Abstract

A Commentary on Silius Italicus Book 1.

D.C. Feeney, Merton College.

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The main part of the thesis is a commentary on Silius Italicus Book 1, concentrating on the poet's attempts to blend history into epic. Close scrutiny of his language reveals his awareness of the problems involved in writing historical epic, as he varies his diction and conventions at different stages of the book. The commentary also examines his manipulation of the historical tradition.

Excursus 1, The Structure, examines Silius' solution of the large-scale problem of shaping his historical raw material into a poem that conformed to the conventions of proportion and harmony. It is suggested that he did not seek unity through a hero or by thematic means, but by superimposing a coherent pattern on to the events of the war.

Excursus 2, The Gods, investigates Silius' decision to retain the traditional epic divine apparatus. It is argued that such a decision is intelligible and not to be summarily dismissed as misguided. Any "failure" of the divine apparatus in Silius is a matter of practice, not of theory.

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Preface

The poetry of Silius has attracted generalisations and sweeping verdicts: the commentary is written in the belief that an impression of such merit as he has is best achieved by a detailed study of an extended and substantial section.

Two preliminary qualifications are necessary. Although I discuss textual problems as they occur, this is not an edition based on independent investigation of the manuscripts. For reports of the manuscripts' readings, I have relied on the apparatuses of Bauer, Summers, and the Budé. Nor is this an historical commentary. The material which Silius treats in his first book contains many interesting and difficult problems of historical interpretation, both general (Roman procedure for declaring war), and specific (the Ebro treaty, the embassies between Rome and Saguntum, the senatorial debate between Fabius and Lentulus). It is within neither my competence nor my scope to discuss such matters from the point of view of the historian; I discuss them insofar as they impinge on the poem itself, revealing Silius' priorities and judgment in organising his historical raw material into an epic.

For Silius was writing historical epic, and a major aim of the thesis is to show that Silius was aware of the concomitant problems and responded to them with some measure of intelligence and success. Excursus 2, The Gods, justifies his decision to retain the divine apparatus despite the example of Lucan; Excursus 1, The Structure, is an analysis of his redaction of annalistic history into a poem of proportion and shape. The commentary demonstrates from close range Silius' attempt to marshal the historians' narrative, with its panoply of digression, speech and action, into a dramatic and coherent unit.

The commentary also documents in some detail Silius' varying register of language, as he mixes in appropriate blends of historical tone. The exordium (1-20) in particular reveals Silius' sensitivity to the different conventions of epic and history, a sensitivity that is reflected in a most judicious choice of diction. Throughout the book he shows himself alive to the flavour of language: this is seen not only in his choice of what is appropriate register for the matter in hand, but also in a series of plays upon words and pointed uses of language.

The same need to establish the level of diction explains the documentation from earlier poets, from Vergil above all, then Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius. This documentation reveals just how extensive was Silius' debt to his tradition: it also establishes an important negative result, that Silius' debt was not a debt of imagination, but small-scale. This is evident, I think, in his so-called "Stoicism", which is not a matter of belief but of appropriation of striking "sententiae" from his admired predecessors, Seneca and Lucan. Similarly with Vergil and Statius, who are occasional and _ad hoc_ models: profound schemes of adaption and imitation are conspicuously rare in Silius. An exception is the extensive use of Vergil in the opening stages of the book, when Silius is binding his poem to the _Aeneid_.

Excursus 1, _The Structure_, is designed to show Silius' success in the large-scale organisation of his material; the commentary calls attention to the effects he achieves on a word by word, line by line, episodic basis. If these, so to speak, strategic and tactical levels show a degree of accomplishment, the operational level is more shaky. In the first half of Book 1, for instance, while each episode, digression and ecphrasis is successful enough within itself, the cumulative effect is lapidary and undynamic: the articulation on the middle range is perhaps Silius' biggest weakness. But I will have merited well of Silius if I have shown that the poem yields results to an open-minded approach that is prepared to take it seriously as a conscientious piece of work by a man who knew what he was doing.

Abbreviations

I have used the following abbreviations to lighten the load, especially in the commentary. Periodicals are cited according to the system of *L'Année Philologique*.

