SILIUS ITALICUS' *PUNICA* 17.341-654: A LITERARY COMMENTARY

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οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ.

Β *Τιμ*. 1.7

"Της ισχύος το άρμα ανατρέπεται, όταν το σέρνουν άλογα της υπερηφάνειας και άφρονοι αρματηλάτες το οδηγούν…"

Σαράντος Μινώπετρος

I certify that:

a) The following thesis is my own original work.

b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.

c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.

d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.

ABSTRACT

This commentary, the first detailed commentary on book 17 in any language, explores the way Silius places himself within the extensive and established epic tradition and the closural methods he uses as he brings his epic to an end. It includes a comprehensive introduction to the poem's literary and historical context, along with the Latin text, English translation, and a line-by-line commentary that illuminates historiographical, textual, linguistic and literary issues arising from the narrative.

More specifically, the second half of book 17 allows for a detailed examination of the final confrontation between Hannibal and Scipio in Zama, Rome's most glorious victory over an external enemy which mirrors book 9, Rome's most notorious defeat by the same external enemy. Moreover, Scipio's triumphant procession in Rome, the *Punica*'s closing episode, allows for a detailed study of the triumphal closure of the *Punica* which however, if viewed through Lucan's *Pharsalia*, reveals Silius' scepticism on the nature of imperial power and the domination of the individual over the destiny of a country. While the commentary addresses a broad range of linguistic, thematic, and cultural topics, the thesis also includes a substantial introduction that discusses broader literary issues: Silius' sources, the divine apparatus, the interchangeable characters of the two leaders, and the poem's relation to Silius' contemporary Flavian world. The final aim of this thesis is to discuss the closure of Silius Italicus' *Punica,* the first research that has ever been extensively done on this aspect of Silius' epic, in order to show the epic's monumentalising function. More specifically, it will showcase how *ekphrasis* can work as a closural device by analysing the ekphrastic nature of the two final scenes of the epic: Scipio's triumph and Hannibal's image as fugitive. Scipio's triumph recalls Augustus' triumph – the "real End" of the *Aeneid* – and Hannibal's *imago* fleeing provides him with a sense of eternal remembrance and monumentality. Through this discussion, I will show the importance of both spectacle and monumentality in Flavian Rome and also Silius' desire to demonstrate the *Punica's* conception of itself as a literary monument. Finally, Scipio's quasi-*apotheosis* at the very end of the epic expresses Silius' concerns regarding political matters, such as the acquisition of power and the emergence of individualism in Domitianic Rome.

Overall, this thesis stands as the first commentary on the final book of the *Punica* and its closural method as well as the only English translation of this book in nearly eighty years. It is also an invaluable source for those who study the closure of Latin epic, and especially the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia*, between which the *Punica* stands intertextually.

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PRELIMINARIES

Silius Italicus' *Punica* had largely gone unnoticed in modern scholarship until recent years. The first companion on Silius Italicus was only published in 2010 by Augoustakis, and the first commentary in English was published by Littlewood on *Punica* 7 (2011). Since then, there is a resurgence of interest in Silius' epic with English commentaries on *Punica* book 2 by Bernstein (2017) and *Punica* book 10 by Littlewood (2017). In this climate of flourishing interest in Flavian literature, *Punica* 17 now joins the growing number of commentaries on Flavian epic and on Silius specifically.[1]

This commentary analyses the second half of Silius Italicus' *Punica* 17, lines 341-654, and its closure. There are two main reasons I decided to focus on the second half of the book: the first reason arises from my interest in the end of a literary work; although there are studies on the closure of other classical texts, there is none primarily focused on Silius Italicus' *Punica*.[2] The analysis of an ending of a text is very important for the study of several aspects of the whole poem. As the end of a literary work usually reveals the poetic voice, the examination of the end of the *Punica* helped me appreciate Silius' poetic innovations within the existing epic tradition, as well as his stance towards political matters of his times. The second reason I decided to focus on the second half of book 17 is related to the nature of this research, i.e. the PhD thesis. Time and word limits precluded the possibility of studying in depth a whole book of a Silius' *Punica*, which is a sophisticated and multi-layered epic composed under the complicated Flavian era. I decided to focus, instead, on the final 300 lines of the epic so that I could shed light on Silius' closural method and reveal the poet's witty and literary interaction with both his predecessors and his contemporaries in Roman (epic) literature.

[1] Spaltenstein's French commentary on *Punica* books 1-17 (1986-1990) is short and rather outdated. Forthcoming commentaries on the *Punica* are on book 3 by Littlewood and Augoustakis, on book 9 by Bernstein, on book 13 by Michiel van der Keur, and on book 15 by John Jacobs.

[2] For a detailed and critical approach on the closure of literary texts, see the volume on Classical Closure, edited by Roberts, Dunn and Fowler (1997). In this volume, Hardie (1997) offers an analysis of the closure in Latin epic, focusing on Virgil's *Aeneid* and the Flavians. Silius Italicus is part of Hardie's analysis which only provides the researcher with the first material for a further and detailed study on the *Punica*'s closure; see Hardie (1997) 158-61.

The thesis begins with an extensive Introduction which analyses the second half of book 17 and how it is anticipated in the whole epic. This is divided in three sections: the first one gives a summary of Silius' work and the poet's interaction with other sources, mainly Livy and Polybius from historiography, and Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius from literature. The second one examines the significance of book 17 in the whole epic narrative and especially its connection with the first book of the *Punica* and the *Aeneid*; this metapoetic discourse between the Silian and the Virgilian epic allows us to consider the *Punica* as an open-ended work. This open-endedness of the *Punica* is also supported by intratextual references for a potential new *Punica* reminding us that the Second Punic War is simply a stage in the *cursus* of the Roman history. This section closes with an analysis of thematic motifs around which the whole epic narrative revolves. As in any other epic, the *Punica* has its own shape and themes. Thus, one of the primary tasks of this research is to identify which themes and concepts have been important to Silius, and to investigate how thematic material from earlier in the epic is treated in Book 17.

The third section of the Introduction offers an extensive analysis of the closure of the epic: from a metapoetic point of view, I believe that the closure of the *Punica* reveals Silius' desire not only to remain in the existing epic tradition but also to surpass his predecessors in "the chariot race of song", and to provide his work with monumentality. This ambition is additionally expressed at the end of the epic by Silius' identification with Hannibal, the enemy of the story; although the *Punica* ends with Silius' praise of Scipio and allusion to the Roman leader's almost-deification, the poet identifies himself with Hannibal at the particular moment the Punic leader flees the battlefield and challenges Jupiter with a threat of his own return. Scipio's quasi-*apotheosis* contrasts with Hannibal's theomachic character throughout the epic a contrast which culminates at the end of the *Punica*. I therefore argue that this paradoxical identification of Silius with Hannibal should be viewed as the poet's resistance towards the matter of deification in Silius' times: indeed, in Silius' contemporary Rome, the creation of new gods was a common tactic which proved that there is no secure divide between mortality and immortality. Hannibal's theomachy is proved to be a destabilising action against this human-divine division. Silius' opposition to the matter of *apotheosis* is, to my mind, strongly related to the poet's

concerns about the acquisition of power and the emergence of individual leaders who transform the glory of Rome to a glory for themselves.

The second part of this thesis consists of the Latin text and its English translation, the first one in nearly eighty years, followed by the third part of the thesis, the commentary on literary, linguistic and stylistic aspects. Regarding the commentary, the parallels I decide to include for each lemma are chosen for their importance in showcasing Silius' relationship with preceding Latin epic authors, mainly Virgil and Ovid, and also his contemporaries, Statius and Valerius with whom he shares the same cultural, political and literary background. Special emphasis is given to Lucan whose epic continuously discourses with Silius' one. From the above, it is apparent that I prioritise Silius' intertextuality with Latin epic to promote an interpretation of a better understanding of Domitianic Rome and Flavian epic. References to ancient Greek literature – mainly the Homeric epics – occupy a significant part of the thesis but they are not treated in the same thoroughness as the Latin ones. Finally, I conclude this thesis with Bibliographical references to the secondary sources I used for this research.

To sum up, this commentary explores the closure of the *Punica* and offers an interpretation of the poem's conclusion and resolution, for the first time in modern scholarship. By revealing significant parameters for the whole poem and its author, my thesis therefore enriches the current scholarship on Silius. Silius allows for an open epic narrative, a narrative whose closure may be written and rewritten ad infinitum; following his style, I, therefore, hope that my conclusions combined with the ideas and parallels I have presented in this thesis – although with some restraint and hesitation – will inspire readers to begin a new interpretation of this sophisticated and fascinating poem.

Regarding the Latin text, the transmission of the *Punica* is relatively simple and has been discussed by Delz and Littlewood.[3] I have adopted the text of *Punica* 17 and sigla employed in the apparatus criticus from Delz's Teubner edition of 1987.
My translation arises from the interpretation of the text and conveys the meanings that illuminate our understanding of the epic. I have kept the ethnonymics so that they evoke their ancient name (e.g. *Ausonius* is translated as 'Ausonian' and not Italian, or

[3] See Delz (1987) and Littlewood (2011) xci-xcii.

Paraetonius is translated as ‘Paraetonian’ and not with its loose meaning of Egyptian or African).

The consonants “v” and “j” in the Latin text have been printed as “u” and “i” and “V” and “I” in capitals. Greek authors and works are abbreviated according to the system of the *Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek Lexicon*, whilst Latin authors and work follow the system of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

INTRODUCTION

1. SILIUS ITALICUS: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO HIS WORK AND HIS SOURCES

Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (c. 26-102 AD) is a Latin epic poet of the 1st century AD, whose epic, the *Punica*, is the longest extant epic in Latin literature (17 books, approx. 12204 verses in total). The *Punica* describes the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) and the Romans' struggle against their greatest external enemy, the Carthaginian Hannibal Barca. The narrative begins with the causes of the war and finishes with the battle of Zama, the greatest Roman victory against the Carthaginians. In the middle of the narrative lies the description of the battle of Cannae, the most notorious Roman defeat by Hannibal, creating thus a mirror effect in the structure of the poem, an analysis of which is offered in section 2.1.3. As well as being a poet, Silius was a Roman consul and orator; his rhetorical talent played a significant role in the presentation of the political situation in Rome for which he raises his concerns throughout the epic. Regarding the presentation of the political situation in Silius' time, the *Punica* has been interpreted using several optimistic and pessimistic approaches, which I have analysed in the Closure section (section 3). Silius' life as well as the *Punica's* date (its problematic chronology) and its sources have explicitly been analysed by Augoustakis.[4]

Silius' epic was produced under the shadow of the turbulent political situation of the civil wars of 69 AD. At first glance, the narrative on the Hannibalic war seems distant from the Flavian era. However, a deeper look will help us detect the subtle allusions to the reign of the Flavians which reveals a general anxiety on political matters, such as the complexity of the divide between mortals and immortals, the acquisition of power and the power of the individual in contrast to the power of the many. Along with political matters, Silius' closure reveals the politics of writing in Flavian Rome, namely the poet's desire for memorialisation and his intention to place himself in the established epic tradition.

[4] See Augoustakis (2010b) 3-16. Silius Italicus' poetic and consular career have also been analysed by Littlewood (2017) xii-xvi, Bernstein (2018) xiii-xv.

Silius draws inspiration for his material mostly from Livy's narrative of the Hannibalic war (books 21-30) and Polybius' *Histories* (book 15 on the description of the battle of Zama).[5] Silius' epic poem on a historical subject reminds us of Ennius' *Annales*, whose epic narrative begins with the early history of Rome and extends, at its final version of 18 books, to the Macedonian wars. In the *Annales*, the narrative on the Punic Wars occupies books 7-9. As a post-Augustan poet, Silius is deeply influenced by Virgil's *Aeneid*, which worked as a model for several episodes in the *Punica*. The Roman enemy, Hannibal, is presented as Dido's avenger who has come to fulfil her suicidal threat at *Aeneid* 4.626, which will pursue the Romans in war. Therefore, the *Punica* acts as a continuation of the *Aeneid.* Hannibal also functions as another Turnus, who, aided by Juno's anti-Roman feelings, opposes Rome's national god, Jupiter.[6] The participation of the gods in a historical epic aligns Silius with Ennius who had also included the gods in his historical epic. It differentiates him from Lucan, whose historical epic, predating the publication of the *Punica*, excludes any representation of divine intervention. Apart from that, Lucan's epic on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, the *Pharsalia*, plays a very important role in the epic narrative; Silius continuously alludes to its subject of civil war to such a degree that he allows us to see the *Punica* inserting itself into the middle of an epic cycle that begins with the *Aeneid* and ends with the *Pharsalia*. The Punic Wars are a stage in Roman history, motivated in a literary fashion by Dido's threat in the *Aeneid* and historically foreshadowing the civil wars in the *Pharsalia*. Indeed, the closure of the *Punica* owes something both to the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia*: in the final section of the Introduction (section 3), I will demonstrate how the *Punica* encompasses both poems by looking back to the *Aeneid* and forward to the *Pharsalia*.[7]

2. STRUCTURE, THEMES AND UNITY IN *PUNICA* 17

2.1.1. PUNICA 17 AND ITS STRUCTURE

[5] It is very likely that Silius could have used sources now lost to us. For Silius' historical and geographical sources, see the extensive analysis of Nicol (1936), Von Albrecht (1964) 15-89, Bona (1998).

[6] On reading Turnus in Hannibal, see Klaassen (2010) 99-112, Tipping (2010) 81-89, Stocks (2014) 64-7.

[7] For the relationship between Silius and Lucan, see Ahl/ Davis/ Pomeroy (1986) 2501-4, Marks (2010).

In Book 17 of the *Punica* Scipio and Hannibal have to get to Africa in order for the final battle to be fought, ending in the defeat of Carthage and Rome's supremacy over the Mediterranean. Some editors have marked a lacuna near the centre of the book, at line 290,[8] as we have it, which makes it difficult to be certain of exactly what Silius included. The text following the lacuna recounts the battle of Zama with a short final scene in Rome showing Scipio's triumph. My commentary begins with the first complete scene following the lacuna: a conversation between Jupiter and Juno with important intertextual and intratextual connections with other divine dialogues, to be discussed in more detail below. The content of this conversation as well as its strong echoes of *Aeneid* 12 make it a clear signal of impending closure.

The closural elements in book 17 begin before this point. The book opens with the importation of Cybele, the Magna Mater, into Rome which is supposed to ensure the expulsion of the enemy, i.e. the defeat of Hannibal and the end of the poem, to be discussed in section 3.1. After Scipio's departure for Africa the narrative focuses on the treachery of the Numidian king Syphax, who here represents the perfidy of Africans in general, as well as Carthaginians in particular, an important theme of the epic as a whole, which must, therefore, be included in the final book for its resolution. For further analysis of this theme, see section 2.2.2. Following a dream, Hannibal sails back to Africa; Silius introduces a storm to interrupt his voyage which is strongly reminiscent of the storm in *Aeneid* 1, and thus creates a kind of supratextual ring composition, to be analysed in section 2.1.4. The lacuna comes as Venus makes a request that the storm cease in order that the Romans have the opportunity to defeat their enemy finally in battle.

Immediately after, the narrative takes the reader back to the battlefield where Hannibal is encouraging his soldiers and prepares them for the fight. This is where the second half of the book and, therefore, the commentary of this thesis starts. Jupiter and Juno discuss the current situation and decide the outcome of the war: Hannibal will be saved but Carthage shall be destroyed. Silius then describes the beginning of the battle and

[8] Wallace (1958)101-2 discusses that in the four most important manuscripts of the *Punica*, L, F, O, V, there is no indication of the lacuna. The editions of Heinsius (1600), Drakenborch (1717), Summers (1905) and Duff (1934) include the lacuna, whereas the ones of Bauer (1890-2) and Delz (1987) do not.

its progress on different parts of the battlefield. This episode is followed by the *aristeia* of Hannibal and Scipio, offering the opportunity for Silius to display important signs of each leader's character, some of which are recurring motifs that unite the *Punica*, analysed in section 2.2. The final duel between Scipio and Hannibal, that has been anticipated for a long time, never takes place, as Juno's intervention causes chaos on the battlefield and thus in the narrative: she creates a fake battle between Hannibal and an effigy of Scipio which she shaped in order to save Hannibal from the real Scipio's hands. The passage, a clearly Iliadic and Virgilian one, reveals Silius' relationship with his predecessors; it is also a trick of the Roman poet to explain why Scipio and Hannibal never had a historical duel at Zama. A second intervention by Juno then occurs in which she disguises herself and leads Hannibal away from the battlefield. The pastoral world, in which Juno places him, disempowers the Punic leader. Away from the battlefield, he eventually becomes a passive viewer of the defeat of his army. Hannibal's disappearance from the battlefield at the end of the epic brings the end of the war, showing the significance of the Punic leader for the rest of the army. Silius, then, officially announces the end of the war: he describes Carthage's surrender to Rome and Scipio's triumphal procession in Rome, and presents Scipio as the father of the country. The final lines of the poem contain closural elements, which, if viewed from an intertextual perspective, can provide the material for the interpretation of the end of epic.

Therefore, according to the above analysis, the second half of book 17 – lines 341-654 – consists of three major parts of unequal length:

1) The role of the gods in the second half of book 17: the fate of Hannibal and Carthage (341 – 384)
2) The description of the battle of Zama (385 – 624)
3) Scipio's triumphant entrance to Rome after the battle of Zama. End of the epic (625 – 654)

Within these three major episodes, there are also several subdivisions observed, according to which I have also divided the commentary:

1) The role of the gods in the second half of book 17 (341 – 384): the fate of Hannibal and Carthage:

a) Jupiter's decision to end the war (341 – 356)

b) Juno's plea on behalf of Hannibal (357 – 369)

c) Jupiter's consent (370 – 384)

2) The description of the battle of Zama (385 – 624):

A) The battle begins (385 – 431)

a) The importance of the battle (385 – 390)

b) Hannibal and Scipio enter the scene (391 – 405)

c) The two armies engage each other (406 – 443):

i) The Roman right wing (406 – 431)

ii) Laelius causes havoc on the Roman left wing (432 – 443)

B) The portraits of the two generals (444 – 521)

a) Hannibal's *aristeia* (444 – 478)

b) Scipio's *aristeia* (479 – 508)

c) Scipio is looking to confront Hannibal (509 – 521)

C) Juno's trick brings the end of the war (522 – 624)

a) Juno conjures a likeness of Scipio. The sham battle (522 – 547)

b) Hannibal's lament to the Gods (548 – 566)

c) Juno draws Hannibal away from the battle (567 – 580)

d) Hannibal witnesses from afar the defeat of his army (581 – 596)

e) Hannibal utters a threat and becomes a fugitive – Carthage is plundered (597 – 624)

3) Scipio's triumphant entrance to Rome after the battle of Zama. End of the epic (625 – 654)

2.1.2. THE POSITION OF PUNICA 17 IN THE EPIC

The number seventeen is not a common number for the number of books of an epic as a whole. Therefore, there has been much discussion on the unusual number of the books of the *Punica*. In the extant epic tradition, epic poems tend to be divided into books in multiples of four and/or six; for example, the 24 books of the Homeric epics, the 4 books of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the 18 books of the *Annales* (although Ennius had initially planned 15 books), the 12 books of the *Aeneid*, and the 12 books of the

Thebaid.[9] In the *Punica* none of the above multiples is possible. Some scholars argue that Silius' initial plan was to create 18 books, according to Ennius' *Annales* with whom he shares the same subject of an epic narrative on a historical event.[10] However, the incurable disease (*insanabilis clauus*) from which he suffered, as Pliny tells us (*Epist*. 3.7.1-2), forced him to commit suicide and thus to rush to finish the epic by compressing the epic narrative and finishing in book 17. Indeed, there are several signs of rushed and compressed composition in the final lines of the epic that make this theory plausible, such as Juno's intervention to lead Hannibal in the dark forest as fast as possible (at 17.547-68, within 20 lines, the word *subito* occurs three times indicating the fast action of the narrative), or the short and compressed description of the sack of Carthage at 618-24. A similar theory but with different arguments is raised by Wallace who also argues for Silius' intention to create 18 books in total. More specifically, in his study on the structure of the *Punica*, Wallace found similarities between books 9 and 17;[11] he also observed that there are important episodes omitted from the narrative in book 17, such as the encounter of Scipio and Hannibal before the battle of Zama, for which Livy gives a long narrative (30.30-31). The combination of these two observations made him believe that Silius' plan was to create an additional, eighteenth book of the *Punica*, which would result from the expansion of the narrative we have now, and not by additional material being supplied after our "end".[12] If this were the case, then book 9 and the potential book 18 would parallel each other, the one showing the nadir (battle of Cannae), the other the climax of Roman glory (battle of Zama).[13] The structural connection between the two books is underlined by the fact that in book 9 Silius provides a second proem, including a second invocation to the Muse (9.340-353), reminding the reader of the proem in *Aeneid* 7 where the Iliadic part of the epic

[9] I have left out Lucan's *Pharsalia* with its unusual total of 10 books, since it is either incomplete or meant to look unfinished. For further information on this, see Stover (2008) 571. On the completeness of the poem, see Masters (1992) 216-59.

[10] On the discussion regarding the length of the epic and whether an additional, eighteenth book was ever planned, see Kissel (1979) 211-18, Delarue (1992), Hardie (1993) 96-7, Augoustakis (2010b) 8-10, Stocks (2014) 36 n.7. Von Albrecht (1999) 315-6, on the contrary, believed that 17 books was Silius' initial plan; his theory is further analysed later in this section of the introduction.

[11] See Wallace (1958) 101.

[12] Other episodes that could have been included are the landing in Africa, the inland march, and perhaps a catalogue of forces. For these details, see Wallace (1958) 101. However, things can be easier (or perhaps more complicated) if we take into consideration the lacuna existing in book 17: all the missing episodes could have been included in the lacuna.

[13] Wallace (1958) 102.

begins.[14] Regarding the theory of the omitted elements, I do not believe that there are enough episodes missing from the final book that could have supported the existence of an eighteenth book. The total number of the extant lines of book 17 (654) seems a normal number for a Silian book, as several books are around 650 lines (for instance, 611 lines for book 11, 676 for book 8, 657 for book 9). Therefore, I tend to agree more with an alternative theory, argued first by Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy and then by Delarue, who believe that Silius wanted to become a pioneer in the epic tradition and decided to stop after book 17, an innovative number for the epic genre. In their analysis of the structure of the poem, Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy believe that Silius' main purpose is to promote and give emphasis to the description of the battle at Cannae, hence it stands in the middle of the epic. Books 1-7 treat the war up to Cannae, books 8-10 the battle itself, together with the events which immediately precede and follow it, and books 11-17 the subsequent course of the war down to the battle of Zama.[15] Delarue mentions the same theory regarding the grouping of two heptads of books surrounding the description of the battle of Cannae: 1-7, 8-10 preparation and the battle of Cannae, 11-17.[16] This theory seems more plausible to me as, from a macrostructural point of view, the central element in the whole narrative of the *Punica* is the battle of Cannae; it is the turning point where Rome starts growing stronger. The *Punica* achieves symmetry by alternating sets of books, with Cannae being at the centre of the narrative. In this way, the *Punica* shares similarities with Lucan's *Pharsalia* in structural terms: in the *Punica* the battle of Cannae has a central point in the epic narrative, reminding us of the structure of the *Pharsalia*, where Lucan puts the battle of Pharsalia as the central subject of his epic occupying the whole of book 7.[17] For Silius, Cannae signifies the beginning of Carthage's end. Although Carthage wins the battle, the victory foreshadows its total annihilation. Silius, like Lucan, sees his central battle as changing the entire nature of the war.[18] On the contrary, Von Albrecht sees the number 17 as the initial number of books of the epic and believes that an 18th book was never planned; he argues that number 17 corresponds to the 16 years of the Hannibalic war (see Liv. 30.30 *me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae*

[14] There is one more invocation to the Muses in *Punica* 14, for which Kuppers (1986) 19 n. 81 offers an analysis.
[15] See Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2505.
[16] See Delarue (1992) 159, with further analysis at 152-3.
[17] This argument is based on the unfinished state of the *Pharsalia*, as I argued above.
[18] See Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2508.

detraxisti, Sil. 4.122 *Poene, bis octonos Italis in finibus annos*; 17.354 *bis octonos primus fuit Hannibal annos*) plus one year of the siege of Saguntum.[19]

However, the theories about the number of the books are useful only if they can illuminate the structure of the whole poem. Silius' disease might have compelled him to shorten his narrative, but probably not to modify his original project. Moreover, the term 'unfinished' is improper: Silius seems to have condensed in the last books what he had intended to develop at greater length but without sacrificing anything that seemed essential to him. It is very likely that the *Punica* ends where the poet had foreseen it should at the very beginning of his undertaking; that is with the triumph of Scipio.[20] My primary focus in the next chapter is to show that regardless of the number of the books that Silius may or may not have planned, the epic is organised in such a way that everything leads to and anticipates the narrative of book 17, thus the siege of Carthage.

2.1.3. BOOK 17 AND ITS LINK WITH PREVIOUS BOOKS: THE ANTICIPATION OF THE END

Much has been written about the structural and thematic connection of the narratives on Cannae and Zama.[21] From a historiographic point of view, the battle of Cannae and the battle of Zama are the two most important battles in the Punic wars because both are decisive moments in the cursus of Roman history: the battle of Cannae is the most notorious Roman defeat and the most famous Carthaginian victory, whereas the battle of Zama is the most notorious Carthaginian defeat and the most famous Roman victory, which marks Roman supremacy in the Mediterranean world.

If book 9 and book 17 mirror each other, book 12 stands somewhere in between and is one of the most important books in the epic, also associated with book 17 in the way that the siege of Rome described in book 12 anticipates the battle of Zama. More specifically, the divine dialogue at 17.341-356 is a continuation of the divine dialogue at 12.605-730, and the sequence of events in book 12 during Hannibal's siege of Rome

[19] See Von Albrecht (1964) 133 n.35; (1999) 315-6.
[20] See Ripoll (1998) 548 n.51.
[21] For the discussion of a battle-senctered epic, see Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2505-11.

is similar to the events preceding the battle of Zama.[22] In both books the conversation leads to Juno removing Hannibal from the battlefield and saving his life. In both narratives, Hannibal's attempts are frustrated by divine intervention and mainly by Jupiter. This episode links not only book 12 to book 17 but also to book 9 which offers a similar discussion between the gods and finishes similarly with a prophecy from Jupiter. The gods participate in the battle of Cannae (9.287-303); Pallas and Juno discuss the fate of Carthage with Jupiter; and Jupiter foretells Scipio's conquest of Carthage and Hannibal's disaster (9.524-555). For the presence of the gods in the *Punica* and in book 17 in particular, see section 2.2.1.

Books 9 and 12 offer an anticipation for the gods' decision to halt Hannibal and remove him from the battlefield, as described in book 17. The next book, book 13, offers an anticipation for the fall of Carthage happening at the end of book 17. The description of the fall of Capua, the Carthaginian ally, described in *Punica* 13 is an event foreshadowing the fall of Carthage. Capua, described as *altera Carthago* at 13.100, stands as substitute city for Carthage, and its fall anticipates the fall of Carthage herself.[23] In addition, the story of the Palladium at 13.30-93 anticipates the story of Cybele at 17.1-47, and thus the end of the war. More specifically, the presence in Rome of the Palladium, the image of Pallas Athena, that had fallen from the sky to safeguard the city (13.45-6), indicates the vanity of Hannibal's plans to conquer Rome. Hannibal's failure to snatch it from Rome eventually makes him leave the city. The story of the Palladium therefore anticipates the end of the war; in this respect, it anticipates the story of Cybele in book 17, where the entrance of the goddess to Rome presages the expulsion of the foreign enemy, i.e. Hannibal (17.1-47).[24] In *Punica* 17, Hannibal's attempt to return to Italy is prevented by the intervention of Neptune who sends him the storm, as happens in *Punica* 13 where Hannibal's departure from Rome is incited by divine intervention, indicated in the presence of the Palladium. Therefore, the beginning of *Punica* 13 closely resembles the beginning of *Punica* 17.

[22] The symmetry of the two narratives is illustrated by Marks (2005) 196-200. For a brief analysis, see the introductory notes in the commentary on lines 341-84.
[23] See von Albrecht (1964) 32.
[24] For the idea that the story of Palladium anticipates the coming of Cybele, see Augoustakis (2010) 106 n.31.

2.1.4. FROM END TO BEGINNING: BOOK 17 AND BOOK 1 OF THE AENEID AND THE PUNICA

Apart from the above intratextual links which anticipate the end, Silius also creates intertextual associations with the *Aeneid*, thus allowing for a comparison between his epic and his predecessor's poem. This association with the *Aeneid* lies in the allusion not only to the final books of the Virgilian epic (namely book 10 and 12) but also to its first book, so that Silius can leave the possibility of a new beginning of the *Punica* open. This open-endedness of the *Punica* is also supported by Silius' technique of alluding to the beginning of his own epic (namely *Punica* 1) supported by intratextual references for a potential new *Punica*, reminding us that the Second Punic War is simply a stage in the course of Roman history; Hannibal will try to wage a new war against Rome after the siege of Carthage, but he will fail. When he flees from his burnt country he describes himself as *patriae superstes* (17.611) echoing Horace's Aeneas (*Saec*. 42 *castus Aeneas patriae superstes*) but with no future.[25] Therefore, the connection of *Punica* 17 with *Punica* 1 and *Aeneid* 1 signifies the open epic narrative I suggested in my preliminaries, whose closure can always produce a new poetic creation. I will now analyse how *Punica* 17 alludes first to the final books of the *Aeneid*, and then to the first book of the *Aeneid* and the *Punica*.

The final book of the *Punica* shares many similarities with the final book of the *Aeneid*. In the duel of Scipio and Hannibal in book 17 we can find a replay of the duel of Aeneas and Turnus in *Aeneid* 12. Also, the divine dialogue between Jupiter and Juno in the final book of the *Punica* is modelled on the exchanges between Jupiter and Juno both in *Aeneid* 10 (606-32) and 12 (791-842). As in *Aeneid* 10 (633-88) where Juno creates an effigy of Aeneas in order to remove Turnus from the battle, so in *Punica* 17 (522-96) Juno creates an effigy of Scipio with whom Hannibal will have a mock fight and will eventually be led away from the battlefield. At the end of the *Punica*, the poem celebrates Scipio's triumph and Silius announces Scipio's divine status, reminding us of Augustus' *apotheosis*, the *telos* of the *Aeneid*.

The end of the *Punica* resembles not only the end of the *Aeneid*, but also its beginning. The most striking similarity is the storm episode. At the beginning of book 17,

[25] For this observation, see Von Albrecht (1964) 177.

Hannibal urged by a dream, decides to leave Italy and go back to Carthage. In the middle of the sea journey he turns the ships' prows back towards Italy. At this point, a huge storm suddenly happens in the sea and prevents him from reaching the Italian shores. He finally lands in Africa. The storm in the final book of the *Punica* takes the reader back to *Aeneid* 1 where the storm wrecks Aeneas' ships. Hannibal's lament at Sil. 17.260-7 is a repetition of *Aeneid* 1.92-101: both heroes wish they had died in battle rather than being drowned.[26] Later in the *Punica*'s narrative, Juno's disguise as a huntress to mislead Hannibal and direct him far off the battlefield reminds us of Venus' disguise as a huntress in book 1 of the *Aeneid* where she leads and directs Aeneas to Carthage. The goddesses work in a similar but antithetical way: in the *Punica*, Juno removes the epic hero from the narrative by misleading him; whereas, in the *Aeneid,* Venus places the hero inside the epic narrative by guiding him. Last but not least, towards the end of the epic, in Scipio's triumphant procession, Silius puts Carthage as one of the captives, by depicting her as suppliant in a way that recalls Aeneas in *Aeneid* 1 responding to the prospect of his death (Sil. 17.635 *uictas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas* ~ *Aen*. 1.93-4 *ingemit, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas*│*talia uoce refert*). Therefore, the *Punica* sets itself up as the concluding episode of a cyclical epic that begins with the *Aeneid* and also finishes in the same way as the *Aeneid*. Further to this, the *Punica*'s relationship with the *Pharsalia* recalls Caesar's storm in book 5 which confirms the structural link of the three epics I suggested earlier, inserting the *Punica* into the middle of an epic cycle that begins with the *Aeneid* and ends with the *Pharsalia*. Silius plays with opening and closing episodes as part of the epic's open-endedness.

One of the most important characters in the *Punica* is Juno, whose actions and significance in the epic narrative are analysed in section 2.2.1. In this paragraph, I focus on the element that connects the final book of the epic with its first book, and this is Juno's anger. It runs through the whole poem and is concluded in the final book of the epic recalling Juno's same emotion that runs through the whole *Aeneid* and is concluded in its final book as well. As in the *Aeneid*, Juno's anger is the main driving force in Silius' narrative: *Punica* 1 starts by describing the cause of the fierce conflict between the Romans and the Carthaginians, which is triggered by Juno's anger.

[26] There is a repetition of the same episode in 17.260-7, where Hannibal in the sea laments his fate and wishes he had died on the battlefield like his brother. The same moment is repeated twice in one book.

Hannibal is the goddess' instrument whom she inspires with her anti-Roman feelings. In the final book, Jupiter prophesies that Hannibal's fate is inevitable, and that Juno has no other choice but to accept the Romans' fate. In this way, Juno's reconciliation finishes the war and the epic narrative. At the end of book 17, in the divine dialogue of Jupiter and Juno, the god summarises Juno's actions as having cosmic implications on earth and sea (17.352 *turbasti maria ac terras*); he used the same phrase when Silius had described her turbulent actions at the beginning of the epic, when she found Hannibal as her instrument (1.37 *turbanti terras pontumque mouere paranti*). Juno's chaotic emotion instigates the action of the epic, hence, it cannot finish unless her actions are halted. This happens at the very end of the epic, when Juno retreats to the aether after having accomplished her mission, i.e. to save Hannibal (604 *tunc superas Iuno sedes turbata reuisit*). After removing Juno from the epic action, Silius can finish the epic in describing the episode he had programmatically announced, Scipio's opening of the citadels of Carthage (1.14 *quis superare datum: reserauit Dardanus arces* ~ 17.618 *Hic finis bello. reserantur protinus arces*).

As I suggested above, the idea that the *Punica* finishes in a way that evokes *Aeneid* 1 is a sign of a "supratextual ring composition" technique. Ring composition can be a signal of closure, which suggest unendingness and can bring the narrative to another opening. The idea of the ending as a new beginning is very typical in Classical literature. As Hardie has shown,[27] there is frequent play with endings as "new beginnings" in Latin epic poetry. For example, Ovid introduces in the last book of the *Metamorphoses* the long speech of Pythagoras which is a direct reference to the speech of Homer in the first book of Ennius' *Annales*. Further, according to Zetzel, Catullus ends his *Epyllion* (*Carmen* 64), by alluding to the opening of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (*Eoeae*, fr. 1 M-W);[28] then again, the first major episode of Callimachus *Aetia* (frr. 7.19-21 Pf) is an episode reminiscent of the end of the voyage of the Argo, while the last episode (frr. 108-09 Pf) before the *Coma Berenices* is borrowed from the beginning of the voyage. In the *Thebaid*, the story of the epic is left open-ended as it implies another beginning, with the Epigoni that will take further action in the future. Similarly, the end of the *Punica* is not the end of the story but a stage in Roman history. The fact that Silius' *Punica* tells only the second of the three Punic Wars implies that

[27] See Hardie (1993) 12-4.
[28] See Zetzel (1983) 261.

there is a cyclical process working in the epic, which is foreshadowed by Jupiter's prophecy on the coming of Scipio Aemilianus who will totally annihilate Carthage in the Third Punic War (17.373-5 *non longa supersunt*│*fata urbi, uenietque pari sub nomine ductor,*│*qui nunc seruatas euertat funditus arces*). But Jupiter's prophecy is clear: Hannibal will never reach Italy again (17.380-1 *Saturnia regna*│*ne post haec uideat*) and the reader knows from the historiographical tradition that Hannibal will never be a real threat in the future. In this case, Aeneas and Hannibal share a common characteristic: Aeneas must be saved to build Rome whereas Hannibal must be saved to be defeated by the Romans for Rome to succeed in the future. Therefore, Hannibal, in a reverse way, is the unconscious builder of Roman greatness.[29]

2.2. THEMES, MOTIFS AND UNITY AT PUNICA 17.341 – 654

The narrative in the final lines of the *Punica* offers several thematic motifs around which the narrative of the epic revolves; they also disclose some of the poet's beliefs. In this section, my purpose is to analyse some of the themes and motifs that offer unity in the *Punica*, but also work as closural elements in the final lines of the epic.

2.2.1. DIVINE ACTION: JUPITER AND JUNO

One important element that occurs in *Punica* 17 and dominates the narrative of the epic is divine action. After Lucan's decision to eliminate the divine apparatus from his epic narrative, the Flavians re-introduce the gods' active participation in the epic action. Silius follows the Flavian pattern and uses the gods to take control of the narrative and the progress of events. The gods that appear in the second half of book 17 are Jupiter and Juno, but there are also references to Bacchus, and the demi-god Hercules, to whom Scipio is compared in the final lines of the epic. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the characters of Jupiter and Juno as they appear in the lines under discussion in book 17, providing, at the same time, a brief introduction on

[29] The phrase comes from Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2516.

their role in the progress of the narrative in the epic in comparison to the *Aeneid* and Statius' *Thebaid*.

In the *Punica*, Jupiter and Juno resume their epic antagonism from Virgil's *Aeneid*: Juno opposes the Romans in favour of the Carthaginians, and Jupiter is the national god of the Romans supporting Roman destiny. In the first lines of the epic (Sil. 1.29-38), Juno is depicted inspiring the Carthaginians with *furor* against the Romans in the same way she did for the Italians against the Trojans in the *Aeneid*. By attributing to her the same hostility towards Rome, Silius creates a connection between Juno in the *Punica* and Juno in the *Aeneid*.[30] Although Juno is a member of Rome's Capitoline Triad of divinities, along with Jupiter and Minerva, she has an evident preference for Carthage, which derives from her association with the great goddess of Phoenician Carthage, Tanit/Astarte, the goddess of war.[31] As she protected Dido and Turnus in the *Aeneid*, she now protects and uses Hannibal as her instrument to destroy Rome.

Even from the initial lines of the poem, we learn about Juno's hatred for Rome and fondness for Carthage, her strong ties with her protégé, Hannibal, and her intention to destroy Rome forever and take her revenge (1.35-55). Thus, we clearly see that Hannibal's power and motivation come from the epic and not from the historical tradition as he incarnates "supernatural causations", i.e. Juno's desires.[32] Although Jupiter directs the action in the epic, being the embodiment of fate or fortune, Juno initiates the course of the events,[33] as shown at 1.42-55: she inspires Hannibal with the Carthaginian hatred and inserts him into the epic narrative. She intervenes in the middle of events by guiding and leading Hannibal throughout the epic, whereas, at the same time, she removes him from the battlefield whenever it is necessary, disturbing thus the order of the narrative. The first time she intervenes is at 1.548-55; she covers Hannibal with a dark cloud and leads him away of the battlefield after he was wounded by Jupiter, an appearance recalling Aphrodite saving her son Aeneas from Diomedes at *Il.* 5.311-18. In *Punica* 4, Juno appears to Hannibal disguised as the lake-god Trasimene and inspires him to cross the Apennines (4.722-38). At Cannae, at the core of the epic narrative, Juno confirms her aid to Hannibal, as had programmatically been

[30] Feeney (1991) 116-7 traces the hostility back to Naevius, whose epic must have influenced the beginning of the *Aeneid*.
[31] See Keith (2010) 359.
[32] See Ganiban (2010) 78.
[33] See Laudizi (1989) 78.

expressed (8.25-7): she sends Anna (8.25-38) to urge Hannibal to the battlefield, and Somnus (10.337-50) to deter him from taking any further action against Rome. She is disguised as Metellus to persuade Paulus to leave the battle (10.45-71), where she not only fails but also causes a significant delay in the narrative. Her actions are primarily motivated by her desire to save Hannibal. In book 12, she manipulates Hannibal, snatches him away from the battlefield and leads Marcellus to a different section of the battle. Her role is crucial in the closure of the epic. In the second half of *Punica* 17 she rescues Hannibal's life and saves him from imminent death at Scipio's hands. She shapes an effigy of Scipio with which Hannibal will fight. She then disguises herself as a shepherd and appears in front of Hannibal and leads him away from the battle (17.567-80). In this way, she saves him from imminent death. She eventually retreats to the sky only when she finishes her mission in the epic, at the end of book 17 (604 *tunc superas Iuno sedes turbata reuisit*). Therefore, Juno's appearance and her sponsorship of her protégé play an important role in the action of the epic narrative in the *Punica*; she instills the fire for revenge in Hannibal and she is the one who halts him whenever is needed.[34]

That Juno's actions are controlled by Jupiter is already well-known in the epic tradition. In her speech to Jupiter in *Punica* 17, Juno admits that she cannot oppose the events that are already fixed, implying thus Jupiter's decision regarding the outcome of the Second Punic War (17.357-8 *neque ego haec mutare laborans,*│*quis est fixa dies*). Jupiter in the *Punica* resembles Jupiter in the *Aeneid* where Aeneas – and the readers – receive information about the future and are assured by Jupiter that the *telos* of the action of the epic will lead to *imperium sine fine* (1.279). In the *Punica*, Jupiter knows the *fatum* of the Romans, namely that they will prevail, and that Carthage will be utterly destroyed. He executes the overall plan for Roman destiny in book 3 where the advent of the Flavian dynasty is foreshadowed, his commands are equated with the dictates of the fates, and he prevents small obstructions from interfering with it, such as Juno's plans. He is the almighty (Sil. 3.163, 7.372, 17.385 *omnipotens*) national god of Rome, and he takes seriously his responsibilities as father

[34] Divine intervention in the middle of the action is not a characteristic only of Juno. Several gods interfere in human situations and decide the outcome: for example, Jupiter, acting as a protector of the Romans and of his son Scipio, at Sil. 4.419 sends Mercury to save Scipio, and at 9.470-85 he sends Minerva again to save Scipio in the battle of Cannae. For Minerva as the protectress of Domitian, see Zecchini (2011) 47.

of gods and men. As he admits in his speech to Venus in *Punica* 3, the Punic War is a test for the Romans to gain eternal glory (573-83). The *labor* caused by war prepares the Romans for world-rule. Jupiter predicts the creation of an empire under the power of an Individual – this one is Domitian who will surpass his predecessors in the Flavian dynasty (3.607-8).

Silius' Jupiter is portrayed in a positive way resembling the portrayal of Jupiter in the *Aeneid* but contrasting with that of Statius' *Thebaid* who is negative and pessimistic. In his speech at *Theb*. 1.197-302, Jupiter announces his purpose to punish Thebes and Argos for their previous malefactions, an action that will eventually cause the destruction of both cities. This forms a negative counterpart to Jupiter's speech in *Aeneid* 1, where he promises Venus an *imperium sine fine* (1.279) for her offspring,[35] and also to Silius' Jupiter who foreshadows the rule of the Flavians by mentioning the achievements of Vespasian, Titus and eventually Domitian (3.597-629). Statius' Jupiter is associated with punishment, not with return to order, as in Virgil where he is identified with the ultimate order of things and the Fates. The final book of the *Thebaid*, with its concern over reconciliation and proper treatment of the dead, is very much an *Iliad* 24 and with its quickened tempo, and carefully systematic resolution, it is also an *Odyssey* 24.[36] Statius withdraws the gods from the end of the poem and especially the supreme god from the resolution of the poem's action; Jupiter's place is taken by the human Theseus, who is compared to the god in a simile, as he marches against Thebes (12.650-5), showing, in this way, his differentiation from both the Homeric poems and the *Aeneid*. So Statius makes it impossible for the reader to look for divine aid for resolution at the end of the poem. Therefore, the gods' withdrawal from the finale of the *Thebaid* enables him to diverge from the existing epic tradition, as he suggests the weakness of human attempts to make sense of their catastrophes.[37]

Another characteristic of the divine action in Latin epic, and in the *Punica* in particular, is that the gods' authority is unreliable and evasive.[38] It is shown that many of the prophecies in the *Aeneid* are pieces of rhetoric designed to persuade rather than simply to inform. Like the orator, the speaker of a prophecy need not hesitate to deceive, especially when the deception can be cleverly worded, and cannot easily be

[35] See Pollmann (2004) 22.
[36] See Feeney (1991) 357.
[37] For this analysis, see Feeney (1991) 363.
[38] See O' Hara (1990) 118 and Feeney (1991) 151-5.

contradicted. This is one characteristic we find in Valerius Flaccus, who attributes a similar characteristic to the gods in his epic. In the Valerian *Argonautica* the gods give unclear and misleading information about the humans' future; Jupiter deliberately keeps humans in uncertainty with vague prophecies that include an element of hope. Thus, the Roman readers are left in uncertainty since Valerius does not even clearly mention the ultimate future of Roman rule in the world.[39] In the *Punica*, the general idea of deception for Hannibal's case especially is apparent. From the beginning of the epic, Hannibal has been receiving deceptive or misleading prophecies and also has false expectations regarding his future victory over the Romans (for example Sil. 1.123-39, 3.163-221). The gods hide the long-term outcome of the war, which is Punic defeat, and, instead, give emphasis to the many and short-term successes of his which will not result in a victorious end in the long-run. Hannibal resembles Aeneas in the *Aeneid* who is deceived about his own long-term survival and life and in the end will not see the results of his success. But primarily he resembles Turnus who is continuously deceived by the gods, and whose confidence and arrogance derives from divine messengers.[40]

2.2.2. FIDES ROMANA – PUNICA PERFIDIA

Another motif that unifies the epic from the beginning until its final lines and works as a closural element is the concept of reliability, *fides*, that characterises the Romans, and the absence of it that characterises the Carthaginians. Gruen has shown that the idea of *Punica fides* is not the actual impression that Rome had of Carthaginians, but it ended up as a stereotype in Roman propagandistic texts.[41] In fact, the image of *Punica fides* was invented to strengthen the idea of *fides Romana*, and the image of the foreign enemy as untrustworthy reinforced the image of the Roman fidelity. This means that 'initially the phrase lacked a strictly ethnic connotation'.[42] Sallust used the phrase *Punica fides* to describe the lack of faith of the Numidian king Bocchus (*Iug*. 108.3 *magis Punica fide quam ob ea quae praedicabat*), which then was extended to

[39] See Manuwald (2009) 605-6.
[40] See O' Hara (1990) 62. On Turnus as a victim of divine deception and misinformation, see O' Hara (1990) 61-87.
[41] See Gruen (2011).
[42] Gruen (2011) 132.

Phoenicians as a whole. The idea of *Punica perfidia* in particular is apparent in Livy who accuses Hannibal for treachery (21.4.9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*),[43] and is part of the Augustan propaganda (see also Horace at 3.5.33 *qui perfidis se credidit hostibus* and 4.4.49 *dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal*) that promoted the idea of *perfidia* as a notorious Punic trait, to describe the violation of any kind of faith in contrast to the Roman faith.[44] In this chapter, I will begin the analysis by showing how in the *Punica* the Carthaginians are associated with *perfidia*, and how this trait, Eastern in origin, is one of Hannibal's main causes of defeat.

Von Albrecht has characterised the *Punica* as 'Epos der Fides',[45] showing, thus, the significance of this concept for our understanding of the epic. One of the first elements that Silius announces in the proem is the level of impiety that characterises Hannibal and the Carthaginians. This impiety has its roots in the *Aeneid* where Dido at 4.624 utters a curse that there shall be no treaties between the Romans and the Carthaginians; this explains the reason why Hannibal and the Carthaginians in the *Punica* are notorious for dishonouring their allegiances and violating their treaties. More specifically, from the first lines of the epic, the Carthaginians are described as breaking treaties (Sil. 1.8-11); one main example is Hannibal's crossing of the river Ebro, which is illustrated on his shield as an act of treaty breach (2.451 *Hannibal abrupto transgressus foedere*) showing Hannibal's status as violator who initiates the war under sinister terms. In the first description of Hannibal's character in *Punica* 1, he is described as faithless to his plighted word (1.56-7 *fideique sinister*│*is fuit*). His opposition towards Jupiter throughout the *Punica* derives from his Carthaginian *perfidia*, as the oaths are sworn to Jupiter who safeguards its inviolability (1.8-11):[46]

> *ter Marte sinistro*
> *iuratumque Ioui foedus conuentaque patrum*
> *Sidonii fregere duces, atque impius ensis*
> *ter placitam suasit temerando rumpere pacem.*

[43] Cicero had already accused the Carthaginians of being untrustworthy, at *Inu*. 1.71, *Off*. 1.38, *Agr*. 2.95.
[44] See Gruen (2011) 133-4.
[45] Von Albrecht (1964) 55.
[46] See Littlewood (2011) 207. Jupiter Feretrius is associated with binding oaths and the inviolability of treaties.

By being an oath breaker, Hannibal demonstrates his defiance of Jupiter and his role as oath keeper. Hannibal's perfidy was notorious, stressed not only by Silius but also by historiographers. Among his military virtues, Hannibal is described by Livy as having an inhuman cruelty, no fear of the gods and no valid oaths (21.4.9 *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil ueri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio*). The treacherous nature of the Carthaginians is also confirmed by Appian at *Lib.* 8.62-4.

This motif of Punic perfidy is apparent in the second half of *Punica* 17. In the divine dialogue between Jupiter and Juno in book 17 Jupiter acknowledges the treacherous character of the Carthaginians and wishes to put an end to their actions of impiety (348-9 *quis erit, quaeso, germana, rebelli*│*fractis foederibus populo modus?*). Their rules and laws are described as wicked at 619-20 *iura improba adempta*│*armaque,* laws of which Scipio's conquest of Carthage will eventually deprive them. The Carthaginian *iura* and *arma* are characterised as wicked (*improba*) because Hannibal himself is *improbus* (1.58), after having violated the peace treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians (see comment on 619). The level of Carthaginian impiety is extended to the fact that even their allies have treacherous characteristics: one such example is the Macedonians, who are represented by Silius as a treacherous ally of the Carthaginians (17.420 *immemor has pacti post foedus in arma Philippus*). The alliance of Philip V of Macedon with Hannibal in 215 BC (Plb. 7.9, Sil. 15.289-90) explains the Macedonian aid on Hannibal's side in the battle of Zama in 202 BC (Sil. 17.414-21) but acts as a breach of another peace treaty, the one signed with the Romans a few years before the battle in Zama, in 205 BC (App. *Mac*. 1.2, Liv. 29.12.14); the Numidian king Syphax had also violated his treaty with Rome (Sil. 17.74-5) by becoming an ally of Carthage (17.67), an act that "ominously underscores his breaking of *fides* and *fas*, thus he is described as *barbarus* (Sil. 17.113)".[47] For Silius, the epic ideal is to show that the nations are called to respect *fides*, and the breakers of treaties of peace are condemned (Walter 2013: 324-5), as he clearly warns at 2.700 *audite, o gentes, neu rumpite foedera pacis*. For whoever does not respect *fides* should be punished: this can be evident in the narrative of the battle of Zama described in *Punica*

[47] Augoustakis (2010a) 228.

17 where the Macedonians are shown defeated in a humiliating way, as if in an act of rape (see comment on lines 413-25); Syphax also is shown in Scipio's parade as captive with chains of gold around his neck in full submission to his conqueror (see comment on lines 629-30). The siege of Carthage described at the end of the book then obtains a purifying character and releases the Carthaginians from their negative traits. This is foreshadowed in the siege of Capua in *Punica* 11, a city notorious for her *perfidia*, as is her ally, Carthage.[48] Capua, the *altera Carthago*, as described at 11.424–425, chooses the path of *perfidia* contrasting with Saguntum, the Roman ally, which in *Punica* 2 remains loyal to Rome and to *fides*.

From a different point of view, Hannibal's perfidy can be seen as a mechanism for the Carthaginian leader to respect and uphold the first – and most important – oath he has given: his eternal enmity towards the Romans. To my mind, Hannibal's perfidy is viewed only from the Roman point of view which overlooks Hannibal's loyalty to the *fides* and *pietas* for his own ancestors. In Polybius' and Nepos' account, the narrative of the story of the origin of the Second Punic War focuses on the eternal enmity of the Barcid family towards Rome which Hannibal must perpetuate showing thus the deep roots of this familial hatred (Plb. 3.11.7 *λαβόμενον τῆς δεξιᾶς προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν καὶ κελεύειν ἁψάμενον τῶν ἱερῶν ὀμνύναι μηδέποτε Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοήσειν*, Nep. *Han*. 2.3-4 *simul me ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat, eamque ceteris remotis tenentem iurare iussit numquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore*). In Silius, young Hannibal also swears enmity towards the Romans, as a fulfilment of Dido's curse (1.118-9 '…*hanc mentem iuro nostri per numina Martis,*│*per manes, regina, tuos*'). Hannibal has undertaken the mission always to uphold his first oath. In the battle of Zama, the final stage of the Second Punic War – and of this epic – Hannibal is illustrated as a true son of Hamilcar and a true descendant of Dido, to whom he remains loyal until the very end. His *furor* is instilled by his father and Juno, to a certain extent. Bernstein believes that Hannibal's *fides* entails continuous acts of *perfidia*, when he states that "Hannibal's impiety overshadows whatever virtue inheres in his individual acts of devotions towards his ancestors";[49] but, to my mind, this impiety acts as part of Hannibal's mission to respect his familial oath, a perspective that creates a more sympathetic Hannibal. In his final words, totally defeated, he shows

[48] See Burck (1984) 52 n.79.
[49] Bernstein (2008) 135.

his intention to remain a source of terror to Roman minds, which further indicates that he refuses to quit from this mission.

The motif of Roman fides and Carthaginian *perfidia* can also work as a closural device in the end of the *Punica*, if combined with and viewed under the Roman idea of Orientalism that dictates that the East is defeated, distant, treacherous, and feminine, whereas the West is powerful, loyal, and masculine. More specifically, Hannibal's image in defeat in the final lines of the epic should be viewed as part of his feminisation, closely associated with his oriental origins. In the beginning of the *Punica*, Silius creates an image of Hannibal linked with two main characters: Dido and Juno. Dido's curse in the *Aeneid* that an avenger will rise from her bones becomes for Hannibal his *raison d'être* (Sil. 1.113-9). Juno's hatred of the Trojans motivates her to find Hannibal – the sworn enemy of Rome – and become his protectress (Sil. 1.36-7), as she had done with Dido and Turnus in the *Aeneid*. The Roman fear of the Orient was already known from Augustus' era and the threat to the Empire imposed by Cleopatra as well as Antony's philo-Oriental feelings. Virgil introduces this element in the character of Dido, presenting her as a threat to Aeneas' mission (her influence culminates at the moment of Aeneas' building the walls of Carthage, when he is found by Mercury at *Aen*. 4.260-4). Silius inherits this idea by using Dido whose Eastern origins are repeatedly emphasised throughout the *Punica*, to tie her to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Hannibal also shares common characteristics with Cleopatra, the second greatest external enemy of Rome (with the first one being Hannibal) also coming from the East: both absent from their conqueror's parade, they escape humiliation by committing suicide. Hannibal's flight at the end of the epic is an image of defeat and thus feminisation. The association he has with female characters "inscribes him in the position of the loser in the battle of sexes, and therefore renders impotent the Carthaginian challenge to Roman hegemony of the Mediterranean".[50] Therefore, Hannibal loses not because he cannot win, but because the East is condemned to defeat, and the Latin West to succeed. His "mistake" is that he is attached to the "false mother-model, to the wrong country, to a hostile Tellus".[51] At the end of the epic, Scipio is illustrated as a second Bacchus who returns victorious from the East on his chariot with bridled tigers (17.647-8 *qualis odoratis descendens*

[50] For analysis, see Keith (2010) 372.
[51] Augoustakis (2010a) 154.

Liber ab Indis|*egit pampineos frenata tigride currus*). Scipio thus emerges as controlling the Orient's unbridled passion and becoming the victor in a defeated East. To summarise, at the end of the epic, Hannibal is shown in total defeat; he looks at the battle from above but has no power to return. His final words constitute a cry with feminine characteristics; episodes of female grief are closural moments: the closure of the *Iliad* comes with the ritual laments of Andromache, Hecuba and Helen, and the funeral of Hector.[52] In Statius' *Thebaid*, the lamenting voices of women conclude the epic just before Statius' own voice, commemorating, thus, the human cost of war (12.783-96).[53] This strengthens the association of Hannibal with feminine characters at the end of the *Punica*.

Hannibal's *perfidia* causes him to wage an impious war (17.494 *nefandi belli*). Apart from the fact that he breaks treaties, his war is also described as a violation of the natural world. At 17.479-521, Silius describes Scipio's massive cosmic revenge for Hannibal's past massacre, a passage that is filled with imagery of transgression and violation, such as the pollution of the sacred lake of Trasimene and the opening of the Alps denied to human steps (see commentary on lines 496-7, 501-2). Acts of violation of the natural world is a common epic topos, if we remember the river Ismenus lamenting about his blocked streams from the corpses at Stat. *Theb*. 9.429–39, or the actions of Caesar who stained the rivers of Thessaly with Roman blood (Luc. 10.32-3). Both these two examples, together with Hannibal's actions of violation of nature create a gigantomachic context, making Hannibal look like a Giant, recalling another impious gigantic character in the epic, Statius' Capaneus, as depicted, for instance, at *Theb.* 4.165-77 bearing a giant-emblem on his helmet.[54] Newlands has shown that landscapes and especially rivers work as a symbolic topography where "the moral and physical evil of civil war is dramatically displayed in the sullying and swelling of formerly pure and peaceful waters".[55] Silius seems to follow the same pattern: Hannibal's violation of boundaries disturbs the natural order that will be restored by Scipio as the representative of moral values. Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, who

[52] Braund (1996) 19 n.14 believes that "this close of the *Iliad* is not closural, because the Trojans' fear that the Greek will attack them (24.799-800) looks ahead to the renewal of the fighting and ultimately to Achilles' death".
[53] See Dietrich (1999) 50 who offers an extensive analysis of the role of lament as a feminine ending in Statius' *Thebaid.*
[54] For Hannibal as Capaneus, see Stocks (2014) 73-5.
[55] Newlands (2004) 147.

works as a substitute for Hannibal throughout the *Punica*, also violates nature when he invades Italy in *Punica* 15, as Tellus complains to Nero at 15.523-41.[56]

2.2.3. INTERCHANGEABILITY OF THE TWO LEADERS

Another important element that occurs in the *Punica* and is of great importance for our understanding of the closure of the epic is the interchangeability of Hannibal and Scipio. In the *Punica*, Hannibal and Scipio share the same models that make them similar and interchangeable. Augoustakis has shown that by the end of the *Punica* there is an assimilation of the two identities, the Roman and the Carthaginian, where "the (African) other is reshaped into the same", and vice versa: at the end of the epic, Scipio emerges as an *Africanus* which shows how the once hostile continent has now become Roman.[57] Throughout the *Punica*, the two leaders have the potential to become identical. They are presented in such a way that foreshadows the assimilation of the two nations.

