4

The Fires of Campania

Typhon and the Bay of Naples in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*

Darcy Krasne

Although western Italy has the potential to be extensively present within an Argonautic narrative,[1] Valerius Flaccus' Argonauts never make it near their author's homeland. His *Argonautica* breaks off, by chance or design,[2] midway through Book 8, with the heroes trapped at the mouth of the Danube, waiting to continue their journey. Which traditions the Flavian poet might have followed, therefore, and just how extensively his Argonauts would have explored the land of their creation, are academic questions. Nevertheless, although Valerius does not in the end bring his Argonauts to Italy, he certainly brings Italy to his *Argonautica*, in a well-recognized strategy of geographical and thematic Romanization;[3] and the several brief mentions of Campania in the epic have always been assigned squarely to this pervasive bolstering of Roman interests and *res Italicae*.[4] However, such an easy ascription has suppressed any real investigation of Campania's presence in the *Argonautica* on its own terms, even despite a programmatic mention of Cumae in the epic's opening lines.[5]

[1] E.g. A. R. 4.649–981; Lyc. 871–6; D. S. 4.56.3–7; Str. 1.2.10, 1.2.39, 5.2.6; Schol. A. R. 4.259; [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 839b. See e.g. Delage (1930) 236–47, Vian (1981) 16, 35–46, Knight (1995) 152–60, Thalmann (2011) 183–9, Hunter (2015) 8–11, 14–17, Simon (2016).

[2] Zissos (2008) xxvi–xxviii and Pellucchi (2012) xii–xviii summarize the main theories; see now also Penwill (2018).

[3] E.g. Shreeves (1978) 118–34, Pollini (1984), Zissos (2009), Mahé-Simon (2011), Bernstein (2014), Tatum (2016) 243–4.

[4] E.g. Spaltenstein (2004) 327, Manuwald (2014) 466 n. 11, Bernstein (2014) 156, Connors (2015) 126, Simon (2016) 212.

[5] *Phoebe, mone, si Cumaeae mihi conscia vatis / stat casta cortina domo* ('Phoebus, guide me, if the Cumaean prophet's visionary tripod stands for me in a chaste home', V. Fl. 1.5–6). These lines, which concretize Valerius' vatic persona, have primarily been hailed as preserving (or fictitiously alleging) Valerius' membership in the quindecimvirate (most recently, see Tatum [2016]), but any potential subsidiary resonances of *Cumaeae* have gone unexplored.

The present chapter will therefore begin to compensate for this scholarly neglect, with particular attention to how Valerius negotiates the concinnities and frictions that arise between, on the one hand, Campania's longstanding identity as a place of volcanic activity and seismic instability (and the region's spectacular reaffirmation of its claim to such an identity in Valerius' own time),[6] and, on the other, the various competing poetic and scientific traditions explaining, describing, and localizing volcanic eruption.

Campania's extensive onshore and offshore volcanic terrain, along with Sicily's famous Mount Aetna and the volcanic Aeolian (or Liparian) Islands off Sicily's north-eastern coast, constituted the ancient Mediterranean's most ominous and visible threat of fiery cataclysm (see Map 4.1).[7] Science and myth each offered an abundance of explanations for the earth's phenomenal eruptive displays in these regions and elsewhere, but in both cases a limited handful of theories achieved widespread popularity.[8] The dominant scientific theory proposed that volcanoes were like enormous furnaces, often containing flammable material and invariably fuelled by the activity and collisions of winds below the earth (the same winds that caused earthquakes and, above ground, lightning);[9] another theory postulated immense, subterranean rivers of fire as their source.[10] Mythology, for its part, explained volcanic eruptions either as the result of Hephaestus and the Cyclopes working at their forges, or as being caused by opponents of the gods, or *theomachoi*,[11] who were imprisoned beneath the smoking mountains, their struggles and contortions leading to the seismic

[6] See especially Connors (2015).

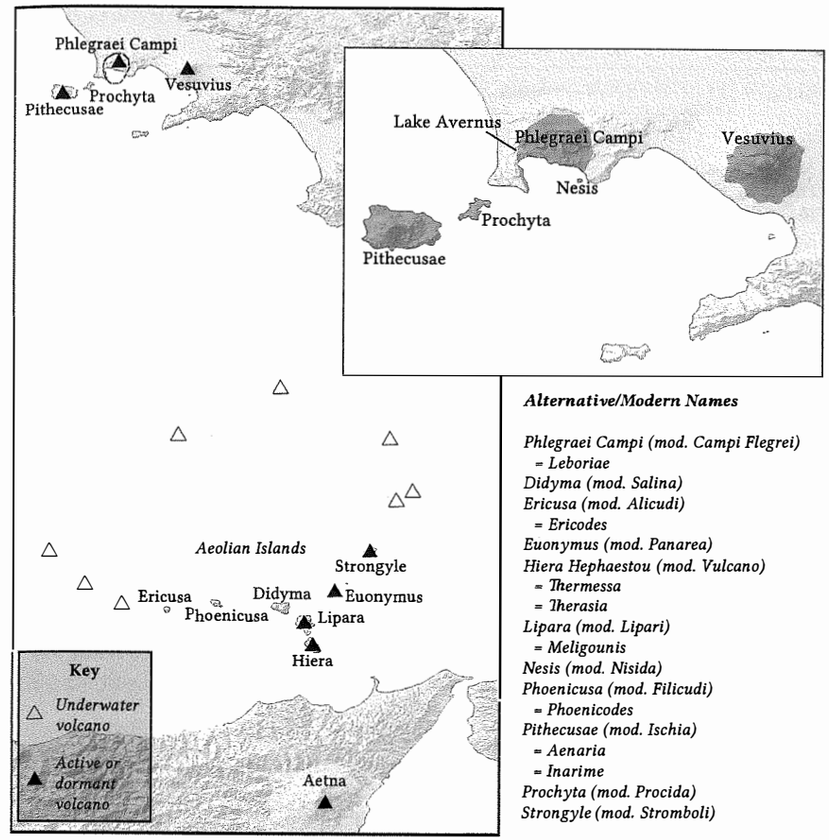
[7] Prior to Methana's eruption in the mid third century BCE (*c.*258 BCE) and Thera's renewing of its activity in 197 BCE, the only eruptions in the Graeco-Roman world following Thera's previous eruption (*c.*1610 BCE) were located in Sicily and Italy; Aetna and the islands of Hiera (modern Vulcano), Strongyle (modern Stromboli), and Pithecusae (modern Ischia) were the primary active volcanoes during this period. (Unless otherwise specified, eruption history for volcanoes is derived from the Smithsonian's Global Volcanism Program, http://volcano.si.edu, accessed 17 May 2018; cf. Stothers and Rampino [1983].) However, the ancient Greeks and Romans associated other, unrelated types of fiery phenomena with volcanic activity as well, and inferred the past occurrence of volcanic activity in places where the earth appeared to be burnt (Hine [2002] 60). See generally Sigurdsson (1999) 21–2, Hine (2002).

[8] Johnston (2005) gives an overview of the mythological perspectives; Paisley and Oldroyd (1979) 11–14, Sigurdsson (1999) 34–50, and Hine (2002) the scientific perspectives; and Chester et al. (2000) addresses both. See also many of the papers in E. Foulon (2004), and recently, Buxton (2016) on Aetna specifically.

