

The Other Campanian Volcano: *Inarime* in Flavian Epic

Nikoletta Maniotti

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 to two other epic volcanoes, Aetna and Vesuvius.

When Virgil describes the death of Bitias at the hands of Turnus, he compares the sound his giant body (*immania membra*, A. 9.708) and armour (*clipeum ... ingens*, 709) make as they hit the ground to that of a man-made structure collapsing in the Bay of Naples (710–12). The impact causes the sea to stir, the sands to rise, and the neighbouring islands to tremble: *tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit durumque cubile / Inarime Iouis imperiis imposta Typhoeo* (715–16). Whereas Prochyta (modern Procida) is simply described as 'lofty',⁶ *Inarime* (modern Ischia) is said to be the 'hard bed, placed over Typhoeus on Jupiter's orders',⁷ in other words, the defeated giant's eternal prison. Virgil is here reworking a passage from Homer's *Iliad*, where a similar din (in that case, of the armies as they gather together) is compared to the noise the thunderbolts of Zeus made when they hit the earth during his battle

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² Hardie (1994) 223–5.

³ Noted as early as Servius (A. 9.715). Typhoeus' link to Arimoi/Arima is also present in Hesiod who locates in that land the monster's bed mate, Echidna (*Theog.* 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 (2008) 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); other 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.

⁶ Oddly so, as it rises less than 300ft at its highest point.

⁷ All translations are by the author.

against Typhoeus ‘in the land of the Arimi where men say is the bed of Typhoeus’ (εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωόος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς, *Il.* 2.782–3).⁸

Virgil’s description of Aetna in *Aeneid* 3 makes it clear that he is also aware of accounts (*fama est*, 3.578) which attribute eruptions and earthquakes to giants imprisoned under volcanoes.⁹ Here Enceladus is ‘weighed down by [Aetna’s] mass’ (*urgeri mole hac*, 579) causing the volcano to ‘breathe out flames’ (*flammam exspirare*, 580), and every time he ‘moves his wearied side’ (*fessum ... mutet latus*, 581), he makes the whole island tremble (*intremere omnem ... Trinacriam*, 581–2) and covers the sky with smoke.¹⁰ In authors such as Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.15–28)¹¹ and Aeschylus (*P.V.* 363–72)¹², however, it is Typhoeus who is credited with causing Aetna to erupt. In fact, Pindar locates the giant across a large area that reaches from Sicily to the Campanian coast (ταί θ’ ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλιερκέες ὄχθαι Σικελία τ’, *Pyth.* 1.17–19), which could include Ischia.¹³ Lycophron (*Alex.* 688–93) is one of the earliest sources which unambiguously places the giant under the same island, there called Pithecosa.¹⁴

On the other hand, scientific explanations of volcanic activity were also current, and reports of recent or legendary eruptions and earthquakes would have reached Virgil and his audience either through hearsay or literary sources. Virgil clearly engages with Lucretius’ descriptions of Aetna (1.722–5; 6.641–6),¹⁵ and he might have known Cicero’s account too (*ND* 2.38). Vesuvius was considered extinct by authors such as Vitruvius, Diodorus and Strabo who place its eruptions in the remote past,¹⁶ and this is supported by geological studies

⁸ Lane Fox (2008) 335–7 argues for the identification of ‘Arima’ with Ischia, which would demonstrate Homer’s knowledge of stories reaching him from the extreme west of the Greek world (‘they say’); see pp. 138–61 on the Euboean settlement on Pithecosa(e), ‘monkey island(s)’. Descriptions of the gods fighting each other (Hom. *Il.* 21.387) or the Titans and Typhoeus (Hes. *Theog.* 679 and 839–40) are also evoked in the lines preceding the simile, as Hardie (1994) 221–2 notes.

⁹ On the attribution of volcanic activity to mythological causes, see Johnston (1996) [ideas repeated in Johnston (2005) with the addition of links between volcanoes and the Underworld]; Hine (2002).

¹⁰ According to the scholia in Pind. *Ol.* 4.11, Callimachus also had Enceladus imprisoned under Aetna.

¹¹ The *Ode* was performed during the celebration for Hieron’s rebuilding and renaming of Catana (as Aetna) after its destruction by an eruption of the volcano in 479–475BCE [Griffith (1983) 152]. Pindar also mentions Typhoeus as being imprisoned under Aetna in *Ol.* 4.7–8, and Lane Fox (2008) 317–18 argues for the poet’s combination of the Euboeans’ stories about Typhon in the Greek West with his own possible first-hand experience of Aetna’s eruption in the 470s BCE.

¹² Modelled on Pindar’s *Pythian* and *Olympian Odes* mentioned above, in the latter case perhaps too closely to allow Aeschylean authorship for the play, as Griffith (1983) 152 notes.

¹³ See Hine (2002) 69–72 with nn. 39 and 42; Lane Fox (2008) 315–16.

¹⁴ See Pocetti (1995) for a discussion of this strand of tradition.

¹⁵ Sullivan (1972) 187–8; Hardie (1986) 211–12 and 263–4. On Lucretius’ theories regarding volcanic activity, see Smolenaars (2005) 319–23. On Virgil’s process of re-mythologization of Lucretius’ description of Aetna, see Gale (2000) 120–23.

