Typhonic Voices

Sounds of Hesiod and Cosmic War in Lucan's Bellum civile *6.685-694*

Stephen A. Sansom
Cornell University, Dept. of Classics
sansom@cornell.edu

Abstract

This article argues that Lucan references Hesiod's Typhonomachy in the voice of Erictho (Luc. 6.685-694). The intertext is significant in two respects. It casts Erictho as a nonpartisan proponent of Gigantomachy and cosmic war itself, a portrayal that informs aspects of her character as a *theomachos* and *vates*. Likewise, it presents an innovative use of Hesiod's *Theogony*: instead of a poem of peace, Lucan adapts it as a paradigm of civil war.

Keywords

After the fall of Richmond on April 3, 1865, Herman Melville produced a book of poems in response to the US Civil War. Melville's *Battle Pieces* gives voice to soldiers from both the North and South who lament the loss of life and apparent absence of Divine Will in violent conflict. It also resurrects the voice of another poet who textualized a different type of civil war, namely John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Throughout *Battle Pieces*, Melville adapts the language and themes of Milton but to opposite effect. In contrast to Milton, Melville's civil war poem doubts Divine Providence. As Melville scholars have noted, in *Battle Pieces* "the moral and godly clarity, the advancing linear progression ... of

the War in Heaven is distorted, confused, vitiated".[1] For Melville, *Paradise Lost* provided mythopoetic material to incorporate and interrogate within his own civil war poetry.

Melville was certainly not the first poet to appropriate a mythic poem to commemorate a more contemporary civil war.[2] In this article, I propose that Lucan, the first century CE poet, did something similar for his *Bellum civile* with Hesiod's *Theogony*, an archaic Greek poem that narrates the violent succession of the Olympian gods to power. As recent scholars have shown, Hesiod was widely read in the literary circles of Rome.[3] While scholars have also registered extensive intertextual activity between Lucan and other Latin and Greek authors of epic and history, by all previous accounts Hesiod failed to make an impression on the poet of the *Bellum civile*.[4] There is, however, an unacknowledged instance in the *Bellum civile* where Lucan draws significant material from Hesiod. This intertextual moment references the *Theogony* and suggests that Lucan did in fact find grist for his poem in Hesiodic lines. What is more, in Lucan's context of horrific civil war, we see Hesiod function in new ways.

In what follows, I examine Lucan's reception of Hesiod's *Theogony* in the infamous necromancy prior to the battle of Pharsalus (Luc. 6.685-694). Here, the voice of the Thessalian witch, Erictho, alludes extensively to the Typhonomachy of *Theogony* 829-841. The intertext is significant in two respects. First, it seamlessly blends magical practice and poetic text in order to cast Erictho as a nonpartisan proponent of Gigantomachy and cosmic war. This portrayal likewise informs aspects of her character as a Thessalian *theomachos* ('challenger of divinity') and *vates* ('inspired singer') and operates in a similar way to Virgil

---

1   Grey 2002, 60, who had the enviable luxury of consulting Melville's personally annotated copy of *Paradise Lost*.

2   E.g. Abraham Cowley, cf. Pritchard 1973, 39-42.

3   E.g. Scully 2015, 142-148 details the various ways that Augustan poets received the *Theogony*, especially Ovid; see also Rosati 2009, 345-346, 350, 366; Barchiesi 1998, 183-186; Van Noorden 2015, 9. For the influence of the *Works and Days* on Latin literature, especially didactic, see Van Noorden 2015, 204-303; Rosati 2009, 252-260; Nelson 1998; Koning 2010, 157; for its Hellenistic reception, see Hunter 2014. Ziogas' 2013 groundbreaking work shows how extensively Ovid adapted the genealogical frame and themes of the *Catalogue* and *Theogony* for his *Metamorphoses*; in his words (2013, 67): "the Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* is one of the most underdiscussed aspects of Ovid's multifaceted epic". For the *Catalogue* and the *Heroides*, see Michalopoulos 2017. For the reception of the *Shield*, cf. Faber 2000; Heckenlively 2013; Bing 2012.

4   For various takes on Lucan's intertextual practices, see Malcovati 1951; Conte 1966; von Albrecht 1970; Linn 1971. For Homer and Lucan, see especially von Albrecht 1970, 272-277 and Green 1991. The references to Hesiod in scholarship on Lucan have been brief; see e.g. Fantham 1992, 102, 113; Lapidge 1979, 361; Leigh 2000, 102; Manolaraki 2011, 176; Martindale 1977, 378; Morford 1967, 67; Tesoriero 2000, 231.

and Ovid's engagement with the Typhonomachy, likening Erictho to other discordant characters such as Fama and the Pierides. Second, while Lucan draws from Hesiod's *Theogony*, he also amplifies its themes of mythical violence. By doing so, he provides a rare context for Hesiod in Roman poetry: not as a poet of peace, but as the author of paradigmatic, civil war poetry. By emphasizing the struggle for power depicted in the *Theogony*, Lucan takes Hesiod into martial territory—terrain that is, as we will see, strikingly accommodating to Hesiod's poetry.

1   Typhonic Voices: Erictho and Hesiod's Typhonomachy (Luc. 6.685-694)

On the eve of the battle of Pharsalus, Sextus Pompey, the son of Magnus, consults the Thessalian witch, Erictho (Luc. 6.333-830).[5] Sextus seeks to know the outcome of the battle, and, in order to prophecy it, Erictho performs a gruesome necromancy.[6] She first selects the corpse of a newly deceased soldier (6.624-666). She then infuses the body with potions (6.667-684) and forces its soul to return with threats and incantations (6.685-774).[7] Before she speaks, however, in "a passage of great imaginary power",[8] Erictho emits a series of inarticulate sounds:

> tum vox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis   685
> excantare deos confundit murmura primum
> dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae.
> latratus habet illa canum gemitusque luporum,
> quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur,
> quod strident ululantque ferae, quod sibilat anguis;   690
> exprimit et planctus illisae cautibus undae
> silvarumque sonum fractaeque tonitrua nubis:

---

5   The scene has been a popular topic of scholarship. For a list of available bibliography on Erictho up to the turn of the century, see Ogden 2002b, 309; more recently, see Pillinger 2012, 63-73. For a helpful overview of the secondary sources, see the discussion of Finiello 2005, 155-158; for the scene itself, see especially Martindale 1980.

6   For Sextus Pompey and the dark arts, cf. e.g. Pliny *HN* 7.178-179, *Anth. Lat.* 402 Shackleton Bailey and Ogden 2002a, 250-255. For Nero, cf. Ogden 2002a, 256. For discussion of Sextus and Erictho, see Ahl 1976, 130-133; cf. also Tesoriero 2002 and Santangelo 2015, 181-182.

7   Cf. Santangelo 2015, 182.

8   Martindale 1980, 372. Cf. Baldini-Moscadi 1976a, 173: "Ma Lucano non si limita, in questo caso, a lasciar immaginare la voce di Erichtho, bensì cerca di definirla nelle sue straordinarie caratteristiche."

tot rerum vox una fuit. mox cetera cantu
explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua.⁹

And lastly her voice, more powerful than all drugs to bewitch the gods
of Lethe, first mixes indistinct sounds, sounds discordant and far dif-
ferent from human speech. The dog's bark and the wolf's howl were in
that voice; it resembled the complaint of the restless owl and the night-
flying screech-owl, the shrieking and roaring of wild beasts, the serpent's
hiss, the beat of waves dashed against rocks, the sound of forests, and
the thunder that issues from a rift in the cloud: her one voice was all of
these things. Then she went on to speak plainly in a Thessalian spell, with
speech that pierced Tartarus.

Scholars have recognized several intertextual precedents for Erictho's necro-
mancy, including Virgil's Sibyl (*A.* 6), Ovid's Medea (*Met.* 7), and the Pythia
of *Bellum civile* 5.71-236.¹⁰ Indeed, the passages leading up to Erictho's voice
alert the reader to the possibility of allusion.¹¹ As an 'intertextual landscape',
the geography of Thessaly (6.333-412) contends with similar Thessalian cata-
logues in Homer, Herodotus, Callimachus, Apollonius, Catullus, and Ovid by
highlighting the violence in Thessaly's mythical prehistory.¹² Commentators
have claimed that Lucan prefigures Erictho as an intertextual innovation in
the description of her song that precedes the necromancy: 'she was framing
a spell unknown to wizards and the gods of wizardry, and inventing a *carmen*
for special purposes' (*illa magis magicisque deis incognita verba / temptabat
carmenque novos fingebat in usus*, *BC* 6.577-578).¹³ Martindale describes the

---

9   Luc. 6.685-694. Translations are adapted from Duff 1928 for Lucan and Most 2006 for
     Hesiod unless noted otherwise. I use the text of Lucan edited by Shackleton Bailey 2009.
     Texts for other Greek and Latin authors are from the Oxford Classical Texts.

10   Reif 2016, 467-476 argues convincingly that Erictho is the intertextual culmination of her
     magical predecessors, especially in her divergence from attested magical practice. For
     Bellum civile 5 and 6, see Masters 1992, 180-196; O'Higgins 1988; Ahl 1976, 130-133; Pillinger
     2012, 64. Morford 1967, 67 cites Hesiod's *Hymn to Hecate* (*Th.* 411-452) as a Greek precedent
     for magical passages such as Erictho's necromancy.