[9] Ancient sources tabulated at Paisley and Oldroyd (1979) 12; for theories of wind-driven meteorology, see Taub (2003).

[10] E.g. Pl. *Phd.* 111d–13c, Str. 5.4.6, 5.4.9; Empedocles may have been behind some aspect of this theory (cf. Kingsley [1995] 79–87, 96–101).

[11] I use the term *theomachos* to group these various immortal opponents under a single heading; this is contrary to Chaudhuri's (2014) restriction of the term to hubristic mortals who challenged the gods. I also use lower-case 'gigantomachy' generically; however, on the need not to equate Latin poetry's unstable categorization of the gods' various immortal opponents (Titans, Giants, and Typhon) with a complete lack of discrimination, see especially O'Hara (1994) 222–4. For the available presence of all three groups under volcanoes, see Table 4.1.



Map 4.1 The volcanic terrain of Campania and Sicily.

Background map courtesy of the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, licensed under CC BY 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode).

instability of the earth and to the fiery eruptions that occasionally ensued. Science and myth were not necessarily at odds: poets and philosophers found various ways to combine or reconcile theories when doing so was in their interest.[12] By contrast, a fierce literary debate existed over precisely which *theomachos* was buried under which volcano (see Table 4.1),[13] and Valerius' own choices within the *Argonautica*, including his treatment of Campania, are firmly engaged with the complexities of the tradition.

[12] On the demythologization and remythologization of volcanic eruption and related events, see in particular Hardie (1986) 91–6, 180–8, 263–7, Gale (1994) 187, Garani (2007) 126–41 and (2009); on Aetna's poeticization, see e.g. Leroux (2004). See below for Strabo's scientific interpretation of Pindar's mythologized account of Aetna's eruption. The two mythological explanations are combined at, e.g., A. *Pr.* 366–9, Call. *Del.* 141–6, Ant. Lib. 28.4.

[13] For post-Flavian citations, see Langen (1896) 131.

Table 4.1 Explicit distribution of the gods' opponents below volcanic features, through the Flavian period (approximately chronological).

Source	Aetna	Pithecusae	other/uncertain
Pi. *O.* 4.6f, *P.* 1.15ff., Fr. 92	Typhos	–	–
A. *Pr.* 351ff.	Typhos	–	–
Pherecyd. *BNJ* 3 F 54	–	Typhos	–
Herodor. *BNJ* 31 F 61[14]	–	–	Typhon (Lake Serbonis)
Hdt. 3.5	–	–	Typhos (Lake Serbonis)
Xanth. *FGrH* 765 F 13	–	–	Typhon (Phrygia Katakekaumene)
Call. *Del.* 141ff.[15]	Briareus	–	–
Call. *Aet.* fr. 1.35f.	Enceladus	–	–
A. R. 2.1211ff.	–	–	Typhaon (Lake Serbonis)
*Nic. *Het.* 4 [Ant. Lib. 28.4]	Typhon	–	–
Lyc. 688ff.	–	Typhon	–
Schol. Pi. *O.* 4.11c	–	–	Typhon (Phrygia/Boeotia)[16]
Schol. E. *Ph.* 1020	Typhos	–	–
Cic. *Scaur.* 29	[*lacuna*]	–	–
Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.75f.	[*unnamed*]	–	–
Virg. *A.* 3.578ff.	Enceladus	–	–
Virg. *A.* 9.715f.	–	Typhoeus	–
Ov. *Met.* 5.350ff. and *passim*	Typhoeus	–	–
Str. 10.5.16[17]	–	–	Polybotes (Nisyros or Kos)
Man. 2.874ff.	Typhon/ Typhoeus	–	–
Aetna 71ff.	Enceladus	–	–
Sen. *Her. F.* 80ff.	*Gigante*	–	–
Sen. *Med.* 410	*Titana*	–	–
Sen. *Thy.* 809f.	–	–	Typhoeus (*monte*)
Luc. 5.100f.	–	Typhoeus	–
Luc. 6.92	–	–	Typhon (*antra*)
Luc. 6.293ff.	Enceladus	–	–
[Sen.] *Her. O.* 1155ff.[18]	Enceladus	Typhoeus	–
V. Fl. 2.23ff.	Typhoeus	–	–
Stat. *Theb.* 3.594ff., 11.8, 12.270ff.	Enceladus	–	–
Stat. *Theb.* 10.916f.	[*unnamed*]	[*unnamed*]	–
Sil. 8.538ff.	–	Typhoeus	*ore Giganteo* (Baiae)
Sil. 12.147f.	–	Iapetus	Mimas (Prochyta)
Sil. 14.196f.	Typhoeus	–	–
Sil. 14.578f.	Enceladus	–	–

[14] But see Fowler (2013) 28.

[15] Griffiths (1970) 33–5 would add Brontes at Call. *Dian.* 77–8.

[16] Fowler (2013) 29 connects this mention of Boeotia with the place name 'Typhaonion' mentioned at [Hes.] *Sc.* 32.

[17] Strabo's other mentions of volcanic *theomachoi* are assigned to specific authors or preserve an extensive debate (e.g. Str. 13.4.6).

[18] Date uncertain.

FROM CATANIA TO CAMPANIA

As the most famous volcano of antiquity, Mount Aetna regularly sat atop an enemy of the gods, and in the Greek tradition this was usually the gods' greatest opponent, Typhon.[19] Post-Augustan Latin poetry, however, generally preferred to follow a tradition that placed Typhon under the island (or islands) of Pithecusae, just off the Campanian coastline,[20] in which case the giant Enceladus often became the source of Aetna's eruptions. But whereas Callimachus is our earliest surviving source to place Enceladus under Aetna,[21] the placement of Typhon under Pithecusae was imagined in antiquity to go back to Homer's *Iliad*, although what Homer had in fact said was that Typhon's lair or grave (εὐνάς, *Il.* 2.783) was located εἰν Ἀρίμοις ('among the Arimoi' or 'in Arima', *Il.* 2.783).[22] It was later authors who transformed this localization into a new place name, Inarime, that they identified with Pithecusae.[23] Virgil is the first surviving source to preserve this name and identification, and whilst it is not clear to what degree he himself was innovating, post-Augustan poetry sees a major shift in favour of this now Homero-Virgilian tradition (see Table 4.1); indeed, Valerius Flaccus is the one Flavian poet to reject the placement of Typhon below the Campanian island, returning instead to the version preferred by fifth-century Greek poets and Augustan poets other than Virgil.[24]

We learn of Valerius' placement of Typhon early in Book 2, as the Argonauts sail past the Thracian site of the Gigantomachy, at Pallene. In the midst of

[19] Also called Typhoeus, Typhaon, and Typhos, names sometimes used interchangeably within the same author (the old claim preserved in the *LSJ* that Hesiod makes Typhoeus the father of Typhaon is no longer given credence; see e.g. West [1966] 252). I will consistently use 'Typhon', except when quoting directly.