¹⁶ ‘in antiquity’ (*antiquitus*, Vitruv. 2.6.2), ‘in ancient times’ (κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους, D.S. 4.21.6), or ‘before’ (πρότερον, Str. 5.4.8). For a discussion of these authors’ awareness of Vesuvius’ potential destructiveness, see Connors (2015).

which place the more recent eruption in 216BCE.¹⁷ They were nevertheless aware of the mountain's destructive potential.¹⁸ Virgil's familiarity with Vesuvius as part of the Campanian landscape that he so cherished is unquestionable, and the same may apply to other volcanoes, both in Campania and elsewhere.¹⁹ The volcano on Ischia seems to have been quiet after the fourth century BCE,²⁰ but Aetna erupted in 122BCE (destroying Catania),²¹ and again around 44BCE which falls within Virgil's lifetime.²²

Whereas in *Aeneid* 3 Aetna is very much part of the landscape in which Aeneas and the Trojans operate, and its association with giants serves to anticipate further encounters with giant-like monsters (from Polyphemus to 'gigantomachic' Turnus),²³ in *Aeneid* 9 Inarime is found outside epic space and time, as it forms part of a simile momentarily offering us a view of contemporary Campania. In this view, it is the man-made structure that causes the volcano (and giant beneath?) to tremble, not the other way round, perhaps pointing to the reversal of tradition that Virgil effects here. Certainly, the reference to Typhoeus, together with the specific allusion to Homer, compounds the gigantomachic characterisation of the protagonists in the narrative surrounding the simile, assimilating Bitias to a defeated giant and Turnus to a Jovian figure re-establishing order.²⁴ Bitias falls like the man-made structure that sought to impose its own rules over nature, and like Typhoeus whose defeat and punishment by Jupiter contributes to Inarime's identity even in contemporary scholarship.

In early imperial Rome, poets and their contemporary audiences were also familiar with Italian volcanoes, whether they were living in Sicily or Campania, travelling by ship along the south-west coast of Italy, or spending their holiday in a seaside resort such as Baiae. The consequences of past volcanic activity were visible on the landscape, as Strabo notes with

¹⁷ Stothers and Rampino (1983) 6360 and 6369, combining a peak in acidity in Greenland ice cores in 210±30BCE and reports of atmospheric phenomena in ancient literary sources; for a criticism of their approach to literary sources, see Smolenaars (2005) 314–15.

¹⁸ Connors (2015).

¹⁹ Sullivan (1972) 186 notes that Virgil also spent time in Sicily according to his *Vita*.

²⁰ Stothers and Rampino (1983) 6365–8, based on ancient literary sources only. According to the author of the *Aetna*, writing around the middle of the 1st century CE, Inarime (there called Aenaria) 'had once blazed' but is 'now extinct' (*discitur indiciiis flagrasse Aenaria quondam, / nunc extincta super*, 430–1).

²¹ This is probably the eruption described by Lucretius (6.641–6); a major eruption in 122 BCE is confirmed by geological evidence; see Duncan, Chester and Guest (2005) 60–3.

²² Stothers and Rampino (1983) 6358–60, based on atmospheric phenomena reported in ancient literary sources and measurements of acidity in Greenland ice cores; see also Duncan, Chester and Guest (2005) 60–3.

²³ Sullivan (1972) 188–9; Virgil uses the symbolism of volcanic fire to characterise Turnus, both in descriptions of the Rutulian prince and in the portrayal of Cacus, whose duel with Hercules may be seen as anticipating that between Turnus and Aeneas (pp. 189–91). Hardie (1986) 264–7 explains how Polyphemus' volcanic and gigantomachic portrayal is later reincarnated in the figures of Cacus and Mezentius; see also 110–18 on Cacus as a giant-figure. Turnus and Aeneas are presented both as giant-like (118–19, 147–50, 154–6) and giant-slaying (143–6, 154–6).

²⁴ Hardie (1994) 221, 221–2, and 223–5. See also Hardie (1986) 145 n. 57 on the evocation of gigantomachy additionally through reference to Baiae and Cumae (due to their geographic proximity to the *campi Phlegraei*), and 287–8 on this reworking as an example of hyperbole.

regard to Vesuvius, with its ‘barren, ash-coloured’ summit and hollow, ‘sooty’ rocks, ‘as if devoured by fire’ (ἄκαρπος δ’ ὄλη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὄψεως τεφρώδης, καὶ κοιλάδας φαίνει σηραγγώδεις πετρῶν αἰθαλωδῶν κατὰ τὴν χροάν, ὡς ἂν ἐκβεβρωμένων ὑπὸ πυρός, 5.4.8); and such features might have inspired fieldtrips like the one Seneca asks his friend to undertake on Aetna (Sen. *Ep.* 79.1–7).²⁵ It is telling that the author of the *Aetna*, aiming like Lucretius to offer a scientific explanation of the volcano’s activity, dismisses within his own poem the *fallacia uatum* (‘lies of the bards’, 29) which offers mythological reasons for Aetna’s eruptions, among which are the stirrings of the giant Enceladus imprisoned under it after his defeat by the Olympian gods (71–3).²⁶