Ahl	F. Ahl, *Lucan: An Introduction*, Cornell Univ. Press, 1976.
von Albrecht	M. von Albrecht, *Silius Italicus: Freiheit und Gebundenheit romischer Epik*, Amsterdam 1964.
von Albrecht 1963	M. von Albrecht, Gleichnis und Innenwelt in Silius' Punica, Hermes XCI 1963 352-375.
Axelson	B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Lund 1945.
Baehrens	E. Baehrens, Kritische Satura, JKlPh CV 1872 631f..
Bardon	H. Bardon, *La Littérature Latine Inconnue*, 1 Paris 1952, 2 Paris 1956.
Barth	C. Barth, *Adversariorum et Commentariorum Libri LX*, Frankfurt 1624.
Bassett	E. Bassett, Hercules and the hero of the *Punica*, in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. L. Wallach, Cornell Univ. Press, 1966 258-273.
Bauer	L. Bauer, ed. *Punica*, Leipzig 1890-1892.
Bauer 1888	L. Bauer, Zu Silius Italicus, JKlPh CXXXVII 1888 193-224.
Blass	H. Blass, Emendationen zu Silius Italicus, Jahresbericht über die Louisienstädtische Realschule, Berlin 1867.
Böhme	R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion* Baden 1937
Bothe	F.H. Bothe, *Des C. Silius Italicus Punischer Krieg* Stuttgart 1855.
Buchwald	F. Buchwald, *Quaestiones Silianae*, Diss. Viadr. Gorlicii 1886.
Budé	P. Miniconi and G. Devallet, ed. *Punica* 1-4, Paris 1979.
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1923 - .
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863 - .
Cintas	M. Cintas, *Manuel d'Archéologie punique* Paris 1970 .
Dausqueius	C. Dausqueius, ed. *Punica*, Paris 1615.

Delz 1969	J. Delz, Die erste Junoszene in den Punica des Silius Italicus, MH XXVI 1969 88-100.
Delz 1975	J. Delz, Nec tu diuinam Aeneida tempta. Textkritisches zu Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus, MH XXXII 1975 155-172.
Dessau ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,*^{4} Weidmann 1974.
Drakenborch	A. Drakenborch, ed. Punica, Utrecht 1717.
Duff	J.D. Duff, ed. *Punica,* London 1934.
Ernesti	J.A. Ernesti, ed. *Punica,* Leipzig 1791.
Ernout-Meillet	A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la'Langue Latine,* rev. J. André, Paris 1979.
Frisk	H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* Heidelberg 1960-1970.
van Groningen	B.A. van Groningen, The proems of the Iliad and the Odyssey, Med. der Kon. Nederl. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 9, No.8 1946.
Gsell	S. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* , Paris 1913-1928.
Häfliger	E. Häfliger, *Tag und Nacht bei den römischen Dichtern,* Diss. Luzern 1903.
Håkanson	L. Håkanson, *Silius Italicus. Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen,* Lund Gleerup 1976.
Häussler 1	R. Häussler, *Das historische Epos der Griechen und Römer bis Vergil,* Heidelberg 1976.
Häussler 2	R. Häussler, *Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie,* Heidelberg 1978.
Healy	J.F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World,* London 1978.
Heinze	R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik,*^{3} Leipzig 1915.
Herzog	R. Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike: Formgeschichte einer erbaulicher Gattung* 1, München 1975.
Highet	G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid,* Princeton 1972.
Housman, *Papers*	*The Classical Papers of A.E. Housman: collected and edited by J. Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear,* Cambridge 1972.
HRR	*Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* 1,ed. H. Peter, Leipzig 1914.

H.-S.	J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik,* neubearbeitet von A. Szantyr, München 1965.
Juhnke	H. Juhnke, *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit,* Zetemata LIII, München 1972.
Kennedy 1963	G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece,* Princeton 1963.
Kennedy 1972	G. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World,* Princeton 1972.
Ker	A. Ker, Siliana, PCPhS XIII 1967 14-31.
Koch	E. Koch, *Quaestiones Siliane criticae et exegeticae,* Diss. Münster 1877.
Koster	S. Koster, *Antike Epostherien,* Palingenesia V, Wiesbaden 1970.
Kroll	Der Stoff der Dichtung, in W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur,* Stuttgart 1924, 44-63.
K.-S.	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache,*^{3} rev. A. Thierfelder, Darmstadt 1955.
Latte	K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.4, München 1960.
Lazenby	J.F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War,* Aris and Phillips 1978.
Lefebvre	J.B. Lefebvre de Villebrune, ed. *Punica,* Paris 1781.
Lindblom	I.T. Lindblom, *In Silii Italici Punica Quaestiones,* Diss. Upsala 1906.
Lyne	R.O.A.M. Lyne, ed. *Ciris,* Cambridge 1978.
L.S.	C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary,* Oxford 1879.
Marsus	P. Marsus, ed. *Punica,* Venice 1483.
Miniconi	P. Miniconi, *Études de Thèmes "guerriers" de la Poésie épique greco-romaine,* Paris 1951.
Müller	L Müller, *De Re Metrica Poetarum Latinorum,*^{2} Leipzig 1894.
Nicol	J. Nicol, *The Historical and Geographical Sources used by Silius Italicus,* Blackwell 1936.
N.-H.	R.G.M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book* 1^2 Oxford 1975; *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book 2,* Oxford 1978.