[20] In modern times, the Pithecusan archipelago consists of Ischia, Procida, and Vivara in a cluster, plus Nisida (ancient Nesis) hugging the coast; Procida is ancient Prochyta, and Vivara likely did not exist independently of Prochyta in antiquity, but the ancient name of Ischia is a quandary. It was evidently called Pithecusae (Πιθηκοῦσσαι) by the Greeks (the plural form may initially have encompassed the entire island group, as proposed by Peruzzi [1992] 123 n. 18) and Aenaria by the Romans, but it was called Inarime by several poets; whilst the identification of all these names with the same island is largely unassailable, there is a handful of discrepancies (Liv. 8.22.6, Ov. *Met.* 14.89–90, Mela 2.121). The volcano's main cone was called Mount Epomeus (Str. 5.4.9) or Epopos (Plin. *Nat.* 2.203). For further discussion of the island's names, see Peruzzi (1992), Poccetti (1995), Connors (2004) 185–8, Polara and De Vivo (2011) 495–511, and Manioti's chapter in this volume.

[21] As citations are given in Table 4.1, I generally do not include them in the text.

[22] For discussion of variants, origins, and ancient interpretations of Ἀρίμοις, see e.g. Str. 13.4.6, West (1966) 250–1, 380–1, Ballabriga (1990) 23–6.

[23] Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 3.82, Serv. *ad A.* 9.712; see bibliography in n. 20. However, the fifth-century historian Pherecydes of Athens (on whom, see Fowler [1999]) named Pithecusae as Typhon's prison (*BNJ* 3 F 54), and Lane Fox (2009) 317–19 argues for an original Homeric understanding of Ischia-Pithecusae as his mysterious Arima.

[24] Silius does not always follow the Homero-Virgilian tradition, as he includes a plethora of contradictory (and sometimes novel) variants in the *Punica*; on his multiplicity of versions, see Manioti and Stocks in this volume.

describing the petrified Giants, Valerius digresses to narrate vividly the defeat and punishment of Typhon, who now lies under Aetna, his unsettled shifting causing seismic activity throughout Sicily:[25]

> scopulis sed maximus illis
> horror abest, Sicula pressus tellure Typhoeus.
> hunc profugum et sacras revomentem pectore flammas...
> Sicanium †dedit† usque fretum cumque urbibus Aetnam
> intulit ora premens. trux ille eiectat adesi
> fundamenta iugi: pariter tunc omnis anhelat
> Trinacria, iniectam fesso dum pectore molem
> commovet experiens gemituque reponit inani. (V. Fl. 2.23–5, 29–33)

But the greatest horror is absent from those cliffs, Typhoeus, weighed down by Sicilian earth. As he fled, belching forth sacred flames from his breast,... [Neptune] transferred him all the way to the Sicilian strait and stuck Aetna with its cities on top of him, weighing down his face. Implacable, he bucks at the foundations of the eaten-away hill; then all Trinacria pants at the same time, whilst he heaves with his wearied breast the mass that was chucked on him, testing it, and sets it back with a frustrated groan.

Henceforth, Typhon's location is firmly established for Valerius' reader, and the preceding narrative also makes it clear that the Giants do not reside beneath other volcanoes; instead, they are all still at Pallene, where they have been petrified into mountainous forms that dot the plain (2.16–23). But even Typhon's own imprisonment below Aetna may not be quite so straightforward as it seems.

Prior to Valerius, both Ovid and Pindar had addressed Typhon's arrangement under Aetna. Ovid, with great precision, pins Typhon squarely beneath Sicily, each corner of its triangle pinning one of his hands or his feet in a classic pattern of crucifixion:

> vasta Giganteis ingesta est insula membris
> Trinacris et magnis subiectum molibus urget
> aetherias ausum sperare Typhoea sedes.
> nititur ille quidem pugnatque resurgere saepe,
> dextra sed Ausonio manus est subiecta Peloro,
> laeva, Pachyne, tibi, Lilybaeo crura premuntur:
> degravat Aetna caput, sub qua resupinus harenas
> eiectat flammamque ferox vomit ore Typhoeus.
> saepe remoliri luctatur pondera terrae
> oppidaque et magnos devolvere corpore montes;
> inde tremit tellus. (Ov. *Met.* 5.346–56)

The vast Trinacrian island is heaped over the giant's limbs, and it presses hard with its great mass on Typhoeus, stuck below it, who dared to hope for the ethereal abode. He strains, for sure, and often fights to rise again, but his right hand is stuck below Ausonian

[25] I follow Libermann's (1997–2002) text, except as noted (and with tacit orthographical changes); all translations are my own.

Pelorus; his left below you, Pachynus; his legs are pressed by Lilybaeum; Aetna weighs down upon his head. Lying on his back below it, fierce Typhoeus throws up sands and belches flame from his mouth. Often he struggles to push away the weight of earth and the towns and to roll the great mountains off his body: then the earth trembles.

Valerius' debt to Ovid here is obvious: in both, Typhon rises again (*resurgere*, *Met.* 5.349; *resurgentem*, V. Fl. 2.28); Aetna sits directly above his head (*degravat Aetna caput*, *Met.* 5.352; *ora premens*, V. Fl. 2.30), and not just the hill but her cities (*oppida*, *Met.* 5.355; *cumque urbibus*, V. Fl. 2.29); and compounds of *iacio* abound (*subiectum*, *Met.* 5.347, *subiecta*, 5.350, *eiectat*, 5.353; *eiectat*, V. Fl. 2.30, *iniectam*, 2.32). But Ovid's geographical specificity, the central focus of his description, has disappeared. As I shall argue, Valerius' primary geographical model for Typhon's arrangement, as he is depicted throughout the epic, is instead the account of Pindar in *Pythian* 1, probably our earliest surviving extended narrative of Typhon's torment and Aetna's massive eruptions,[26] which situates the giant in a distinctly different position:

> ὅς τ' ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμιος,
> Τυφὼς ἑκατονταπάρανος· τόν ποτε
> Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε μάν
> ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἁλιερκέες ὄχθαι
> Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει
> στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει,
> νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάνετες χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα· (Pi. *P.* 1.15–20)

And he who lies in dread Tartarus, the enemy of the gods, hundred-headed Typhos: once the famous Cilician cave nurtured him, but now the sea-skirted cliffs beyond Cumae, along with Sicily, press his shaggy breast, and snowclad Aetna, sky-reaching pillar, detains him, year-round nurse of bitter snow.

Which 'sea-skirted cliffs' Pindar means is a matter of some contention—Harry Hine interprets ὑπέρ as 'offshore from'[27] and therefore understands Pindar to refer to the island of Pithecusae, but others interpret ὑπέρ as 'inland from' and see Pindar as referring to the Campi Phlegraei and their neighbouring regions, even as far as Vesuvius.[28] Either way, however, as Strabo recognized, Pindar may well have meant to imply that Typhon causes the volcanic eruptions and sulphurous emissions endemic to the entire Campanian countryside:

> πιθανώτερον δὲ Πίνδαρος εἴρηκεν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ὁρμηθεὶς ὅτι πᾶς ὁ πόρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς Κυμαίας ἀρξάμενος μέχρι τῆς Σικελίας διάπυρός ἐστι καὶ κατὰ βάθους ἔχει κοιλίας τινὰς εἰς ἓν συναπτούσας πρός τε ἀλλήλας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον (διόπερ ἥ τε Αἴτνη τοιαύτην ἔχειν δείκνυται φύσιν οἵαν ἱστοροῦσιν ἅπαντες καὶ αἱ

[26] Pindar composed *Pythian* 1 for a victory in 470 BCE, shortly after Aetna's eruption of 479–475 BCE; it is approximately contemporary with the account of Aetna's eruption in the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound* (see Griffith [1983] 150).