Hannibal in the *Punica* has been described in theomachic terms where he is portrayed as opposing Jupiter for the Capitol (12.684-5; 699-700). He is called *fulmineus* at 17.548 and *fulmen…Carthaginis* at 15.664, and his speed and violence are often compared to a lightning bolt (see, for example, 1.421, 17.474-8). He again resembles Capaneus in Stat. *Thebaid* who is both a giant and thunderbolt in the games (4.165-77, 6.750, 10.925-6). Hannibal's association with the lightning bolt must have been linked to Hannibal's last name (Barca, coming from the Semitic stem *brq*), meaning lightning or thunderbolt.[58] The above idea is consequently connected to the Roman literary tradition, where the Scipios are also described using *fulmen*; see Lucr. 3.1034 *Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror*, Cic. *Balb.* 34 *duo fulmina nostri imperi…Cn. et P. Scipiones*, and also Virgil *Aen*. 6.842-3 *geminos, dua fulmina bello,*│*Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*, who all seem to etymologise the name Scipio from

[56] See Augoustakis (2003) 250 n.57.
[57] See Augoustakis (2010a) 197.
[58] The Greek belief of the 5th century that the name of a hero belongs naturally to its bearer and provides a clue to his character or destiny is perhaps apparent here; see Ajax's name related to *aiai*, the sound of mourning (see Sophocles *Aj*. 430-1), or Pentheus' name related to *penthos*, grief (see Euripides *Ba*. 367-8, 507-8).

the ancient Greek word *σκηπτός*, lightning bolt.[59] Scipio's association with the lightning bolt and Jupiter comes from the fact that throughout the *Punica* Scipio appears as the legendary son of Jupiter who, transformed into a snake, raped Scipio's mother, Pomponia. Therefore, Silius creates a word-play between Scipio's name and the name of Barca, both meaning lightning bolt, an idea contributing to the motif of the interchangeability between the two leaders.[60]

Both Hannibal and Scipio relate to Jupiter, the first in a negative way and the second in a positive way. This common model they share also connects them with Lucan's Caesar who is also compared to a thunderbolt at the beginning of the *Pharsalia* (1.151-7), depicted as a cause of terror in the world. I will begin by analysing the elements that connect Hannibal to Lucan's Caesar and Pompey. Hannibal in the *Punica* is the character that the reader would expect after *Aeneid* 4 and Livy's account of the Hannibalic war in book 30: he is the biggest external enemy of the Romans. His famous march towards Rome provided the model for Lucan to describe Julius Caesar's march on Italy: at the beginning of the *Pharsalia*, Lucan presents Caesar as a new Hannibal (Luc. 1.248-57), since both turned against Rome.[61] Silius elaborates on this comparison and creates a Hannibal that recalls Caesar's actions. Hannibal's crossing of the Spanish Ebro when he broke the treaty with Rome and initiated the Punic wars is compared to Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon.[62] In *Punica* 17, we see Hannibal recalling Caesar at different moments.[63] As described earlier, they are both presented as defilers of the natural world, where Hannibal stained the Italian waters and Caesar the rivers of Thessaly with Roman blood (see Luc. 7.700; 789-90, 10.32-3). The resemblance of the two heroes is more apparent when they are depicted in danger facing the sea storm. They express the same fear and they prefer to have died on the battlefield than in the middle of the sea (Luc. 5.668-71 ~ Sil. 17.559-61).[64] Caesar's announcement of his desire to die unburied as long as he is feared and awaited by every land (*'mihi funere nullo│est opus, o superi: lacerum retinete cadauer│fluctibus in mediis, desint mihi busta rogusque,│dum metuar semper terraque expecter ab*

[59] For analysis and bibliography on this, see Marks (2005) 195 n.84.
[60] A detailed analysis of Hannibal and Scipio's shared models is offered by Marks (2005) 88-90.
[61] See McGuire (1997) 84.
[62] See Laudizi (1989) 109.
[63] For Silius' Hannibal and Lucan's Caesar, see von Albrecht (1964) 54–55; Stocks (2014) 67-70.
[64] Of course, this fear not to drown goes back to *Od*. 5.299-312, where Odysseys laments and wishes he had died in Troy gloriously.

omni') is echoed by Hannibal later in the epic narrative, where, utterly defeated and in flight, he vows his return (17.610-12 *nec deinde relinquo*│*securam te, Roma, mei, patriaeque superstes*│*ad spes armorum uiuam tibi*). Fearless of divine plans, they both express their confidence that the gods cannot erase the memory of their deeds which will last forever. However, Caesar survives and wins, whereas Hannibal loses and disappears, uttering vain threats.

Although Hannibal resembles Lucan's Caesar, in his final moment he also resembles Lucan's Pompey. At the end of the epic, Hannibal is weakened and although his army believes that he is the bastion of his country, what is left to him is simply his *nomen* (Sil. 17.150-1), reminding us of Pompey as introduced by Lucan at the beginning of the epic (1.135) as *magni nominis umbra*. Hannibal is often recognised by his great name, especially at the moment he enters the battlefield at Zama (17.393 *magno de nomine*). He relies on his past deeds, his *nomen*, as is the case for Lucan's Pompey.[65] At the end of his action, Hannibal recalls Caesar as shown above, as well as Pompey: they both end up on the hill viewing the dire battle and the defeat of their army (see Sil. 17.597-9 when Hannibal looks down on the defeat at Zama ~ Luc. 7.649-711 when Pompey is on a hill looking down on the defeat of Pharsalia).[66] At the end, they both express their confidence that the future ages will never be silent about the achievements of Hannibal (Sil. 17.609-10) and the toils of Rome (Luc. 8.622-3). Their flight causes terror to the Romans, for Hannibal at the end of the epic (17.616-7) and for Pompey at the beginning of the *Pharsalia* (1.522), and they both die in the East (Luc. 8.12-3).

Hannibal and Pompey share the same fate, and although Pompey achieves his *apotheosis* in the *Pharsalia*, it is Scipio who is divinised at the end of the *Punica*, not Hannibal. Lucan closes book 8 of the *Pharsalia* with an image of a quasi-*apotheosis* for Pompey by equating him to *Jupiter Tonans* (8.871-2). Immediately afterwards, book 9 opens with the image of Pompey seeing his soul ascending to the ether (9.1-14) and entering the breasts of Brutus and Cato (9.17-8). The description of Pompey's *apotheosis* recalls the final lines of the *Punica* when Silius equates Scipio with *Jupiter*

[65] On Hannibal as both Caesar and Pompey, see Von Albrecht (1964) 54-55, Stocks (2014) 67-70; for Pompey's case, Marks (2008) 72-81.
[66] For a comparison of both scenes, see the extensive analysis of Leigh (1997) 110-57 and Lovatt (2013) 111-7.

Tonans (17.652-4) and thus finishes the epic.[67] At the end of the *Punica*, the reader has a multi-layered image of Scipio's and Hannibal's characters in the *Punica*, in a way that suggests one could potentially become the other. The close connection of the two nations throughout the years of the Punic wars brought about their close resemblance: Hannibal, the greatest external enemy of Rome, is also a founder (in the sense that he sets the foundation for the establishment of Rome's hegemony).

The connection of Hannibal and Scipio lies also in the fact that both are associated with serpents. According to a legend, Scipio's mother Pomponia was raped by Jupiter transformed into a serpent (Sil. 13.637-44). From his first appearance until the final lines of the poem, Scipio is shown as the offspring of Jupiter (see for instance, 4.476, 17.654), supported and aided by the god (see for example at 4.417-29 where Jupiter decides the fate of his son Scipio by sending Mercury down to earth to remove him from the battle). Therefore, Scipio has a double paternity: a real (as a son of Publius Cornelius Scipio) and a legendary one (as a son of Jupiter the serpent). As for Hannibal, throughout the *Punica* he is often compared to a venomous snake. More specifically, at 3.183-97 (and especially at 208-10) Hannibal dreams that he is a snake destroying Italy, at 12.1-6 he is portrayed as a snake that lifts its head after hibernation,[68] and at 17.447-9 he is compared to an African snake displaying his *feritas* on the battlefield. This comparison perhaps comes from his close association with Africa, a place which is notorious for its venomous and lethal snakes (see 3.312-3, Luc. 9.607-23 on the lethal Libyan snakes). This connection reflects Carthaginian *perfidia*, over which Regulus triumphed despite his death, when he killed the serpents (6.118-293). In literature, snakes are associated with productiveness and destructiveness, destruction and renewal. This can be also viewed at *Aen*. 2.471-5, where Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, is compared to a viper: Pyrrhus' violence, resembling the violence of the serpents that killed Laocoon and his sons, leads him to kill a son before the eyes of his father, who attempts to intervene. Therefore, the simile presents the serpent as the symbol of rebirth, and Pyrrhus, as the son of Achilles, is a renewal of his father.[69] In the same way Hannibal appears as a renewal of his father

[67] From a historical perspective, Pompey and Scipio were never divinised. For an analysis of the complexities of the subject of *apotheosis* in Flavian Rome, see Introduction, section 3.3.
[68] The snake motif is one of the elements that also connects books 12 and 17 (see 12. 1-6 ~ 17. 447-50), two books strongly connected with each other in terms of intratextual structure; see above, section 2.2.3.
[69] See Knox (1999) 354-6.

Hamilcar, from whom he has inherited the violence to destroy Rome, but, in the end, this violence will cause his own destruction. Although Scipio's appearance as a son of a snake links him with characters descended from god-serpents, such as Alexander the Great, son of Jupiter-serpent (Liv. 26.19.7) and Augustus, son of Apollo-serpent (Suet. *Aug*. 94.4), Hannibal's comparison to a snake provides him with a more gigantomachic image, as both snakes and the Giants are chthonic creatures, and Giants are sometimes represented with snake legs.[70] Overall, the interchangeability of the two leaders is one of the motifs that happens in different moments in the *Punica* but it is particularly important in the build-up to Zama, and its significance is apparent in the final lines of the poem, where the two different nations become one.

3. CLOSURE IN SILIUS ITALICUS' *PUNICA* 17

"Ancient epics have a way of being strangely uncertain about their endings".[71] Hardie argues that in early Greek epic there is an absence of a formal coda or epilogue, of which the later authors seemed to be aware and by which they were influenced, to the extent that this uncertainty about endings was a defining feature of the epic genre. As I argued above, there is no doubt that the *Punica* is a significantly finished epic, in the sense that it has an unambiguous significant marker of completeness. Stephanie West and Philip Hardie agree that Silius' *Punica*, along with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Statius' *Thebaid*, belong to the clearly finished epics; they provide strong closural effects, and their cessation coincides with the author's death.[72] In the *Punica*, Silius indicates that the poem is moving towards its final stage, and through the use of phrases and imagery he gradually prepares the reader for the conclusion of the narrative. The *Punica* ends with a strong closural gesture: Hannibal's flight and

[70] See Lovatt (2005) 115.
[71] Hardie (1997) 139.
[72] See West (2007) 14; Hardie (1997) 139-40. In fact, we do not precisely know when the poets died and how that relates to when they stopped writing their poems. For example, regarding Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it is a common thought that it may have been revised while Ovid was in exile, an idea first introduced by Segal (1969) 288-92. But we cannot tell the difference between an author who has died and an author who has simply stopped writing.

Scipio's triumphal procession in Rome. "Triumph as a ritual confirms the successful conclusion of the war".[73]

In this section, my main task is to analyse the metapoetics of closure in the *Punica*, mainly its relationship with Silius' contemporary world. I begin by featuring the signs in *Punica* 17 that anticipate the resolution of the narrative and prepare the reader for the end of the epic (section 3.1). In the next section (3.2), I focus on metapoetics in Silius' epic writing; through an intertextual analysis, I reveal Silius' ambition to outlive his predecessors by creating his own poetic "signature" and becoming the author of his own myth. Moreover, Silius' identification at the end of the epic with Hannibal's theomachic character derives from the poet's intention to express his opposition to the matter of *apotheosis*, a common tactic in Flavian Rome: whereas theomachy shows the division between human and divine, mortal and immortal, *apotheosis* destabilises it. In the final section (3.3) I will demonstrate Silius' concerns about the acquisition of power in his own times and the emergence of extreme individuality which resulted in the divinisation of leaders. Modern scholars argue for an optimistic or pessimistic interpretation regarding the scope of *Punica*.[74] According to my view of Silius' Rome, and if I had to take a position on this polarity, I would incline towards a more pessimistic interpretation of the *Punica*, because of the negative allusions to Silius' contemporary world which are given in a subtle way. Although Silius is more optimistic than the rest of the Flavians, he raises his concerns over the way that Rome's collective spirit (the *uiri*), praised in the *Punica*'s proem, is turned into Rome's individual spirit (the praise of one man, Scipio) praised at the *Punica*'s end, in Scipio's quasi-*apotheosis*.

3.1. A GRADUAL CONCLUSION: FROM EXCESSIVENESS TO LASSITUDE

In the prologue of the poem, Silius had programmatically announced his intention to describe the Second Punic War (1.12-4 *sed medio finem bello excidiumque uicissim* │*molitae gentes, propiusque fuere periclo* │*quis superare datum*), an intention that is fulfilled only when the reader reaches the end of the epic in book 17. From this point

[73] Hardie (1997) 143.
[74] See Marks (2005) 245-52, Augoustakis (2010b) 19-20, Tipping (2011) 10.

of view, the poem's purpose is achieved. The end of the war is clearly announced (17.617 *Hic finis bello*) and is followed by the description of Scipio's triumphal procession. However, throughout book 17 Silius gradually prepares the reader for the end of the epic in many ways. An accumulation of closural language and imagery in the final book strongly suggests that Silius decided that the end of book 17 is the end of the poem.

The narrative of book 17 begins with the story of Cybele, the Magna Mater, who is brought from the mountains of Phrygia to Rome (1-47) to expel the enemy from the city, according to the prophecy of the Sibyl. This story is based on historical events (see for example, Liv. 29.10.5-6) where Cybele was, indeed, brought to Rome in 204 to ensure the defeat of Hannibal, therefore the goddess has a great affinity with the beginning of the Roman Empire. The significance of this episode has been analysed by Augoustakis who concludes that Silius' description focuses on vocabulary of bonds and chains, an allusion to the moral captivity from which the advent of Cybele will eventually set the Romans free.[75] Building upon this argument, I believe that the moral release that Cybele will bring to the Romans has a metapoetic reflection and foreshadows the final *lysis* (i.e. resolution) of the poem, i.e. the expulsion of the invader that will happen at the very end of the poem.[76] Purity is the prerequisite of the *lysis*, and *lysis* is the process through which we can achieve the *telos*. In a sense, the resolution of the narrative is also a release; on the other hand the metaphor of binding can also be used for closure, for instance, the poet can tie things up and bring the closure to the narrative. So Rome is released from war, or war is chained up, as in the case of Augustus during whose reign *furor* will eventually be chained and the gates of war will be closed (*Aen*. 1.291-6). Therefore, the end of an action, its resolution, is often signalled by an act of binding, signifying the open-endedness of a situation; for example, the Titanomachy ends with the defeated Titans buried and bound in chains (see Hes. *Theog*. 718-9), or the sea storm in *Aeneid* 1 finds its resolution only after the winds are restrained in their prison (1.140-1).

It is a foreign goddess that will eventually expel the foreign enemy, or "the foreign other."[77] Claudia's speech to the goddess and the lions' response to this speech is

[75] See Augoustakis (2010a) 232-3.
[76] The term *lysis* is described by Aristotle (*Poet*. 1455b-1456a) who suggests a theory of plot which begins with *desis* – *lysis* (binding – loosing).
[77] Augoustakis (2010a) 117.

received as a good omen that signals the forthcoming end of the war and the end of the disaster. The phrase *finem armis tandem, finemque uenire periclis* in 17.47 indicates that the end of the war is near, hence, on a metapoetic level, the end of the poem is near too. It is noteworthy that the word *finis* occurs twice in the same line and surrounds the word *armis* which is the main subject of the *Punica*. This means that the poet now intends to conclude the narrative of the *arma*, which had been initiated in the first book of the epic (1.1 *ordior arma*). The temporal adverb *tandem* can be read metapoetically and marks the end of the long epic narrative. In book 17 Carthage is ready to collapse: she has lost all her leaders, and the only power that is left to her is Hannibal (17.149 *stabat Carthago, truncatis undique membris,*│*uni nixa uiro;*). Divine aid has also disappeared (17.154 *se superum desertos numine cernunt*). Hannibal's speech to his soldiers clearly shows that the battle that is going to follow will give a permanent result in the war and will decide the ruler of the world (17.337 *certatus nobis hodie dominum accipit orbis*). In his *adhortatio* to his men, Hannibal speaks about the 16 years of the war that he had been fighting and also that Carthage and Rome are in no position to fight for any other battle (17.335-6 *non altera restat* │*iam Libyae, nec Dardaniis pugna altera restat.*). In the divine dialogue between Jupiter and Juno about the fate of the war, Jupiter explains that the fate of the nations has already been decided. Now, it is time for the war to end (17.355-6 *tempus componere gentes.*│*ad finem uentum***.** *claudenda est ianua belli*). The verbs *compono* and *claudo*, as well as the noun *finem*, are words indicating closure. Silius' voice behind Jupiter's words implies that the end of the war and thus the end of the epic is near. Later in the narrative, Juno rescues Hannibal by putting him on a hill and leaving him to watch the battle from afar. Then, uttering a final threat to Jupiter and the Roman people, Hannibal completely disappears from the narrative. This is the final moment that he is seen taking action in the epic (17.606-17). After this episode, Silius' voice clearly confirms that this is the end of the war (17.618) and moves towards the conclusive lines of the epic. As a concluding moment, Silius chooses to finish the epic narrative with a very epic marker: Scipio's triumph and his acclamation as an imperial figure by the poet.

One important characteristic of the epic plot is delay and the end of the *Punica* does not come without delay. The narrative in book 17 shows a weariness in the characters and a delay in the events. The army of Carthage is tired and this is obvious from the

initial lines of the final book (17.152 *id reliquum fessos opis*). Hannibal mentions that the Carthaginian victories throughout all the past years of the war had made his army worn out (17.192 *arma fessos*). Towards the end of the book Hannibal is also tired (17.597 *fessum tumulo tandem*).[78] In the final book, Juno also seems enervated by her frenzied activity throughout the epic (17.349-51 *ipsa malorum*│*non plus Carthago tulit exhausitque laboris*│*quam pro Cadmea subiisti exercita gente.*│*turbasti maria ac terras*). Hershkowitz has also shown that in the *Aeneid* and the *Thebaid* the imagery of tiredness comes after a specific episode of craziness.[79] Since this motif of tiredness concludes episodes of excessive energy and craziness, I would then suggest that it can work also as a closural technique. At *Aen.* 1.157 Aeneas' army is tired out (*defessi Aeneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu* │*contendunt*) after the storm is completed. Turnus' exploits at the end of *Aeneid* 9 (806-14) result in causing his limbs to be weary. In Statius' *Thebaid* "the concepts of excessive energy and enervation are fundamental to the understanding of the patterns of action in the epic".[80] For example, Tisiphone's frenzied activities in the upper world have exhausted her, and although she is a boundless source of energy in the first ten books of the poem, towards the end of the epic she experiences enervation and stagnation (*Theb*. 11.57-61).[81] Tydeus also faces enervation after his *aristeia* and whereas his death would be imminent, Pallas intervenes and saves him even temporarily (*Theb*. 8.700-15). At the end of *Theb*. 2 there are also descriptions of post-carnage exhaustion (668-81). The imagery of weariness found in the last book of the *Punica,* which gradually prepares the reader for the conclusion of the poem, works as a closural technique. This weariness also indicates the complete loss of energy and the inability to act, which results in death.[82] In Hannibal's case, the reader knows that he is the only surviving hope of Carthage; if he is not able to act any more, then Carthage's fate is sealed. Hannibal's death would be imminent, had Juno not intervened and saved him from Scipio. In this case, he resembles Tydeus, who is dying though he still has an ardent desire to fight. In his

[78] About the word *fatiscor* meaning "exhaust", "tire out", see Hershkowitz (1998) 263 n.25.
[79] See for example *Thebaid* 2.668–74. The pattern of frenzied activity followed by exhaustion in the *Thebaid* is explicitly discussed by Hershkowitz (1998) 249-60. Lovatt (2005) 196-7, 225-7 also describes the exhaustion and defeat after a battle or a game.
[80] Hershkowitz (1998) 251.
[81] See Hershkowitz (1995) 61.
[82] See Hershkowitz (1998) 255.

fury, Hannibal threatens Jupiter with a future return, although the reader knows the vanity of his words.

The delay of the narrative deters the reader from reaching the final conclusion. In 17.509 Silius describes Scipio being impatient about delay and weary of pursuing random enemies, a reason that urges him to look for Hannibal (*uerum ubi cunctari taedet dispersa uirorum*). Moreover, some individual episodes, such as Laelius' *adhortatio* to the soldiers (17.432-43), Hannibal's demonstration of brutality by killing the pair of brothers (17.444-78), the fake battle between Scipio's effigy and Hannibal, and Juno's transformation into a huntress (17.522-80) are all episodes that delay the narrative and create suspense as readers wait for closure. Last but not least, the image of miniature recapitulations at the end of the epic, i.e. Hannibal's recollection of the past slaughters and victories (17.600-3), gives a sense of a summary and thus completion.

As shown above, Silius explains how Hannibal is the surviving hope of a Carthage that is ready to fall apart; if Hannibal survives, then Rome will have gained nothing. But if Hannibal falls, then everything will be under Roman domination (17.512-6 *Hannibal unus* ⎪*dum restet, non, si muris Carthaginis ignis* ⎪*subdatur caesique cadant exercitus omnis,* ⎪*profectum Latio. contra, si concidat unus,* ⎪*nequiquam fore Agenoreis cuncta arma uirosque*). In this sense, Hannibal resembles Hector who is the bastion of Troy and the Trojans (*Il*. 6.403 *οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ*, 24.728-30 *πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἥδε κατ' ἄκρης* ⎪*πέρσεται· ἦ γὰρ ὅλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν*⎪*ῥύσκευ, ἔχες δ' ἀλόχους κεδνὰς καὶ νήπια τέκνα*). With Hector's death, the destruction of the city is inevitable. Like Hector, Turnus is the defender of his homeland. In the same way, Hannibal resembles both Achilles and Hector but also Turnus: he is the sacker of cities and the last bastion of his homeland.[83] This is an example of how window allusion to Homer through Virgil works in the *Punica*. Although Hannibal and Turnus both start as Achilles, they end up as Hector. The comparison of the three heroes shows that Hector's and Turnus' fall automatically bring the closure of the epic. Since Hannibal is defeated, there is no future for the Carthaginians, thus the poem has reached its end. Hannibal's survival allows Silius to remove from Scipio the dilemma Aeneas had with Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid*,

[83] See Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2511.

whether it is rightful for Turnus to be killed. Silius then fulfils the promise he gave in the proem, that he will describe how Rome achieved glory (1.1-2 *Ordior arma, quibus caelo se gloria tollit* │*Aeneadum*). At the same time, he allows Hannibal to become the prevailing character as the poem reaches its end and this is confirmed by Silius' reference to the fact that during Scipio's triumph, the eyes of the spectators are focused on Hannibal's image as a fugitive (17.643-4). In this sense, the end of the poem resembles both the *Iliadic* and the Virgilian epic ending, both focusing on the slaughtered antagonist, and not the protagonist (see *Il*. 24.804, and *Aen*. 12.952).[84] In the *Punica*, the focus is on the live but absent antagonist, but, at the same time, in contrast to the present and triumphant protagonist.[85] Having an alive but absent anti-hero has changed the dynamic of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* in a way that Silius does not straightforwardly create a sense of emotional closure that the *Iliad* creates with the lament for Hector. In that sense, the *Punica* resembles more the abruptness of the end of the *Aeneid*, where also the motif of revenge is explicit, as it is explicit in Hannibal's final threat at the end of the *Punica*.

3.2. EKPHRASIS, TRIUMPH AND MONUMENTALITY: METAPOETICS IN PUNICA 17

"Any literature concerned with the past or looking to the future has a claim on monumentality: yet epic does seem to have a special relationship with monuments".[86] Epic in general, and especially Roman epic is deeply concerned with the idea of monument and memory. Lovatt has shown how the epic genre has a monumentalising function and how the epic poets want to preserve the memory of their heroes through their work.[87] For example, Statius at *Silu.* 2.7.71 mentions that Lucan's *Pharsalia* works as a monument to Pompey (*Pharo cruenta* │*Pompeio dabis altius sepulcrum*).

[84] In the last 22 lines of the *Iliad* Achilles is not mentioned at all, whereas the poet concentrates on Hector, where his name appears 3 times. The last line is again about Hector; see Springer (1987) 311.
[85] For discussion about whether Hannibal is an antagonist or a protagonist, and on the protagonist of the *Punica* in general, see Stocks (2014).
[86] Lovatt (2013) 360.
[87] See Lovatt (2013) 347-374.

At *Aen*. 9.446-9 Virgil immortalises Nisus and Euryalus and provides the idea of preservation of their deeds for posterity. In Horace's *Carm*. 3.30 the lyric poet claims eternity for his poetry better than any physical monument. In a similar way, Valerius Flaccus immortalises Hypsipyle at 2.244-6 and Lucan at 9.985-6 declares his optimism that his work will remain in the mind of the future ages (*Pharsalia nostra*│*uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo*). In the final lines of his *Thebaid,* Statius expresses a hope for immortality (12.810-17 *durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes,*│*o mihi bissenos multum uigilata per annos*│*Thebai?...uiue, precor; nec tu diuinam Aeneida tempta,*│*sed longe sequere et uestigia semper adora*). The coda he uses evokes that with which Ovid ends his *Metamorphoses* (15.871-9):

> *Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira nec ignis*
>
> *nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere uetustas.* […]
>
> *parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis*
>
> *astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,* […]
>
> *ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,*
>
> *siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia, uiuam.*

Ovid's "monument" clearly recalls Horace's "monument" in *Carm*. 3.30 (*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*),[88] "whose own claim to immortality Ovid has emulated and updated with the initial *iam* ("Now that's a monument"), but also the inscribed monuments of the emperor, which the account of Julius's *apotheosis* has put in play".[89] In the final lines of the *Punica,* Hannibal dominates the narrative by uttering a threat towards Jupiter which is reminiscent of the Ovidian and Horatian coda (17.608-10):

> *non ullo Cannas abolebis, Iuppiter, aeuo,*
>
> *decedesque prius regnis, quam nomina gentes*
>
> *aut facta Hannibalis sileant*.

As we saw earlier, some epic poets gesture towards monuments in closural episodes of their poems, in a sense that language of monumentality occurs at the end of key

[88] Horace's *Carm*. 3.30 as modelled on the initial end of Ennius' *Annales*, book 15; see Hardie (1997) 157.
[89] Feldherr (2010) 79.

episodes rather than the ends of poems. This technique allows them to stress that words last longer than any physical monument, and thus to attribute immortality to their poetic work. Hannibal is conveying the same message, that his action will never be erased throughout the ages. In the same Ovidian and Horatian style, again, Hannibal continues by expressing his optimism about eternal future remembrance (17.613-5):

mihi satque superque

ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,

dum uiuam, expectent nec pacem pectore norint.

The above words illustrate Hannibal as an eternal threat to peace for ages to come, in exactly the same way as Dido had cursed the Romans by announcing the Punic wars to follow.[90] Hannibal will survive to always be a threat to Rome,[91] an attempt, which according to Hardie, prevents closure.[92] Hannibal becomes the prevailing character, as I have argued above, as the poem reaches its end always throwing into the shade Scipio's triumph, as an apparition from the past (17.643-4 *sed non ulla magis mentesque oculosque tenebat,* | *quam uisa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago*).

As Lovatt has observed, "epic heroes threaten to become monsters, but end up as monuments".[93] Hannibal at the end of the epic is monumentalised; his flight causes the eyes of the spectators to remain on him as if he was a kind of monument.[94] The use of the words *uisa* and *imago* creates the impression of an ekphrastic description that illustrates Hannibal's flight. This sense of picture and painting that the reader perceives from Hannibal's description will be an everlasting image in their mind, "a memorial of Hannibal's fleeting presence in the poem, always elusive and ever present to haunt the Romans for many generations to come".[95] *Imago* is a word strongly associated with the action of memory, to a point that *imago* is used as a vehicle of

[90] Augoustakis (2010a) 154.
[91] Readers know the vanity of his words, since they remember Jupiter's prophecy a few lines earlier.
[92] See Hardie (1997) 161.
[93] Lovatt (2013) 357.
[94] Appian *BC* 2.15.102 uses the word *εἰκών* for Scipio's triumph and its implication of actors wearing wax masks and representing the deceased at Roman funerals; see Östenberg (2009) 252. Polybius (53.5) also uses *εἰκών* for the representation of persons living or dead in portraits, masks, busts in the triumphal or funeral procession. Therefore, it is very likely that in Scipio's procession an actor was wearing the mask of Hannibal as a representation of the Punic leader himself.
[95] Augoustakis (2010a) 154.

memory.[96] Silius plays with the ideas of epic monumentalisation, as Ovid has done by turning his characters into statues – Ovid's Perseus uses the Gorgon's head to create a monument to his victory (5.227 *quin etiam mansura dabo monimenta per aeuum*).[97] Silius' intention is to create a monument of Hannibal, to "capture" the final scene of the *Punica*. A few lines earlier, Juno had put Hannibal on a hill to watch the battle from afar and to save him: 17.597 *at fessum tumulo tandem regina propinquo │sistit Iuno ducem*. The word *tumulus* has the meaning of hill but also signifies the sepulchral monument; therefore, when Juno puts Hannibal on the hill, she also builds a graveyard for his glory. As part of the closure of the epic, the reader sees Hannibal's monument set up.

Spectacle was very important for the emperor in order to strengthen the perceptions of his power and regulate his relationship with senate and people. Augustus saw the power of the images in establishing a new era. He created a new system of visual imagery that expressed the new transitional age.[98] The Flavians, like Augustus, were bringing the city back together after a viciously divisive period of civil war. We associate the Flavian regime particularly with Roman spectacle. "As with the hardening of imperial power, so spectacle in this period was confirmed as a key element of the emperor's self-presentation and self-preservation".[99] One type of spectacle was the emperor's triumphal procession. "Parades mark moments of social integration, can involve huge numbers of participants and spectators, and offer an opportunity for creating cultural identity."[100] In the *Punica*, the triumph described in the final lines celebrates the outstanding victory of Scipio. Silius' description of the triumph of Scipio recalls Virgil's description of Augustus' triumph as it is illustrated in the ekphrasis of the shield of Aeneas in *Aen*. 8.714-5 and 8.720. The triumph of Augustus and the shield of Aeneas are ekphrastic moments that signify closure. This

[96] On the *imagines maiorum* as a means of commemoration of politically prominent family members, and their special meaning as symbols of power and prestige, see Flower (1996). It is also important to remember the use of images of rivers and mountains in triumphal processions, as for example in Caesar's Gallic parade (Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.88-9, Luc. 3.76-7). On the images of rivers and mountains exhibited in triumphal processions, see Östenberg (2009) 231-3.

[97] The idea that the monuments do not last for ever, whereas written poetic creations will, is found in Pind. *Nem*. 4.6-9, Lucr. 5.311, Hor. *Carm.* 3.30, 4.8; 4.9, Sen. *Dial.* 10.15.4, Aus. *Epist*. 31.9. For more details see Skutsch (1985) 568-9.

[98] For the importance of the visual arts in Augustus' image making, see Zanker (1988).

[99] Lovatt (2013) 363.

[100] Lovatt (2013) 368. For the Roman triumph as a spectacle, see Beard (2007).

is considered by some to be "the real end of Virgil's *Aeneid*",[101] since it fulfils one *telos* of the epic: Augustus' praise.[102] The image of Hannibal fleeing is ekphrastic and creates the idea of monumentality. Therefore, it signifies closure. Lovatt has observed that at the end of the *Punica* the triumph as spectacle has an elusive character: the triumph is a fleeting image: since there is no Hannibal to execute, it is only an *imago*. This should be the triumphant climax of the triumph, but it recedes into ekphrastic deferral.[103]

The threat that Hannibal utters in the final lines of the epic confirms the idea of monumentalisation. However, apart from Hannibal's wish to be monumentalised, at the end of the *Punica* the reader can identify Silius' own poetic voice. Hannibal's threat at the end of the poem (17.606-15) has many metapoetic characteristics (17.606-15):

cum secum Poenus: 'Caelum licet omne soluta
in caput hoc compage ruat terraeque dehiscant,
***non ullo Cannas abolebis, Iuppiter, aeuo**,*
decedesque prius regnis, quam nomina gentes
*aut **facta Hannibalis sileant**. nec deinde relinquo* *610*
securam te, Roma, mei, patriaeque superstes
*ad spes armorum **uiuam** tibi. nam modo pugna*
praecellis, resident hostes: mihi satque superque
ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,
*dum **uiuam**, expectent nec pacem pectore norint.'*

Hannibal is threatening Jupiter that despite his final defeat, the victory at Cannae will remain unforgettable in the memory of the Romans. Apart from the fact that the phrase *non ullo aeuo* echoes Horace *Carm.* 3.30.1-5, Ov. *Met.* 5.227 – Perseus' words for

[101] The term belongs to Lovatt (2016) 373. For an analysis of Augustus as the *telos* of the *Aeneid*, see Smith (2005) 57-9.
[102] There is more than one reading of the various purposes of the *Aeneid*. For a detailed study, see Hardie (2010) 94-5 regarding optimistic and pessimistic views of the *Aeneid*.
[103] For this analysis, see Lovatt (2016) 373.

monumentalisation of himself (*dabo monimenta per aeuum*) – and Lucan's optimism that his *Pharsalia* will last forever – behind Hannibal's words we can find Silius' own poetic figure. When Hannibal declares that his deeds will remain unforgettable, this shows his intention to establish himself in the Roman mind. On a metapoetic level, this shows Silius' wish to be established in the Latin tradition and his work to remain forever in the mind of the readers. The repetition of the verb *uiuam* also shows Silius' ambition to live in the memory of posterity, in the line of Ovid (*Am*. 1.15.42, *Met*. 15.878-9), Horace (*Carm*. 3.30), Lucan (9.985-6) and Statius (*Theb*. 12.816). In this way, the poet through his hero wants to create his own poetic "signature" and in this way, to become the author of his own myth.

The paradox of the identification of Silius with Hannibal at the end of the *Punica* is deliberate and can be paralleled with Lucan's *Pharsalia* and the poet's identification with Caesar in *Phars*. 9. At *Phars*. 9.961–99 Caesar visits the deserted site of Troy before his final destination of Egypt where he is going to receive the head of Pompey after his victory at Pharsalia (9.1004–1108). At 9.985-6, the poet breaks the narrative with an apostrophe towards Caesar expressing his confidence that *Pharsalia nostra*│*uiuet*; he defines *Pharsalia* as "ours," revealing his thought that the epic belongs both to himself – the poet – and to Caesar – one of his protagonists (Luc. 9.980-6):

o sacer et magnus uatum labor! omnia fato

eripis et populis donas mortalibus aeuum.

inuidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;

nam, siquid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,

quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt uatis honores,

uenturi me teque legent; ***Pharsalia nostra*** 985

uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo.

In this apostrophe, Lucan advises Caesar not to be envious of the fame other heroes have gained from poems, because the poet himself will offer him immortality. He praises (epic) poetry's power that snatches everything from fate and provides the mortals with immortality (980-1). Lucan's statement reminds us of the poetry's power

to immortalise, compared to a physical monument, as we analysed earlier. To give authority to his words, Lucan evokes Homer (984 *Zmyrnaei…uatis*) as a promise to the long-lasting power of their poetry. Although the physical remains of the Homeric monuments (i.e. Troy) have not survived, they live on through the power of the bard.[104] Caesar's visit at the ruins of Troy ends with his promise to restore these ruins and become the founder of a Roman Pergamum: Luc. 9.997-9 *date felices in cetera cursus,*│*restituam populos; grata uice moenia reddent*│*Ausonidae Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent*. His words remind us of Aeneas visiting Pallanteum, where, staring at the destroyed monuments, he anticipates the new ones he will create (*Aen*. 8.306-69). This parallel helps the reader grasp the transience of memory of physical landscapes in comparison to the more lasting nature of the epic tradition. In the *Punica*, Scipio's meeting with Homer in the Underworld where Scipio praises the poet's value (Sil. 13.793-7), confirms Silius' belief in the immortalising power of epic poetry, of which its monumetalising power is part, as analysed earlier: the monuments can be destroyed but the epic poetry will always remain. The alliance between Lucan and Caesar and the evocation of Homer's name as the guarantor of Caesar's immortality through epic poetry, is similar to Silius' alliance with Hannibal at the end of the poem: when Hannibal expresses his ambition to live forever, he acknowledges the immortality with which Silius' epic will provide him, and, more generally, epic poetry's power to immortalise human beings and deeds.

Theomachy has similar characteristics to gigantomachy and titanomachy,[105] and Hannibal in book 12 is described as waging *Titania…bella* (12.725). That gigantomachy and titanomachy stands for the grand style of epic writing as a contrast to the Callimachean poetics of the small-scale poems is already known from the Augustan era. Lucan and Statius use gigantomachy as a metaphor for civil war (see for example Luc. 1.33-9 and Stat. *Silu*. 5.3). But writing epic poetry is a sort of gigantomachy: the epics finish with the narration of the triumph of order and authority, the celebration of a military achievement that leads to political stability. Poetic writing is, at the same time, a civil war on its own, a war for poetic authority between the poet and his successors who write on the same subject. Therefore, the Flavians are engaged in a "civil" war gigantomachy for poetic innovation. In the *Punica,* this is viewed in

[104] See Lovatt (2013) 363-4.
[105] On the differences between Gigantomachy and Titanomachy (and also Typhonomachy) and for the Augustans' tendency to confuse the myths of the two, see Lovatt (2005) 115-7.

the identification of Silius with Hannibal through which Silius wants to illustrate his poetic primacy over his predecessors. If the hero must strive to be the best, or to win the world for his throne, the poet is always challenged to be supreme in the supreme genre.[106] If behind Hannibal it is Silius the poet, then Silius is interested in showing his appeal both to Domitian, the Jupiter of his times, and also to Rome.[107]

3.3.GODS, MORTALS, POETS & EMPERORS: THE POLITICS OF EPIC WRITING AND SILIUS' CONTEMPORARY ROME

In the previous chapter, I showed how epic poets, and Silius in particular, offer monumentality in their words by aligning themselves with their main protagonist. Silius' apparent identification with the enemy, Hannibal, rather than Scipio, as echoing Lucan's complicity with Caesar at 9.985-6, is a very problematic one. Indeed, Silius uses Hannibal to create a unity in the *Punica*. From the Carthaginian side, Hannibal provides the poem with thematic cohesion, from the beginning until the end, whereas, at the same time, it is hard to find a corresponding Roman hero until the final hexad, where Scipio's personality emerges.[108] I believe that the reason Silius decided to align himself with Hannibal lies in the theomachic character of the Punic leader throughout the *Punica* and especially in the final lines of the epic: from a metapoetic point of view, Hannibal's theomachy reverses Scipio's *apotheosis* at the end of the epic, towards which Silius seems sceptical. This scepticism derives from the concluding lines of the epic which seem to contradict its proem: the glory of the *quot…uiros* (1.5) that Silius intends to praise in the epic, turns out to be the glory of one man (17.652-

[106] See Hardie (1993) 119, as part of his study on the relationship between imperial and poetic succession; see Hardie (1993) 105-119.
[107] On the theory of the relationship between poets and their predecessors, see Hardie (1993) 88-119. This theory is not much developed on Silius' epic, whereas Statius and Lucan have extensively been analysed under this scope; for Statius' *Thebaid*, see McNelis (2007), and for Lucan, see Masters (1992).
[108] See Zecchini (2011) 47. For Hannibal's unifying role in the epic and for bibliography on alternative opinions in scholarship, see Dominik (2006) 472 n. 6. For Hannibal considered as the protagonist of the epic, see Matier (1989). For books 13-17 constituting a Scipiad, see Burck (1984) 260-70, Delarue (1992) 160-5, Hardie (1993) 97, Marks (2005) 76-77. In the *Thebaid* there is not one single hero as protagonist. Statius uses both Eteocles and Polynices as antiheroes and Theseus emerges as the dominant hero from outside only in the final book; for analysis, see Coffee (2009) 71. Lucan also preferred to use more than one protagonist in the epic; see Johnson (1987). Theseus, the aggressive guarantor of peace coming from the outside, whose final success causes yet more suffering; see Pollmann (2004) 23.

4) who is now deified. But what lies behind Silius' divinisation of a man that history has not deified? Silius was interested in showing the complexity of the relationship between gods and humans, and the humans' aspiration to achieve a divine status. Hannibal's eternal struggle to undermine Jupiter's power eventually fails. It is Scipio, instead, who achieves what Hannibal desires. But Scipio's *apotheosis* is not as simple as it seems; although Scipio is not a deified hero in history, Silius' desire to deify him reveals the complexity of Imperial Rome where the introduction of new gods was a common tactic.

We saw earlier that the narrative begins with Juno and Hannibal, Rome's adversaries, but it closes with Scipio and Jupiter, the saviours of Rome and the triumph of virtue.[109] We also showed that Jupiter in the *Punica* is presented as Scipio's legendary father and as the protector of the Romans. He works as Rome's god who fixes the outcome of the war and discusses the fate of Hannibal throughout the *Punica*. Therefore, Hannibal, as Juno's protégé, opposes Scipio and the fate of the Romans, protected by Jupiter. This creates a theomachic image of Hannibal who eternally opposes Jupiter and strives to conquer the Capitol.[110] In *Punica* 12, there is an actual confrontation of Hannibal and Jupiter (12.605-63) caused by Hannibal's attempt to lay siege to Rome twice. Silius' description of the storming of the Capitol by Hannibal in *Punica* 12 might have been affected by the historical burning of the Capitol during the civil wars of AD 69 (Tac. *Hist*. 3.72), recent in Silius' times. At the end of the epic, Hannibal's monologue that he will always be remembered throughout posterity is clearly addressed to Jupiter and Rome herself, confirming thus his rivalry with the god and the city, as he announces at 17.608-10. By depicting Hannibal as a theomach, Silius might have wanted to illustrate the division or the union between humans and gods, mortals and immortals: the union happens with *apotheosis*, whereas the division happens with theomachy. Therefore, theomachy and *apotheosis* are intertwined. Whereas Hannibal strives to become a god, it is Scipio that achieves a divinised status, proving the mortals' desire to become gods. However, Scipio's *apotheosis* is part of Silius' general negativity towards mortals' efforts for personal power and immortality,

[109] See Delarue (1992) 154, who compares this construction in the *Punica* with Statius' *Thebaid*: the epic starts with Oedipus' curse, representative of his *inhumanitas* and *impietas* who calls his sons to kill each other, and it ends with Theseus, the right king and clement, who restores the rights of *humanitas* and *pietas* in Thebes.

[110] See Chaudhuri (2014) 231-55 where he discussed the crossing of the Alps and the siege of the Capitol as Hannibal's most theomachic moments in the poem.

which is strongly connected with the advent of the civil wars and the rise of tyranny in Imperial Rome. Towards the end of my analysis, I will focus on the portrayal of Scipio as a proto-emperor who anticipates Domitian but emerges as the individual pursuing his personal glory. I will then finish by showing Silius' almost-*apotheosis* of Scipio, as part of his disbelief in the creation of new gods in Domitianic Rome.

In scholarship it is already shown that Silius' praise of Scipio recalls Jupiter's praise of Domitian in *Punica* 3 which creates "an image of Scipio that anticipates Domitian himself".[111] More specifically, in the general context of Jupiter's comforting speech to Venus regarding the future of the Romans in *Punica* 3, he mentions the great leaders that will emerge from this war: Paulus, Fabius, Marcellus and, of course, Scipio (584-92). He concludes by prophesying the rule of the Flavians by mentioning the achievements of Vespasian, Titus and eventually Domitian (597-629). Scipio's name stands at a crucial point of the speech, after the reference to the end of the Punic war, which he will bring, and before the reference to the new era in Rome's future which will lead to the Flavian dynasty.[112] This intentional chronological leap from Scipio's victory in Carthage straight to the Flavians illustrates Silius' view of the Flavian principate as a direct consequence of the Punic wars.[113] Throughout the *Punica*, Silius ascribes to Scipio characteristics, both positive and negative, that recall Domitian. In the final lines of the epic Silius illustrates Scipio as an imperial figure laying the ground-work for Roman *imperium*; when Scipio enters Rome triumphantly, he is the sole ruler who gained everlasting glory and fame for the conquest of Africa. The reference to the remote places of the edges of the world and the different nations taking part in the procession (17.629-42) allude to the remote places of the edges of the Empire and the diversity of nations included in it, thus promoting an imperialist policy. The conquest of the *orbis terrarum* belongs to the panegyric tradition and the leaders in the late Republic wanted to present it in their triumphal processions. Pompey, Caesar and Augustus boasted about world domination which was strongly connected to Rome's relationship with the surrounding world:[114] in the *Punica*, the suggestion of

[111] McGuire (1997) 80. For a detailed analysis of the shared characteristics between Domitian and Scipio in *Punica* 3, see Marks (2005) 209-44.
[112] See Marks (2005) 218.
[113] For this analysis, see McGuire (1997) 79-80 who believes that the actions of the Hannibalic time have an important but negative impact on the Flavian world.
[114] See Östenberg (2009) 284-8. On the imperialistic vision of the world as a concept in panegyrical tradition see Marks (2005) 224-8.

a world *imperium* makes Scipio look like a hero who is becoming an imperial figure himself. As a reward for his personal success Scipio is the first leader that acquires a *cognomen* after the country he conquered (625-6 *mansuri compos decoris per saecula rector,*⎪*deuictae referens primus cognomina terrae*). Scipio's *cognomen Africanus* recalls Domitian's *cognomen Germanicus* after his triumph over the Chatti in 83 AD, already foreshadowed at 3.607 (*Germanice*) in the passage of Jupiter's prophecy on Flavians' – and particularly Domitian's -- victories. Regarding Domitian's multiple triumphs, prophesied by Jupiter at 3.571-629, the god predicts that Domitian will surpass Bacchus in his achievements (3.615 *et Eoos, Baccho cedente, triumphos*), exactly as Alexander and as Augustus had done in the past. At the end of the epic, it is Scipio during his triumphal procession that is compared to Indian Bacchus at the moment of the god's victorious return from the expedition in India, where he imposed his cult, and to Hercules at the moment of his triumph over the heaped mass of the Giants, followed by his *apotheosis* (17.647-50): [115]

qualis odoratis descendens Liber ab Indis

egit pampineos frenata tigride currus;

aut cum Phlegraeis, confecta mole Gigantum,

incessit campis tangens Tirynthius astra.

Both gods are conquerors of the world and have established civilizations for the conquered nations. The double simile that likens Scipio in his triumph to Bacchus and Hercules recalls *Aen*. 6.801-5, where Virgil compares Augustus to Hercules and Bacchus, and in that comparing Domitian to Bacchus in Jupiter's prophecy Silius recalls that Virgilian passage too (*Aen*. 6.804-5). Hercules is the hero with whom great leaders in antiquity had been identified. Domitian's promotion of identification between himself and the god is well-known: Domitian's public iconography as deified Hercules and Domitian's features on the face of Hercules' statue in the temple of Hercules that the emperor himself erected in the Via Appia at 90 AD are well known

[115] As has already been stated earlier in the Introduction, throughout the epic, Hannibal is depicted and compared to the Giants; his theomachic actions are culminated in *Punica* 12, where he is portrayed as attempting to conquer the Capitol challenging the fate of the divine. Therefore, by exterminating Giant-like Hannibal, Scipio resembles Hercules. For Pindar's reference on the immortality of Herakles gained after his valour in the gigantomachy, see *Nem*. 1.61-72.

(Mart. 9.64; 65; 101).[116] Overall, while Scipio is the hero of Rome's republican history, Silius gives him the profile of an emperor of imperial times, resembling and strongly recalling Domitian.

The end of the *Punica* also associate Scipio with early Roman myth and society, i.e. Quirinus/Romulus and Camillus (17.651-2). In the next – and final – lines of *Punica* 17 Scipio is hailed as the father of the country, who is equal to Quirinus in glory, equal to Camillus in merits (17.652-4):

salue, inuicte parens, non concessure Quirino

laudibus ac meritis non concessure Camillo.

Both Quirinus and Camillus are considered (re)founders of Rome and fathers of the country, thus drawing comparisons with Scipio as another (re)founder of Rome. Again, Domitian had promoted an association of himself with Romulus by building a temple of the *Gens Flauia* on the Quirinal (95 AD), which was a centre for the cult of the Flavians and also a mausoleum.[117] In the final two verses of the epic Silius hails Scipio as a true offspring of Jupiter Tonans: *nec uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum,*│*prolem Tarpei mentitur Roma Tonantis* (653-4). Silius' salutation of Scipio as *salue, inuicte parens* (17.651), where *inuictus* is frequently attributed to Domitian (Mart. 7.6.8, 9.1.10; 9.23.6), provides the Roman leader with a sense of divinity.[118] This image of Scipio reminds us of Augustus who was also greeted as the true son of Jupiter through the formula of the hymn to Hercules (*Aen*. 8.293), and especially at the moment Virgil acknowledges Hercules as the true son of Jupiter (*Aen*. 8.302-3 *salue, uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis,*│*et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*). The reference here to Jupiter (*Tarpeius Tonans*) recalls Domitian who is also compared to Jupiter and is often called *Tarpeius Tonans* (Mart. 9.86.7), *Tonans* (Mart. 9.28.10), *Palatinus Tonans* (Mart. 9.39.1; 9.86.7) or *Latius Tonans* (Mart. 9.65.1). All the above show that Jupiter's encomium of Scipio at the end of the *Punica* turns out to be an encomium of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, and "a poem on

[116] For an analysis of Martial's poems in book 9, see Henriksen (2012). Another motif that connects Scipio to Hercules throughout the *Punica* is the snake motif: Hercules strangling the snakes is a very well-known theme, and Jupiter disguised as a snake rapes Scipio's mother and becomes his father.
[117] See Marks (2005) 229.
[118] These references are cited by Henriksen (2012) 30.

republican history turns into a properly imperial epic, a truly post-Augustan and post-Virgilian one".[119]

The triumphal ending is a happy ending, but there are debates in modern scholarship regarding a positive or a negative presentation of Scipio at the end of the *Punica*. It has been argued that Scipio's appearance is connected with the forthcoming civil wars in Rome.[120] More specifically, in the final lines of the poem, Scipio is dressed in gold and purple (17.645) recalling Silius' description of Voluptas, who is also dressed in gold and purple when she visits Scipio in his dream at 15.1-128 (15.24-5 *ueste refulgens,*⎪ *ostrum qua fuluo Tyrium suffuderat auro*). Jacobs has observed that in the entire epic the nouns *ostrum* and *aurum* occur in the same verse only in these two passages: when triumphant Scipio enters Rome, he acts as Voluptas who has threatened Scipio that she will dominate in Rome very soon (15.125-6 *uenient, uenient mea tempora quondam, cum … Roma seruiet imperiis*). Cicero has a negative stance towards the colour purple and he has shown that, if worn by an individual, it shows his desire for excessive power, and is therefore associated with kingship.[121] Dido's hall is described as decorated with proud/arrogant purple (*Aen*. 1.637-42; *ostroque superbo* in 1.639), her horse (4.134), and Dido herself (4.139) are both adorned with purple and gold, reminding us of the colour's royal (and Carthaginian) associations. In this way, the reader becomes aware that by the time that Scipio enters Rome, the city is prepared for her fall.[122] When Scipio emerges a *rector* (17.625), he shows his republican role, but the eternal glory belongs only to himself, and not Rome: *mansuri compos decoris per saecula rector* (17.625). Therefore, it seems that Scipio has gained glory "not so much as a *rector* who saved the republic from the enemy but for himself".[123] Therefore, Scipio's status as an emergent representative of the late Republic provides him with the potential for tyrannical power. Taking this analysis into consideration, in this thesis, I intend to showcase how Silius was deeply sceptical

[119] Bessone (2013) 89.

[120] See the pessimistic interpretations by Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy (1986) 2556-8, McGuire (1997) and Jacobs (2010). For a further bibliography on a pro- or anti- Domitianic interpretation of the *Punica*, see Augoustakis (2010b) 19.

[121] Prince Cyrus in *De Senect*. 59 is presented as wearing a purple toga decorated with gold (*purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro*), and King Ptolemaeus is presented in *Pro Sestio* 57 as sitting on his throne, with his purple and sceptre and all the other ensigns of royal authority (*ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis*).

[122] See Jacobs (2010) 139.

[123] Tipping (2010) 182.

about such powerful individuals and the potential dangers that they may pose to Rome. To my mind, this is demonstrated in the final two lines of the epic which, if connected with Lucan's *Pharsalia*, reveal a general anxiety on the subject of *apotheosis*; in their attempt to pursue glory for themselves, powerful individuals bridge the chasm between mortality and divinity and achieve their deification.

The comparison of Scipio with Bacchus and Hercules who became gods through their achievements, has a strong hint of *apotheosis* for the Roman leader. By the time of Nero, the identification of a ruler with the gods was something already established not only in literature but also in visual arts. But Scipio is not a deified hero. Although in the *Punica* we can see Silius' desire to deify him, he finally achieves a more compromised nature of closure simply implying his *apotheosis*, compelled to follow the historical reality. The lines where Silius informs the reader that Rome never lies about Scipio's divine descent from *Jupiter Tonans* (653-4 *nec uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum,*|*prolem Tarpei mentitur Roma Tonantis*) bear a striking resemblance to two significant passages from Lucan's *Pharsalia*: at 1.33-9 where Lucan refers to the *apotheosis* of Nero, and at 8.871-2 where Lucan foreshadows Egypt's disbelief for having Pompey's tomb. More specifically, in the passage at Luc. 1.33-9 Lucan compares the civil war to the gigantomachy where *Jupiter Tonans* was victorious and refers to the civil wars as "a worthwhile price to pay for Nero" foreshadowing his *apotheosis*:

quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni
inuenere uiam magnoque aeterna parantur
regna deis caelumque suo seruire ***Tonanti***
non nisi saeuorum potuit post bella gigantum,
iam nihil, o superi, querimur; scelera ipsa nefasque
hac mercede placent. diros Pharsalia campos
inpleat et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes

Lucan compares Nero's rise to power with the tyranny established by Jupiter after the gigantomachy, and implies that Nero is "an earthly version of the autocratic

Jupiter".[124] Much later in the epic, on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus, at 7.445-59, Lucan mocks the deification of the Caesars, and Nero's *apotheosis* in particular, saying that the Romans have no gods, and that they lie that Jupiter reigns (*mentimur regnare Iouem*, 447); he is reaching the conclusion that it is the civil war that equates Caesars with Olympians (7.447 *bella pares superis facient ciuilia diuos*), and thus creates divinities, creating allusions to Nero's *apotheosis* in book 1. The disbelief towards the existence of gods continues in the two concluding lines of book 8 where Lucan foreshadows the time that Egypt will be disbelieved for having Pompey's tomb (871-2 *atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum*│*tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis*), as Crete lies about having Jupiter's tomb. Pompey is equated to Jupiter and "his absence of tomb implies the creation of a new god",[125] a god not on earth but in the heavens. Lucan implies that Pompey is divinised, equated to *Jupiter Tonans*, and if combined with Lucan's view that civil war creates divinities equated with the gods, then Caesar and Pompey are divinised heroes who emerged from civil war.

Lucan and the Flavian poets seem to share the same pessimistic view of the relationship between gods and humans. Scipio is now compared to *Jupiter Tonans*, in a passage that is reminiscent of the passages from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, reflecting Silius' skepticism on the matter of deified emperors. Though Pompey and Scipio did not achieve their own *apotheosis*, Silius' final lines are open to a reading of general anxiety and disquiet regarding the matter of deification in Flavian literature. In Silius' text, in the phrase ***nec*** *uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum,*│*prolem Tarpei* ***mentitur*** *Roma Tonantis*, regarding Scipio's paternity, the negative conjunction *nec* qualifying the main verb *mentitur* is kept far away: *nec* is in the first line and *mentitur* almost at the end of the second line, implying thus Silius' restrained feelings regarding Scipio's quasi-*apotheosis*. The complicated way of Silius to imply the deification of a hero who is not deified in reality should be connected, in my view, to the relationship of Scipio with Romulus and Camillus, but mainly with Camillus, as the last *exemplum* and the only not deified hero from the list of the *comparanda*, mentioned immediately before Scipio's quasi-*apotheosis*.

[124] Stover (2012) 72.
[125] Chaudhuri (2014) 188.

Scipio's comparison to Romulus and Camillus provides material for the discussion about the power of the individual in Rome: Romulus, Rome's first king, and Camillus, the great Republican hero, prove that Rome had a great affinity with individualism. Scipio is the one and only character prevailing at the end of the epic who emerged from the internal debate of the Roman state, after the defeat at Cannae. Throughout the poem, we see Rome relying more and more on the actions of individual leaders (Scipio or G. Claudius Nero) and the previous republican/collective spirit is now overshadowed by emergent powerful individuals, some of whom are exemplary figures of the republic, like Scipio. The figures that pass by the reader's eyes in Scipio's triumph are individuals "of transcendent individual power and autocracy, so that republicanism masks autocracy".[126] This suggests that Silius was deeply sceptical about powerful individuals and the potential dangers that they may pose to Rome. Furthermore, this proximity of Scipio and Camillus is not coincidental; it also recalls the two heroes' end, their exile. With this comparison, along with the references to Scipio's emergence as an individual, Silius marks the Roman leader's growing personal power and its impending negative consequences.[127] The reader must read the last word of the epic just to realise and understand that Scipio's fame and safety is a matter of time and that he can be everything else apart from *securus sceptri* (as stated at 627). At the end of the epic, Silius seems to have only partially achieved the goals he set in the proem: he concludes the epic narrative of the war by narrating the way that the fame of the Aeneadae was raised to heaven, as he had programmatically announced in the proem: *ordior arma, quibus caelo se gloria tollit*│*Aeneadum* (1.1-2). However, he compromises in concluding his epic not by narrating the collective spirit of Rome (*uiros* at 1.5), as mentioned in the proem, but with the individual spirit of Rome, as narrated in the closure of the epic.

In the above analysis, I tried to show the Flavian authors' concern regarding the growing autocracy of the acquisition of power in Rome at that time and the way the individuals handle it. The turbulent political situation of Silius' contemporary Rome where Nero fell and the civil wars of the four emperors had recently taken place urged Silius to raise his scepticism about the nature of imperial power and its relationship with individualism in Rome. The successful military commander has been read as a

[126] Tipping (2010) 189.
[127] See McGuire (1997) 102.

proto-emperor who will be proved unable to retain the Republic but set the foundations instead of a leader with military ambitions. Through his victory he achieves divine characteristics, resembling Bacchus, Hercules and Quirinus. However, the final model to which he is compared, Camillus, is the only one that will be exiled – like Scipio in the future except that he will never be recalled to Rome, as had happened with Camillus. For Silius, the heroic past is not a prerequisite for a noble future; it rather portrays in a nostalgic way the complexity of the development from heroic to Flavian Rome, as Jupiter had done in *Punica* 3, with the big historical leap linking Scipio to the Flavians.

