Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

Casus and *causa belli* in the Lemnos of Valerius Flaccus.

Casus y causa belli en la Lemnos de Valerio Flaco.

DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30.13.25b

Juan Manuel Arriaga Benítez
National Autonomous University of Mexico
(MEXICO)
CE: hector_aquiles_apolo@hotmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7775-0294

Received: 04/23/2025
Reviewed: 05/05/2025
Accepted: 05/27/2025

Summary:
The second book of the *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus presents the episode of Lemnos with an emphasis on the "prehistory" of the myth and on the separation between the *casus* (triggering incident) and the *causa* (*cause*) that originate the central conflict. The proposal of this article revolves around an interpretation of this episode under the notions of war justification and false flag operations; such a reading makes the problem of narrative causality visible from a juridical approach. The story becomes exemplary and allows us to present an original perspective on this passage of the Valerian text. We conclude that it is possible to judge a literary conflict not only by the dichotomy between the real cause of a conflict and the incident that incites it, but also by the repercussions it has on our typifications of war.

Keywords: Flavian epic; War justification; Myth; Epic poetry; Valerius Flaccus.

Resumen:
El libro segundo de las *Argonáuticas* de Valerio Flaco presenta el episodio de Lemnos con un énfasis en la "prehistoria" del mito y en la separación entre el *casus* (incidente detonador) y la *causa* (causa) que originan el conflicto central. La propuesta de este artículo versa en torno a una interpretación de este episodio bajo las nociones de la justificación bélica y los operativos de falsa bandera; una lectura de este tipo visibiliza el problema de la causalidad narrativa desde un enfoque jurídico. El relato se vuelve modélico y permite presentar una perspectiva original sobre este pasaje del texto valeriano. Se concluye que es posible juzga un conflicto literario no sólo por la dicotomía entre la causa real de un conflicto y del incidente que lo incita, sino también por las repercusiones que tiene en nuestras tipificaciones sobre la guerra.

Palabras clave: Épica flavia; Justificación bélica; Mito; Poesía épica; Valerio Flaco.

How to cite this article (APA):

(Arriaga, 2025, p. __)

Arriaga, J.M. (2025) *Casus* and *causa belli* in Valerius Flaccus' Lemnos. *Argos Journal*. *12*(30). 160-171. DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30.13.25b

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

Introduction

The search for war causality in epic poetry is a recurring motif, especially when it comes to those wars that, for the purposes of the development of an epic, constitute the backbone of the narrative. This canon is already found in Homer, who (according to the testimony of Aristotle, later ratified by Horace)[1] had already invented with the *Iliad* the narrative ascribed to the unity of action or thematic unity, according to which the plot is established in a cycle closed on itself, self-sufficient in its theme (the anger of Achilles) and delimited by the scope of its inciting incident (the enmity between Achilles and Agamemnon) so that the established causes are explained by their consequences and vice versa.[2]

In the Roman epic, the interest in exploring the causes of conflicts acquires quasi-historical overtones:[3] in the first book of the *Aeneid*, Virgil asks the muse to remind him of "the causes" of Juno's anger against "the distinguished man for his piety"[4] or when, during the seventh book, the doe killed by Ascanius in a hunt is exposed as the "initial cause of the warlike labors" that afflicted the Trojans on Latin soil.[5] Lucan

[1] Arist. *Poet*. VIII, XXIII and XXIV; Hor. *Ars*. 136-152. In these places, the two authors enunciate, in their own way, the theory of unity of action: poetic plots must conform to a specific action and not fill the whole plot with events that, although successive, turn the subject into an unwieldy plot.

[2] The theme of the *Iliad* is the anger of Achilles, which occurs when Agamemnon dishonors him for taking Briseis; the poem concludes with the funeral of Hector, whose murder by the Greek leader is the last of the consequences of that anger, since the incidents narrated close their thematic cycle in that final outcome. The death of the Trojan hero follows his killing of Patroclus, whose death occurs after he enters into battle with the arms of Achilles, which, in turn, is the consequence of a need to encourage the Greek side, overwhelmed by the victorious sweep of the Trojans as a result of Zeus having encouraged, at the request of Thetis, the temporal superiority of the Trojan hosts; likewise, Thetis' request is motivated by her need to make the Greek warlords feel Achilles' absence, repent for having wronged him and restore his honor. Thus, despite Hershkowitz's (1998, pp. 1-2) opinion on the incompleteness of the *Iliad*, we are of the belief that the funeral of Hector is a logical closure to the theme raised by the poet and to the incidents that unfold as a result of the wrath of the Pelid hero; cf. Macleod, 1982, pp. 8-28; Fowler, 1989, pp. 81-82; Taplin, 1992, pp. 280-284.

[3] The terminology is Gibson's (2010, pp. 30-31), as he points out that the origination of events is one of the main features of historiographical texts, which led to the "complexity of the relationship between poetic and historiographical causation". In general, Gibson analyzes in his article the poetic techniques by which the causes of conflicts are stated in post-Augustan epic in the light of the techniques historians employ to explore the origins of the events they recount.

[4] Verg. *Aen*. I, 8-11: *Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso, / quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus / insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores / impulerit* (Musa, remind me of the causes: by what wounded spirit or grieving for what, the queen of the gods pushed the insigne male by her piety to go through so many misfortunes, to take on so many labors). Later, Virgil lists causes for which Juno took hatred against the Trojans: *Necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores / exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum / iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae, / et genus invisum et rapti Ganimedis honores* (Nor yet had the causes of wrath and cruel pains left her mind; there remains, kept high in her mind, the judgment of Paris and the injury of her despised beauty, the hated lineage and honors of the abducted Ganymede). All translations of the classical texts are my own. The editions of the classical texts cited are listed in the Bibliography.