[27] Hine (2002) 70 n. 39. [28] E.g. Gantz (1996) 49.

τῶν Λιπαραίων νῆσοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ Νεάπολιν καὶ Βαΐας χωρία καὶ αἱ Πιθηκοῦσσαι)· ταῦτ' οὖν διανοηθεὶς τῷ παντὶ τόπῳ τούτῳ φησὶν ὑποκεῖσθαι τὸν Τυφῶνα. (Str. 5.4.9)

But Pindar has said a more believable thing, having taken his lead from observable phenomena, namely that all this strait, beginning from Cumae and going all the way to Sicily, is full of fire, and in the depths it has linked hollow passages that connect to each other and to the mainland. (Accordingly, Aetna is explained to have such a nature as everyone documents, and so are the islands of the Liparaeans, and the regions around Dicaearchia and Naples and Baiae, and the Pithecusae.) And so, having noticed these things, he says that Typhon lies beneath this entire region.

Strabo's description clearly links Pindar's placement of Typhon to the scientific theory that volcanoes are caused by subterranean rivers of fire, and whether or not Pindar did in fact mean what Strabo believes he meant, there is good reason to think that Valerius is engaging with this interpretation,[29] rather than tacitly following Ovid in strictly confining Typhon to Sicily.

THE HEAT OF BATTLE

A passage late in the epic substantiates Valerius' allegiance to the Pindaric version of Typhon's placement. In concluding the catalogue of Perses' allies in Book 6, Valerius caps it with a chain of Homeric similes:

aut is apud fluvios clamor volucrum, aethera quantus
tunc lituum concentus adit, lymphataque miscet
milia quot foliis, quot floribus incipit annus.
ipse rotis gemit ictus ager tremibundaque pulsu
nutat humus, quatit ut saevo cum fulmine Phlegram
Iuppiter atque imis Typhoea verberat arvis. (V. Fl. 6.165–70)

170 Typhoea verberat *C*] typhea verberat γ Typhona reverberat *Fontius* Bon.1498 *Liberman*

... or as great as the cry of birds among the streams, the concerted song of the trumpets then reaches the sky and mingles the frenzied thousands—with so many leaves, so many flowers, does the year begin. The field itself groans, struck by the wheels, and the ground nods, quivering at the beat, as when Jupiter shakes Phlegra with his savage thunderbolt and strikes Typhoeus in the depths of the fields.

These similes juxtapose, in exact order, the similes that open and close the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2, moving from noisy birds and countless leaves and flowers (cf. *Il.* 2.459–68) to the groaning of the earth as Jupiter smites the

[29] Glauthier (2011) 131 n. 83 posits that Lucan, too, 'may have this kind of scenario in mind' at 5.99–101.

land around Typhon with a thunderbolt, the original passage that placed Typhon εἰν Ἀρίμοις:

οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο·
γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνῳ
χωομένῳ ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ
εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς·
ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα
ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο. (Hom. *Il.* 2.780–5)

And they went as if the whole ground were consumed by fire, and the earth groaned beneath them as it does beneath thunderbolt-hurling Zeus when, angered, he smites the ground around Typhoeus in Arima, where they say is Typhoeus' place of rest. Thus the earth groaned greatly under their feet as they went, and very swiftly they made their way over the plain.

Valerius is particularly faithful to his Homeric model in the simile depicting Jupiter's attacks on Typhon, so his one clear alteration, replacing Homer's εἰν Ἀρίμοις with a mention of Phlegra, should catch our attention. As we have seen, it was precisely this phrase that provoked an association between Pithecusae and the supposedly Homeric Inarime, and whilst the polyvalent name 'Phlegra' could be used for two different sites connected with the Gigantomachy, neither one was Pithecusae. The more common referent was the Thracian site of Pallene, from which Valerius had already explicitly excluded Typhon when the Argonauts sailed past it in Book 2;[30] however, Phlegra could also refer to the crater-pocked Campi Phlegraei of the Campanian countryside.[31] I propose that by replacing εἰν Ἀρίμοις with *Phlegram*, therefore, Valerius essentially 'corrects' the Homero-Virgilian tradition with a Pindaric revision: Typhon, imprisoned below Aetna, also extends in a vast sprawl below the entire Campanian countryside, supplying not just the fires of Aetna, nor of just the Pithecusan islands, as Virgil and his cadre would have it, but the fires of the whole region, from Cape Misenum to Lake Avernus to Vesuvius, making the entire fertile but unstable seaboard of the Bay of Naples into what we might call 'Typhonic terrain'.

Before further exploring Valerius' depiction of these environs, let us turn to an early locus of non-Campanian volcanic activity in the epic, Valerius' second mention of Typhon. Certain visual aspects of volcanic eruption had become literary tropes by Valerius' day, inspired in particular by Lucretius and Virgil's descriptions of Aetna's eruption at Lucr. 6.639–702 and *A.* 3.571–82: the sky grows dark with a cloud of smoke or ash, the sun disappears as day turns into

[30] Given the ancestry of the simile, it cannot, as Wijsman (2000) 82 thinks, refer to the long-past events of the actual Gigantomachy.

[31] E.g. D. S. 4.21.7, Str. 5.4.6, 6.3.5. *Roscher* 5.1438.6–7 also understands Valerius' *Phlegram* this way. Lane Fox (2009) 302–11 would have the Italian Phlegra be the original site of the name; Pliny tells us that the Latin (or local) name was Leboriae (*Nat.* 18.111).

night, tongues of fire lick the sky, the land trembles, and the elements are confused.[32] Valerius' clearest engagement with this volcanic topos comes in a Book 3 simile that simultaneously likens the Cyzican warrior Phlegyas to Typhon and metaphorically depicts him as an erupting volcano:

> ecce gravem nodis pinguique bitumine quassans
> lampada turbata Phlegyas decurrit ab urbe...
> arduus et late fumanti nube coruscus,
> quantus ubi inmenso prospexit ab aethere Typhon
> igne simul ventisque rubens, quem Iuppiter alte
> crine tenet (trepidant diro sub lumine puppes)...
> per piceos accensa globos et pectus harundo
> per medium contenta fugit; ruit ille comanti
> ore facem supra maiorque apparuit ignis. (V. Fl. 3.124–5, 129–32, 135–7)

Behold, shaking a torch heavy with knots and rich bitumen, Phlegyas runs down from the tumultuous city,... towering and throwing light far and wide with a smoking cloud, as much as Typhon did when he looked forth from the immense heaven, growing red with fire and winds, whom Jupiter holds on high by his hair; ships tremble under his dread light.... [Hercules'] arrow, as it is shot, flies through the pitchy globs (it is set aflame) and through the middle of his chest; he rushed downward towards the torch with his hairy face, and the fire grew bigger.