Yet all three Flavian epicists, whose poems are written after the devastating eruption of Vesuvius in 79CE,²⁷ associate volcanoes with giants. Similarly, a few decades earlier, Lucan compared the Pythia’s violent inspiration to the eruption of Aetna, whose peak ‘undulates from the pressure of the flames’ (*ceu Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam / undat apex*, 5.99–100), and Inarime, imprisoned under which ‘roaring’ Typhoeus ‘heats up the Campanian rocks’ (*Campana fremens ceu saxa uaporat / conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus*, 100–1). Lucan here seems to combine the two approaches, scientific in the case of Aetna, mythological in that of Inarime, while he too uses an epic simile, as well as transporting his readers from Delphi to Campania appealing to contemporary experience of volcanic activity.²⁸

Inarime features in all three Flavian epicists, who engage with the Virgilian precedent in their own different ways. Like Lucan, Valerius and Statius include Inarime in a simile, evoking the context of their Virgilian model, whereas Silius lists it twice in catalogues, which at first glance suggests that he might be taking his cue from Ovid’s inclusion of the island in such an epic device. Indeed the next occurrence of the place name after the *Aeneid* is in the fourteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, where it is listed as one of three islands that Aeneas sails by on his way to Cumae: *Inarimen Prochytenque legit sterilique locatas / colle Pithecasas, habitantum nomine dictas* (‘he sails past Inarime, Prochyta, and, set on a barren hill and named after its inhabitants, Pithecasae’, 89–90). Here Inarime is part of the coastal topography of the Bay of Naples but lacks further description; it is also listed separately from, instead of being identified with, Pithecasae. Ovid does not seem to associate Inarime with a giant’s prison either, unlike Aetna which he mentions in this way both briefly (*Giganteis*

²⁵ See Hine (2002) 60–62; Smolenaars (2005) 318–19.

²⁶ Other explanations include Etna being the home of Vulcan or the workshop of the Cyclopes.

²⁷ In Flavian literature, the eruption and its aftermath is described by Martial (4.44), Statius (*Silv.* 3.5 and 4.4), and Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 6.16 and 6.20) on these passages, see Smolenaars (2005) 324–8, and Newlands (2010).

²⁸ On Lucan’s use of an oddly successful kind of gigantomachy, see Feeney (1991) 297–9. On gigantomachy in Imperial Latin epic, see most recently Chaudhuri (2014).

iniectam faucibus Aetnen, ‘Aetna, thrown onto the jaws of Giants’, 14.1) and more extensively (5.346–56), with Typhoeus as the giant in question.²⁹

Valerius refers to Inarime in a simile comparing the intensity of the battle at Cyzicus to the eruption of volcanoes: *ut magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat / Vesuius, attonitas acer cum suscitatur urbes* (‘just as Inarime, just as Vesuvius the bellower pants faster, whenever he violently rouses the terrified cities’, 3.208–9).³⁰ Giants may be notably absent from this description but there are several indications that the idea of a volcano serving as a giant’s prison still operates in the background. First, the reader might remember that Inarime also featured in an epic simile in Virgil, and there it was explicitly associated with Typhoeus. Both similes transport the reader from the mythical narrative setting of Asia Minor to the real landscape of Campania; whether Inarime is paired with another island (Prochyta in Virgil) or another volcano (Vesuvius in Valerius), these rocky features are within sight of each other, and would not escape the notice of contemporary visitors to the Bay of Naples.³¹

At the same time, the mention of earthquakes caused by volcanoes in *Argonautica* 3 may naturally evoke the description of Aetna’s earthquakes in the previous book, not least because the ‘heaving’ of the earth in all three cases is denoted by the same verb (*anhelat*, 2.31; 3.208). This, however, brings us back to the realm of gigantomachy because in the case of Aetna Valerius is explicit in designating the mountain as the prison of a giant who is still responsible for its volcanic activity. The Argonauts cannot see Typhoeus among the petrified giants still standing on the battlefield of Pallene because he is *Sicula pressus tellure* (2.25).³² In his vain attempts to move the mountain with his ‘wheeled chest’ (*fesso ... pectore molem / commouet experiens gemituque reponit inani*, 32–3) he makes Sicily tremble (*omnis anhelat / Trinacria*, 31–2), and this reinforces the link to the later Valerian passage through their common model, the Virgilian description of Aetna’s earthquakes (*intremere omnem ... Trinacriam*, A. 3.581–2), there caused by Enceladus and his own efforts to shift the volcano’s weight from his chest (*fessum ... mutet latus*, 581). Taking into account these inter- and

²⁹ See Chaudhuri (2014) 99–100 on the link between Typhoeus and Aetna in *Met.* 5 as an answer to Lucretius; the giant is also associated with Aetna in the *Fasti* (1.573–4 and 4.491–2) and the *Heroides* (15.11–12). On its own, the volcano features as setting for various stories in the *Metamorphoses*, most notably Ceres and Proserpina (where the goddess lights her torches from the volcano’s fire, 5.441–3); Polyphemus, Acis and Galatea (where the Cyclops makes Aetna tremble with his voice, 13.877, and wrenches a rock from its side with which he kills Acis, 882–4); and Macareus and Achaemenides (where Achaemenides, left behind on Aetna’s rocks, 14.160–1, tells Macareus how Polyphemus was feeling his way around the mountain’s woods and crags after being blinded by Ulysses, 188–90). A more scientific approach to the volcano is pursued by Pythagoras in *Met.* 15.340–55, which draws on Lucretius (Foulon [2004] 115).