[5] Verg. *Aen*. VII, 481-482: *quae prima laborum / causa fuit belloque animos accendit agreste* (This cause was the first of the labors and inflamed with war the spirits of the farmers).

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

opens his poem stating that his "spirit leads him to express the causes of such great things",[6] while Silio Italico deems it necessary to open the "causes of the great anger" with which the Carthaginian leader dared to break the pacts that triggered the clash of two military powers.[7]

The case of Valerius Flaccus is no different; in the major episodes that make up the plot of his poem, the narrator devotes space to explore the motives and incidents that motivate the warlike action;[8] furthermore, this causal factor even causes the narrator himself to intervene directly in order to add an emotional nuance to the plot. In the episode of Cizicus, for example, Valerius Flaccus resorts to an interpellation addressed to the Muse Clio (III, 14-18), after which he introduces the reader to an exposition on the origin of Cybele's hatred against the king of the Doliones.[9]

However, it is during the episode of Lemnos where the Valerian narrative shows the solid etiological potential of an author engaged in the configuration of incidental situations and in the development of warlike causes.

The aim of this paper is simply to elaborate a commentary on the episode of Lemnos in Valerius Flaccus from a causal dimension, because it is interesting how the poet narratively handles the *cause* and *casus* of the conflict. In a war, especially from a juridical dimension, it is necessary to attend to causality in order to determine the justice or injustice of the war; Although here I will not judge whether the slaughter of the Lemnias was just or not according to its causes, what I will do is to study this passage of the Valerian work from a legal point of view, whose theoretical basis will be provided by the authors (especially Hugo Grotius, whose contributions are based on interpretations of classical texts) who wrote about the justice of war causality at the dawn of internationalist thought (16th-17th centuries). XVI-XVII). This seems pertinent

[6] Luc. I, 67-68: *Fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum, / inmensumque aperitur opus* (The spirit leads me to expose the causes of such great things and thus the immense work is opened).

[7] Sil. Ital. I, 17-20: *tantarum causas irarum odiumque perenni / seruatum studio et mandata nepotibus arma / fas aperire mihi superasque recludere mentes. / iamque adeo magni repetam primordia motus* (It is lawful for me to open the causes of such great wrath and hatred preserved with perennial misgiving and weapons entrusted to grandchildren and reveal divine minds. And I will certainly already express the beginnings of this magna revolt); cf. VII, 472-473: *sed uictae fera bella deae uexere per aequor, / atque excisa suo pariter cum iudice Troia* (But the vanquished goddesses [sc. Juno and Pallas] carried by sea an atrocious war and Troy was destroyed along with its judge).

[8] This is the idea sustained mainly by Río Torres-Murciano in order to consider how the stories of the Argonautics fit together within the narrative according to a causal order (2006, esp. 7-11); although the scholar focuses his attention on the content of Book I, his proposal is relevant to the topic we will deal with in this paper, especially because, as Adamietz (1976, 29) had already done, he refutes Mehmel's idea that the Valerian plot is a set of nonsense (*Sinnlosigkeit*) lacking unity and causality (1934, 95-97); cf. Sauer, 2011, 51-53.

[9] We refer the reader, on this point, to Manuwald's detailed analysis of the origin and motivations of this conflict (1999, pp. 36-50).

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

to me, since it is thus possible to drag an episode from a Latin poem of the first century A.D. into a juridical dimension in order to juridically evaluate a narrative text that precisely gives a marked weight to war causality. Moreover, I have also proposed to take this juridical-literary analysis to the connection with the conflictual paradigm of the false flag (XX-XXI centuries), since I consider that the actuality of this war typology is present in the Valerian story, although clearly with certain basic differences.

Thus, although the methodological outline that has been established may seem anachronistic, it seems to me that an analysis of this type can shed light on how the war substrates function in an ancient narrative and on how in literary spheres there are schemes of war causality that connect with reflections of the doctrines of the right to war.

Bridge between the legal and literary dimensions

The phenomenon of the justification of war has caused rivers of ink to flow; traditionally, the field of the study of war that deals with the causes that motivate it is called *ius ad bellum* (law of war) and forms a terminological pair with *ius in bello* (law in war or law during war). The two together form the doctrine of *bellum iustum* (just war), a particularly important concern during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the early days of internationalist law. In particular, the *ius ad bellum* studies the dynamics and motives that justify armed interventions; the centrality of its discussions lies in causality, that is, in the set of declarations or positions, official or otherwise, that trigger the conflict.

The juridical dimension of war received attention in antiquity, although its theorization only materialized at certain points in the philosophical-legal works of authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca and St. Augustine, to whom the post-scholastic jurists later turned. Thus, the systematization of the doctrine of the justification of war and, in general, of just war came with the academic reaction against the scholastic doctrines that derived the justice of war and its causal justification from divine law; theorists such as Francisco de Vitoria in Spain (1917), Alberico Gentili in Italy and Hugo Grotius in the Netherlands were those who cemented the legal science around the *bellum iustum*, adopting positions that coincided in many postulates of the *ius ad bellum*.[10]

[10] Of course, one cannot disregard the configuration and treatment that just war and *ius ad bellum* have had in recent times; Waltzer discusses at length and at length the traditional right of war theories to study war phenomena (2001, pp. 75, 307-309, 320) and Kolb traces the notion of the two doctrines of *bellum iustum* from their origins (1997). The literature around this

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

The literary works of the classics were also very popular among these early internationalists. Hugo Grotius was the one who to the greatest extent cites a wide variety of ancient works, among which, of course, the epics stand out, given their thematic content associated with the war dimension, although he also resorts quite frequently to the texts of historians, whose testimonies are valuable to him for understanding ancient thought on war.[11] Thus, the development of the epic plot or historical testimony constitutes an exercise of juridical appreciation which, under the doctrine of war justification, is capable of exemplifying an important aspect of his war theory or of emphasizing his arguments. Consequently, the Grotian text considers the diegetic development of the epic war warp as an opportunity to illustrate a juridical phenomenon (war) from the narratological dimension: the real and fictional planes are not, for Grotius, separate entities, but distinct spaces of reflection of the same fact and, therefore, they are not incompatible with each other.[12] The epic narrative can be assumed to be analogous to the historical events that unfold the conflicts, although without the divine apparatus that permeates the epics, from the

phenomenon and its sources is extremely extensive; however, to explore the topic, we recommend the readings of Balibar (2008), Legris (2016) and Sierra-Zamora et al. (2021).