Phlegyas' towering stature (*arduus*, 3.129), the smoking cloud that surrounds him (*fumanti nube*, 3.129), and his torch's glow and pitchy globs of flame (*coruscus*, 3.129; *piceos... globos*, 3.135) are all closely modelled on Lucretius and Virgil's Aetnas;[33] Phlegyas' name emphasizes his inherent fieriness;[34] the bitumen (*pingui bitumine*, 3.124) that fuels his torch was thought to fuel volcanoes (cf. *pingue bitumen*, *Aetna* 391); and within the simile, Valerius hints at the principal scientific explanation for volcanic eruptions, saying that the gigantic Typhon grows red from fire and winds (*igne simul ventisque rubens*, 3.131).[35]

Less than a hundred lines later, Valerius adds to the volcanic imagery, now comparing the mounting activity of the battle itself to the increasing seismic

[32] Cf. Newlands (1988) 413, Kingsley (1995) 78 n. 29, Castner (2003) 160 n. 15, Glauthier (2011) 119.

[33] *fumida... caeli scintillare omnia templa* ('all the smoke-filled regions of the sky sparkle', Lucr. 6.644); *atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem / turbine fumantem piceo* ('it blasts a black cloud up to the aether, smoking with a pitchy whirlwind', *A.* 3.572–3); *globos flammarum* ('globs of flame', *A.* 3.574); *ingentem... Aetnam* ('huge Aetna', *A.* 3.579); cf. Virg. *A.* 3.619 ('himself towering', *ipse arduus*), with Hardie (1986) 264–5.

[34] 'Phlegyas' derives from φλέγω ('burn, kindle, inflame'), just as 'Typhon' seems to derive from τύφω ('smoke, smoulder, burn').

[35] Phlegyas' death also connects him with Typhon, who was gored through the chest by Zeus' lightning (e.g. A. *Pr.* 361, Hyg. *Fab.* 152); the connection is underscored via allusion to a complex of images from the *Aeneid* linking the lightning-gored Ajax to the eruptions of Aetna (Hardie [1986] 179; Paschalis [1997] 36) and Enceladus to Apollonius' Phaethon and Typhon (Nelis [2001] 50–1).

activity of what are, in his day, the two main Campanian volcanoes, 'Inarime' and Vesuvius:[36]

> ut magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat
> Vesbius, attonitas acer cum suscitat urbes,
> sic pugnae crebrescit opus. (V. Fl. 3.208–10)

As more Inarime, as more the bellower Vesuvius pants, when it sharply rouses astonished cities, thus the activity of the battle thickens.

Although the simile is brief, this is a watershed moment for the programmatics of Campania's volcanic activity in the epic.[37] Throughout the Roman poetic tradition, Inarime is always paired with another seismically-unstable land mass,[38] and on most of those occasions, reference is made to one or both land masses serving as prisons for *theomachoi*. Therefore, whilst Valerius does not explicitly make Vesuvius into the prison of a divine antagonist here,[39] and whilst the persistent pattern surrounding Inarime and its companion land mass is only suggestive, not conclusive, I propose that Valerius' unique pairing of Inarime with Vesuvius nevertheless serves as an initial revisionist hint that Vesuvius—now at long last known to be active and destructive—must belong in the same tradition.

THE WINDS OF VESUVIUS

After notionally linking Vesuvius to buried *theomachoi* in Book 3, Valerius enhances the idea in Book 4, implicitly associating none other than Typhon himself with the Campanian volcano and its environs through both textual proximity and genealogical analogy, in keeping with the epic's developing notion of Typhonic terrain. Typhon's primary role here (indeed, his primary role in the epic) is to play father to the Harpies who torment Phineus, an unprecedented

[36] In addition to Inarime's literary heritage, radiocarbon dating of sedimentary deposits confirms that Ischia erupted sometime in the first century CE, an event which scientists estimate to 60 CE (de Alteriis et al. [2010] 10, 13, 17). Whilst there is no guarantee that it had erupted prior to Valerius' composition of these lines, or even in his lifetime, the probability is high (cf. Civetta et al. [1999] 26–31).

[37] Contra Strand (1972) 35–6. It may be that Valerius' use of *opus* in this context alludes to the *Aetna*-poet's tendency to use *opus* as a polyvalent and metaliterary term connecting his poem with its subject matter; see Glauthier (2011) 112–13 and Welsh (2014) 118–30. Polara (1997) 68 also connects the surrounding lines (V. Fl. 3.206–7, 211–13) with volcanic activity, I think rightly.

[38] Virg. *A.* 9.715–16, Ov. *Met.* 14.89, *Aetna* 429–33 (here called Aenaria), Luc. 5.99–101, 6.90–2 (Inarime's name is suppressed here), [Sen.] *Herc. O.* 1155–9, Stat. *Theb.* 10.915–17 and *Silv.* 2.2.76, Sil. 8.538–91, 12.147–50. Cf. Shreeves (1978) 124.

[39] Nor does anyone for more than a century; cf. Sebesta (2006) 108.

and unrepeated genealogy,[40] and it is through the Harpies' several connections with Campania's volcanic landscape that Typhon's own Campanian connections are most firmly developed. Conversely, the revelation of this novel genealogy becomes the Harpies' first association with volcanic activity, as the earliest mention of them in the epic labels them *Harpyiae Typhoides* (4.428).[41] Their volcanic connections and descriptors soon multiply, however: Phineus subsequently describes them as resembling a black, whirlwind-like cloud (*deveniunt niger intorto ceu turbine nimbus*, 4.452), briefly recalling Aeolus' release of the volcanic Winds in *Aeneid* 1 (*contorto turbine*, Virg. *A.* 1.609) and other cognate verses in Lucretius and Virgil's linked descriptions of the winds and Mount Aetna (Lucr. 1.279, 6.640; *A.* 3.573);[42] and when the Harpies themselves appear on the scene, they bring with them the rank fumes of Avernus (*fragrat acerbus odor patriique expirat Averni / halitus*, V. Fl. 4.493–4) and a yawning infernal cloud (*inhiat Cocytia nubes*, 4.495).

It is here that Typhon and the Harpies' association with Campania becomes openly visible for the first time. Although scholars have read *Averni* and *Cocytia* as a generic association with the Underworld,[43] Valerius has ensured that the reader knows that Typhon, who is hinted at through *patrii* (4.493), is not in fact in the Underworld, but rather under Aetna.[44] But Avernus, like Phlegra, is a polyvalent term, and we have already seen that Valerius will, two books later, make clear his adherence to Pindar's unusual placement of Typhon below the entire Campanian region. It is therefore both more consistent and more profitable to understand *Averni* as alluding to the terrestrial Lake Avernus, north of Cumae.[45] Strabo even tells us that some writers attributed Campania's rank sulphurous emissions to the smoking wounds of buried giants (Str. 5.4.6), and it is no stretch to see an implication here that Typhon is the source of Avernus' noxious emissions, which are embodied by the Harpies.[46] The paired use of *Cocytia* hardly diminishes this notion, as Plato's description in the *Phaedo* of the volcanic area where the Cocytus emerges into the upper world uncannily resembles the actual Lake Avernus.[47]

[40] The Harpies have a range of fathers but are nowhere else the daughters of Typhon; they are 'Töchter des Typhon... erst bei Val. Flacc.' (*RE* vii/2.2420.54–5). See Gantz (1996) 18.

[41] The only other occurrence of this patronymic refers to Mount Aetna itself (*Typhoidos*, Ov. *Ep.* 15.11); Liberman unnecessarily emends to *Typhonides*.