11   This flagging of intertextual material for book 6 may even begin at the book's beginning,
     where the narrator references 'Iliadic walls' (*nunc vetus Iliacos attollat fabula muros /
     ascribatque deis*, BC 6.48-49) with language that echoes Caesar building his own walls
     from dismantled Greek houses (*contentus fragili subitos attollere muros / ingentes cautes
     avulsaque saxa metallis / Graiorumque domos direptaque moenia transfert*, Luc. 6.33-35).

12   Cf. Ambühl 2016 and Ambühl 2015, 483-484.

13   Cf. Martindale 1980, 375; Tesoriero 2000, 146; and Korenjak 1996, 157-158. For resonance
     with Erictho as poet-*vates*, cf. Luc. 6.628 and 6.651, O'Higgins 1988, 217-226; Masters
     1992, 205-215, and below. For *novos* and civil war, see McCune 2013-14, 181 n. 32; and

infusion of drugs into the corpse immediately prior to her vocalization as "purely literary inspiration ... in *aemulatio* of Ovid (*Met.* 7.262-278)", in which Lucan outdoes "his predecessor in the ingenuity of the ingredients".[14] Despite its intertextual environment, however, scholars have ventured few literary precedents of any significance for the catalogue of sounds in Erictho's voice.[15]

Instead of literary sources, scholars have speculated that Erictho's voice alludes to magical practice.[16] Modern scholars have pointed specifically to the *voces magicae* found, for example, in the *Papyri Magicae Graecae* (*PMG*).[17] These papyri often include lists of formulaic sounds, animalistic voices, and unintelligible non-words. For example, as a magical *comparandum* for Erictho's voice, both Baldini-Moscadi[18] and Reif[19] point to a list of sounds found in *PMG* VII.766-779:

> καὶ ἔστιν σου· ὁ αʹ σύντροφος τ[οῦ] ὀνόματος σιγή, | ὁ βʹ ποππυσμός, | ὁ γʹ στεναγμός, | ὁ δʹ συριγμός, ‖ ὁ εʹ ὀλολυγμός, | ὁ ϛʹ μυγμός, | ὁ ζʹ ὑλαγμός, | ὁ ηʹ μυκηθμός, | ὁ θʹ χρεμετισμός, ‖ ὁ ιʹ φθόγγος ἐναρμόνιος, | ὁ ιαʹ πνεῦμα φωνᾶεν,

---

poetic innovation, Martindale 1980, 371. Cf. Hömke 1998, 130: "... auch hierauf liefert die Nekromantie-Szene, wie im folgenden gezeigt werden soll, eine klare Antwort".

14   Martindale 1980, 372.

15   For the ritual context of the sounds, see Reif 2016, 438-439; my sincere thanks to one of the anonymous reviewers for alerting me to this reference. For sounds before prayers, cf. Tesoriero 2000, 199 citing Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.24-25 (*Canidiam ... ululantem*) and Ov. *Met.* 7.190-191 (*ternisque ululatibus ora | solvit*). For resonance with Fama, cf. Dinter 2012, 70 and below. Volpilhac 1978, 273 references Penelope crying out (ὀλόλυξε) when praying to Athena (*Od.* 4.767), as well as *cantus* at Hor. *Ep.* 5.45, Sen. *Oed.* 561-562 (*carmen magicum voluit et rabido minax | decantat ore*) and 567-568 (*canitque rursus ... | graviore ... voce et attonita*), Prop. 4.4.51 (*magicae cantamina Musae*), and Tib. 1.5.55. Cf. Tiresias in Statius (*Theb.* 5.406-456), cited by Bourgery 1928, 306.

16   Cf. Servius, quoting Luc. 6.688-693 (*A.* 6.247 s.v. *voce vocans*): *non verbis, sed quibusdam mysticis sonis: nam varie numina invocabantur, quod aperte Lucanus expressit, ut "latratus habet illa canum gemitusque luporum: quod stridunt ululantque ferae, quod sibilat anguis exprimit et planctus fractaeque tonitrua nubis": tot rerum vox una fuit.* NB the absence of line 689 and the combination of the first hemistich of 691 and the second hemistich of 692. Cf. Volpilhac 1978, 273-274.

17   Cf. Martindale 1980, 372. For rich comparisons with magical papyri, see especially Reif 2016, 441-455; Nock 1929, 220-232; Baldini-Moscadi 1976a, 174; Volpilhac 1978, 272-276; Tesoriero 2000, *ad loc.*, *contra* the reservations of Pichon 1912, 191: "Le procédé est facile à saisir; (Lucain) produit par l'entassement des détails une impression assez forte: mais il ne permet pas de supposer que Lucain, pour dépeindre ce tableau, ait cherché des renseignements dans un ouvrage sur la magie." Cf. Volpilhac 1978, 272. For *voces magicae* as characteristic of magical prayers, see e.g. Graf 1991, 190-191; cf. Bortolani 2016, 465-467.

18   Baldini-Moscadi 1976a, 174.

19   Reif 2016, 444-445.

| ὁ ιβ΄ ἦχος [ἀ]νεμοποιός, | ὁ ιγ΄ φθόγγος ἀναγκαστικός, | ὁ ιδ΄ τελειότητος
ἀναγκαστικὴ ἀπόρροια ||[20]

and this is yours: the first companion of your name is silence; the sec-
ond a popping sound, the third groaning, the fourth hissing, | the fifth a
cry of joy, the sixth moaning, the seventh barking, the eighth bellowing,
the ninth neighing, | the tenth a musical sound, the eleventh a sounding
wind, the twelfth a wind-creating sound, the thirteenth a coercive sound,
the fourteenth a coercive emanation from perfection.

Indeed, the resemblance is compelling. Both texts catalogue sounds, including
animal (hissing, dogs) and natural (wind, breezes), as well as describe sounds
(harmonious, coercive). In prayers, *voces* are thought to be knowledgeable
displays to the gods of their names (ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά) or their language in
an effort to receive a favorable response—a context certainly appropriate to
Erictho's necromancy.[21] Although it is unlikely that Lucan knew the exact pa-
pyrus text above, such types of magical sound-catalogues provide the closest
parallels scholars have yet identified as precedents for Erictho's voice.[22]

I propose that the epic tradition provides a closer parallel to Erictho's cata-
logue of sounds. At the apex of Hesiod's *Theogony*, Zeus fights the monster,
Typhon, for dominion of the cosmos. Typhon, the offspring of Gaia, is a hy-
brid creature with a hundred snake-heads that emit numerous voices (φωναί).
The passage catalogues these sounds before describing Zeus' sonic response to
Typhon's threat (semantic and syntactic parallels are in italics):

φωναὶ δ' ἐν πάσησιν ἔσαν δεινῆς κεφαλῆσι,
παντοίην ὄπ' ἱεῖσαι ἀθέσφατον· ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ   830
φθέγγονθ' ὥς τε θεοῖσι συνιέμεν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
ταύρου ἐριβρύχεω μένος ἀσχέτου ὄσσαν ἀγαύρου,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε λέοντος ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντος,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ σκυλάκεσσιν ἐοικότα, θαύματ' ἀκοῦσαι,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ ῥοίζεσχ', ὑπὸ δ' ἤχεεν οὔρεα μακρά.   835

---

20   Ed. Preisendanz *et al.* 1973-1974, 34; *Pmag.Lond.* 121.766-779. Trans. Graf 1991, 203.

21   Cf. Graf 1991, 201.

22   Cf. Baldini-Moscadi 1976a, 174: "Ancora una volta, comunque, bisogna concludere col ri-
      conoscere una precisa conoscenza da parte di Lucano di particolari del rituale magico."
      Nock 1929, 227 speculates that Lucan may have encountered such papyri in the "circle
      interested in Pythagoreanism in Rome with which his uncle Seneca had in youth been
      associated or from friends of Statilius Taurus, who was accused of *magicae superstitiones*".
      For use of animal sounds in cult worship, cf. Nock 1929, 226 and Eitrem 1941, 71.

καί νύ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἤματι κείνῳ,
καί κεν ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
σκληρὸν δ' ἐβρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
σμερδαλέον κονάβησε καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε   840
πόντός τ' Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶ καὶ τάρταρα γαίης.[23]

And there were *voices in all his terrible heads, sending forth all kinds of sounds, inconceivable: for sometimes they would utter sounds as though for the gods to* understand, and at other times the sound of a loud-bellowing, majestic bull, unstoppable in its strength, *at other times* that of a lion, with a ruthless spirit, *at other times* like young *dogs*, a wonder to hear, and *at other times he hissed*, and the high mountains echoed from below. And on that day an intractable deed would have been accomplished, and he would have ruled over mortals and immortals, if the father of men and of gods had not taken sharp notice: he *thundered* hard and strong, and all the *earth* echoed terrifyingly, and *the broad sky above*, and *the sea*, and the streams of Ocean, and *Tartarus* in the earth.