³⁰ Spaltenstein (2004) *ad* 3.208 explains the correspondence with the battle at Cyzicus both in terms of increasing intensity, and of the nocturnal time that both events take place in (in the case of the volcanoes, continuing the imagery of line 206 and picking up on the meaning of *suscitatur* ‘rouses, wakes’).

³¹ Polara’s claim that “Inarime è solo un nome inserito per doveroso omaggio al grande modello poetico” (Polara and De Vivo [2011] 499) does not do Valerius’ reworking of Virgil’s simile any justice.

³² On the link between Valerius’ references to gigantomachy and the voyage of the Argo as a similarly transgressive enterprise, see Feeney (1991) 332–3; Hardie (1993) 84; Hershkowitz (1998) 216–17.

intratextual resonances, it is easy to see how the simile comparing Inarime's and Vesuvius' earthquakes to the din of the battle of Cyzicus makes its own small contribution to the characterisation of the whole episode as gigantomachic, especially since it is found in close proximity to another simile which unambiguously compares king Cyzicus to the giant Coeus (V. Fl. 3.224–8).³³

Before we move on to Statius, it is worth noting that, as was the case in Virgil and Ovid, an explicit description of Inarime is conspicuously absent from Valerius' text.³⁴ Vesuvius is designated as *mugitor* (3.208) and *acer* (209); its eruption and impact on the human landscape are also briefly depicted here (209). Perhaps we could take all these as applying to both volcanoes, in the same way that the verb *anhelat* is common to both. The fact remains, however, that they agree with, and are closer to, Vesuvius rather than Inarime and it is the former that will receive slightly more extensive treatment later, in another simile comparing an eruption to the flight of the Harpies (4.507–509). Unlike Vesuvius, and unlike Aetna, which is said to have cities on its slopes (*cum urbibus Aetnam / intulit*, 2.29) and caverns within (*adesi ... iugi*, 30–31), Inarime is reduced to a place name, but one that powerfully activates what being this kind of volcano means in Latin epic.

Statius also uses Inarime in a simile which compares the thunder caused by Jupiter's anger at Capaneus to giants trying to escape their subterranean prisons: *Stygias rupisse catenas / Iapetum aut uictam supera ad conuexa leuari / Inarimem Aetnamue putes* ('You would think that Iapetus had broken his Stygian chains, or that defeated Inarime or Aetna was lifting itself up to the vaulted arch of heaven', *Theb.* 10.915–17).³⁵ Once again, Inarime is part of a landscape that is geographically removed from the action of the epic, set as it is on Olympus from where the gods are watching the events at Thebes. Yet unlike Virgil's and Valerius' similes, this one has no explicit link to contemporary experience, and the earthquake (*supera ad conuexa leuari*) caused by the giants is not followed by a description of its effect on the people living on or near these volcanoes.

The idea that the two volcanoes are giants' prisons is given subtly through *uictam* (*apo koinou* for both Inarime and Aetna), and through the imagery of 'rising towards the heavens', both alluding in reverse order to the outcome and the cause of the gigantomachy, namely the defeat of the giants and their attempt to reach the heavens. The reference to the two volcanoes and the consequent evocation of the Virgilian models (that is, both *Aeneid* 3 and *Aeneid* 9) fit

³³ On the coexistence of gigantomachy and civil war at the battle of Cyzicus, see Hardie (1993) 87. On gigantomachy and Typhoeus in Valerius, see Krasne's chapter in this volume.

³⁴ Compare Lucan's brief glimpse of Inarime's rocky appearance (*Campana ... saxa*, 5.100–1) and large dimensions (*mole*, 101).

³⁵ The giants' escape from their volcanic prisons and renewal of their battle against the Olympian gods is seen as a natural consequence of Hercules' death in the ps.–Senecan play *Hercules Oetaeus*, in both Hercules' words (1139–40, 1145–6) and those of the chorus (1152–9, esp. *uinct scopulos inde Typhoeus / et Tyrrhenam feret Inarimen*, 'then Typhoeus will defeat the rocks and lift up Tyrrhenian Inarime', 1155–6).

perfectly within Capaneus' ascent on the Theban walls. This is, after all, the most gigantomachic episode in the whole poem,³⁶ and it is repeatedly emphasized as such: the narrator compares Capaneus to the Aloids who piled mountain upon mountain to reach the heavens (*Theb.* 10.849–52); Jupiter names the battle of Phlegra as the precedent for Capaneus' ascent ('*quaenam spes hominum tumidae post proelia Phlegrae? / tune etiam feriendus?*' 10.909–910); and the gods react to his death as if a gigantomachy had actually taken place (*Phlegrae ceu fessus anhelet / proelia et Encelado fumanti impresserit Aetnen*, 'as though [Jupiter] were panting, wearied by the battles of Phlegra, and had pressed Aetna on top of smoking Enceladus', 11.8–9). And indeed, Capaneus' huge frame as he lies on the earth is compared to that of yet another giant, Tityos, who suffers eternal punishment in the Underworld (*quantus Apollineae temerator matris Auerno tenditur*, 'he stretches out as great as the ravisher of Apollo's mother in Avernus', 12–13). Unlike him, Capaneus lies on top of the earth but like Valerius' volcanoes, he too causes destruction to the surrounding area through fire (*sic grauat iniectus terras hostiliaque urit / arua et anhelantem caelesti sulphure campum*, 'thus thrown on top of the earth he weighs it down, and burns the hostile fields and the plain panting with heavenly sulphur', 16–17).³⁷