[42] See also below (p. 57–8). On the potential underlying volcanics of *turbo* and the winds in general, see Hardie (1986) 179–83; cf. Castner (2003) 172. Note also the use of the key Lucretian and Virgilian term *verrunt* at V. Fl. 4.454 (cf. Hardie [1986] 238).

[43] E.g. Murgatroyd (2009) 243–4.

[44] There is, of course, a close connection between the two; cf. Kingsley (1995) 82, Morgan (2015) 317, and Buxton (2016) 27 on Pindar's ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ (*P.* 1.15). Spaltenstein (2004) 324, however, imagines that Valerius has suddenly forgotten that Typhon is the Harpies' father; cf. Spaltenstein (2004) 329–30.

[45] Cf. Wellesley (1964).

[46] Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.18 on Vesuvius' *praenuntius odor sulpuris*, and see also n. 62.

[47] Kingsley (1995) 98, on Pl. *Phd.* 113b6–c8.

Shortly thereafter, the Phineus episode also features the most tangible presence of Campanian volcanism in the entire epic, a much-discussed simile that likens the Harpies to the ash cloud erupting from Vesuvius:[48]

> sicut, prorupti tonuit cum forte Vesevi
> Hesperiae letalis apex, vixdum ignea montem
> torsit hiems iamque eoas cinis induit urbes,
> turbine sic rapido populos atque aequora longe
> transabeunt nullaque datur considere terra. (V. Fl. 4.507–11)

Just as, when the peak of ruptured Vesuvius, deadly to Hesperia, thundered unexpectedly, scarcely did a fiery storm wrack the mountain when ash abruptly cloaked the eastern cities: thus, in a swift whirlwind, they travel far over peoples and waters, and it is granted them to settle in no land.

A scant five lines later, Typhon also appears, concealed in a murky nocturnal cloud, in response to the Harpies' prayer for his aid:

> inplorant clamore patrem Typhona nefando,
> extulit adsurgens noctem pater imaque summis
> miscuit et mediis vox exaudita tenebris. (V. Fl. 4.514–18)

[Whilst] they call strenuously on their father Typhon with an unspeakable shout, their father, rising, brought forth night and mingled the lowest with the highest, and a voice was heard from the midst of the shadows...

Where Typhon appears from is left unsaid.[49] As we know where he resides, it is conceivable that Valerius in fact means us to imagine Typhon as rising *from* Mount Aetna, in an eruption of smoke and ash;[50] but without question, his appearance is depicted in volcanic terms, whether or not it is localized to a particular volcano. Signs of volcanic activity here include the sudden emergent darkness and the mixing of high and low,[51] a clear imposition of disorder and, interestingly, an image directly echoed by Dio Cassius a little over a century later in his description of Vesuvius' eruption.[52] Both the Harpies and their father, therefore, are linked in this episode with a range of volcanic effects and

[48] See also the chapters by Buongiovanni, Lóio, and Sacerdoti in this volume.

[49] Murgatroyd (2006) 84 and (2009) 252 again assumes the Underworld.

[50] As I am generally inclined to follow Stover (2012) in dating the epic to the early Flavian period, my working assumption is that Valerius belatedly substituted the simile of Vesuvius for an already-written simile of Aetna. There is certainly no need to assume that the 79 CE eruption was the critical impetus behind Campania's broader presence within the episode and the poem, as the themes of volcanism that underlie the epic, their Lucretian origins, and their connections with Typhon and the Harpies are central to the epic's composition. For studies of the similar volcanic network in Virgil's *Aeneid* that repeatedly informs Valerius' own, see e.g. Sullivan (1972), Shea (1977), Hardie (1986) *passim* and (2009) 88–93, Johnston (1996), Scarth (2000).

[51] Cf. e.g. Virg. *A.* 3.572–4 and 586–7, *Aetna* 199–202. On the imagery of the topos, see e.g. Hardie (1986) 91–6, 105–7, 116–17, 180–3, 263–4; Glauthier (2011) 98, 116–32.

[52] D. C. 66.23.4–5; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 6.20.13–14, Polara (1997) 68.

images; and in making Typhon the Harpies' father, Valerius is also amplifying the scene's volcanism in another important way.

In Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the Harpies were the daughters of Thaumas (*Th.* 265–7), Typhon was not himself childless. In addition to siring numerous monsters (304–32), he was also the father of ill-blowing winds (ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἔστ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων, 869), which Hesiod took care to distinguish from the beneficial cardinal Winds, the children of Eos, saying that they are 'separate from Notos and Boreas and bright Zephyros' (νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο, 870). The winds that Typhon spawns bring blight and misfortune to mankind on sea and land alike (873–80); these are the winds that later, taking their name from Typhon himself, can be called τυφῶνες, or 'typhoons'.[53] The Harpies, too, are related to winds: the intrinsic meaning of their name, 'Snatchers', and the personal names given to individual Harpies in various authors[54] preserve a conception of them as swift and rapacious storm-wind goddesses.[55] Apollonius stresses these same attributes in his own Phineus episode: the Harpies arrive ἠύτ' ἄελλαι ἀδευκέες ἢ στεροπαὶ ὥς ('like sudden storm-winds or like lightning flashes', 2.267),[56] and whenever they go to or from Phineus' kingdom, ζεφύροιο παραΐσσεσκον ἀέλλας / αἰέν ('they always darted past the storm-winds of Zephyrus', 2.276–7).

By making Typhon the Harpies' father, therefore, Valerius is conflating the wind-like Harpies with the malevolent winds fathered by Typhon, the typhoons, and we see this conflation not just in their parentage, but in the simile of Vesuvius that describes them. This simile bears a notable resemblance to the passage in Hesiod that describes the wind-children of Typhoeus: the ash that cloaks the eastern cities (*iamque eoas cinis induit urbes*, V. Fl. 4.509) recalls the dust that these winds scatter over mankind's creations (ἔργ' ἐρατὰ φθείρουσι χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων / πιμπλεῖσαι κόνιός τε καὶ ἀργαλέου κολοσυρτοῦ, *Th.* 879–80), whilst the Harpies' swift path over peoples and seas (*populos atque aequora*, V. Fl. 4.510) recalls more generally the typhoons' broad sweep over sea (*Th.* 872–7) and land (*Th.* 878–80).[57] The fiery blast that propels the ash, in Valerius' simile, also reminds us of the scouring fire of the Harpies' and the typhoons' joint progenitor, Typhon, a feature that he prominently displays in Hesiod's account of his pitched battle against Zeus and retains in his subterranean

[53] Kahane and Kahane (1958) 417–28, Hardie (1986) 94, Bonnet (1987) 138 n. 222. On the implications for mankind, see Blaise (1992) 368–70, Clay (2003) 127–8; on Typhon's general association with winds, see West (1966) 390.

[54] E.g. Ocypete ('Quick-flight'), Aello ('Storm-wind'), Podarge ('Swift-footed'), Aellopous ('Storm-foot').

[55] E.g. Hes. *Th.* 267–9. Green (1997) 237: 'The Harpies seem to have had elements in them ab initio of both bird and wind.' Cf. also Hom. *Od.* 20.63–78, Pherecyd. Syr. 7 B 5 DK.

[56] Cf. V. Fl. 4.451–2.