The similarities between the passages are considerable. Moreover, the intertext suggests significant avenues of interpretation.[24] This is especially the case as it appears that Lucan engages with two characters that also looked to Typhon, namely Virgil's Fama and Ovid's Pierides.

Syntactically, the catalogues contain animals sounds in a series of five anaphoric connectives: *primum ... quod ... quod ... quod ... quod* (686, 689-690) ~ ἄλλοτε μὲν ... ἄλλοτε δ' ... ἄλλοτε δ' ... ἄλλοτε δ' ... ἄλλοτε δ' (830-831, 833-835).[25] Thematically, Lucan most certainly draws from the voice of the Hesiodic passage.[26] Both passages begin with voice as the first noun (*vox*/φωναί) along

---

23   Hes. *Th.* 829-841.

24   Although there are competing models for a study of intertextuality, e.g. Conte 1986, Thomas 1986, and Hinds 1998, I have followed the pragmatic and formal approach put forward by Ash 1997, 47-48. For intertextuality in Classical Studies, see Coffee 2013; for digital approaches, cf. Coffee 2018.

25   As Wills 1996, 354-362 has argued, repetition and anaphora in particular often function as markers of allusion in Latin poetry in thematically similar passages. E.g. *ubi*/ἔνθα in lists of slain heroes (e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.99-101 and Hom. *Od.* 3.190-112); triple *hoc* (Verg. *A.* 10.858-860) to allude to the triple πρῶτος used by Polyphemus to his ram (*Od.* 9.449-451); and Hes. *Op.* 391-392 (γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν, | γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν) in Verg. *G.* 1.299 (nudus *ara, sere* nudus). Cf. also Ziogas 2013, 5-6 on Ov. *Am.* 1.10.1-11 and Hes. *Cat.* and *ehoie*-poetry.

26   For the passage's voice instead of gaze, cf. Lovatt 2013, 154-155. For Typhon's voices in the *Theogony*, see Goslin 2010.

with a syntactic connector (*tum*/δ᾽).[27] Each voice is qualified in analeptic reference to the preceding passage, i.e. the ghastly potions (*vox ... cunctis pollentior herbis*, Luc. 6.685 > 6.667-684) and Typhon's snake heads (φωναὶ ... ἐν πάσῃσιν ... δεινῆς κεφαλῆσι, *Th.* 829 > 824-828).[28] The voices are then related to the gods (686 ~ 831) and to mortals (686-687 ~ 830) with variation of a word for voice: *vox* (685) > *murmura* (686); φωναί (829) > ὄπ᾽ (834).[29] Likewise, they signal their confounding effect upon listeners with privative prefixation: dis*sona* ... dis*cordia* (687) ~ ἀθέσφατον (830).[30] The characterization of Erictho's voice as *discordia*, too, has Typhonic resonance. It is exactly in this way that Seneca, Lucan's uncle and teacher, has Medea—another model for Erictho—describe the hybrid beast in her invocation of Hecate (*Typhoeus ...* dis*cors*, *Med.* 773).[31]

Erictho, however, is no mere crib. We see from the start that Lucan engages in *variatio* with the *Theogony*, often with special significance. Whereas Typhon at times utters sounds 'as if for the gods to *understand*' (ὥς τε θεοῖσι συνιέμεν, *Th.* 831), Erictho resists intelligibility by '*mixing/jumbling together* indistinct sounds' (*confundit murmura*, Luc. 686)—note that the verbs (συνιέμεν and *confundit*) share the same *sedes* and combinatory prefixation (συν-/con-) but are opposite in meaning. Most prominently, Lucan varies the number of voices. Typhon has many, whereas Erictho's *vox* is emphatically singular. Lucan emphasizes this distinction not only grammatically at the beginning of the passage with her singular *vox* but also at the culmination of her catalogue of sounds in adaptation of *Th.* 829: *tot rerum vox una fuit* (Luc. 6.693) ~ φωναὶ δ᾽ ἐν πάσῃσιν ἔσαν (*Th.* 829). Both hemistichs are isometric, end at the hepthemimeral caesura, and place in the same *sedes* the verb 'to be' and an adjective denoting number preceding it—with the noticeable change in plurality and reference to voice instead of heads (*una vox* ~ πάσῃσιν ... κεφαλῆσι).[32]

---

27   Contrast the *sedes* of *vox* in Luc. 6.165, 445, 693, and 761.

28   Note, too, the parallelism in the semantics of *cunctis*/πάσῃσιν, which both modify qualifiers in oblique cases (*herbis*/κεφαλῆσι).

29   *Excantare deos* (686) ~ φθέγγονθ᾽ ὥς ... θεοῖσι συνιέμεν (831); *murmura ... dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae* (686-687) ~ παντοίην ὄπ᾽ ... ἀθέσφατον (830). For magic and *murmur*, see Baldini-Moscadi 1976b.

30   Cf. the comparable *multum* (687) for παντοίην (830).

31   'For you these garlands are woven with a bloody hand, | which nine serpents bind. | For you are these limbs which *discordant Typhon* bore, | who rocked the throne of Jove' (*Tibi haec cruenta serta texuntur manu, | novena quae serpens ligat, | tibi haec Typhoeus membra quae discors tulit, | qui regna concussit Iouis*; trans. adapted from Boyle 2014, 59). For Erictho's Hecate, cf. Luc. 6.700-701. For Erictho and Seneca's Medea, see Paratore 1974. For Seneca's use of Hesiod, see Mazzoli 1970, 165-168 and Setaioli 1988, 66-68. The scholiast of the *Adnotationes* compares the *discordia* of line 687 to *A*. 2.423: *autem pro discordantia, ut Virgilius "atque ora sono Discordia signant"*.

32   *Pace* Tesoriero 2000, 203.

Lucan's insistence on the totalizing force of Erictho's voice draws attention to itself. Perhaps one reason is to distinguish her single voice from the plural voices of Typhon in *variatio*. Another possibility is that Lucan wished to best Vergil's Fama, who also looked to Typhon. As scholars have noted, Fama especially draws from Typhon's catalogue of body parts (*A.* 4.178-183).[33] Although Fama makes sound, e.g. she 'squawks' (*stridens*, *A.* 4.185), Virgil does little with Typhon's sonic panoply. Whereas Virgil stops emulating Hesiod at *Th.* 828, for Erictho—Lucan's Fama-Typhon—Lucan begins with the voices at *Theogony* 829. Lucan notably pluralizes the sound of Virgil's Fama (*stridens* > *strident* 6.690) and amplifies the sonic discord in Typhon's voices. At times, Lucan includes identical sounds from Hesiod:

> *latratus* habet illa *canum* gemitusque luporum,
> quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur,
> quod strident ululantque ferae, quod *sibilat anguis*.[34]

Compare *Theogony* 831-835:

> ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖτε
> ταύρου ἐριβρύχεω μένος ἀσχέτου ὄσσαν ἀγαύρου,
> ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖτε λέοντος ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντος,
> ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖ *σκυλάκεσσιν* ἐοικότα, θαύματ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι,
> ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖ *ῥοίζεσχ᾽* ...[35]

Most prominently, Lucan doubles Hesiod's canine barking with the howling of wolves and amplifies Hesiod's onomatopoeic sound of the snakes.[36] Much as Virgil did, however, we see Lucan adapt Typhon to fit the demands of his new form. Fittingly for the magical context, Lucan replaces Hesiod's heroic bull (ταύρου, 832) and lion (λέοντος, 833) with owls (*trepidus bubo ... strix nocturna*,

---

33   For Erictho and Fama, see Dinter 2012, 62-75, as well as Hardie 2012, 392. Cf. the confused sounds of Fama in *Met.* 12.39-43. For Fama's similarities to Hesiod's (and Apollonius of Rhodes') Typhon, see Nelis 2001, 153-154 and Hardie 2012, 216. Fama's debt to Hesiod may be more extensive than has been acknowledged: like Typhon, Fama is the 'youngest' (*extremam*, *A.* 4.179 ~ ὁπλότατον, *Th.* 821) offspring of Earth (*Terra*, *A.* 4.178 ~ Γαῖα, *Th.* 821), with the adjective enjambed in the same *sedes*. The catalogue of body parts (*Th.* 823-828 ~ *A.* 4.180-183) often correspond, including references to untiring feet, tongues, notably glaring eyes, as well as a calque of θαύματ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι (*Th.* 834) in the parenthetical *mirabile dictu* (*A.* 4.182).

34   Luc. 688-690.

35   Hes. *Th.* 831-835.

36   For dogs and snakes in the *PMG*, cf. *PMG* VII.766-779; for dogs and femininity in ancient Greece, see Franco 2014.

689) and shrieking, ululating beasts (*strident ululantque ferae*, 690)—
sinister animals closer to Erictho's ominous character.[37] On a metapoetic level,
Erictho's voice contains 'so many' (*tot*) of the animals sounds as well as Fama
and Typhon, too. In this way, it seems possible that Lucan not only saw the po-
tency of Fama as source material for Erictho, but also saw through it to Virgil's
Typhonic source and outdid his Roman predecessor.