The juxtaposition of Inarime and Aetna at 10.917 is, I think, worth examining further. It is similar to what Valerius has done with Inarime and Vesuvius, only in Statius' case the focus is no longer limited to Campanian topography. In a sense, Aetna here plays the same role as Vesuvius in the *Argonautica*, namely, that of the more famous volcano of the two, not least because it is also known to be the more destructive. But by using Aetna instead of Vesuvius,³⁸ Statius is also intentionally commenting on epic tradition which alternates between Aetna and Inarime with respect to the prison of various giants. This, in other words, is rather similar to Ovid's phrase describing the flowers that Proserpina is picking: 'violets or white lilies' (*aut uiolas aut candida lilia*, *Met.* 5.392), which reflects, as Hinds has ingeniously shown, the variation in the two flower catalogues of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*.³⁹ Statius, following Virgil, has already associated Enceladus with Aetna (*Theb.* 3.594–7), and will do so again at the end of the Capaneus episode (11.8); but he is aware that Ovid's Aetna imprisons Typhoeus instead, who for Virgil is under Inarime. He thus leaves it

³⁶ For a discussion of Statius' gigantomachic imagery and its political ramifications, see Dominik (1994) 165–6; Ganiban (2007) 146–7; McNelis (2007) 48, 125, 142–4. On Capaneus' battle against the gods, see Chaudhuri (2014) 256–97.

³⁷ Even though *anhelet* here is used in the sense 'to steam (with fire or heat)' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), the echo of the 'panting' or 'heaving' Valerian volcanoes may still be present. Interestingly, the only other occurrence of *anhelet* in the context of the earth panting at the weight of a man in Statius concerns the equestrian statue of Domitian (*insestaque pondere tanto / subter anhelat humus*, *Silu.* 1.1.56–7).

³⁸ Polara suggests, rather unconvincingly, that Statius' differentiation from Valerius is due to the poets' engagement with each other, and depending on which chronology one accepts, either Statius read Valerius and substituted Aetna for Vesuvius for sentimental reasons (!), or Valerius read Statius and changed Aetna into Vesuvius to honour him (Polara and De Vivo [2011] 499–500).

³⁹ Hinds (1987) 79.

to the reader to decide which giant might be stirring under these volcanoes – and it has to be these two and not Vesuvius, precisely because the latter is very seldom (and only late) described as a giant’s prison in ancient literature.⁴⁰

Inarime in Silius also appears in an epic device, though it is no longer a simile but a catalogue. In Book 8 of the *Punica*, the island is listed alongside other Campanian locations which have sent men to the consular army: *non Prochyte, non ardentem sortita Typhoea / Inarime ... aberat* (‘neither Prochyta was absent nor Inarime, the lot assigned to burning Typhoeus’, 540–2). Together with its juxtaposition to Prochyta, Inarime’s link to Typhoeus is a clear evocation of the Virgilian simile at the same time as the Flavian poet innovates in the choice of narrative device. Silius may also be ‘correcting’ Ovid’s comparable list of Tyrrhenian locations that Aeneas sails past by restoring to the description of Inarime its rightful ‘identity’ as prison of Typhoeus. This gigantomachic identity is further compounded by the emphasis on volcanic elements in its immediate vicinity both in the text and in Campanian topography (*sulphure pingues / Phlegraei ... sinus ... ardens / ore giganteo sedes ... Bai*, 537–9).

Yet this island is also a personification of its people, or, to be precise, of its military contingent, as it is presented as ‘not being absent’, that is, as ‘having come’ to join the Roman army. Whereas Virgil and Valerius have required the reader to momentarily withdraw from the action in order to make a mental journey across space and time from the mythical events of Latium and Cyzicus respectively to contemporary Campania, Silius enables Inarime itself (along with the other locations in the catalogue) to cover the geographic distance that separates it from the main epic plot.

The second occurrence of Inarime in the *Punica* comes in Book 12, where Hannibal is shown around Campania by the Capuan elders:⁴¹

apparet Prochyte saeuum sortita Mimanta,
apparet procul Inarime, quae turbine nigro
fumantem premit Iapetum flammasque rebelli
ore eiectantem et, si quando euadere detur,
bella Ioui rursus superisque iterare uolentem. (Sil. 12.147–51)

⁴⁰ The texts are Philostr. *Her.* 8.15 (where Vesuvius imprisons ‘many giants’), Claud. *DRP* 184–5 (where Alcioneus is imagined escaping his Vesuvian prison), and Dio Cassius who describes how people thought that the giants were rising again after the eruption of Vesuvius (66.23); according to Connors (2015) 132–3, this description is meant to vilify Domitian. In Diodorus’ rationalised version of the gigantomachy, Hercules fought ‘men of outstanding strength and widely known for their lawlessness, who are called giants’ (ἄνδρας ... ταῖς τε ῥώμαις προέχοντας καὶ ἐπὶ παρανομία διωνομασμένους οὓς ὀνομάζεσθαι γίγαντας, D.S. 4.21.6) in the plain around Vesuvius, but once he killed most of them with the help of the gods, he simply ‘tamed the land’ (τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόντα τὴν χώραν ἐξημερῶσαι); see Connors (2015) 129–31 on Diodorus’ depiction of Hercules and Zeus as Roman generals in a gigantomachic setting.