The *Punica*'s open-endedness, for which I argue in this thesis, allows for multiple interpretations and readings of the poem; the connections with the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia* are the most significant for my interpretation, though, they also provide me with the material to understand that Roman epic in the Flavian era is fully imbued with political significance. Hence, the closure of the *Punica* discusses the nature of imperial power and the domination of the individual over the destiny of a country beyond any necessary positive or negative closural implications. Although my interpretation of the end of the *Punica* has more negative than positive implications, I argue that, at the end of the *Punica*, Silius illustrates how a victory emerging from defeat can also be a tale of defeat in victory: throughout the poem, victory and defeat are interchangeable, in the same way that Scipio and Hannibal are interchangeable, where the victory of the one brings the defeat of the other. When Hannibal wins at Cannae, Rome loses. Similarly, Hannibal's victory is the beginning of his doom, whereas Rome' defeat is the beginning of her glory. This pattern is applied in the battle of Zama: Hannibal's defeat brings a Roman victory, a victory that, in the long-term, will cause a Roman defeat. In the concluding lines of the epic, he is aligned with Lucan who views the gods as indifferent in human matters, proved by the fact that they allow the Romans to deify Caesars who have taken their liberty away. Rome's powerful individuals abandoned their empire to pursue personal glory and thus paved the path for their own defeat.

LATIN TEXT

SILI ITALICI

PUNICORUM

LIBER DECIMUS SEPTIMUS 341-654

Haec procul aeria speculantem nube sororem
ut uidit diuum genitor maestosque sub acri
obtutu uultus, sic ore effatus amico est:
‘qui te mentis edunt morsus? da noscere, coniunx;
num Poeni casus ducis et Carthaginis angit
cura tuae? sed enim reputa tecum ipsa furores
Sidonios. gentem contra et fatalia regna
Teucrorum quis erit, quaeso, germana, rebelli
fractis foederibus populo modus? ipsa malorum
non plus Carthago tulit exhausitque laboris,
quam pro Cadmea subiisti exercita gente.
turbasti maria ac terras iuuenemque ferocem
immisti Latio. tremuerunt moenia Romae,
perque bis octonos primus fuit Hannibal annos
humani generis. tempus componere gentes.
ad finem uentum. claudenda est ianua belli.’
Tum supplex Iuno: ‘neque ego haec mutare laborans,
quis est fixa dies, pendenti nube resedi
nec reuocare acies bellumue extendere quaero.
quae donare potes, quoniam mihi gratia languet
et cecidit iam primus amor, – nil fila sororum
aduersus posco. uertat terga Hannibal hosti,
ut placet, et cineres Troiae Carthagine regnent.
illud te gemini per mutua pignora amoris
et soror et coniunx oro: tranare pericla
magnanimum patiare ducem uitamque remittas
neue sinas captum Ausonias perferre catenas.

stent etiam contusa malis mea moenia fracto
nomine Sidonio et nostro seruentur honori.’
Sic Iuno, et contra breuiter sic Iuppiter orsus:
‘do spatium muris, ut uis, Carthaginis altae.
stent lacrimis precibusque tuis. sed percipe, coniunx,
quatenus indulsisse uacet. non longa supersunt
fata urbi, uenietque pari sub nomine ductor,
qui nunc seruatas euertat funditus arces.
aetherias quoque, uti poscis, trahat Hannibal auras,
ereptus pugnae. miscere hic sidera ponto
et terras implere uolet redeuntibus armis.
noui feta uiri bello praecordia. sed lex
muneris haec esto nostri: Saturnia regna
ne post haec uideat, repetat neue amplius umquam
Ausoniam. nunc instanti raptum auehe leto,
ne, latis si miscebit fera proelia campis,
Romulei nequeas iuuenis subducere dextrae.’
Dum statuit fata Omnipotens urbique ducique,
inuadunt acies pugnam et clamore lacessunt
sidera. non alio grauiores tempore uidit
aut populos tellus, aut, qui paria arma mouerent,
maiores certare duces. discriminis alta
in medio merces, quicquid tegit undique caelum.
ibat Agenoreus praefulgens ductor in ostro,
excelsumque caput penna nutante leuabat
crista rubens. saeuus magno de nomine terror
praecedit, Latioque micat bene cognitus ensis.
at contra ardenti radiabat Scipio cocco
terribilem ostentans clipeum, quo patris et una
caelarat patrui spirantes proelia dira
effigies; flammam ingentem frons alta uomebat.
sub tanta cunctis ui telorumque uirumque
in ducibus stabat spes et uictoria solis.
quin etiam, fauor ut subigit plerosque metusue,

Scipio si Libycis esset generatus in oris,
sceptra ad Agenoreos credunt uentura nepotes,
Hannibal Ausonia genitus si sede fuisset,
haud dubitant terras Itala in dicione futuras.

Contremuere aurae rapido uibrantibus hastis
turbine et horrificam traxere per aethera nubem.
inde ensis propiorque acies et comminus ora
admota ac dira flagrantia lumina flamma.
sternitur, in medium contemptrix turba pericli
quae primis se praecipitem tulit obuia telis,
gentilemque bibit tellus inuita cruorem.
feruidus ingenii Masinissa et feruidus aeui
in primas Macetum turmas immania membra
infert et iaculo circumuolat alite campum.
caerulus haud aliter, cum dimicat, incola Thyles
agmina falcigero circumuenit arta couinno.
Graia phalanx patrio densarat more cateruas
iunctisque adstabat nulli penetrabilis hastis.
immemor has pacti post foedus in arma Philippus
miserat et quassam refouebat Agenoris urbem.
rarescit multo laxatus uulnere miles
atque aperit patulas prostrato corpore late
inter tela uias. irrumpit mole ruinae
Ausonius globus et periuria Graia resignat.
Archemorum Rutilus, Teucrum Norbanus (et ambo
Mantua pubenti genetrix dimiserat aeuo),
obtruncat Samium bellacis dextra Caleni,
at Clytium Selius, Pellaeum et uana tumentem
ad nomen patriae Clytium, sed gloria Pellae
haud ualuit misero defendere Daunia tela.

Saeuior his Latius uastabat Bruttia signa
Laelius increpitans: ‘adeone Oenotria tellus
detestanda fuit, quam per maria aspera perque
insanos Tyrio fugeretis remige fluctus?

sed fugisse satis fuerit. Latione cruore
insuper externas petitis perfundere terras?'
haec dicens Silarum meditantem in proelia telo
praeuenit. hasta uolans imo sub gutture sedit
et uitae uocisque uias simul incita clausit.
Vergilio Caudinus, acerbo Laus Amano
sternitur. accendunt iras uultusque uirorum
armorumque habitus noti et uox consona linguae.
quos ubi nudantes conspexit Hamilcare cretus
terga fuga, 'state ac nostram ne prodite gentem'
uociferans subit et conuertit proelia dextra,
qualis in aestiferis Garamantum feta ueneno
attollit campis feruenti pastus harena
colla Paraetonius serpens lateque per auras
undantem torquet perfundens nubila tabem.
continuo infesta portantem cuspide uulnus
impedit anteuolans Herium, cui nobile nomen
Marrucina domus clarumque Teate ferebat.
atque illi magnum nitenti et laudibus hostis
arrecto capuli ad finem manus incita sedit,
quaerebatque miser morienti lumine fratrem,
cum iuuenis subit et leto stimulatus acerbo
Pleminius saeuum mucronem ante ora coruscat
ac fratrem magno minitans clamore reposcit.
huic proles Barcae: 'germanum reddere uero
si placet, haud renuo. maneant modo foedera nostra:
Hasdrubalem reuocate umbris. egone aspera ponam
umquam in Romanos odia aut mansuescere corda
nostra sinam parcamque uiro, quem terra crearit
Itala? tum manes inimici sede repellant
aeterna socioque abigat me frater Auerno.'
sic ait et clipei propulsum pondere toto,
lubrica qua tellus lapsantes sanguine fratris
fallebat nisus, prosternit et occupat ense.

extendit labens palmas Heriumque iacentem
amplexus iuncta leniuit morte dolores.
tum Libys inuadit mixtae certamina turbae
conuertitque ruens per longum hostilia terga,
ut, cum fulminibus permixta tonitrua mundum
terrificant summique labat domus alta parentis,
omne hominum terris trepidat genus, ipsaque ob ora
lux atrox micat, et praesens adstare uiritim
creditur intento perculsis Iuppiter igne.
Parte alia, ceu sola forent discrimina campo,
qua misceret agens truculentum Scipio Martem,
aspera pugna nouas uaria sub imagine leti
dat formas. hic ense iacet prostratus adacto,
hic saxo perfracta gemit lacrimabilis ossa;
ast hos, turpe, pauor fusos proiecit in ora,
horum aduersa dedit Gradiuo pectora uirtus.
ipse super strages ductor Rhoeteius instat,
qualis apud gelidum currus quatit altior Hebrum
et Geticas soluit feruenti sanguine Mauors
laetus caede niues, glaciemque Aquilonibus actam
perrumpit stridens sub pondere belliger axis.
iamque ardore truci lustrans fortissima quaeque
nomina obit ferro. claris spectata per orbem
stragibus occumbit late inter tela iuuentus.
qui muros rapuere tuos miserasque nefandi
principium belli fecere, Sagunte, ruinas,
qui sacros, Thrasymenne, lacus Phaethontia quique
polluerant tabo stagna, ac fiducia tanta
quos tulit, ut superum regi soliumque domosque
irent direptum, mactantur comminus uno
exitio, redduntque animas, temerata ferebant
qui secreta deum et primos reserasse negatas
gressibus humanis Alpes. formidinis huius
plena acies propere retro exanimata ruebat,

haud secus ac tectis urbis Vulcania pestis
cum sese infudit rapidusque incendia flatus
uentilat et uolucres spargit per culmina flammas,
attonitum erumpit subita formidine uulgus,
lateque ut capta passim trepidatur in urbe.
Verum ubi cunctari taedet dispersa uirorum
proelia sectantem et leuiori Marte teneri,
omnes in causam belli auctoremque malorum
uertere iam uires tandem placet. Hannibal unus
dum restet, non, si muris Carthaginis ignis
subdatur caesique cadant exercitus omnis,
profectum Latio. contra, si concidat unus,
nequiquam fore Agenoreis cuncta arma uirosque.
illum igitur lustrans circumfert lumina campo
rimaturque ducem. iuuat in certamina summa
ferre gradum, cuperetque uiro concurrere tota
spectante Ausonia. celsus clamore feroci
prouocat increpitans hostem et noua proelia poscit.
Quas postquam audiuit uoces conterrita Iuno,
ne Libyci ducis impauidas ferrentur ad aures,
effigiem informat Latiam propereque coruscis
attollit cristis, addit clipeumque iubasque
Romulei ducis atque umeris imponit honorem
fulgentis saguli, dat gressum habitusque cientis
proelia et audaces adicit sine corpore motus.
tum par effigies fallacis imagine uana
cornipedis moderanda cito per deuia passu
belligerae datur ad speciem certaminis umbrae.
sic Poeni ducis ante oculos exsultat et ultro
Scipio Iunoni simulatus tela coruscat.
at uiso laetus rectore ante ora Latino
et tandem propius sperans ingentia Poenus
quadrupedi citus imponit uelocia membra
et iacit aduersam properati turbinis hastam.

dat terga et campo fugiens uolat ales imago
tramittitque acies. tum uero ut uictor et alti
iam compos uoti ferrata calce cruentat
cornipedem et largas Poenus quatit asper habenas:
‘quo fugis oblitus nostris te cedere regnis?
nulla tibi Libyca latebra est, o Scipio, terra.’
haec ait et stricto sequitur mucrone uolantem,
donec longinquo frustratum duxit in arua
diuersa spatio procul a certamine pugnae;
tum fallax subito simulacrum in nubila cessit.
fulmineus ductor ‘quisnam se numine caeco
composuit nobis’ inquit ‘deus? aut latet idem
cur monstro? tantumne obstat mea gloria diuis?
sed non auelles umquam, quicumque secundus
caelicolum stas Ausoniae, non artibus hostem
eripies uerum nobis.’ frena inde citati
conuertit furibundus equi campumque petebat,
cum subito occultae pestis collapsa tremore
cornipedis moles ruit atque efflauit anhelo
pectore Iunonis curis in nubila uitam.
tum uero impatiens ‘uestra est haec altera, uestra
fraus,’ inquit ‘superi. non fallitis. aequore mersum
texissent scopuli, pelagusque hausisset et undae!
anne huic seruabar leto? mea signa secuti,
quis pugnae auspicium dedimus, caeduntur, et absens
accipio gemitus uocesque ac uerba uocantum
Hannibalem. quis nostra satis delicta piabit
Tartareus torrens?’ simul haec fundebat et una
spectabat dextram ac leti feruebat amore.
Tunc Iuno miserata uirum pastoris in ora
uertitur ac siluis subito procedit opacis
atque his alloquitur uersantem ingloria fata:
‘quaenam te siluis accedere causa subegit
armatum nostris? num dura ad proelia tendis,

magnus ubi Ausoniae reliquos domat Hannibal armis?
si uelox gaudes ire et compendia grata
sunt tibi, uicino in medios te tramite ducam.’
annuit atque onerat promissis pectora largis
pastoris patresque docet Carthaginis altae
magna repensuros nec se leuiora daturum.
praecipitem et uasto superantem proxima saltu
circumagit Iuno ac fallens regione uiarum
non gratam inuito seruat celata salutem.
Interea Cadmea manus deserta pauensque
non ullum Hannibalem, nusquam certamina cernit
saeui nota ducis. pars ferro occumbere credunt,
pars damnasse aciem et diuis cessisse sinistris.
ingruit Ausonius uersosque agit aequore toto
rector, iamque ipsae trepidant Carthaginis arces.
impletur terrore uago cuncta Africa pulsis
agminibus, uolucrique fuga sine more ruentes
tendunt attonitos extrema ad litora cursus
ac Tartessiacas profugi sparguntur in oras;
pars Batti petiere domos, pars flumina Lagi.
sic ubi ui caeca tandem deuictus ad astra
euomuit pastos per saecula Vesuius ignes
et pelago et terris fusa est Vulcania pestis,
uidere Eoi, monstrum admirabile, Seres
lanigeros cinere Ausonio canescere lucos.
At fessum tumulo tandem regina propinquo
sistit Iuno ducem, facies unde omnis et atrae
apparent admota oculis uestigia pugnae.
qualem Gargani campum Trebiaeque paludem
et Tyrrhena uada et Phaethontis uiderat amnem
strage uirum undantem, talis, miserabile uisu,
prostratis facies aperitur dira maniplis.
tunc superas Iuno sedes turbata reuisit.
iamque propinquabant hostes tumuloque subibant,

cum secum Poenus: ‘caelum licet omne soluta
in caput hoc compage ruat terraeque dehiscant,
non ullo Cannas abolebis, Iuppiter, aeuo,
decedesque prius regnis, quam nomina gentes
aut facta Hannibalis sileant. nec deinde relinquo
securam te, Roma, mei, patriaeque superstes
ad spes armorum uiuam tibi. †nam modo pugna
praecellis, resident hostes† mihi satque superque,
ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,
dum uiuam, exspectent nec pacem pectore norint.’
sic rapitur paucis fugientum mixtus et altos
inde petit retro montes tutasque latebras.
Hic finis bello. reserantur protinus arces
Ausonio iam sponte duci. iura improba adempta
armaque, et incisae leges, opibusque superbis
uis fracta, et posuit gestatas belua turres.
excelsae tum saeua rates spectacula Poenis
flammiferam accepere facem, subitaque procella
arserunt maria, atque expauit lumina Nereus.
Mansuri compos decoris per saecula rector
deuictae referens primus cognomina terrae
securus sceptri repetit per caerula Romam
et patria inuehitur sublimi tecta triumpho.
ante Syphax feretro residens captiua premebat
lumina, et auratae seruabant colla catenae.
hinc Hannon clarique genus Phoenissa iuuentus
et Macetum primi atque incocti corpora Mauri,
tum Nomades notusque sacro, cum lustrat harenas,
Hammoni Garamas et semper naufraga Syrtis.
mox uictas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas
ibat et effigies orae iam lenis Hiberae,
terrarum finis Gades ac laudibus olim
terminus Herculeis Calpe Baetesque lauare
solis equos dulci consuetus fluminis unda,

frondosumque apicem subigens ad sidera mater
bellorum fera Pyrene nec mitis Hiberus,
cum simul illidit ponto, quos attulit, amnes.
sed non ulla magis mentesque oculosque tenebat,
quam uisa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago.
ipse adstans curru atque auro decoratus et ostro
Martia praebebat spectanda Quiritibus ora,
qualis odoratis descendens Liber ab Indis
egit pampineos frenata tigride currus,
aut cum Phlegraeis confecta mole Gigantum
incessit campis tangens Tirynthius astra.
salue, inuicte parens, non concessure Quirino
laudibus ac meritis non concessure Camillo.
nec uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum,
prolem Tarpei, mentitur Roma, Tonantis.

TRANSLATION

[341] When the father of the gods saw his sister looking out at these things from a distant cloud in the air and also saw that her face was saddened beneath a fierce gaze, he uttered affectionate words as follows: ‘What kind of mental torments prey upon you? Allow me to know, wife. [345] Is it the plight of the Phoenician leader and worry about your Carthage that chokes you? But only reconsider with yourself and the Sidonian madness. I ask you, sister, what limit there will be for this people who rebel by breaking treaties against the Teucrian nation and their fated kingdoms? [350] Carthage herself has not suffered more misfortunes and has not used up labours more than you suffered, harassed on behalf of the Cadmean tribe. You have unsettled sea and land and you have sent that fierce youth against Latium. The walls of Rome have trembled and for twice eight years Hannibal has been the first among [355] the human race. Time to settle the nations. The end has come, the gate of war must be shut.’ Then suppliant Juno: ‘I have not sat on this hanging cloud striving to change these things for which the day is fixed, nor do I seek to recall the armies or to string out the war. [360] I demand only what you are able to grant, now that your favour towards me lies languid and our initial love has now perished – nothing against the threads of the Sisters. Let Hannibal turn his back on the enemy, as pleases you, and let the ashes of Troy rule in Carthage. [365] This is what I plead for, as sister and wife, by the mutual pledges of our twin love. Endure that the great-souled leader sails through the perils and grant him his life, or at least do not allow him to bear Ausonian chains as a captive. Let my walls stand, even though they have been battered by evils, and the Sidonian name has perished, and let them be preserved for my honour.’ [370] Thus Juno spoke, and Jupiter answered briefly in response: ‘I grant time for the walls of lofty Carthage, as you wish. Let them stand for your tears and your prayers. But notice, wife, to what extent there is room for indulgence. The Fate remaining to the city is not long, and a leader under an equal name shall come, [375] to destroy from their foundations the citadels that are now preserved. As you request, let Hannibal, too, inhale the ethereal breezes, having been snatched away from battle. He will want to mingle stars with the sea and to fill up the Earth with renewed war. I recognise that the man’s heart is pregnant with war. [380] But let the condition of our grant be this one: he must never hereafter see the Saturnian kingdom; more fully, never again must he seek Italy. Now, snatch him from imminent death and carry him away, in case you are not unable to

remove him from the right hand of the Romulan youth if he stirs up wild battle on the broad fields.'

[385] While the Almighty settled the fates for the city and its leader, the armies rush into battle and they attack the stars with their shouts. Not at any other time did the earth see more relentless nations or greater leaders who set in motion equal weapons. High is the reward [390] between them for the competition: whatever the heaven covers everywhere. The Agenorean leader went shining out in purple; the ruddy crest with its nodding plumes increased the height of his lofty head. Savage terror of his great name precedes him and the sword well-known in Latium flashes. [395] But on the other side Scipio was shining with blazing scarlet, brandishing his terrifying shield, on which he had had engraved images of father and uncle together breathing the same awe-inspiring battle. His high forehead spewed huge flame. Under such great force of weapons and men, for all, [400] the hope of victory depended upon the leaders alone. Moreover, as favour or fear drives most men, they believe that, if Scipio had been born on the Libyan shores, the sceptre would be coming to Agenor's descendants, and if Hannibal had been born in an Ausonian palace, [405] they do not doubt at all that the lands would be under Italian dominion. The breezes trembled from the resonating spears in a swift whirlwind and they dragged a terrifying cloud in the upper air. Then, the sword and the army grew closer and the faces moved to close quarters and eyes burning with dire flame. [410] The crowd contemptuous of the danger was prostrated as it brought itself headlong into the middle, exposed to the foremost weapons, and the unwilling land drinks the blood of her race. Masinissa, fiery by temperament and fiery by age brings his immense limbs against the first ranks of the Macedonian squadron [415] and flits around the field with a winged javelin. Not otherwise, the sky-blue native of Thule, when he fights, drives around the close-packed ranks in his scythe-bearing chariot. The Greek phalanx had packed together their troops after the custom of their native country and it was standing present with the spears united penetrable by no man. [420] Philip, defying his agreement after the treaty, had sent them to the war to revive the shaken city of Agenor. The ranks, loosened by many wounds, grow thin and because of the fallen bodies they spread wide open paths between the spears. [425] The Ausonian throng breaks in with the power of destruction and invalidates the Greek perfidy. Rutilus cuts down Archemorus, and Norbanus cuts down Teucer (Mantua, the mother of both, has sent them forth at the age of puberty), the right hand of warlike Calenus slays Samius, and Selius slays Clytius, the native of

Pella, Clytius who was proud in vain [430] at the name of his native place, but the glory of Pella was not able to defend the wretched man from the Daunian spears. More savage than these, Laelius from Latium was laying waste to the Bruttian standards, harassing them thus: 'Was the Oenotrian land so detestable for you that you ran away from it, through rough seas and raging waves [435] with a Tyrian rower? It should have been enough to have fled. Do you also seek to pour blood from Latium over foreign lands?' As he spoke thus, he prevented with his weapon Silarus who was considering fighting. The flying spear stuck deep in Silarus' throat [440] and quickly cut off the paths of both his life and voice at the same time. Caudinus was prostrated by Vergilius, and Laus by violent Amanus. The faces of the Bruttians, their familiar weapons, and their voices that echoed the same language kindled the fury of the Romans. When the son of Hamilcar saw them exposing their backs in flight, he approached crying out, [445] 'Stand firm and do not betray our nation', and he reversed the battle on the right side; just as a Paraetonian snake on the Garamantian heat-bringing plains, fed by the burning sand, raises up its neck full of poison [450] and hurls billowing venom pouring out in a cloud far and wide through the breezes. Immediately, he flies in front of Herius, and obstructs the man who is bearing a wound with his hostile spear, and to whom the city of the Marrucini and the renowned Teate gave a noble name. But in him, who was making a great effort [455] and excited by the praise for such a great enemy, the swift hand stops at the end of the sword-hilt. The miserable one was seeking his brother with his dying eyes when the young Pleminius approached and, spurred on by the untimely death [of his brother], flashed his fierce sword before Hannibal's face and menacingly demanded the return of his brother with a loud shout. [460] Then the Barcaean offspring said: 'If it, indeed, pleases you to bring back a brother, I do not deny you. Only let our treaty remain thus: recall Hasdrubal from the shades. Am I ever to set aside the bitter hatred against the Romans, or shall I allow my heart to grow gentle or pardon a man whom the Italian land has created? [465] Then may the hateful shades repel me from the eternal palace and let my brother drive me away from friendly Avernus.' Thus he spoke and prostrated Pleminius, as he was propelled by the whole weight of his shield, at the place where the earth, slippery with a brother's blood, betrayed his falling steps; then he took him out with his sword. [470] As he was slipping, he [Pleminius] reached out his hands and, having embraced the supine Herius, with shared death he softened his pain. Then the Libyan rushed into the struggle of the mixed crowd and, rushing down

on them over a long distance, caused the enemy to turn their backs. Similarly when thunder, mixed with lightning bolts, [475] terrifies the world and the lofty dwelling of the utmost Father totters, the whole race of people on Earth is terrified and the fierce light flashes in their very faces, and it is believed by each man that Jupiter is standing present, overthrowing him by his deliberate fire. On the other side, as if it was the only critical moment on the battlefield, [480] where Scipio joined in waging savage war, the fierce battle gives new forms within the varied images of death. This one is lying, laid low by the thurst of the sword, this lamentable one groans that his bones were broken by a stone, and those men, -- for shame! -- fear threw them down, prostrated on their faces, [485] whereas these men's valour gave them breasts facing the War-god. The Rhoeteian leader himself is standing over the massacre, just as lofty Mars at the frozen Hebrus shakes his chariot and, delighted in slaughter, melts the Getic snows with the boiling blood, [490] and the war-bringing whistling axle breaks the ice created by the North winds with its weight. Now, looking around with fierce burning desire for each of the most renowned names, he meets them with the sword. Having been admired in famous massacres all over the world, the youth falls scattered among the spears; those who seized your walls, Saguntum, [495] and made your wretched ruins the beginning of this unspeakable war; those who had defiled with gore, Trasimene, your sacred lake, and the pools of the river of Phaethon, and those who such a great confidence brought to go to plunder the seat and dwelling of the king of the gods, they are sacrificed at close quarters in one [500] destruction, and they too give up their souls, those who plundered the defiled secrets of the gods and those who first disclosed the Alps denied to human steps. Lifeless, the army was rushing backwards hurriedly, filled by fear of this man, no differently from Vulcan's plague [505] when it poured itself into the roofs of a city and a rapid breath fans the fire and scatters the swift flames over the gables, the common people break out, struck by sudden fear, and everywhere panic spreads widely as if in a captured city. Even so, when he tires of delaying as he pursues the men's scattered battles, [510] and of being occupied with insignificant warfare, he finally finds it pleasing now to turn all his powers against the cause of war and the originator of the calamities. While Hannibal alone survives, even if fire is set at the foot of the walls of Carthage and her entire army falls slaughtered, [515] still Latium would not have been profited. On the other hand, if he alone should fall, all the arms and the men would be in vain for the Agenoreans. Therefore, scanning for him he looks with his eyes around the field and probes for that leader. He is delighted

to step towards the crowning conflict, and would have liked to meet the man [520] with all Ausonia watching. Elevated, he calls his enemy forward, harassing him with fierce shouts, and demands a new battle. As soon as Juno heard those shouts, terrified that they would reach the Libyan leader's fearless ears, she shapes a Latian effigy and hastily [525] raises it up with a gleaming crest. She adds the shield and the plume of the Romulan leader and places on its shoulders the ornament of the glittering cloak; she gives it the gait and the bearing of one arousing battles, and adds bold movement without body. Then, a similar effigy of a deceitful horse in an empty image [530] is supplied to the warlike shade, to be guided with swift step in the trackless places towards a resemblance of battle. Thus, the Scipio simulated by Juno springs vigorously before the eyes of the Punic leader and brandishes his weapons from afar. Rejoicing at the sight of the Roman ruler in front of him, [535] and finally hoping for a great battle soon, the Punic leader quickly throws his swift limbs onto his horse and hurls the hostile javelin, rapid as a whirlwind. The winged image turns its back and flies fast running away from the battlefield and passes through the ranks. Then, indeed, like a winner and [540] now secure in the fulfilment of his ultimate prayer, the harsh Punic leader bloodies his horse with iron spur and shakes its generous reins. 'Is it our realm you are departing from? There is no hiding place for you in the Libyan earth, Scipio'. Thus he speaks and pursues the flying image with an unsheathed sword, [545] until it led him frustrated to a remote point into fields far separated from the contest of the combat. Then, the deceitful idol departs into the clouds immediately. The thunderous leader said: 'Which god opposed me with a hidden divine will? Why does the same one hide [550] behind a monster? Does my glory stand in the way of the gods so much? But you will never tear him away, whichever of the heaven dwellers stand propitious to Ausonia, you will never snatch the real enemy away from me by artifice'. From there, in fury, he spurred his horse and turned its bridle around and made for the field, [555] when, collapsing under the sudden trembling of a hidden plague, the mass of the horse fell down and breathed out its life with gasping breast at the clouds, by Juno's management. Then, indeed, Hannibal impatiently said: 'It is yours, gods; this second deception is yours. You do not deceive me. [560] If only the crags had covered me, submerged in the sea, and the ocean and the waves had swallowed me down. Was I kept for a death like this? Those who followed my standards and to whom I gave the signs for opening the battle are being slaughtered and, in my absence, I receive their groans and their voices and the words of those calling for Hannibal. Which river of

Tartarus will sufficiently expiate this abandonment?' [565] While he was pouring forth these words, he was looking at his right hand and was inflamed with desire for death. Then Juno, taking pity on the man, changes her face to that of a shepherd and immediately goes forward in the shady forest and talks to him as he contemplates his dishonourable fate, with these words: [570] 'What reason drove you to enter our forest equipped in arms? Are you marching towards the fierce battle where the great Hannibal is mastering the Ausonian remnants in battle? If you are happy to go there fast and a shortcut is what pleases you, I will lead you to the middle of them by a neighbouring path.' [575] He nodded and loaded the shepherd's heart with lavish promises and made her aware that the fathers of lofty Carthage will reward her generously and that he himself will give no less. And Juno drives him in circles as, in headlong haste, he leaps with great jumps over what is nearest, and deceives him in the direction of his way, [580] and by keeping her identity secret she rescues him against his will, with unwelcome safety. In the meantime, the Cadmean army, abandoned and in fear, sees no Hannibal; nowhere does it see the well-known battles of the fierce leader. Some believe that he is slain by a sword, whereas others think that he has rejected the army and yielded to the unfavourable gods. [585] The Ausonian ruler attacks and drives the fleeing men through the whole plain, and now the citadels of Carthage themselves tremble. All Africa is filled with spreading terror by the repelled troops. Rushing in a swift-winged flight without order, they stretch their thunderstruck course to the farthest edge of the shore, [590] and are scattered on the Tartessian beaches in flight. Some of them sought the home of Battus, some others the streams of Lagus. So when Vesuvius conquered by hidden power eventually spewed out at the stars fires fed through the centuries and Vulcan's pestilence is poured over sea and land, [595] the Eastern Chinese saw, wondrous portent, the wool-bearing groves grow white with Ausonian ashes. But finally Queen Juno makes the weary leader stand on a neighbouring hill from where all the sights and the traces of the dark battle, brought to his eyes, are visible; [600] as he had seen the field of the Garganus and the marsh of Trebia and the Tyrrhenian waters and the river of Phaëthon overflowing with the carnage of men, the same ill-omened appearance is laid bare by the fallen soldiers; what a pitiable sight! Then, Juno in turmoil returned to the palace above. [605] At this time, the enemy were approaching and were coming up the hill when the Punic leader said to himself: 'Even if the whole sky escaping its hinges were to fall upon this head and the earth yawn, not in any age, Jupiter, will you erase

Cannae, and you will retire from your sovereignty before the peoples remain silent about the names [610] or the exploits of Hannibal. I am not, then, leaving you free from care about myself, Rome, and, survivor of my own country, I shall be alive for you to cause the expectation of war. For only in this battle you excel; the enemy remains. It is enough, and more than enough, that the Dardanian mothers and the Italian land [615] will wait for me, for as long as I am alive, and know no peace in their hearts'. So he is snatched away mixed with the few fugitives, and seeks from there the high mountains behind and a safe hiding place. At that point the war ended. Immediately, the citadels are willingly opened up to the Ausonian leader. He deprived them of their wicked rules [620] and weapons, and laws were inscribed, and the power of their proud wealth was broken, and the beasts set down the towers they had carried. Then the high ships received the flame-bearing torch, a savage spectacle for the Carthaginians, and thanks to a sudden storm they burnt the seas, and Nereus was terrified of the lights.

[625] Possessor of this glory that will remain throughout the years, the first leader to bear the cognomen of the conquered land, without worry about his rule, seeks Rome again through the seas and enters the buildings of his native country in a sublime triumphal procession. In front of him Syphax, sitting on a litter was holding down his captive [630] eyes, and chains of gold guarded his neck. Here Hanno and the Phoenician youth of noble descent, and the leaders of the Macedonians and bodies of the sunburnt Moors; next came the Numidians and the Garamantian known sacred Ammon, when he wanders around the desert, and the always shipwrecked Syrtis. [635] Soon Carthage proceeded, stretching her defeated hands towards the stars, and the now quiet figure of the Iberian district, Gades, the end of the world, and Calpe, once the boundary-line to the glory of Hercules, and the Baetis which is used to bathing the horses of the sun in the sweet waters of its river; [640] And the fierce mother of wars, Pyrene, driving up her leafy summit towards the stars, and the ungentle Hiberus, at the moment when it crashes the waters it has brought against the sea. But no other image held the minds and eyes more than that of Hannibal fleeing over the plains. [645] Scipio himself, standing on his chariot and adorned with gold and purple, gave to the Quirites a war-like face which was worthy of watching, just like Bacchus when, coming down from perfumed India, he drove his chariot of vine-leaves with bridled tigress, or the hero of Tiryns after the weight of the Giants has been done for, [650]

when he marched over the plains of Phlegra, touching the stars. Hail, undefeated father, who will not be surpassed by Quirinus in glory, not surpassed by Camillus in merits. Indeed, Rome does not lie when she mentions you as the offspring of the gods, descendent of the Tarpeian Thunderer.

COMMENTARY

1. 341 – 384: The role of the gods in the second half of book 17 (341 – 654): the fate of Hannibal and Carthage

After Hannibal has been saved from the sea storm by divine intervention, the narrative focuses on the battlefield where Hannibal encourages his soldiers to fight in the battle at Zama. The scene then is lifted to the divine level with a final conversation between Jupiter and Juno (341-84). The fate of Hannibal and Carthage and the outcome of the war is the main subject of the divine dialogue. The conversation causes retardation in the action of the poem, as the action stops at a crucial point, after Hannibal has prepared his soldiers for the decisive battle and before the final encounter of the two armies and the end of the poem. In the lines under discussion we see Jupiter's decision to end the war (341-56), and Juno's plea to save Hannibal's life and to preserve the walls of Carthage in her honour (357-69). Jupiter confirms that he can save Hannibal's life as long as he does not approach Italy again, and give some respite to Carthage's walls, nonetheless, he prophesies the city's total destruction in the future (370-84).

This divine dialogue resumes the one in book 12 where Hannibal's two attempts to besiege Rome force Jupiter to begin a conversation with Juno and advise her to make Hannibal relent. The divine dialogue in book 12 offers both a warning and a prophecy regarding Hannibal's future, which closely resembles the one in book 17. Hannibal must stop fighting against Jupiter, or he will be vanquished by the god himself. As I have argued in the Introduction (see section 2.1.3), in the *Punica* as a whole, book 12 mirrors book 17. In both narratives, Hannibal's attempts are frustrated mainly by the intervention of Jupiter. More specifically, in book 12 Hannibal attempts to storm Rome twice but is prevented by Jupiter. Hannibal's third attempt makes Jupiter advise Juno to persuade Hannibal to relent. Hannibal sees the gods who are defending Rome and then departs. In both books the conversation causes Juno to remove Hannibal from the battlefield and to save his life. For a comparison of both passages and their implications for the narrative as a whole, see Marks 2005: 196-200. Book 9 also offers a similar discussion between the gods and finishes again with Jupiter's prophecy (for further analysis, see Introduction, section 2.1.3). The reader is aware of the outcome

of the war and of Rome's destiny, which has already been established by Jupiter in his dialogue with Venus in book 3.

Silius' divine machinery owes a great deal to Virgil's use of the gods in the *Aeneid*. The Jupiter-Juno episode in book 17 contains several deliberate echoes of the Jupiter-Juno conversations in *Aeneid* 10 and 12, and the Jupiter-Venus speeches in *Aeneid* 1, which suggest a ring composition encouraging comparison of these particular scenes of the two epics. More specifically, the dialogue of *Punica* 17 shares similarities with the dialogue between Jupiter and Juno at *Aen*. 10.606-32 and 12.791-842 as far as the position in the narrative and content are concerned. Firstly, regarding the narrative position, the dialogue at *Aen.* 10.606-32 takes place during the naval battle whereas the dialogue at *Aen*. 12.791-842 delays the action by interrupting the final battle between Aeneas and Turnus, which has already begun. Silius at 17.341-8 puts the final conversation before the beginning of the duel between Hannibal and Scipio. Secondly, with regard to the content, in *Punica* 17 Jupiter assures Juno that Hannibal will be preserved; therefore, this conversation has a closer relationship to the first substantive conversation of *Aen.* 10.606-32, where Juno begs Jupiter to preserve Turnus. In contrast to Turnus, Hannibal is permitted to live and his survival in the historical record allows Silius to vary the Virgilian model, in which Turnus is killed. Regarding the internal structure of the two dialogues, in the conversation of *Aen*. 10 each of the deities speaks twice, while in *Punica* 17 Jupiter has two speeches and Juno only one, as at *Aen*. 12 (see Burck 1984: 141). Moreover, given that the preceding scene which happens in the beginning of *Punica* 17 describing Hannibal's storm (17.260-7) has been replaying *Aeneid* 1 and Aeneas' storm (1.94-101), which is also part of a divine conversation, that of Jupiter and Venus discussing the end of Aeneas' troubles at the beginning of the poem (*Aen*. 1.241 *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?*), Silius here is combining all three of Virgil's dialogues together: two from the final books and one from the first book of the *Aeneid*. Other significant literary models regarding the divine decision of the outcome of a war and a leader's future can be found in the *Iliad*. More specifically, the narration of the final duel between Hector and Achilles at *Il.* 22 is interrupted by a divine dialogue between Zeus and Athena (22.168-85) and by Jupiter's weighing of their fates on his scale (22.208-13). The outcome of the Achilles-Hector duel will also bring about the outcome of the Trojan war. Also, at *Il*. 15.49-77 Zeus foretells the end of the war and promises to lead Odysseus back home. Later in

the poem, at *Il.* 20.293-308, Poseidon suggests that the gods save Aeneas and foretells his future greatness. In preceding Latin literature, the discussion here between the gods and their decision regarding a hero's fate recalls the divine council in Ennius *Ann.* 1.51-5 Skutsch in which the fate and the deification of Romulus is decided. In Ennius' divine discussion as in Silius' here, it is apparent that there are pro- and anti-Roman divinities. Overall, the introduction of the divine machinery in his historical epic, and especially at such a crucial moment of internal and external prolepsis, is one of Silius' epic techniques which belongs more to the tradition of Ennius and Virgil than that of Lucan, who decided to eliminate the divine element from the *Pharsalia*. For the divine machinery in the *Punica* with a greater emphasis on the second half of book 17, see Introduction, section 2.2.1.

1.a. 341 – 356: Jupiter's decision to end the war

Silius interrupts the narrative and takes the reader from the battlefield to the celestial field. The situation has now changed in favour of the Romans, and Jupiter turns to sad and resigned Juno to console her about the unaltered fate of Hannibal and Carthage. Jupiter concludes the first part of his speech with an invitation to peace. Both Juno and Jupiter are reconciled, forced by the laws of fate. At this narrative point, Silius links the battle of Zama to the mythological and religious figures of Jupiter and Juno. The speech of Jupiter prior to the battle of Zama is reminiscent of Jupiter's speech at 3.570-90 prior to Hannibal's descent into Italy; both passages predict the fated dominance of Rome among nations. In the one in book 17, however, there is no mention of the rise of the Flavian regime, as there is in the passage in book 3 (see Wilson 2013:18).

On a metapoetic level, this passage focuses on poetic origins and ancestry. Jupiter's sponsorship of the Romans here makes him the ancestor and originator of their worldwide glory, predicted within the poem but already achieved in the poem's Flavian milieu. These lines also offer a metapoetic reference to the poem's ancestry since the emphasis on Juno's long established enmity towards the Romans can be traced back to the *Aeneid* and beyond. Juno and Hannibal share the same enmity about the Romans. In fact, Hannibal has inherited not only Juno's *furor* but also a legacy of vengeance that stretches back as far as the founding of Carthage, linking him also with

his ancestress Dido (see Introduction, section 2.2.2). As will be proved, though, Hannibal will end up exactly like Dido "as a wretched suicide" (Harrison 2010: 282). A final noteworthy point is the accumulation of terms such as *Sidonios, Teucrorum, Cadmea gente* that show the deep roots of both nations. Therefore, the connections of this passage with *Aeneid* 12 and 1, as shown above, emphasise the *Punica's* descent from the *Aeneid*.

341. Haec procul aeria speculantem nube sororem: events on Earth, such as Hannibal's suffering at sea and the Romans' impatience to start the war, sadden Juno who is aloft sitting on a cloud. The scene has now been transferred to the sky. At *Aen.* 12.791, Juno also watches the battle from the clouds (*Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis Olympi*│*adloquitur fulua pugnas de nube tuentem*); the syntax in both scenes is the same: the *diuum genitor ~ rex omnipotentis Olympi* in nominative as the subject and Juno *speculantem nube ~ tuentem de nube* in accusative as the object. **Haec procul:** the pronoun *haec,* in emphatic initial position, summarises the previous narrative and connects it with the following. This pronoun denotes chronological proximity to the preceding events (see *OLD* 10) whereas *procul* shows physical distance. The word *procul* meaning 'far' is situated between *haec,* i.e. what happens on earth, and *aeria nube,* i.e. what happens in the distant sky. **aeria speculantem nube**: the etymological connection between *aer* and *Ἥρα* explains why Juno spends so much time in the clouds. "Hera is the goddess of our crass atmosphere as opposed to Jupiter the sky-god and god of the aether" (Feeney 1991: 150, see also Heinze 1993: 239). The verb *speculor* is often associated with observation from a high vantage-point; see Ov. *Met.* 1.666-7 *ipse procul montis sublime cacumen*│*occupat, unde sedens partes speculatur in omnes*; *Aen.* 11.853 *sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto*. Like Juno, who is among the clouds, *speculantem* in the Latin text is placed between *aeria* and *nube.* Juno has foretold that she will be watching the battle events from heaven at Sil. 1.51: *sublimis…cernam*.

342. diuum genitor: although the precise phrase appears only in Silius among the epic poets, at 5.70 and 6.618 (with the only exception of one single reference at Catullus 64.27, which also occurs in the mini-epic poem of his oeuvre), at 4.419 Jupiter is called *genitor Olympo* in a similar context, when Jupiter watches the battle of the Ticinus

and gives directions to Mars on how to save Scipio from imminent death. For divine interventions in the *Punica* for the sake of the gods' protégés, see Introduction, section 2.2.1. It seems that the phrase is post-Virgilian; Ovid first at *Met*. 14.91, and Statius later at *Theb*. 2.115, 3.556 used the version *deum genitor*; Martial at 12.77.5 uses *diuom genitor*. The omission of *hominum* both in these and the Silian phrases chimes with Hutchinson's (2013: 335) observation that the characterisation of Jupiter as 'father of men' is avoided in the post-Ovidian poets. For the different versions of the poets' use of the characterisations of Jupiter in literature, see Hutchinson 2013: 334-5, with a particular emphasis on Silius' use of other phrases for Jupiter on page 335.

342-3: maestosque sub acri│obtutu uultus: the phrase *sub acri obtutu* could refer to either Juno's sharp gaze on the events below or Jupiter's sharp gaze fixed on Juno's sadness. However, it is more likely for Silius to give Juno a sharp and furious gaze, seeing that her efforts to destroy the Romans are pointless. Also, the sharp gaze runs counter to the clear sympathy that Jupiter shows to Juno when he talks to her *ore…amico* in the next line. In the episode of *Aeneid* 12 echoed here, Juno has a modest and submissive gaze as she accepts Jupiter's decision (*Aen.* 12.807 *summisso uultu*). In *Punica* 17, however, Juno's sharp gaze appears before the dialogue with Jupiter begins, suggesting that Juno's gaze is the reason for Jupiter to initiate the dialogue. Conversely, Virgil describes Juno's downcast but modest gaze only after Jupiter announces that the war shall end, and she realises the immutability of the events. Stylistically, the assonance of the -(t)u and alliteration of the -t in the phrase *obtutu uultus* perhaps create a musical effect in the line possibly emphasised by the spondaic nature of the phrase. **obtutu:** this is an archaic word (used at Pac. *Trag*. 395), suitable for the divine and grandiose context of the passage that inspires awe. It implies the action of looking fixedly or continuously at something (*OLD* 1); see for example Aeneas looking fixedly at the building of the walls of Carthage at *Aen*. 1.495 *dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*. We could draw an analogy with the Homeric verb *δερκέσκετο*, occurring at *Od*. 5.158 for Odysseus who is sitting in depression upon the shores of Ogygia and is looking out upon the barren sea, anticipating his return (*πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον δερκέσκετο*). The significance of the Homeric parallel here lies in the fact that both Juno's and Odysseus' sight has a continuous and fixed target which anticipates the end of the story: the end of the Punic war for Juno, and the release from Calypso for Odysseus. **maestos**: at Sil. 3.558 Venus is *maesta* when contemplating

the struggles of the Romans, thus she addresses Jupiter and asks for help. At *Aen.* 1.228 Venus is *tristior* in her plea for an end to the Trojans' struggles.

343. sic ore effatus amico est: Jupiter here seems to issue a decree in a friendly way. He no longer talks to Juno in an erotic way, as she acknowledges a few lines later that Jupiter's love towards her has faded away (17.361 *cecidit iam primus amor*). The phrase is an imitation of half a line from *Aen*. 3.463 *quae postquam uates sic ore effatus amico est*, after Helenus' friendly prophecy. In general, *sic effatus* is a speech-closure formula. More specifically, *effatus* is a poetic word found in prophecies, mainly used by Virgil (Hardie 1994: 73). The word displays a connection with the Fates and *fatum* (see Lyne 1987: 74 for the analysis of this association), and thus creates a religious context. In Ennius it is used to close Jupiter's speech (*Ann*. 6.203 Skutsch *diuom pater atque hominum rex effatur*). The tone of the passage is elevated, and the slow movement of this spondaic line creates suspense, causing terror and awe, and prepares the reader for Jupiter's coming speech. In the corresponding episode at Sil. 9.542 Jupiter responds to Juno gently (*contra quae miti respondet Iuppiter ore*).

344. 'qui te mentis edunt morsus?...': in this sentence there is an alliteration of -(n)t. The phrase is closer to Jupiter's phrase at *Aen*. 12.801 *ni te tantus edit tacitam dolor* as the context is similar: Jupiter asks Juno to stop creating troubles for the Trojans. The notion of grief biting goes back at least as far as Aeschylus' *Ag*. 791 where we find the phrase *δῆγμα δὲ λύπης*. However, in this passage, Juno's pain is not emotional but mental. Silius' language here is influenced by Stoic ideas, in which context *morsus* refers not to emotional pain but mental distress – confirmed by the existence of *mentis* here (see Graver/Long 2015: 535, 564 for analysis of Seneca *Ep*. 99.14 who had described *morsus* as a sting that has the potential to be turned into grief, *dolor*). *Morsus* can also be used for sharp things that we can bite (*morsus*, coming from *mordeo*) which also explains the existence of *edunt* as the main verb. Silius is here drawing attention to the metaphor by combining two words which could carry the meaning separately in a less noticeable way. For *morsus* related to mental pain, see also Liv. 6.34.8 (*ex recenti morsu animi*), whereas for its relation to the act of cutting with the teeth, see *Aen*. 12.782.

345. Poeni casus ducis et Carthaginis angit│cura: Jupiter has clearly detected the cause of Juno's distress and his question is straightforward. **angit:** the word is used

here to mean ‘cause mental distress’ or ‘cause anguish to’ (*OLD* 3), and supports the idea stated in the previous line that Juno is suffering from mental distress.

346-7. reputa tecum ipsa furores│Sidonios: Jupiter here implies that Juno’s mind is not in the right place and she should re-think her own actions perhaps in a more rational and thoughtful way, and also re-evaluate the Carthaginians’ madness which she has instilled. Silius recalls all Juno’s actions occuring in previous literature and in the beginning of the epic where she keeps obstructing the Roman fate, and asks her to take a new attitude. The reader may be aware of an irony here that comes from the number of times that Juno has behaved irrationally in literature. **furores Sidonios**: *furor* is the main element of the beginning of the Punic wars: Juno instils it in the Carthaginians’ hearts at 1.32, and Hannibal inherits his father’s *furor* at 1.71. The Carthaginian madness that Jupiter mentions here has been for the Italian *Tellus* the cause for lament at 15.523-4 (*spernor contempta furore│Sidoniae gentis…?*). Hershkowitz associates *furor* with Virgilian and post-Virgilian epic, with madness acting both as a key theme and as a habitual metapoetic comment on the inspired state of the epic poet. She also illustrates that Juno in the *Aeneid* is strongly related to *furor* as she transforms Jupiter’s poem of *fata* into a poem of *furor*. For analysis of this passage, see Hershkowitz 2004: 95-124. The reference to Sidon here states the Carthaginians’ Phoenician origin, and perhaps there is a hint to Dido, who was Sidon-born (*Aen*. 1.446, 613), and her madness, as described in *Aeneid* 4 (see for example, her maddening reaction at 409-411 when she found out that Aeneas is abandoning her, or at 519 when she is “burnt” by fury): the Carthaginian madness goes far back to the *Aeneid*.

347-8. fatalia regna│Teucrorum: like Virgil, Silius insists on the Trojan origins of Rome. The phrase combines a nostalgia, looking back to a past era of greatness, but also an optimism, looking forward to Rome’s fated glorious future. The word *fatalia* meaning ‘ordained by fate’ (*OLD* 2) is deliberately used by Jupiter who now employs the rhetoric of fate to support his argument and persuade Juno. The meaning is that Romans will prevail at the end, despite Juno’s efforts to prevent it. The same idea is promoted by Virgil in the first book of the *Aeneid*, in Jupiter’s phrases to Venus *manent immota tuorum│fata tibi* (1.257-8) and in next line *promissa Lauini│moenia* (1.258-9), that the foundation of the Roman race had a long and hard course, but the final power of Fate prevails. For analysis of the Virgilian passage, see Austin 1999:

34, Lyne 1987: 71-2 in the chapter on the relationship of Jupiter and Fate. The *fatalia regna Teucrorum* that Jupiter foretells in the final book of the *Punica* is contrasted in the *regnum fatali…orae* at Sil. 1.23, describing Carthage as Dido's destined kingdom (see Spaltenstein 1990: 468). Carthage that once belonged to Dido, is now destined to be a Roman province.

348-9. quis erit… │…modus: Jupiter's question about whether there will be a limit to the Carthaginian's misbehaviour will be answered by the same god a few lines later: there will certainly be an end, the end that he himself will impose now (17.356 *ad finem uentum*). The question of what the end will be is specifically thematised in epic poetry, especially in conversations between gods: at *Aen*. 4.98 Juno asks Venus if there will be an end to the competition between the Romans and the Carthaginians (*sed quis erit modus*?), after which they decide to reconcile the two nations through the love of Aeneas and Dido. The reconciliation of the two peoples here will soon come with Jupiter's decision to settle the nation (Sil. 17.355 *tempus componere gentes*); at *Aen*. 1.241 Venus asks Jupiter if there will be an end to the Romans' toils (*quem das finem, rex magne, laborum*?). Similarly, at Sil. 3.559-60 Venus asks Jupiter the same question about the destiny of Rome (*quis poenae modus aut pereundi terminus, oro,* │*Aeneadis erit*?). At *Aen*. 12.793 Jupiter's words to Juno convey the same meaning (*quae iam finis erit, coniunx*?). The word *modus* indicates the ending point and has metapoetic implications: the poet asks whether there will be an end in this epic. Virgil uses the word in a similar context in the poem that concludes his *Eclogae*, where Pan asks Gallus about a limit on his excessive love within a pastoral world (10.27 *ecquis erit modus*?), referring thus to his own poetic fame; the metapoetic significance lies also in the fact that in the first line of *Ecl.* 10, Virgil asks Arethusa to grant him one final poem: 10.1 *extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*, where the word *labor* has the metapoetic meaning of poetry. The metapoetic significance of *modus* as an ending point can be paralleled with the reference above at *Aen*. 12.793, where the phrase occurs at the end of the epic, but more importantly with the reference at Sil. 3.559-60. At this point of the narrative in book 3, Venus' request to Jupiter to put an end to the Romans' toil motivates him to begin his prophecy on the glorious future of the Romans that extends to the Flavian era and to Domitian, in particular. The praise of the Flavians is the *telos* of the narrative in the *Punica* which is discussed by Venus

and Jupiter and is implied at the end of the epic, in the same way that Augustus' triumph and praise in the shield of Aeneas fulfilled the *telos* of the *Aeneid.*

348-9. rebelli│...populo: the verb *rebello* has the sense of an enemy, who has previously submitted, rising up against its conqueror (*OLD* 1). It is first used at *Aen*. 6.858 and 12.185 with the meaning of 'make war again', especially 'renew hostilities' after agreeing to terms of peace (Tarrant 2012: 138). The adjective *rebellis* was used by authors for the external foes of the empire that challenged the *Pax Romana* (*Aen*. 6.858, Liv. 42.21, Ov. *Met*. 15.754, Tac. *Ann*. 1.57, Suet. *Aug*. 21; *Cal*. 51). Therefore, the word accurately describes here the Carthaginians who broke the peace treaty (see Sil. 1.8-11; 694, and the comment on 17.349) and perturbed the Roman peace. However, Anchises declares at *Aen*. 6.853 that the Roman people's mission is to *debellare superbos*. The characterisation of the Carthagininas as *rebelli* confirms Jupiter's Roman focalisation, i.e. the viewing of the situation from a Roman perspective.

349. fractis foederibus: from the beginning to the end of the epic the lack of *fides* and the breaking of treaties is one of the typical Carthaginian characteristics (see Liv. 21.4.9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*, Sil. 1.296, and an extensive analysis in the Introduction, section 2.2.2), confirming thus Dido's curse at *Aen*. 4.624 *nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto*, that there will be no treaties between the two nations. For Silius, the Carthaginians are faithless, breaking the treaty they had made with Rome, which they had sworn to Jupiter to uphold (see the *Punica*'s proem at 1.8-11 and in 1.694). The Carthaginian perfidy is a perversion of Roman piety embodied by Aeneas who acts according to divine rules (see Dominik 2003: 477), and this supports the reading which views Hannibal as an anti-Aeneas. For Hannibal as a "negative" Aeneas, see Stocks 2014: 61, Matier 1989: 14. For analysis of Hannibal's character, see Introduction, section 2.2.3. Jupiter is the god who is invoked during the swearing of an oath and punishes those who do not abide by it (see Liv. 1.24). Therefore, there is a further offence for Jupiter himself as he utters these words. Latinus at *Aen*. 12.200 mentions that Jupiter punishes oath breakers with his thunderbolt (*genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit*). *Foedera* indicates the broken covenants. In the *Punica,* 'treaty' usually refers to the conditions of peace dictated by Rome after the First Punic war. In the spring of 219 BC, Hannibal attacked Saguntum, and in November, after a siege of

eight months, he captured it. This broke the Ebro River treaty, signed in 226 BC, provoking the Second Punic War (see Sil. 1.296). For Carthaginian perfidy and their tendency to break oaths, see Introduction, section 2.2.2. According to Silius, Hannibal breaks the treaty (1.296 *foedere*), presumably the one negotiated to end the first Punic war in 241 BC rather than the Ebro convention of 226 BC, and commences the siege of Saguntum (1.327-8), which results in the destruction of its walls (see Dominik 2003: 477). Silius makes Jupiter present an argument of what is *δίκαιον* to happen to Juno, whereas Virgil in the corresponding verses at *Aen*. 12.795 insists on what is *πρέπον* to happen to the *Aeneades* (***deberi*** *caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli*). For this rhetoric, see Laudizi 1989: 89 n. 69, citing Rebischke 1913: 28.

349-50. ipsa… │Carthago tulit exhausitque laboris: Jupiter recalls Carthage's accumulated toils in the *Aeneid* and throughout this particular book that have caused her lassitude and exhaustion, a motif that progressively leads to the end of the epic; see analysis in the Introduction, section 3.1.

350-1. non plus Carthago… │quam…subiisti exercita: The *labores* that Carthage has endured are equated to Juno's toils to destroy the Trojan race, a recurrent theme of epic already from the *Iliad* onwards; see *Il*. 4.26 and 4.57 where Juno uses the phrase *πόνον ἀτέλεστον* to express her continuous efforts to destroy the Trojan race when Zeus asks her a similar question as here, i.e. what would end her anger towards the Trojans (4.31-6). **exercita**: Juno is vexed by her actions as Venus was in the final lines of Ovid's *Met*., where she is striving to preserve her son's memory (15.768 *solane semper ero iustis exercita curis*), admitting also Juno's intervention as the main cause behind all Roman problems. On a metapoetic level, the combination of *modus* in the previous line and *exercita* in this line indicates that Silius has used Juno to build upon the narrative of this epic with a slow, long and painful process, which is now moving towards its end. For Juno's significance in the progress of the epic, see Introduction, section 2.2.1. There is also a slow and long labour that characterises the creation of the *Thebaid* which is stressed by Statius in the phrase *longi tu sola laboris,* │*conscia, cumque tuis creuit mea Thebais annis* (*Silu*. 3.5.35-6) and in *multa cruciata lima* (*Silu*. 4.7.26). For an analysis of Juno's madness with a primary focus on Statius, see Hershkowitz 1998: 247-301.

351. Cadmea…gente: This description for the Carthaginians does not occur often in the *Punica*: it only occurs at 1.6, 106, 7.637 and the reference in the first and in the final book of the epic makes the ethnonymic significant here. *Cadmea gente* for the Carthaginians recalls the deep roots of the Carthaginians - Dido is the descendant of Agenor, Cadmus' father (*Aen.* 1.338). The name of Cadmus alludes to the criminal roots of the house of Agenor and creates associations between the Carthaginians and the tragic Thebans in the *Thebaid*. See also Dominik's argument (2003: 477) that the Carthaginians resemble Oedipus' family; they both violated rules and disregarded the moral rules of humanity.

352-3. turbasti maria ac terras iuuenemque ferocem │immisti Latio: Hannibal is depicted as the embodiment of Juno's wrath in Sil. 1.36-69 – just as Allecto, Iris and Juturna, Juno's avatars, provoke the anger and the fury of women in the *Aeneid*. Juno has created disorder in the whole cosmic system. Through his rhetorical technique, Jupiter attributes Juno more agency than she actually has, perhaps in order to make her feel sated by her actions thus far and understand that it is now time for her to give up. To stress this idea, he puts the verb *turbasti* in an emphatic position. **turbasti maria ac terras**: Jupiter goes on to list what Juno has succeeded in doing, as a compliment to her powers. There is a cosmic (Lucretian, according to Hardie 2009: 160-2) imagery here. We will see the same image later at 377 *miscere sidera ponto* when Jupiter prophecies Hannibal's future attempt to start a new war. The heterodyne accent of *turbasti* causes 'tumult' in the word and illustrates the tumult Juno has caused. The phrase takes us back to the first appearance of Juno both in the *Punica* and the *Aeneid*: intratextually, when Juno decided to start the war with the Romans in the first lines of the *Punica* at 1.37 she is described as *turbanti terras pontumque*. The phrase now recapitulates her action within the *Punica*. Intertextually, the phrase also recalls *Aen.* 1.279-80, Venus' words to describe the turmoil that Juno has caused to the Trojans. For analysis of Silius' intention to connect the final book of the *Punica* both with its beginning and with the beginning of the *Aeneid*, see Introduction, section 2.1.4. At *Aen.* 12.803-4 *terris agitare uel undis│Troianos potuisti* Jupiter mentions a similar thing for Juno implying that her continuous actions throughout the epic (present tense of *agitare*) have now come to an end (past tense of *potuisti*). The image of the Trojans struggling with the waves is also very common in the sea storm of

Aeneid 1.94-101. At this moment Silius creates concluding effects: the story started with Juno stirring up the sea, creating cosmic disturbance, and only in the final book has Jupiter persuaded her to stop her action. **ferocem**: an epithet especially appropriate to Hannibal: see at Sil. 12.694-5 (*non ulla umquam sine fine feroci│addes frena uiro*) in Jupiter's speech to Juno when he tried to intercept his course. Other references of Hannibal's ferocity occur at Sen. *Suas*. 6.26 *ferus Hannibal*; Hor. *Carm*. 3.6.36 *dirus Hannibal*; Juv. 7.161 *dirus…Hannibal*.