Lucan does not stop there. After the series of animal cries, Erictho's ut-
terance culminates in the sounds of the natural world, i.e. waves, forests, and
thunder (*exprimit et planctus illisae cautibus undae | silvarumque sonum frac-
taeque tonitrua nubis*, 6.691-692). While such sounds do occur individually
in the *PMG*, e.g. the sound of the wind (cf. ὁ ιαʹ πνεῦμα φωνᾶεν, | ὁ ιβʹ ἦχος
[ἀ]νεμοποιός, *PMG* VII.777-778, quoted above), no magical parallels include all
three together.[38] The trio, however, resembles the resonation of earth, sky, and
sea in *Th*. 839-841 (γαῖα ... οὐρανὸς ... πόντος).[39] When Zeus notices Typhon's
threat to take control of the cosmos (*Th*. 836-838), he 'thundered hard and
strong' (σκληρὸν δʹ ἐβρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον, *Th*. 839) and caused the threefold
cosmos to resound. Moreover, the thunder (*tonitrua*, Luc. 6.692) in Erictho's
voice parallels not only the 'sky' of the *Theogony* but Zeus himself. Since *toni-
trua* is metonymic for Jupiter, its appearance here serves a double function.[40]
It certainly substantiates Lucan's earlier claim that the Thessalian witches can
thunder without Jupiter's knowledge.[41] Given Erictho's power over the natural
world, this is unsurprising. Jupiter Tonans had also captured the Roman imag-
ination, as his temple on the Capitoline Hill attests. Yet, given the Hesiodic

---

37   For *bubo*, bad omens, and death, cf. Verg. *A*. 4.462-463, Ov. *Met*. 10.452-453, Plin. *Nat*. 10.34,
      Stat. *Theb*. 3.511-512. Cf. the scholiast of the *Adnotationes* on here and *A*. 4.462 (f.): *hic
      masculine genere posuit ut Virgilius feminine "solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo"*. For
      strix as (1) a vampiric fiend, cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6.131-150 and Petr. 63; (2) as a magic ingredient, cf.
      Hor. *Epod*. 5.20, Prop. 4.5.17, and Sen. *Med*. 732-734 (with *bubo*: *et obscenas aves | maestique
      cor bubonis et raucae strigis | exsecta vivae viscera*); and (3) as a theriomorph of witches,
      cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6.141-142. For association of *ululare* with ghosts, cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2.553-554, and as
      the sound of witches' spells, cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1.8.25, Ov. *Met*. 14.405, 7.190-191. See also Tesoriero
      2000, 201-202.

38   Neither have commentators adduced literary parallels for the trio; cf. Tesoriero 2000, 202.

39   The scholiast in the *Commenta Bernensia* draws a comparison of line 691 to Verg. *G*. 1.334:
      imitator ad fidem. Vergilius "nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc littora plangunt".

40   For direct associations of Jupiter with *tonitrus* in Luc. 7.197 (*seu* tonitrus *ac tela* Iovis *prae-
      saga notavit*) and 7.475-479 (*... tum stridulus aer | elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu,
      | tunc ausae dare signa tubae, tunc aethera tendit | extremique fragor convexa irrumpit*
      Olympi, | *unde procul nubes, quo nulla* tonitrua *durant*). For Jupiter's epithet *tonans*, often
      metonymic, cf. Luc. 1.35, 196; 2.34; 3.320; 5.96; 6.260; 7.42; 8.219, 872; and 9.4.

41   Luc. 6.465-467: *Nunc omnia complent | imbribus et calido praeducunt nubila Phoebo, | et
      tonat ignaro caelum Iove*.

tenor of Erictho's voice, *tonitrua* alerts the reader to the presence of Hesiod's Zeus in the passage as the combatant of Typhon.[42]

The parallels with the *Theogony* continue after the catalogue of sounds. When Erictho finally speaks, she 'enters Tartarus with her tongue' (*penetratque in Tartara lingua*, 6.694).[43] We find a verbatim precedent for *Tartara* in the same *sedes* at *Th.* 841. We likewise find it at the end of the Typhonomachy with comparable syntax when Zeus casts Typhon into Tartarus (ῥῖψε … ἐς τάρταρον, *Th.* 868). Commentators have also noted the Hesiodic character of the invocation of underworld deities in Erictho's prayer that immediately follows her vocalization (Luc. 6.695-705).[44] In fact, the correlation with Hesiod is more extensive than previously acknowledged. Although the list of underworld entities is certainly traditional, it should be noted that almost all listed by Erictho first appear in the *Theogony*. At times, these include more exclusively Theogonic language, e.g. Styx, whose personification is expected in the *Theogony* but rare in Latin (695 and 698-699 ~ *Th.* 775-806), and Hades as *rector terrae* (697 ~ θεοῦ χθονίου, *Th.* 767).[45] Note also the proximity of several of these figures in the *Theogony* to Typhon, either genealogically (e.g. Cerberus is his offspring) or textually in the lines leading up to the Typhonomachy (e.g. Hades, Persephone, and Styx). Virgil likely looked to Hesiod's Underworld for his *Nekuia* in *Aeneid* 6.[46] As with Fama and Typhon, here too Lucan passes through the 'window reference' of Virgil to the Hesiodic source.[47]

Based on the evidence above, I propose that Lucan alludes extensively to Hesiod's *Theogony* in Erictho's voice. With the likelihood of Fama as a significant

---

42   The imperceptive Jupiter of Luc. 6.465-467 reverses the perceptive power of Zeus in the Typhonomachy, who 'took sharp notice' of Typhon's sonic and political threat (καί κεν ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν, | εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *Th.* 837-838). Erictho further mimics Zeus by casting her tongue into Tartarus (*penetratque in Tartara lingua*, Luc. 6.694) much as Zeus casts Typhon into Tartarus (*Th.* 868).

43   Cf. where Erictho bites the tongues off corpses before whispering messages to Stygian shades (Luc. 6.566-567).

44   Cf. Tesoriero 2000 *ad loc.*

45   Cf. the Eumenides (Luc. 6.695 ~ *Th.* 185); *Chaos* (Luc. 6.696 ~ *Th.* 116 with Rosati 2009, 373 on Ov. *Pont.* 4.8.55-60, who claims that every mention of *Chaos* is a "virtual reference to Hesiod"); Persephone (Luc. 6.700 ~ *Th.* 768, 774); Hecate (Luc. 6.700 ~ *Th.* 411-452 with Servius at *A.* 6.118); Cerberus (Luc. 6.702-703 ~ *Th.* 311, 769-773); and the Fates (*sorores* Luc. 6.703-704 ~ *Theog.* 218-222). The only two deities in Lucan not present in Hesiod are the unidentified *ianitor* (6.702) and *portitor* (6.704-705, likely Charon). For mentions of these deities in magical papyri, see Bourgery 1928, 310; Baldini-Moscadi 1976a, 175-177; Volpilhac 1978, 284. For other *comparanda* from Latin literature, see Tesoriero 2000 *ad loc.* and Viansino 1995, 582.

46   Cf. Sider 1988, 17-21.

47   Cf. Thomas 1986, 188-189.

model for Erictho, Lucan's recourse to Typhon and the *Theogony* may also have been prompted by Virgil as well. At this point, however, there is an important distinction to be made. Unlike Fama, who draws from Hesiod only for the monster Typhon, Erictho's voice contains not only the sounds of Typhon but Zeus' response as well. That is to say, by including the range of sounds of both Typhon and Zeus, Erictho plays the chords of Hesiod's Typhonomachy. Certainly, her voice is imbued with magic, Fama, and central themes of *discors* and others as well.[48] I contend that in addition to these, we should also recognize the presence of Hesiod's battle between Typhon and Zeus.

To draw attention to the *Theogony* in Erictho's voice does not lessen its potential affiliations with magic. Nor is it necessary, of course, to read the passage only as a Hesiodic intertext. Rather, recognizing the *Theogony* in Erictho's voice better acknowledges the blend of the epic tradition and magical practice in the Erictho passage.[49] As part of her spell, we hear the *Theogony* become a *vox magica* that Erictho invokes in order to please attentive readers and appease the nether gods below (whose births, after all, the *Theogony* narrates) with an "ample display of knowledge".[50] Indeed, it may even be possible that Lucan himself recognized similarities to magical practice in Hesiod's Typhon. Marston argues persuasively that fifth-century BCE audiences of the *Theogony* would have recognized a "binding curse" (κατάδεσμος) in the binding of Prometheus at *Theogony* 615-616.[51] In addition, Typhon was often invoked in magical papyri with language, as Nock points out, that resembles *Bellum civile* 6.496 and 732.[52] Given Lucan's likely knowledge of both magical language and, as I argue, the *Theogony*, an integrative approach to the passage seems

---

48　For Erictho and women in Lucan, see Finiello 2005, 176-182; on Stoicism and cult, see Moreschini 2005, 147-150. For a brief treatment of magical *carmina* as religious *carmina*, see Addabbo 1991; for prophecy more generally, Longo 1989. Historically, Lucan may have found something Typhonic in Sextus Pompey's later association with Aetna, a mythical *locus* of Typhon; cf. Sextus' negative characterization (Luc. 6.620-622: *Magno proles indigna parente, | cui mox Scyllaeis exul grassatus in undis | polluit aequoreos Siculus pirata triumphos*), Aetna and the slave revolt (Luc. 1.43: *et ardenti servilia bella sub Aetna*), and the reference to Sicily, Aetna, and Typhon (Luc. 5.99-101: *seu Siculus flammis urguentibus Aetnam | undat apex, Campana fremens ceu saxa vaporat | conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus*); cf. Grenade 1950, 43.

