romans suffer what Homer's warriors threaten each other but never actually undergo: having their bodies thrown to the dogs and birds.¹⁰⁰ Once again, Lucan changes and challenges standard epic form, this time by writing a catalogue-after-the-fact, which enables him to depict the battle as a moment of massive rupture, an event that denies continuity between the Republican past and the Caesarian future, no matter what Vergil may claim.

And when Lucan interrupts Roman genealogy, he also upsets geography. Typically, epic catalogues classify family or tribal groups according to location, so that the absence of Romans from Lucan's catalogues makes us more aware of the absence of Rome itself. The lists of troops in Books 1 and 3 survey everything from the Belgian coast to the Ganges, but the result is a feeling of dislocation:

⁹⁹ There is another catalogue in the *Pharsalia* that performs a similar function: the list of snakes at 9.700–33, and the subsequent battle waged between serpents and Roman soldiers at 9.734–833. I have refrained from analyzing this episode mainly because it has already been the subject of much scholarly attention: Morford 1967, 126–8; Leigh 2000, 95–109; Eldred 2000, 63–74; Raschle 2001; Wick 2004 *ad loc.*

¹⁰⁰ A suggestion made, independently, by both Thomas Van Nortwick and Ioannis Ziogas.

Rome is disowning its territories and embroiling foreign peoples in civil war. Post Pharsalia, the catalogue in Book 7 depicts “the paradox of a *Roman* war fought out in *alien* Thessaly.”¹⁰¹ As with Caesar’s withdrawal and Pompey’s levy, so here: we see no Romans (at least, nothing recognizable as Romans), and such lack of recognition is a typical effect of Lucan’s civil war, which overturns geographic norms and established ways of viewing the world. If Romans barely feature in Lucan’s catalogues it is because civil conflict has at best imperiled, at worst eradicated what it means to be Roman.

Conclusion

The catalogue may be only one poetic form among many that Lucan uses to convey his recurring motif of geographic, moral, and civil disorder, but it is certainly the most ironic. I say ironic because the catalogue itself is a fundamental expression of order. Visually, catalogues resemble processions: they depict the orderly movement of people arranged into various groups and subgroups. Catalogues aim to divide, circumscribe, categorize, and define; they lead us to expect hierarchy and artful sequence. Conscious or not, all of these ideas lie behind Lucan’s treatment of this standard epic feature. Catalogues in the *Pharsalia* are points where the Empire’s disorder is seen most clearly because it is least expected. Whether Lucan inverts their traditional form, as he does for Caesar, or alters their purpose, as he does for Pompey, the *Pharsalia*’s catalogues always reflect the inverted, perverted, paradoxical qualities of their subject matter.

Moreover, Lucan regards civil war as chaotic and confusing not just because it is civil, not just because it involves Romans fighting each other, but also because Rome and Roman power ought to be principles of order. By including a wealth of geographic and ethnographic detail, Lucan shows how Roman military operations ought to define the world. Conquest does not simply move from center to periphery; it creates these two categories. And when war turns inwards, Rome’s imperial ideals unravel: empire contracts, maps are redrawn, triumphs become funerals, Romans behave like barbarians, boundaries are transgressed, and genealogies meet a brutal end. That Lucan presents civil war as world war is not just a clever paradox: in the poet’s mind, the two are inextricable. The *Pharsalia*’s catalogues demonstrate that when Caesar fights Pompey then Rome shall fall, and with Rome, the world.

¹⁰¹ Henderson 1998, 187 (his emphasis).