[11] A good example of this technique employed by Grotius is Paragraph II, XX, XL, 2, where the Dutch jurist discusses the figures of Hercules and Theseus as punishers of the unjust. In this passage, the text appeals to the authority of the following authors (in order of appearance): Seneca, Lysias, Diodorus Siculus, Dion Chrysostom, Aristides, Euripides and Valerius Maximus.

[12] The example I expressed above about the scene of hunting a deer that Ascanius kills is expressed by Hugo Grotius himself in the first chapter of the second book; Grotius uses this example to illustrate the real causes of a war (*causae bellorum*) from the pretexts or beginnings of the war (*belli principia*); that is, the hunting scene separates the cause of the war from the *casus belli*, as he expresses it thus: *Veniamus ad causas bellorum: justificas intelligo: nam sunt et aliae quae movent sub ratione utilis, distinctae interdum ab iis quae movent sub ratione justi: quas inter se, et a belli principiis, quale erat cervus in bello Turni et Aeneae, accurate distinguit Polybius* (Let us come to the causes of wars, those which I understand as justified, for there are also others whose motive is the idea of the useful, sometimes distinct from those whose motive is the idea of the just: Polybius carefully distinguished them one from the other, as well as from the beginnings of a war, as happened with the stag in the war between Turnus and Aeneas). I allow myself to expound *in extenso* the passages to which Grotius has recourse in the quoted paragraph: Verg. *Aen*. VII, 475-482: *Dum Turnus Rotulos animis audacibus implet, / Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis, / arte nova speculata locum, quo litore pulcher / insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus. / Hic subitam canibius rabiem Cocytia virgo / obicit et noto naris contigit odore, / ut cervum ardentes agerent; quae prima laborum / causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestes* (While Turno inflames with bold breaths the Rutuli, Alecto launches himself against the Teucros with his Stygian wings, looking with new art at the site of the coast where the beautiful Julo pursued the wild beasts with traps and race. Here the virgin of Cocytus introduces into the dogs a sudden rapture and touches their nostrils with a familiar odor, so that they ardently pursued the deer. This cause was the first of the labors and inflamed with war the spirits of the farmers); Polyb. *Hist.* III, 6, 7: ἐγὼ δὲ παντὸς ἀρχὰς μὲν εἶναι φημί, τὰς πρώτας ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πράξεις τῶν ἤδη κεκριμένων. αἰτίας δὲ, τὰς προκαθηγουμένας τῶν κρίσεων καὶ διαλήψεων. Λέγω δ` ἐπινοίας καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα συλλογισμοὺς, καὶ δι` ὧν ἐπὶ τὸ κρῖναι τι καὶ προθέσθαι παραγιγνούμεθα (I say that the beginnings of everything are the first undertakings and actions of what one has already decided to do. The causes, on the other hand, are the original initiatives of decisions and decrees. And I call them designs and dispositions and reasonings around these things, by which we are helped to judge and to clarify).

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

observation of their causes; this implies that the war causality justifies the behavior of the characters and the motives that lead them to the conflict.

Lemnos: the *cause* and *casus belli* of a massacre

Designing a war situation requires the poet to have a series of mechanisms and narrative sequences aimed at logically justifying the incidence of the characters in the conflict. It is at this point where the exposition of causes and pretexts of war makes sense. The example that we exposed before on the *Punica* of Silio Italico (1987) offers a model dynamic on this matter: Hannibal violates the treaty that Rome had imposed on Carthage at the end of the First Punic War and takes the city of Sagunto (*casus belli*)[13] ; however, this action is simply the "visible" and consequent result of the real engines of the conflict: Juno's hatred, fautora of Dido's kingdom, against the Trojans and the Romans[14] and the oath of the Punic warlord when his father forces him to contract an unwavering hatred against Rome[15] (*causae belli*). The transgressive role with which Silio qualifies Hannibal biases, however, the reader's vision, because he ends up interpreting his cause with connotations of unjust.

The Lemnos episode in Valerius Flaccus opens in a peculiar way: its first 25 verses (II, 82-106) are an exposition of incidents presented in causal sequence; the structure of this incidental order touches two ends of a "prehistory"[16] that serves as a prelude to the sequence of the massacre: the story begins with the reign of a Jupiter who has just come to the throne of Olympus and ends with the description of an enraged Venus, similar to an Erinia,[17] who is about to execute her plan of revenge; in between the poet has placed a succession of events that, one after the other, make up that causal sequence that links both extremes: the attempted sedition of the Olympians against the incipient reign of Jupiter (vv. 82-84) is followed by the

[13] References that only in the first book of Silio's poem are exposed about this transgression of the pact are found in verses 5, 107, 116, 268, 294-297, 648-650, 692-693. Attending to terminology, the poet uses in these *loci* the nouns *pactus* and *foedus* to refer to the covenant in question.

[14] The account with which Silius refers to this hatred of the goddess and in which allusions are expressed to crucial events of both the arrival of Aeneas in Latium and the Second Punic War, is found in I, 21-55 and in VII, 472-473 (where the poet, in the mouth of Proteus, exposes to the Italian Nereids as the cause of the conflict the enmity of Juno against the Trojans following the trial of Paris in which the Trojan shepherd chose Venus as the most beautiful. Cfr. Verg. *Aen*. I, 12-22; IV, 621-629; X, 11-15.