49　For the manipulation of Greek mystery cult by Augustan poets, see the recent dissertation by Vazquez 2018.

50　Graf 1991, 192.

51　Cf. Marston 2007, 130-131. Hes. *Th.* 615-616: τοῖό γ᾽ ὑπεξήλυξε βαρὺν χόλον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης | καὶ πολύιδριν ἐόντα μέγας κατὰ δεσμὸς ἐρύκει.

52　Nock 1929, 226. Cf. Preisendanz 1928, 76-78; 1931, 132-133. Hecate, too, is both dear to Erictho, Hesiod's *Theogony* (411-452), and magical texts; for Greek and Egyptian magical hymns to Hecate with commentary, see Bortolani 2016, 219-336.

appropriate. Such a blended reading of both magic and literature seems not only possible, but it helps resolve tensions between text and practice.[53]

There are two significant results of the intertext. First, for Erictho, the intertext casts her as a nonpartisan proponent of cosmic war. We can recognize this portrayal by investigating the work of the intertext in two aspects of her character, namely as a *theomachos* in relation to the *topos* of Gigantomachy and as a *vates*.[54] Second, in the final section I conclude by orienting Lucan's novel reception of Hesiod within the Latin reception of the *Theogony*, not as an Archaic poet of peace, but rather of civil war.

2   Erictho: *theomachos* and *vates*

Beginning with the Pierides of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (5.294-678), the contest of the Pierides and Muses in the *Metamorphoses* was certainly known to Lucan and was likely of particular importance, as it provided the geonym at the *incipit* of his epic (*Emathiis ... campis*, *Met*. 5.313-514 ~ *Emathios ... campos*, Luc. 1.1) as well as other verbal material.[55] As related by the Muse to Pallas, the nine Thessalian daughters of Pierus challenge the divine Muses to a musical *certamen* (*Met*. 5.301, 314).[56] For their song, the leader of the Pierides sings a Typhonomachy. Her version is not Hesiodic, but rather has Typhon chase the Olympians to Egypt and force them into theriomorphic forms (5.318-331). In reply, Calliope sings of Typhon's imprisonment beneath Mt. Etna (5.341-353) before eventually metamorphosing the impious Pierides into magpies who 'imitate all things' (*imitantes omnia picae*, 5.299). As Chaudhuri has argued, what makes the Pierides a threat is not necessarily their impiety but "their revaluation of the Gigantomachy".[57] According to the Muse, the Pierid 'sings the Gigantomachy and grants the giants undue honor and lessens the deeds

---

53   E.g. Graf 1991, 201.

54   For brief references to Erictho as a theomachic figure, see Chaudhuri 2014, 177 and 180.

55   Although it differs from the approach to intertextuality in my argument, Coffee 2018 suggests that digital tools can help produce further intertextual correspondences. Using *Tessarae* (http://tesserae.caset.buffalo.edu), two additional correspondences present themselves: *mox* cetera cantu | *explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua:* | *'Eumenides,* Stygium*que nefas poenaeque nocentum ...'* (Luc. 6.693-695) ~ *quem procul adstantem plectrumque imbelle tenentem* | *pettalus inridens "*Stygiis cane cetera*" dixit* | *"minibus"* (*Met*. 5.114-116); and *quibus* [*herbis*] os dirum *nascentibus inspuit,* (Luc. 6.683) ~ dirus ... *ante* ora *Pyreneus* | *vertitur* (*Met*. 5.274-275).

56   Ovid alone uses the patronym *Emathides* to describe the nine daughters of Pierus (*Met*. 5.669).

57   Chaudhuri 2014, 99-100.

of the mighty gods' (*bella canit superum falsoque in honore gigantas | ponit et extenuat magnorum facta deorum*, 5.319-320). By emphasizing Typhon's theomachic success and eliding his downfall, the Pierid shows-off her poetic skill in manipulating an account of divine power. Moreover, she threatens the Muses' primacy as producers of learned poetry (cf. *Met.* 5.308-309), the transgression that prompts their metamorphic punishment.[58]

By fashioning Erictho's voice on the model of the Typhonomachy, Lucan follows the theme and theomachic impulse of the Pierides. Lucan's turn to Hesiod's Typhonomachy, then, seems doubly motivated. For one, by drawing from Hesiod's Typhon, Lucan could surpass Virgil and Fama with his own discordant character, Erictho. Secondly, the Gigantomachy had already suffused the landscape of Thessaly in *Met.* 5. By choosing a variant of the myth for his own epic—i.e. Hesiod's version—Lucan engages in learned *variatio* by theme with Ovid. In Lucan, however, there is no Muse to mutate the already mutant Erictho. As Lucan did with Virgil's Fama, he proliferates the voices of his models and embodies the mimetic voices of the Pierides in the mimetic sounds of Erictho's voice. The Pierides thus become one more Typhonic predecessor subsumed in Erictho's all-encompassing voice, a voice whose imitative powers are no longer a punishment of the Muses but a prize by which Erictho conjures the *Theogony*.

Through Hesiod's Typhonomachy, Erictho also engages directly with the larger *topos* of the Pierides' song, that is, the Gigantomachy.[59] Although distinct in Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Typhonomachy and other conflicts between the children of Earth and divinities were likely affiliated or even conflated by later poets.[60] It, too, lies behind Virgil's Fama, who, as Lowe claims, represents not only Typhon but "a graphic combination of the many-mouth *topos* and Gigantomachy".[61] For Lucan, as for other Romans, the Gigantomachy often functioned as paradigmatic for the civil war of first-century BCE Rome.[62] This association is made explicitly in the *Bellum civile*, where the Gigantomachy

---

58   Cf. the Muse's 'learned songs' (*doctos cantus*, *Met.* 5.662). For the Typhonomachy and Mt. Aetna in Hellenistic aesthetics, see Chaudhuri 2014, 100-101.

59   Lowe 2015, 189-226 provides a helpful survey of the Gigantomachy and other 'Anti-Olympians' in Augustan poetry.

60   Cf. Chaudhuri 2014, 99. For the anonymous Archaic *Titanomachy* and later poets, see Lowe 2015, 190.

61   Lowe 2015, 201-202.

62   As Feeney 1991, 297 states, "the civil war (of first century BCE Rome) is consistently represented under the guise of Gigantomachy". Cf. O'Hara 1994 (adapted in O'Hara 2007, 96-101); for inconsistency in the myth, see O'Hara 2007. For the Gigantomachy and Ovid, cf. Rosati 2005, 182; and the more conservative use of Virgil, cf. Chaudhuri 2014, 58 and also Hardie 1986, 85-156 and 209-213.

appears throughout.[63] Most prominently, at the poem's beginning the narrator uses it in praise of Nero (Luc. 1.33-38). The Massilians also leverage the myth unsuccessfully in their efforts to remain neutral in the conflict between Pompey and Caesar (3.312-320).

An overtly Hesiodic instance of the Gigantomachy also occurs after Erictho's necromancy. While the Pompeians arm themselves for Pharsalus, the narrator likens them to the Olympians arming themselves to fight the giants (7.144-150). After arming, the troops march to battle, but they experience immense natural resistance to their progress in a scene that recalls Erictho and Hesiod's Typhonomachy:

> nam, Thessala rura
> cum peterent, totus venientibus obstitit aether
> inque oculis hominum fregerunt fulmina nubes
> adversasque faces immensoque igne columnas   155
> et trabibus mixtis avidos typhonas aquarum
> detulit atque oculos ingesto fulgure clausit.[64]

> When the army made for Thessaly, the whole sky set itself against their march and the clouds broke lightning in the eyes of the men and it hurled down meteors in their faces, and huge columns of fire, and typhoons that suck up water, together with fireballs; it dashed lightning at them and so closed their eyes …

This scene is not unlike the *Theogony*'s description of Zeus' physical response to Typhon immediately after arming himself for battle:

> Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἑὸν μένος, εἵλετο δ' ὅπλα,
> βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
> πλῆξεν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας   855
> ἔπρεσε θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου.[65]

---

63   Ambühl 2015, 479-482 complies all the overt mythological references in Lucan. According to Ambühl 2015, 481, the Gigantomachy occurs in the *Bellum civile* at 1.33-38 (Nero-Elogium); 3.315-320 (Rede der Massilioten); 4.593-597 (Antaeus-Exkurs); 7.144-150 (Schlacht bei Pharsalos); and 9.655-658 (Medusa-Exkurs); cf. individual references to Typhoeus (5.100), Typhon (6.90-92), and Enceladus (6.293-295).

64   Luc. 7.152-157. Trans. heavily adapted from Duff, who does not include line 154 in his edition. I leave it here because it emphasizes the attack on the eyes of the approaching men, an attack which parallels Zeus' assault on the heads of Typhon.