353. immisti Latio. tremuerunt moenia Romae: see the similar description of Scipio's action against Carthage later on at 17.586 *trepidant Carthaginis arces*. There is a strong alliteration of –r and –m which gives a vivid impression of the image: the rumbling of the walls. The use of the onomatopoeic *tremuerunt* helps create a vision of trembling or heaving foundations. That the Dardanian realm shall tremble beneath Hannibal's conquest has been foretold to Hannibal in the prophecy at 3.710 (*trepidabunt Dardana regna*), creating implications about a threat of the destruction of Rome. **moenia Romae**: the phrase is very Virgilian and strongly alludes to the first lines of the *Aeneid* (1.7 *altae moenia Romae*); both occur in the same metrical position, at the end of the line. Indeed, Hannibal rode around the walls of Rome as described at Sil. 12.563-4. Lucan uses frequently the idea of a 'trembling Rome' (3.298 *trepidantis moenia Romae*; 5.381 *trepidam…Romam*), in his poem about the unfounding of Rome.

354. bis octonos primus fuit Hannibal│humani generis: although the Carthaginians would ultimately lose the Second Punic War, for 16 years Hannibal's army in Italy seemed invincible. Jupiter's words about Hannibal's greatness in the whole human race sound hyperbolic, but Hannibal's valour and achievements not only among Carthaginians but also among Roman generals has been legendary; see Cicero at *Sest*. 68.142, who praises Hannibal's valour and achievements that surpass even the Roman generals' ones. **bis octonos**: see also Sil. 4.122 *Poene, bis octonos Italis in finibus annos* where Liger prophesied the 16 years of war that Hannibal will wage against the Romans. Intratextual references regarding the years of the Hannibalic war occur at 17.332 *post trina lustra* when Hannibal announces his decision to go back to Carthage after 15 years of war, and at 16.151 *ille tibi, qui iam gemino Laurentia lustro* for the 10 years that Hannibal has spent only in the Italian peninsula. This last account contradicts Livy's narrative that Hannibal reminded his soldiers of their sixteen years' successes on Italian soil (Liv. 30.32.6). **fuit:** the past tense in *fuit* implies that

"Hannibal's supremacy is over" (Stocks 2014: 210). Again, metapoetic elements are apparent here as Hannibal's end is going to bring the end of the epic very soon.

355-6. tempus componere gentes.│ad finem uentum. claudenda est ianua belli: Jupiter's speech ends with an invitation for peace, which Juno will accept, since she was aware of the limitations imposed by fate, which she decided to respect. These last three sentences seem syntactically separate. As a rhetorical effect, this phrasing is calm and decisive. *Componere* sounds metapoetic (see also *Aen*. 12.822) and gives a sense that Silius is showing here his intention to conclude the epic. The plural of *gentes* is preferable to *gentem* (in ω) in singular, since Jupiter's intention is to unite and pacify the two different nations. Jupiter's intention here goes beyond this epic and foreshadows the unity of the two nations in the long-term future, when Africa will be a Roman territory. The existence of gentem in ω can be explained by the two previous occurrences of the word in the singular at 347 *gentem* and 351 *gente*. **tempus**: the term plays a significant role in the *Punica* in moments of decision taking (see for example, 3.584, 11.194, 13.807) corresponding to the ancient Greek *καιρός*, meaning 'the critical time of'. In this passage, the 'crucial time' implies and signifies the turning point that leads the narrative towards the resolution of the story. **ad finem uentum**: at 12.694 Jupiter believed that Hannibal's ferocity was *sine fine* but needs to be constrained. He now says *ad finem uentum*, generally implying that Hannibal's actions cannot be limitless anymore, "providing at the same time an end (*finis*) to the narrative" (Stocks 2014: 210). Jupiter's words to Juno at Zama are anticipated at 17.47 *finem armis tandem finemque uenire periclis* (see Von Albrecht 1968: 87; 1999: 312). Jupiter at *Aen*. 12.803 announces the same decision *uentum ad supremum est*, denoting the end of the story, and in the next few lines he continues by forbidding any further action by Juno (*Aen*. 12.806 *ulterius temptare ueto*). **claudenda est ianua belli**: the meaning of the phrase is similar in Ennius (*Ann*. 225-6 Skutsch *belli… portas refregit*) and alludes to the temple of Janus, the doors of which were kept open in times of war and closed in times of peace. The temple of Janus stood in the Roman Forum. It had doors on both ends, and inside was a statue of Janus, the two-faced god of boundaries, who "symbolises the union of the Romans and Sabines under Romulus and Titus Tatius" (Tarrant 2012: 141). Therefore, the allusion to this deity works perfectly here in Jupiter's intention to unite the Romans and the Carthaginians. Similar phrases occur at *Aen*. 1.294, *claudentur belli portae* when Jupiter discusses with Venus and 7.607,

which also denote the solemn opening of the gates of war by Juno. Augustus himself clarifies the origin of this ritual in *Res Gestae* 13. This line is spondaic and creates an atmosphere of solemnity. The brief and silent pause in the middle of the line helps to emphasise the importance of the subsequent phrase; the end of the speech thereby strongly denotes the end of the war. This phrase *ad finem uentum est* together with the phrase at 17.618, *hic finis bello*, indicate that Silius must have brought his epic consciously to an end.

1.b. 357 – 369: Juno's plea on behalf of Hannibal

Jupiter and Juno have decided to reconcile, both responding to the laws of fate. Juno's speech provides a clear idea about her intentions; she does not want to change them or go against fate. She only wants to save Hannibal and the city of Carthage and thus preserve her name. In this passage, Juno sets her conditions for the fates of Hannibal and Carthage. The charged emotions of this speech are conveyed by the verbs Juno uses to voice her request; as a *supplex*, she seeks (*quaero*), demands (*posco*) and pleads (*oro*) with Jupiter. However, there is a strong tension between what she wants and what she is able to achieve (*quis est fixa dies*; *nil fila sororum* | *aduersus posco*). There is an accumulation of begging words (*supplex*, *quaero*, *donare*, *gratia*, *posco*, *placet*, *oro*, *remittas*, *sinas*) that make Juno's speech highly emotional and aim at evoking a sense of pity (*miseratio*).

The reconciliation of Juno during the second Punic war is perhaps associated with the tradition that a ritual procession on the Aventine happened in order to placate her and during the Third Punic war an *euocatio* of Juno of Carthage took place. Servius on *Aen.* 12.841 mentions that Juno was placated during the second Punic war, but in the third war waged by Scipio she was even transferred by means of certain rites to Rome; for more details, see Panoussi 2009: 100. Parallel narratives can be found at Sil. 9.524-41, where the goddess Pallas in a conversation with Jupiter about the fate of Hannibal declares her intention to keep Hannibal alive. At *Aen.* 10.45 Venus makes a similar request to save her son Aeneas. Also, in the final lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Venus pleads with Jupiter to save her descendent Julius Caesar (15.760-78). Although

Juno has been submissive to fate's plans, her feelings are still the same about the Romans (she described them as *cineres troiae*) and her love for Carthage is still enflaming her (*mea moenia*).

357. supplex Iuno: the epithet attributed to Juno is a sign of inferiority: she takes the role of the supplicant in a court or in front of the emperor. A similar image can be found at *Aen*. 1.64, when Juno asks Aeolus to raise the storm for the Trojans (*tum Iuno supplex his uocibus usa est*). At Valerius Flaccus 6.458 she is called *supplex Saturnia* where the epithet attributes her a sense of dignity because of her famous ancestry. Turnus is also depicted as a supplicant in the final lines of the *Aeneid* (12.930 *ille humilis supplex oculos*) when he asks for mercy from Aeneas. Juno, like Turnus, is now *subiecta* to the fate of the Romans. Being *supplex* in the *Aeneid* in front of a Roman recalls Anchises' principle to Aeneas about the way a Roman should wage wars (6.853 *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*).

357-61. neque…nec…nil: Juno starts her speech with negative clauses, giving the sense that she acknowledges the limits of her powers. By saying what she cannot do, she is ready to negotiate about the things she can actually achieve. The polysyndeton illustrates that her final request stems from several limitations imposed on her.

358. neque ego haec mutare laborans, quis est fixa dies: the day is fixed for the Carthaginian defeat and the subsequent Roman triumph. Soon, the two nations will be brought together, according to Jupiter's announcement a few lines ago (355 *tempus componere gentes*), and Juno's intention is not to delay that event (359 *nec reuocare acies bellumue extendere quaero*). The emphasis on 'time' here is very intense as we approach the end of the epic. **mutare**: the word is Ovidian and reminds the reader of the proem of the *Metamorphoses* where the gods can change things, whereas in this case they cannot change the outcome of the situation.

358. neque…pendenti nube resedi: the image of Juno on a suspending cloud illustrates the situation of the events that are also still "hanging", i.e. undecided. The same image of Juno appears at *Aen*. 12.810 in a similar context *nec tu me aeria solam nunc sede uideres*. Juno shows self-consciousness by mentioning that her actions are not the typical ones as described in the *Aeneid*. The verb *resedi* from *resideo* (and not

resido) gives her a sense of retirement. Juno is being sarcastic here by implying that her current static position on the cloud confirms her intention not to intervene.

359. nec reuocare acies bellumue extendere quaero: the verbs *reuocare* and *extendere* show a metapoetic connection with the final book of the *Aeneid*; the *re-uocare* shows that Juno does not want to start the war again as she has done with Turnus, and the phrase *bellum extendere* signals the end of the poem by showing that Silius does not want to extend the epic. Rather, he declares that the *Punica* itself is an extension of the events in the *Aeneid*.

360-1. mihi gratia languet | et cecidit iam primus amor: see the parallel from the *Aeneid* at 10.613-4 *si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat | uis in amore foret* when Juno again complains about Jupiter's lack of love towards her. The reference to the gods' first love takes us back to a primordial time. However, at *Il.* 14.294-6 when Zeus and Hera meet on Ida, the poet mentions the two gods' first intercourse (*ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, | οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι | εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε*). Juno now complains that those feelings in the *Iliad* have disappeared. The sentence has erotic/elegiac connotations: in the language of intercourse *languet* and *cecidit* allude to love as phallus. The word *languet* implies sexual exhaustion (see Prop. 1.3.1; 1.3.38, Tib. 1.9.56) and perhaps it is here invoked by Juno to arouse Jupiter's romantic and passionate feelings. The phrase *primus amor* occurs in Ovid's *Met*. 1.452 when the poet programmatically announces the beginning of the elegiac stories within the epic narrative. Dido also complains about her first love, Sychaeus, who deceived her with his death: *Aen*. 4.17 *postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit*. On a second level, Silius creates the wordplay of *Amor-Roma* when he implies that the forces of *amor* have fallen down and been defeated by those which defend the salvation of *Roma*.

361. nil fila sororum aduersus posco: Juno claims that she is not working against the Fates' plans. The Fates are represented as being engaged in spinning the thread of human existence. *filum* is a metaphor for the 'thread' of human life. The expression *currit dum immobile filum* at Sil. 7.479 conveys the same idea that the thread of the Fates must follow its allotted course (for analysis, see Littlewood 2011: 183).

362. uertat terga: the phrase is commonly used under the meaning of 'flee'. Turning one's back towards the enemy is a sign of surrender. The use of assonance, with the *t*

and *r* sound, is noteworthy. Hannibal's retreat at the battle of Zama has already been foretold at 2.703 *tergaque uertentem trepidans Carthago uidebit* when Silius discusses the fate of the Roman leader.

363. cineres Troiae Carthagine regnent: Silius visualises the union of the two nations by juxtaposing them in the text. Venus uses the same expression about the Romans at 3.565, when she asks Jupiter whether he will grant a safe place for the Trojans (*quo Troiae extremos cineres…feramus*). Juno now, with the same expression, allows the Romans to reign over Carthage. Silius' insistence on showing the Trojan origins of Rome makes him use phrases that demonstrate this link; see, for example, *fatalia regna Teucrorum* at 17.347. The Romans are often referred to as *Aeneadae, Teucri, Dardanidae*. Scipio is *Dardanus…ductor* (1.14-5) and Laelius *magnum Dardaniae decus* (15.453) (see Gossage 1969: 74-5). At *Aen*. 5.787-8, in the general context of expressing the lengths of Juno's hatred, Venus accuses Juno of pursuing the ashes and bones of dead Troy (*reliquias Troiae: cineres atque ossa peremptae*│*insequitur*), or at *Aen*. 10.45-6 Venus swears by the smoking ashes and ruins of Troy at (*per euersae, genitor, fumantia Troiae*│*excidia obtestor*). See the same expression for Carthage at Sil. 7.493 *cinerem Libyae* regarding the prophecy for the ashes of Carthage that Scipio Africanus will bring to Rome as a sign of conquest.

364. gemini per mutua pignora amoris: Juno is thinking of love-tokens as a pledge of their fraternal love. The word applies to children being pledges of love or marriage (see *OLD* 4), as at Ov. *Met*. 5.523-4 in Jupiter's speech. This meaning makes Hannibal a mutual pledge between Jupiter and Juno. The phrase *pignus amoris* occurs twice in the *Aeneid* under the sense of assurance: see 5.572 where Ascanius rides the horse given as a gift from Dido as a pledge of her love (*dederat monimentum et pignus amoris*); 5.538 (*dederat monimentum et pignus amoris*) for the prize Acestes won, a bowl given to Anchises by Hecuba's father as a pledge of his love.

365. et soror et coniunx oro: the *soror et coniunx* explains the *gemini amoris* in the previous line, which is Juno's double love towards Jupiter. Similar phrases about Juno occur at *Il*. 16.432 *κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε,* at *Aen*. 1.46 *Iouisque*│*et soror et coniunx*; 10.606-7 *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx*, at Hor. *Carm*. 3.3.64 *coniuge me Iouis et sorore*. The reference in *Aeneid* 1 is of particular significance as it comes from Juno's mouth when she wants to establish her authority to Aeolus, a

passage where she herself acknowledges her malicious plans against the Trojans: 1.46-8 *Ast ego, quae diuom incedo regina, Iouisque*│*et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos*│*bella gero*. The Silian speech here is highly emotional. Assonance creates strong emphasis in the verb *oro*, *et s**oro**r* (*et coniunx*) ***oro***, which intensifies the image of supplication.

365. tranare pericla: the verb *trano* in the meaning of swim over/across is reminiscent of the storm description in the preceding episode in book 17.

366. magnanimum patiare ducem: Juno on behalf of Hannibal asks for clemency for his life. In a reversed image, Juno here resembles Zeus in *Iliad* 16 where the god considers saving the life of his son Sarpedon; it is Hera then that halts him from this intervention, reminding him that he cannot change the course of the fated events (see *Il.* 16.430-57). **magnanimum**: this is an epithet attributed to Hannibal at Sil. 4.807 (*magnanimi…mariti*), but also to Scipio at Sil. 4.420 (*magnanimi…uiri)*. The adjective is commonly used for animals (*OLD* b) which reveals Hannibal's animalistic nature that needs to be tamed by Jupiter. The word is associated with another villain, Capaneus in the *Thebaid*, at the moment Statius described his death (11.1-2 *magnanimus…Capaneus*), despite the fact that in the *Thebaid*, the epithet normally characterises great heroes. Capaneus and Hannibal have common characteristics, as they are both theomachic characters (see Introduction, sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3). At this particular moment when the gods decide the fate of Hannibal, the reference to Capaneus is striking. *Patior* is one of the verbs used in the proem of the epic (Sil. 1.2 *patiturque ferox Oenotria iura Carthago*) to show how Carthage is subjected to Rome.

367. Ausonias…catenas: at 9.634-5 Silius through Paulus discloses Hannibal's future fate that he should stand with fetters around his neck (*ductori Tyrio, quem uinctum colla catenis*│*staturum*). In Statius, at *Silu.* 3.2.120, there is the same reference for Cleopatra *anguiferamque domum blando qua mersa ueneno*│*Actias Ausonias fugit Cleopatra catenas*. There is a connection between Hannibal and Cleopatra which becomes more obvious by comparing the Silian and the Statian passages. Juno asks Jupiter to save Hannibal from the humiliation of being bound in chains as a captive. Silius must have had in mind the case of Cleopatra, who committed suicide to avoid the humiliation of being dragged in chains as Augustus' prey (Hor. *Carm*. 1.47; 29-31, Plu. *Ant*. 84.7, Dio 51.13-4). In fact, Hannibal and Cleopatra seem to share similar

fates; apart from the fact that they were Rome's greatest nightmare, they both commit suicide by poisoning themselves (see Sil. 2.707 *deformata feret liuenti membra ueneno* and 13.892 *pocula furtiuo rapiet properata ueneno* for the anticipation of Hannibal's end).

368-9. stent…contusa…mea moenia fracto│nomine Sidonio: beside *contusa…moenia, fracto* is a metaphor drawn from the destruction of a city's buildings. *Fracto* also recalls the Carthaginian habit of *foedera frangere* as it is described a few lines ago at 349. The Carthaginians are now punished according to the crime they have committed. The verbs *stent – fracto* which carry two opposite meanings occupy the beginning and the end of the line.

369. nostro seruentur honori: the Allecto episode at *Aen.* 7.331-3 conveys a similar meaning: Juno is only worried that her fame should not be diminished (*hunc mihi da proprium, uirgo sata Nocte, laborem,│hanc operam, ne noster honos infractaue cedat,│fama loco*). Since Carthage cannot have an eternal name, Juno asks for the walls to stand as a sign of her reputation. However, the reader is more aware than Juno of the future events, and the fact that the walls of Carthage will be demolished by Scipio Aemilianus.

1.c. 370 – 84: Jupiter's consent

The last act of this episode finishes with Jupiter's speech and his decision regarding the fate of Hannibal and Carthage; he will save Hannibal's life, but Carthage will be completely destroyed. The position of Carthage within the epic is clear and the destiny both of the city and of its leader is predetermined. The fate of Carthage closely mirrors Argos' unalterable destiny in the *Thebaid*: both the doom of Argos and the people's roles within the framework of fate – or Jupiter's plan – are fixed and there is no freedom for further action contrary to the will of fate or the gods (see Tuttle 2013: 71). Here, the fate of the city cannot be changed, but only delayed. Juno's role is again important in the salvation of Hannibal: she is going to snatch him from battle, as she had also done with Turnus in book 10 of the *Aeneid*, as Venus had done with Caesar

in book 15 of the *Metamorphoses* and, most notably of all, as Apollo with Aeneas in book 5 of the *Iliad*.

One important narratological element in this passage is Jupiter's prophecy. Lovatt (2013: 126) has observed that scenes of prophecy in epic are particularly political in the sense that they represent negotiations between "men of words and men of power", while prophecies themselves "enable epic to reflect on times and places outside the immediate narrative context". It is notable that divine dialogues often involve prophecy that goes beyond the end of the epic; a technique that narratologists call 'external prolepsis'. In the Silian passage examined here, Jupiter's prophecy looks beyond the end of the poem, namely the complete annihilation of Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus in the Third Punic War, but also to the time when Hannibal will try to come back to renew the war with the aid of Antiochus III in 195 AD. Moreover, in the lines under discussion there is the idea that there will be another narrative continuing after the narrative of book 17. However, it is common in classical literature for epic poets to look beyond the end of their epics without having any intention of narrating them. For example, the *Aeneid*, apart from internal proleptic events (e.g. the Danaid design on the belt of Pallas at *Aen*. 10.497-500 which is an anticipation of Turnus' death), in general is an outward looking poem and includes external proleptic events that allude to events of Roman history that happen long after the ending of the poem. For analysis, see Harrison 2010: 279-80; 2013: 215-6. In Statius' *Thebaid* the epic narrative also looks beyond the epic when it implies that the destruction of Thebes will happen even after the reconciliation of book 12. Implicitly, this hints at the story of the Epigonoi, who in the next generation will return to Thebes and avenge the killing of their fathers (see Pollmann 2004: 22). In the *Punica*, Silius is not as expansive as Virgil in the *Aeneid*, and uses the external prolepsis mainly to narrate events in the immediate future (the subsequent Third Punic War and the forthcoming civil wars).

371. do spatium muris, ut uis, Carthaginis altae: there is a slight irony in Jupiter's words: the word *spatium* has the meaning of 'space' and/or 'time'. Jupiter's words seem to appease Juno (*ut uis*) and respond to her request (at 368 *stent…mea moenia*) that Carthage's walls will survive. What he offers in reality is a space of time and not a space in terms of location. However, this is only temporary as Jupiter foretells that

another Scipio will come to destroy the city from its foundations (see 17.374-5). This anticipates the third Punic War and Carthage's complete annihilation. Silius follows the Ennian tradition in the meaning of the word *spatium*; Ennius perceived it as a temporal notion whereas Lucretius gives it a local sense which the word seldom had before (see Lévy 2014: 128-9). Jupiter here acts as in *Aeneid* 1, where his rhetorical purpose was to reassure Venus' anxiety about the Roman race, choosing thus to tell her only selective parts of the narrative of the future story of Aeneas. For this rhetorical technique, see O'Hara 1990: 132-63. **muris…Carthaginis altae:** the phrase is an echo of *altae moenia Romae* at *Aen*. 1.7; the idea of lofty Carthage is found very often in *Aeneid* 4 where Dido's city has a military and political power. At *Aen*. 4.96-7 Juno speaks to Venus about her lofty city Carthage (*nec me adeo fallit ueritam te moenia nostra*│*suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae*). Also, at *Aen*. 4.265-6 Mercury asks Aeneas whether he lays the foundations of high Carthage (*tu nunc Karthaginis altae*│*fundamenta locas*). Silius' Jupiter gives Juno the impression that Carthage will stand high as it used to be in Dido's time. **ut uis**: this parenthetic phrase along with the phrase at 376 *uti poscis* recall Juno's speech addressing Jupiter at 363 *ut placet*. Jupiter and Juno use the same rhetorical style; see *Aen*. 12.833 *do quod uis*.

372. lacrimis precibusque tuis: entreaties accompanied by weeping are a common tactic for moving one's audience; see Livy 23.20.5, where the Senate was moved to sympathy by the tearful supplication of the Petelians (*preces lacrimaeque*) and Tacitus *Hist*. 3.38. It is the first time we see Juno in an attitude of typically feminine suffering and this shows the intensity of her love for Carthage and Hannibal (see Laudizi 1989: 91).

373. quatenus indulsisse uacet: the phrase imitates *Aen*. 10.625 *hactenus indulsisse uacat*, when Jupiter speaks to Juno about delaying the death of Turnus. In Virgil the city survives and flourishes but the hero dies. In Silius the situation is reversed: the hero is saved but the city is doomed to be destroyed. **indulsisse**: the word alludes to the imperial virtue of *indulgentia*, the emperor's supreme generosity. *Indulgentia* could be an appropriate expression of the emperor's own "paternal" responsibilities towards his subjects. Noreña has pointed out that there are many texts which illustrate the idea that some favours awarded by the emperor mainly originate from his *indulgentia* (see Noreña 2011: 281). **uacet**: the impersonal syntax of the line gives the

impression that Jupiter is unable to change a situation that is already fixed. The use of fate here is a rhetorical ploy used by Jupiter to give the impression that the situation is predetermined.

374-5. uenietque pari sub nomine ductor, | qui nunc seruatas euertat funditus arces: this is a reference to Scipio Africanus minor, namely Scipio Aemilianus who annihilated Carthage in the third Punic War. The prophecy about the third Punic war waged by Scipio Aemilianus, the complete annihilation of Carthage and the bringing of the ashes of Carthage to Rome, has been foretold at Sil. 7.492-3 *hic dabit ex sese qui tertia bella fatiget*│*et cinerem Libyae ferat in Capitolia uictor.* This is a prophecy that goes beyond the end of the epic; for external prolepsis in the epic, see the introduction of these lines (1.c.). The phrase recalls *Il.* 6.448-9 where Hector recognises the inevitability of the fall of Troy *ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ*│*καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο* (see Juhnke 1972: 219). The sources (Plb. 38.21-2, App. *Pun*. 8.19.132) mention that Scipio Aemilianus was stirred into a moment of tragic reflection after his sack of Carthage in 146 BC, reciting these two verses from the *Iliad* (see Gildenhard 2012: 49). For similar expressions referring to a destructive new generation see Stat. *Theb*. 7.219-201 *non hoc statui sub tempore rebus*│*occasum Aoniis, ueniet suspectior aetas*│*ultoresque alii* where Jupiter foretells that the *Epigoni* will attack Thebes to avenge their fathers. See also Luc. 8.869 *ueniet felicior aetas*; *Aen*. 1.283 *ueniet lustris labentibus aetas* about the prophecy of Rome's future domination. The insinuation that the generation to come will be more destructive than the previous one appears also at Ovid *Met*. 1.160-2 where the human race, born from the blood of the giants, was fiercer and more violent (*sed et illa propago*│*contemptrix superum saeuaeque auidissima caedis*│*et uiolenta fuit*) and at Stat. *Theb*. 1.80-1 *tu saltem debita uindex*│*huc ades et totos in poenam ordire nepotes*. **ductor:** an epic archaism favoured by Virgil (see Littlewood 2011: lxxxi and her analysis of this matter). Its use is very common in Silius. In the *Punica*, Hannibal is called *Agenoreus ductor* at 3.631, 12.282, and 13.3; *Tyrius ductor* at 5.191; *ductor Poenum* at 5.574*; Sidonius ductor* at 7.716. **nunc seruatas euertat funditus arces:** there is a wordplay in the anagrammatism between the two words *seruatas – euertat* which have totally opposite meanings; Scipio will destroy (*euertat*) the citadels that are now (*nunc*) preserved (*seruatas*). The combined effect of this example of wordplay might be to emphasise the utter destruction from within. The use of wordplay in Latin

poetry is very common, especially in Lucretius: see for example *ignis – lignum* at 1.907-14 and the Epicurean theories of diction and arrangement (see Freudenburg 1993: 144).

376. aetherias quoque…trahat Hannibal auras: the image of Hannibal inhaling the ethereal air occurs also at 3.711-2 *nec ponet pubes umquam Saturnia curam*│*dum carpet superas in terris Hannibal auras.* The meaning of the sentence is to add a further concession (*trahat*) to *stent* of line 372. The conjunction *quoque* could indicate intertextual repetition; Silius may imply that again another hero is snatched from battle. This hero could either be Scipio, whom Jupiter had ordered Mars to rescue at 4.421, or previous heroes saved by divine intervention in the preceding literature. **aura**: the word is governed by a variety of verbs used to describe breathing: *auras carpere, ducere, haurire, suspicere, auris uesci*.

377. ereptus pugnae: Jupiter is suggesting to Juno to snatch Hannibal away from the battle, thus envisaging something less humiliating than Juno suggested in 362. The dative here is striking, based on usage of *subduco* (384 *iuuenis subducere dextrae*), as well as with *aueho* (382 *auehe leto*). Normally *ereptus* is followed by an ablative, according to the preposition *ex* (+ *rapio*). Silius had used at 4.421 the same syntax for a similar case where Jupiter orders Mars to snatch Scipio away from the battle (*eripe pugnae*) as he is afraid for his life.

The image of a hero being snatched away from the battle by a god is very common in epic poetry. At *Il.* 3.381 Venus saves Paris in a mist, and at 5.311-17, she again protects Aeneas in the same way. At Ovid *Met*. 15.803-6, Venus wants to save the life of Julius Caesar and hide him in the clouds, but in the event can only bring about his *apotheosis*. A similar expression can be detected in Euripides *HF* 1089-93 *ἔμπνους μέν εἰμι … καὶ πνοὰς θερμὰς πνέω*│*μετάρσι', οὐ βέβαια, πνευμόνων ἄπο*. Later, Seneca used a phrase with a similar meaning at *Her. O.* 893; *Phoen.* 220; *Oed.* 599, all in a positive context.

377-8. miscere hic sidera ponto│**et terras implere uolet redeuntibus armis:** in these three lines, the whole cosmic system is present: the air, the sea and the land. The image created is that of Hannibal in the centre of the cosmos wanting to renew the war by mingling the cosmic elements and thus cause cosmic chaos again. The same idea

is found also at 3.416 *turbata Poenus terrarum pace petebat*, for Hannibal's confusion of the world. For the tripartite division of the *cosmos*, see Tarrant 2012: 132 and Hardie 1986: 322. He will indeed want to come back to war, as the historical sources mention. Hannibal's actions recall Juno's unsettling of sea and land at 17.352 *turbasti maria ac terras*, and at *Aen*. 1.133-4 i*am caelum terramque meo sine numine, uenti,* | *miscere* in Neptune's words to the winds' action to disturb the cosmic system in Juno's favour, words that are echoed again by Neptune at *Aen*. 5.790-1 when she speaks for her *maria omnia caelo* | *miscuit*. Juno's instrument, Hannibal, acts like her. The word *sidera* is associated with heaven and the planets and also with the gods in the celestial sphere. Therefore, it makes an important difference by suggesting the hopelessness of Hannibal's aspiration, and the divine engagement which will halt his plans. Hannibal's future intention to wage a new war against the Romans has also been prophesied by the Sibyl at Sil. 13.878 *rursus bella uolet Macetum instaurare sub armis*. The external prolepsis goes beyond the end of the epic, i.e. Hannibal's intention (*uolet*) to wage a war against Rome with the support of the armies of Antiochus III.

379. feta uiri bello praecordia: see also at 11.203 *feta praecordia ira* for Hannibal's anger. The idea of fertility in *feta* gives Hannibal a feminised aspect to his character. Lovatt has already argued that Hannibal's gaze is feminised in *Punica* 17 (see Lovatt 2013: 182). Hannibal's feminised aspect can be further confirmed by the fact that he has female allies (Juno, Dido, Anna Perenna, Imilce); for more details, see Introduction, section 2.2.2. The birth metaphor that characterises Hannibal along with the description of his intention to stir up a new war at 17.383 (*miscebit fera proelia*) recalls the description of Discordia in Lucretius 5.1305-7 (*sic alid ex alio peperit discordia tristis,* | *horribile humanis quod gentibus esset in armis,* | *inque dies belli terroribus addidit augmen*) where she marks the degeneration from the Golden Age in which the earth acts as mother, to an age of war in which Discordia gives birth (see Gee 2013: 53).

380-2. Saturnia regna | **ne post haec uideat, repetat neue amplius umquam** | **Ausoniam:** in a pleonastic way, Silius illustrates the intensity of Jupiter's demand. He repeats twice, though with different words, the condition of his agreement: Hannibal must not go to Italy again. The double negative shows the passionate style of Jupiter's decree. Jupiter had already forbidden Hannibal to

approach and thus violate Rome with a similar dictate at 6.601-5 '*haud umquam tibi Iuppiter', inquit*│'*o iuuenis, dederit portas transcendere Romae…'*. In the *Aeneid*, it is the Aeneadae that will be confined outside Latinus' realm if Turnus wins (12.185-6 *nec post arma ulla rebelles*│*Aeneadae referent ferroue haec regna lacessent*), according to the agreement between Aeneas and Latinus. **Saturnia regna:** Silius uses the phrase for Latium only three times: at 3.184, 13.63 and here (though he also uses *Saturnia arua* at 1.70 and *Saturnia sedes* at 4.442). There must be a slight irony in this phrase as Silius tries to create a connection with Juno, whom he has referred to as *Saturnia* nine times in the poem (2.527; 4.709; 7.464; 7.511; 8.202; 9.296; 10.337; 10.433; 12.702). Since Saturn brought order and peace to Italy during his period of rule, Silius may also be seeking to imply that by Carthage's annihilation and Hannibal's extinction, Latium could return to this period of peace that Italy has all but forgotten. For a detailed analysis of the connection between Saturn and Juno in the *Aeneid*, see Anderson (1958). Since Saturn was the god of a mythical ancient golden age (see *Aen*. 8.319-58), Hannibal's similarity with Discordia, as shown above, indicates Jupiter's agreement with Juno to prevent Hannibal from desecrating the Roman Empire again. **amplius**: 'more fully'; it indicates what Hannibal is specifically not allowed to do.

382. nunc instanti raptum auehe leto: Juno finally manages to save Hannibal, "the symbol of the epic struggle against the Romans" (Laudizi 1989: 91) although Hannibal wishes that he were dead at the end of the epic (17.566 *leti feruebat amore*). This idea that could be explained by the Stoicism of Silius, who also committed suicide, perhaps leaves glimpses for a moment of sympathy for Hannibal, whose desire was to die with his weapons in his hand, as he had wished at 17.260-7 (see Laudizi 1989: 92). **instanti:** it implies that death is pressing on against Hannibal. The translation "imminent" illustrates the immediacy of the threat. For a comparison with Turnus' fate, see *Aen* 10.624 *tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus eripe fatis.* Also, Juno makes a similar appeal for Turnus at *Aen*. 12.157 Juno to Juturna: *eripe morti fratrem*. The difference between Hannibal's fate and Turnus' death is that, while both are saved from imminent danger, Turnus' fate is only delayed, whereas "Hannibal survives to assume his role as the mythologised bogeyman of Rome" (Stocks 2014: 67).

383. miscebit…proelia: Jupiter warns Juno that Hannibal should be saved now, before the battle with Scipio begins, as the defeat will be inevitable. Jupiter is probably aware of Hannibal's desire in waging war, as in his dreams is involved in imaginary warfare, as implied at 1.68-9 *futuras*│*miscentem pugnas et inania bella gerentem*. The phrase is also Lucretian occurring at 5.440-2, where the turbulent atomic armies are driven by the personified Discordia (*discordia quorum*│*…turbabat proelia miscens*). Hannibal's intention to cause cosmic chaos again by a renewed war through the mixing of the elements of the world, as Jupiter foreshadowed in 377, recalls the way that cosmogony can be presented as a civil war, as described by Lucretius at 5.432–45. Lucretius has already deconstructed the binary image of destruction and creation by using those metaphors; one war creates life while the essential violence which comes from the war destroys it. Garani (2007: 63) offers an analytical study of imagery of warfare in Lucretius and analyses his employment of images of war for the creative processes of the universe. By using Lucretian language and imagery here, Silius seems to allude to a new beginning: the end of a war causes the beginning of a new one and the new one causes cosmic chaos again.

384. Romulei nequeas iuuenis subducere dextrae: in this final line of Jupiter's speech, Juno's actions seem to be mingled (see *miscebit* at 383) with the actions of the Carthaginian leader. There is a wordplay between *ne – neue* and *nequeas*, where the three negative clauses serve to intensify Jupiter's prohibition. Jupiter closes his speech attributing to Scipio the adjective *Romuleus*, a reference to the name of Romulus, the first king of Rome. This associates Scipio to a great lineage and foreshadows his *apotheosis* in the final lines of book 17 where he is compared to Quirinus (652-3 *salue, inuicte parens, non concessure Quirino*│*laudibus*). For the association of Scipio with Romulus, see comment on line 651. The vocabulary is reminiscent of similar cases in the *Aeneid*, where Venus asks Jupiter for permission to remove Ascanius from the war and keep him safe from battles: 10.50 *dirae ualeam subducere pugnae*; 10.615 *quin et pugnae subducere Turnum.*

2. 385-624: The description of the battle of Zama

After the divine dialogue where the fate of Hannibal and Carthage has been fixed, the narrative now moves to the battlefield, where Silius prepares the reader for the description of the battle of Zama. There are several episodes in this section: the narrative starts with some general remarks in Silius' poetic voice, regarding the significance of the forthcoming battle (385-90); the power of each leader (391-405); and the situation on the Roman right and left wings (406-31 and 432-43 respectively). The narrative then zooms in for a portrait of the two leaders, where Silius describes each leader's *aristeia*: 444-78 for Hannibal, and 479-508 for Scipio. Scipio is looking to confront Hannibal (509-21), but Juno will intervene and thwart his plans: she will conjure a likeness of Scipio that will provoke Hannibal to a duel (522-31). Hannibal's high desire to fight with Scipio will make him attack the shade, but it will immediately disappear (532-47). Hannibal realises the deceit and laments, accusing the gods (548-66); this lament will motivate Juno to intervene for the last time in her effort to save the life of her protégé: she transforms herself into a huntress and misdirects him away from the battle; she puts him on a hill to watch the defeat of his country from afar (581-96). At this point, there is a second lament of Hannibal in which he utters threats to Jupiter and threatens his return; he then becomes a fugitive (597-617). This second part of the commentary closes with Scipio as winner of the battle, and thus of the war, plundering Carthage (618-24).

2.A. 385 – 431: The battle begins

2.A.a. 385 – 90: The importance of the battle

After the end of the divine dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, Silius moves on with his narrative by describing the importance of the war. In only five lines, Silius includes the central elements regarding this battle: the strength of both armies (*grauiores*

populos), the greatness of the two leaders (*maiores duces*), and the importance of the forthcoming war for the fates of both nations (*discriminis…caelum*).

The importance of the battle of Zama for the outcome of the war had also been stressed by Polybius (15.9) and Livy (30.32). Polybius mentions that the Carthaginians fight for survival and for the sovereignty of Libya, whereas the Romans fight for universal supremacy (15.9.2 *Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πραγμάτων, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας*); he also reports that the victors of this battle will become universal masters (15.9.5 *οὐ γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἔμελλον κυριεύειν οἱ τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅσα νῦν πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν*). Livy conveys the same idea regarding the aftermath of the battle of Zama (30.32 *neque enim Africam aut Italiam sed orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore*). For Silius the prize for both nations is universal dominion (390 *quicquid tegit undique caelum*). Silius is reiterating the common historiographical topos (see Gibson 2010: 52-4) that the war or battle he is going to describe surpasses all other conflicts (see. Thuc. 1.1.2, Plb. 1.63.4, Liv. 21.1). Indeed, in the proem of the epic (Sil. 1.12-16) he had singled out the Second Punic War as the most crucial between the two states, mainly because its result will give the winner universal dominion. Similarly, Livy at 21.1 opens the third decade by asserting the greatness of the Punic war (*bellum maxime omnium memorabile*).

Silius has omitted the dialogue between Scipio and Hannibal before the battle of Zama, an event that both Polybius (15.6) and Livy (30.30-1) report very clearly in their historiographical narrative. This is a very strange omission since this meeting is considered a very important episode in the Hannibalic war and would allow Silius to exercise his rhetorical skills. The narrative may have existed and could possibly have been part of the narrative missing in the lacuna after 17.290. For the lacuna and its location in the book, see the introduction of this thesis, section 2.1.1.

385. statuit fata Omnipotens urbique ducique: Silius presents Jupiter as in charge of the fates (as also at 11.122); the juxtaposition of *fata* and *Omnipotens* as well as the elision in *fata* also shows that Jupiter and the fates are here united. Combined with the use of *statuo* the phrase establishes Jupiter's authority over the fate of the mortals. *Omnipotens* is a common epithet for Jupiter with grand echoes, especially from the

Aeneid (1.60, 6.592) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.154, 2.304, 2.401), in contexts where Jupiter restores order in a state of disorder, as he has done now. The epithet belongs to archaic Latin (Pl. *Poen*. 275, Ennius *Ann*. fr. 447 Skutsch, *Scen*. fr. 187-8 Warmington, Lucr. 5.399).

386-7. inuadunt acies pugnam et clamore lacessunt | sidera: the description of the beginning of the battle of Zama echoes the description of the beginning of the battle of Cannae at 9.278-83, where the noise of the battle preparations reaches the stars (*iamque propinquabant acies | …et multum strepitantibus armis | errabat caecum turbata per agmina murmur sic, | ubi prima mouent pelago certamina uenti, | inclusam rabiem ac sparsuras astra procellas*). As has already been noted, Silius creates many similarities between the description of the battle of Cannae and the battle of Zama, since they are the most crucial battles in the war; the former brings the worst Roman defeat whereas the latter brings the best Roman victory (see Introduction, section 2.1.2). **clamore lacessunt sidera**: the uproar of the armies before the battle belongs to the standard description of a battle episode. There is even a personification of the tumult of the battle in the Homeric *Kydoimos* (*Κυδοιμός*) at *Il.* 18.535, which refers to battle panic; see also the reception at Q.S. 1.306. The tumult and uproar of the battle on earth is disturbing the eternal and divine stars and suggests an antithesis between terrestrial and heavenly affairs. Seen from an atomic perspective the battle of the armies resembles the continuous conflicts of the elements (atoms) in the sphere of coming-to-be and passing-away which is in opposition to the uninterrupted and perfect circular motion of the fixed stars. The Punic wars had also been viewed by Lucretius as such a cosmic event that shook the whole world (Lucr. 3.833-7). Similarly, by challenging the stars, the Punic wars bring disorder to the static condition of a heavenly Golden Age.

387-9. non alio grauiores tempore uidit | aut populos tellus, aut… | maiores certare duces: similar descriptions at 4.53 (*ingentes duces*) and 9.434-5 (*stabant educti diuersis orbis in oris, | quantos non alios uidit concurrere tellus*) through recourse to a negative comparison, show that Silius connects all the major battles: Ticinus (4.53), Cannae (9.434-5) and Zama (17.387). The passage echoes Livy's account of Hannibal and Scipio at 30.30 (*non suae modo aetatis maximi duces sed omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumue pares*) and at 30.32 (*ad hoc discrimen procedunt…duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo*

longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus…euersuri). There is a similar description for Aeneas and Turnus at *Aen*. 12.708, when Latinus views them as two huge men from distant parts of the world who meet in battle. For analysis of the Virgilian passage, see Heinze 1993: 382. The sentence is quite emphatic, with *non* at the beginning. Although epic poetry tends to a hyperbolic use of language, in this passage Silius seems milder than Livy who uses hyperbole, including the superlative. Polybius also uses litotes for his description of the two armies at 15.9.4: *οὔτε γὰρ δυνάμεις πολεμικωτέρας <u>οὔθ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιτυχεστέρους τούτων</u> καὶ μᾶλλον ἀθλητὰς γεγονότας τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων εὕροι τις ἂν ἑτέρους*. **tellus:** refers to mother-earth, the nourishing divinity who here works as an allusion to Africa. Hannibal has so far been attached to the wrong mother-earth, Italy (see Augoustakis 2010a: 154), however, it is now Africa that unites the two leaders, especially Scipio, anticipating, thus, his epithet *Africanus*. Therefore, the mother *Tellus* foreshadows, to a certain extent, the *telos* of the poem. For the appearance of a motherly *tellus* in the epic as a contast to the masculine *patria*, see Augoustakis 2010a: 144-155.

388. paria arma mouerent: paria: according to Delz, *lectio difficilior*, denoting the similar origin of the weapons, i.e. each one's fatherland; *paria*, which is found in Petrus Marsus' Venetian editions (1483, 1492, 1493) of the *Punica*, a reading that all the following Renaissance editions seem to follow. The advantage of the alternative reading – that the two leaders fight with <u>equal</u> armies – is that it complies better with the immediate context of the passage, anticipating the following verses (391-8) where the equality of the two leaders is the main subject. As Hardie (1993: 25) remarks in this context, "in the minds of the spectators the two generals are virtually interchangeable, at least in terms of military ability (see also at 17.402-5)". The equality of the leaders can be also found in the symmetry of the structure, where the description of each leader occupies four lines. For the *cura* with which Silius composed the *Punica*, see Plin. *Ep*. 3.7.5. The military equality of the two leaders' arms contributes to the idea of interchangeability of the two which is apparent in the *Punica* but culminates in the final book of the epic, where the two nations eventually become one. For a further analysis of the interchangeability of the two leaders and their assimiliation of each other's characteristics, see introduction, section 2.2.3. The two leaders Hannibal and Scipio fight under equal weapons also in the battle of Cannae (9.357 *paribus armis*). Delz's preference for *patria* that gives the sense that the leaders

fight on behalf of their fatherland is also a strong reading and could be supported by Augoustakis' theory (2010a: 93) on the close relationship that ties both leaders in the *Punica* to their land, their *patria*. I think that Delz chose *patria arma* for its previous use at 2.352 *patria arma mouebat*, when Hannibal fights in the campaigns of his father. This also well supports Augoustakis' theory (2010a: 93-4; with a full analysis on 97-109) on the "masculine" connotation the word *patria* as "father-land" has, resembling the relationship of a father and son.

389-90. discriminis alta │in medio merces, **quicquid tegit undique caelum:** Silius sees a commercial aspect to the war between the two nations: the reward (*merces*) is *quicquid tegit undique caelum*, power over the whole world (*imperium orbis terrarum*), which emphasizes the cosmic nature of the battle. Hannibal conveys the same idea in his speech towards his troops by stressing the importance of the battle itself for the outcome of the war: *certatus nobis hodie dominum accipit orbis* (17.337). This idea is already used at Livy 30.32 in the same context, i.e. the battle of Zama (*orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore*). Polybius also stresses the importance of the victory in the battle of Zama at 15.9.4 *οὐδὲ μὴν ἆθλα μείζω τὴν τύχην ἐκτεθεικυῖαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις τῶν τότε προκειμένων.* **in medio**: between them, i.e. Rome and Carthage. *In medio* also occurs at *Aen*. 5.110 and shows that the prizes of the games are placed in the middle of the circus (see Lovatt 2005: 49). **merces**: belongs in the language of commercial affairs; see for example *Aen*. 7.313-19 for the payment Juno will extract for the victory of Aeneas (317 *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum*). Here, the word implies both "prize and profit", both meanings included in the English word "reward". The phrase alludes to Liv. 21.43.6-7, where Hannibal before the battle of Ticinus motivates his army by presenting them with prizes that they will win if they are victorious: he clearly mentions that the reward for their military valour will be whatever the Romans have won and possess in the course of all their triumphs (*quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est; in hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum*); see also Livy's description of Hannibal's auxiliaries whose motivation for the battle of Zama is that their earnings will be multiplied by the proceeds from the booty (30.33.9 *auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur*). **quicquid tegit undique caelum:** this is an echo of the poem's proem where Silius stresses that the struggle is for world domination (1.7-8; 14). The idea of world

domination has been confirmed in Jupiter's consolatory speech to Venus where he prophesies the hegemony of a future Roman Empire over the world (*Aen*. 1.278-82 *imperium sine fine dedi*); the *quicquid tegit undique caelum* is the realisation of that prophecy. The wording recalls Ovid's description of primordial chaos, *quod tegit omnia caelum* at *Met*. 1.5, and it suggests that Rome brings order to disorder in the lands that it conquers.

2.A.b. 391 – 405: Hannibal and Scipio enter the scene

In the following lines, Silius introduces the protagonists of the battle with their armour; the description gives the *arma* (Sil. 1.1) and *uiros* (1.5) announced in the *proem*, as well as the *arma* (17.388) and *duces* (17.389) of the previous lines. This particular battle will end the war and will decide the ruler of the world. Everything will be decided between a Carthaginian and a Roman, each one being the sole (*solis*) guarantor of hope and victory (*spes et uictoria*) for both peoples (*cunctis*).

The narrative mirrors Silius' description of the two leaders before they begin the battle of Cannae at Sil. 9.434-7. There is no historical report that Scipio and Hannibal confronted each other at Cannae or at Zama. Only Appian (*Pun*. 45) says that they met in single combat at Zama, but no other source reports this. For further discussion and bibliography, see Marks 2005: 84 n.58, Stocks 2014: 211 n.60, Tipping 2010: 81 n.87. The description of the two leaders before they enter the battlefield is also similar in style and vocabulary to the description of the confrontation between Hannibal and the Saguntine Murrus at Sil. 1.456-517: Hannibal enters and leaves the poem in a similar way.

Silius here creates a visual impact; the choice of specific vocabulary such as *ibat* and *praecedit* together with the use of bright colours produce a lively image with strong visual elements. There is also a mix of tenses – alteration of the imperfect and the present tense; the imperfect recalls the event but the present contributes to the visualisation of the moment. In the description of the two leaders Silius focuses mainly on the greatness of their names, their fearsome appearance and their loyalty to their

ancestry. Stylistically, there is symmetry in the description of the two leaders: each one occupies precisely four lines (391-4 for Hannibal and 395-8 for Scipio); they are also depicted as dressed in similar colours: imperial purple for Hannibal, scarlet for Scipio so that they look alike; each man is also holding a weapon: sword for Hannibal, shield for Scipio and their heads are described as high; their power comes from the display of their ancestry: Hannibal's power is based on his name whereas Scipio demonstrates his ancestry depicted on the shield. Therefore, the leaders "are represented as being potentially the other" (Dominik 2003: 479), which presents an uncertain outcome for the confrontation.

From the Homeric epics, the language of war has been metaphorically connected to the language of competition (see Rossi 2004: 99), and a battle or a duel is often seen as a form of contest. To a certain extent, the lines above might evoke the entrance of gladiators before a fight. The action of fighting is described as *certare* (389), which produces the word *certamina* "a term that blurs the boundary between contest and fighting" (Lovatt 2005: 7). The two great contestants are the *maiores duces* (389), who are fighting for a "prize" (390 *merces*). As Hannibal comes forth (391 *ibat*), he sets the scene for the game. Silius then gives the description of the two contestants (391 *Agenoreus ductor,* 395 *Scipio*) and the official presentation of the two gladiators. Moreover, the use of the plural *cunctis* (400), *plerosque* (401), *credunt* (403), *haud dubitant* (405) implies the existence of spectators seated in the arena and waited for the games to begin.

391. ibat Agenoreus praefulgens ductor in ostro: Silius presents Hannibal on the battlefield, glittering in his Punic purple. This description is reminiscent of Hannibal's earlier appearance in the battle of Ticinus where he was gleaming in gold and purple (4.324-5 *aurato praefulgens murice ductor*). In this way, Silius makes the audience visualise his past victory, as he had done a few lines ago, at 17.292-337, when he was evoking the Carthaginian past victories in his attempt to encourage his army. **praefulgens**: Hannibal's gleaming appearance is "outshining all else" (Stocks 2014: 115 n.32), recalling his similar appearance in book 1: at the moment he enters the battle with Murrus, Hannibal is presented as bathed in light (1.460 *letiferum nutant fulgentes uertice cristae*). The verb *fulgeo* has associations with flame and Hannibal

who has been called to pursue the Romans with fire and sword (1.115 *ferro ignique*), and described as the personification of the blazing fire that will destroy Italy, as prophesied by the priestess (1.130-1 *tellus…* | *Sidoniis lucet flammis*). **ostro**: the colour is associated both with Rome, as the symbol of Roman triumph, and also with Carthage, as a sign of wealth and luxury: Dido's hall is described as decorated with proud/arrogant purple at *Aen*. 1.639 (*ostroque superbo*), her horse (*Aen*. 4.134), and Dido herself (*Aen*. 4.139) are both adorned with purple and gold, reminding us of the colour's royal (and Carthaginian) associations. In Plutarch, a purple cloak (*φοινικίς*) is worn by Antony (*Ant.* 22; 44; 71). Stocks (2015: 173-93) has analysed the use of purple in the *Aeneid* (both *ostrum* and *purpura*) and provides several references from Cicero that associate purple with kingship. By wearing a colour of empire and at the same time of luxury and vice, Hannibal (*Agenoreus*) here illustrates both his background and his military intentions; he is the representative of his country (*ostrum* comes from Phoenicia) and the embodiment of the Punic vices; also, he is (misleadingly) wearing the cloak of the winner showing his intention to rush into the pursuit of excessive power. Although before the battle of Zama it is Hannibal who is dressed in *ostrum*, after the battle, at the end of book 17, it is the triumphant Scipio dressed in purple and gold as he enters Rome (17.645 *auro decoratus et ostro*). This approach would allow the reader to regard Scipio bearing the colours of Hannibal as a symbol of the conqueror bearing the powers of the conquered, having rightly earned the *cognomen Africanus*. Apart from Hannibal, other heroes who are dressed in purple are Mago and Cleadas: Mago, Hannibal's brother, at 3.238 is dressed in a fiery Tyrian purple, thus distinguishing himself from the rest of the Carthaginians (*fulgens ostro super altior omnes*); for the relationship between Mago and Hannibal and how they look alike in military achievements, see Stocks 2014: 178-181. Cleadas at 7.643-51, who comes from Tyre to fight for Carthage, is also dressed in Tyrian purple; for analysis of the passage from *Punica* 7 and how Cleadas' appearance reminds us of Dido's, see Littlewood 2011: 226-7.

392. **excelsumque caput**: the adjective *excelsum* denotes Hannibal's superiority. The meaning is enhanced through the presence of *prae-* in the near vicinity (*praefulgens, praecedit*) as well as the royal colour (*ostrum*). All the above are a sign of confidence and power that the deluded Hannibal thinks he has. Hannibal is similarly described at 1.249-50 before the battle with Murrus (*celsus et in magno praecedens agmine*

ductor│*imperium praeferre suum*). **caput:** in this context it implies the helmet. The word's proximity to the phrase *magno de nomine* in the next line makes us connect Hannibal to Lucan's Pompey who is similarly distinguished by his head and name in the *Pharsalia*. For further analysis, see Marks 2008: 72-81.

392-3. penna nutante leuabat│**crista rubens**: the helmet makes Hannibal float. Similar descriptions can be found at *Il.* 3.336-7 for Menelaus' crest, 18.205-6 for Achilles' blazing head that caused terror and at *Aen.* 10.869 for Mezentius' helmet. The description of Hannibal's crest is a recurring theme in the *Punica*: see for example, 1.460; 501; 4.353, 17.279. The high head of Hannibal elevated by his helmet reminds us of the adjective *κορυθαίολος* ('of the flashing helmet') that describes Hector in the *Iliad* (see for example, 6.359; 440, 7.233, 22.471). For the association of Hannibal with Hector, see Stocks 2014: 54-8.

393. saeuus magno de nomine terror│**praecedit**: Hannibal's name and valour cause terror: at 4.325 he is depicted surrounded by *Terror*, *Metus* and *Furor* before the battle of Ticinus (*aduolat aurato praefulgens murice ductor*│*Sidonius, circaque Metus Terrorque Furorque*), and at 16.16-9 the terror, his valour and his name are what characterise him when he is depicted resting after his past victories. **magno de nomine**: Hannibal's name has caused terror to the Romans so far (see 4.729-30 '*O felix famae et Latio lacrimabile nomen*│*Hannibal*'; 16.19 *Hannibalis sat nomen erat*) and will keep doing it after his disappearance (see comment on 609-10). His name alone has also been a source of hope for the Carthaginians (17.149-51 *Carthago…*│*uni nixa uiro, tantoque fragore ruentem*│*Hannibal absenti retinebat nomine molem*). The name of Hannibal is not only the name he himself has created throughout the years of war, but also the name that he inherits from his father who had been a persecutor of the Romans long before him. This can also be confirmed by the description of the introduction of the two leaders: whereas Scipio is introduced with his name (395 *at contra…Scipio*), Silius chooses to describe Hannibal with the patronymic *Agenoreus* at 391, thus revealing the connection of Hannibal with his origins. This is the ancestry Hannibal displays before he begins the battle. Although Hannibal might have been tired after all these years of war, his reputation remains intact, similar with that of Pompey, who, has been a shadow of his great name achieved by his past victories, when Lucan first introduces him in *Pharsalia* 1 (135 *magni nominis umbra*). For the similarities of Hannibal with Pompey, see Introduction, section 2.2.3. Marks (2008:

82 n.36) has observed that the adjective-noun combination of *magnum nomen* has negative implications and is used for characters who die in battle: for example, Sil. 8.469, where the soldier Galba is famous for his great name but dies later in the epic (at 10.403-4); at 15.372-3 for Marcellus; at 16.577 for the shades of Scipio's father and uncle, Luc. 7.209-10 for the soldiers who died at Pharsalus. This idea can apply to Hannibal's situation here, since he will flee at the end of the book by expressing his preference to die rather than let his great name perish (see 609-10).

394. Latioque micat bene cognitus ensis: after the years of the Second Punic war, Hannibal's sword has rightly been feared. The sword – together with fire – was one of the two elements that Hannibal swore he would use in his pursuit of the Romans at the beginning of the epic (Sil. 1.115 *Romanos…ferro ignique sequar*). The sword that Hannibal proudly displays as well as Silius' description of it as "well-known to Latium" might remind the Romans (*Latioque*) of Aeneas' sword at *Aen.* 4.507 with which Dido killed herself. This is also mentioned in the first book of the *Punica* when Hannibal swears the oath in Dido's temple (1.91 *ante pedes ensis Phrygius iacet*). It is now time for Hannibal to avenge his ancestress and exact retribution. *Cognitus ensis* also recalls *expertis inuisus et ensis* at 10.562, again stating that Hannibal's weapons cause fear to anyone who has experienced them. **micat**: the verb meaning flash indicates that the sword has a visual power. Hannibal's shield is also flashing (2.395 *clipeum…micantem*). For flashing armour generally in the *Punica*, see 1.500; 11.485; 13.181.

395-6. at contra ardenti radiabat Scipio cocco│terribilem ostentans clipeum: although Hannibal's sword (*ensis*) denotes his purpose to attack, in contradiction (*at contra*), Scipio's shield displays a defensive prowess. **radiabat:** it is the word that Virgil uses for the glittering armour of Aeneas at *Aen.* 6.616 *arma…radiantia*. **cocco:** is the scarlet dye, a colour similar to *ostrum*. The similarity of *ostrum* and *coccum* with which the two generals are dressed makes them 'virtually interchangeable' (Hardie 1993: 25). **terribilem clipeum:** the shield is described as terrifying because of his great ancestry depicted on it.

397. patris et│…patrui: the reference is to Publius Cornelius Scipio (*pater*) and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus (*patruus*). Both died within a month (211 BC) and in

a similar way in Hispania. The narrative here is looking back to 13.381-94, where Silius describes the death of the two Roman leaders. The two generals narrate in the underworld their own death to Scipio Africanus at 13.671–95. For analeptic ekphrasis in the *Punica*, see Harrison 2013: 222. For a historiographical account of the death of the above leaders, see Livy 25.32. Whereas Hannibal's power is based on his name acquired from past deeds, Scipio's power comes from his ancestry depicted on the shield.