[15] Hannibal is sworn in with a short speech in direct style in Sil. Ital. I, 114-122.

[16] Term used by Aricò (1991, p. 199) and Clare (2004, p. 127).

[17] On the characterization of Venus as a Furia or Erinia, the contributions of Alfonsi, 1970, pp. 122-125; Thome, 1993, p.134; Elm von der Osten, 1998; Elm von der Osten, 2007, pp. 31-33; Rio Torres-Murciano, 2012, pp. 298-301 (who goes so far as to infer that, in fact, Venus is the same character as the Furies of the preceding epic, p. 303); Shirner, 2016, pp. 124, 131. Hershkowitz even argues that Venus assumes in the Valerian poem the role that Juno has in Virgil's epic (pp. 177-182); cf. Hardie, 1993, p. 43.

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

imprisonment of Juno (vv. 85-86), Vulcan's attempt to free his mother (vv. 87-88), Vulcan's long fall from heaven as Jupiter's punishment for trying to free Juno (vv. 88-90), Vulcan's landing on Lemnos (vv. 90-91) and the welcome and care given to Vulcan by the people of Lemnos, which causes a bond of mutual affection between the god and the Lemnians from then on (vv. 90-98); this causes that, in an act of devotion and solidarity towards Vulcan, the Lemnian population decides to give a lesson to Venus, legitimate wife of Vulcan, for having committed adultery with Mars, thus ceasing to worship the Cytherean goddess (vv. 98-100); the dissatisfaction of the goddess with this insult will be what will inflame in her a dangerous fury and will induce her to plan a cruel revenge (vv. 101-106). The following scheme (**Figure. 1**) is a synoptic view of this introduction to the episode, highlighting what has been said above so that the sequence of causes that end in the "present" of the narrative can be appreciated:[18]

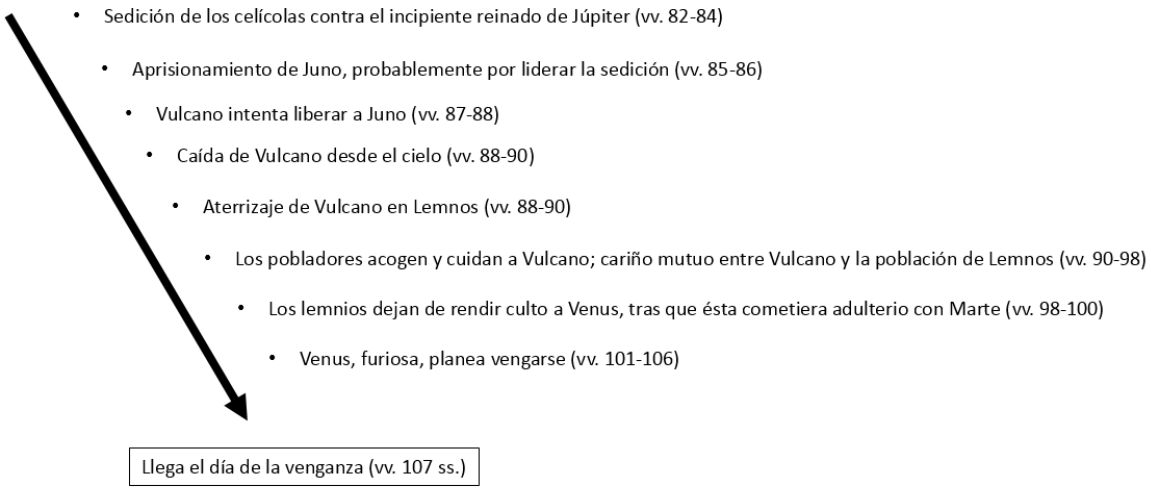

Figure. 1.

Source: Own elaboration based on verses 82-106 of book II of the *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus.

Consequently, the real reason for the conflict, the *causa belli* under which the Valerian Venus will engage in provoking that legendary massacre, lies in the anger provoked by the neglect of her cult on the island of Lemnos.

[18] There is scholarly consensus around this introductory chronology of the episode, viewed from a causal and incidental perspective; cf. among others Vessey 1985, p. 328; Aricò 1991, p. 199; Clare, 2004, pp. 126-127; Seal 2014, pp. 130-131; Heerink, 2020, pp. 192-193.

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

The journey from this cause of war to the incident that moves the Lemnias to kill their husbands is nothing more than the execution of an opportunistic plan of the goddess of love. Since we are faced with a narrative formulation that seeks coherence between its motives and its consequences, it is worth asking how this *casus belli* is narratively formed.

According to the poet's account, the men of Lemnos were at that point in the plot returning from their campaign against the Thracians on the coast opposite the island; as spoils of war they took with them the captured Thracian women to be servants to their wives (Val. Fl. II, 113-114):

> 'o patria, o variis coniunx nunc anxia curis,
> has agimus longi famulas tibi praemia belli.',
>
> "O motherland, O wife now troubled by various cares, we have brought you these slaves as spoils of war!"

However, Venus, taking advantage of this situation, orders Fame to spread the rumor among the women that their husbands have committed adultery with these captives (Val. Fl. II, 127-134):

> 'vade age et aequoream, virgo, delabere Lemnon
> et cunctas mihi verte domos, praecurrere qualis
> bella soles, cum mille tubas armataque campis
> agmina et innumerum flatus cum fingis equorum.
> adfore iam luxu turpique cupidine captos
> fare viros carasque toris inducere Thressas.
> haec tibi principia, hinc rabidas dolor undique matres
> instimulet. mox ipsa adero ducamque paratas.'
>
> "Go, ea, maiden, go down to the sea Lemnos and blow up their houses entirely, as you usually precede the wars, every time you simulate a thousand trumpets and armed troops in the fields and snorting of countless horses. Come forward now, and say that the men have been subdued by luxury and clumsy desire, and that they have brought their Thracian mistresses into their beds. These are your principles; hereafter, let pain everywhere sting the furious mothers. Soon I myself will present myself and lead them when they are ready."