65   Hes. *Th*. 853-856.

> Then when Zeus had lifted up his strength and *grasped his weapons*, the thunder and lightning and the *blazing* thunderbolt, he struck him, leaping upon him from Olympus; and all around he *scorched* all the prodigious *heads* of the terrible monster.

Moreover, not only does the passage give an oblique reference to Typhon in 'typhoons' (*typhonas*, 156), but it is exactly as typhoons that the *Theogony* etiologizes Typhon in the natural world (*Th.* 869-880).[66] The striking image of typhoons mixed with fire (Luc. 7.155-156) comes directly from the imagery of Hesiod's Typhonomachy. In addition, Lucan made use of Hesiod's twin themes of smelting (*incaluit* 7.146, *rubuit flammis* 7.147, *recoxit* 7.148, *liquavit* 7.159) and conflagration (*igne* 7.155, *fulgure* 7.157, *fumavit* 7.160) also found in the Typhonomachy, where Zeus notably burns the entire earth like tin in a melting pot or iron in a blazing mountain dale (*Th.* 859-867).[67] By embedding a version of the Gigantomachy in Erictho's voice, Lucan prefigures the reference to the Gigantomachy at the beginning of Pharsalus. As such, Erictho's voice is a thematic overture to Lucan's depiction of the battle itself.

With the allusion to the *Theogony*, Lucan also strengthens the association of Erictho with the persona of the poet as a *vates*.[68] By this I mean that recourse to the *Theogony* at this point in the text draws connections with the tradition of the *Dichterweihe*, or 'poetic initiation', of Hesiod and the Muses on Mt. Helicon (*Th.* 22-34). Long before and well into the first century CE, the

---

66   Hes. *Th.* 869-880: 'From Typhoeus comes *the strength of moist-blowing winds*—apart from Notus and Boreas and clear Zephyrus, for these are from the gods by descent, a great boon for mortals. But the other breezes blow at random upon the sea: falling upon the murky sea, a great woe for mortals, *they rage with an evil blast*; they blow now one way, now another, and scatter the boats, and destroy the sailors; and there is no safeguard against this evil for men who *encounter* them upon the sea. And on the boundless, flowering earth too, they destroy the lovely works of earth-born human beings, filling them with dust and with distressful confusion'. (ἐκ δὲ Τυφωέος ἔστ' ἀνέμων μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων, | νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο· | οἵ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν γενεήν, θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ. | αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μὰψ αὖραι ἐπιπνείουσι θάλασσαν· | αἴ δή τοι πίπτουσαι ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον, | πῆμα μέγα θνητοῖσι, κακῇ θυίουσιν ἀέλλῃ· | ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσί τε νῆας | ναύτας τε φθείρουσι· κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκὴ | ἀνδράσιν, οἳ κείνῃσι συνάντωνται κατὰ πόντον. | αἱ δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον ἀνθεμόεσσαν | ἔργ' ἐρατὰ φθείρουσι χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων, | πιμπλεῖσαι κόνιός τε καὶ ἀργαλέου κολοσυρτοῦ).

67   Cf. *Pallenaea Iovi mutavit fulmina Cyclops* (Luc. 7.150) ~ σίδηρος … τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν (*Th.* 864, 866). For the climactic function of the metallurgic simile in the *Theogony*, see Rood 2007.

68   Cf. O'Higgins 1988 and Masters 1992, 205-206. For Phemonoe as *vates*, see Masters 1992, 138-139. For Erictho as *alter ego* of the narrator, see Finiello 2005, 178-182.

Hesiodic scene was a—if not *the*—*topos* by which poets claimed divinely in-
spired authority.[69] A structural comparison of Hesiod's visitation by the Muses
in the *Theogony* and Erictho's prayer supports the possibility that Lucan's pas-
sage may, too, serve a similar purpose. Both Hesiod's inspiration and Erictho's
voice occur in a *prooemium*, or 'overture', to a longer 'song' to the gods. For
Erictho, her voice precedes her own dark catalogue of divinities. Structurally,
the *Theogony* culminates in the Typhonomachy followed by Zeus' rule much
as Pharsalus ensures Caesar's dominion. By referencing the *Theogony*, Lucan
imbues Erictho with a poetic authority of her own before singing of and to
the gods.[70] Such a structural comparison shows that Lucan, who famously
eschews the harmonious Muses in his epic, champions instead Typhon, their
antithesis in Hesiod's *Theogony*.[71] It has been suggested in passing that Typhon
or the Hellenistic syncretism of Seth-Typhon may be the referent of the elu-
sive 'unnamed god' (*ille*) to whom Erictho threatens to appeal if the soul does
not return to the body (Luc. 6.744-749; cf. 6.497-499).[72] While it is beyond the
goals of this paper to make such claims, in the very least the presence of the
Typhonomachy in Erictho's voice and the beginning of Pharsalus provides
evidence for a more certain relationship between Erictho and Typhon and for
Erictho as singer (*vates*).

As a theomachic cousin of the Pierides and an inspired *vates*, Erictho does
something unique with Hesiod's Typhonomachy. Functionally, Erictho nei-
ther uses the myth as an allegory for mortal/divine relations, nor does she
employ it analogically to claim sides in the battle. Instead, by embodying the
sonic spectrum of Zeus' conflict with Typhon in her voice, Erictho extolls the
Gigantomachy *qua* civil war. This is the primary work of the intertext. In contrast
to the use of Typhonomachy by the Pierides and Muses in the *Metamorphoses*,
who take sides in the cosmic showdown, Erictho's Typhonomachy excludes the

---

69   Rosati 2009, 360: "… besides being the *auctor* of didactic poetry, Hesiod is, partly as a
       result of the prestige that derives from his antiquity, a master of truth, or indeed, the pro-
       totype of the poet-*vates* as imagined by Augustan culture: a figure possessing a high moral
       authority, in contact with the divine world, engaged in an important civic function".

70   Cf. her possible role in a *recusatio*, below.

71   Cf. Goslin 2010 and Clay 2003.

72   Cf. Johnson 1987, 25 n. 26; Tessoriero 2000, 231, who cites the story of Typhon in Pi. *P*. 1.15-
       26, Hes. *Th*. 820-880, and Ov. *Met*. 5; and the more general suggestion of Fauth 1975, 337:
       "Sie gipfeln schließlich in dem Hinweis auf den unnennbaren deus maximus, den bösen
       Demiurgen als Herrn und Meister aller Götter, Zauberer und Dämonen (v. 744ff.)—einen
       heidnischen Vorgänger Satans, wie ihn der Synkretismus des Orients damals in Seth-
       Typhon oder Jao-Ahriman konzipiert hatte".

defeat of either parties.[73] By doing so, the song reflects her desire for continuous world war (*tot mortes habitura suas usuraque mundi | sanguine*, Luc. 6.583-584) and her single-minded effort to ensure the battle produces new dead at Pharsalus, whether Pompeian or Caesarian: 'one passion only and one anxiety she feels—what part may she snatch from the exposed body of Magnus, and on what limbs of Caesar may she pounce' (*hic ardor solusque labor, quid corpore Magni | proiecto rapiat, quos Caesaris involet artus*, 6.587-588).[74] Prior to her prayer to the underworld gods, her voice sings (*excantare*, 6.686) the Gigantomachy as a mythological *exemplum* of cosmic war as a desirable thing in itself. It is a horrendous, nonpartisan use of the Gigantomachy. The conflict between Typhon and Zeus thus serves as the horrific tone of her voice, which, as we will see, puts Hesiod in a somewhat unusual position.[75]

3   Cosmic War as Civil War: the *Theogony* in the *Bellum Civile*

In Erictho's voice, we hear a different kind of *Theogony* for Roman literature. In contrast to the more martial Homer, for Romans Hesiod was the poet of peace. Hesiod's designation as a pacifist likely begins as far back at the *Certamen*, where Hesiod wins the contest with Homer on account of his peaceful poetry: 'the king (i.e. Panades), however, garlanded Hesiod, saying that it was right for the poet who encouraged people towards agriculture and peace to win, not the one who rehearsed battle and carnage (i.e. Homer)', (ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐστεφάνωσεν, εἰπὼν δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον νικᾶν, οὐ τὸν πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς διεξιόντα).[76] Koning speculates that the beginning of

---

73   Erictho does acknowledge the defeat of the giants elsewhere (*vincti terga gigantes*, Luc. 6.665).

74   In her desire for bloodshed, not partisanship, Erictho likewise resembles Roman divinities of war, for example those found in the middle of the battle on Vergil's shield of Aeneas (Mars, the Dirae, Discordia, and Bellona; *A.* 8.700-703) in contrast to the gods of East and West on opposing sides of the shield (*A.* 8.698-700). I am very grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for this *comparandum*.

75   Cf. Ahl 1976, 148: "the spectacle of fratricidal warfare requires the agency of the hideous rather than the beautiful". Unlike the *Theogony*, Erictho displays no concern for succession, though the Lucan-narrator does. Lucan may reference Hesiod's *Theogony* again when Pompey reaches Cyprus (8.456-459) in order to question the use of myth to legitimize succession and emphasize intrafamilial violence.