⁴¹ See Muecke (2007) for an analysis of the whole episode as an ecphrasis. On Hannibal among other monsters in Capua and Campania, see the chapters by Fucecchi, Stocks, Pyy and van der Keur in this volume.

Prochyta comes into sight, the lot appointed to savage Mimas; further away, they see Inarime which presses down Iapetus as he breathes out black billows of smoke, and vomits flames from his rebellious mouth, and wishes, if ever he is granted an escape, to renew once more the war against Jupiter and the gods.

Once again Inarime appears next to Prochyta in an epic device that acknowledges the Virgilian model; but turning the simile into a catalogue again is not the only freedom Silius permits himself. Unlike all previous occurrences, Inarime is now part of the narrative landscape, and there is no movement, whether geographic or temporal: in *Punica* 12 Inarime is one of the landmarks that Hannibal sees in the ‘here and now’ of the plot. It may also, at first sight, give the impression of stability, as the description does not include the usual reference to earthquakes; the lines immediately preceding and introducing this passage, however, speak of the giants imprisoned in this whole area who make it shake (*Gigantas / tellurem iniectam quatere*, 143–4) as they threaten to break free (*minantur/ rumpere compagem impositam*, 145–6).

Inarime here is merely said to be *procul* (147), presumably further out from Prochyta in the Bay of Naples, but we are none the wiser about the island’s or the volcano’s appearance, unlike Vesuvius, whose topography displaying evidence of eruptions is described in the subsequent lines (*Vesuuina iuga atque in uertice summo / depasti flammis scopuli stratusque ruina / mons circum atque Aetnae fatis certantia saxa*, ‘the ridges of Vesuvius and the crags, consumed by the flames, on its highest peak, and the mountain all round, lying prostrate in ruin, and the rocks that rival the fate of Aetna’, 152–4). Similarly, the eruption of Aetna (*Pun.* 14.58–69) is full of references to its constituent parts (cliffs, caverns, rocks, summit), and even though there is no suggestion that a giant caused it, the flame spurting from its depths is said to resemble that of the Underworld’s fiery river Pyriphlegethon (61).⁴²

Moreover, for the first time Prochyta too has a giant imprisoned under its mass, pointing to this island’s hitherto unstressed volcanic nature; the giant to whom this prison is assigned is Mimas,⁴³ in a phrase (*saeuum sortita Mimanta*, 147) highly evocative of the description of Typhoeus under Inarime in Book 8 (*ardentem sortita Typhoea*, 540).⁴⁴ In Book 12, however, Inarime is said to hold Iapetus.⁴⁵ This has been explained as evidence of intertextual dialogue with Statius’ passage discussed earlier, where Iapetus is mentioned a line above Inarime (*Iapetum aut uictam supera ad conuexa leuari / Inarimen Aetnamue putes*, *Theb.* 10.916–17); Silius now conflates the two by placing the volcano on top of the Titan,⁴⁶

⁴² On Silius’ dialogue with Virgil in these lines see Foulon (2004) 119–20, who also stresses the Flavian poet’s innovation in describing the volcano’s peak covered in snow (p. 119).

⁴³ Associated with Prochyta only here, as Spaltenstein (1990) 160 notes.

⁴⁴ Spaltenstein (1986) 546.

⁴⁵ Silius is the only author to do so, “en se contredisant” (Spaltenstein [1990] 160), but see below.

⁴⁶ Polara and De Vivo (2011) 501; this would suggest that *Punica* 12 was written after the publication of *Thebaid* 10.

in a scene that also shares with Statius the nightmarish vision of renewed gigantomachy that causes the gods to fear: cf. *quotiensque minantur / rumpere compagem impositam, expallescere caelum* ('every time they threaten to break through the structure imposed on them, the heavens grow pale with fear', Sil. 12.145–6) and *pudet ista timere / caelicolas* ('the inhabitants of heaven are ashamed to fear these things', Stat. *Theb.* 10.917–18). As in Statius, the identity of the giant under a specific volcano does not seem to matter for Silius, who also has Aetna host Typhoeus and Enceladus within the same book of the *Punica*.⁴⁷ What matters is that volcanoes are associated with giants, and nowhere is this more evident than in the area of Campania which Hannibal is currently sightseeing.

The tour itself begins with an explicit reference to Hercules' fight against the giants (12.143–6), and as was the case with Valerius and Statius, here too there is a relevance to the surrounding narrative. Just as the mention of Inarime in the context of the battle of Cyzicus and of Capaneus' ascent on the Theban walls intensifies, explicitly or implicitly, the gigantomachic overtones of those episodes for their readers, so does the inclusion of Inarime in this catalogue of landmarks that memorialise the defeat of the giants by the gods have an impact on their internal viewer, Hannibal. The Carthaginian leader reacts with wonder (*miratur*, 157) as he takes in the Campanian landscape,⁴⁸ which is meant to discourage him from gigantomachic aspirations,⁴⁹ just as Lucan's Curio is supposed to learn from hearing the story of another giant, Antaeus, and his defeat by Hercules when he viewed the African landscape called 'the kingdom of Antaeus' which was doomed to host his own defeat (Luc. 4.589–665). Like Hannibal, Curio aspired to be another Hercules, who in this case managed to overcome a giant much more powerful than all the others the Earth had produced (*caeloque pepercit, / quod non Phlegraeis Antaeum sustulit aruis*, '[the Earth] spared the heavens by not raising Antaeus up on the fields of Phlegra', 595–7). Unlike the hero, however, the Roman's strength and ability could not match that of his opponent (*sollicitatque feros non aequis uiribus hostes*, 'he provokes fierce enemies but is no match to their strength', 665).⁵⁰