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

Next, Fame takes the guise of a lemnia named Neera and carries out the order: in her speech she also warns of the danger to the children of being exposed to a stepmother (Val. Fl. II, 142-160). Later, Venus herself, taking the guise of Driope, appears and also with a speech encourages the Lemnias to commit this massacre, resuming and enhancing the effects of the fear that her henchman had already induced in them (Val. Fl. II, 180-184):

> '... mene ille novis, me destinat amens
> servitiis? urbem aut fugiens natosque relinquam?
> non prius ense manus raptoque armabimus igne
> dumque silent ducuntque nova cum coniuge somnos,
> magnum aliquid aliquid spirabit amor?'
>
> "... Does he (= my husband) to me, insane, to me destine me to new servitudes? Or, escaping, shall I abandon my city and my children? Shall we not first arm our hands with sword and with rapturous fire and, while they are silent and sleep beside their new wife, something great shall love inspire?"

Finally, during the night Venus throws herself on Lemnos (*desilit in Lemnon*, v 198), followed by a whole retinue of personified emotions (*Pavor, Discordia, Irae, Dolus, Rabies, Leti imago*, vv. 204-206) and starts the massacre (*tum verbere victas / in thalamos agit et cunctantibus ingerit enses*, vv. 214-215).

Hence, the presumed guilt of adultery[19] and the women's fear that their husbands will repudiate them constitute the *casus belli* of the episode; this is, then, the incident that triggers the massacre and, consequently, becomes the spark that unleashes Venus' vengeance. As it is possible to observe in this account of events, the *causa belli* and the *casus belli* are separate and, in fact, obey two different planes of the narrative: the *causa* is ascribed to the desires for vengeance that impel Venus to plot this conflict, while the *casus* is circumscribed to the actions of the lemnias; likewise, the former constitutes the divine warp, while the latter revolves around human execution.

[19] The innocence of the men of Lemnos brings a tragic component to the episode, since then the slaughter that the Lemnians forge is carried out in a totally unjustified way; on the men's non-guilt of adultery with the Thracian slave girls, cf. Alfonsi, 1970, p. 122; Aricò, 1991, p. 201; Finkmann, 2014, p. 81. As I will later clarify (cf. note 23), the poem does not directly make it known that the men are guilty of this fact, but what is certain is that for the Lemnias they are, since adultery is presented as a fact thanks to Neera/Fama's testimony.

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

Valerius Flaccus, therefore, separates these two aspects of his narrative (the intention of revenge and the presumption of adultery) in order to establish a distinction between the real executor (Venus) and the instrument of execution (the women of Lemnos).

Venus' desire for revenge (the cause of the conflict) is completely outside the knowledge of the lemnias, i.e., inaccessible to the human plane, which further accentuates the tragic aspect of the whole episode; in fact, the difference in knowledge that the reader has and that to which the characters are subordinated is what furthers the episode's subtext of tragic irony:[20] Venus, guilty of an adultery with Mars, creates a rumor of adultery to achieve her revenge. The women, consequently, act believing that the cause that drives them to murder their men is a just cause, as it is motivated by a "real" fear of potential repudiation and by a combat against the "adultery" of which they have been victims, but they are completely unaware that in reality this *cause* of theirs is a means by which Venus is channeling her own revenge; as an instrument of her vengeance, the goddess has taken the occasion of the men's return from Thrace as an excuse to foment a *casus belli* that ends up fulfilling her *causa belli*, exposing adultery as a fact through Neera/Fama's speech.

The game of disguises that the goddesses have implemented to drive the lemnias to massacre their husbands functions as the communication bridge from the divine plane to the human one. However, this communication is unidirectional: only Venus and Fame are aware of their histrionic role and, with this advantage, they succeed in getting the women of the island to retaliate under the banner of a fabricated revenge. This fictitious cause of war is therefore only apparently justified.

Lemnos, therefore, a false flag operation?

The scenario described above is characteristic of a false flag operation,[21] since *the real cause* of the conflict is intended to be detached from the one presented as the official reason for the conflict. The success of

[20] As Zissos already theorized, one of the fundamental characteristics of the Valerian poem lies in the impossibility of the human figures to understand the divine plans (1997, pp. 178-180); Zissos' theorization has been applied to a particular case by Rio Torres-Murciano (2007), who comments on this communicative gap as follows: "Valerius' heroes fail not only because they are unable to glimpse the future that the gods conceal from them, but because they often assign themselves a role that does not correspond to them" (p. 85). This narrative mechanism is crucial to understanding precisely the way in which human characters are unaware of the consequences of their actions and the motives that give rise to them; cf. Zissos, 2004, pp. 25-26.

[21] Teeluckdharry (2022, p. 158) defines a false flag operation as follows: "A false flag operation is an act committed with the intent of disguising the actual source of responsibility and pinning blame on a second party"; later (p. 159) he states how the term can be observed with the meaning in current usage today: "The term today extends to include countries that organize attacks on themselves and make the attacks appear to be by enemy nations or terrorists, thus giving the nation that was supposedly attacked

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

Venus' plan is not only hidden from the human characters in which the episode takes place, but is also carried out opportunistically, as it takes advantage of a merely incidental moment (the arrival of the men with a spoil of war after their campaign in Thrace) that emerges as the trigger for the conflict.

Only the privileged gaze of the reader is able to visualize the whole picture of the matter and to follow closely the way in which the divine characters narratively create the conditions for the massacre to break out. Hence, in order to disassociate the execution of the massacre and the authorship of the massacre, the goddess uses two main strategies:

1. The masking of the identity of the goddesses promoters of discord, who take the appearance of Lemnian citizens (Fama = Neera / Venus = Driope).[22]
2. The use of a circumstantial incident (the arrival of the men with Thracian slaves) to divert the focus of attention and center the narrative to justify the aggression.