[57] Blaise (1992) 369 also observes a connection between the winds of Tartarus (Typhon's father) and Typhon's wind-children (θύελλα θυέλλῃ, *Th.* 742; θυίουσιν ἐλλῃ, *Th.* 874); the same wind terms are variously associated with the Harpies.

volcanic aspect (*Th.* 844–67).[58] And inextricably linked to this nexus of volcanoes, fire, and winds is the principal scientific explanation for volcanic eruption, namely the activity of winds below the earth.

To understand the implications of Valerius' association of the Harpies with volcanic eruption and Hesiod's Typhonic winds, however, especially for the *Argonautica*'s portrayal of Campania, we still need to address a crucial intermediary. Early in Book 1 of the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius paints an image of gale-force winds sweeping across land and sea in devastating fashion (Lucr. 1.271–94), using language that in general echoes Hesiod's account of Typhon's wind-children at *Theogony* 872–80 and even includes near-translations of Hesiod's text;[59] we already saw the influence of this Lucretian passage on Valerius' initial description of the Harpies at 4.452. But the intertextual volcanic resonances for both Lucretius and Valerius are strongly amplified by Lucretius' own distinct echo of his Typhonic storm in his later image of Aetna's eruption, particularly in the clear reuse of language that originally described the destructive storm to subsequently describe the volcano's deadly pyroclastic flows and surges that can race destructively across the land:[60] *rapido percurrens turbine campos* ('racing over the plains in a swift whirlwind', Lucr. 1.273) and *quae mare, quae terras, quae denique nubila caeli / verrunt* ('which scour the sea, the lands, and finally the clouds of the sky', Lucr. 1.278–9) are condensed into *perque mare ac terras rapidus percurrere turbo* ('and a swift whirlwind races over sea and lands', Lucr. 6.668). Valerius, in turn, reiterates this precise condensation at the transition from his simile of Vesuvius' eruption back to the Harpies, as the Harpies *turbine... rapido*

[58] West (1966) 390–2 takes Hesiod to mean that the fire was the result of Zeus' lightning bolts, not produced by Typhon himself, but he acknowledges that later authors did not read the passage this way.

[59] *ingentisque ruit navis et nubila differt, / interdum* ('and shoves huge ships headlong and scatters clouds; now and then...', Lucr. 1.272–3) ~ ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσί τε νῆας / ναύτας τε φθείρουσι ('and sometimes these, sometimes those, blow hard and scatter and destroy ships and sailors', Hes. *Th.* 875–6). Depending on textual emendation, *venti vis verberat incita pontum* ('the roused force of wind strikes the sea', Lucr. 1.271) ~ αἳ δή τοι πίπτουσαι ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον ('indeed, [the breezes], having fallen onto the cloudy sea', Hes. *Th.* 873), a parallel extended by both Hesiod's ἀνέμων μένος ('force of winds', 869) and Lucretius' repetition of *venti vis incita* in his discussion of the *presteres* that elsewhere are directly associated with Typhon (*vis incita venti*, Lucr. 6.431; cf. Hes. *Th.* 846 with West [1966] 390); Hesiod's repetition of line-ending πόντον at 873 and 877 supports the contested possibility of *pontum... pontus* at Lucr. 1.271 and 276.

[60] The description of pyroclastic flows provided by the United States Geological Survey (https://volcanoes.usgs.gov/vhp/pyroclastic_flows.html, accessed 17 May 2018) gives a good demonstration of the logic behind the parallel: 'Pyroclastic flows contain a high-density mix of hot lava blocks, pumice, ash and volcanic gas.... With rock fragments ranging in size from ash to boulders that travel across the ground at speeds typically greater than 80 km per hour (50 mph), pyroclastic flows knock down, shatter, bury or carry away nearly all objects and structures in their path.' Surges are less dense and even faster; see Chester and Duncan (2005a) 12–13 and (2005b) 343.

populos atque aequora longe / transabeunt ('travel far away over peoples and waters in a swift whirlwind', 4.510–11).[61]

If Typhon himself is the source of volcanic activity in the region, the Harpies are its devastating emissions, in the form of both the latent fumes of Avernus and the Phlegraei Campi and the active pyroclastic flows and surges of Vesuvius. Valerius' pairing of Lucretian and Hesiodic allusions in his depiction of the Harpies can therefore be understood not just as a recognition of Lucretius' own intertexts, but as a scientifically-informed remythologization of Lucretius' engagement with the volcanic landscape of Sicily and Campania throughout Book 6 of the *De Rerum Natura*.[62]

CONCLUSION: CAMPANIA SPEAKS

Although the distance between Italy and the narrative action of the epic means that the volcanic terrain of Campania and Sicily is almost exclusively consigned to similes, metaphors, and intertexts,[63] Campania's several irruptions into the *Argonautica* are clearly thematized in accordance with its traditional association with gigantomachy, and in accordance with gigantomachy's association with both civil war and empire.[64] However, as Catherine Connors has recently observed, the changing 'politics of gigantomachy'[65] that often reflect actual political shifts continually renegotiate how the volcanic landscape of Campania is to be read,[66] even as the instabilities of the land itself conversely inform its poetic appropriations.

It is certainly possible to trace resonances of imperialistic meaning that are fostered, by way of the Hesiodic and Lucretian intertexts, within the divine and atomic instability and pyrotechnics of the Campanian region; both can, for instance, be read as suggestive of tyrannical domination and indifference to human suffering,[67] formulations that may well be behind Valerius' engagement

[61] Prior to Valerius, the phrase *turbo rapidus* occurs only in these two Lucretian passages and at Ov. *Ep.* 7.65–6; Statius and Silius also each use it once. In addition, as Pollini (1986) 37 notes, Vesuvius' *ignea... hiems* (V. Fl. 4.508–9) clearly echoes Aetna's *flammea... tempestas* (Lucr. 6.642); cf. Statius' reconciliation of the two at *Silv.* 3.5.72–3 (*flammea... hiems*).

[62] On the joint presence of Sicily and Campania in Lucretius' sixth book, see Castner (2003) 165, 168–9. The pervasive connection there between the fumes of Lake Avernus, volcanic winds, and disease (e.g. Jope [1989]) is also relevant to Valerius' depiction of the Harpies, as I discuss in the larger project of which this study is a part.

[63] The one exception is Boreas' visit to Lipara (V. Fl. 1.579–97), the largest of the Aeolian Islands.

[64] On the *Argonautica*'s gigantomachic and cosmic themes, see e.g. Hardie (1993) 83–7, Bettenworth (2003), Zissos (2006), Stover (2012) 113–50, Fucecchi (2013), Romano Martín (2013), Heerink (2016), Krasne (2018).

[65] Connors (2015) 131.

[66] Cf. Leroux (2004) on poets' recurrent use of Aetna as a polyvalent image.