From this survey it becomes clear that all three Flavian poets weave into the image of their volcanoes an element which is absent from the specific Virgilian intertext: the idea that the giants imprisoned under Inarime and Aetna are trying to burst out of their prison and

⁴⁷ Cf. *Catane, nimium ardenti uicina Typhoeo*, 'Catania, too close to burning Typhoeus' (Sil. 14.196), and *ardua rupibus Aetnae, / spirantis rogos Enceladi*, 'Aetna, lofty in its crags, the funeral pyre of still-breathing Enceladus' (578–9).

⁴⁸ On Hannibal's reaction, see also Stocks in this volume.

⁴⁹ On the geographic excursus delivering an unheeded warning against gigantomachic pretensions, see Muecke (2007) 88–90; Chaudhuri (2014) 246, however, reads the passage as actually 'emphasis[ing] the Giants' impotence'.

⁵⁰ On Silius' allusions in earlier books of the *Punica* to Curio's African campaign and the battle between Hercules and Antaeus, see Marks (2010).

renew their attempt to overthrow the Olympian gods.⁵¹ Virgil simply had Inarime ‘placed on top of’ Typhoeus (*Inarime ... imposta Typhoeo*, A. 9.716), and Enceladus turning his ‘wearied side’ under Aetna (*fessum ... mutet latus*, 3.581). For his part, Valerius’ Typhoeus tries to move Aetna itself (*molem / commouet experiens*, V.Fl. 2.32–3) while Statius’ Inarime and Aetna stand in for the giants who lie ‘defeated’ under them (*uictam ... Inarimen Aetnamue*, *Theb.* 10.916–17), and lift themselves towards the heavens (*supera ad conuexa leuari*, 916), thus repeating the main act of gigantomachy. Silius is even more explicit: the giants imprisoned under the whole area threaten to burst through the rocks (*minantur / rumpere compagem impositam*, 12.145–6), while Iapetus in particular keeps looking for an opportunity to break free from Inarime’s prison and resume the war against Olympus (*si quando euadere detur, / bella Ioui rursus superisque iterare uolentem*, 150–1). The immediacy of their threat reflects the menace of Hannibal himself who, like the defiant giants threatens to resume his attack (12.729–30).

As we have seen, the possibility of a repetition of gigantomachy still unsettles the gods who populate the Flavian epic narratives, whether the attempt is made by the original giants or heroes resembling them, explicitly (Capaneus) or implicitly (Hannibal).⁵² At the same time, however, Inarime and the other Flavian volcanoes join the ranks of enclosed spaces the (often violent) escape from which has already been used by Virgil and Lucan to symbolize the eruption of war, and civil strife in particular.⁵³ The porousness of volcanoes, both in terms of the nature of their rocks and the actual presence of a large opening in the form of a crater, make them ineffectual as *eternal* prisons, and the Flavian epicists emphasise this by going beyond their Virgilian model in adding the detail about their giants’ efforts to break free.

It is a wholly different story if we turn to look at Inarime in non-epic texts of the Early Empire.⁵⁴ In Statius’ description of the view from the villa of Pollius Felix, Inarime is part of a catalogue very similar to the one we have just seen in *Punica* 12. Each window offers a different view: *haec uidet Inarimen, illinc Prochyta aspera paret* (‘one [window] looks

⁵¹ Compare a similar reference in the *Aetna* describing Jupiter’s reaction to its eruption: *ipse procul magnos miratur Iuppiter ignes, / neue sepulta noui surgant in bella Gigantes / ... in occulto tacitus tremit* (‘At a distance, Jupiter himself is amazed at the mighty fires, and in secret, in silence, trembles in case a new generation of Giants might rise to fight the long-buried war’, 203–6). At the beginning of the poem, stories about the giants were listed under the *fallacia uatum* (29), and were summarily dismissed in favour of a scientific explanation of the volcano’s activity. One of those poetic lies had Enceladus ‘raging’ under the weight of the volcano and breathing out fire ‘wantonly’ (*uasto qui pondere montis / aestuat et petulans exspirat faucibus ignem*, 72–3), but not trying to lift the mountain and escape – at least not explicitly.

⁵² See, most recently, Chaudhuri (2014) 195–297.

⁵³ Most recently, Rimell (2015) 231–75. I thank the reader for the Press for pointing me in that direction.