397. spirantes proelia dira | effigies: the image (*effigies*) depicting the two Scipios breathing battle as it is illustrated on Scipio's shield strongly recalls the image of Hamilcar breathing war as it is illustrated on Hannibal's shield (2.430-1 *spirantem…certamina anhela | …imago*). Both images create grim effects: on Hannibal's shield, the figure of Hamilcar creates terror (2.431 *toruumque minatur imago*), exactly as the Scipios are now creating a terrifying image. The impact is the same on both shields: both heroes want to remain faithful to their oath for revenge; Hannibal to Dido and Hamilcar (1.113-22) – his mythical and his real ancestor correspondingly, and Scipio to the two Scipios (7.487-8 *ille…patruique piabit | idem ultor patrisque necem*; 15.205 *uobis ultor ego*). Therefore, Bernstein (2008: 151) has underestimated Scipio's role in this episode when he argues that Scipio is limited to only being Hannibal's conqueror, contradicting, thus, Aeneas who is illustrated as the founder of a new civilisation when he depicts the future of Rome on his shield at *Aen*. 8.626-731. My interpretation is that we should also view Scipio in the same way as Hannibal, i.e. as avengers of their ancestors. Now, by having his ancestors' images on his shield, Scipio shows a commitment to their memory and to his oath, and thus immortalises them. For the notion of an ekphrastic image that causes poetic monumentalisation, see Introduction, section 3.2. For an analysis of the depictions of Dido and Hamilcar on Hannibal's shield, see Ganiban 2010: 84-91. For the analysis of the apotropaic power of the ekphrastic shield in epic, see Lovatt 2013: 197-204. The idea of a hero breathing battle is not unusual in the *Punica*: see 2.430 above, 3.240 *Mago…fratrem spirat in armis*. In Aeschylus *Th.*, it is Typhoeus who spits out fire in his battle against the gods, as it is illustrated in Hippomedon's shield (493-4 *Τυφῶν' ἱέντα πύρπνοον διὰ στόμα | λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν*). The phrase seems to be the Latin equivalent of the Homeric *μένεα πνείοντες* (*Il*. 2.536; 3.8; 11.508). **dira**: the word originally belonged to the language of augurs (*OLD* 1) mostly with negative

implications, evoking fearful and dreadful images in the mind of the reader. The adjective echoes *σμερδνός*, the term for Gorgon's 'direful' head, in the passage on the aegis of Zeus worn by Athene at *Il.* 5.741-2. The shield of Achilles also causes terror and fear even to his own Myrmidons at *Il* 19.14-5 *πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη│ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν* (for the above passages, see Lovatt 2013: 199-200). In the final book of the *Aeneid*, the demon *Dira* works as a symbol of death, causing terror to Turnus and his eventual defeat (see 12.861-868; 903-914). Therefore, the aim of the image carved on Scipio's shield is to maximise the fear of the viewer, i.e. Hannibal. As Jupiter's Dira in the *Aeneid* works as an expression of divine sponsorship for Aeneas, in the same way here, the dire image of Scipio's parents works as parental sponsorship for the Roman leader. **effigies**: the word denotes a painted or sculpted image preserving the surface features of its subjects (see Sedley 1998: 39). Cicero uses the word to explain how a son is the image (*effigies*) of his father's virtues (*Phil.* 9.12), an idea that encourages us to see how Scipio should emulate his ancestors. This idea is more evident in the *Somnium Scipionis* (*De re publ.* 6.10) where Cicero uses *imago* for the description of the apparition of Scipio Africanus in the dream of his son Scipio the Younger. The word *effigies* also alludes to ancestral cult images which Roman noble families displayed in their houses and brought out on occasions such as the *pompa funebris* or *pompa triumphalis* (see Marks 2005: 240). Scipio's father and uncle work here as family exemplars which deserve to be honoured. Scipio's father appears as a ghost (*effigies*) at Sil. 15.181 and now appears as such on Scipio's shield too. Hamilcar is an *imago* in the Underworld (13.751) and also an *imago* on Hannibal's shield (2.431). *Effigies* is not far from *simulacrum*, which Silius uses at 13.650 for the image of Scipio's father and uncle in the Underworld (*succedunt simulacra … patris patrui*).

398. flammam ingentem frons alta uomebat: a visual image where light is flashing from Scipio's helmet. Scipio's appearance reminds us of Jupiter who demonstrates his power against Hannibal by shaking his aegis until it vomits fire (12.720 *flammas uomentem*). Augustus at Actium is depicted in a similar way in the ekphrasis of the shield of Aeneas at *Aen.* 8.620 *galeam flammasque uomentem*, and Aeneas' shield boss is vomiting flames at *Aen.* 10.270-1 *cristisque a uertice flamma │funditur et uastos umbo uomit aureus ignis*. All the above references show Silius' intention to connect Scipio with Jupiter and also with Vergil's Augustus and Aeneas – gods-to-be

– and give him divine elements foreshadowing his quasi-deification at the end of the epic, and his paternal relationship with the god (17.652-4 *nec uero, cum te memorat de stirpe deorum,*│*prolem Tarpei mentitur Roma Tonantis*). At 1.462, Hannibal's helmet had also been described as vomiting fire, an image that makes the two leaders look alike in battle scenes, and contributes to the idea of interchangeability between them. On the other side, the imagery of the action of spitting out fire recalls Lucretius' description of Etna spewing fire at Lucr. 1.724, and Ovid's description of the volcano-giant Typhoeus spitting out flame at *Met*. 5.353, *Fast*. 1.569-74 (see Chaudhuri 2014: 250 n. 55). From this perspective, Scipio's burning ardour is compared to a volcano that pours out its burning power; Scipio's power can be dangerous and destructive.

399. telorumque uirumque: the phrase summarises the *arma uirosque* of the proem (Sil. 1.1 and 1.5). Landrey (2014) has shown that the *Punica* is a combination of *arma* and *uir*, arguing for the literary dependence of the *Punica* from the *Aeneid*.

400. in ducibus stabat spes et uictoria solis: *hendiadys* (Spaltenstein 1990: 470), instead of *stabat spes uictoriae*. Silius stresses here the solitary nature of each hero and the heavy burden each one shoulders for his own country. At 17.581-2 the reader will realise that Hannibal's absence will make his soldiers believe that the war has ended. Fabius (7.1) and Paulus (10.273-4) are also the only "standing" hope for their soldiers. For the meaning of "the one", or the so-called "synecdohic hero" in Latin epic poetry, see Hardie 1993: 3-10, Marks 2005: 82, Tipping 2010: 66.

401. fauor…metusue: *fauor* comes from the impression the audience has of their own leader as winner, whereas *metus* comes from the emotion of fear and terror they feel from the opposing leader. As both leaders are interchangeable, so their two motivations are also interchangeable.

402-5. Scipio si Libycis esset generatus in oris,│**sceptra ad Agenoreos credunt uentura nepotes,**│**Hannibal Ausonia genitus si sede fuisset,**│**haud dubitant terras Itala in dicione futuras:** this is the phrase that singles out the importance of the battle of Zama as the turning-point of the war that will decide the history of Rome and the world (see Ahl/ Davis/ Pomeroy 1986: 2505-11). The counterfactual narrative that Silius employs here makes the reader aware of the opposite outcome of the war, if only Hannibal and Scipio had been born on the enemy side. The "what if" technique resembles the rhetorical figure of declamation, especially the *Controuersiae* and

Suasoriae, where the declaimer creates a hypothetical situation in a counterfactual world (see Cowan 2010: 325). Silius, being a great consul and orator (see Martial 7.63), uses this particular technique extensively: for example, at 4.729-31 when Juno speaks to Hannibal expressing her belief that he would have been deified had he been a Roman, and at 7.35-7 for Cilnius' answer to what could had been achieved if Fabius had been Carthaginian and not Roman. Cowan (2010) offers a detailed analysis of Silius' use of this technique in the *Punica*. But his later suggestion (Cowan 2010: 325) that the use of counterfactual narrative proves that the first-century AD Roman élite was accustomed to thinking in terms of alternative universes perhaps overlooks the different metaphysical presuppositions of the concept of a 'multi-universe' now and then. The counterfactual narrative contributes to the argument about *paria arma*, analysed at 388, as it blurs the distinction between the two leaders. For the emphasis on spectatorship in these lines, see Stocks 2014: 211. **sceptra**: this word links Scipio with kingship and foreshadows the monarchical power that he will acquire at the end of the epic (627 *securus sceptri*). Although the word is plural, it is impossible for the reader to ignore the etymological pun between *sceptrum* and Scipio's name which in Latin has the meaning of 'ceremonial rod' (*σκῆπτρον,* sceptre) carried by a triumphator (*OLD* b), and 'thunderbolt' (in Greek *σκηπτός*). **haud dubitant**: the emphasis on their certainty is given by the litotes. **in dicione:** a word with strong connotations for Silius' contemporaries; all people of the world should come under Rome's sovereignty (*dicio*). See parallels at Livy 36.41.5; 37.45.8; 37.54.15-6. The word again foreshadows the forthcoming monarchy with Scipio becoming the ruler.

2.A.c. 406 – 443: The two armies engage each other

After the description of the two leaders, the narrative now moves to the description of the two armies. Lines 406-31 describe the situation on the right wing of the Roman army, and lines 432-43 on its left wing. On the Roman right wing, the main protagonist is Masinissa, the Numidian king and Roman ally who commands his own cavalry force (see also Liv. 30.33.2) and faces the Macedonians who were sent by Philip V in support of Hannibal after having violated their peace treaty with the Romans. On the Roman left wing, the protagonist is Laelius who is in charge of Roman cavalry facing

the Bruttians, an Italic tribe that had followed Hannibal in Africa (see also Liv. 30.33.2). Silius seems to omit the existence of the elephants on Hannibal's side, which were considered a source of terror for the Romans, as Livy reports at 30.33.4. The two passages again delay the climax of the battle episode – the final duel of Hannibal and Scipio – and thus keep the reader in suspense. Furthermore, this section gives Silius the chance to focus on the individual military characters of Laelius and Masinissa, and to express, once more, his disapproval on the subject of treachery. In this vein, it seems that Silius deliberately opens the battle scenes with two episodes that illustrate the punishment of the treacherous and perfidious enemy: first of an external enemy, the *periuria Graia* (425), and then of an internal, the Bruttians. It is noteworthy that Carthage's army is a mixture of different types of nations: Macedonians on Hannibal's left wing, Bruttians on his right wing. Livy gives more details by mentioning also the Ligurian and Gallic auxiliaries combined with Balearic and Moorish troops, and stresses the plurality of races with different languages in the Carthaginian army (30.34.2 *ut gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis, uoces*). Frontinus also agrees with Livy on the different nationalities in Hannibal's army (see *Str*. 2.3.16). This is similar to Pompey's army at Luc. 3.169-297 where it is viewed as a microcosm of the Roman Empire, allowing Caesar to destroy the world. This mixture on the Punic side is a way to magnify the Roman victory at Zama to a cosmic level.

2.A.c.i. 406 – 431: The Roman right wing

At the beginning of this passage, there is a general description of the battle, the weapons, the clamour and the *aristeia* of Masinissa, which is followed by a brief mention of slaughter by individual Roman soldiers. The narrative is not organised: there is confusion in the tense and the voice of the verbs - interchange of past and present tenses, and active and passive voice, which illustrates the chaos of the natural world the battle has caused.

The first episode opens with Masinissa's actions on the right side of the Roman army. It shows the defeat of the Macedonians in a very rough way. The vocabulary used here is taken from lyric poetry and includes words and phrases from Latin sexual language, depicting the Macedonian defeat as an act of rape. Love and war are here brought

together, and the wound of love coming from the betrayal of the lover is still open. Considering the singular form of the subjects (*miles, Ausonius globus*) and of the verbs, it seems that Silius gives the impression of a single combat. *Miles* and *Ausonius globus* are used as personifications of the ranks through the soldiers as a single body. *Immemor* and *foedus* are words from Catullan vocabulary expressing actions of betrayal (see comment on 420). The Macedonians, forgetful of their promises, have betrayed the Romans.

Lucretius had expressed his hatred of perfidious behaviour at 5.1154-5, believing that there must be a punishment for it: *nec facilest placidam ac pacatam degere uitam*│*qui uiolat factis communia foedera pacis*. Silius takes the same line: the episode is a fictitious one and he creates the image of the Roman side humiliating the Macedonians with rape, as a result of their perjury. The words *rarescit*, *laxatus*, *aperit*, *irrumpit*, *resignat*, *membra* have sexual implications denoting penetration. Richlin (1983: 144–56) has observed that Latin often presented humiliation in sexual terms, with the powerful man sodomising or irrumating the powerless. This image is apparent here: the defeat of the Macedonians is presented in terms of sexual humiliation; they are feminised and forced into the passive role. In the whole passage, the Romans are described as *Ausonius globus*, in male gender, and the Greek army that finally submits to them (*resignat*) is given in female gender as *Macetum turma*, *Graia phalanx*, showing in this way that they are feminised and thus weakened.

406-7. contremuere aurae rapido uibrantibus hastis│**turbine**: Silius probably refers to the skirmish of the *uelites*, which were in Scipio's army (Liv. 30.33), normally equipped with *hastae*. The description of the war begins with cosmic imagery: the phrase echoes Lucretius' *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu*│*horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris auris* (3.835) which comes from his diatribe against the fear of death (3.830-1094). In Lucretius' passage, the philosopher describes the Roman soul as fearless even in the face of the Punic Wars, a world-shattering event that was a cause of terror. Lucretius chooses to parallel the destruction of the world (3.842) with the tumult of the Punic wars (3.833-7). With a phrase recalling the cosmic image of Lucretius in terms of imagery and vocabulary, Silius amplifies the subject of the Punic Wars to a cosmic event. The imagery of a storm and

especially the whirling storm of weapons at the beginning of a battle is a common topos in epic poetry: see *Aen.* 12.283-4 (*turbida caelo*│*tempestas telorum*) where Virgil compares the weapons to raindrops or hailstones; for the imagery of war as a storm in the *Thebaid*, see Lovatt 2005: 250-1; Aeschylus at *Th.* 155 used the phrase *δοριτίνακτος αἰθὴρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται* for air that is going mad with the brandishing of spears when the Theban women express panic at the imminent attack of the Argives. Silius' phrase seems very close to that one, in which the chaos of battle is also reflected in the sky. To illustrate the fast movement of the description of the battle, Silius deliberately chooses to use *contremuere*, the shortest version of *contremuerunt*, so that he achieves an elision with the next word *aurae*. The preference for shortented versions in *-ere* instead of *-erunt* for the third plural is, however, a common tactic in Latin poetry, but its occurence here contributes to the speed of the narrative as the poem reaches its end (see Introduction, section 2.1.2). The sexual background suggested in the introductory paragraph can be supported here by the use of *hasta* as synonym of *mentula*, denoting the penis, intensified by its adjective *uibrantibus*; for the sexual symbolism of weapons, see Adams 1982: 17; 19-20; 74.

409. dira flagrantia lumina flamma: both armies are here suffering from violent and fierce emotions. The image of blazing eyes is intensified by the fact that the phrase *flagrantia lumina* is enclosed by the phrase *dira flamma*, and also by the etymological connection of the verb *flagrare* with the noun *flamma*. Blazing eyes are a sign of violence and anger, as well as of intense emotions (see Lovatt 2013: 311-14). In the *Punica*, Scipio's anger is described through his burning eyes (8.560 *flagrabant lumina*), and for Hannibal, the blazing eyes of his soldiers have been a sign of success (17.309 *cerno flagrantis oculos uultumque timendum*). Apart from describing epic heroes, blazing eyes are also attributed to gods and monsters: see Cerberus at *Aen.* 6.300 (*stant lumina flamma*) and the wolf that attacks Peleus' cattle at Ov. *Met.* 11.368 (*rubra suffusus lumina flamma*); also, the Homeric *δεδορκώς*, the perfect participle of *δέρκομαι*, is etymologically connected to *δράκων* (dragon/ serpent), another monster with a blazing and violent gaze: see for example, at *Il.* 22.95 *σμερδαλέον δὲ δέδορκεν* for Hector whose gleaming eyes are compared to a dragon/serpent waiting to meet Achilles (*Il.* 22.93 *ὡς δὲ δράκων*), at *Od.* 19.446 *πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς* for the fire flashing in the boar's eyes.

410. in medium contemptrix turba pericli: the word *turba* is situated *in medio*, i.e. inside the phrase *contemptrix pericli*. In other words, the position of the words in this line reflects the meaning of the narrated episode.

412. gentilemque bibit tellus inuita cruorem: not only Africa here, but also Sicily and Spain have drunk Punic blood in past slaughters (see 16.215-7 *utque bibant Tyrium…*│*Sicana nunc tellus, nunc litora Hibera cruorem,*│*cui nescire licet*). It can be said that it is usually a trope with civil war connotations: see Virg. *G*. 1.489-92 where Virgil speaks about Philippi drinking blood, Luc. 7.786-99 when Caesar sees the blood of the soldiers covering the fields, Ov. *Met.* 1.157 where the Giants drench the Earth with streams of blood (*perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram*) from which a new and more violent race was created. **tellus inuita**: this is a strong characterisation of the land, which works as Silius' comment for the violation of natural places by military forces; the war happens against the will of the land.

413. feruidus ingenii Masinissa et feruidus aeui: the narrative has now narrowed from the general image of the army on the battlefield to the achievements of one individual hero. The name of Masinissa is positioned in the middle of the line, between the two characterisations. Masinissa, the king of East Numidia (16.116 *regnator Nomadum*) was a foe and then ally of Rome during the Second Punic war (16.116-7), to whom he provided a force of 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry (Plb. 15.5.12, Liv. 30.29.4). He commanded his cavalry on the right wing of Scipio's army whereas Laelius was in charge of the left wing. For details, see the description of Livy at 30.33.13. On the contrary, Frontinus (*Str*. 2.3.16) puts Laelius in charge of the Roman horsemen on the right, and Masinissa in charge of the Numidians on the left, and Appian puts Laelius on the right and Octavius on the left (*Pun*. 44). The repetition of *feruidus* stresses his passionate military character both by nature and by age. **feruidus ingenii**: according to Livy, Masinissa was a young man of military qualities and virtues unusual for his young age (24.49 *ceterum iuuenem ea indole*; 30.14 *ceteras tuas eximias uirtutes, Masinissa*; 30.15 *ferox iuuenis*). **feruidus aeui**: the impulsiveness of his character should be attributed to his very young age when he entered the war (in 213 BC) – around seventeen years old (Liv. 24.49 *septem decem annos natum*). This is, however, inconsistent with the statement of Polybius which is followed by Livy saying that Masinissa was ninety years old at the time of his death

in 148 BC (see Plb. *Fr*. 36.16 *ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν*, Plu. *Mor*. 791f *Μασανάσσην δ' ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν*, Liv. *Per*. 50 *Masinissa Numidiae rex maior nonaginta annis decessit, uir insignis*). According to this last account, he would be at the time of the Punic wars about twenty-seven years old.

414-5. in primas Macetum turmas immania membra│infert et iaculo circumuolat alite campum: Masinissa attacks the first rank (out of three in total) of the Macedonian *turma*, a cavalry unit. Although it is true that Philip V allied with Hannibal in 215 BC, there is no mention of Macedonian involvement in the battle of Zama by Polybius or Appian, but only by Livy at 30.26; 33.5. This omission was strange and caused scholars to argue that Livy's record of the Macedonian participation in the battle of Zama arose out of Greek propaganda in 202 BC. For an analysis of this propaganda, see Dorey (1957) who argues that a small number of Macedonian mercenaries took part in Hannibal's service. Those afterwards fell at Scipio's hands and this might have caused Livy to include them in his narrative. Livy's and Silius' account about the inclusion of the Macedonians in the battle of Zama might have influenced Frontinus who also puts the Macedonians in the second line of the array (*Str*. 2.3.16). It is striking that Silius omits to mention the elephants from the array of the troops, since they had been set in the forefront of the battle line. All the other extant narratives seem to include this. **immania membra infert et iaculo circumuolat alite campum:** Adams (1982: 46 n. 5) has shown that *membrum* is a synonym for penis, and it could support the sexual reading mentioned in the lines earlier. However, the plural *membra* along with the adjective *immania* creates an image alluding to legendary monsters whose limbs are also immense: see the Centaurs' *immania membra* at Ov. *Met*. 12.501, the sons of Aloeus at *Aen*. 6.582 *Aloidas geminos immania uidi│corpora*) which gives the impression of a gigantic Masinissa causing chaos on the battlefield. In reality, Masinissa is described as a huge winged monster, something that is further supported by the use of *circumuolat* for the way he moves on the battlefield, and by the use of a winged javelin (*iaculo…alite*). Silius may have been aware of the references to Masinissa's great height, strength and endurance, as reported by Appian *Pun*. 16.106 *ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὔρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου* and Plb. *Fr*. 36.16. *ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ δυναμικώτατος τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν ἕξιν*.

416-7. caerulus haud aliter, cum dimicat, incola Thyles│agmina falcigero circumuenit arta couinno: Silius compares Masinissa's circular attack (*circumuolat*) with the relevant circular way of fighting of the inhabitants of Thule (*circumuenit*). Silius' description of the way that the inhabitants of Thule fight recalls Tacitus' accounts of British charioteers on Mons Graupius (see *Ag*. 36.3). Silius must have been aware of Agricola's expedition, which was contemporary with him (but it is not certain whether Silius had read the *Agricola* composed in 97/98 AD). The reference to Thule and the reminiscences it creates with Tacitus' similar description can be read as Flavian propaganda and is thus an anachronism. Silius had already described Vespasian's achievements in Britain against Caledonia at 3.597 (*hinc pater ignotam donabit uincere Thylen*). The reference to the remote places on the edges of the world allude to the remote places on the edges of the Empire and the diversity of nations included in it, promoting thus the Flavians' imperial policy. For Scipio anticipating the Flavians, see McGuire 1997: 78-80, Marks 2005: 217-21. **caerulus**: woad-stained. Silius' description shows an association with the Picts, the painted or tattooed people, who lived in today's eastern and northern Scotland during the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval periods. Strabo (1.4) refers to the location of the Thule as *πεπηγυίας θαλάττης* (Latin *pingere*, to paint; *pictus*, painted). Other references to the blue-painted Britons occur at Mart. 11.53 and Caes. *Gal* 5.14.2. **falcigero…couinno**: the curved form of the *falx* ('curved sword', see *OLD* 2a) is perfectly aligned with the circular movement of the chariot of the native of Thule (*circumuenit*) and of Masinissa earlier (*circumuolat*). The *couinnus* is a war-chariot with scythes attached to the axles used by Celtic people (*OLD*). Pomponius Mela writes that *couinni* were British chariots armed in the Gallic fashion on which they use scythed axles (3.43). Lucan describes Gallic warriors directing the scythed chariot against his country's foe (Luc. 1.426) and Frontinus claims that Caesar met the scythe-bearing chariots of the Gauls with stakes driven in the ground, and kept them in check (*Strat.* 2.3.18). Although Tacitus mentions nothing about scythes, he uses *couinnus* to describe the British chariots. For the painted British chariots, see also Prop. 4.3.9 *pictoque Britannia curru*.

418-9. Graia phalanx patrio densarat more cateruas│iunctisque adstabat nulli penetrabilis hastis: Silius describes the Macedonians fighting in the method of the Greek phalanx using the tactic of *othismos*, where the hoplite armies clash on the battlefield. The impenetrability of the phalanx works as a means for the Macedonians'

protection, which reminds of the Romans' impenetrable armour at 4.16, ready to protect from Hannibal's attack. The motif of the impenetrable armour of the army presented as one body brings to mind the impenetrable body of Cycnus at Ov. *Met*. 12.166, and Tydeus' chest at Stat. *Theb*. 2.653-4. For further parallels see Bernstein 2017: 190. The united spears in line 419 surround the line in the same way they surround and protect the Macedonian phalanx in the battle. **Graia phalanx**: it is the Macedonian phalanx and this explains the *patrio more*. Livy (33.9.10) and Curtius Rufus (3.2.13-4) offer a detailed description of the Macedonian phalanx. **densarat**: the contracted *densauerat* illustrates the way the phalanx pressed the troops together. The syntax of the verse reflects on the level of language the way the phalanx took part in war: the main verb in the middle (straight after the caesura) seems to divide the line in two halves, as in a military deployment. In the left side is the *phalanx* which presses (*densarat*) the other side, the troops (*cateruas*). Also, the long *dēn*|*sārāt* shows the slow process. The line can also give the impression that *patrio more* compresses *densarat*, since the troops are compelled to be pushed together by their national customs of fighting.

420-1. immemor has pacti post foedus…Philippus│miserat: in 215 BC, after the battle of Cannae, the Macedonians under King Philip V had sworn a treaty to ally with Hannibal (see Plb. 7.9, Sil. 15.289-90). This agreement explains why the Macedonian squadron is on Hannibal's side. However, after ten years, in 205 BC Philip signed another treaty, this time with the Romans (see App. *Mac*. 1.2 *καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μηδετέρους ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν φίλους*). The pleonasm in the phrase *pacti post foedus* causes a play on the two treaties that Philip was involved in. **immemor**: Philip's action of sending his ranks to reinforce the Carthaginian army was in breach of the recently signed peace treaty with the Romans (see Liv. 29.12.14). The Carthaginians are notorious for their perfidy already from the proem of the epic (Sil. 1.8-11). Therefore, it is not a surprise that their allies are acting in a similar way to them. Apart from Philip here, the Numidian king Syphax earlier at 17.67 (*immemor hic dextraeque datae iunctique per aras │foederis*) had also violated his treaty with Rome (17.74-5 *Latiaeque soluto│ foedere amicitiae*) and had become an ally of Carthage. The same warning is also found at 13.284-5 for the case of the faithless Capuans; for the idea of *fides* in the *Punica*, see Introduction 2.2.2. For whoever does not respect it, should be punished – as Philip here is and as Syphax is earlier in the

text. The word *immemor* works towards the monumentalising function of his character; Silius implies that in the course of history Philip will be remembered as forgetful and perfidious. For discussion of *Punica fides*, see Introduction, section 2.2.2. The adjective *immemor* combined with the noun (its complement) *foedus* is used in the context of love affairs. Love affairs are like treaties; Catullus very often uses the language of treaties and alliances to speak about love. *Foedus* has the meaning of 'commitment' (see Catul. 76; 87; 109). Catullus uses it to describe the relationship between himself and Lesbia in his poems (Catul. 109.6), but also the betrayal of a lover, where the vocabulary resembles the language of contracts and treaties (Catul. 87.3 *nulla fides ullo fuit umquam foedere tanta*). In *Carmen* 64 (58; 123; 135), Ariadne calls Theseus *immemor* because he is unmindful of his obligations towards her. By playing with the conventions of lyric poetry, Silius might have wanted to reveal the unfaithful and unreliable character of Hannibal's allies; for an analysis of *Punica perfidia* and how this also characterises the Carthaginian allies, see Introduction, section 2.2.2. Also, *has* qualifying the *cateruas* adds to the idea of feminisation of the Macedonians.

421. quassam refouebat Agenoris urbem: Philip sent his troops to support the Carthaginian army which is worn out after the many years of fighting (see Liv. 30.26.4 *ut essent Carthaginiensibus praesidio*). For the past sixteen years the walls of Rome have been shaking because of Hannibal's power (see also Sil. 17.353 *tremuerunt moenia Romae*); now, the situation is reversed and Carthage's walls are shaking because of Roman power. **refouebat:** the primary meaning of the word *refoueo* is to rekindle a flame (*OLD* 1), mainly used by Ovid at *Am*. 2.19.15, *Ep*. 2.58 for the flame of love. This can activate the love context implied above where Philip has forgotten his peace treaty with the Romans signed in 205 BC and is now warming up his past and first alliance with Hannibal in 215 BC by sending him his military aid. The amatory element can be also found in the first compound of the name Philip in Greek – *Φίλιππος* consisting of *φίλος* + *ἵππος* – whose name appears – not coincidentally – at the end of the previous line. **Agenoris urbem**: Silius creates a connection between the founding of Carthage from Tyre, which was founded by Agenor, and its final destruction that is about to come.

422. rarescit multo laxatus uulnere miles: the singular here and until line 425 creates a personification of the ranks – the soldiers are treated as a single body (*miles*) – and it expresses the ideal unity of the phalanx. The singular also intensifies the image of decimation of the enemy, giving the sense of 'only one soldier left'. Silius reveals awareness of the typical formation of the phalanx: when the dense array of spears breaks, then the cohesion of the line is destroyed, the warriors fall to the ground and the phalanx breaks apart; see the description at *Il.* 11.90 *τῆμος σφῇ ἀρετῇ Δαναοὶ ῥήξαντο φάλαγγας│κεκλόμενοι ἑτάροισι κατὰ στίχας* when the Danaans break the phalanx. There is a similar description at Sil. 5.381-2 *pauore relaxat│iam rarescentes acies*. This line consists of four spondees and thus is shorter than the rest of the lines: Silius shortens this line, and then lengthens the next one (by using dactyls instead of spondees) in order to illustrate the density of the ranks before they are left wide open by the fallen bodies. **laxatus**: the word belongs to the sexual vocabulary and is a synonym of *calare*, both meaning 'loosening' of the female by or for entry in sexual action (see Adams 1982: 173). Ovid (*Am*. 2.10.18), Lucan (4.629-32) and Statius (*Theb*. 6.841-2) use the word in a sexual context, where the defeat of a hero by his opponent is presented in terms of sexual humiliation (see Lovatt 2005: 217).

423-5. atque aperit patulas prostrato corpore late│…irrumpit mole ruinae│Ausonius globus: as men fell down, wide passages appeared which others rushed to fill. In reality, the Romans stepped aside for the elephants to charge down (see Liv. 30.33.3), but Silius omits the elephants from the epic narrative. On a different level, the Romans penetrate the phalanx, which is described in language that evokes rape (*irrumpit*). The imagery of collapse and destruction is also apparent at Sil. 9.504 in the description of the fallen soldiers, and in Statius in the case of Tydeus, where he is crushed beneath the massive Agylleus (*Theb*. 6.879 *oppressum ingentis mole ruinae*). **Ausonius globus:** the word *globus*, often used of a group of soldiers fighting together, is naturally described as *densus*. Silius keeps using the singular number for the army, considering the many as one body.

425. periuria Graia resignat: for the Macedonians who break treaties. The perjury is the violation of their oath and failure to keep sworn promises. **resignat**: the word choice is very strong here; its meaning as 'break' or 'unseal' (see *OLD* 1a) describes first the way the Romans broke the dense structure of the phalanx and also the way the

Macedonians broke (in the sense of "renege on") their treaty with the Romans. This last meaning is also confirmed at 4.788 (*pacta resigna*) for breaking treaties in the case of Hannibal. The 'signs' (*re-signa-t*) of defeat are written on the bodies of the soldiers; for the use of the word *signa* as 'signs' of victory and defeat on the bodies of the athletes in Statius, see Lovatt 2005: 222-3. **Graia**: Silius again stresses the perfidy of the Greeks. He attributes Carthaginian traits to the Greeks, as their allies. The unreliability of the Greeks is also apparent at Luc. 3.302 *non Graia leuitate fidem signataque iura*, where he praises the Greek Massilians' steadiness in resisting Caesar, despite their Greek background.

426-9: Archemorum Rutilus, **Teucrum Norbanus│…Samium bellacis dextra Caleni,│at Clytium Selius:** the juxtaposition of names brings the combatants face to face with each other and looks like an enumeration of four separate duels. As the focus of this passage is on the Greeks, they are put first in the line as objects of slaughter: Archemorus, Teucer, Samius and Clytius from Pella are all Greek soldiers. As for the Roman names, Silius uses them to recall memories not only from the past Roman civil wars but also from his own time. McGuire (1995; 1997: 84-5) offers an analysis of the names used in Silius' description of the battle of Cannae to argue that they trigger memories from the Republican era as well as the recent wars of 69 AD. **Archemorum**: it is his first and only appearance in the poem. Silius gives the Greek version of the name of Opheltes, who was named Archemorus (*Ἀρχέμορος*) after his death by a snake. He died at a very young age. The name *Ἀρχέμορος*, meaning in Greek 'beginning of doom', comes first in the list of the slaughtered and bodes destruction for the Macedonian army. **Rutilus**: a Roman surname of a noble family very common in the Republican era. A Rutilus appears also at 15.700 slain by Canthus in the same way (15.702 *obtruncat*) as this Rutilus here kills the enemy. Rutilus meaning 'reddish' may have referred to the colour of the soldier's hair. Also, it can be a characteristic of his fiery fighting attitude. **Teucrum**: The name of Teucer is both Greek and Trojan. It is one of the famous names in the *Aeneid*; Teucer is presented as Aeneas' ancestor through whom Dido announces kinship with the Trojans. He can be both enemy and friend, symbolising the Macedonians: in the beginning they were friends but now they are enemies. **Norbanus:** the name possibly arises from the ancient Latin city Norba, which Livy (27.10.7) praises among other colonies for the assistance and faith that they showed to the Romans during the Second Punic War. Silius' intention is to show

that cities faithful to the Romans send their soldiers to fight for Rome. The city of Norba also played an important role in the First Civil War on the Marian side (see App. *BC* 1.94), and indeed, the name Norbanus is strongly reminiscent of the consul in 83 BC who was on the Marian side and had brought two powerful armies against Sulla (Plu. *Sull.*). Sulla compelled Norbanus to retire to Capua. The name also evokes Norbanus, the procurator of Rhaetia who was a member of Domitian's family (see Grainger 2003: 19). **Samium**: the name Samius initially denotes a soldier from Samos, the Greek island in the eastern Aegean Sea, whose appellation is received from the place he comes from. However, a closer examination of his name and his association with Philip V recalls the Macedonian lyric poet and epigrammatist Samius (or Samus), whose father Chrysogonus was a general of Philip V of Macedonia (Plb. 5.9.4-5); Samus wrote three poems celebrating the dedication of spoils from a wild bull in the temple of Heracles at Beroe (Anth. Pal. VI 114; 115; 116); for an analysis of Philip's Heraclid descent in Samus' poems, see Edson (1934). **obtruncat…bellacis dextra Caleni:** the name Calenus here sounds Campanian, if we take into consideration that a soldier from Campania under the same name appears at Sil. 13.219, whose terrifying appearance and character (*Calenum…trucem*) seems to coincide with this Calenus here. The way that Calenus slaughters his opponent is described in the verb *obtruncat*, which echoes Silius' characterisation of him as *trucem* in the passage in book 13. However, the Calenus in *Punica* 13 is killed by Scipio; therefore, it is not the same soldier, but another one evoking his name. **Clytium**: the name is associated with *κλέος* and *κλυτός* (glory) thus his name denotes his special trait (*gloria Pellae* at 430). The name of Clytius occurs very often in the *Aeneid* for different soldiers on the side of both Aeneas and Turnus (9.774 for a son of Aeolus; 10.325 for a young soldier in the army of Turnus; 129; 11.666). **Selius**: the name is found at *Catalepton* 5.3 next to those of Varro and Tarquitius, a group of rhetoricians all famous for being scholarly pedants, and whose rhetoric is described as 'empty sound': *et uos, Selique Tarquitique Varroque,*│*scholasticorum natio madens pingui*│*ite hinc inani, cymbalon iuuentutis*. Silius' sense of humour is apparent here: Clytius, whose name evokes glory, is killed by Selius, apparently an empty-sound orator. His characterisation as *uana tumentem* immediately next to his name also alludes to his death by a name that contains emptiness. Silius' humour might extend to the fact that the name of the soldier sounds like the name of the poet Silius.

427. Mantua pubenti genetrix dimiserat aeuo: a generic and laudatory description of heroes of a battle involves mentioning their homeland. At 8.592-3 Mantua is famous for sending young warriors to war, as Silius describes in his catalogue of the Roman and Italian forces for the battle of Cannae. The reference here to these young men that have been successful in battle is a Silian reversal of the Virgilian motif found in the *Aeneid*, where Virgil laments the untimely deaths of young heroes; whereas these particular young heroes should have normally – or according to the Virgilian practice – died on the battlefield, in the Silian world not only do they live, but also they are successful. The name of Mantua plays an important role here: Mantua is famous for being Virgil's birthplace. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil narrates the lament of ancient places after the loss of their heroes. In the same line of Silian reversal, the reference to Mantua here creates links to this particular Virgilian technique and aims to show that soldiers are strongly tied with their fatherland. The mention of the name of a Roman soldier called *Vergilio* a few lines later (Sil. 17. 441) may work as a tribute to the techniques of Virgil, for whom Silius had a special admiration.

429-30. Pellaeum et uana tumentem │ad nomen patriae Clytium: the reference to Pella as Clytius' homeland connects the Macedonian hero with Cleitus the Black (Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας), brother of Alexander's nurse, commander of Alexander's royal squadron. After his death he was condemned for treason (the story is narrated by Curt. 8.1.20 - 2.12). With the similarity of Clytius - Κλεῖτος, Silius stresses the treacherous behavior of the Macedonians. **uana tumentem**: the soldier boasts of his birthplace, Pella, the famous homeland of Alexander the Great. Clytius has a second reason to be proud of being a Macedonian; his leader in the army, Philip V, was boasting (*tumebat*) that he was a descendant of Aeacus and thus of Achilles (15.292 *Aeacidum sceptris proauoque tumebat Achille*), as Silius reports. The word *uana* is here neutr. plur. adverb meaning 'vainly'; it is used in the same way as at *Aen*. 11.854, for Arruns who is seen as *fulgentem armis ac uana tumentem*.

430-1. gloria Pellae │haud ualuit defendere Daunia tela: Pella has created Alexander the Great, thus it is a famous birthplace of great generals. **Daunia:** it has the meaning of 'Italian'. Daunia is part of Apulia, and in the *Punica* it is used for the site of Cannae (9.499 *Daunia regna*; 11.506; 12.43; 12.429).

2.A.c.ii. 432 – 443: Laelius causes havoc on the Roman left wing

The second episode, between Laelius and the Bruttians, is divided into two sections with six lines in each section. The first half (lines 432-37) includes the speech Laelius addresses to the Bruttians, and the second (438-43) contains Laelius' strike against Silarus, a short reference to two pairs of soldiers fighting, and a brief description of the emotional situation on the battlefield. Laelius' speech to the Bruttians is not mentioned elsewhere and it seems to be a Silian invention. According to Livy (30.33.6) and Polybius (15.11), the cavalry of Laelius and of Masinissa made a movement which formed the turning point of the battle and drove the Carthaginians backwards. Therefore, it must have been this incident which inspired Silius to write about the retreat of the Bruttians whom Hannibal had placed at the rear of his disposition (see Martin/Devallet 1992: 116 n.1). On the symbolic significance of this episode, it seems clear that Silius wants to express his personal opposition to civil war and to invite the reader to feel the wrath Laelius experiences as he watches people fighting against their fatherland. A similar episode, with a soldier verbally harassing the opposition, can be found at 13.219, where Calenus, a Campanian soldier, abuses the Roman army.

432-3. saeuior his Latius uastabat Bruttia signa│Laelius increpitans: the comparative (*saeuior*) is a common poetic formula used to link two episodes. Here, it is used to connect Laelius and the names of the immediately preceding lines. **Latius**: Livineius offers an emendation to *late*, which apparently comes from the fact that the Bruttians were in the second (or third) line and thus were far enough from Laelius. The reference to Latium and Bruttium in the line anachronistically alludes to the social war in Italy between the two tribes. **Bruttia signa**: the Bruttii were an Italian tribe of Lucanian descent who in 216 BC followed Hannibal before the Battle of Cannae (Liv. 22.61.12, Sil. 8.568-72; 11.1-27). Livy (30.33.6) places the Bruttians in the second line of the army, while Appian (*Pun*. 40) places them in the third. In the *Punica*, Silius has described them as being very spirited (8.568 *Bruttius, haud dispar animorum*), but fickle folk (11.9-10 *leuis…│Bruttius*); this explains why Laelius' speech and eloquence in the above passage causes them to flee (444-5 *nudantes…terga fuga*). **Laelius**: Gaius Laelius, consul and renowned cavalry and naval commander during

the Second Punic War. In 206 BC he investigated an alliance in Africa with the Numidian King Syphax against the Carthaginians and then accompanied Scipio to its signing. In the battle of Zama, he commanded the cavalry on the left side (Plb. 15.9 8, Liv. 30.32.2). His son is G. Laelius Sapiens, friend of Scipio Aemilianus, whose name is used by Cicero in his treatise *De Amicitia*. Laelius' military ability is praised by Silius in book 15: he is famous for his exploits and his lineage (258 *Laelius…cuius dextera clara domusque*), and he is considered as *magnum Dardaniae decus* (453), and his fury causes terror on the battlefield (451-2). Silius presents him as an eloquent speaker also at 15.455 (*dulcia soluerat ora*) and draws a parallel between him and Nestor (15.456 *aequabat Pyliae Neleia mella senectae*). Since Laelius' episode with the Bruttians does not occur in the historiographical tradition, Silius may also be alluding to Lucan's Laelius, in a spirit of intertextual playfulness. More specifically, at Luc. 1.352-91, Laelius is presented as a bloodthirsty man who is ready to obey Caesar's command even if that means killing his own kin; with his eloquence, he rallies the troops with a rousing speech and urges them to follow Caesar. In *Punica* 17, Laelius' eloquence is also strong but in order to condemn fratricide in a sharp and threatening speech. **increpitans:** Silius applies this word to Laelius who is reprimanding the Bruttian ranks, resembling thus Juno at 2.528 (*uirgineum increpitat miscentem bella furorem*) where she reprimands Tisiphone to stir up war, as well as Tisiphone as she appears at Stat. *Theb.* 11.482-4 reprimanding her opponent. The verb includes the element of *furor* under which both Tisiphone and Juno spread madness on the battlefield. Laelius here seems to be effected by the same *furor*, foreshadowing the havoc that he will cause on the battlefield and among the Bruttian ranks; for the connection of Silius' Juno and Statius' Tisiphone with the idea of 'reprimand', see Walter 2013: 314.

433-5. Oenotria tellus │detestanda fuit, quam per maria aspera perque │insanos Tyrio fugeretis remige fluctus: the sentence alludes to the storm that Hannibal faced, which is described at the beginning of book 17, as he travelled from Italy to Carthage carrying the Bruttians with him. The reference to Italy as *Oenotria tellus* here strongly recalls the lament of *Oenotria tellus* at 15.522 for feeling despised by the Carthaginian madness and for receiving corpses and blood. The use of *Oenotria tellus* as a synonym for Italy is important here as it is this part of Italy which is associated with Lucania, the native region of the Bruttii, and stresses the betrayal even more. **insanos…fluctus**:

at 8.32 Juno describes to Anna the raging sea of Hannibal's troubles as *insanos curarum…fluctus*; the phrase also appears at Seneca's *Her. F.* 1092-93 and is related to the emotions and Hercules' later madness; at Stat. *Theb.* 1.336-89, the storm through which Polynices had struggled on his way to Thebes has been read as an allegory for his state of mind (see Hill 1990: 107). Therefore, with the hypallage here, Silius implies a similar situation for the mental state of Hannibal and consequently of the Bruttians who chose him as their leader. **fugeretis:** the word, very close to *fugisse* in the next line (436), emphasises the treachery and fugitive status of the Bruttians. Not only did they become fugitives, but they also now seek to kill people from their homeland. The lines following of Laelius' speech will make them fugitives again (*nudantes…terga fuga* at 445); the Bruttians are characterised as constantly fleeing, an image of cowardice.

436. Latione cruore: Silius strongly recalls Lucan's proem (1.9-10 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*│*gentibus inuisis Latium praebere cruorem?*) when the poet rebukes the Romans for spilling Latin blood with their wars. The example of the Italian Bruttians who are fighting against their fatherland, evoking Lucan's first lines, creates civil war connotations; for the idea that a land filled with blood signifies civil war, see the comment on line 412.

438-9. haec dicens Silarum meditantem in proelia telo│praeuenit: the phrase creates ambiguities on whether the *telo* belongs to Silarus or Laelius. The enjambement of the verb *praeuenit*, which has the sense of 'stopping', indicates that the weapon belongs to Laelius, in his attempt to deter Silarus from using it. Also, the action of the *telum*, which describes the way Laelius killed Silarus, continues in the next line with the use of *hasta* (a *telum* can be a *hasta*). **Silarum**: the name of the soldier *Silarus* is taken from the river on the border of Campania and Lucania (*Siler* at Luc. 2.426, *Silaris* at Str. 5.4.13; 6.1.4); Silius has already described the people from Italy who joined Hannibal after Cannae, among whom were the Bruttians (8.568) and the people who are fed by the waters of Silarus (8.580). The river is famous for the petrifying quality of its water (see Plin. *Nat.* 2.226, Sil. 8.580-1). The name of the soldier also brings to mind the battle of Silarus in 212 BC where, after Cannae, Hannibal destroyed a great part of the Roman army. Silius seems to use the Virgilian technique where he names some of his heroes after rivers, mountains and lakes (see,

for instance, the names of the soldiers Umbro, Liger, Tagus, Tmarus in the *Aeneid*, all names of rivers and mountains).

439-40. hasta uolans imo sub gutture sedit│et uitae uocisque uias simul incita clausit: Laelius' strike deprives Silarus of his voice and life. The phrase is strongly reminiscent of *Aen.* 7.533 and 10.346 *ferit…hasta│uocem animamque rapit traiecto gutture* for Clausus' fatal strike to Dryops' throat (see how *clausit*, 'to shut', provides another connection to the passage about Clausus). The word *sedit* illustrates the way in which the weapon is immovably fixed in the throat in the same way the river Silarus petrifies its leaves. **clausit**: a similar image can be also found at Sil. 9.568-9 when Hannibal insults and then kills Minucius before the soldier can reply to his words (569 *uoces uenturas occupar ictu*). Silius here is truncating his own narrative; instead of allowing the full confrontation to develop into something larger and reciprocal, he shuts down the voice of the epic by shutting down the voice of the defeated.

441-3: Vergilio│…iras…uirorum│armorumque: the name of Virgil, together with the phrase *uirorum armorumque,* alludes to the first words of the Virgilian epic. Moreover, *ira* is one of the main subjects of the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 1.4 *Iunonis ob iram*). Landrey (2014: 611-2) suggests that "Silius autographs his restatement of the *arma uirumque* theme with Vergil's very name, a kind of *sphragis* for his Vergilian poetics". In addition, the reference to Mantua only a few lines earlier (427) supports the theory of Silius' homage to Virgil here. For Silius' references to some of his literary predecessors, see 13.778-97 for Homer, 12.387-419 for Ennius, and 8.404-11 for Cicero. Homer and Ennius are characters in the *Punica*, encountered in the battle narrative and in the underworld. Bernstein's theory (2008: 202) that "Cicero and Virgil are referenced more indirectly, through individuals identified as their ancestors or through figures who share similar names" urges us to connect the poet Virgil with the soldier Maro, who kills Thysdrus in Spain (15.447), and Vergilius who kills Caudinus (17.441).

441. Vergilio Caudinus, acerbo Laus Amano: this line is "occupied" by a pair of Roman soldiers: one at the beginning (*Vergilio*) and the other at the end (*Amano*), illustrating the way the opponents are trapped. The juxtaposition of names brings the combatants face to face with each other. **Caudinus**: The *Caudini* were a Samnite tribe

(Liv. 23.41.13, Plin. *Nat*. 3.105) who were subjugated in 275 BC by L. Cornelius Lentulus, whose family from then on bore the cognomen of *Caudinus*. **Laus**: Delz in the apparatus connects the name *Laus* with the river, the border between Lucania and Bruttium. There is a small Bruttian town near this river which is called Cerillae. Silius mentions that its inhabitants were among those Italians who joined Hannibal after Cannae (8.579). The name of the soldier ironically evokes Roman glory (*laus*). **acerbo**…**Amano**: *Amanus* is a mountain in Cilicia. The adjective *acerbo* possibly follows Lucan's description of the mountain at 3.244 (*Cappadoces, duri…Amani*). Silius' sense of humour is again apparent here: Laus, the soldier whose name evokes the river in Lucania is in juxtaposition with the name of Amanus, whose description evokes that of Lucan. It is a common tactic of Silius to name his soldiers from mountains and rivers which appear in Lucan (see Steele 1922: 326-7).

443. uox consona linguae: the phrase confirms what Livy at 30.34.1 and Polybius at 15.12.8-9 had described about the different nations on the Carthaginian side in the battle of Zama, which seemed to be a mixture of different peoples with different languages; for its Homeric equivalent, see at *Il*. 4.437-8 when Agamemnon inspects the troops and sees a mixture of languages and nations. For a comparison of the Homeric passage and the one of Livy, see Levene (2010) 90-1.

2.B. 444 – 521. The portraits of the two generals

2.B.a. 444 – 78: Hannibal's aristeia

The episode between Hannibal and the brothers Herius and Pleminius (451-73), the third episode of the battle of Zama, occupies the biggest part of this narrative section. It is framed by two similes describing Hanniba,l first as an African serpent (447-50), in his efforts to rally the discouraged Bruttians, and second as Jupiter (474-8), after the demonstration of his *feritas*. In Hannibal's *aristeia*, there is an episode on the fraternal love between Herius and Pleminius embedded. After an episode condemning fraternal strife, Silius now describes an episode promoting exactly the opposite: instead of fighting against the brother as an enemy, he presents fighting the enemy for

the sake of a brother. Taking into consideration the desctructive consequences the fratricide entails, Silius promotes the brothers' heroism and their devotion to the family ties.

444-5: nudantes…Hamilcare cretus│terga fuga: the Bruttians expose their backs as a sign of retreat; see *Aen*. 5.586 *nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula uertunt* a phrase which Silius seems to imitate. **Hamilcare cretus**: the expression is hapax in Latin literature for the description of Hannibal. Some alternatives in the *Punica* are *generatus Hamilcare* at 4.542 and 11.371, and *proles Barcae* at 17.460. Mentioning this lineage here allows Silius, in the following lines, to emphasise the legacy of vengeance that Hannibal has inherited from Hamilcar (1.70-80). *Cretus*, derived from *cresco*, indicates Hamilcar's continuous and growing attempts to inflame Hannibal's anti-Roman sentiment. For the importance of ancestors in the *Punica* and of the leaders' obligations to family members, living and deceased, see Bernstein 2008: 132-159. By highlighting ties of loyalty to family and state, the *Punica* follows the *Aeneid* (see Littlewood 2011: 206).

445. nostram ne prodite gentem: Hannibal's words here sound ironic, since the Bruttians have already betrayed their nation, Italy. A few lines previously, Laelius had characterised them as traitors towards the Romans; now Hannibal ironically asks for their loyalty. In the use of *nostram* Hannibal wants to give the soldiers the sense that they are now all in the same military family. Paulus also warns his soldiers in the same way at 10.6-8 *perstate et fortiter, oro,│pectoribus ferrum accipite ac sine uulnere terga│ad manes deferte, uiri.*

446. conuertit proelia dextra: the meaning of *conuertit* is that of "changing their direction", i.e. towards Hannibal's right side: the army returns to the right part of Hannibal's battle line (and thus the left side of Laelius' battle line) where it was placed before the soldiers began to flee. Hannibal is turning them round from retreat to fighting, and therefore *dextra* goes further than simply denoting the right hand of Hannibal with which he shows his military valour throughout the *Punica*, as Tipping (2010: 74) and Vinchesi (2001: 973) have suggested. Therefore, *dextra* here works as an adjective qualifying *proelia* and is not the ablative of the word for right hand.

447-50. qualis in aestiferis Garamantum feta ueneno │attollit campis feruenti pastus harena │colla Paraetonius serpens lateque per auras │undantem torquet perfundens nubila tabem: Silius here compares Hannibal's military appearance on the battlefield to an African snake. This is not the first time that Silius employs this particular comparison: the snake motif appears elsewhere in the *Punica*, creating and strengthening associations between Africa and Hannibal (see for example at 3.183-213 and at 12.6-10). This association might have inspired Valerius Maximus in his description of Hannibal's dream of the snake sent by Jupiter at 1.7. ext.1. Spaltenstein attributes this link to Africa's deserts known for snakes (see Spaltenstein 1986: 216; 1990: 474 who mentions Sil. 3.312-3 as Silius' reference to venomous snakes in African deserts). However, the snake is also associated with Scipio who is the son of Jupiter; the god was transformed into a snake to rape Scipio's mother, Pomponia (see 13.615-649). The snake motif and how it is used to symbolize both leaders and create a connection between them has been analysed in the Introduction, Chapter 2.2.3. In his study on ethnography in Silius, Ripoll (2000: 7-8) has shown the close connection of the Africans to the animal kingdom, especially lions and snakes, and has suggested a latent parallel between the Africans and the serpents and lions regarding their *feritas* which derives from their close complicity; Hannibal in the *Punica* is constantly being compared to wild animals, see for example at Sil. 1.421, where he resembles a furious wild-boar (*fulmineus ceu…actus*). As stated in the Introduction (section 2.2.3), in literature, snakes are associated with productiveness and destructiveness, destruction and renewal. Therefore, this serpent simile here presents Hannibal as the renewal of his father Hamilcar (see *Hamilcare cretus* at the end of line 444) whose violence will eventually cause his own destruction towards the end of the epic. For the description of the serpent, Silius might have already been aware of Lucan's list of African serpents at 9.587-889 where Cato marches through Libya and is attacked by venomous African serpents; Lucan's description is very vivid and aims to show the threat that the hostile and dangerous landscape of Africa presents to the Romans. Hannibal's portrayal as a serpent raising his neck upwards makes him also look like a Giant; nurtured by Earth, the Giants are often represented as monstrous in their size and sometimes like snakes (see Lovatt 2005:115). Hannibal once again exposes his gigantomachic character, for which see Introduction 2.2.3. The overall description includes pleonasm which shows the high level of aggression. The excess of poison mimics the excess of words that Silius uses for this description: *aestiferis campis – feruenti harena,* two different

phrases to convey one meaning, i.e. the desert's heat, as well as the two phrases *feta ueneno – undantem tabem* both used to describe the excess of the snake's poison. Spaltenstein (1990: 474) suggests that the heat implied in *feruenti* describes the strength of the venom, based on Silius' description at 3.312-3 *atro rabidas efferuescente ueneno*│*dipsadas immensis horrent Garamantes harenis*, which seems very plausible. However, the proximity of *feruenti* and *harena* creates, to my mind, a strong link between the two words with which Silius better illustrates the pleonasm described earlier.

452. impedit anteuolans Herium: Silius invents a very picturesque incident during the battle of Zama, where a solider called Herius engages Hannibal in mortal combat. Although Herius struggled desperately to defend himself with his spear and wounded the Carthaginian commander, he was killed by Hannibal's sword thrust. Hannibal's reaction to rush forward and prevent Herius from killing him, is reminiscent of a similar situation earlier at 17.438-40, when Laelius from the Roman side killed Silarus, the soldier from Hannibal's army, who was also ready to strike. Laelius' *hasta uolans…sedit*│*incita* described earlier at 439-40, recalls how Hannibal's *manus incita…sedit* will be described later at 455. Silius shows Hannibal reacting towards a Roman soldier in the same way that Laelius reacted towards a soldier from the Punic side; Hannibal's act of revenge for the unfair loss of his soldier achieves the restoration of his army's sense of unity.

452-3. Herium, cui nobile nomen│Marrucina domus clarumque Teate ferebat: although the episode described here is fictitious, the name of Herius and the city that he comes from, Teate of the Marrucinians, evokes Herius Asinius of Teate, the chief commander of the Marruccini who was killed in the Social War in his struggle against Marius (App. *BC* 1.40, Liv. *Epit*. 73). The *nobile nomen* that Silius mentions implies that Herius' ancestors have played a significant role in Roman history and Herius' relationship with *gens Asinia* raises the possibility of a reference to the son of Asinius Pollio who died young and to whom Silius attributes glory by putting him in Scipio's army (see Bona 1998: 189; Ariemma 2000: 128). Silius deliberately leaves the lone fighter as a representative of his race, thus increasing the importance of the combat for the preservation of the family name. **Marrucina domus:** the Marrucini were a people of Italy on the Adriatic coast (Sil. 12.565-6), and their chief town was Teate (8.519-20, Plin. *Nat.* 3.106 *Teatini Marrucinorum*). Their neighbours were the Marsi and

Peligni who submitted to the Romans in 304 BC (Liv. 22.9, Plb. 2.24). Teate is called *clarum* here, recalling a similar description at Sil. 8.520 as *magnum Teate*.

454-5. illi magnum nitenti et laudibus hostis │arrecto: the great effort of the soldier and the great fame of his opponent enhance the importance of the episode. Herius is seeking to receive praise for killing a great enemy, whereas his glory comes only from his family. The motif of gaining glory after killing a famous soldier is typical in epic: see for example Euryalus at *Aen.* 9.197, Arruns for killing Camilla at *Aen.* 11.792-3, Nealces at Sil. 9.393.

455. manus incita: this describes Hannibal's swift movement. Herius is distracted by the great name of Hannibal and he cannot see his rapid hand. The Latin here conveys a fast and confusing image of who kills whom.

456. quaerebatque miser morienti lumine fratrem: at Ov. *Met*. 5.70-3 Lycabas is weeping for his fallen comrade Athis and unsuccessfully attempting to avenge Perseus when he also falls (*at ille│iam moriens oculis sub nocte natantibus atra│circumspexit Athin*). The use of *miser* describing Herius comes from the poetic voice and is a sign of Silius' focalisation. Silius here develops the Virgilian motif of a son dying in front of his father's eyes, by showing the dying man looking for his brother. In a hero's *aristeia* the simultaneous death of a pair of brothers is a common epic topos (see for example *Il.* 5.148-59; 11.248-50; 16.317-27), especially when one brother tries to avenge the death of the other (see *Il*. 11.221-63; 11.426-7, *Aen*. 9.735-55 for Pandarus and Bitias). In the *Punica*, similar stories can be found at 9.401-10 for Marius and Caper, and at 10.134-48 for the case of the brothers Lucas and Vesulus. The slaughter of the pair of brothers increases the pathos of the action within a chaotic battle. Moreover, it reveals the importance of a pair of brothers fighting for Rome as part of their status as citizen-soldiers (Bannon 1997: 138).

457-8. cum iuuenis subit et leto stimulatus acerbo│Pleminius: Silius keeps developing the theme of premature death with another invented character occurring only here in the epic, Pleminius, portrayed as the young brother of Herius. *Iuuenis Pleminius* and his brother Herius, who died very young, illustrate the impulsiveness of young warriors, recalling Virgil's Nisus, Pallas and Lausus who also rush into fatal battles seeking glory. As shown earlier (comment on 426-9), the names of the soldiers in the *Punica* very often evoke people from Rome's past. Therefore, the name

Pleminius evokes Quintus Pleminius, the legate of 205 BC, who was given command over Locri Epizephyrii, in Bruttium, by Scipio Africanus. His name is linked with brutality and offensive actions in the temple of Proserpina (V. Max. 1.21 and 1. *ext.*) where he was accused of neglecting the religion (see also Livy's narrative at 29.20-22 and Diodorus Siculus' account at 27.4). **acerbo:** the word in its sense of unripe (*ἄωρος*), has the meaning of young and immature and categorises Herius in the youths that die before their time, a typical Virgilian motif used in the *Aeneid*. Scipio's father and uncle have suffered from an untimely death (Sil. 13.387 *funera acerba*) an image that causes Scipio grief in his katabasis; this image confirms the idea that Silius here praises the fraternal heroism of the pair and their mutual death on the battlefield.

460. 'germanum reddere uero…': Hannibal clearly shows here his desire to avenge his brother's death. This episode gives Silius the chance to demonstrate fraternal *pietas* and how it is proved on the battlefield. For poets and historians, the battlefield tested brothers; it was a venue for devotion, loss and conflict (see Bannon 1997: 136). This action recalls Hasdrubal's last words before he was slain at the battle of the Metaurus; Hasdrubal is waiting for his avenger at 15.801-2 (*dum nostris manibus adsit*│*actutum uindex*); when Hannibal learned of his brother's death he vowed that he would sacrifice suitable victims to his brother's shade at 15.820-1 (*et inferias in tempore dignas*│*missurum fratri clauso commurmurat ore*). Apart from simply being Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal is used by the Romans as a substitute victim whose real beheading in *Punica* 15 anticipates the Carthaginians' symbolic beheading after they lose their "head", Hannibal, at the end of the epic (see Marks 2008: 79).