76   *Certamen* 207-210, trans. West. For Hesiod and feminized poetry, cf. the fictional conversation between Alexander the Great and his father Philip (D.Chr. 2.3-8): 'and (Hesiod) richly deserved to be defeated (in the contest with Homer) … for he was not exhibiting his skills before kings, but before farmers and plain folk, or, rather, before men who were lovers of pleasure and effeminate' (καὶ μάλα δικαίως … ἡττᾶτο· οὐ γὰρ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἠγωνίζετο, ἀλλ'

the *Works and Days* (11-26) encourages such a distinction as well. When Hesiod bifurcates Eris ('Strife') into harmful, warlike strife and helpful, productive competition, Koning claims that it is a "departure from heroic epic" to a didactic poem of farming (cf. Panades' γεωργίαν) presented by an "anti-heroic poet of peace".[77] This characterization holds true for the Hesiod of Virgil, who calls his *Georgics* an *Ascraeum carmen* (2.176) after the didactic poet of Ascra, and for other Romans as well. Only a few decades before Lucan, Velleius Paterculus deems Hesiod 'a man of extremely refined talent and renowned for the extraordinary gentle sweetness of his poems, greatly desirous of peace and quiet' (*vir perelegantis ingenii et mollissima dulcedine carminum memorabilis, otii quietisque cupidissimus*, 1.7.1.2-4).[78] The most significant deviation from the reception of Hesiod as pacifist could perhaps be found in Ovid, e.g. in his tacit indictment of Hesiod in *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.8 as a perpetuator of imperialist gods.[79] Yet as Ziogas states, Ovid teases but does not engage the *Theogony*'s most "pivotal aspects", including "violence ... and succession myths".[80]

For Lucan, however, Hesiod's *Theogony* becomes a civil war epic of mythic proportions. Lucan interprets Hesiod's Typhonomachy as the civil war myth of the Gigantomachy and embeds it in the voice of his most gruesome character, Erictho. Erictho sings a dark version of Hesiod and celebrates the *Theogony* for the very thing avoided by other poets, namely its martial qualities. Through Erictho, Lucan may even engage in a *recusatio* of Hesiod-the-pacifist, author of the *Works and Days*. Leading up to the necromancy, Erictho's 'tread blights the seeds of the fertile cornfield, and her breath poisons air that before was harmless' (*semina fecundae segetis calcata perussit | et non letiferas spirando perdidit auras*, 6.521-522). The *semina fecundae segetis* are suitable approximations of farming poetry, and *semina* and *seges* co-occur not long after Virgil's direct reference to Hesiod in the *Georgics*.[81] Typhon looms in these lines as well. Lucan characterizes Erictho's noxious effect on the natural world through her breath with the same language that describes Typhon himself at the beginning of book 6 (*tali* spiramine *Nesis | emittit Stygium nebulosis aera saxis |*

ἐν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φιληδόνοις καὶ μαλακοῖς, trans. Koning); cf. Koning 2010, 262-265.

77   Koning 2010, 276-277. Cf. Steiner 2007, 178-182.

78   Trans. Rosati 2009, 347.

79   For Ovid, Hesiod, and irony, see Scully 2015, 144-147. Ziogas 2018, 389 suggests that in *Fasti* 1.247-253, Ovid may look back to the *Theogony* when Saturn laments his ejection from heaven by Jupiter (1.235-236, 247-253).

80   Ziogas 2013, 59.

81   *Georg.* 2.266-268: *ubi prima paretur | arboribus* seges *et quo mox digesta feratur, | mutatam ignorent subito ne* semina *matrem.*

antraque letiferi *rabiem* Typhonis anhelant, 6.90-92). In addition—and this is admittedly speculative—Erictho's name fits etymologically with Typhon's origins from Gaia, i.e. as *Eris* ('strife') from the *Chthôn* ('Earth'). Through Erictho, Lucan rejects the peaceful poet of farming and chooses instead to valorize the originator of the monster Typhon, the Typhonomachy, and cosmic war.

It is not as if these themes of violence are latent in the *Theogony*. They are rather explicit, in fact. The *Theogony* is pervasively violent.[82] While genealogical catalogue may be the generic frame of the poem, the thematic succession of violence structures the *Theogony*, wherein Zeus' ascendancy after the Typhonomachy serves as the climax before the catalogue of divine-mortal progeny thereafter. In this way, Lucan adopts for his own epic an affordance of the *Theogony* that was readily available but overshadowed by dominant traditions of Hesiod's reception. Similar to Melville with *Paradise Lost* and Milton, by adopting the *Theogony* as a civil war epic, Lucan draws out themes custom fit to his civil war poem and realizes new potentials in the reception of Hesiod.[83]

Bibliography

Addabbo, A.M. (1991). 'Carmen' magico e 'carmen' religioso. *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 12, pp. 11-28.

Ahl, F. (1976). *Lucan. An Introduction*. Ithaca.

von Albrecht, M. (1970). Der Dichter Lucan und die epische Tradition. In: M. Durray, ed., *Lucain. Sept exposés*, Geneva, pp. 269-308.

Ambühl, A. (2015). *Krieg und Bürgerkrieg bei Lucan und in der griechischen Literatur. Studien zur Rezeption der attischen Tragödie und der hellenistischen Dichtung im Bellum Civile*. Berlin.

---

82   According to Koning 2010, 154 n. 110, approximately one-third of the *Theogony*'s lines are devoted to violence and war: 119 lines (12%) relating war; 218 (21%) with other "acts of violence and conflict".

83   This work is indebted to numerous individuals and institutions. It began in a graduate seminar, 'Lucan and the Poetics of Civil War', at Stanford University led by Christopher Krebs, who first encouraged me to pursue the project further. I received profitable feedback from participants at the 2016 meeting of the Society for Classical Studies in San Francisco as well as the Workshop in Poetics and the Classics Graduate Colloquium at Stanford. I am especially appreciative to professors and colleagues past and present for their insight and support, including Maud Gleeson, Alessandro Barchiesi, Stephen Harrison, Richard Martin, Edward Kelting, Scott Weiss, Brittney Szempruch, Matthew Loar, Annetta Alexandridis, Nicole Giannella, Ella Haselswerdt, Andrew Hicks, Athena Kirk, and Verity Platt. I am also grateful for the helpful criticisms of the anonymous reviewers of this and earlier drafts.

Ambühl, A. (2016). Thessaly as an Intertextual Landscape of Civil War in Latin Poetry. In: J. McInerney and I. Sluiter, eds., *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 297-322.

Ash, R. (1997). Warped Intertextualities. Naevius and Sallust at Tacitus *Histories* 2.12.2. *Histos* 1, pp. 42-50.

Baldini-Moscadi, L. (1976a). Osservazioni sull' episodio magico del VI libro della Farsaglia di Lucano. *SIFC* 48, pp. 140-199.

Baldini-Moscadi, L. (1976b). 'Murmur' nella terminologia magica. *SIFC* 48, pp. 254-262.

Barchiesi, A. (1998). *The Poet and the Prince. Ovid and Augustan Discourse*. Berkeley.

Bing, P. (2012). A Proto-Epyllion? The Pseudo-Hesiodic Shield and the Poetics of Deferral. In: M. Baumbach and S. Bär, eds., *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and its Reception*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 177-197.

Bortolani, L.M. (2016). *Magical Hymns from Roman Egypt. A Study of Greek and Egyptian Traditions of Divinity*. Cambridge.

Bourgery, A. (1928). Lucain et la magie. *REL* 6, pp. 299-313.

Boyle, A.J. (2014). *Seneca, Medea*. Oxford.

Chaudhuri, P. (2014). *The War with God. Theomachy in Roman Imperial Poetry*. Oxford.

Clay, J.S. (2003). *Hesiod's Cosmos*. Cambridge.

Coffee, N. (2013). Intertextuality in Latin Poetry. In: *Oxford Bibliographies*, Oxford.

Coffee, N. (2018). An Agenda for the Study of Intertextuality. *TAPhA* 148, pp. 205-223.

Conte, G. (1966). Il proemio della Pharsalia. *Maia* 18, pp. 42-53.

Conte, G. (1986). *The Rhetoric of Imitation. Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*. Ithaca.

Dinter, M. (2012). *Anatomizing Civil War. Studies in Lucan's Epic Technique*. Ann Arbor.

Duff, J., ed. (1928). *Lucan, The Civil War*. Cambridge, MA.

Eitrem, S. (1941). La magie comme motif littéraire chez les Grecs et les Romains. *SO* 21, pp. 39-83.

Faber, R. (2000). Vergil's 'Shield of Aeneas' (Aeneid 8.617-731) and the 'Shield of Heracles'. *Mnemosyne* 53, pp. 49-57.

Fantham, E. (1992). Lucan's Medusa-Excursus. Its Design and Purpose. *MD* 29, pp. 95-119.

Fauth, W. (1975). Die Bedeutung der Nekromantie-Szene in Lucans *Pharsalia*. *RhM* 118, pp. 325-344.

Feeney, D. (1991). *The Gods in Epic*. Oxford.