This causes the guilt to fall artfully on the men of the island and that the plot makes sense in giving a plausible justification to an aggression; that is, for the Lemnias violence, as the ruse is constructed, is justified;[23] the reader, I insist, is the only accomplice of the framework created by the poet through Venus.

---

a pretext for domestic repression and foreign military aggression." An outstanding example of this type of war dynamics can be found in the so-called Gulf of Tonkin Incident, a *casus belli* that allowed the Americans to become directly involved in Vietnam and officially justify their invasion of the South Asian country. Other approaches to the concept of false flag and its characteristics and implications can be found in Salla, 2006; Murawska, 2013; Wilson, 2015; Moosa, 2019, pp. 88-105; Youvan, 2023 (unpublished).

[22] Of course, given its important intertextual affiliation with the construction of the Lemnos episode, it is not possible to omit the Virgilian model of the masking of identities in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*, when Juno sends Iris to the Trojan fleet, where the women were gathered; Iris takes on the guise of Béroe with the intention of stinging the women's desire to settle permanently where they are (V, 605-640); in the Virgilian episode, unlike the Valerian one, one of the women discovers the divine identity of the impostor, but her intervention fails to restrain the initiative to burn the ships (V, 641-663). On the Virgilian episode and the transformation of Iris into Béroe, cf. Kühn, 1971, pp. 76-83, 124-126; Basson, 1975, pp. 30-33; Thornton, 1976, pp. 102ff; Wiltshire, 1989, pp. 77-78; Fratantuono, 2007, pp. 149-151; Reed, 2007, pp. 121-122; Powell, 2008, 100; Fratantuono, 2013. Likewise, Valerius owes to Virgil to a large extent his characterization of Fame, as recorded in *Aen*. IV, 173-197, although also his personification of her as a goddess is Homeric (*Il*. II, 93-94; *Od*. XXIV, 413-414) and Hesiodic (*Op.* 761-764). It is also important to note that the relationship that Venus forges with Fame also has a Virgilian substratum in the tandem formed by Juno and Alecto, when the former sends the latter to unleash the conflict in Latium, as we have already referred to in note 12. Therefore, Valerius seems to have mixed the episodes of books V and VII in his design of the Lemnos episode, in addition to which we can also see the clear influence of the characterization of Fame in book IV. On these intertextual relations between Virgil and the Lemnos episode in Valerius Flaccus, cf. Garson, 1964, p. 273; Harper-Smith, 1987, ad 116ff; Poortvliet, 1991, ad 115ff; Spaltenstein, 2002, pp. 344-345; Hardie, 2012, pp. 196-201; Antoniadis, 2015, 67-68 and n. 21.

[23] It is noteworthy that there is no indication in the text of Valerius Flaccus that the infidelity of the Lemnians with their Thracian slaves took place, which would make questionable the view of this episode as a false flag operation, since one of the conditions for a false flag operation to occur is that there is a real event that can be imputed to a false perpetrator (cf. previous note). Nevertheless, in the Lemnos episode the infidelity of the males is presented as an event actually occurred by Fama (disguised as

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

The inhabitants of Lemnos only manage to understand the *casus belli* planned by Venus as the *cause* that justifies their aggression.

Thus, at the moment when the women take up arms and murder their husbands with that furious outburst to which the Cytherean goddess led them, the poet gives fulfillment equally to the authentic vengeance of Venus and to the artificial "vengeance" of the Lemnias. Both vengeances, both that of the real, divine *cause* of the conflict and that of the incidental, human *casus* exploited by the deity, prey on that society through a conflict that has the identity of a civil war (McGuire, 1997, pp. 104-108; Hershkowitz, 1998, p. 137; Landrey, 2018, pass.). Consequently, the population is mutilated, family ties dissolve, and women end up at the mercy of the *impasse* of infertility.

Let us not forget that this massacre constitutes a self-aggression with hints of proto-civil war (Buckley 2010, pp. 442-443). 442-443), for the story constitutes a paradigm of what discord can lead to, something akin to a first link in the journey during which the Argonauts will encounter and confront war-civil war narratives; this accentuates the sociopolitical subtext of the episode, whose meaning communicates to the reader the fragility of family relationships and the social proclivity for discord and sedition.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the episode is ironic, since Venus is taking the opportunity to punish by means of a false adultery a population that neglected her cult precisely because the goddess had committed adultery with Mars. Likewise, what most accentuates the false flag tone with which Valerius Flaccus narrates this myth lies in the thematic axis of the sedition narrative that permeates the entire tale. As mentioned above, the narration of the causes that led to Venus' desire for vengeance opens with a brief reference to the *status* of the newly established reign of Jupiter; the poet focuses on highlighting how political intrigue detonates a breach of peace among the gods that leads to the imprisonment of Juno for leading the sedition.

This punishment that Jupiter imposes on his wife anticipates the one that Venus plots, but with the difference that the latter will proceed differently, for she will devote herself to cover up any clue that reveals her participation in the fierce anger of the Lemnias, putting in the focus of guilt the men of the island who simply returned with slaves they wished to donate to their wives, not with concubines with whom they intended to replace them; thus, the *causa belli* is hidden on a higher plane, in a sphere of divine warp,

Neera) in her speech in front of the other Lemnians in Val. Fl. II, 142-160. This testimony presents, then, as the real event what is imputed to the false responsible (the male population).

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

inaccessible to those who execute the bloody plan of the goddess, as happens in a false flag operation when the hidden information about the true intentions of a confrontation is concealed and it is only possible to visualize how a war is justified by taking advantage of an incidental pretext (a *casus belli*) that allows to channel the authentic *cause* to achieve the true objectives.