461. maneant modo foedera nostra: Hannibal's infidelity towards oaths has been notorious. Now, he is the one who demands that this oath should be kept. Together with the next lines (462-4) about Hannibal's insistence on his enmity towards the Romans, his words could possibly evoke Dido's curse calling for eternal enmity between the two nations (*Aen*. 4.624 *nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto*).

462. reuocate umbris: the idea of calling a loved person back from the dead occurs also in *Aen*. 9.261-2 *reuocate parentem,*│*reddite conspectum* for Ascanius awaiting his father's return.

462-3. egone aspera ponam*│*umquam in Romanos odia: the plural form of *odium* indicates a particular manifestation of hatred by or towards several people (*OLD* 2):

in the *Aeneid*, the word describes the hatred between the Romans and the Carthaginians at 4.623 *exercete odiis*; 10.14 *certare odiis*. Hannibal's un-Roman rage that is apparent here is inherited from Hannibal's father, as described at the beginning of the epic: 1.17 *tantarum causas irarum odiumque perenni* | *seruatum studio*.

463-4. mansuescere corda | nostra sinam: the verb *mansuesco* is used for wild beasts being tamed (*OLD* 1). Hannibal's heart is described with inhuman characteristics.

468-9. lubrica qua tellus lapsantes sanguine fratris | fallebat nisus: the liquid consonants convey the meaning of the liquid ground full of blood. The same imagery occurs also at 10.145 (*tum Vesulum calido lapsantem in sanguine fratrum*) in a similar episode of Hannibal's *aristeia*. The language of liquefaction is significant in imageries of defeat, as is shown by Lovatt (2005: 230-1) focusing on Agylleus' *aristeia* at *Theb*. 10.264-302. **nisus**: it clearly evokes the name of the Virgilian Nisus when he falls dead on Euryalus' dead body at *Aen*. 9.444-5, another example of mutual death on the battlefield and of heroism and devotion.

470-1. Heriumque iacentem | amplexus iuncta leniuit morte dolores: there is a similar description at Sil. 9.409 (*iunctam inter proelia mortem*) where Marius and Caper try to save each other at the battle of Cannae and end by dying united. Also, Nisus and Euryalus find peace by their mutual death on each other's corpse (*Aen*. 9.444). The theme of *iuncta mors* occurs very often in tragedy and is a common topos in later poetry; see Hardie 1994: 152 for further references in later epic. The words *amplexus* and *iuncta* are two words denoting unity and they are positioned next to each other to illustrate the image of unity and the way the two brothers were lying down next to each other; this is further illustrated by the way that *iuncta morte* is embracing *leniuit*.

472. mixtae certamina turbae: the mixed group consists of Bruttians, Carthaginians and Romans, and the use of *turba* suggests an uproar that this group has caused possibly from the many languages spoken; on the Carthaginians' cacophony of cries, due to the multitude of tribesmen, all with different languages, see Livy 30.34.

473. conuertitque ruens per longum hostilia terga: the verb is at the beginning and its direct object at the end of the line with a long distance (*per longum*) between them.

474-8. ut │…creditur…Iuppiter: another simile for Hannibal, this time comparing his speed and violence to a lightning bolt and linking him closely to Jupiter. In the siege of Rome in book 12 Hannibal is depicted as imitating Jupiter (12.684-5; 699-700), and our passage recalls the scene of his own failure. Hannibal's comparison to Jupiter has been a recurring motif within the epic and it is one of the models that he shares with Scipio. Hannibal has been represented as a conqueror of the Capitol throughout the *Punica* and in book 12 he is portrayed as aiming to expel Jupiter from his reign (theomachy). It is very common for an epic hero to be compared to Jupiter: at *Il*. 13.242 Idomeneus is likened to a thunderbolt whirled by Zeus on Olympus as a sign for mortals *ἀστεροπῇ ἐναλίγκιος*; at Luc. 1.151-7 it is Caesar who is compared to a thunderbolt which causes terror to the world; at *Aen*. 12.922-3 Aeneas' spear is compared to a thunderbolt when he gives the fatal blow to Turnus, which also "links Aeneas to Jupiter or implies he is Jupiter's agent" (Tarrant 2012: 329). The fact that Silius here connects Hannibal with both Caesar in the opening lines of *Pharsalia* and Aeneas in the final lines of the *Aeneid* creates closural implications to the passage and makes Hannibal look like both a Caesar and an Aeneas. Hannibal's theomachic character reveals Silius' concern for the divide between human-divine (see Introduction, 3.3).

474-5. cum fulminibus permixta tonitrua mundum │terrificant: the mixture of *tonitrua* and *fulminibus* can refer to the moment of encounter of the two leaders, Hannibal and Scipio, who are both compared to a thunderbolt in the epic, and now share Jupiter as another heroic model. Hannibal is called 'the thunderbolt of Carthage' at 15.664 (*fulmen…Carthaginis*) and *fulmineus ductor* at 17.548. Similarly, Roman literary tradition attributes to the Scipio family the characteristic of *fulmen* (see Introduction, section 2.2.3, as part of the analysis of Hannibal's and Scipio's shared models and the motif of the interchangeability between the two leaders). **mundum terrificant:** Hannibal's action has cosmic effects and shatters the whole world. The purpose of this simile is to create a terror effect on the battlefield. For Jupiter's thunderbolts as world-shaking see Iarbas' speech at *Aen*. 4.208-10.

476. trepidat genus: a verb of fear occurring very often in Livy for descriptions of surprise attacks (see for example, 31.34.5, 33.7.8), and in Sallust for the description of the fear of a besieged camp (see *Jug*. 38.4-5, 67.1); for an analysis of the word in Sallust and Virgil, see Rossi 2004: 97. Hannibal's god-like appearance causes fear to

the people, a fact that widens the division between human and divine, and reinforces Hannibal's image as a theomach (see Chaudhuri 2014: 253), one of Silius' main concerns in the epic.

2.B.b. 479 – 508: Scipio's aristeia

After Hannibal's *aristeia* at 444-78, Silius now describes the fourth phase of the battle and praises Scipio for his military skills. Scipio's *aristeia* is divided into four parts. The first part (479-85) describes the Roman leader entering the battlefield and killing a group of Carthaginians. The second part (486-93) contains a simile describing Scipio as Mars on the battlefield. The third and the fourth parts are structured in the same way as the first two, thus creating an *anadiplosis.* The third part (494-503) lists a second group of Carthaginians killed by Scipio, and the last part (504-8) contains a second simile describing the horror that Scipio's military power has caused as a city under siege and on fire. This episode and the previous one open and finish with comparisons; in the previous one Hannibal begins as an African snake and ends up as a version of Jupiter, whereas in this one Scipio begins as Mars and ends up as a fiery plague.

The catalogue of the slain soldiers killed by Scipio mirrors Hannibal's catalogue of his soldiers' achievements earlier in the book (295-335) that charts the key moments of the epic. More specifically, at the beginning of book 17, Hannibal in his attempt to reinforce Carthaginian morale, praises those soldiers who caused the deaths of Flaminius (295), Paulus (296-8), and Marcellus (298-9); those who wounded and killed the Romans at Cannae (305-8) and Trebia (311-13); the wounding of Scipio at the Ticinus (314-16); the soldiers who crossed the Alps (317-19); those who attacked Rome (321-7) and those who destroyed Saguntum (328-9). Silius now describes Scipio taking revenge for Carthaginian past successes – those who fought at Saguntum (494-5), Trasimene (496-7) and those who crossed the Alps (500-2). By killing these people Silius' Scipio "seeks to eradicate a past that has mythologised Silius' Hannibal" (Stocks 2013: 214). This passage of Scipio's massive cosmic revenge comes straight after the episode showing Hannibal taking vengeance for his brother's death in a normal epic way. This shows a massive increase in the size and power of the epic

battle undertaken by Scipio: whereas Virgil uses a single death – Turnus' death – to stand in for all the deaths of Italians and Romans in the war in the second half of the *Aeneid*, Silius has decided instead to focus outwards on the wider carnage that Scipio has caused. After Scipio's massacre on the battlefield, the Roman leader is now looking for single combat with Hannibal. Apart from Appian at *Pun.* 45, it seems that there is no other historical evidence that Scipio and Hannibal confronted each other at Zama (see introductory paragraph of the lines at 2.A.b). Silius has already given a duel between the two leaders at Cannae (9.428-37), which again seems a Silian invention.

One more important element in this passage is that the description of Hannibal's past massacre is imbued with the vocabulary of transgression and the violation of natural boundaries, for which the Carthaginians in the *Punica* are notorious (see Introduction, 2.2.2). The war is described as unspeakable (494-5 *nefandi…*│*belli*), one in which severe crimes have happened: the seizing of the wretched ruins of Saguntum (494-5 *miseras…*│*ruinas*), the pollution of the sacred lake of Trasimene and the river Ebro (496-7 *sacros…lacus…*│*polluerant tabo stagna*), the attempted plunder of the seat of the gods (498-9 *superum regi soliumque domosque* │*irent direptum*), the opening of the Alps denied to human steps (501-2 *reserasse negatas*│*gressibus humanis Alpes*). These descriptions come from the poetic voice, i.e. without the use of a persona, and the use of strong and cruel vocabulary reveal the poet's moral distaste regarding the violence of the war and the transgression of natural laws.

479. Parte alia: the phrase works as a transition formula. It is often used in ekphrasis (see *Aen.* 1.474; 4.153; 8.433; V. Fl. 1.140; Catul. 64.251), which indicates a cartographic view of the battlefield rather than a linear narrative, and that things happen simultaneously. Its use here is to change the scene from Hannibal's battlefield to where Scipio is in action. The phrase may create the impression that Silius' description of the battlefield will form a pictorial scene. It is also commonly used in battle descriptions to signify the transition from the one military camp to another; for this use, see Sil. 1.426 (*at parte ex alia*) for the transition from Murrus' camp to that of Hannibal, and *Aen.* 10.362 for the transition to Pallas' camp.

479. ceu sola forent discrimina campo: this phrase exaggerates the power of Scipio, who is now the only destroyer of Carthage.

480. misceret agens truculentum Scipio Martem: Scipio is ready to wage a wild battle on broad fields. Juno seeing this desire of Scipio, remembers Jupiter's prophecy at 17.383-4 regarding Hannibal's fate that she will not be able to save him is he joins in a fierce war with Scipio (*si miscebit fera proelia campis*). For this reason, in the next episode, at 17.522-80, she will intervene and snatch him away from battle and thus save him. Silius' Scipio is aligned with Livy's description of Scipio, who is calm and sure before the battle of Zama (Liv. 30.32.11 *celsus haec corpore uoltuque ita laeto ut uicisse iam crederes dicebat*). **Martem:** Mars works as synecdoche for 'war', but it also prepares the reader for the comparison of Scipio to the god a few lines later. The phrase 'join in waging savage war' is a common expression for a leader entering the battlefield, as at 1.69 *miscentem pugnas*, 17.383 *si miscebit fera proelia* for Hannibal, and *Aen*. 1.191 *miscet agens…turbam* for Aeneas hunting. This is also a reason I believe that *misceret* is stronger than the alternative reading in the apparatus, *miseret* (given by the archetype ω) which can only be explained in the sense of "unleash" the warlike spirit (*truculentum…Martem*).

481-2. aspera pugna nouas uaria sub imagine leti │ dat formas: the sentence works as the beginning of the ekphrasis signalled by the phrase *parte alia* at 479. The battle is described as ferocious, recalling the *aspera…* │ *pugna* of *Aen*. 12.124-5 and therefore the Homeric *δριμεῖα μάχη* at *Il*. 15.696 (see Tarrant 2012: 123). The new forms of death that Scipio spreads in battle are described at 482-5 *hic…hic…ast hos…horum…uirtus*. This phrase is modelled on similar expressions found in Thucydides when he writes of the bloodshed in the civil war at Corcyra (3.81.5 *πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου*), in Virgil of the scene at Troy after the Greeks have taken the city (*Aen*. 2.369 *plurima mortis imago*) and in Tacitus (*Ann*. 3.28 *uaria pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium*) for the description of Vespasian's attack on the Vitellian camp. Silius here seems to have borrowed a phrase from historiography (even book 2 of the *Aeneid* has a historical perspective on the fall of Troy) but also from his everyday life, as the use in Thucydides and in Tacitus shows that these authors might have been influenced by the images of death they could see everywhere around Corcyra and Rome respectively during that period of civil wars. For an analysis of spreading various images of death in battle, see Raabe (1974). A similar expression can be found at Sil. 4.591 *mille simul leti facies*, in the description of the battle of Trebia, after the enumeration of the different shapes of death. The ekphrasis can also

be a device for narrative distancing or, perhaps at the same time, developing emotional intensity. What Silius shows here is that this is such an intense battle that we can only imagine it as a montage or a series of images. It becomes impossible for Silius to narrate the various images of death, in the same way that Lucan had explicitly refused to narrate the massive individual deaths in the battle of Pharsalus at 7.617-8 seeing that the whole world around him was collapsing (*inpendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi*│*mortibus innumeris*). **nouas…formas**: the phrase is reminiscent of the first line of Ov. *Met.* 1.1-2 *in noua fert animus mutates dicere formas*│*corpora*; Silius' intention is to show that each form of death he is describing is a type of metamorphosis: as they die the soldiers take a new shape. The different ways of death are reflected in the different parts of the bodies in which the death happens: in the first and second example the soldiers endure a physical transformation, death by sword reflected at the back of the soldier (482 *prostratus*) and death by stone reflected on the bones of the soldier (483 *ossa*); in the second and third example we see a moral revelation, cowardly soldiers prostrated on their faces (484 *in ora*) and on their breasts (485 *pectora*), confirmed by the poet's comment of *turpe* at 484 and *uirtus* at 485, both of which are in emphatic positions. Although Silius intends to narrate new images of death, in fact, it turns out that he describes ordinary military deaths. His intention to deconstruct the image of civil war by bringing new shapes of death surprises the reader who, in fact, is even more surprised when he realises that Silius at the end has not surprised him at all, but instead is revealing his poetic humour, and possibly deconstructing the epic hyperbole of ever more inventive ways of dying. Death is banal in its repetitions. **imagine**: the use of *imago* creates an ekphrastic image that commemorates the massacre caused by Scipio. The ekphrastic phrase *parte alia* at the beginning of the passage (see comment on 479) also works towards the commemorative function of these lines on Scipio's achievements. The images of physical transformation and moral revelation described above foreshadow the final moments of the epic: Hannibal is going to be a transformative epic image as he is going to fly away and be left as an *imago*. In contrast, Scipio is the bearer of *uirtus* against Hannibal's immorality; immediately after the final word of line 485, *uirtus*, the reader is witnessing Scipio's revelation who is standing above all (*ipse super strages* 486).

482-5. **hic… │ hic… │ hos… │ horum**: Silius here explains the *uaria…imagine leti* of the previous line. The first soldier is killed by a sword (482 *ense*), the next one is killed by a stone (483 *saxo*), another is killed prostrate (484 *fusos in ora*) and another facing upwards (485 *dedit Gradiuo pectora*). A list of different methods of enemy slaughter is a standard component of a Homeric *aristeia* and secures the hero's *κλέος*. Also conventional is the brief indication of the manner of death and the obituary notice that singles out a defeated opponent for a short memorial. The *polyptoton* mirrors Hannibal's speech towards his soldiers in which he enumerates their military achievements throughout the war (see 17.292-329).

482-3. ense…adacto │ …saxo perfracta…ossa: the fierce battle includes spears and stones, and this recalls Homeric battles that involve both; see for example Hector at *Il*. 12.452-3 or Patroclus at *Il*. 16.733-6 who fight with a spear in one hand and a stone in the other. The adjective *adactus* is often used for weapons; see *Aen*. 9.431; 12.320, Ov. *Met*. 6.271, V. Fl. 6.307.

483. hic…gemit lacrimabilis: the phrase implies that the soldier is moribund rather than dead, and, as an emotive verb, *gemit* creates strong effects for the reader. In the *Aeneid*, it is the ghosts of Hector and Polydorus which tearfully groan (2.288; 3.39).

484. ast hos, turpe, pauor fusos proiecit in ora: these soldiers were hit in the back while running away and fell on their fronts. *Turpe* works as an exclamation made by the author commenting on the humiliating way in which these soldiers have been killed; to be wounded in the back was a disgrace whereas to fall with wounds in the front was a glorious death (Sil. 9.368). The use of *fusos* here implies a lack of masculinity as it depicts them defeated; the lack of rigidity caused by fear also caused their fall. *Proiecit* hides a sense of violence, as if fear is actually shoving them in the backs; on bodily metaphors associated with masculinity and femininity, see Lovatt 2005: 219-25.

485. dedit Gradiuo pectora uirtus: Scipio defeats these Carthaginians despite their high spirit and courage. For Hannibal, it is a glorious death and worthy of the people of Carthage for a soldier to be wounded in the front of their body, as he says at Sil. 5.594 (*cerno…aduerso pulchrum sub pectore uulnus │ …dignus Carthagine, dignus Hasdrubale ad manes ibis*). The multiple personifications here possibly suggest that the soldiers are fighting with Scipio as a personification of the elemental force of war.

486. super strages ductor Rhoeteius instat: the words denote Scipio's superiority. The meaning of *strages* ('scattering here and there of things fallen or broken') better conveys the image of the battlefield where the dead bodies are scattered all around (*hic…hic…hos…horum*). Virgil's use at *Aen*. 12.454 (*arboribus stragemque satis*) in the simile describing Aeneas as a storm has led Tarrant (2013: 209) to associate it with Lucr. 1.288-9 where the meaning indicates devastation caused by natural forces. The phrase *ductor Rhoeteius* is also used for Aeneas at *Aen*. 12.456. The epithet *Rhoeteius* conjures images of Troy, not of Italy, as *Rhoeteum* was a promontory in the Trojan country. In this passage, the *ductor Rhoeteius* is in the same metrical *sedes* as it is when used to describe Marcellus at Sil. 14.487 (see Jacobs 2010: 132). *Rhoeteius* is a term which Hannibal uses at 1.115, where it suggests Virgil's *Aeneid* (see *Aen*. 3.108; 5.646); its use also at Sil. 2.51; 8.619; 9.72 occurs in contexts suggesting that Rome may suffer a repetition of Troy's defeat and destruction. However, Troy, reborn as Rome, will be victorious through the efforts of Marcellus at 14.487 and Scipio here (see Tipping 2010: 69 n.50).

487-90. qualis… │…Mauors… │… perrumpit stridens sub pondere belliger axis: in the previous lines in Hannibal's *aristeia*, Silius described the Carthaginian leader as an African snake and compared the terror he caused on the battlefield with the terror caused by the thunder of Jupiter. In these lines in Scipio's *aristeia*, Silius compares Scipio's military power to that of savage Mars. This is not the first time that Silius employs this particular comparison. The god Mars appears elsewhere in the *Punica*, creating and strengthening associations between Scipio and Rome, as in book 9 where Scipio was aided and protected by the god in the battle at Ticinus. The description of Mars recalls the description of the god at 4.430-6, where he is sent by Jupiter to aid Scipio and save him from Hannibal; for more details, see comments on lines 488-9 and 490. Hannibal has often been compared to Mars (see 1.40, 4.105; 325, 5.379; 538, 11.341). This comparison might have come from Liv. 21.10.8, who describes Hamilcar as *Mars alter* (see Spaltenstein 1986: 72). Mars as a common model for Scipio and Hannibal is another element that contributes to the interchangeability of the two leaders, for which, see Introduction, section 2.2.3. Here, the god is again recalled in Scipio's adjective which reminds the reader of the etymology of *Mauors* as *qui magna uertit*, the one who determines the outcome of great events (for this etymology, see the analysis of Tarrant 2012: 172), because Scipio is the one who will

now determine the war at this point. In the first book of the *Punica* Hannibal is likened to a stormy invasive Mars and is pictured under similar circumstances, exactly in the same way that Scipio is described now: riding on his chariot through the land of the Thracians as he is going to the siege of Saguntum (1.433-6). Although the Mars-like Hannibal won his first victory at Saguntum, it is now time for the Mars-like Scipio to take revenge for it. For further analysis of the connection between Scipio and Mars, the sporadic references to Mars as the ancestor of the Romans at 10.618, 12.582, 13.811, 16.532 as well as a helpful bibliography, see Wilson 1993: 225 and Marks 2005: 91. In the *Aeneid,* Turnus is compared to Mars (12.331-40) and he is the only hero in the Virgilian epic who is compared to this god, whereas in the *Iliad* it is a common theme for a hero to be compared to the god Ares: Achilles (11.603, 20.46), Agamemnon (2.479), Hector (8.349, 11.295, 17.72); for further analysis, see Tarrant 2012: 171-2; at Valerius 8.645-8 Jason is portrayed as the god Mars when leaving the dust of Getic warfare he enters Hebrus in his chariot with a burning sweat of battle. In Valerius the simile occurs in the episode of the wedding ceremony with Medea. Silius is now restoring generic normality and places the image back in its epic context after Valerius' use of mixed genres.

487. gelidum…Hebrum: Hebrus is the principal river in Thrace, which was proverbial for harsh winters. Mars is associated with the cold Hebrus also at V. Fl. 2.515 and *Aen*. 12.331-2.

488-9. Geticas soluit feruenti sanguine Mauors│laetus caede niues: for Mars enjoying waging savage war see Sil. 9.553 and *Aen*. 12.332 where he is called *sanguineus* ('bloodstained'). Lucan often uses 'burning' or fire words for the description of hot temperatures, as for example at 6.667 *pectora tunc primum feruenti sanguine supplet*. The fire-related imagery makes Scipio seem even more violent. The description also creates an image of cosmic war between the hostile elements of ice and fire: the solid ice and snow are caused to melt (from solidity to liquefaction) in order to illustrate the way that the enemy is turned into puddles. Liquefaction as an image of defeat is again apparent here; for previous occurrences see comment on 468-9. *Geticus* has the sense of Thracian at *Aen*. 3.35, Stat. *Theb*. 6.348; the Getes are often associated with the Thracians, although they seem geographically far away, beyond the Danube (see Spaltenstein 1986: 113).

490. stridens sub pondere belliger axis: at Sil. 4.432-6 the god is described as wearing heavy armour, which implies his heavy weight; see Spaltenstein 1990: 477 who describes the god as gigantic. At 1.434-6 Mars' chariot is described as *belligero curru* (*belligero rapitur curru telumque coruscans,*│*...cornipedum adflatu domat et stridoribus axis*). **axis**: this word has the meaning of 'wheel' but here works metonymically signifying the chariot. This meaning brings out the metapoetic implications of chariot metaphors. On a metapoetic level, Mars is a metonymy for epic poetry and his heavy weight is an additional reference to the weighty epic poetry, in which the poet controlling his material works as a metonymy for the charioteer (see the comment on lines 555-7). This connotation creates an image of the omniscient poet, Silius, who is standing above and observes the progress of his epic narrative. Nevertheless, the word *axes* has also cosmic implications meaning 'heaven', 'sky' in Statius (*Silu*. 3.1.181; 4.3.136, *Theb*. 8.675), as at 4.3.136 when Domitian is holding the flaming sky (*flammigeros tenet axis*). In the plural, it is used for the Sun's chariot at Ov. *Met*. 2.148, of Caesar's at Prop. 3.4.13, and both references allude to Domitian's great success as charioteer of the sun. On the other side, the heavy weight of Mars alludes to Lucan's description of the *apotheosis* of Nero at 1.53-9, as another Phaethon carried in his flaming chariot, where the poet expresses his fear that the weight of his divinity will throw the cosmos out of balance. Scipio is depicted as another Domitian whose great success as charioteer of the sun has cosmic implications, but the Roman leader should be aware of the negative associations that the use of his chariot can have.

491. ardore truci lustrans fortissima quaeque│**nomina**: Scipio wants to kill all the renowned Carthaginian soldiers who have achieved a mythical status through their victory. **ardore truci**: the burning desire (*ardor*) of Scipio to meet the enemy recalls the fire imagery in the simile with Mars a few lines earlier, and the choice of the word *truci* recalls again Mars *truculentus* (480) in the previous lines, both words emphasising still more Scipio as personification of Mars. **lustrans**: Scipio is wandering around and scanning the battlefield looking for the enemy; in the same way he will be looking for Hannibal on the battlefield a few lines later (17. 517 *illum igitur lustrans circumfert lumina campo*). This is also a verb of purification (*OLD* 1) and therefore the fire and the water imagery appearing in the simile could also show Scipio's apocalyptic cleansing of the defiled and polluted world caused by Hannibal and the Carthaginians, as it is described in the next few lines (494-501).

492-3. spectata… │iuuentus: Silius is now ready to mention the list of all those renowned soldiers who, throughout the war, have been tested and proved worthy but it is time for Scipio to exterminate them; for *specto* in the passive voice with ablative, meaning 'to be considered remarkable', see *OLD* 5.

494-501. qui… │qui… │quos… │qui…: the *polyptoton* explains the *spectata iuuentus* of the previous lines and the renowned battles in which they took part. This list of soldiers killed also works as a reply to Hannibal's speech with the catalogue of the Roman generals that were killed in war a few lines earlier at 17.292-329. The massacre of Hannibal's soldiers takes vengeance for a series of great Roman defeats from the beginning of the war, which Silius mentions here: first the siege of Saguntum, then the defeats on the Ticinus and the Trebia, the disaster in Trasimene, and the threat against Rome from the Alps. The crossing of the Alps is left until last, perhaps as the most significant achievement, although it happened before the battle at Ticinus. In the next lines there will be several cosmic references, depicting the Carthaginian expedition as a gigantomachy.

494-5. miserasque nefandi │principium belli fecere, Sagunte, ruinas: Scipio takes revenge for the seizing of Saguntum narrated in books 1 and 2 of the *Punica,* the episode that triggered the Second Punic War. This is confirmed at 17.328-9: when enumerating the soldiers that were killed in the war, Hannibal mentions the siege of Saguntum as *primordia belli* (*quis claro deletum est Marte Saguntum,* │*quos nobilitant primordia belli?*). The word *principium* could work metapoetically and allude to the proem of the whole epic, where Silius explains the beginning of the war at 1.8-11. It is noteworthy that the words *principium* and *ruinas*, which indicate the 'beginning' and the 'end/ destruction' of the city, are located at the beginning and the end of the line respectively. **miseras…, Sagunte, ruinas**: the adjective *miserus* in association with Saguntum is used at 2.105, during the seizing of the city, at 12.432 when the sack of Petelia by Hannibal is compared to Saguntum. The apostrophe of Saguntum and of Thrasymenne (496) memorialises their suffering and reveals the author's sympathy. **nefandi │belli**: *nefandus* is a powerful word with religious overtones; the war is called *nefandus* probably because it is associated with the violation by the Carthaginians of the sacred treaties with the Romans that they had sworn to Jupiter. "The word *nefas* alone is enough to recall Lucan's poetics of civil war" (Stover 2012: 124). Indeed, in Lucan (1.6; 21; 37) the word *nefandus* is used mainly to denote the civil war: see

characteristically Luc. 1.21 *si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi*, and V. Fl. 3.14-5 *infanda proelia* who both speak about 'unspeakable wars' as a reference to civil wars. About the use of *nefas* in the terminology of civil war, see Stover 2012: 123-4. Virgil describes the war between the Trojans and Italians as *infandum bellum* at *Aen*. 7.583 and 12.804. That the war in Italy is portrayed as a civil war, see the following from an extensive bibliography: MacKay 1963: 159-61, Lyne 1983: 200, Cairns 1989: 85-108, Harrison 1991: xxv-xxvi, Rossi 2004: 164-8. An alternative interpretation could be that *nefandus* is a stereotypical word to denote war in general after so many epics on war in Silius' contemporary times.

496-7. qui sacros, Thrasymenne, lacus Phaethontia quique│polluerant tabo stagna: the phrase connected with *nefandi belli* of the previous line denotes that the Carthaginians have waged an impious and sacrilegious war. The Carthaginians have defiled Italian waters with blood, recalling Caesar's actions after he had also stained the rivers of Thessaly with Roman blood, as described by Lucan at 7.789-90. The description of rivers as thick with blood is a common epic topos: see *Aen*. 6.87-8, Luc. 7.115-6; 700; 789-90, Stat. *Ach*. 1.87-8, *Theb*. 2.460, 9.257-8; for the violation of the natural world, a common theme in the *Punica* that defines the Carthaginians in the epic, see Introduction, 2.2.2. In the dialogue of Juno and Jupiter at Sil. 12.693-7, Jupiter mentions Hannibal's continual violation of nature with specific references to the fetters he put on the river Po (here mentioned as *Phaethontia stagna*, for details of which see below) and the pollution he caused in Lake Trasimene: Sil. 696-7 *imponere uincula sacro│Eridano, foedare lacus*. The pollution of the lake with blood has already been mentioned in the prophecy about Trasimene at Sil. 48-9 ac *sua largo│stagna reformidet Thrasymennus turbida tabo*. The word *sacros* next to, and qualifying, *Thrasymenne* creates irony; the defilement of the sacred lake is aligned with the first half of the lake's name (*Thrasymenne*, coming from *θρασύς* 'wanton' + *ὑμέναιος* 'wedding'), a play on words which Silius activates at Sil. 5.22-3 *hinc dotale lacus nomen, lateque Hymenaeo│conscia lasciuo Thrasymennus dicitur unda*. For an analysis on the etymology of the wanton name of Lake Trasimene as described in the *Punica*, see Cowan 2009. Describing a river or a lake as sacred is a common literary topos: see *Il*. 21.219, Hdt. 7.141 *ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς*, *Aen*. 8.72, Sil. 8.182 *sacra…flumina*; 12.215 *sacroque Timauo*; 696 *sacro│Eridano* and many other references in the *Punica* which are listed by Ariemma (2000: 79). The Alps are called *sacros in fines* (Sil.

3.501) because they are not permitted to be ascended by men. Overall, with the use of this adjective here, Silius want to underline both Hannibal's and the Carthaginians' level of impiety in the war. **Phaethontia…stagna**: the river of Phaethon is the Eridanus, i.e. the river Po. The river relates to the death of Phaethon who fell into it when he drove the chariot of the Sun (A.R. 4.596-611; Ov. *Met*. 2.319-28; V. Fl. 5.429-32). The reference to Phaethon here creates associations with Hannibal, since both are cosmic destroyers and failed usurpers. Also, Phaethon has a political overtone and works as an allegory for the failed ruler; Lucan, Seneca (*Med.*) and Statius (*Theb*.) portray Nero as Phaethon (see Heerink 2014: 90-1); see also Sil. 7.149 *Phaethontius amnis*│*sanguinea pontum turbasset decolor unda*. The idea of polluting a river is similar to 2.6 *cremerae maculauit sanguine ripas* and 2.617 *maculant cognato sanguine* in the description of the pollution after the Saguntines' suicide (see Bernstein 2017: 50). As Santini (1991: 79) has rightly shown, the battle of Zama brings the Second Punic War to an end and constitutes the final *lysis* of the narrative by showing the punishment destined for all those who are guilty of *hybris*, not only towards the Roman people, but also towards nature.

498. superum regi soliumque domosque: the reference is to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill. There is a pleonasm in the word 'seat' (*soliumque domosque*) which is used for emphatic purposes to show Hannibal's intense struggle to storm the Capitol, already apparent in *Punica* 12. The emphasis is also shown by the phrase *domosque* (not only Jupiter's seat, but also his home), which is a further element of outrage by the poet to imply the sanctity of the space and to intensify the idea of violation.

499-500. uno│**exitio**: Spaltenstein (1990: 477) argues that the phrase is not opposed to the different images of war (*uaria imagine leti*) earlier at 481, as the phrase indicates that the soldiers die at Scipio's hand. The word *exitium* is strongly associated with the destruction of Rome by Carthage; at 1.109-10 Hamilcar urges Hannibal to vow that he will bring destruction to the Romans (*concipe bella*│*latura exitium Laurentibus*). In addition, Jupiter at *Aen.* 10.1-14 predicts the Second Punic War mentioning that Carthage will one day unleash great destruction (10.13 *exitium magnum*) against Rome. Silius implies that Scipio will now finish the cycle of destruction started by the Carthaginians, creating links both with the *Aeneid* and the first book of the *Punica*.

For the closural method of the *Punica*, and the cyclical process the *Punica*' end creates with the *Aeneid*'s beginning, see Introduction, section 3.

500-2. temerata ferebant│qui secreta deum et primos reserasse negatas│gressibus humanis Alpes: Hannibal's repeated acts of impiety form a common theme throughout the *Punica*. Here, Silius refers to the transgressive opening of 'the gods' secret places' (*secreta deum*) and 'the Alps forbidden to human feet' (*negatas│gressibus humanis Alpes*) by the Carthaginians, acts which are aptly punished by Scipio's opening of Carthage. *Temerare* is associated with the violation of sacred space and/or the slighting of a god's power (*OLD* 1); for its use in the presentation of the Argo's voyage as a violation of the laws of the sea, see Seneca *Med*. 614-5, and for the violated shore at Luc. 3.194, see Stover 2012: 94 n.43. *Primos* intensifies the idea of transgression; to dare something for the first time is considered transgressive; see for example the breaking of the boundaries undertaken by the Argonauts for the first time, as described in the proem of Valerius Flaccus at 1.1-2 (*prima…│ratem*). The Alps are to remain closed to mortal men (Sil. 1.546 *clausae starent mortalibus Alpes*). The word *resero* ('open up', 'disclose'), which is instrumental in forming intratextual and ring-compositional connections, appears at Sil. 1.14 about Hannibal's intentions to open up the citadel of Rome, thus creating metapoetic allusions regarding the beginning of the epic. It can itself connote prophecy (*OLD* 4b), and indeed does so at 7.436, prior to a speech in which the *uates* Proteus foretells the future of Rome and predicts Scipio's victory on enemy soil. Also, at *Aen*. 8.244 Evander likens Hercules' heroic uncovering of the monstrous Cacus' lair to the revelation of hell. Given the parallels between Silius' Scipio and Hercules, we may pursue this intertextual connection by comparing Scipio's campaign against the excessive power and weapons (Sil. 17.619-20 *iura improba…armaque*) of perfidious Carthage with Hercules' assault on the cave of Cacus, whose name more than hints at his ethical status. Ennius' *nos ausi reserare* at *Ann*. 7.210 Skutsch comes at the beginning of his account of Hannibal's invasion of Italy and also works metapoetically. *Temerare* (500) and *reserare* (501) are skilfully opposed to the *secreta deum* (501) and to the Alps (502 *negatae gressibus humanis*). The idea that Hannibal with his Carthaginian army seems to disrupt the world's order is again apparent.

503. acies propere retro exanimata ruebat: the military power of the leader caused terror and fear to the soldiers and they are retreating in disarray, as had happened at 472-3 when Hannibal entered the battle and caused the enemy to flee.

504-8. **haud secus…Vulcania pestis│…in urbe:** the second simile of this passage ends the section. The simile compares the fear of Scipio's military force to the fear of a city destroyed by fire. It takes the reader back to Hannibal's *aristeia* (474-8) where Silius portrays him terrifying the army with his fierce light and fire, a simile that inaugurates Hannibal's *aristeia*, whereas now, this simile concludes Scipio's *aristeia*, which for Burck (1984: 160) also illustrates the end of the war. Vulcan is the protagonist in the simile here, working as a metonymy of fire, exactly as Mars played an important role in Hannibal's simile, working as a metonymy of war. On a different level, fire has a cathartic character which gives the sense that Scipio's appearance on the battlefield has a purifying purpose; Scipio is trying to purify the world stained by Hannibal's war. The simile seems to change from being about a general city on fire to being about a captured city. War is very often compared to fire, because this is what happens when a city is captured after losing a war. As a city on fire suggests an end (Spaltenstein 1990: 478), then the end of our story is approaching. The simile in which Scipio is described as a plague (*haud secus…Vulcania pestis*) seems to embed another simile, comparing the panic and chaos of a captured city (*ut capta…in urbe*). Therefore, what Silius probably sees here is that the chaos and terror of a city on fire are narrowed down to a captured city; the imagery clearly recalls *Aen.* 4.669-71, where the lament over Dido's suicide compares her death to the sack of Carthage, and also *Il*. 22.410-11 when the lament for the dead Hector is described as if Troy were on fire from the top to the bottom. Dido's and Hector's deaths signify the destruction of the city, whereas in Silius this simile works in a reverse way: the destruction of the city anticipates Hannibal's extinction. Silius resorts to a similar simile a few lines later, at 592-6, where he compares the Carthaginian flight after their defeat at the battle of Zama to a fiery event, the eruption of Vesuvius in particular (594 *Vulcania pestis*) which is poured all over sea and land; for analysis see comment on 592-6. The image of battle as a forest fire that happens later, occurs at *Il*. 11.155-8 when Agamemnon attacks like a forest fire; at 15.605-8 when Hector's fierce madness is compared to Ares and a forest fire. Other examples occur at *Il*. 17.736-41; 20.490-4. The image of a city in flames might also bring to mind the first outbreak of fire in Titus' Rome,

which happened on the anniversary of the capture and burning of Rome by the Senones (see Tac. *Ann*. 15.41 *Sextiles principium incendii huius ortum, quo et Seneones captam urbem inflammauerint*).

506. uolucres spargit per culmina flammas: some elements of this phrase occurred earlier in the book when Silius had described a real fire, the moment that Syphax's camp is being burnt (17.95 *fumos uolucri propellunt lumine flammae*). The swift flames seem to be an imitation of Lucretius' swift flames at 6.688 (*excussit calidum flammis uelocibus ignem*), when he describes the devastating action of a fire in his description of a volcanic eruption (for the reference see Spaltenstein 1990: 453). In epic poetry, the force with which an enemy approaches is often compared to the power of natural phenomena: see for example *Il*. 2.780-5 where the force with which the Greek army approaches the Trojan camp is compared to an earthquake.

508. ut capta…trepidatur in urbe: in the previous lines, Silius compared the havoc caused by Scipio on the battlefield to the horrors associated with the capture of a city. The scene of a captured city was one of the favourite themes of Hellenistic historians, which provided them with the opportunity to show their skills in *enargeia* and the description of the *pathe* (see Paul 1982: 145). Silius may have been influenced either by Livy's descriptions of a captured city or by Ennius who was inspired by Hellenistic historiography and shaped Virgil's description of Troy in flames in *Aen*. 2 (see Norden 1915: 156-7). For a detailed analysis of the 'siege of a city' as an ancient literary motif, see Paul (1982). The verb *trepido*, a word which also belongs to the Sallustian vocabulary of fear (see *Jug*. 38.4-5; 67.1), intensifies the image of horror. It is important for us to see how the idea of *urbs capta* is incorporated in a simile, since there is no real *urbs capta*-description regarding Scipio's sack of Carthage at the end of the epic. The compressed image of the *urbs capta* is an additional element in the argument regarding the compressed narrative of book 17 (see Introduction, section 2.1.2).

2.B.c. 509 – 521: Scipio looks to confront Hannibal

This passage focuses on Hannibal's value for Carthage and for the outcome of the war. Silius clearly indicates that Scipio is deliberately looking to confront Hannibal as he is the originator of the war (511) and the bastion of his city: if he exterminates Hannibal, then the war is over; if Hannibal still remains alive, then all the other victories are insiginificant (512-6). This episode prepares the reader for the forthcoming (sham) battle of Hannibal and Scipio, and also implies that the end of Hannibal brings the end of the war (and thus the epic). Metapoetically, Silius implies how significant Hannibal's character is for the progress of his epic; for Silius' identification with Hannibal, as his main protagonist, see Introduction, 3.3.

509. cunctari taedet: Scipio has spent his time killing Carthaginian soldiers, but his principal ardent desire is to confront Hannibal. On a metapoetic level, Silius acknowledges the delay in his narrative in providing the final encounter between the two leaders. The use of *tandem* at 512 reveals that the poet stresses this idea of delay even more.

509-10. dispersa uirorum │ proelia sectantem: it continues the idea described in the previous lines regarding the varied images of death (481 *aspera pugna nouas uaria sub imagine leti│dat formas*) that Scipio spreads in battle (482-5 *hic…hic…ast hos…horum…uirtus*). The frequentative use of the word *sector* shows the ongoing slaughters coming from his *aristeia*.

510. leuiori Marte teneri: Scipio's glory will come only when he confronts Hannibal. There is a similar expression at 4.265 *uulgum Martemque minorem* when Scipio also declares his wish to confront enemies of greater importance; for relevant expressions see *pugnam minorem* at *Aen*. 12.560. Silius here shows a generic desire to make epic even more serious; see for example at Ov. *Met*. 3.305-307 where Jupiter is attacking Semele with his lighter thunderbolt, and this is an implication that Ovid's lighter thunderbolt works metapoetically as a lighter form of epic.

511. causam belli auctoremque malorum: in Scipio's mind, Hannibal is the initiator of the war and the cause of all disasters. *Auctor* has the meaning of 'originator' but

also implicates the author of a literary work (see *OLD* 9 and 10). Here it works metapoetically: Scipio's desire to find Hannibal indicates Scipio's desire to eradicate Hannibal as the initiator of the war (and of the epic) and put his own signature on events by becoming the author of the closure of this war (and thus of the epic). On a second level, Hannibal being the cause over which the war is fought might remind us of Helen of Troy as the cause of the Trojan War; this contributes to the recurring tendency of the text to associate Hannibal with feminine characters, such as Juno, Dido, Tisiphone; for Hannibal's feminisation, especially towards the end of the epic, see Introduction, section 2.2.2.

512-6. Hannibal unus│dum restet, non, …│profectum Latio. contra, si concidat unus,│nequiquam fore Agenoreis cuncta arma uirosque: as long as Hannibal is alive, there will be no satisfaction in Roman hearts, and the Romans will never be free from fear, as the prophecy of the oracle at the end of *Punica* 3 had indicated (3.711-2). Scipio is now looking for the single specific adversary, and in this he resembles Aeneas at *Aen*. 12.466-7 (*solum densa in caligine Turnum│uestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit*), and also Theseus at *Theb*. 12.752-3 (*sed solum uotis, solum clamore tremendo│omnibus in turmis optat uocitatque Creonta*) who both look for direct confrontation with Turnus and Creon respectively. In the course of the battle Scipio seeks out Hannibal because he knows the fortunes of Carthage ride on those of this one man (*unus…unus*…). Hannibal is *unus pro omnibus*, "an individual who stands for the totality of his people and is responsible for their fortunes" (Hardie 1993: 44). Carthage is exclusively dependent on this man (see Sil. 17.149-50; 197-8) as he is the sole guarantor of her destiny; for Hannibal as the "synecdohic hero", see Hardie 1993: 8-10; 50-1, Von Albrecht 1964: 47, Stocks 2014: 200-1, Marks 2005: 78-81. **Agenoreis cuncta arma uirosque:** the phrase can work metapoetically as the death of the leader will signifies the end of the war and thus the end of the epic that will happen later in the poem; see 7-8 *tot in agmina solus│ibat et in sese cuncta arma uirosque gerebat* where Fabius becomes the embodiment of the whole epic. The juxtaposition of *arma* and *uiros* recalls the proem of the epic and of course the opening verses of the *Aeneid*. In his study on the phrase *arma uirosque* throughout the *Punica*, Landrey has observed that there are three contexts in which the *Punica* often recalls the *Aeneid's* proem: when anticipating battle, narrating carnage, or reminding readers of combat's aftermath (see Landrey 2014: 614-5). Here, the context applies to all three

cases where there is a description of a battle but also the reader anticipates the main battle between Hannibal and Scipio, and at the same time is reminded about the outcome of the war if Hannibal dies. The context loaded with metapoetic significance makes it seem natural to refer to the very beginning of the *Aeneid*, as Silius refers to the end of his epic and this epic cycle he creates with the Virgilian epic throughout the *Punica*.

513-4. si muris Carthaginis ignis│subdatur: indeed, Carthage will be utterly destroyed, and her walls will be in flames during the Third Punic War, at the hands of Scipio Aemilianus (see Plb. 36, App. *Pun*. 27.131). Hannibal will also escape and will survive until he decides to end his own life. Therefore, the conditional clause *si* implies the reality of the story.

515. si concidat unus: the verb *concidat* has occurred before to signify the fall of Hannibal in *Punica* 12 where the Romans pray to Jupiter to slay him with his thunderbolt: (644-5) *da, pater, ut sacro Libys inter proelia telo│concidat*.

517-8. lustrans circumfert lumina… │rimaturque: Scipio seeks Hannibal carefully on the battlefield with his powerful gaze; on Scipio's powerful and penetrative gaze in the final book of the *Punica*, see Lovatt 2013: 321-3. Silius creates a pleonastic way of describing Scipio's gaze, using four different words denoting 'examine'. Paulus also looks for Hannibal in the same way (10.43 *lustrans*). The verb *rimatur*, meaning 'to scrutinize carefully', expressively shows the continuous thought of the dictator in search for the right tactics (see Ariemma 2000: 111); at 8.314 it is used to create a contrast with Varro's recklessness. A similar description can be found for Hannibal at 12.66 when he is at the gates of Napoli.

519-20. cuperet uiro concurrere tota│ spectante Ausonia: Scipio's desire to meet Hannibal with all Italy watching also reveals his "acute consciousness of his image as national hero" (Tipping 2011: 181); see also Turnus at *Aen*. 12.216 where the Rutulians are the audience of the final combat of Aeneas-Turnus. The existence of an audience can help history to create (or destroy) mythical heroes (see Stocks 2014: 214). However, Scipio's desire to meet Hannibal will never be achieved, as Juno will intervene in the lines immediately afterwards and change the course of the battle.

520-1. clamore feroci│…increpitans: a few lines previously, it was Laelius who taunted the Bruttians (17.433 *Laelius increpitans*); now we are witnessing the apparent

fury of the Roman leader. The image recalls *Il.* 18.202-42 where Achilles shouts to the Trojans and fills them with dread and panic. *Increpitans* is also associated with Juno in Sil. 2.528 and Statius' Tisiphone at *Theb*. 11.482 (see also comment on line 17.433).

521. noua proelia poscit: this is a common epic phrase for urging someone to join battle; the phrase recalls 1.482-487 (483 *mens olim proelia poscit*) when Murrus longs for combat with Hannibal; Marcellus also at 12.198 challenges Hannibal to single combat (*Marcellus proelia posco*) the moment before Juno saves Hannibal from the battle. In the same passage in book 12, a few lines later, Marcellus had been associated with Mars, an association that creates connections between Scipio and Marcellus as Hannibal's persecutors. The phrase also occurs at *Aen*. 12.467 when Turnus demands Aeneas for combat (*solum in certamina poscit*).

C. 522 – 624: Juno's trick brings the end of the war

C.a. 522 – 547: Juno conjures a likeness of Scipio. The sham battle

During the divine dialogue regarding the future of Carthage and Hannibal, Jupiter promised Juno that she could save Hannibal's life by snatching him away from the battle with Scipio (17.382 *nunc instanti raptum auehe leto*). Scipio's zeal in seeking Hannibal now prompts Juno to intervene, remove the Carthaginian leader from the battlefield, and create a sham battle with a false image of the Roman leader. By removing Hannibal from the conflict, Juno also removes him from the public eye and thus disempowers him (see Stocks 2013: 215 who analyses how the audience gives validity and power to Hannibal's mythic identity). This new episode that describes Hannibal's abduction from the battle is divided into two parts: the first one (522-47) describes Juno shaping a likeness of Scipio and his horse, with which Hannibal will fight; the sham battle begins but the likeness of Scipio immediately disappears; the second one (548-66) describes Hannibal's despair and his lament to the Gods.

Juno's intervention in the epic contributes to grand scenarios on the battlefield, as at 10.45-8 when Paulus looks for an opportunity to kill Hannibal at Cannae, and at 10.83-

90 when Juno disguises herself as the Carthaginian Gelesta to urge Hannibal to kill Paulus. Silius is now inspired by *Aen*. 10.633-88, where Juno creates a false image of Aeneas in order to remove Turnus from the battle; on reading Turnus in Hannibal, see Klaassen 2010: 99-112 and Tipping 2010: 81-89. Juno in the *Aeneid* and in the *Punica* "steals" a trick from Apollo and Venus and reuses the phantom-hero ploy from *Iliad* 5.449-53, where Apollo formed a phantom in Aeneas' likeness, armed like him, in order to defend Aeneas from Diomedes' attacks. By using and readapting the motif of the effigy, Silius creates a link with the preceding tradition that he builds on and interacts dynamically with it. Juno's interventions as part of the divine machinery in the *Punica* have been analysed in the Introduction, section 2.2.1.

The deception of Turnus is a delay to the *Aeneid*'s outcome, prolonging the moment when Aeneas and Turnus will meet in battle at the end of book 12. In the *Punica*, the replica scene occurs at the end of the epic so that, rather than delaying the narrative, it postpones its conclusion indefinitely; Hannibal will flee and there will be no duel. Yet, as with Turnus, this scene is the means by which Juno saves Hannibal from the impending death (17.382 *instanti…leto*) forewarned by Jupiter (17.382-4). The essential difference is that whilst Hannibal and Turnus are both saved from imminent danger, Turnus' ultimate fate is only delayed, whereas Hannibal survives the particular epic, thus allowing poets to revisit indefinitely his death (which does not happen in battle), and use him as a scarecrow for future Roman wars. This idea contributes to the open-endedness of the epic which is analysed on section 2.1.4 of the Introduction.

522. conterrita Juno: terrified Juno intervenes in the narrative to save Hannibal. Juno shares the same anxiety with Venus at 17.283 (*Venus…conterrita*) who had intervened when Hannibal was in danger at sea and she felt afraid that he would be killed by a storm and not by the Romans. Both divine interventions are triggered by anxiety for Hannibal's life: Juno desires Hannibal's permanent survival whereas Venus simply asks for a delay of his death so that he will be utterly defeated in Roman hands. Juno being terrified by the prospect of a duel between Hannibal and Scipio which would cause her protégé's death recalls *conterrita* Amata in *Aeneid* 12, when she finds out the prospect of a single combat between Turnus and Aeneas and the possible scenario of her potential son-in-law's death (12.54 *at regina noua pugnae conterrita sorte*│*flebat*).

523. impauidas ad aures: the fearless ears indicate a fearless leader (hypallage): although Juno is afraid about Hannibal's fate, the hero himself is unafraid. Hannibal's audacity is here undermined by his ignorance that "Jupiter, fate and history demand that he lose" (Ganiban 2010: 96). Turnus is also described as *impauidus* in the introductory lines of *Aen*. 12 where he is compared to a Punic lion (12.8); for the word *impauidus* occurring mostly for animals, see *TLL* vii/1. 527. 24-6. For Hannibal having animal-like features, see comment on 447-9 where he is compared to a snake, and also in the Introduction, section 2.2.3. Homer often compares the violence of an epic hero to the wrath of an angry lion: see for example at *Il*. 5.160-1 for Diomedes, at *Il*. 12.41-8 for Hector, at 20.164-73 for Achilles. On how often epic heroes since Homer are compared to wild animals, especially lions and bulls, see Stephens (1990).

524-5. Latiam effigiem informat…coruscis│attollit cristis: *effigies* is used for the phantom of Scipio, whereas *umbra* describes that of Aeneas at *Aen.* 10.636. The word *effigies* in its meaning of 'likeness' also works metapoetically: Silius acknowledges that the imitation of Scipio for Hannibal imitates a Roman (*Latiam*) corresponding episode, the one from *Aeneid* 10; the copy of Scipio is a reference to the copy passage of the *Aeneid,* from which Silius draws inspiration to write this particular episode. **coruscis…cristis:** the phantom of Scipio has to be similar to the real appearance of Scipio at his last meeting with Hannibal at 17.392-8 in order to be plausible; for this reason, the adjective *coruscus* implying lightning, reminds us of the flaming appearance of Scipio at 395 *ardenti radiabat Scipio cocco* and 398 *flammam ingentem frons alta uomebat*. However, it is noteworthy that the vocabulary is here reminiscent of Hannibal's appearance in the *Punica*; the glittering crest (*coruscis cristis*) and the shield (525 *clipeum*) of the likeness of Scipio recalls Hannibal's shield and helmet at 2.397-8 (*galeamque coruscis│subnixam cristis*) and at 17.392-3 *excelsumque caput penna nutante leuabat│crista rubens*, which indicates that, for one more time, the two leaders are presented as interchangeable.

525-6. clipeumque iubasque│Romulei ducis: the likeness of Scipio that Juno fashions is similar to that of Aeneas: both are given a shield and a helmet (see *Aen*. 10.638 *clipeumque iubasque*), but although the fake Aeneas is akin to the divine (*Aen*. 10.639 *clipeumque iubasque│diuini adsimulat capitis*), the fake Scipio is a mere Roman leader. The use of "Romulean" creates a link back to the foundation of Rome (see Stocks 2014: 64). The effigy seems to move in between the Libyan leader and the

Roman: line 523 begins with *Libyci ducis*, and line 526 begins with *Romulei ducis*, and in the lines between them there is the description of the effigy created by Juno. In both epics each phrase appears in the same metrical position. There is a metapoetic significance to this repetition: instead of inventing a new image, Juno (and Silius) imitates the Virgilian one which has proved successful in the *Aeneid.*

526-7. umeris… │ fulgentis saguli: the glowing *sagulum* in which Juno dresses the phantom-Scipio can be connected to the blood-red ancestral *sagulum* which Scipio's father, the consul, wears at Sil. 4.516-7. Spaltenstein (1986: 308) associates the *sagulum* with the *paludamentum*, the red cloak that the consuls used to wear in military campaigns. This image of Scipio confirms his status as consul of the Roman Republic during the battle of Zama. Scipio was elected consul in 205 BC for the first time in the fourteenth year of the Punic War (Liv. 28.38) and in 194 BC for the second time (Liv. 34.42.3).

527. dat gressum habitusque cientis │ proelia: the similarity with the *Aeneid* extends to the gait of the two commanders: see *Aen*. 10.640 *gressusque effingit euntis*. Scipio's phantom imitates real Scipio's characteristic of rousing battles, as described earlier at 521 *proelia poscit*.

528. audaces adicit sine corpore motus: the effigy is bodiless whereas Aeneas' phantom is given empty words without sense (*Aen*. 10.640 *sine mente sonum*). At *Aen*. 12.503 *motus* has the sense of upheaval and it applies to both civil and foreign wars (see Tarrant 2012: 221), something that reminds us of the description of the Punic wars as a great upheaval, as announced by Silius in the proem of the epic (1.20 *magni…primordia motus*). The word *audax* encompasses here the idea of heroism but also has political connotations and signifies subversion: in Cicero, the word is applied to those who subvert the established order by violence (*Sest*. 86 *oportere hominum audacium, euersorum rei publicae sceleri legibus et iudiciis resistere*). Turnus is often called *audax* in the *Aeneid* (7.409, 9.3; 126). The same characterization applies to Pallas, who causes his own destruction when he participates in battle defying danger (*Aen*. 8.110). Therefore, *audaces* are often characters associated with destruction and chaos; in this sense, the bold movement of the effigy will eventually disturb the narrative and upset the outcome of the war, and eventually will drive Hannibal out of the epic action.

529. tum par effigies fallacis imagine uana: Silius amplifies the theme of trickery identified in the *Aeneid*, by adding to the deceit of the phantom that of a fake horse (see Spaltenstein 1990: 478), the one that will lead Hannibal towards battle with the false Scipio. In fact, *par* works as Silius' self-conscious comment on this additional trick that again reveals the poet's humour: Scipio's case is not equal (in the sense of similar) to Aeneas', but there is an additional element used. Silius' intention is not only to prove himself as an epic successor of Virgil but also to demonstrate signs of progress on and development of the techniques of his epic predecessors.

529-31. effigies fallacis imagine uana│…deuia passu│…ad speciem…umbrae: there is an accumulation of words indicating "deceit" which contributes to the blurriness that the image of the effigy and its horse creates, and prepares the reader for the sham battle. The meaning of the line here is for the reader to clarify that this is an imitation of battle, and not the real one. See also the alternative *fallax…simulacrum* on line 547.

531. belligerae…umbrae: it is Scipio the effigy provoking Hannibal for battle, as the effigy of Aeneas had happily rushed upon Turnus (10.643 *at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago*).

532. exsultat: the effigy's attitude is very confident, as it had already been described at 17.528 (*audaces…motus*). The verb *exsulto* in the *Punica* occurs at 7.376 to describe the audacious escape of the Carthaginian army, and at 10.299 to describe Iertes' triumphant movement as he goes to kill Paulus. The corresponding passage from the *Aeneid* is very similar: 10.643 *at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago*.

533. Scipio Iunoni simulatus tela coruscat: The dative *Iunoni* as a complement of *simulatus* gives the sense that the effigy resembles Juno, as the verb *simulor* with dative has the meaning of make similar in appearance to the person the dative case indicates (*OLD* 7). Also, the juxtaposition of Scipio-the-effigy and Juno, its creator, reveals similarly their close relationship. It seems that Juno is in the guise of Scipio and is moving the effigy resembling her own style. The ablative *Iunone* which the achetype ω gives as a complement of *simulatus*, although seems plausible signifying the ablative of agent, it does not fit in the scansion.

Scipio the effigy brandishes his weapon (*tela coruscat*), a movement that will be copied by Hannibal a few lines later at 537 when he will hurl his hostile javelin (*iacit*

aduersam…hastam). Apart from his glittering crest described earlier (524), he also has glittering weapons. The word *coruscat* creates a glittering image that suggests an attractive play of light, a way that Juno ensures the effigy gains Hannibal's attention.

534-5. at uiso laetus rectore ante ora Latino │et tandem propius sperans ingentia Poenus: Silius here refers to Hannibal and Scipio by their ethnic origins: *Latino – Poenus*. He also puts the terms for the two leaders at the end of each line, giving thus emphasis and a strong antithesis between them. **uiso…ante ora**: there is a strong emphasis on viewing here; it is not the real face of Scipio that Hannibal sees in front of him, but a vision. **laetus**: Hannibal is happy to see Scipio in front of him. This image recalls Scipio at 17.489 when he was compared to bloodthirsty Mars rejoicing in the slaughter (*laetus caede*). Now, it is Hannibal who is happy about the moment for which he has waited for many years – the opportunity to fight with and kill Scipio. At *Aen*. 10.643 the image of Aeneas is also happy when he taunts Turnus (*laeta…imago*). He thus matches the exultant effigy. **tandem**: it has ironic implications, since the reader knows that there will be another postponement again in this battle with Scipio. **propius sperans**: for the phrase, see the similarity with Sil. 1.32 *propius metuens* (Spaltenstein 1990: 479), when Juno after feeling the Roman threat, inspired the Carthaginians to initiate the war. **ingentia:** Hannibal is waiting for a combat at close quarters and this would be the greatest prize for him. The word gives a metapoetic meaning to the phrase, underlining the epic and serious nature of their potential encounter. It also has implications regarding the prolongation of the epic.