[67] For Hesiod, cf. Clay (2003) 127–8, Blaise (1992) 369–70; for Lucretius, cf. Castner (2003).

with those texts. It was not, moreover, only the cosmic battles of the gods that shaped the Campanian terrain, and the several imperial building projects prior to and during the Flavian era that aggressively transformed the face of Campania[68] could be set side by side with their divine antecedents via analogy with the seismic upheavals of gigantomachic endeavours. In particular, Virgil's simile likening Bitias' death to the earth-shaking crash of a pile falling *in Euboico... litore* ('on the Euboean shore', *A.* 9.710), which parallels the image of Typhon below Inarime, may well recall Agrippa and Augustus' construction of the Portus Iulius;[69] and in the Flavian period (although probably after Valerius' death), Statius' celebration in *Silvae* 4.3 of the Via Domitiana's construction is redolent with echoes of seismicity and volcanic eruption.[70] Valerius' repeated allusions to Campania's subterranean dangers, therefore, may well negotiate the direct, as well as the metaphorical, impact of empire on the land.[71] In addition, however, I would suggest the complementary availability of another interpretation of Campania's thematization, stemming from Valerius' programmatic identification of himself as possessing the *cortina* of the *Cumaeae vatis* (1.5–6).[72] The full set of ramifications relies on a chain of allusions that is too dense to suitably explore here, but I shall make initial soundings towards a reading.

In the *Aeneid*, the inspired prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl is closely connected with the generation of the poetic tradition and sublimity;[73] as a result, she is closely bound to the epic's numerous reflexes of the Typhon-like *Fama*, including the lightning bolt and Aetna itself,[74] and this in turn connects her with the volcanic network that, as Hardie has argued, fuels the *Aeneid*'s teleological and imperializing narratives of gigantomachy and cosmic stability.[75] But Lucan, in his scene of prophecy at Delphi, takes the association several steps further, through two similes that describe the vatic activity of his Pythia. In one, Lucan hypothesizes that the scientific processes behind her inspiration are precisely akin to those behind volcanic eruption (Luc. 5.93–101);[76] here he alludes directly to the Virgilian simile of Typhon's activity at Inarime. In the other, he compares her vatic utterances to the prophecies of the Cumaean Sibyl, in what Casali refers to as 'a post-Virgilian moment'[77]—this is the Sibyl whose

[68] D'Arms (2003) 84–8, 100–1, 104–5, 135–40; Newlands (2002) 291–3 and (2012a) 138.

[69] McKay (1973) 317; Hardie (1994) 222 notes it as 'an image of man's audacious control of nature'.

[70] Newlands (2002) 284–325, esp. 294–7.

[71] For a general approach to imperial domination of nature, see Heinen (2011).

[72] See n. 5.

[73] Gowers (2005). I would argue that the line of Propertius which Valerius' *Cumaeae vatis* echoes (Prop. 2.2.16) is also engaged, both directly and allusively, with poetic tradition and gigantomachy, as is the *cortina* itself; I hope to develop this reading elsewhere. Deremetz (2014) 54–5 likewise, albeit for different reasons, reads Valerius' mention of the Sibyl's *cortina* as a marker of inherited poetics alluding to Virgil (via the Cumaean Sibyl) and Apollonius (via the tripod).

[74] Hardie (2009) 67–99.

[75] Hardie (1986); see bibliography in n. 50.

[76] Glauthier (2011) 129–31.

[77] Casali (2011) 102.

written prophecies are collected in the Sibylline Books controlled by the *XVviri*, not the Sibyl whom Aeneas consults in person.[78] But as Casali has observed, the language of the second simile is carefully drawn instead from the first simile's intertext: *talis in Euboico* (Luc. 5.170 ~ *A.* 9.710) recalls the crash of masonry upon shore and of Typhon below Inarime, thus reimagining both the prophetic vapours of Delphi and the words of the Sibylline Books as 'the fumes that emerge from Etna in eruption'.[79]

As a result, I suggest, the Campanian inspiration to which Valerius lays claim as *XVvir* in his opening lines is firmly bound to the intersection of poetic tradition, volcanic activity, and even civil war.[80] The poetics of the Cumaean *vates* have become the noisy poetics of empire, of political and terrestrial upheaval, of gigantomachy: like Typhon, they bellow, they are polyphonic, they are discordant.[81] Just as epic had long since become an imperial project, empire has now become tradition,[82] and the landscape of Campania forever bears the traces of both.[83]

[78] Casali (2011) 101–3; cf. Oliensis (2004) 40–4. [79] Casali (2011) 104.

[80] For the intersection of poetic tradition and volcanic activity, cf. Welsh (2014) and Kruschwitz (2015) on the anonymous *Aetna* and Hardie (2009) 92 on 'the roar of poetic tradition' voiced through the topos of Aetna; see also Innes (1979). Marković (2014) 87 similarly connects *Cumaei... carminis* at Virg. *Ecl.* 4.4 with the Italian philosophical tradition as well as the Italian poetic-prophetic tradition. For civil war, see Casali (2011) 104 and Prop. 4.1.49–50.

[81] The noise of empire: e.g. Newlands (2002) 295–7; the polyphony and dissonance of the poetic tradition: e.g. Gowers (2005), Clément-Tarantino (2006), Hardie (2009) 107–25 and (2012) *passim*; Typhon's relation to sound and poetry: e.g. Kaimio (1977) 119–24, Hardie (2005), Goslin (2010), Telò (2014).

[82] On the iterative nature of empire and civil war in the *Argonautica*, see Buckley (2010), Krasne (2018), Penwill (2018); on adumbrations of civil war and empire in Flavian literature, see the papers in Ginsberg and Krasne (2018).

[83] Campania's epic geography: e.g. Phillips (1953), Edlund (1987), Clark (1991), Poccetti (2004), Ştefan (2012), Leonard (2015), Connors (2015), and the chapters in this volume.

5

The Other Campanian Volcano

Inarime in Flavian Epic

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The first occurrence of the name *Inarime* in surviving Latin literature is in Book 9 of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[1] It is likely that its creation stems from a 'misdivision'[2] of the Homeric phrase εἰν Ἀρίμοις 'in the land of the Arimoi' found in the model of the Virgilian passage.[3] Whatever its origins,[4] *Inarime* as a place name for Ischia, also known as Aenaria and Pithecusae in our sources, takes firm roots in Latin epic, appearing in all of Virgil's successors.[5] As it forms part of a Campanian landscape familiar to the three Flavian epicists and their contemporary audiences, I am going to look at Inarime as part of their epic topography, examining in particular how each poet makes use of the island's volcanic nature and literary pedigree, especially in comparison with two other epic volcanoes, Aetna and Vesuvius.

When Virgil describes the death of Bitias at the hands of Turnus, he compares the sound made by his giant body (*immania membra*, *A.* 9.708) and armour (*clipeum... ingens*, 709) as they hit the ground to that of a man-made structure

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[2] Hardie (1994) 223–5.

[3] Noted as early as Servius (*ad A.* 9.715). Typhoeus' link to Arimoi/Arima is also present in Hesiod who locates in that land the monster's bed mate, Echidna (*Th.* 304–7), as well as in a Pindaric fragment that mentions Arimoi as the area where Zeus killed Typhoeus (fr. 93 Bergk); this is preserved in Strabo (13.4.6), who devotes a long passage to the various views regarding the location of this problematic people. Lane Fox (2009) offers the most recent discussion of Arima.

[4] Either in Homeric exegesis or in the assimilation of a Phoenician word for the island of Ischia; see Poccetti (1995), whilst views are outlined in Andreotti Ravaglioli (1985).

[5] On the various names of Ischia, see Andreotti Ravaglioli (1985), Poccetti (1995), Polara and De Vivo (2011), including discussions of the Flavian passages.