Conclusions

The exploration of the causes and the narrative development with which they unfold in an epic narrative is a theme of Homeric roots; as in any war narrative, the motives of the characters and the consequences of both human and divine decisions are immersed in a network of sequences that aims to maintain the verisimilitude and causal logic of the events.

In this paper we have discussed not only concrete examples of how poets have received this Homeric aspiration, but we have also drawn on the juridical concepts of the doctrine *of ius ad bellum* in order to lay a conceptual foundation on which to analyze the narratological aspect of war justification. In this sense, we have considered that there is a great compatibility between these two dimensions of the war narrative, given that the attention to the causes that give rise to a conflict is assumed as a nucleus in which converges a sequentiality and a conglomerate of motivations (real, simulated, perceived, fabricated, etc.) from which it is possible to extract the authentic *causes* and the *casus* that detonate the conflict. The advantage of epic narration lies in the omniscience of which the reader and the narrator are accomplices, so that it is more insightful to be able to analyze the war conflict from what the characters know or ignore.

The Lemnos episode prior to the Argonauts' arrival on the island constitutes an enclosed and narratively self-sufficient space in which the implications of separating *cause* from *casus* in the dynamics of a conflict become evident. Likewise, the massacre of the Lemnias against their husbands exemplifies the dual nature that underlies any causal rhetoric: on the one hand, a *cause* of war is assumed as a set of aspects that cement the real reasons why an aggression is committed, while the *casus* is manifested as the incident that triggers and "officially" justifies that aggression.

The machinations of Venus constitute a *cause* of war that, because of the way in which the narrated events unfold, remain in a narrative sphere of which only the narrator and the reader are aware; the real *cause* that motivated the massacre perpetrated by the women of Lemnos is, consequently, inaccessible to

Revista Argos
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS, LINGÜÍSTICA Y CREACIÓN LITERARIA
e-ISSN: 1562-4072
Vol. 12, Issue 30, July-December, 2025 DOI: 10.32870/revistaargos.v12.n30

them, the executors, and to the victims, their husbands. Therefore, the Lemnians are seen from the superior position of the narrator/reader as the executors of a plan of revenge that is unknown to them; on the other hand, they see themselves as vigilantes who try to avoid, under a cause they consider just, the consequences of the adultery they have been led to believe in.

On the human level, the *casus belli* fomented by Venus constitutes the guarantee of success of her vengeance. To arrive at it, the poet begins his narration in a remote past of the myth in which we are made aware that Jupiter began his reign facing a sedition led by Juno; from that point, Valerius Flaccus chains a series of events until his narration leads to the incidental point of the *casus*: the return of the Lemnians with female slaves on board. From here until the massacre, the concealment of identities and the configuration of the guilty subject on whom the hatreds of the Lemnians will be poured.

Finally, this episode of the Flavian epic is paradigmatic, as we have found, for understanding the dynamics of a false flag operation within an epic narrative. Understanding this type of war dynamics through the play of causality (tragic for human characters) and the *casus* incident constitutes an approach to the way in which we interpret literary war problems.

References

Adamietz, J. (1976). *Zur Komposition der Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. München: Beck.

Alfonsi, L. (1970). Antico e meno-antiquo in Valerio Flacco, in K. Gaiser (ed.). *Das Altertum und jedes neue Gute*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 117-132.

Antoniadis, T. (2015). Scelus Femineum: Adultery and Revenge in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* Book 2 (98-241) and Seneca's *Agamemnon. Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies, 89*(1), pp. 60-80.

Aricò, G. (1991). La vicenda di Lemno in Stazio e Valerio Flacco, in M. Korn and H. J. Tschiedel (eds.). *Ratis omnia vincet: Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. Hildesheim: Olms, pp. 197-210.

Balibar, E. (2008). "Michael Walzer, Carl Schmitt and the contemporary debate on the just war question", in G. Batallion, G. Bienvenu and A. Velasco Gómez (coords.). *Las teorías de la guerra justa en el siglo XVI y sus expresiones contemporáneas*. Mexico: UNAM, pp. 267-296.

Basson, W. (1975). *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.

Buckley, E. (2010). War-epic for a new era: Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, in N. Kramer and C. Reitz (eds.). *Tradition und Erneuerung. Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Flavier*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Clare, R. J. (2004). Tradition and Originality: Allusion in Valerius Flaccus' Lemnian Episode, in M. Gale (ed.). *Latin Epic and Didactic Poetry. Genre, Tradition and Individuality*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, pp. 125-148.

Elm, D. (1998). "Venus und die Tradition der Furiendarstellung", in Eigler, U. and Lefèvre, E. (eds.). Ratis omnia vincet. *Neue Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. München: Beck, pp. 249-258.

Elm, D. (2007). *Liebe als Wahnsinn. Die Konzeption der Göttin Venus in den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Finkmann, S. (2014). "Collective Speech and Silence in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius and Valerius," in A. Augoustakis (ed.). *Flavian Poetry and its Greek Past*. Boston: Brill, pp. 73-93. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004266490_006

Fowler, D. P. (1989). "First Thoughts on Closure: Problems and Prospects." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, (22), pp. 75-122.

de Vitoria, F. (1917). *De Indis et de iure belli relectiones*. E. Nys (ed.). Washington: Carnegie Institution.

Fratantuono, L. (2007). *Madness Unchained: A Reading of Virgil's Aeneid*. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Fratantuono, L. (2013). *Roscida pennis*: Iris in the Aeneid. *Bollettino di studi latini, 1*, pp. 123-132.

Garson, R. W. (1964). Some Critical Observations on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* I. *The Classical Quarterly, 14*(2), pp. 267-279.

Gibson, B. J. (2010). Causation in Post-Augustan Epic, in J. F. Miller and A. J. Woodman (eds.). *Latin Historiography and Poetry in the Early Empire*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 29-48.