536-7. citus…uelocia membra │…properati turbinis: the plot moves very fast: Juno quickly creates the effigy (524 *propereque*, 530 *cito*) and Hannibal immediately jumps on his horse to chase after it. The accumulation of words indicating speed and velocity complicates the meaning and the word order in the syntax. As the epic moves towards its end, it would be normal for Silius to accelerate the action of the narrative; instead, he is delaying it with the effigy motif; there is a clear irony here the emphasis on speed interacts with the motif of the effigy that is associated with delay. **uelocia membra**: Hannibal's swift limbs are already famous at 2.212 *membris uelocibus* when he is moving to kill Theron. The epithet assimilates Hannibal to swift-footed Achilles (see, for example, *Il*. 1.58; 121, 2.860, 19.295).

538. campo fugiens uolat ales imago: the effigy here is a fleeting image and recalls Hannibal in the final lines of the epic at 644 *uisa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago*, whom Juno will snatch away from the battlefield and in so doing make him look like a fugitive. The effigy escapes from the battlefield in the same way Aeneas' effigy flees from Turnus (*Aen*. 10. 656-7 *huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago*│*conicit in latebras*). The accumulation of words of fleeing imply that Hannibal's flight has been transferred to the image. The swift way the effigy leaves the battlefield is described in such a way to recall the speed of the gods leaving the battlefield in the *Iliad* after their intervention which is compared to a bird's speed (see characteristically *Il*. 13.62-5 for Poseidon, 15.80-3 for Hera, 19. 350-2 for Athena, *Od*. 1.320; 3.370-3 for Athena, 5.50-2 for Hermes), thus revealing the divine character of Scipio's effigy.

539-40. ut uictor et alti│iam compos uoti: there is dramatic irony here: Hannibal feels like a *uictor* but he is not. **compos uoti:** a formulaic phrase with religious nuances, as it expresses gratitude for prayers granted, referring to someone who has obtained his desire/wish (see Hor. *Ars* 76 for the elegiac metre as an expression of votive offerings). The phrase engages, in my view, intertextually with *Aen*. 10.279-80 and the phrase *'quod uotis optastis adest, perfringere dextra.*│*in manibus Mars ipse uiris…'*, when Turnus arouses his army to fight the battle that they have long wished for: to fight with Aeneas. This is a similar case: what Hannibal has prayed/vowed for – to fight with Scipio – is no longer in his *uotis*; it has been granted and is in front of him – or at least, he *thinks* it is in front of him. Therefore, Hannibal now feels like (*ut*…) a *compos uoti*, condemned (to payment) of his fulfilled vow. He jumps into the battle as he feels that the opportunity for him to be victorious and, at the same time, to unleash his vow towards Dido has now come.

541. largas Poenus quatit asper habenas: this phrase creates a cosmic context and gives Hannibal cosmic powers. The verb *quatior* is often used for earthquakes: see Ovid *Met*. 12.521, Lucr. 6.667, Prop. 4.4.10. More importantly, it is used at Lucr. 2.330 when the philosopher describes a mock battle on the plains in order to prove the seeming stillness of the universe. The adjective *largas* gives the sense of having a loose power: he has generous reins instead of specific control, of which Juno is in charge. The phrase *quatit habenas* belongs to the vocabulary of horse-riding, meaning to govern the reins; see, for example, Sen. *Phaed*. 1006, Stat. *Theb*. 10.218, Sil.

16.439. For the epic meaning and frequency of verbs that mean ‘shake, toss’, see Göerler (1999).

542. Quo fugis oblitus nostris te cedere regnis?: the focus is upon Hannibal’s frustrated reaction, and he will chase after the phantom-Scipio on his horse saying that there is no hiding place for him in Libya. There is the same phraseology for Turnus who makes a similar complaint when he sees the Aeneas-idol vanishing at *Aen*. 10.648-*9 quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;*│*hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas*. The complaint of a hero when the shade – human or divine – vanishes is a very common pattern in epic; see for example Aeneas’ speech to Venus at 1.407-9, to Anchises at *Aen*. 5.741, and to Dido at 6.466. **nostris…regnis**: the plural may be justified because Hannibal acknowledges that the two leaders fight for the same kingdom. The phrase is a clear irony since soon Scipio will be the ruler of Africa, but the assimilation of the two nations under one kingdom has subconsciously started (see Introduction, section 2.2.3).

543. nulla tibi Libyca latebra est…terra: the phrase sounds ironic since at the end of the epic it will be Hannibal looking for a hiding place in his attempt to escape from the battle (17.617 *petit…latebras*). **latebra**: the word is used for a serpent’s hiding-place (see Luc. 9.837, Ovid *Met*. 4.601, Tib. 3.9.9 for a wild beast’s lair in general), which gives the impression that Hannibal implies Scipio Africanus’ characteristic as a serpent’s son. For Scipio’s snake-paternity, see Introduction, section 2.2.3.

545-6. longinquo frustratum duxit in arua│**diuersa spatio procul a certamine pugnae**: this is a pleonastic way to signify that the idol led Hannibal very far away from the battlefield. A number of words also allow a sense of space to be created between *longinquo* and *procul* thereby enacting what the words mean. **frustratum**: it is the image that leaves Hannibal deceived away from the battle; the change of the subject of *duxit* here shows how the idol suddenly takes control, setting aside Hannibal and restricting him to the role of mere object.

547. fallax…simulacrum: the pleonasm here emphasises the visual deception.

C.b. 548 – 566: Hannibal's lament to the Gods

When the idol disappears in front of Hannibal's eyes (532-47), he realises that he has been deceived by the gods who are working in favour of the Romans and made him chase a false image of Scipio. In a monologue, he expresses his despair towards them (548-553), and even more fiercely, rides his horse back to the battlefield. Juno intervenes for a second time by bringing death to his horse (553-7), and that causes a second outburst from Hannibal, in which he bemoans his plight and wishes he had died when he was in danger during the storm in his journey back to Italy (17.218-91). He recalls his fellow soldiers who have been killed during all those years of the war, and when he realises that he has been deserted, he contemplates suicide (561-6).

Hannibal's monologue is clearly modelled on Turnus' monologue when he realises his own deception by the gods at *Aen.* 10.668-79; both heroes share the same frenzy since they faced humiliation by the gods and both complain that they survived previous dangers in order to face an inglorious finale. Juno, who works as a divine aid for both Hannibal and Turnus, has protected their lives so far but seems unable to protect their honour, as both express the same idea of self-destruction. As "Turnus' speech resembles the complaint monologues of frustrated or abandoned heroines such as Medea or Ariadne" (Harrison 1991: 231), Hannibal's emotional condition here – the madness of his illusion, his subsequent regret for his failures, his desire for purification and enthusiasm for suicide (even the thought of it) evoke Dido's erotic frenzy for Aeneas and the termination of her life because of the dishonour of her reputation. Turnus' sister, Juturna, is given a similar emotional complaint at *Aen*. 12.872-84, and she concludes by echoing Turnus' wish for self-destruction. The complaint of a hero after realising the gods' deception also recalls Menelaus' case at *Il.* 3.365-8 when he becomes aware of Aphrodite's intervention to save Paris. Achilles also complains to Zeus at *Il*. 21.272-83 but only because he fears an ignoble death.

A final element that permeates the narrative here is the idea of liquefaction and the subsequent defeat: elements such as water (559 *aequore*, 560 *pelagusque…undae*), air (557 *nubila*), rocks (560 *scopuli*) and fire (566 *feruebat*) show how these four different elements are brought together to visualise Hannibal's defeat.

548. fulmineus ductor: the adjective *fulmineus* is used to describe the speed of an action; see at Sil. 12.461, where the word is used for the lightning speed of a tigress (*fulmineo…cursu*). In the *Thebaid*, it describes Dorylas (2.571) and Tydeus (4.94), and in the *Aeneid*, it describes Mnestheus (9.812). When the word is attributed to Hannibal, it showcases his speed and violence in the war (see, for example, at Sil. 15.664 and 17.474-5). In this passage, Silius calls him *fulmineus* as he wants to stress his anger and eagerness to strike the gods, and most importantly Jupiter with whom the thunderbolt is associated. The passage has an affinity with 17.474-5 where Hannibal's appearance resembling Jupiter confirms the theomachic character of the Punic leader and intensifies the tension between mortal and immortal, one of Silius' main concerns in the *Punica* (for which see Introduction, section 3.3). For the association of Hannibal with Jupiter, see comment on line 474. For an analysis of the word-play between Scipio's name and the name of the Barca, both meaning lightning bolt, see Introduction, section 2.2.3.

548-9. 'quisnam se numine caeco│composuit nobis' inquit 'deus?: from the beginning of the epic until the end, Hannibal seems to be the gods' vehicle whom Juno manipulates and misdirects against the imperial destiny that Jupiter has promised to Rome; see Sil. 1.39 where Juno chooses Hannibal as her ultimate warrior to match against fate (*hunc…solum componere fatis*). The description of Hannibal, who is in despair, complaining that the gods plot and conspire against him, contrasts with his situation a few lines earlier when he was unafraid of Scipio and ready to confront him. The phrasing and the tone of Hannibal's question is reminiscent of Paulus' lament at 9.649 when he is wondering where the change of his fortune has come from (*Parcarumne latens fraus est?*). The alliteration of –c in ***c**aec**o** **c**omposuit* stresses the disguised deception. **numine caeco:** as well as implying 'secret', *caeco* also has the meaning of "misdirected" (*OLD* 3) and "unreasonable" (*OLD* 2) which stress the divine (*numine*) deception here even better. *Caecum* is the typical word for Dido's hidden passion for Aeneas, as it appears in the first lines of *Aeneid* 4 (4.2 *regina…caeco carpitur igni*), which will be later inflamed by a secret divine alliance between Juno and Venus. Hannibal is aware of the way that the gods plot and collude according to their own purposes. **composuit:** the word works metapoetically, indicating that the epic narrative is now composed by Juno. This idea is confirmed

later in the same passage at 17.557 with the phrase *Iunonis curis* again indicating Juno's care for the whole episode. *Componere* is no less a metaliterary term, referring to the composition of a script or a plot, in the case at hand, Jupiter's plot for the conclusion of the Carthaginian war (see at 17.335 *tempus componere gentes*) which Juno wishes to annul by means of a counter-plot of her own. Juno as a poet figure resembles Juturna in *Aeneid* 12, where she is depicted controlling the narrative when she takes control of Turnus' chariot (12.346-72). As Juturna thwarts Aeneas' desire for a Trojan closure of the epic, in the same way Juno intervenes and brings her own closure in this epic. Although Juturna's efforts to control the narrative cause more destruction and confusion, Juno's appearance brings the final resolution to Hannibal's fate. Juno in the *Aeneid* has worked as a force for openness, refusing closure and driving delays, prolonging thus the narrative; here Silius' Juno now prevents the desired epic climax and turns *Aeneid* 12 into *Aeneid* 10; for an analysis of Juturna's role as a poet figure in *Aeneid* 12 see Lovatt 2005: 296-99. **deus**: Hannibal's accusation is towards gods in general and he does not know that, in fact, it is a goddess who has created this deception; being Juno's protégé, he automatically excludes her from the list of the gods who could have caused this deception.

549-50. latet… | …monstro: Hannibal's main question is why the gods who oppose him do not show themselves and choose instead to hide behind a *monstrum*. The word *latet*, together with the word *caeco* in the previous line, stresses the image of concealment. The word *monstrum* indicates the phantom of Scipio, as with the image of Aeneas at *Aen*. 10.637, which is described as *uisu mirabile monstrum*. The word has negative implications, indicating misfortune, and can also be associated with an evil omen, mainly coming from the gods (as at *Aen*. 3.59 *monstra deum refero*). Therefore, the monster that Hannibal sees creates an allusion to the phantom of Aeneas which drew Turnus out of battle. The same word is used by Statius for the creation Apollo sends to cause Polynices' chariot crash and win the chariot race for Amphiaraus at *Theb.* 6.495-6 *anguicomam monstri effigiem, saeuissima uisu | ora*.

550. obstat mea gloria diuis?: Hannibal is wondering what to infer from the latest events; he goes so far that he believes his glory throughout all the years of the war has opposed the gods' plans, an image that depicts him as the ablsolute theomach. However, his thought of suicide at the end of this passage would offer him a more

inglorious death if Juno had not intervened and taken him out of the battle (see 17.569 *ingloria fata*). This line has mimetic word order in which Hannibal's *gloria,* the reputation and glory that he has received from the historiographical accounts, "stands" (or is positioned) before the gods. The general idea that the glory of a race or a hero opposes the glory of the gods is also apparent at *Aen*. 7.58 *sed uariis portenta deum terroribus obstant* for the designs of Turnus and Amata, and at *Aen*. 6.64-5 *dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens*│*gloria Dardaniae* when Aeneas asks Phoebus to give an end to the Trojans' misfortunes as Troy's glory had been an offence to the gods - but now Troy no longer stands in their way. At *Od*. 9.20 Odysseus mourns his sufferings, but he expresses his certainty that his *kleos* reaches the gods. As part of the "supratextual" ring composition between the end of the *Punica* and the beginning of the *Aeneid* (see Introduction, section 2.1.4), there is a close resemblance between this passage here and the plea of Venus to Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1 (229-96), where the goddess is asking for an affirmation of the fact that Aeneas will indeed reach Italy safe, and of the eventual foundation of Rome.

553-4. frena inde citati│conuertit furibundus equi campumque petebat: Hannibal turns the bridle of his horse to return to the battle with Scipio. At *Aen*. 12.326-8 Turnus sees Aeneas wounded and decides to return to battle. Although the phantom episode takes place in *Aeneid* 10, Turnus' decision to return to his duel with Aeneas occurs in *Aeneid* 12 after Juturna has driven his chariot away from the battle, an analogous narrative movement, also caused by Juno. Again, Silius in one episode assimilates Turnus in *Aeneid* 10 and 12 in Hannibal's character. In this way, Silius might have wanted to "correct" Vergil, who divided Turnus' performance in two different books, inserted a full book in between, and in a way undermined its power and impact. **furibundus:** in this passage, there is much emphasis on Hannibal's feelings. As a result of the divine deceit, Hannibal is driven to madness. Hannibal has been saturated with *furor* since his childhood; it has been bequeathed to him by his father, Hamilcar, (Sil. 1.71; 443-4) and also his ancestress Dido, who is called *furibunda* at *Aen*. 4.646, because of the madness of her love, and at Sil. 8.52 (*Dido…festinat furibunda pyram*), 8.96 (*et rursus portus furibunda reuisit*). Silius is being very Virgilian here by using a term that occurs often in the *Aeneid*; the idea of *furor* is applied to maddened Dido at 4.65; 69; 283; 465. Juno and Turnus, and even Aeneas in *Aeneid* 10 and 12 passim, with the final and culminating point at the very end of the epic at 12.946, shortly before

he kills Turnus. With the use in a similar context to in the *Aeneid*, Silius shows excessive emotional expression, which in this particular moment is the fury of Hannibal. *Furor* has civil war connotations (see, for example, how *furor* belongs to Lucan's main concepts in the proem of the *Pharsalia*: 1.8 *Quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?*) because of its irrational and devastating consequences. The epic style of the passage is also intensified by the use of an adjective in *–bundus*, an ending that in the first century BC was considered as belonging to epic, and through Virgil the adjective became typical of Latin epic (see Lipka 2001:6).

555-7. cum subito occultae pestis collapsa tremore │cornipedis moles ruit atque efflauit anhelo │pectore Iunonis curis in nubila uitam: the scene changes suddenly (*subito*) and death interrupts Hannibal's turning of his horse. In the previous lines, at 17.504, the death image with the description of the *Vulcania pestis* was preparing the reader for the forthcoming destruction. Now, it is time for Juno's second intervention (*Iunonis curis*) by killing Hannibal's horse in order to prevent him from riding back to battle. **occultae pestis:** the plague is an artifice covertly created by Juno. Again, the vocabulary of concealment is apparent here and stresses the image of deception. The word *pestis* signifies a fatal disease or generally ruin and destruction (again see the description of the *Vulcania pestis* at 17.504). The horse is now turned into a sacrificial victim about to be slaughtered. Virgil uses *pestis* to describe Dido's feelings for Aeneas at *Aen*. 1.712 and 4.90. It is also employed by Virgil to describe monsters, such as Celaeno (3.215), Allecto (7.505) and the Dirae (12.845; 865). The hidden plague here causes an uncontrolled disaster, the collapse of the horse, which combined with *furor*'s presence described earlier, recalls the presence of Allecto, whom Juno employs in *Aeneid* 7, and possibly now (*Iunonis curis*), to set a civil war in motion. Therefore, we can argue for an evolution of the Virgilian civil-war theme, implications of which we can detect throughout the *Punica*. The motif in which horses fail their riders also occurs in the *Thebaid* as part of the common topos where horses respond to emotional situation of the narrative or reflect their rider's emotions; see, for example, *Theb*. 9.204, where Hippomedon is wounded, leaves his own horse, and takes charge of Tydeus' frenzied horse. From a metapoetic point of view, the horses belong to the poet's chariot, a metaphor for a poet to claim victory in the race against his competitors (see, for example, *Silu*. 4.7 where Statius represents his own poetry as chariot racing). The idea that the chariot is a metaphor for poetry is as early as Pindar;

see for example, Pindar's *I*. 8, *P*. 1.43-5, *N*. 4.4-5, 7.70-72, 10.20). In this sense, the horses symbolises the poet's inspiration and the poet's madness that must be controlled in the narrative. The *furor*-inspired imagination for the description of this passage causes Silius poetic frenzy. For athletic games and poetic competition and metaphors, see Simpson (1969) with a primary focus on Pindar, and Lovatt 2005: 23-5; 32-40; 109. **efflauit…uitam**: there is similar imagery at 14.602 (*efflatus spiritus*) when the plague is spread on the camp and the breath of the soldiers comes out as hot as fire.

558-9. uestra est haec altera, uestra│fraus,' inquit 'superi. non fallitis: having recognised the gods' intervention that caused his horse's death, Hannibal now turns his anger against them. His speech is short and full of anger and the repetition of the word *uestra* gives further emphasis to his words. A similar cry is shouted out by Hector at *Il*. 22.299 when he realizes Athena's deception disguised as Deiphobos (*ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαπάτησεν Ἀθήνη*), and by Aeneas at *Aen*. 1.407-8 where he complains that Venus always deceives him with false phantoms (*quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis│ludis imaginibus?*). Whereas Hector and Aeneas know exactly which god is responsible for their deception, Hannibal's complaint is directed towards the gods in general, without being aware of the secret divine plan for his rescue; for Hannibal's theomachic speech in the final book of the epic, see Chaudhuri 2014: 251-5. In the previous passage Juno's actions towards Hannibal were reminiscent of Juturna's actions in *Aen*. 12 towards Turnus, where the goddesses took control in the epic narrative. Now, Hannibal's cry echoes Juturna's words at *Aen*. 12.877 *nec fallunt iussa superba│magnanimi Iouis* when she recognises the divine deception. Hannibal combines both Turnus and Juturna from *Aeneid* 12. **non fallitis:** Silius will use the same verb later at 17.579 (*Iuno…fallens*) to describe Juno disguised as a shepherd. Although it seems that the gods have deceived Hannibal by depriving him of the chance to fight, Hamilcar's certainty at Sil. 13.746, that his son will never deceive the gods to whom he had sworn eternal enmity with Rome, is expressed in the same phraseology and sounds ironic as he is now being deceived by them: *puer…licitum nec fallere diuos iuratos patri*. To take this one step further, Hannibal's cry towards the gods can be longstanding, implying the situation in general and the idea of the deception within the whole epic that he will be victorious: from the beginning of the epic Hannibal has been receiving deceptive or misleading prophecies and also has

false expectations regarding his future victory over the Romans (see for example 1.123-39, 3.163-221). He resembles Aeneas in the *Aeneid* who is deceived about his own long-term survival and life and at the end, he will not see the results of his success. For analysis of Aeneas' deceptive prophecies throughout the *Aeneid*, see O' Hara (1990).

559-61. aequore mersum│texissent scopuli, pelagusque hausisset et undae!: Hannibal's thoughts recall the storm episode at the beginning of book 17 (244-5 *aequora surgunt│spumea et inlisu scopulus tremit omnis aquarum*), where in a monologue, he had expressed his fear of an inglorious death at sea, and not on the battlefield (17.259-67). At this moment, he wishes to have been drowned in that previous episode in order not to face the humiliating end he is facing at this particular moment. The tone has changed from the immediate previous line: despair has replaced his anger. Hannibal's shout is reminiscent of that of Turnus (12.778-9), since their cries happen at the same narrative point – when they realise that their opponent in battle has vanished and that all this was a trick from the gods. In epic, the image of a hero who is at sea and about to drown but would prefer to die on the battlefield occur very often (see Achilles at *Il*. 21.269-83; Odysseus at *Od*. 5.308-10; Aeneas at *Aen*. 1.94-101; Caesar at Luc. 5.668-71), but here Silius gives the reversed image, that of a hero who is out of battle but would rather have died at sea than be removed from battle. Hannibal's wish to have died in the middle of a shipwreck echoes Ovid's Diomedes' cry of envy of those died in the middle of the sea at *Met*. 14.480-2. Therefore, at the beginning of book 17, Hannibal's cry recalls Aeneas in *Aeneid* 1, whereas at the end of book 17, Hannibal's cry is reversed and recalls Diomedes in Ovid's "little *Aeneid*" (*Met*. 13.623-14.608). Silius' intertextual references from the first book of the *Aeneid* and the closure of Ovid's "little *Aeneid*" reveals his playful engagement with intertextuality, as he brings his epic towards its closure.

561. anne huic seruabar leto?: Hannibal's question whether he was saved from imminent death at sea in order to die ingloriously, resembles Scipio's same question to the gods at Sil. 4.671-2 expressing his fear of his death by the river god (*talin me leto tanta inter proelia nuper│seruastis?*). Hannibal's question to the gods about why he deserves that kind of death also echoes Turnus' lament at *Aen*. 10.668-70 where he protests to the gods that they have punished him with an undeserving death

(*omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum*│*duxisti et talis uoluisti expendere poenas?*│*quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducit?*). Both heroes are depicted as victims of the gods' plans, which is also intensified by the use of the passive verb *seruabar* uttered by Hannibal and the passive verb *feror* uttered by Turnus. The fear not of a death, but of an ignoble death was also expressed by Achilles at *Il*. 21.272-83.

561-4. mea signa secuti,│quis pugnae auspicium dedimus, caeduntur, et absens│accipio gemitus uocesque ac uerba uocantum│Hannibalem: Hannibal is depicted as having a strong tie with his deceased men that call his name and this is the reason why he feels moved by their cries. This connects him with Turnus who also hears the groans of his deceased men at *Aen*. 10.674-5 (*gemitumque cadentum accipio?*) but contrasts him with his brother Hasdrubal who is described as unmoved by the slaughter of his men at 15.473-4 (*nec caedes extremaue damna mouebant*│*agminis*). **signa secuti… auspicium dedimus:** the flashback to the storm earlier makes him remember the battles and his men that followed him and died throughout the years of war. *Signa* denotes the signal for the battle to begin, which is given by the general: see at 17.340 *signum pugnamque petebant*, and 13.154 *dum daret auspicium iusque in certamina ductor*. **uocantum Hannibalem:** the men calling out his name are alive but abandoned and need his help to fight the battle so that they will not die imminently. There is repetition and alliteration in *gemitus*, *uoces*, *uocantum*, which mimics the repeated calling of his men. It has already been stressed in the epic how important Hannibal's personality is for the whole Carthaginian army; at 16.17-22 (*Hannibalis sat nomen erat*), Hannibal keeps the Carthaginian side together and simply his name is enough to unite and rally disparate and defeated troops. Then, at 17.150-1, it seems that Carthage is dependent on Hannibal alone and his name keeps her from ruin (*tantoque fragore ruentem*│*Hannibal absenti retinebat nomine molem*). At the end of the epic (17.582-3), Hannibal's men will feel frightened by having no sign of him.

564-5. quis…delicta piabit│Tartareus torrens?: it shows Hannibal's regret at his own fate; my interpretation is that *delicta* is from *delinquo* (leave behind) and gives the meaning of 'abandonment' here, instead of a general meaning of "crime". This interpretation is explained by the fact that Hannibal has been taken away from the

battle and his troops, and he feels guilty about the people that he left behind alive, fighting on their own, who must have been killed by now. Whereas Hannibal is in agony about how he will be purged from the crime of abandoning his army, Turnus at *Aen*. 10.674-6 expresses his desire to disappear (*quae iam satis ima dehiscat*│*terra mihi*?), and his words are also echoed by Juturna at *Aen*. 12.883-4. Hannibal will repeat Turnus' wish to disappear a few lines later, at Sil. 17. 607 where he will realise the irreversibility of the situation. For more details, see comment on 606-7.

566. spectabat dextram ac leti feruebat amore: the phrase confirms the prophecy for Hannibal's fate that he will wish that he had fallen by (his) hand at Sil. 2.705 *optabit cecidisse manu*. Scipio attempted to commit suicide in his first appearance on the battlefield at 4.457-59 (*bis conatus erat praecurrere fata parentis*│*conuersa in semet dextra*), whereas Hannibal is contemplating suicide in his final appearance on the battlefield. Hannibal recalls Turnus at *Aen*. 10.680-6, when both find suicide the only solution to escape from a humiliating death. **leti…amore**: Hannibal's thought of suicide may be a result of his despair because his life is not under his control anymore. As McGuire has shown (1997: 186-9), in the Flavian era the act of suicide had been a frequent debate among the Romans in philosophical circles, and authors such as Seneca, Lucan, and Tacitus discussed the popular act of suicide as an act of disobedience to imperial control; see for example Virrius' exhortation to his colleagues to commit suicide so that they preserve *libertas* at Sil. 12.270-2 (see McGuire 1997: 206). Perhaps the love of death was very familiar to Silius himself who also committed suicide as a stoic act towards his incurable illness (Pliny *Ep*. 3.7.1-9).

C.c. 567 – 580: Juno draws Hannibal away from the battle

Juno takes pity upon Hannibal, who contemplates suicide, and in the guise of a shepherd she meets him, feigns ignorance as to his identity and claims to give him directions back to the battle of Zama, though in reality, she misdirects him out of battle. In this pastoral delay within the epic narrative, Silius removes Hannibal from the epic world and places him in the bucolic one. Soon, he will become a spectator of

the battle of Zama before he flees with a group of anonymous soldiers in the following lines (597-617). It is not the first time that Juno has disguised herself and saved Hannibal from imminent death. For divine interventions and specifically for Juno's interventions throughout the epic, see Introduction, section 2.2.1. In an excessive and pleonastic way, typical of the Flavian authors, the scene is a doubling of the previous one: the phantom guided by Juno had led Hannibal away from battle. Now, Juno herself, despite her promise to lead Hannibal back to the battlefield, will lead him again away from the battlefield, on a hill watching the battle from afar. The excessiveness emphasises Hannibal's powerlessness against the divine will, excusing him from the charge of cowardice, and thus can be compared to the complex series of divinely caused events that lead to Aeneas leaving Troy, and the complex causation of Pompey's retreat from Pharsalia; the most immediate parallel is perhaps the various ways that the Furies intervene to force the confrontation between Polynices and Eteocles in Statius *Thebaid* 11, in Adrastus' attempt to take control of the situation. Their intervention becomes more and more direct until it is unavoidable: for example, they are shoving Eteocles physically on a horse, or driving Polynices' arm (see *Theb*. 11.403-6). For an analysis on the Statian passage where the Furies take control of the narrative, see Hardie 1993: 79-80 and Lovatt 2005: 301-5. Ovid and Statius remind us that idyllic landscape often becomes the site for unexpected violence and tragic death (Newlands 2004: 147). Therefore, the pastoral world to which Hannibal withdraws, is transformed into the place of his disempowerment.

Juno's pastoral appearance recalls Venus' appearance as a huntress at *Aen.* 1.305-401, where she approaches Aeneas and Achates in the forest and directs them to Dido's palace. Although Venus in the *Aeneid* aids and encourages Aeneas to continue his journey, Juno in the *Punica* takes the lead through the unknown land, keeps Hannibal away from the battlefield and saves his life against his will. Venus' intervention aims at a clarification of Aeneas' previously confused situation whereas Juno's intervention causes further confusion and deception for Hannibal and ultimately will lead to the annihilation of Carthage since she causes the disappearance of the leader of the army. Similar episodes can be also found at *Od.* 13.219-252, when Athena, disguised as a shepherd, approaches Odysseus and helps him to recognise where he is, and in the last book of the *Iliad,* at 24.334-447, in which Hermes, in human disguise, meets Priam and guides him to Achilles' tent. However, all the above episodes result in positive

situations, but in Hannibal's case, the divine intervention leads to the destruction of Carthage. For the connection of this episode with the Homeric epics, see Juhnke 1972: 219 n.153.

567. Iuno miserata: Juno takes pity upon Hannibal who is ready to commit suicide. This action recalls Juno taking pity upon Turnus who is ready to kill himself at *Aen.* 10.685-6 (*ter conatus utramque uiam, ter maxima Iuno*│*continuit iuuenemque animi miserata repressit*). *Iuno miserata* also is reminiscent of Juno full of pity at the end of *Aeneid* 4 where Juno wants to release Dido from her long suffering and sends Iris to hasten the queen's death (4.693-4 *tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem*│*difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo*). Juno/Hera had also prevented Medea from suicide by making her decide to leave Colchis instead (Apoll. 3.818; 4.11-25). Juno's pity contributes thus to Hannibal's feminisation and recalls Turnus who is equally disempowered and defeated in the corresponding passage of the *Aeneid*.

568. siluis subito…opacis: the woods are shady and dark and thus provide the appropriate hiding place for Hannibal but also help Juno to conceal her identity. Juno's trickery is also described in vocabulary that includes deception and darkness (*opacis* 568, *fallens* 579, *celata* 580), and also speed of action (*subito*), so that Hannibal will not understand what has happened. This also justifies Hannibal's disappearance from his army, reminding one of the case of Aeneas in *Aen.* 2 who shifts the blame to unexpected divine interventions (including the appearance of Venus to turn him away from killing Helen) and to Greek trickery for justifying his failure to die gloriously at Troy. For Aeneas' use of rhetoric to explain that his escape from Troy was neither treacherous nor cowardly, see Powell (2011). In the corresponding episode in the *Odyssey*, Athena has covered Ithaca with a mist (13.189-90). In Ovid, a pastoral setting often sets the scene for deadly episodes. In Statius, the landscapes provide the scenery for a civil war but also the same landscape is itself a victim of destruction (see Newlands 2004: 133). Hannibal here is removed to a shady landscape which will lead to his own disempowerment and Carthage's destruction. On details regarding the metaphorical meaning of *siluae* as "the raw material of a literary work" see comment on 578. **subito**: the adverb occurs three times in the episode of Juno's intervention (lines 522-80): at 547, 555, 568. This shows Juno's prompt action to save Hannibal,

and could also be read metapoetically, to represent Silius' very rushed composition of the episode which contributes to the rushed composition of book 17 in general; for details see Introduction, 2.1.2.

569. uersantem ingloria fata: the meaning of the verb 'turning over again and again', illustrates Hannibal's indecision regarding his suicide: as Juno transforms her identity (*uertitur*), in the same way Hannibal's decision about whether or not to commit suicide is not static. **ingloria fata**: refers to Hannibal's thought of suicide. There is an irony here: at this point in the narrative suicide could be a more glorious death for Hannibal than his survival, as at the end he will become a fugitive, a truly inglorious end. See also the comment on 550 regarding Hannibal's perception of his achievement of his own glory. For Silius' attitude towards suicide, see McGuire 1997: 205-25 and Bernstein 2017: xxxiii-vi.

570-1. te siluis accedere… │armatum: the forest, which is naturally a quiet and tranquil place, has now been violated by Hannibal's weapons.

572. magnus ubi Ausoniae reliquos domat Hannibal: Silius purposely puts the genitive *Ausoniae* in an ambiguous position collocated both with *reliquos* (the Ausonian remnants) and *magnus Hannibal* (the great Hannibal of Ausonia, i.e. Scipio). The counterfactual narrative in 4.730 *Hannibal, Ausoniae si te Fortuna creasset* and 17.404 *Hannibal Ausonia genitus si sede fuisse* implies that Hannibal can be equated to Scipio and vice versa. This line is skilfully created; Juno elaborately reveals the reality to Hannibal that Scipio is dominating the Carthaginians at that moment of the battle, but Hannibal is not able to comprehend the real meaning of her words and falsely believes that his army is dominating the Roman one. For this reason, he immediately accepts Juno's offer and wants to go back to the battle. Once more, Silius creates a blur of syntax so in the mind of the reader Hannibal and Scipio seem indistinguishable. **magnus**: the word recalls Pompey's *cognomen* and reminds the reader of the Lucanian Pompey: both leaders are now shadowed by their name and reputation. For the comparison of Hannibal with Pompey see Introduction, section 2.2.3. **domat**: Hannibal is being tamed by being removed from an epic to a pastoral world. The word applies to the animal kingdom and is often used to bring out Hannibal's bestial nature; for further analysis see comment on 366. The word is also used in book 1 for the description of Hannibal who is compared to the god Mars

(1.436). The idea of 'taming' the enemy instead of 'subjugating' the enemy is a Homeric expression (cf. *δαμάζω* at *Il*. 5.191, 6.368, 22.176).

573-4. si uelox gaudes ire et compendia grata │sunt tibi: the spondaic metre of the line illustrates the slow action which works in the opposite direction of the meaning; Silius knows that Juno's fast action is another kind of delay towards the final moment of the epic and the purpose is to postpone indefinitely Hannibal's return to the deciding conflict. **compendia**: Hannibal understands the word in a way that suggests he could be reading it ambiguously; first, as a "shortcut" which will make him immediately accept Juno's offer and thus facilitate her plan, and second, as "profit", which explains Hannibal's reciprocal offer to Juno in the following lines. However, the word can also indicate that Juno's plan to take Hannibal away from the battlefield will profit him, because she will save his life. At Sil. 12.353 the word is again linked with the meaning of escape through a short cut from the battlefield towards a shady place (*prouisae fugae compendia captans*).

574. uicino in medios te tramite ducam: the phrase echoes *Aen*. 6.675 *facili iam tramite sistam*. The phrase can work metapoetically indicating the fast narrative towards the closure of the epic. *In medios* can also be read metapoetically as a return to the middle of the epic (battle of Cannae) where Hannibal was dominating the battlefield, as much as the middle of the battle. On the relationship between song and narrative as a path see Lovatt 2005: 29-32.

576. patresque…Carthaginis altae: the fathers of high Carthage are the aristocrats. The phrase looks back to 17.371 *do spatium muris…Carthaginis altae,* where Jupiter gives time to Juno to plan her deception in order to save Hannibal's life.

577. magna repensuros nec se leuiora daturum: he offers the greatest rewards because he wants to go back to the epic. The phrase alludes to Carthage's extreme wealth, from which the Romans will soon deprive her after the annihilation. About Carthage's wealth see *Aen*. 1.13 *Karthago…diues opum*. A *magnus* Hannibal can only give great (*magna*) rewards. The *litotes* in *nec leuiora* together with *magna* stresses the greatness of Hannibal's offer even more. It can also be generic in the sense that these will not be lightweight rewards, but truly epic in their seriousness. Hannibal wants to compensate Juno for her aid reciprocally as Aeneas had done for Venus' aid

in *Aen*. 1.334. Although Aeneas' offer has a religious character (a sacrifice at Venus' altars), Hannibal's offer is materialistic; the word *rependo*, 'return by weight', implies a weighty offer. This materialistic tendency can possibly make the reader view Hannibal as a less admirable epic hero. Similar episodes can be found at *Aen*. 9.263-80, where Ascanius offers Nisus and Euryalus great rewards if they call his father back. Nisus and Euryalus also leave for a pastoral landscape, and also fail to escape, but they do achieve an epic death. Ascanius and Hannibal are misguided in their understanding of epic values.

578. praecipitem et uasto superantem proxima saltu: the line consists only of words indicating superiority and great size. What is obvious here is movement, conquest, and landscape. It is gods who usually move with great steps and now Hannibal is moving headlong with a great step. Although Hannibal is not going anywhere, he is adopting the divine gait or is described as making divine movements, a highly ironic image. Compare divine interventions in the *Thebaid* when Tisiphone's movement is faster than Jupiter's thunderbolt (1.92-3), in the *Aeneid* when Mercury goes down from heaven with a headlong leap (1.300-1; 4.252-55), and when Dira descends to Juturna at 12.855-6. On a metapoetic level, the second meaning of *saltu* as woodland, forest (*OLD saltus* 2) has a metaphorical use in Roman literature meaning 'epic poetry; see also *siluis…opacis* in 568 where *silua* means 'woods' but also 'the raw material of a literary work' (*OLD* 5b). Hannibal will be lost in the woods which means he will be kept out of epic. Hannibal is still prominent and superior, because Silius has to protect him as his central character from charges of cowardice, and so he has to explain why he did not die fighting or get captured. In their dissertations Brown (1994) and Soerink (2014) have shown how the pastoral episodes within the epic narrative serve as episodes of delay: see for example the Nemea episode (*Theb*. 5.499-753) which takes place mainly in the woods and is an episode of delay and removal from the epic genre.

579. circumagit Iuno ac fallens regione uiarum: Juno drives Hannibal (and the reader) in a circular way towards the end of the epic through *Aeneid* 1, where Aeneas was wandering in the forest of the city that had recently been built by Dido. Now, the same city is about to be entered by the Roman army. Jupiter repels Hannibal at Sil. 12.663 (*et uana minantem*│*circumagit*) by sending the South wind, which turns him around in spite of his reluctance. The erroneous path on which Juno leads Hannibal

recalls Odysseus' 'alienation' by Athena before their conversation (*Odyssey* 13.188-96). Hardie (1997: 161 n. 81) has detected a resemblance in the vocabulary of this passage with the Nisus and Euryalus episode in *Aen.* 9 where Nisus and Euryalus become separated in the woods and their fear misdirects them (9.385 *fallitque timor regione uiarum*).

C.d. 581 – 596: Hannibal witnesses from afar the defeat of his army

Silius now turns the epic narrative from Hannibal to the Punic army (581-4) who have lost sight of their leader. At the beginning of this passage, Silius mentions the army's flight because of Scipio's attack; immediately afterwards, he describes the frightening effect of the Carthaginian defeat, and at the end, he mentions the impact on the whole of Africa (585-9). Next, Silius turns the narrative view to the west, in Spain, and then to the East, in Cyrene and Egypt (590-91). Finally, he compares the reach of the fall of Carthage throughout Africa to the reach of Vesuvius throughout the world (592-6). The closure of the description of the Carthaginian defeat is described in the same way as the description of the first Carthaginian defeat, in lines 504-8, with a very typical element of epic closure, a fire simile. In addition, Burck (1984: 167) has noticed that the above passage works as a mirror-image of the Aeneas-Venus encounter at *Aen.* 1.305-401 where Aeneas arrives in the city of Carthage which had recently been built by Dido, whereas now Carthage is destroyed (586 *iamque ipsae trepidant Carthaginis arces*).

581. Interea Cadmea manus: Silius interrupts Hannibal's actions and turns the epic narrative to the battlefield where the Punic army is shown to have been abandoned by their leader. **Cadmea manus:** the adj. *Cadmeus* for the Carthaginians is the one Silius first uses for them in the proem of the epic (1.6 *gens Cadmea*). Cadmus came from Phoenicia to found Thebes, therefore this adjective emphasises the connections between Carthage and Tyre, Carthage and Thebes. Silius frequently emphasises the Eastern origins of Dido and her Carthaginians by showing a war between the Phoenician East and the Roman West (see comment on 351 and introduction, section

2.2.2). This is also confirmed by the fact that Hannibal is the instrument of females, Dido and Juno, who both demand for revenge.

581-2. deserta… │non ullum Hannibalem, nusquam: the vocabulary is indicative of Hannibal's absence. As the death of the leader indicates the end of the war, Hannibal's absence from the battlefield is a sign for moving towards the end of the whole epic narrative. For more details on how the absence of the leader signifies the end of the war, see Introduction, 3.1. The adjective *deserta* recalls Dido at Sil. 8.50 (*Iliaco postquam deserta est hospite Dido*) – the Silian phrase echoes *Aen*. 4.323 *cui me moribundam deseris hospes* – which is now reflected in the deserted Punic army (*Cadmea manus deserta*) who are repelled to "exile" at the west end of the world. The name of Hannibal appears here again (*Hannibalem*) and confirms Hannibal's thoughts earlier, at 562-5 *et absens│accipio gemitus uocesque ac uerba uocantum│Hannibalem*, where the leader can hear his army calling him from afar.

583. saeui…ducis: this is one of the first characterisations of Hannibal at the beginning of the epic, at 1.299, which will be used to describe him on different occasions throughout the epic, such as the battle of Cannae where he is shown as he commits savage slaughter (10.326-7 *at Poenus,…saeuis│caedibus emensus*), until his final moments, as it is now used. It is one of the epithets that is also used for Turnus in the *Aeneid* (see at 7.461), thus connecting the two leaders one more time. Hannibal's savagery is recognised by Fabius who calls him a "savage leader" (*ductoris saeui*) at 16.617. This epithet is a Punic characteristic, as Silius describes the Carthaginians a 'race delighting in savagery' at 1.170 (*Poeni│…saeuis gens laeta*). Therefore, Hannibal's presence is still recognised by the particular savagery of the battle wherever he is fighting, and not as a general retreated on a hill as he is now. For more details on the association of the word *saeuus* with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, see Tipping 2010: 64, especially n.33.

583-4. pars…pars: this is a typical epic formula that Silius uses frequently in the *Punica*: see for example at 4.18, 8.421, 9.301, 13.134, 14.108, 15.133, 17.591. Perhaps, it reflects the totalising nature of epic that portrays the whole by dividing it into different parts.

584. damnasse aciem et diuis cessisse sinistris: this recalls the Sibyl's prophecy in the Underworld that Hannibal will be condemned as a traitor and will abandon Carthage: Sil. 13.879-80 *damnatusque doli*│*…linquet Carthaginis arces.* Silius' Latin creates ambiguities here: Hannibal's men believe that he has surrendered to the hostile divine plans, whereas the more knowledgeable audience can give a different meaning: *cedo* meaning "withdraw"; "remove" can imply Hannibal's withdrawal from the battlefield by the gods, giving the translation of "that he has rejected the battle and been removed by the unfavourable gods", which is what has happened in reality.

586. trepidant Carthaginis arces: the citadels of Carthage are under threat because Hannibal has abandoned the city; it confirms Sibyl's prophecy at 13.880 *linquet Carthaginis arces*. The phrase takes the reader back to *Aen*. 1.298 *utque nouae pateant Karthaginis arces*, where the new-built walls of Carthage open to receive the Trojans; whereas Virgil's Carthage is *noua*, Silius' one will soon be utterly destroyed. The two phrases also have the same metrical position. The phrase also recalls Jupiter's phrase at Sil. 17.353 *tremuerunt moenia Romae*, referring to Hannibal's achievements in invading and threatening Italy; whereas Hannibal was shaking Rome's walls a few lines earlier, now it is Scipio shaking the walls of Carthage.

588. uolucrique fuga sine more ruentes: the vocabulary is very indicative of the rush with which the army flees. The scansion in a dactylic hexameter additionally contributes to the fast movement of the army. **sine more:** the army rushes rather recklessly (see *OLD* 3c) because they are repelled, and they are fugitives. The alternative *sine Marte* ("without arms") given by the archetype ω can only make sense if it signifies that the army was conquered without having the opportunity to fight. *Sine more* is stronger from a contextual perspective, since the next few lines focus on the various directions that in which the Punic army was dispersed, possibly without any specific order. Also, the phrase *sine more ruo* appears at Sil. 10.31 in the description of the battle of Cannae where the Roman line rushes forward with reckless speed (*sine more ruebat*│*prima acies non parca fugae*), after the Carthaginians have drawn back (for analysis of this passage, see Littlewood 2017: 58). It is the Carthaginians that now retreat with the same speed, repelled by Scipio. This tactic against the Romans in the battle of Cannae is here used by Scipio to terrify the Carthaginians. *Sine more* is also a famous Virgilian phrase occurring at *Aen*. 5.694 for

the furious and irregular speed of a tempest, and at 7.377 where it describes Amata's irrational state of mind wandering and dashing around the city without order.

589-91. tendunt attonitos extrema ad litora cursus│ac Tartessiacas profugi sparguntur in oras;│pars Batti petiere domos, pars flumina Lagi: the terrified Carthaginians, being repelled, direct their course towards Spain in the West, and neighbouring North African areas looking for a refuge. The Carthaginians decide to ask for refuge from king Battus of Cyrene, where their ancestress Anna Perenna had found refuge after being exiled by Tyre; see the description by Silius at 8.55-60 *Et tepido fugit Anna rogo…Battus Cyrenen molli tum forte fouebat│imperio, mitis Battus lacrimasque dedisse│casibus humanis facilis. qui supplice uisa│intremuit regum euentus dextramque tetendit.* **Tartessiacas…oras**: Tartessus is a region on the west coast of Spain. Silius describes it as the city that sees the sun going to rest (3.399; 6.1; 10.537) – a clear reminiscence of the Ovidian imagery at *Met*. 14.416. This place is normally used by authors to represent the western extremity of the world (see for example Sen. *Her. F*. 232). This explains the *extrema litora* at 589. The reference to the far West where the Carthaginians fled magnifies the effect of Scipio's actions. **profugi**: in the *Punica* the word describes Dido's exiled nation (1.28 *optauit profugis aeternam condere gentem*; 2.391 *dum│profugae regnis agitantur Elissae*). The Carthaginians become "exiled" again. The word also takes the reader back to the beginning of the *Aeneid*: as Aeneas left the Trojan shores *profugus* (*Aen*. 1.1-2 *Troiae qui primus ab oris│Italiam, fato profugus*), in the same way the Carthaginians now leave for the Spanish shores *profugi*. Hannibal is also prophesied to be *profugus* in Sibyl's prophecy in the Underworld (13.881 *atque una profugus lustrabit caerula puppe*), apart from the fact that he will be condemned as traitor and will abandon the city of Carthage (see above comments on 584 and 586). The reader now realises that the prophecy has come true. **pars Batti…domos, pars flumina Lagi**: whereas a part of the army fled to Spain, another part passed to neighbouring areas, such as Libya and Egypt. **Battus**: the reference is to Cyrene in Libya, a city founded by Aristotle of Thera (most commonly called Battus); see Sil. 8.57, 17.591. Anna will find shelter not far from Cyrene. **flumina Lagi**: the Nile. Lagus was the father of Ptolemy I, king of Egypt, who founded the Ptolemaic dynasty. It is a poetic way of saying "Egyptian". In Lucan, Cleopatra is called the daughter of Lagus, who is exiled from her father's throne and asks for revenge (Luc. 10.86).

592-6. sic ubi ui caeca…ad astra │euomit…Vesuius ignes │et pelago et terris fusa est Vulcania pestis,│uidere Eoi,…Seres │lanigeros cinere Ausonio canescere lucos: the simile compares the Carthaginian flight after their defeat at the battle of Zama to the ash from the eruption of Vesuvius spreading over land and sea, and whitening the silk groves of the East. Silius' simile of the ashes from Vesuvius spreading as far as the silk groves of the Seres resembles a similar description by Valerius Flaccus, in which the same ash clothes the cities of dawn (4.509 *Eoas cinis induit urbes*). Both similes describe the flight of a defeated enemy – that of the Carthaginians in the *Punica*, that of the Harpies in the *Argonautica*. Apart from Valerius, only Silius (other intratextual references at 8.654-5, 12.152) and Procopius (*Goth*. 2.4.27) seem to have mentioned that the volcano's ash reaches so far to the east (see Murgatroyd 2009: 249), which might also explain the poet's comment *monstrum admirabile*, showing also his own surprise at the effect of the battle. The poets, Valerius and Silius are inspired by the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD. The importance of the existence of this hyperbolic simile here lies not only in the fact that it reveals the global impact of the fall and destruction of Africa, but also shows the universal impact of the Roman victory over the whole world. This is further stressed by the description of the overall impact on the whole cosmic system that the destruction of battle of Zama had: *ad astra* (592), *ignes* (593), *pelago* (594), *terris* (594). The fact that Africa's destruction has such a wider implication in the world makes her seem like the centre of the world; this resembles the Ovidian analogy of *urbs* - *orbis* and the way the city of Rome is transformed to the centre of the world in *Met*. 15. Silius here shows how the battle of Zama is symbolically transformed from a simple *urbs* to the centre of the *orbis* since it affects places that exist far beyond the African continent. Other examples of the use of this wordplay occur in Ovid (*Ars* 1.173-4), Propertius (3.11.57-8), and Lucan (3.296-7) where it illustrates the emergence of Rome as the supreme power in the world. **ui caeca**: it is used by Silius again for the hidden force of a tornado (14.14). In his explanation about the cause of earthquakes, Lucretius speaks about a hidden power coming from rivers under the earth which causes earthquakes (Lucr. 6.541 *sub tergo terrai flumina tecta│uoluere ui fluctus summersos [cae]ca putandumst*). The hidden power which causes cosmic disturbance recalls Hannibal's complaint a few lines earlier about the gods' hidden divine will that opposes him and causes disturbances in his own personal plans (548 *caeco numine*). **Vulcania pestis**: the simile of the scourge of fire resembles the one at

line 504, when Scipio's violent appearance on the battlefield is compared to the Vulcanian plague occurred on a captured city. **Eoi…Seres lanigeros…lucos**: Σῆρες, the people of a region lying beyond Scythia and India, the Chinese or neighbouring people, who produced silk (Str. 11.11.1, 15.1.34, Sil. 6.4 *Seres lanigeris…lucis*). **monstrum admirabile**: even the poet considers the effect of the volcano on the Far East rather hyperbolic. His intention is to make the epic narrative seem unnatural. Silius considers the cosmic effect of the battle of Zama as a negative element for the future: the phrase *monstrum admirabile*, along with *attonitos* at 589, the sinister reference to Phaethon at 601, and the *dira facies* of the prostrated soldiers at 603, create an ominous atmosphere, hence the use of *monstrum* as a portent (*OLD* 1), turning in this way the cosmic phenomenon into a perverted event. The destruction caused in the battle of Zama is made to resemble the eruption by the volcano and the chaos in the cities of the East caused by the ashes falling on the silk groves. A possible analogy in more recent times might be the eruption of the atomic bombs at Hiroshima-Nagasaki in Japan in World War Two.

C.e. 597 – 624: Hannibal utters a threat and becomes a fugitive – Carthage is plundered

After the description of the battle of Zama and its cosmic effects, Silius now passes to the final act of the Carthaginian leader. Juno intervenes one last time and leads Hannibal to a mountain from where he has an overview of the battlefield (597-9). He sees the battle of Zama through images of the past: the greatest Carthaginian victories (600-1) and the abundance of the dead men throughout the years of the war. Silius makes clear the change of fate that has now occurred: "the battle of Zama is compensation for Rome's great sacrifices in the early years of war" (Burck 1984: 168). Then, Silius in nine lines (606-15) gives a monologue of Hannibal in which he comes out with a threat towards Jupiter and his protégés, the Romans. Whereas Juno agrees with Jupiter that Hannibal will escape captivity on the condition that he shall never visit Italy again (see 17.380-2), Hannibal now withdraws from Zama uttering a prophecy of his future return; eternal memory of his fame and terror of his name is what he sees for himself in the future ages. In contrast to the more knowledgeable

reader, the protagonist is ignorant of his future failed attempt to reach Italy again. From one point of view Silius demonstrates Hannibal's desire to go back to the battle; on the other side, he is constrained to provide a reason for Hannibal's flight according to the historical accounts. Hannibal's current situation, where he gives a monologue provoking Jupiter and insisting on his own glory and deeds, recalls Hannibal's monologue a few lines ago, when the Punic leader expressed his anger towards the gods when he realised the divine deceit (17.548-53). At the end of this passage, Hannibal joins a band of fugitives and flees. The image of Hannibal on the hill viewing the dire battle and the defeat of his army is familiar; Pompey at Luc. 7.649-51 is on a hill looking down on the defeat of Pharsalia (7.647-711). Both leaders are horrified by the view of the defeat and are unable to act; they resemble Juno at *Aen*. 12.134-6 *at Iuno ex summo…*│*prospiciens tumulo campum aspectabat*) who views the progress of the action and is horrified by the spectacle (12.151 *non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum*). Hannibal is unable to act and although he had expressed his desire to return to battle (Sil. 17.571-7), and he acknowledged his guilt for abandoning his army (561-6), now, he is a simple viewer who can only threatens in vain words. For analysis of Lucan's passage and its intertextuality, see Leigh 1997: 110-57 and Lovatt 2013: 111-7. For Silius, Hannibal's departure indicates the end of the war: 618 *hic finis bello*. The final lines of this episode describe the Carthaginian retreat, Scipio's entrance to Carthage and his actions to impose Roman domination in the conquered country (618-24).

597-8. at fessum tumulo tandem regina propinquo│sistit Iuno ducem: Juno is watching the events and decides to act again; in reality, this is the end of the sequence of her interventions. At this particular moment, "Juno is a manipulative figure, since she is active, and Hannibal is the object of the sentence" (Lovatt 2013: 260). Looking from afar at the defeat of his army, Hannibal could be, in a sense, compared to Dido, as she watches Aeneas leaving from Carthage (*Aen*. 4.408-11). **fessum**: the verb *fatisco* is used in poetic passages related to madness after periods of excessive action. The hero is tired after the craziness of his past actions. For analysis of this topic and how excessiveness brings lassitude in the final book of the *Punica* see Introduction, section 3.1. **tumulo**: the word has the additional meaning of a burial-mound (*OLD* 2) which could apply here for Hannibal's case: Juno puts Hannibal on a hill to finish his action in the battlefield; on a second level, she is creating his tomb which makes him

‘disappear’ from the epic. Hannibal’s action will finish in this episode, and anything that is going to happen in the next episode until the end of the epic will simply be references on him.

598-9. atrae │…admota oculis uestigia pugnae: the *admota uestigia* signify that the sight Hannibal views is brought by Juno in front of his eyes, making him thus a passive viewer, whereas, the word *uiderat* in 601 “zooms” in Hannibal’s eyes giving the sense that he will become an active viewer from now on.

600-1. Gargani campum Trebiaeque paludem │et Tyrrhena uada et Phaethontis uiderat amnem │...undantem: it is the fourth time that Silius recalls the greatest defeats that marked the Romans in the first years of the war. Other references occur two times in book 17 (292 and 495-6), once in book 7 (148-9) in the exact same order (except for the reference to the battle of Cannae that has not happened yet), and once in the first book of the epic (1.48-54) where Juno enumerates the greatest Carthaginian victories over the Romans in Italy. The references to the events here are not in chronological order; Cannae is mentioned first because it is the most important for Hannibal, the zenith of his success. Also, metapoetically, the battle of Cannae is the most important for Silius because it is in the middle of the epic narrative and creates mirror effects with book 17 in several ways (see Introduction, section 2.1.3). Hannibal’s last reference here, the battle at the river Ticinus, is, in reality, his first victory over the Romans in Italy (see 4.135-479). **Gargani campum**: *Garganus* is a mountain in Apulia, where the battle of Cannae took place. **Trebiaeque paludem**: the Trebia River. Silius first attributes to this river the description *infausto…gurgite* (4.573), the unlucky river. The narrative of the battle between the Romans and the Carthaginians in the river Trebia occurs at Sil. 4.525-704. **Tyrrhena uada**: the Etruscan waters, alluding to Lake Trasimene. The miserable view of the prostrated soldiers that Hannibal sees from the hill reminds him of the same imagery at Sil. 6.1-13 where the sunlight of the following day of the battle at Trasimene reveals the corpses lying on the Lake’s surface. **Phaethontis amnem…undantem**: the River Po; see the same description at 7.149. The reference here also includes references to the battles at the rivers Trebia and Ticinus, because both rivers are tributaries of the Po. The Po River owes its name ‘*Phaethontis*’ to Phaethon who was struck into the river by Jupiter’s thunderbolt. For the account of the myth, see mainly Hyg. *Fab*. 152.1 and Ov. *Met*. 2.1-366; for allusive references to it, see Mart. 10.12.2 and Sil. 17.496.

Hannibal so far has been presented as a Jupiter-figure striking down the Romans, but the reference to Phaethon here anticipates Hannibal's end: Hannibal, as a Phaethon-figure is now struck down.

602. strage uirum…miserabile uisu: the bloodshed that Hannibal has caused in the Italian waters throughout the past years of war is a violation of nature, who is now taking her own revenge. With the use of *miserabile uisu* we can hear the poetic voice which sounds disturbed and unable to deal with what has been caused by Hannibal throughout the past years of the war. On a different level, the poetic voice behind these words makes us assume that as Hannibal on the hill is acting as a spectator of the battle, in the same way Silius the poet is watching the whole war from afar and expressing his personal detestation for it. For Hannibal's war as a violation of natural borders and places, see Introduction, section 2.2.2.

603. facies aperitur dira maniplis: Hannibal views a generalised image from above. The image is ill-omened (*dira*) because of the violation of the natural world by the dead corpses. The dire image is intensified by the use of *miserabile uisu* in the previous line.

604. Iuno…turbata: a typical epithet for Juno in the *Punica*; as stated in the Introduction (section 2.2.1), Juno's role offers narrative cohesion in the *Punica* and drives its narrative forward. More specifically, Juno disappears from the epic in the same emotional situation as she first appeared in it in book 1: agitated by the Romans, Juno decided to start a war with them (Sil. 1.37 *turbanti terra pontumque mouere paranti*), and in the final book again, Jupiter accuses Juno of having unsettled sea and land against the Romans (17.352 *turbasti maria ac terras*). Spaltenstein (1990: 482) has misinterpreted the passage in his argument that Juno's concern here is not for Hannibal's fate but for the ruin of her hopes regarding the protection of Carthage; he separates the fate of Hannibal and Carthage, whereas I think that we need to see Hannibal as a representation of Carthage, and as a synecdochic hero, whose fate affects also the fate of Carthage. Finally, at 10.337 (*quo turbata uiri coniunx Saturnia coepto*) and 12.701-2 (*turbata per auras*│*deuolat*) Juno is concerned about and disturbed by Hannibal's safety when he plans to attack Rome. The word *turbata* connects Juno's disturbed mental health with madness – Cicero (*Tusc*. 3.8) speaks about the *perturbationes* as the movements of the soul contrary to reason (see Hershkowitz

1998:7). For Juno's mental agitation see comment on line 344, esp. on the comment on *morsus*. Her departure from the epic narrative is under such a disturbed state of mind. Juno in the *Aeneid* also departs *turbata* after her talk to Juturna (12.160); this makes us see that her mental upset derives from her powerlessness when she is resigned.

605. iamque propinquabant hostes tumuloque subibant: the verbs *propinquabant* and *subibant* for the fast way the enemy approaches Hannibal signify the fast progress of the narrative for Hannibal's disappearance. The phrase is a clear imitation of *iamque propinquabant castris murosque subibant* from *Aen.* 9.371, immediately before the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, so that "the flight of Hannibal is in the footsteps of Nisus and Euryalus" (Hardie 1997: 161). Therefore, Hannibal's monologue immediately after this episode grants eternal fame to his own deeds in the same way that Virgil provides commemoration for Nisus and Euryalus at *Aen*. 9.446-9.