Finiello, C. (2005). Der Bürgerkrieg. Reine Männersache? Keine Männersache! Erictho und die Frauengestalten im *Bellum Civile* Lucans. In: C. Walde, ed., *Lucan im 21. Jahrhundert*, München/Leipzig, pp. 155-185.

Franco, C. (2014). *Shameless. The Canine and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley.

Goslin, O. (2010). Hesiod's Typhonomachy and the Ordering of Sound. *TAPhA* 140, pp. 351-373.

Graf, F. (1991). Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual. In: C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, Oxford, pp. 188-213.

Green, C. (1991). *Stimulos Dedit Aemula Virtus*. Lucan and Homer Reconsidered. *Phoenix* 45, pp. 230-254.

Grenade, P. (1950). Le mythe de Pompée et les Pompéiens sous les Césars. *REA* 52, pp. 28-63.

Grey, R. (2002). Annotations on Civil War. Melville's Battle-Pieces and Milton's War in Heaven. *Leviathan* 4.1-2, pp. 51-70.

Hardie, P.R. (1986). *Virgil's Aeneid. Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford.

Hardie, P.R. (2008). Lucan's Song of the Earth. In: L. Milano and E. Cingano, eds., *Papers on Ancient Literatures. Greece, Rome and the Near East*, Padua, pp. 305-330.

Hardie, P.R. (2012). *Rumor and Renown. Representations of Fama in Western Literature*. Cambridge.

Heckenlively, T. (2013). *Clipeus Hesiodicus. Aeneid* 8 and the Shield of Heracles. *Mnemosyne* 66, pp. 649-665.

Hinds, S. (1998). *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.

Hömke, N. (1998). Ordnung im Chaos. Macht und Ohnmacht in Lucans Erichtho-Episode. In: M. Baumbach, H. Köhler, and A.M. Ritter, eds., *Mousopolos Stephanos. Festschrift für Herwig Görgemanns*, Heidelberg, pp. 119-137.

Hunter, R. (2014). *Hesiodic Voices. Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod's Works and Days*. Cambridge.

Johnson, W. (1987). *Momentary Monsters. Lucan and his Heroes*. Ithaca.

Koning, H. (2010). *Hesiod. The Other Poet*. Leiden/Boston.

Korenjak, M. (1996). *Die Ericthoszene in Lukans Pharsalia. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Frankfurt a.M. *et al.*

Lapidge, M. (1979). Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution. *Hermes* 107, pp. 344-370.

Leigh, M. (2000). Lucan and the Libyan Tale. *JRS* 90, pp. 95-109.

Linn, H.-W. (1971). *Studien zur aemulatio des Lucan*. Hamburg.

Longo, V. (1989). Oniromanzia e negromanzia nel *Bellum civile* di Lucano. *Atti dell' Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere* 45, pp. 331-342.

Lovatt, H. (2013). *The Epic Gaze. Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic*. Cambridge.

Lowe, D. (2015). *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*. Ann Arbor.

Malcovati, E. (1951). Sul prologo della *Farsaglia*. *Athenaeum* 31, pp. 288-297.

Manolaraki, E. (2011). *Noscendi Nilum cupido*. The Nile digression in Book 10. In: P. Asso, ed., *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 153-182.

Marston, J.M. (2007). Language of Ritual Cursing in the Binding of Prometheus. *GRBS* 47, pp. 121-133.

Martindale, C. (1977). Three Notes on Lucan VI. *Mnemosyne* 30, pp. 375-387.

Martindale, C. (1980). Lucan's Nekuia. In: C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History. Collection Latomus 168*, Brussels, pp. 367-377.

Masters, J. (1992). *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile*. Cambridge.

Mazzoli, G. (1970). *Seneca e la poesia*. Milan.

McCune, B.C. (2013-2014). Lucan's *militia amoria*. Elegiac Expectations in the *Bellum Civile*. *Classical Journal* 109, pp. 171-198.

Michalopoulos, A.N. (2017). Hesiodic Traces in Ovid's *Heroides*. In: C. Tsagalis, ed., *Poetry in Fragments. Studies on the Hesiodic Corpus and its Afterlife*, Berlin, pp. 219-244.

Moreschini, C.O.T. (2005). Lucan's Attitude towards Religion. Stoicism vs. Provincial Cults. In: C. Walde, ed., *Lucan im 21. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, pp. 130-154.

Morford, M.P.O. (1967). *The Poet Lucan. Studies in Rhetorical Epic*. Oxford.

Most, G., ed. (2006). *Hesiod. Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*. Cambridge, MA.

Nelis, D. (2001). *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Leeds.

Nelson, S. (1998). *God and the Land. The Metaphysics of Farming in Hesiod and Vergil*. Oxford.

Nock, A.D. (1929). Greek Magical Papyri. *JEA* 15, pp. 220-232. (Republished 1972. In: Z. Stewart [ed.] *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World. Vol. 1*, Cambridge, MA, pp. 176-194.)

Ogden, D. (2002a). Lucan's Sextus Pompeius Episode. Its Necromantic, Political and Literary Background. In: A. Powell, and K. Welch, eds., *Sextus Pompeius*, Swansea, pp. 249-271.

Ogden, D. (2002b). *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds. A Sourcebook*. Oxford.

O'Hara, J. (1994). They Might Be Giants. Inconsistency and Indeterminacy in Vergil's War in Italy. *Colby Quarterly* 30, pp. 206-226.

O'Hara, J. (2007). *Inconsistency in Roman Epic. Studies in Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid and Lucan*. Cambridge.

O'Higgins, D. (1988). Lucan as 'Vates'. *CA* 7, pp. 208-226.

Paratore, E. (1974). Seneca e Lucano, Medea ed Erictho. *Hispania Romana* pp. 169-181.

Pichon, R. (1912). *Les sources de Lucain*. Paris.

Pillinger, E. (2012). 'And the Gods Dread to Hear Another Poem'. The Repetitive Poetics of Witchcraft from Virgil to Lucan. *MD* 68, pp. 39-79.

Preisendanz, K., ed. (1973-1974). *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. (2 vols). Stuttgart.

Pritchard, A. (1973). *Abraham Cowley. The Civil War*. Toronto.

Race, W., ed. (2008). *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica*. Cambridge, MA.

Reif, M. (2016). *De arte magorum. Erklärung und Deutung ausgewählter Hexenszenen bei Theokrit, Vergil, Horaz, Ovid, Seneca und Lucan unter Berücksichtigung des Ritualaufbaus und der Relation zu den Zauberpapyri*. Göttingen.

Rood, N. (2007). Hesiod's Metallurgy Simile (*Th.* 861-7). *Cambridge Classical Journal* 53, pp. 112-123.

Rosati, G., ed. (2005). *Ovidio, Metamorfosi*. Milan.

Rosati, G. (2009). The Latin Reception of Hesiod. In: F. Montanari, A. Rengakos, and C. Tsagalis, eds., *Brill's Companion to Hesiod*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 343-374.

Santangelo, F. (2015). Testing Boundaries. Divination and Prophecy in Lucan. *G&R* 62, pp. 177-188.

Scully, S. (2015). *Hesiod's Theogony. From Near Eastern Creation Myths to Paradise Lost.* Oxford.

Setaioli, A. (1988). *Seneca e i greci. Citazioni e traduzioni nelle opere filosofiche.* Bologna.

Shackleton Bailey, D.R., ed. (2009). *M. Annaei Lucani, De bello civili libri X.* Berlin.

Sider, D. (1988). Vergil's *Aeneid* and Hesiod's *Theogony. Vergilius* 34, pp. 15-24.

Steiner, D. (2007). Feathers Flying. Avian Poetics in Hesiod, Pindar, and Callimachus. *AJPh* 128, pp. 177-208.

Tesoriero, C. (2000). *A Commentary on Lucan Bellum Civile 6.333-830.* Sydney.

Tesoriero, C. (2002). *Magno proles indigna parente.* The Role of Sextus Pompeius in Lucan's *Bellum Civile.* In: A. Powell and K. Welch, eds., *Sextus Pompeius,* Swansea, pp. 229-248.

Thomas, R. (1986). Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference. *HSPh* 90, pp. 171-198.

Van Noorden, H. (2015). *Playing Hesiod. The 'Myth of Races' in Classical Antiquity.* Cambridge.

Vazquez, A. (2018). *Vates and Initiates. Augustan Poetic Manipulation of Greek Mystery Cult.* Seattle.

Viansino, G. (1995). *Marco Anneo Lucano, La guerra civile* (*Farsaglia*). *Libri VI-X.* Milan.

Volpilhac, J. (1978). Lucain et l'Égypte dans la scène de nécromancie de la *Pharsale,* VI, 413-830 à la lumière des papyri grecs magiques. *REL* 56, pp. 272-288.

West, D. (1990). *Virgil, The Aeneid.* London.

Wills, J. (1996). *Repetition in Latin Poetry. Figures of Allusion.* Oxford.

Ziogas, I. (2013). *Ovid and Hesiod. The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women.* Cambridge.

Ziogas, I. (2018). Ovid's Hesiodic Voices. In: A. Loney and S. Scully, eds., *Oxford Handbook to Hesiod,* Oxford, pp. 377-393.