Hardie, P. (1993). *The epic successors of Virgil. A study in the dynamics of a tradition*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hardie, P. (2012). *Rumour and Renown. Representations of Fame in Western Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harper-Smith, A. (1987). *A Commentary on Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica II*. Thesis. Oxford: St. Hilda College.

Heerink, M. (2020). "Replaying Dido: Elegy and the Poetics of Inversion in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*," in N. Coffee *et al*. (eds.). *Intertextuality in Flavian Epic Poetry. Contemporary Approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 187-203. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110602203-009

Hershkowitz, D. (1998). *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica: Abbreviated Voyages in Silver Latin Epic*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Kolb, R. (1997). Origin of the terminological pair *ius ad bellum/ius in bello*. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *22*(143), pp. 589-598.

Kühn, W. (1971). *Götterszenen bei Vergil*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag.

Landrey, L. (2018). Embroidered Histories: Lemnos and Rome in Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*, in L. Donovan and D. Krasne (eds.). *After 69 CE - Writing Civil War in Flavian Rome*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 227-249. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110585841-011

Legris, M. (2016). Rethinking *ius ad bellum* and *ius in bello*: towards a study of their relationship in the context of a fragmented international law, in E. J. Buis and N. M. Luterstein (eds.). *War in the face of the fragmentation of international law. Interactions, exchanges, interferences*. Buenos Aires: Sempithidia, pp. 34-45.

Macleod, C. W. (1982) (ed.). *Homer: Iliad Book XXIV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Manuwald, G. (1999). *Die Cyzicus-Episode und ihre Funktion in den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

McGuire, D. T. Jr. (1997). *Acts of Silence: Civil War, Tyranny, and Suicide in the Flavian Epics*. Hildesheim: Olms.

Mehmel, F. (1934). *Valerius Flaccus*. Thesis. Hamburg: A. Lettenbauer.

Moosa, I. A. (2019). *The Economics of War: Profiteering, Militarism and Imperialism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Murawska, A. (2013). False flag operation in context of conspiracy theory as a myth which legitimizes actions of ruling class. *Prace Ethnograficzne*, *41*(4), pp. 329-334.

Poortvliet, H. (1991). *C. Valerius Flaccus. Argonautica Book II. A Commentary*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Powell, A. (2008). *Virgil the Partisan: A Study in the Re-Integration of the Classics*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales.

Reed, J. (2007). *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rio, A. (2006). *The reestablishment of epic causality in Book I of Valerius Flaccus' Argonautics*. Thesis. Spain: University of Santiago de Compostela.

Rio, A. (2007). *Meus hic ratibus qui pascitur ignis* (Val. Fl. 2,658), or Cyzicus: a frustrated Hector. *Notebooks of Classical Philology. Latin Studies*, *27*(2), pp. 81-92.

Rio, A. (2012). "Horrendous women: the face of female power in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautics*," in Ferreira, M. J. *et al*. (eds.). *Narrativas do poder femenino*. Portugal: Braga.

Salla, M. E. (2006). False Flag Operations, 9-11 and the Exopolitical Perspective [online]. Retrieved from https://exopolitics.net/Study-Paper-12.pdf

Sauer, C. (2011). *Valerius Flaccus' dramatische Erzähltechnik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Seal, C. (2014). Civil War and the Apollonian Model in Valerius' *Argonautica*, in Augoustakis, A. (Ed.). *Flavian Poetry and its Greek Past*. Boston: Brill, pp. 113-135. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004266490_008

Silio Italici (1987). *Punica*. Iosephus Delz (ed.). Suttgart: B. G. Teubner.

Shirner, R. (2016). Intertextuelle Emotion oder Geschlechter im Krieg: die Lemnosepisode bei Valerius Flaccus im Vergleich zu den Darstellungen des Statius und Apollonios. *Thersites, 4*, pp. 121-164. DOI: https://doi.org/10.34679/thersites.vol4.39

Sierra-Zamora, P. A. et al. (2021). "*Jus ad bellum*, *jus in bello, jus ex bello* y *jus post bellum*", in C. A. Ardila-Castro, Sierra-P. A. Zamora and D. Whetham (eds.) *Military Ethics and Professional Foundations. Evolution, concepts and principles*. Bogotá: Escuela Militar de Cadetes "General José María Córdova", pp. 25-48. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21830/9789585377127.02

Spaltenstein, F. (2002). *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valerius Flaccus (livres 1 et 2).* Brussels: Latomus.

Taplin, O. (1992). *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Teeluckdharry, G. D. (2022). False Flag Operations: Beyond the Spectre of Terrorism. *Advances in Applied Sociology, 12*, pp. 158-164. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4236/aasoci.2022.125015

Thome, G. (1993). *Vorstellungen vom Bösen in der lateinischen Literatur. Begriffe, Motive, Gestalten*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Thornton, A. (1976) *The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid*. Leiden: Brill.

Vessey, D. (1985). Lemnos Revisited: Some Aspects of Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica II. 77-305. *The Classical Journal, 80*(4), pp. 326-339.

Waltzer, M. (2001). *Just and unjust wars.* T. Fernández Aúz and B. Eguibar (transls.). Spain: Paidós.

Wilson, E. (2015). *The Spectacle of the False-Flag*. New York: Punctum Books.

Wiltshire, S. (1989). *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Youvan, D. C. (2023). False Flag Operations: Analysis, Implications, and Historical Context [Unpublished manuscript]. ResearchGate. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.12690.63685.

Zissos, A. (1997) *Voyage and Progress: Studies in the* Argonautica *of Valerius Flaccus*. Thesis. Princeton: Princeton University.

Zissos, A. (2004). "L'ironia allusiva: Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus", in Esposito, P. and Ariemma, E. M. (eds.). *Lucano e la tradizione dell'epica latina: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Fisciano-Salerno, 19-20 ottobre 2001*. Napoli: Guida, pp. 21-38.