606-7. caelum licet omne soluta │ in caput hoc compage ruat terraeque dehiscant: Hannibal sounds fearless even in the face of the greatest cosmic phenomena that will destroy the world, such as earthquakes, the description of which evokes Hannibal's words here: see Lucretius' description of earthquakes at 6.584; 599-600; within the *Punica*, see at 5.611-28 when Silius describes the earthquake during the battle at Lake Trasimene, also at 12.143-6 where Silius describes the Giants' action who threaten to burst their burden which will cause either earthquakes or volcanic eruptions. The combination of *soluere* and *compages* occurs very often in epic (Luc. 1.72; 3.491, Stat. *Theb*. 8.31) regarding the dissolution of the universal framework, and in Tacitus (*Hist*. 3.27.3) for the description of an action of rupture (of the Flavian *testudo* in particular). Silius borrows the vocabulary and ideas of Stoic philosophy for his description of world collapse; in his diatribe against fear of earthquakes (*Nat.* 6), Seneca analyses the attitude of someone with contempt for life that views undisturbed cosmic phenomena such as the collapse of the sky, or the opening of the earth released from its framework (6.32.4 *securus aspiciet fulminantis caeli trucem atque horridam faciem, frangatur licet caelum et ignes suos in exitium omnium, in primis suum, misceat; securus aspiciet ruptis compagibus dehiscens solum*). Hannibal here remains confident that his actions and his fame will remain still and undisturbed in the course of history, exactly as a Stoic person remains fearless in the face of universal destruction. He contrasts thus with Dido (*Aen*. 4.24), Turnus (*Aen*. 10.675-6) and

Juturna (*Aen*. 12.883-4), who wish the earth would open so that they could disappear from the world and thus preserve their honour. The earthquake imagery that Hannibal uses here serves to elevate his eternal fame within the frame of universal chaos. For the idea of the collapse of the heavens Silius may have had in mind either the earthquakes that hit Rome in 217 BC – after Cannae – where, allegedly, a rain of glowing stones fell at Praeneste, near Rome (Liv. 22.1), or the eruption of Vesuvius, that happened in his own times (79 AD). The reference to the sky falling and the earth yawning may well be an allusion to the Gaelic oath of allegiance offered to Alexander the Great by the Celts that they will keep faith to him unless the sky falls down or the earth opens and swallows them, or the sea overwhelms them. The collapse of the sky is an ancient belief, widely known as the Celts' main fear: Arrian writes about the meeting of Alexander the Great with the Celtic warriors, who, upon being asked about their greatest fear, replied it was not Alexander but that the sky might fall on them (1.4.7-8 *ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι, Ἀλέξανδρόν τε ἀγασθέντες οὔτε δέει οὔτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτόν*). Strabo also reports this incident about the fear of the Celts (7.3.8 *αὐτοὺς δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰ ἆρα μὴ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσοι*). **caput**: a very important word in the *Punica*; it first occurs in the proem (1.7-8), where Silius describes the Second Punic war as a conflict over which city would be the head of the world (*quaesitumque diu, qua tandem poneret arce*│*terrarum Fortuna caput*). In a symbolic sense, Carthage is "decapitated" in her final defeat in the war, because she has lost her "head", Hannibal. Hannibal is aware of himself as a failed head of state, and he offers his own destruction as a version of the destruction of the universe. In *Punica* 10, the death of Paulus at Cannae (305 *hic finis Paulo*) also signifies the end of the hopes and the courage of the Roman army who, without him, are depicted as a headless trunk (10.309-11) (see Marks 2008: 77). For a further analysis of the motif of *caput* as a political metaphor in the *Punica* and the *Pharsalia*, and how a legend of the discovery of the horse-head in Rome becomes a prophecy about Roman supremacy, see Marks 2008.

608. non ullo Cannas abolebis, Iuppiter, aeuo: Hannibal now turns to threaten Jupiter, who has been his enemy throughout the epic, especially since book 12, when he was utterly defeated by the god (12.605-728); Hannibal's gigantomachic tendency is evident here. From a metapoetic point of view, the above idea can imply each poet's ambition for his work to be preserved throughout the centuries. Cannae is the central

part of Silius' poem as well as Rome's greatest defeat. Epic poetry offers commemoration of deeds for future generations (see for example, *Od*. 3.204, 8.580; *Aen*. 9.446-7; Sil. 4.398-400). Therefore, the passage shares similarities with Ovid's epilogue to the *Metamorphoses*, in which the poet establishes his poetic authority in future years, which can be erased neither by Jupiter's anger nor by fire or sword (15.871-2 *Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira nec ignis*│*nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere uetustas*). Horace's *Carm*. 3.30 is another metapoetic allusion here where the poet expresses his confidence that this poetic work will remain throughout the ages, and no monument will surpass it. In a contrary mode, Statius at *Theb*. 11.576-579 expresses his thought that his song on the infamous civil strife between Polynices and Eteocles should be erased from the minds of the peoples and remembered only by kings as a warning for their actions; it is the memory of the civil war strife that should be condemned. On the closure of the poem, its metapoetics and how it provides a sense of commemoration, see Introduction, section 3.2.

609-10. decedesque prius regnis, quam nomina gentes*│*aut facta Hannibalis sileant: in these lines Hannibal threatens Jupiter implicitly, and prophesies his survival beyond death, through fame. He has failed to live up to his own name; he still selfishly refuses to accept that he is no longer in charge of anything and cannot replicate his past deeds. Through this speech, Silius reveals his difficulty in accepting that Hannibal cannot have a grand epic death scene. These words of Hannibal echo Pompey's words before his death at Luc. 8.622-3 (*saecula Romanos numquam tacitura labores*│*attendunt*) when the future ages will never be silent about the toils of Rome; it is evident that "Hannibal is willing to share the fate of Pompey" (Marks 2008: 83), but he does not: Lucan's Pompey shares his quasi-*apotheosis* not with Hannibal, but with Scipio in the *Punica* (see Introduction, section 3.3). On a metaliterary level, behind Hannibal's words the reader identifies the poet Silius, who acclaims his epic poem as one that will survive far into the future. Indeed, the poem itself is also evidence supporting Hannibal's prophecy: two centuries have passed already, and we still remember Hannibal's achievements. The verb *sileant* might allude to Silius' own name and can work as his *sphragis* in the final lines of the poem (see Stocks 2014: 130). Hannibal's glory and deeds will give longevity to Silius' epic as well. For the longevity of an artistic achievement, see comment above; for Silius' identification with Hannibal at the end of the epic, see Introduction 3.3. At *Aen*. 9.446-9, Virgil

praises Nisus' and Euryalus' joint death and eulogises the power of the song (or epic) to memorialise actions and deeds (*Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,*│*nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo,*│*dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum*│*accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit*). For the relationship between memory and song, see also *Aen.* 10.791-3 (*hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,*│*si qua fidem tanto est operi latura uetustas,*│*non equidem nec te, iuuenis memorande, silebo*). **nomina**: the significance of Hannibal's *nomen* in the *Punica* and its ability to cause fear was mentioned earlier in the book, at the description of the battle of Zama, when savage terror of his great name preceded Hannibal's own personality (17. 393-4 *saeuus magno de nomine terror*│*praecedit*). The plural use of *nomen* gives the sense that throughout the epic, Hannibal has created "not one reading of his own myth, but many" (Stocks 2014: 233). The significance of the plural lies in the fact that again implies Scipio's identification with the poet: it is not only Hannibal's name that posterity should remember, but also Silius' one, who has also made his poetic *sphragis* with the pun on his name in *sileant*. This idea recalls Lucan when he apostrophises Caesar to expresses his optimism for eternal remembrance of his epic at 9.985-6 *uenturi me teque legent;* ***Pharsalia nostra*** │*uiuet*; the plural *nostra* shows Lucan's identification with his protagonist.

610-2. nec deinde relinquo│securam te, Roma, mei, patriaeque superstes│ad spes armorum uiuam tibi: Jupiter at Sil. 3.711 has already prophesied to the Carthaginians that for as long as Hannibal is alive, he will be a threat to the Romans (*nec ponet pubes umquam Saturnia curam* │*dum carpet superas in terris Hannibal auras*). As the historiographical tradition reports, Hannibal was exiled in 196 BC and took refuge with Antiochus III in Syria, from where he still tried to cause difficulties for the Romans (see Plb. 3.11, Liv. 33.47, App. *Syr*. 2.7). **nec relinquo securam**: there is an irony in Hannibal's words here, as at the end of the epic, Scipio's victory will secure Rome (628 *securus sceptri…Romam* for Scipio). Although Hannibal will later come back to threaten Rome again, he will not cause any significant troubles. **patriaeque superstes:** *supersto* occurs in contexts where a father outlives his son: *Aen*. 11.160-1, Luc. 3.747; although Carthage is destroyed, Hannibal who is the *caput* and the "father" of the country shall outlive her. Silius creates a subtle similarity between Hannibal and Aeneas' appearance as *patriae superstes* at Horace's *Saec.* 41-4: both leaders depart from their annihilated and conquered city, though contrary to Aeneas, Hannibal will

found no new cities. **uiuam**: the ambition of a hero (or of a poet through his hero) that he will live in the memory of posterity is a literary *topos* (see for example, Ov. *Am.* 1.15.42 *uiuam, parsque mei multa superstes erit*). It often occurs in the closure of a work, as at *Met.* 15.878-9 *ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,* | *siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia, uiuam* and at Stat. *Theb.* 12.816 *uiue, precor.* In this way, Hannibal creates his own poetic "signature" at the end of the epic, and becomes the author of his own myth, reminding us, however, that "the same Carthaginian villain who gives Silius his *Punica* also threatens to make the poem his own" (Tipping 2010: 104).

613-5. mihi satque superque, | **ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,** | **dum uiuam, exspectent nec pacem pectore norint:** Hannibal here seems to have to compromise about what he can do, instead of what he wants to do. Although victory is what he wants, from his current situation he realises that this is not possible; for him it is enough only to be dreaded by the Romans. His threat recalls Dido's curse of eternal lack of peace to the Roman hearts (*Aen.* 4.622-9) and Caesar's words that he is willing to be buried as long as he is feared and awaited by every land (Luc. 5.670-1 *desint mihi busta rogusque,* | *dum metuar semper terraque expecter ab omni*). Bessone (2013: 94-5) suggests a tyrannical connotation to Caesar's expression whereas Hannibal's tone is milder. Fear is what connects Hannibal and Caesar who are presented as potential destructive forces that may come back at any time (for further connections on Hannibal and Caesar, see Introduction 2.2.3). In a sense, this is connected with the late 1st century AD belief regarding the haunting personality of Nero, which was based on both hope and fear of his return after the emperor's death (see Suet. *Nero* 57, August. *C.D.* 19.3, D.C. 21.8. Tac. *Hist*. 2.8), and the false Neros in Silius' Rome (see Dio 19.3 and D.Chr. 21 on the *Nero Rediuiuus* legend). Silius perhaps puts Hannibal to draw an obvious parallel: his own possible return will always haunt the Romans, exactly as Nero's return had haunted the Roman hearts and minds for many years. **exspectent**: the verb contains the idea of fear (confirmed by the following *nec pacem*) and, in this way, Hannibal is portrayed as a king or tyrant; according to Matthews (2008: 247-8), "the desire of a leader to be feared associates him with the typology of a king or a tyrant, as often happens in Seneca's tragedies (*Ag*. 72, *Phoen*. 654, *Oed*. 703-4)". Spaltenstein (1990: 483) wrongly translates *satque* as "I have done enough to make…" and connects it with the idea that Hannibal's glory

will be eternal and will surpass his own life. “Hannibal” remains a scarecrow for the Romans, but he will never be a real threat after his death. The idea that the Roman mothers will always be afraid of Hannibal takes the reader back to book 1 of the *Punica*, where Hamilcar inspires Hannibal to vow enmity against the Romans and make the Roman mothers refuse to bring up their children (1.111-2 *partusque recusent* | *te surgente, puer, Latiae producere matres*); this was Hannibal’s intention from the beginning and this will also be his future intention, thus postponing his action; this contributes to the open-endedness of the poem that the end of this poem is not *The End*. **Dardaniae:** the first epithet used by Silius for the Romans at Sil. 1.14.

616-7. sic rapitur paucis fugientum mixtus et altos | inde petit retro montes tutasque latebras: Livy reports that Hannibal joined a crowd of horsemen who fled to Hadrumetum (30.35.3 *Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit*); he went down to the coast straight from the battlefield, and set sail for the court of King Antiochus (30.37.13 *sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare peruenisse, inde praeparata naue ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant*). The flight of a source of terror causes further thought and fear for his return: another example is Hasdrubal, Hannibal’s brother, viewed as a replica of Hannibal in the *Punica*, who fled to the mountains in the same way as his brother, deserting his army (Sil. 15.480-1 *in montes abit atque uolens palantia linquit* | *agmina*). Lucan also describes how Pompey in flight is a cause for terror (1.522 *Pompeo fugiente timent*). Hannibal’s action ends exactly as Aeneas’ action in Troy ends at *Aen.* 2.804 *et sublato montis genitore petiui*, which is the final line of the book. Pompey also leaves and ends up in the East at Luc. 8.12-3. But for Hardie (1997:162), the most striking resemblance is the one to Turnus, as Hardie sees that both Hannibal and Turnus share a flight into obscurity (see *Aen*. 12.952 *fugit indignata sub umbras*). Although Hannibal strives to remain in the mind of posterity, he will soon end up in obscurity, remembered only as a fugitive *imago* at Sil. 17.644 *Hannibalis campis fugientis imago*. **rapitur**: the passive voice reminds the reader of the fact that Hannibal is a victim who is being manipulated and now is snatched away. **retro**: there is an odd tension here: on the one hand, Hannibal is asking for a development in his situation (*petit*), and on the other hand there is something keeping him back (*retro*). *Retro* has the sense of going back to the place or in the direction from which one came (*OLD* 3a), or back again to the starting-point of a series (*OLD* 3b); indeed, after his flight,

Hannibal goes to Hadrumetum (Liv. 30.35.4), a Phoenician colony, reminding us of his Phoenician lineage and origin, and giving us the sense that he has now returned to his roots.

618. Hic finis bello: Hannibal's departure signifies the end of war and thus, the end of the epic. The narrative is now turned to Carthage and the results of the battle. There is "a clear limit between the fighting and its celebration" (Hardie 1997: 158). The same closural expression is found at Sil. 10.305 (*hic finis Paulo*) to signify Paulus' death, and a similar one at Sil. 10.208 (*hic tibi finis erat*) for Curio's death. For the significance of the death of Hannibal for the end of the epic see Introduction 3.1.

reserantur protinus arces: the phrase goes back to the beginning of the *Punica*, where Silius programmatically had described Scipio's future opening up of the Carthaginian citadel (1.14-5 *reserauit Dardanus arces*│*ductor Agenoreas*). The verb *resero* is used at 17.501–2 to describe Hannibal crossing the Alps and at 7.436, "prior to a speech in which the *uates* Proteus foretells the future of Rome and predicts Scipio's victory on enemy soil" (Littlewood 2011: 174). As Hardie (1997: 158 n.73) has pointed out, the word is associated with poetic openings in Ennius; indeed, at *Ann*. 7.210 Skutsch the phrase *nos ausi reserare* occurs when the poet first speaks of his intention to unfold the story of the Second Punic War. Lucan at 5.70 also uses the word *resero* to describe the opening by Appius of the Delphic oracle, closed for years (*obducta per annos*│*Delphica fatidici reserat penetralia Phoebi*), where we should connect the word with Lucan's leitmotif of "re-use of old things long untouched" (see Masters 1992: 137); this interpretation connects these actions with the act of transgression and violation (see also the use of *resero* at Sil. 17.501-2 for the violation at the Alps). Carthage's walls are now open, in the same way that the Latins' gates were opened to Aeneas at *Aen*. 12.584 (*urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas*). As in the case of Lucan where the word implies Lucan's intention to re-open a kind of poetry (epic combined with historiography) that had long been unused (see Masters 1992: 138), Silius also here uses the word metapoetically, denoting his intention to 're-open' the subject of the Punic wars which, programmatically announced, is now time to close. The passive voice of *reserantur* and *adempta* in the following line gives the sense that the Carthaginians acted unwillingly, which is contradicted by the phrase *Ausonio iam sponte duci* at 619. According to Livy (30.37.1), before the Carthaginians surrendered to Scipio willingly, there were negotiations between Scipio and the

Carthaginian Senate, something that Silius seems to have omitted here (see Burck 1984: 169). *Protinus* also emphasises the speed and simplicity of this change of narrative pace.The outcome of the war, and more specifically the moment that Scipio will sack the citadel of Carthage and force people to make peace has been prophesied to Scipio by Mars at Sil. 4.472-3 *"Carthaginis arces│exscindes" inquit "Tyriosque ad foedera coges"*.

619-20. iura improba adempta│armaque: in the proem, the poet announces his intention to narrate a story of *arma* which will give the Romans eternal fame, and of Roman *iura* to which the Carthaginians will finally submit (1.1-2). This is now fulfilled in the final lines of the poem. However, Livy reports that the peace conditions between Rome and Carthage after Zama dictated that the Carthaginians should live according to their own laws (30.37.1 *condiciones pacis dictae ut liberi legibus suis uiuerent*). Silius' intention is to show the size of the effect of Roman power on the Carthaginians, a power that will purge from them their offences on the law and the weapons; for this reason, he imbues the narrative with the strong word *improba*: the *iura* of the Carthaginians are called *improba* because of Hannibal who has been *improbus* despising the terms of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, according to Sil. 1.58 as *improba uirtus et pacis despectus honos*. The arms (*arma*) are also wicked (*improba*) because they have been stained by the breach of treaty, as Silius clearly states through the mouth of Hanno at 11.559-60 *nunc improba foedere rupto│arma reponendum*. For analysis of *improba* as a Punic trait throughout the epic, see Tipping 2010: 61-73. Silius here mentions the Roman practice, mainly reported by Livy (28.34.7) of depriving them of their possessions, hostages, arms and garrison, before they establish their peace (*mos uetustus erat Romanis, cum quo nec foedere nec aequis legibus iungeretur amicitia, non prius imperio in eum tamquam pacatum uti quam omnia diuina humanaque dedidisset, obsides accepti, arma adempta, praesidia urbibus imposita forent*). **adempta**: in military language, the verb has the meaning of seizing something from an enemy as the result of war (*OLD* 2b). However, it can also give the meaning of robbing something precious, such as virginity (see Tarrant 2012: 315) as happens in Juturna's case in the final lines of the *Aeneid*, when she laments her immortality describing it as being "stripped of life's terms" by Jupiter (12.879 *mortis adempta est│condicio*). From the same perspective, Silius in the next few lines describes how Scipio is acquiring spoils from the Carthaginians (the *arma*) but also

how he is stripping them of the maritime power which has up to this point been very precious to them, by burning their ships (lines 622-4). The Carthaginians resemble Juturna, and Scipio resembles Jupiter.

620. incisae leges: imposing legislation on conquered peoples was a symbol of sovereignty. Silius tries to show Scipio as a ruler following in the footsteps of past founders of Rome, like Aeneas at *Aen*. 3.137 (*iura domosque dabam*) and 12.190 (*paribus se legibus ambae*│*inuictae gentes*), Evander at *Aen*. 8.322 (*composuit legesque dedit*), and of course, Augustus, as he appears at Virgil's *Geo.* 4.562 (*per populos dat iura*). The word *incido* has the meaning of 'engrave' (*OLD incido*^{2} 3), 'inscribe', and implies the ancient custom of inscribing laws on *tabulae;* for further analysis, see Hardie 1997: 158. The word denoting the action of making a record of someone's actions, provides Scipio with a sense of permanence and monumentality in the conquered land; Silius is aligned here with Jupiter's use of the word to reassure Venus that Roman history is inscribed on eternal steel, as narrated by Ovid at *Met*. 15.813.

620. opibus superbis: the wealth is proud because it comes from the Carthaginians whose *superbia* Silius continuously stresses (see Burck 1984: 170). Indeed, the amount of wealth that Carthage brought to the Romans after the end of the Punic Wars was presented in Roman moral discourse as leading the Romans to *auaritia* and *luxuria*, a subsequent influx of greed (see Sal. *Jug.* 41 *Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lasciuia atque superbia incessere*). Therefore, the word *superbis* has tyrannical connotations and might imply a tendency towards tyranny in Scipio, as suggested by his tyrannical sceptre a few lines later (627 *securus sceptri*). For Scipio as a tyrant and Silius' concern on the emergence of the individual in Rome under the form of a tyranny, see Introduction, section 3.3.

621. posuit gestatas belua turres: the reference here is to the turret-equipped Carthaginian elephants which were part of the Hannibalic war, first at the battle of Trebia as described at 4.599, and then at the battle of Cannae as described by Silius at 9.239-40. What is noteworthy here is that Silius had not mentioned the participation of elephants in the battle of Zama described in the previous lines; the first time that they appear is here, in the aftermath of Zama, being depicted in an act of submission to the conqueror, which signifies the end of the war. For the use of elephants (around

80 in number) at the battle of Zama, see Plb. 15.11, Liv. 30.33. App. (*Pun*. 43) describes Hannibal's elephants at the battle of Zama as *οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατῆρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων*, a description that does not necessarily indicate the existence of turrets but rather colour and adornments (see Charles 2008: 342). Although the extant historiographic narrative does mention the participation of elephants in the Hannibalic war, there is no indication that these elephants bore towers (Livy only mentions this type of elephants in his description of the Seleucid elephants at 37.40). Therefore, either the turreted Carthaginian elephants must have been a Silian addition, so that they appear more fearsome to the enemy; or Silius perhaps used some non-extant historiographical narrative that mentioned this particular detail (see Charles 2008: 345). For the problematic existence of the turreted elephants in the Hannibalic war, see Charles 2008, Rance 2009.

622-4. excelsae tum saeua rates│…**flammiferam accepere facem, subitaque procella**│**arserunt maria:** this line explains the way Scipio broke the power of Carthage, as described in the previous lines, i.e. by burning their ships. Carthage was a naval power and the destruction of their naval power incapacitates them. The burning of the Carthaginian ships is mentioned by Livy at 30.43.12 (*naues prouectas in altum incendi iussit*), where he describes the loss of their naval power, which equals the loss of the city herself. On the current situation of Carthage, Levene (2010: 12 n.20) alludes to *Il*. 22.410-11 where the mourning of the death of Hector is just as if Troy were being destroyed by fire, famously prefiguring the end of the city that is not described within the poem itself. A similar historical event narrated by Appian (*Pun.* 81, 86, 88), happened during the third Punic war but in reversed terms, where the Carthaginians set the Roman fleet ablaze at the battle of Lake Tunis and destroyed a big part of the Roman fleet. The sea-burning enriches the narrative with cosmic imagery: the fire dominates the water, a hint of the Stoic idea of ecpyrosis. The Carthaginian *excelsae rates* are reminiscent of the high ships of Aeneas (*celsas…rates*) as seen by Evander at *Aen*. 8.107 when Aeneas approaches his land; it is Turnus who will attempt to burn the Trojan fleet at *Aen*. 9.115-6, before Cybele intervenes and transforms them into sea-nymphs (9.117-22). **flammiferam facem:** this phrase occurs at Ovid *Ep.* 16.46, where he transfers it from an Ennian context: in Ennius' *Alexander*, Paris is the *fax* ('torch') who will bring *incendium* to Troy (see Jacobson 1968: 303).

624. expauit Nereus: Nereus is here used as a metonym for the sea, which is personified. The *saeua spectacula* in line 622 earlier is what has caused terror to Nereus. Both the sea divinity and the sea storm bring to the mind of the reader the storm of *Aeneid* 1 and of *Punica* 17.59. The reaction of the sea to a wondrous portent is also described at *Aen*. 9.124-5 where the Tiber afraid of the transformation of Aeneas' ships into sea-nymphs flows backwards (*cunctatur et amnis*│*rauca sonans reuocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto*).

3. 625 – 654: Scipio's triumphant entrance to Rome after the battle of Zama. End of the epic.

The following lines capture the moment where Scipio enters Rome triumphantly. He is the sole ruler who gained everlasting glory and fame for the conquest of Africa. Along with him, he carries and displays his spoils and captives: the Libyan king Syphax, the Carthaginian general Hanno, the Macedonians, the Moors, the Numidians, the Garamantes, and the people of Syrtis. All allied themselves to Hannibal throughout the epic. The list of the African captives is concluded with Carthage herself as the final captive. Next, Scipio is followed by the Spanish shores, Gades, Calpe, and the Baetis, all limits of the known world. Then, come Pyrene and the river Ebro, both celebrated as conquests of nature.

The list above shows Scipio's domination of nature, both land and sea, a characteristic that makes him absolute ruler. In a sense, the above lines summarise the most important events in the epic, creating thus a mini version of the *Punica*, the reverse of Hannibal's journey. The reference to the remote places of the edges of the world and the different nations taking part in the procession allude to the remote places of the edges of the empire and the diversity of nations included in it, showing the cosmic world-conquering nature of the Roman empire and Silius' epic. The conquest of the *orbis terrarum* is something that the leaders in the late Republic often presented in triumphal processions. Pompey, Caesar and Augustus used to boast about world domination, which was strongly connected to Rome's relationship with the surrounding world (see Östenberg 2009: 284-8): in his three triumphs Pompey

announced domination over Africa, Asia, Europe; in his five triumphs Caesar also presented himself as world conqueror; in his three triumphs Augustus also displayed his world rule.

The overall description of Scipio's triumphal parade, to a certain extent, imitates the description of triumphant Augustus as illustrated on the shield of Aeneas, which manifested his victories both at land and sea by including in the parade rivers and conquered nations. At the end, Scipio is compared to Bacchus and Hercules, the semi-gods and sons of Zeus to which Augustus had also been compared at *Aen*. 6.800-7. The choice of Hercules and Liber is deliberate as they both play a prominent role in the closure of the epic: in the Hellenistic ruler cult they were interpreted as the source of civilization (Grebe 2004: 53) as they had worked as benefactors to their country. Moreover, both are divinized heroes, and the comparison with Scipio creates allusions to his own possible *apotheosis*. On the other hand, they are two heroes susceptible to drunkenness and degeneracy, an idea that might attribute negative traits to Scipio. The passage finishes with Scipio's comparison with Quirinus and Camillus, and the confirmation of his divine status as the son of Jupiter.

625. Mansuri compos decoris per saecula rector: Hardie relates this line to *κλέος ἄφθιτον* (see 1997: 158) and the idea in archaic epic about the permanence of a hero's glory; see Achilles' thoughts that his glory will be imperishable (*Il*. 9.413). Scipio Africanus is here called *rector*, which recalls the Ciceronian *rector*-ideal, that of a leader who would reorganise the Roman government, as illustrated at *Rep.* 5.3, and which Cicero had attributed to Brutus, Cato, and Scipio Africanus, rather than Pompey and Caesar who failed in this *rector* concept.

626. deuictae referens primus cognomina terrae: the idea that Scipio is the first leader to take his name from the country he conquered appears also at Liv. 30.45 (*primus certe hic imperator nomine uictae ab se gentis est nobilitatus*). The prophecy, as it was told at Sil. 7.491 *huic Carthago armis, huic Africa nomine cedet* is now fulfilled. "Through Hannibal's defeat, Scipio emerges as an *Africanus*; and the once hostile continent now becomes Roman" (Augoustakis 2010a: 197). Domitian's *cognomen Germanicus* after his triumph over the Chatti in 83 AD (see Jupiter's

prophecy at Sil. 3.607; 614-5) creates associations between Scipio and Domitian. See also *magnus te manet ordo saeculorum* for Domitian's name which will remain down the ages at Statius *Silu*. 4.3.147. Silius' praise of Scipio recalls Jupiter's praise of Domitian in *Punica* 3 which creates an image of Scipio that anticipates Domitian himself (see McGuire 1997: 80). For a comparison of Scipio and Domitian see Martial 2.2.1-4.

627. securus sceptri repetit…Romam: Scipio leaves for Rome although he could have stayed in Carthage and ruled there, just like Aeneas, who could have stayed in Carthage with Dido but decided to carry on to Italy. **securus:** it gives the sense that Scipio is too sure about his rule (*securus* with genitive, as 'having no fear about', being confident *OLD* 1, 3). This shows that Hannibal has failed in his attempt to terrorise Rome with his threat that he will never leave her safe (17.611 *nec… relinquo*│*securam te, Roma*); Scipio is not afraid of Hannibal's re-appearance. On the other hand, *securus* from *sine cura* with genitive, has the meaning of 'unconcerned about', or 'indifferent' (see *OLD* 4b, and examples at *Aen*. 1.350, 7.304), and gives the sense that Scipio has no care for his kingship; this interpretation can also be confirmed at Sil. 16.277-84 when Scipio rejected the kingship offered by the inhabitants of Spain, an idea which intensifies Scipio's appearance as a proto-autocrat (see McGuire 1997: 101). However, my reading of *sine cura* gives a different interpretation: Scipio does not care about the fact that he might be perceived as a king, or even further, seems unashamed about receiving royal attributes. In the end, Scipio the proto-emperor will prove unable to retain the Republic but set the foundations instead of a leader with military ambitions. **sceptri:** indicates the (ivory) sceptre that the triumphators used to hold (Liv. 30.15.11-12, Suet. *Aug*. 94.6). Silius creates a wordplay between *sceptrum* and Scipio's name which in Latin has the meaning of a ceremonial rod (*σκῆπτρον*) carried by a triumphator (*OLD* b). For the idea that *skeptron* is connected to Scipio's name, see Introduction, section 2.2.3. Tacitus (*Ann*. 4.26) and Livy (30.15.11) report that the sceptre, along with the triumphal toga in purple and gold are traditional gifts to princes.

629-634. **Syphax…│hinc Hannon clarique genus Phoenissa iuuentus│Mauri…│tum Nomades…│Garamas et…Syrtis:** all Africa takes part in the triumphal procession as Scipio is now the conqueror of the whole continent – thus *Africanus*. All the nations mentioned here (along with the Macedonians who also take part in the procession) had allied themselves to Hannibal. The list of the conquered

nations – followed by the conquered rivers in the next lines – resembles the list of Augustus' conquered nations and rivers as it is depicted on the shield of Aeneas at *Aen*. 8.722-28 (*hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,*│*hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos*│ *finxerat; Euphrates ibat…*│*extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,*│ *…indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes*), the intention of which was to show the expansion of the Empire's boundaries to the remotest areas.

629. ante Syphax feretro residens captiua premebat│**lumina**: this is the time that Scipio actualises the prophecy at 16.272-6 that after he will defeat king Syphax and overthrow his power, he will dispose him in his triumphant procession. The victory over Syphax and his punishment in chains and fetters was described earlier in the book at 17.140-2 and this now finds its resolution; his bonds also bring about the *lysis* of *Punica perfidia*, a recurring motif in descriptions of the Carthaginians and their allies (see Introduction, section 2.2.2). That he was held as captive for Scipio's triumphal procession was foretold to Hannibal by his envoys at 17.172-4. Regarding the presence of Syphax in the triumphal procession, although Polybius (16.23) narrates the same story, Livy (30.45.1-7) openly disagrees with him stating that Syphax was dead at that time. Syphax's presence in Scipio's victorious procession can be attributed to Silius' promotion of the moral behaviour manifested by Domitian, of which Syphax was not a fervent supporter (see Marks 2005: 237): Syphax's action of offence towards the gods in breaking his *foedus* with Scipio brings his punishment by the Roman leader who works as a champion of morality. Although Marks' argument sounds reasonable, I can see one more significance of Syphax's presence in the procession: since Hannibal is absent and therefore unable to be displayed in the procession, Scipio (or Silius) substitutes Syphax for Hannibal, in the same way that Augustus substituted Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene for Cleopatra (Dio 21.8), although it is said that Augustus wanted her to parade in his triumph (Dio 51.13, Plu. 78.3). The motif of the conquered enemy displayed in chains recalls the case of Cleopatra who is described as a deadly monster who chased after Augustus only to be put in chains (see Hor. *Carm*. 1.37). But Cleopatra will not be displayed as captive in Augustus' triumphal procession, nor will Hannibal in Scipio's procession. **captiua premebat lumina**: the lowered eyesight signifies submission both to the ruler and to Rome itself. It was a normal action by prisoners taken as captives in triumphal processions "to bow physically as well as

symbolically to the power of Rome" (Östenberg 2009: 177). Kings being victims, chained and casting their eyes down is a commonplace of the descriptions of triumphal processions: see Ovid's description at *Tr*. 4.2.19-24: *ergo omnis populus poterit spectare triumphos,*│*...uinclaque captiua reges ceruice gerentes*│*...et cernet uultus aliis pro tempore uersos,*│*terribiles aliis inmemoresque sui*.

631. Hannon: the Carthaginian general was already a prisoner of Scipio in Spain as Silius describes at 16.28-77, and Livy at 28.4.1-4 who reports that Hanno was taken captive by Lucius, Scipio's brother.

632. incocti…Mauri: Lucan describes the Moors as dark as Indians (4.678 *tum concolor Indo*│*Maurus*); for the African people described as sun-burnt, see also 3.268 on the description of the Nubians (*testantes corpore solem*│*exusti uenere Nubae*), and 9.225 on the description of the African tribes on Hannibal's side (*corpora ab immodico seruans nigrantia Phoebo*). For the general stereotype of the Africans in ancient literature as sun-burnt, see Bernstein's references (2017: 203).

633. Nomades: a tribe located in east Algeria. Lucan at 4.677 *Numidaeque uagi semperque* attributes to them the characteristic of wandering, as their name indicates (nomads, in Greek νομάδες). The reference here along with the previous references to African nations strongly alludes to *Aen*. 8.724 *(hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros*), where the nations conquered by Augustus as illustrated on the shield of Aeneas.

633-4. notusque sacro, cum lustrat harenas,│**Hammoni Garamas**: Silius describes the Garamantes as the tribe in Libya where the Egyptian deity Ammon had a famous oracle, at Hammonium in Libya (see Sil. 1.414-5; 3.8-11, Luc. 9.510-5; the existence of the oracle in Libya is first mentioned at Hdt. 2.54-5). Ammon was identified with Jupiter. Indeed, they belonged to the ethnic group of the Berbers and they lived in today's Germa in the Sahara Desert. The double meaning of *lustro* in the embedded clause *cum lustrat harenas* confuses the syntax: is it Jupiter Ammon *purifying* the deserts or is it the Garamantes, *wandering* around the deserts as a nomadic tribe? The second meaning is more plausible for the Garamantes belonged to the tribes of the North-west coast of Africa, all pastoral wandering tribes (nomads, from *νέμω* meaning "graze a flock"), whose protector was the God Hammon. This also explains the

temporal clause *cum lustrat harenas*, alluding to the fact that the Garamantes used to wander to different places. The reference to the Garamantes as being among Scipio's conquered nations refers to *Aen*. 6.794 when Aeneas is foretold that Augustus will expand Roman dominion beyond the Garamantes and the Indians (*super et Garamantas et Indos*│*proferet imperium*). The use of *notus* here describing the Garamantes can be read as an Alexandrian footnote pointing out the poem's self-referentiality; we can imagine Silius saying to his reader: 'the Garamantes, well known from a different source', and this source is *Aeneid* 6.794. The chronological play in the two triumphs (Scipio – Augustus) where Silius refers back to a triumph that came after Scipio's triumph turns Virgil into an epic successor of Silius. For the use of Alexandrian footnote in Classical literature, see Hinds 1998: 1-5.

634. semper naufraga Syrtis: Syrtis is a sandy area off the coast between Carthage and Cyrene, proverbially dangerous to shipping (see *Aen*. 4.41 *inhospita Syrtis*; Luc. 1.367 *per inhospita Syrtis*│*litora*; Sil. 1.408 *uastae…Syrtis*; V. Fl. *saeuas…Syrtes*; Strabo *Geo*. 17.3.20). Lucan offers an aetiology for its shallow waters at 9.303-18 and in the following lines, at 9.319-47, he describes a shipwreck on the Syrtes. The reader's memory is taken back to *Aen*. 1.111, in the episode of the storm that drives Aeneas onto Carthage's shores (*tris Eurus ab alto*│*in breuia et Syrtis urget, miserabile uisu*). Apollonius' Argonauts were also driven by a wind to the inhospitable Syrtis (4.1232-6) during their voyage on the seas. This trackless sand of Syrtis, along with the wandering desert tribes described above (Nomades and Garamantes) emphasise the hostility of African landscapes to Roman conquerors. The deserts and the treacherous shores appear to resist effective invasion. The hostility of the landscape is intensified if we remember Lucan's description of Cato's difficult march through the pathless African lands at 9.378-92, an action that has been described as "an allegory of the arduous path towards virtue" (D'Alessandro Behr 2011: 530). The adverb *semper* works well as a nod to the Syrtis' appearances in epic tradition.

635-6. uictas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas│**ibat**: it is conquered Carthage – more possibly played by an actor during the procession – that is now stretching her hands in supplication. Images of captives stretching out vividly their hands in supplication was a common practice in triumphal processions (see, for example, images from the frieze of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum). Carthage's action here

mirrors the narrative of book 4 where it is Rome stretching her hands in supplication (409 *Romam nunc tendere palmas*) in Scipio's speech to encourage his soldiers to fight. The suppliant Carthage also reminds us of the figure of helpless Aeneas in *Aeneid* 1, in the storm at sea begging for his life (93-4 *ingemit, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas* | *talia uoce refert*). Through this reference Silius depicts how Rome has now conquered Juno's city. The stretching of the hand towards the sky is a physical reaction from suppliants and those approaching death: see characteristically Hector's father Priam who begs for his son's life (*Il*. 22.37), or Pompey's wife Cornelia (Luc. 8.582-3).

636. effigies orae iam lenis Hiberae: Hibera, the city where the Second Punic War initiated (Liv. 23.28) is here personified as being pacified, a symbolic way to show that Spain is a defeated and a tamed conquest. The restoration of the previously disturbed natural world is a means of resolution and illustrates the end of the war. The word *effigies* indicates the personification of the cities and their people taking part in the procession. Other personifications of peoples and districts can be found in Ovid who imagines a representation of Germania in the future triumph of Tiberius (*Tr*. 4.2.43-6, *Pont*. 2.8.39-40).

637. terrarum finis Gades: the end of the world belongs now to Rome. Gades is today's Cadiz which was considered as the boundary of the world in the west (*cognataque limina* at 3.4). Cicero calls it *usque ad Oceanum* at *Tusc*. 1.12.28, possibly because Gades is on the Atlantic Ocean while Calpe is on the Mediterranean Sea. For a detailed analysis of the name and its use in the *Punica*, see Bleiching 1928: 81-9. The reference to the edges of the world here as part of a triumphal parade gives a cosmic element to the whole event and depicts Scipio as a universal ruler.

637-8. finis | …terminus: the vocabulary is clearly indicative of closure. Silius depicts the Roman Empire achieving its *telos* by extending its sovereignty and enclosing all the above nations. It strongly recalls *Aen*. 1.287 (*imperium Oceano … terminet*), where Virgil predicts the extraordinary spread of the Roman Empire under Augustus who will mark the boundaries of the empire with Ocean.

638. Herculeis Calpe: the northern Pillar, Calpe Mons, is the Rock of Gibraltar, which is said to be the Pillars of Hercules; see Sil. 1.141 *finem Gadis Calpenque secutus*;

5.396 *Calpen Herculeam*; 10.174 *ab antris Herculeae Calpes*. For an analysis of the name and its use in the *Punica*, see Bleiching 1928: 78-81. As well as Calpe, Pyrene is also in line 641 displayed in the triumph. For other examples of mountains exhibited in triumphal parades see Ovid *Pont*. 2.1.39, *Trist*. 4.2.37-8, Tac. *Ann*. 2.41, Claud. 24.22-3 with most accounts being short and general (see Östenberg 2009: 231 n.179).

638-9. Baetesque lauare│solis equos dulci consuetus fluminis unda: Baetis is a river in Southern Spain, called by the inhabitants Certis, now Guadalquivir (Liv. 28.16.2). The reference is to the West, where the sun sets. The description shows the horses of sun being tired from their journey wanting to drink water from the sweet river. The river water is sweet mainly because they now belong to a tamed landscape, and also to make it distinct from the ocean water which is salty. Conquered rivers appeared in triumphal processions in late Republican times (see Caesar's procession in 46 BC mentioned by Ovid *Ars* 1.223-4, Florus *Epit*. 2.13.88-9, and Lucan 3.76-7), also continued in Augustus' triumph in 29 BC, and into the Imperial age; for more details, see Östenberg 2009: 231-3. See also Virgil's description of the tamed power of the river Euphrates at *Aen*. 8.726 *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis* that projects Augustus' ideology of global pacification through domination.

640-1. frondosumque apicem subigens ad sidera mater│bellorum fera Pyrene: Pyrene works as a synecdoche for Hispania. A similar expression for Spain as a mother of war can be found at Sil. 15.184 (*bellorum…creatrix*). The Pyrenees are called 'the mother of the war' because they represent the border which Hannibal crossed to initiate the Second Punic War, in a similar sense that Jocasta is called the impious mother of war (*impia belli*│*mater*) at Stat. *Theb*. 7.483 since she gave birth to both protagonists. The tragic story of Pyrene's rape and death as described at Sil. 3.417-40 associates the place with violence and war (see Augoustakis 2003: 247 on his general argument that Hannibal's suffering at his crossing over the Alps is reflected in the bloodstained mountains of the Pyrenees caused by the suffering of the nymph Pyrene). The adjective *fera* is attributed to her because of the bellicose and savage inhabitants in the Iberian Peninsula, and is equivalent to *nec mitis* Hiberus in the same line (see Bleiching 1928: 90). The leafy summits of the Pyrenees are also mentioned in *Punica* 3, at the beginning of Hannibal's route to the Pyrenees (3.415 *Pyrenaei frondosa*

cacumina montis). The description of Pyrene's action, in raising her summits to the stars, gives a sense of the mountain's *apotheosis*.

641-2. nec mitis Hiberus,│cum simul illidit ponto, quos attulit, amnes: the reference here is to the delta of the river, where it rushes to the sea. The clash of river and sea might suggest the clash of the two empires, the Roman and the Carthaginian. **nec mitis**: Ebro's fierce power (see also Sil. 2.449 *extrema…stagnabat Hiberus in ora*, 8.323 *crudo…Hibero*) still remains untamed by the advent of the Roman Empire. Again, another hostile landscape that seems to resist submission. The reference to the Ebro River alludes to the Carthaginians' refusal to acknowledge the Ebro treaty, the boundary Hannibal crossed and triggered the Punic War.

643-4. non ulla magis mentesque oculosque tenebat,│quam uisa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago: Hannibal's final appearance in the epic is that of a fugitive. Although this is a humiliating image, his flight creates the possibility of the fear of his return. For a detailed analysis of the image of Hannibal at the end of the epic and how this image contributes to the closure of the *Punica*, see Introduction, section 3.2. Hannibal captures the attention of the audience more than any other captive in the triumphal parade (other similar examples are King Bituitus who was defeated by Fabius Maximus in 121 BC and is also the focus of the audience among the captives at Liv. *Epit*. 1.37.5-6). The words describing Hannibal's fleeing image in the triumphal procession recall the description of Aeneas, in the guise of whom Juno flees from Turnus at *Aen.* 10.656-7 *huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago│conicit in latebras*. This is the last sight of Hannibal in the epic, all alone separated from his army, as was Herakles' final appearance in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (at 4.1478) where he is glimpsed all alone, far away in an endless land. Although Hannibal will not appear in the poem again, there are several allusions to his future return outside the scope of the epic: after the events that the epic narrates, the historiographical tradition dictates that he will seek ways to attack Rome again with the aid of Antiochus in Syria, he will fail, and he will end his life with poison (see comment on 610-2). Hannibal's final appearance in the poem has similarities to Cleopatra's final appearance as described by Horace at *Carm*. 1.37. In this Ode, Cleopatra is first depicted as a threat to Rome whereas at the end she has gained the poet's admiration regarding her courage in facing a dignified death as befits a queen. The fact that both Hannibal and Cleopatra

escaped from the pursuit of their conqueror and are still dreaded by the Romans is a way to showcase the greatness of the conquered enemy. There is another striking similarity between Hannibal and Cleopatra: in Scipio's triumphal procession, Hannibal is not present; he is simply an *imago*, a word that attributes to Hannibal a certain immortality, as I have shown in the Introduction, section 3.2. Cleopatra is also absent in Augustus' parade, a fact that caused Augustus to exhibit a statue of her in the temple of Venus Genetrix showing her dying (see D.C. 51.22.3; App. 2.102 *Κλεοπάτρας τε* ***εἰκόνα*** *καλὴν…παρεστήσατο*). Both leaders' image immortalises them down the ages. Although Cleopatra escaped her humiliation to die in a way that gave her dignity, Hannibal's flight here contributes to the idea of his feminisation, which is apparent especially when Hannibal is shown in defeat.

645. ipse adstans curru atque auro decoratus et ostro: the image of Scipio is described and displayed straight after the image of Hannibal, as it was normal for the captives to parade in front of the triumphing general, and to create an interplay between victor and victim (see Beard 2007: 125). For details of the place each captive held in the procession, see Beard 2007: 124-8. The description of triumphant Scipio on his chariot recalls the similar description of triumphant Augustus on the Palatine at *Aen*. 8.720 as depicted on Aeneas' shield (*ipse sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi*). The gold and purple colours with which Scipio is adorned in the parade are the colours that the victorious commanders used to wear in triumphal processions (see Liv. 45.39 *quodsi in curru scandentis Capitolium, auratos purpuratosque*; 45.40.6 *uictor Paulus, auro purpuraque fulgens*) – perhaps it is the *toga picta*, the purple toga embroidered with gold. The cult statue of Capitoline Jupiter was clothed with a purple tunic embroidered with gold which was afterwards used by triumphators to celebrate their victory (Liv. 10.7 *qui Iouis optimi maximi ornatu decoratus, curru aurato per urbem uectus in Capitolium ascenderit*; Juv. 10.38). Therefore, dressed in these colours, the triumphators resemble Jupiter Optimus Maximus and thus they might feel as if they are gods for a day (see Beard 2007:226). Although triumphant Scipio resembles Capitoline Jupiter, the particular use of *ostrum* here creates connections with the Punic origin of the colour, which, to my mind, offers a negative perspective on Scipio's victory. As I have stated in the Introduction (3.3.), Scipio's entrance into Rome is equated to the advent of Voluptas at Rome as described at Sil. 15.125-7. This equation resembles the advent of the Epigoni as it is foreshadowed in Statius' *Thebaid* (7.220

ueniet suspectior aetas) who will be the future avengers of Argos. Although they do come in Statius and they will bring better times, in Silius there is no future avenger, and the fear caused by Hannibal's threats regarding his future return will be proved vain.

646. Martia…Quiritibus ora: the reference connects Scipio with the ancient and legendary past of Rome: Mars is the legendary founder of the roman race, and the Quirites are the citizens of ancient Rome. The martial spectacles to follow are Bacchus after his victorious expedition to India, and Hercules after the defeat of the Giants. Through these mythological heroes, Scipio is compared to Domitian himself.

647-50. Qualis odoratis descendens Liber ab Indis│egit pampineos frenata tigride currus: Scipio is compared to Indian Bacchus at the moment of the god's victorious return from the expedition in India where he taught the Indians the cultivation of the vine. Scipio conquered and civilized the Africans, in the same way as Bacchus conquered and civilized the Indians – he founded towns, gave laws and built monuments (see D.S. 2.38, Arr. *Indica* 5, *Aen*. 6.805) and founded his monarchy. As Bacchus was then worshipped by the Indians as god, Scipio is now ready for his own *apotheosis*. India is considered a far-off country, which creates one more similarity between Bacchus and Scipio, that both have conquered the edges of the world. The triumph of Bacchus appears in the final lines of Statius' *Theb.* (12.787-8), and works as a closural element; for Bacchus as the god with whom great leaders have compared themselves (such as Alexander, Augustus, Domitian), and for Domitian's association with Bacchus, see Introduction, 3.3. **odoratis…Indis**: India is characterised as incense-bearing also at Ovid *Fast*. 3.720 *turifer Inde*. Although the Far East was the origin of most of the odorants, perfumes were traded from East India, but mainly from Arabia (see Pliny *HN* 13.3). However, India is here called *odorata* because of the particular smell of wine that Bacchus brought to the country. The word *odor* is used mainly for the description of the smell of wine: Pliny *HN* 21.18.35 *uina mustis odoratiora*; Lucr. 6.804 *odor uini*. Both Ovid (*Fast*. 3.301) and Virgil (*Geo*. 4.279) call wine *odoratus Bacchus*, Propertius (2.33.30) uses *pampineus odor* to refer to the art of wine preparation, and Statius (*Theb*. 2.85-8) identifies the odour of wine with the wine itself. In the *Punica*, Silius describes Falernian wine using the words *dulcis odoratis umor sudauit ab uuis* at 7.191. For a discussion of wine and its odour

in Roman poetry, see Lilja 1972: 116-9. **egit pampineos frenata tigride currus**: Bacchus' arrival is accompanied by tigers which draw his chariot (see for instance *Aen*. 6.804-5, Horace *Carm*. 3.3.13-4, Ovid *Ars* 1.549-50). The use of the word *frenata* gives the sense that Bacchus controls the orientalisation. His association with the Orient, though, is one of the characteristics that make him an unstable god. For aspects of orientalisation in the *Punica* and its connection with deceit and defeat, see Introduction, section 2.2.2.

649-50. cum Phlegraeis confecta mole Gigantum,│incessit campis tangens Tirynthius astra: Scipio is next compared to Hercules at the moment of his triumph over the heaped mass of the Giants, followed by his *apotheosis* (see also Pindar's *Nem.* 1.67-74 for Heracles' *apotheosis* after his victory over the Giants). Just as Hercules had restored cosmic order out of disorder, now Scipio is depicted as the ruler that brings order in Rome after the long and turbulent period of the Punic wars. Throughout the epic, it is Hannibal who is depicted and compared to the Giants. In book 12 he is portrayed as attempting to conquer the Capitol challenging the fate of the divine. Now, Scipio, as son of Jupiter, has conquered Hannibal, in the same way that Hercules did it in the past. Scipio's victory over Hannibal makes the Roman leader a second Hercules. The comparison of Scipio to the semi-divinities Bacchus and Hercules (and the deified Quirinus in the next line) is indicative of his future divine status which might also recall Domitian's status as *dominus et deus* (Suet. *Dom*. 13.2; Mart. 10.72.3; Plin. *Pan*. 2.3). The reference to Hercules also reminds us of Domitian's public iconography as deified Hercules, and in this way Silius links a republican hero with autocratic characteristics attributed to Flavian emperors (see Littlewood 2011:190). **Phlegraeis**: Phlegra is where Hercules fought against the Giants (Apollod. 2.7.1; Pind. *N*. 4.40). **Tirynthius**: it is used as an epithet of Hercules, from Tiryns, south of the Argolis, the place he was brought up (see other references at Aen. 7.662, 8.228, V. Fl. 3.161; 485; 565). In the Augustan era, the association of Hercules and the emperor was a common topos. Hercules' unstable duality is well-known and has been analysed by Tipping 2010: 79 esp. n.81. The reference to Bacchus and wine above, creates connections with Hercules' association with effeminacy and drunkenness (see for example his appearance in the stories of Omphale and Alcestis); Marc Antony, who is accused by Cicero of debauchery and effeminacy through excessive consumption of wine (*Phil.* 2.67, 3.12, 5.9), claimed descent from this god

(see Plu. *Ant.* 4). Alexander, often compared to Hercules, is well-known for his tendency towards excessive drinking that he could not overcome, which led him to yield to crimes (see Sen. *Ep*. 83.19). Scipio's path towards victory is dangerous and he can easily go astray. **astra**: it alludes to Scipio's almost-*apotheosis* that is coming in the following lines. Scipio's *apotheosis* has already been foretold at Sil. 13.635 by Pomponia, Scipio's mother (*nec in caelum dubites te attollere factis*). Scipio's choice of Virtus over Voluptas at 15.18-130 marks him as a true literary descendant of Hercules, who chose *Ἀρετή* over *Κακία* (X. *Mem.* 2.1.21-33). Regarding the complexities of Scipio's *apotheosis*, and Silius' scepticism on the divide between human-divine, see Introduction, 3.3.

651-2. salue, inuicte parens, non concessure Quirino│laudibus ac meritis non concessure Camillo: in the lines before, Silius compared Scipio to the legendary far past of Rome (Bacchus and Hercules), and now he connects him with early Roman myth and society, depicting him as a "proto-typical Roman hero" (Dominik 2003:473). Quirinus and Camillus are considered (re)founders of Rome and fathers of the country. The comparison of Scipio with these two particular models expresses Silius' concerns regarding the rise of individualism in Rome (see details in Introduction, 3.3). **salue, inuicte parens**: the invincibility of the emperor is one of the imperial characteristics (see *Silu.* 4.3.139; 4.7.49; 4.8.61-2). The epithet *inuictus* balances on the verge between victorious commander (for example, Hor. *Sat*. 2.1.11; Ov. *Tr*. 4, 2, 44) and god (*inuictus Iuppiter* Ov. *Fast*. 5) (Henriksen 2012: 30). The use of *parens* as a title is attributed to a hero who had rescued his citizens from a danger (Littlewood 2011: 246-7). Thus, the title was given to Camillus after the destruction of the Gallic army (Diod. 14.117.5-6; Liv. 5.49); to Romulus (Cic. *Diu*. 1.30), to Cicero (Cic. *Att*. 9.10.3), to Marius (Cic. *Rab. Perd*. 27), to Cato (Luc. 9.601-2), and to Fabius who rescued the Romans from Minucius (Sil. 7.7; Plu. *Fab*. 27). Scipio, therefore, deserves the title of *parens* after having saved the country from the Carthaginian enemy. **salue**: a closural word (see Hardie 2007: 159) which creates an encomium for Scipio, whose glory and merits are equal to Roman heroes and fathers of the country, such as Quirinus and Camillus. The repetition of *non concessure* and the litotes add emphasis to the praise. The names of Quirinus and Camillus are in the same metrical position at the end of the line also for emphatic reasons. The salutation recalls the encomium for Domitian at *Silu*. 4.3.139 (*salue, dux hominum et parens*

deorum) when Statius praises Domitian for his contribution to the city. **Quirino**: after the demi-gods Bacchus and Hercules to whom Scipio was compared earlier, he is now compared to another demi-god, Quirinus. This comparison of Scipio to Quirinus, the ancient Italian god with which Romulus, the first founder of Rome, was identified after his death, illustrates Scipio as another founder of Rome and alludes to his deification. In Cicero's *De Republica* Scipio expresses his admiration towards Romulus as the founder of the Roman state and its early constitution; he emphasizes his wisdom and good leadership (see *Rep.* 2.5). However, I believe that the reference to Quirinus here conveys some negative portents: Quirinus' identification with Romulus recalls the fratricidal way that Romulus founded the city and gained power. The post-Sullan propaganda and the civil war that Sulla brought to Rome changed the perspective from which Romulus was viewed before that and instead of focusing on his military achievements, he was mainly associated with fratricide (for analysis of this 1st century BC propaganda see Evans 1992: 89-90). Therefore, Scipio's victory could allude to the image of the civil wars to follow. **Camillo**: Scipio is now compared to Camillus, who is the second founder of Rome (Livy at 5.49 refers to Camillus as another Romulus and second founder of Rome *Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque… appellabatur*; see also Plut. in *Cam.* 1.1 *κτίστης δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναγραφεὶς δεύτερος*), who saved the country and restored peace to Rome. Camillus is known for being virtuous and righteous (Plu. *Cam.* 10.6), a good soldier and statesman, and when he was exiled from Rome he only returned for her salvation (see Neel 2017: 262). Scipio will surpass all those virtues of Camillus. However, the reference to Camillus may have a negative tone as it might allude to their common end: Camillus will be exiled, in the same way as Scipio, as has been foretold by the Sibyl at 13.514-5 (*pudet urbis iniquae,* | *quod post haec decus hoc patriaque domoque carebit*). Camillus and Scipio share one more characteristic: both are not deified heroes. This might be the reason that Silius leaves Camillus as the last *exemplum* in the list, the one that is closest to Scipio's character, given that he appears immediately afterwards. Although Scipio is not a deified hero, Silius here shows a desire to deify him, following the already established pattern of the identification of a ruler with the gods. Scipio's *apotheosis* can also be viewed as a reward for facing Juno's labours (or those of her protégés), as was the case for previous examples such as Romulus, Hercules, Aeneas and Fabius at 7.732. Indeed, heroes are depicted as transcending their human powers to face difficulties, which most of the time come from divine

labours, which eventually lead them to heroic actions. Silius' opinion that glory can be achieved through a difficult upward path can be detected in 4.603-4 (*perque aspera duro*│*nititur ad laudem uirtus interrita cliuo*). For the interrelationship of humans and gods in the *Punica*, see Dominik 2003: 472-3. For an analysis of Fabius' *apotheosis* see Littlewood 2011: 246.

653. cum te memorat de stirpe deorum: Silius puts Scipio among the heroes descended from Jupiter; Aeneas, Hercules, and Alexander. At 4.476 Mars also confirms Scipio's descent from Jupiter, *uera Iouis proles*. In Jupiter's prophecy about the future glory of Rome, Silius hails Domitian as son of gods (3.625 *nate deum*) and creates a parallel between Scipio and Domitian (see also Statius at *Silu*. 1.1.74 *magnorum proles genitorque deorum* for Domitian). Augustus is greeted as the true son of Jupiter through the formula of the hymn to Hercules at *Aen.* 8.293 and especially at 8.302-3 where Virgil acknowledges Hercules as the true son of Jupiter (*salue, uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis,*│*et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*). The word *memorat* recalls the proem where Silius announces his intention to record the achievements of the ancient Romans (1.3-4 *da, Musa, decus memorare laborum*│*antiquae Hesperiae*), an idea that is now fulfilled and monumentalises Scipio's *apotheosis*.

654. Tarpei…Tonantis: Scipio is not compared simply to Jupiter, but to Jupiter the Thunderer, the god who punishes oath-breakers, in this case, the Carthaginians who are depicted as violators of peace from the beginning to the end of the *Punica*. For this perception of Jupiter Thunderer see *Aen*. 12.200. The reference to *Tarpeius Tonans* recalls Domitian who is also compared to Jupiter and is also called *Tarpeius Tonans* (Mart. 9.86.7), *Palatinus Tonans* (at 9.39.1; 9.86.7) or *Latius Tonans* (at 9.65.1). Scholars have detected an allusion in this phrase to the final lines of book 8 of Lucan 8.871-2 *atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum*│*tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis* about doubts on Pompey's death place and his assimilation to Jupiter. Silius here invites the reader to see that Scipio is associated with Pompey but the people will never doubt his divine parentage. As Lucan implies divinization for Pompey by comparing him to *Jupiter Tonans,* so Silius alludes to *apotheosis* of Scipio when he is also equated to Jupiter. The word *Roma* is situated between Jupiter and the adjective qualifying him (*Tarpei, mentitur Roma, Tonantis*) where Silius wants to

illustrate that Rome now is safe, surrounded by Capitoline Jupiter. However, on a different level, *nec* is far enough from the *mentitur Roma* to give the sense that Silius is implying that Rome's claim of divine descent might precisely be a lie. Though Pompey and Scipio did not achieve their own *apotheosis*, Silius' final lines here reveal an openness to a reading of general anxiety and disquiet regarding the matter of deification in the Flavian society.

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