⁵⁴ I will not discuss here the occurrence in *Hercules Oetaeus* (see n. 35) as its dating is problematic; the consensus is for a late first-century – early second-century author, who therefore could be influenced by Statius and Silius’ depictions of the volcano, but some scholars (e.g., Lefèvre [2013]) actually considers the play to be of Senecan authorship.

towards Inarime, from there rugged Prochyta appears’, *Silu.* 2.2.75);⁵⁵ and the list culminates with a view of Naples (84–5), just as Silius’ list reached a climax with Vesuvius. Statius’ description, however, does not explicitly include any reference to volcanoes, earthquakes or giants, and the same is ostensibly true of all other features of the Campanian topography visible from the villa of Pollius Felix. Nevertheless, the choice of name, the epic *Inarime* with all its volcanic and gigantomachic pedigree, could well activate the reader’s memory.⁵⁶

A second occurrence of *Inarime* in the *Siluae* is still a matter of debate. In 3.5 the poet tries to convince his wife to leave Rome and join him in Campania; at the end of a list of local landscape features (comparable to the one in *Siluae* 2.2) we find, according to the manuscripts, †*Denarumque lacus medicos Stabiasque renatas* (3.5.104). Proposed emendations for the first word include *Aenarumque* (Vollmer), *uenarumque* (van Buren) / *Venarumque* (Shackleton Bailey) or – significantly for our discussion – *Inarimesque* (Unger). Some recent commentators have accepted this conjecture,⁵⁷ not least because Statius does not designate Ischia by any other name, but equally the choice of a toponym even implicitly associated with volcanic activity and gigantomachic struggles would surely undermine the impression of *locus amoenus* that Statius endeavours to create for his wife.⁵⁸

Pliny the Elder also lists Inarime among the islands in the Gulf of Pozzuoli, but only mentions the place name as an alternative for *Aenaria*: *Aenaria a statione nauium Aeneae, Homero Inarime dicta* (‘Aenaria because it served as anchorage for Aeneas’ ships; called Inarime in Homer’, *Nat.* 3.82). In fact, *Aenaria* is almost exclusively⁵⁹ found in prose texts to designate Ischia both elsewhere in Pliny (2.106, 6.60, 31.5, 32.54), and in a range of authors from the late Republic to the second century CE (Cic. *Att.* 10.13.1; Liv. 8.22.6;⁶⁰ Hyg. *Fab.* 125.8; Vell. 2.19.4; Mel. 2.121; Suet. *Aug.* 92.2; Fl. 2.18.2; Front. 3.7, 3.8). Remarkably, none of the prose references to Ischia, whether as *Inarime* or *Aenaria*, associate it with giants and

⁵⁵ Newlands (2011) 140 sees Statius’ *aspera* as ‘a reference to Procida’s volcanic nature’ (though the term is applied generally to rocks [*TLL* 2.0.808.6] and mountains [2.0.808.32], and is in no way limited to volcanoes), and ‘a possible correction of Virgil’s puzzling *alta* (*A.* 9.715) for this low-lying island’. For his part, Krüger (1998) 107 points out that Statius’ description of Procida as *aspera* serves the antithesis between the wild and dangerous past and the civilized and urban present of the Bay of Naples.

⁵⁶ Krüger (1998) 107–8, who sees this as another way for Statius to emphasize the contrast between his contemporary view of Campania and its wild and dangerous past.

⁵⁷ Laguna (1992) 389; Liberman (2010) 313. The *OCT* editions vary between *Inarimesque* and *uenarumque*.

⁵⁸ So Krüger (1998) 199 n. 162, who says that Statius’ list is a ‘commercial ad’ which justifies the use of ‘the official designation “Aenaria”’ instead of ‘the name “Inarime” with its associations to eruptions and the Gigantomachy’ [my translation]. Some ancient editions have *Aenariae* but that is metrically impossible unless we assume a consonantal *-i-* (Liberman [2010] 313).

⁵⁹ The only certain poetic occurrence is in the ps.–Virgilian *Aetna*, on which see n. 20.

⁶⁰ Livy mentions Aenaria together with Pithecusae as the landing point of the Euboeans: *primo in insulas Aenariam et Pithecusae egressi* (‘after disembarking first on the islands Aenaria and Pithecusae’). Oakley (1998) 637–8 leans towards accepting Nissen’s explanation that this distinction (also found in Mela 2.121, and Pliny *Nat.* 3.82) indicates geographical ignorance.

only one, using the name *Pithecusae*, refers to its volcanic nature (Plin. *Nat.* 2.203).⁶¹ It seems to be the case that only epic provides the space for Inarime to cease to be just another island in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Campanian coast, and become instead a dangerous volcanic prison of restless giants, thus reclaiming its rightful place among such famous features of the Italian landscape as Aetna and Vesuvius.

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⁶¹ It is not clear whether Pliny means the same island here which he calls Inarime / Aenaria at *Nat.* 3.82. There, he presents Pithecusa as the next item on the list, explaining its name 'not from the great number of monkeys, as some have thought, but from its potteries producing jars' (*non a simiarum multitudine (ut aliqui existimavere) sed a figlinis doliurum*). A distinction between Inarime / Aenaria and Pithecusa(e) is also found in Ovid (see p. xxx in this chapter) and Livy (see n. 60); Pliny, however, in *Nat.* 2.203 mentions 'mount Epopos' as 'one of the Pithecusae' (*in his montem Epopon*) which erupted and caused destruction, eventually giving rise to the island of Prochyta, an event which in 3.82 he attributes to Aenaria (*Prochyta, non ab Aeneae nutrice sed quia profusa ab Aenaria erat*, 'Prochyta, not named after Aeneas' nurse but because it poured forth from Aenaria').

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