Ogilvie	R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5,* Oxford 1965.
Otto	A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* Leipzig 1890.
Owen	S.G. Owen, rev. Corpus Poetarum Latinorum Fasc. IV, CR XIX 1905 172-176.
O.C.D.	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary,*^{2} Oxford 1970.
O.L.D.	*Oxford Latin Dictionary,* Oxford 1968-1982.
Raabe	H. Raabe, *Plurima Mortis Imago: Vergleichende Interpretationen zur Bildersprache Vergils,* Zetemata LIX München 1974.
Ramaglia	L. Ramaglia, La figura di Giunone nelle Puniche di Silio Italico, RSC 1 1952/53 35-43.
Roscher	W.H. Roscher, *Ausfürhliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* Leipzig 1884-1937.
Ruperti	G. Ruperti, ed. *Punica,* Göttingen 1795-1798.
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* Stuttgart 1893 -.
Schaefer	J. Schaefer, *Quaestiones criticae et exegeticae ad Silii Italici Punicorum Libros 1-4 spectantes,* Diss. Münster 1893.
Schanz-Hosius	M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 8.1-2, München 1927-1935.
Schinkel	T. Schinkel, *Quaestiones Silianae,* Diss. Halle 1893.
Schmid-Stählin	W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 7.1, München 1929.
Schrader	J. Schrader's notes as reported by M. Haupt, Hermes IV 1870 345.
Schumann	O. Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter - Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München 1979.
Schwyzer	E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.1, München 1950-1971.
Shackleton Bailey	D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Siliana, CQ N.S. IX 1959 173-180.
Sittl	C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890.

Skutsch	O Skutsch, *Studia Enniana,* London 1968.
Soubiran	J. Soubiran, *L'Élision dans la Poésie Latine,* Etudes et Commentaires LXIII Paris 1966.
Steuart	E.M. Steuart, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius,* Cambridge 1925.
Summers	W.C. Summers, ed. *Punica*, in *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* 2, ed. J.P. Postgate, London 1905.
Summers 1894	W.C. Summers, *A Study of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus*, London 1894.
Summers 1899	W.C. Summers, Notes on Silius Italicus, CR XIII 1899 296-301.
Swanson	D.C. Swanson, *The Names in Roman Verse,* University of Wisconsin 1967.
Thilo	G. Thilo, Zu den Punica des Silius Italicus, JKlPh CXLIII 1891 589-624.
T.L.L.	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig 1900 -.
van Veen	J.S. van Veen, Notulae Criticae ad Silium Italicum, Mnemosyne XVI 1888 289-292.
Vessey	D. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid,* Cambridge 1973.
Volkmann	R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1885.
Walbank	F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius,* Oxford 1957 - 1979.
Walde	A Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* rev. J.B. Hofmann, Heidelberg 1938.
Warmington	B.H. Warmington, *Carthage,* London 1969.
Wilkinson	L.P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry,* Cambridge 1963.
Williams 1968	G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, Oxford 1968.
Williams 1978	G. Williams, *Change and Decline,* Berkeley California 1978.
Wissowa	G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer^2* München 1912.

For reports of emendations or readings of Barth, Blass, Bothe and Koch, I have had to rely on the apparatuses of Summers, Bauer and the Budé.

I have not consulted the older (i.e. pre-Bauer) editions and commentaries in a systematic way, with the aim of treating the history of the textual problems as an end in itself. But Ruperti, by common consent much the best of these early editors, I have worked with closely; both his learning and his sympathetic approach to his author have been of much value.

I have taken over from Lyne's edition of the *Ciris* his two very useful symbols, [!] and [*]. The first, borrowed from R. Helm (*Die pseudovirgilische Ciris,* 1937), denotes "in this (or the same) metrical position in the line" (Lyne p.xii); the second denotes "within the selected range of poets", i.e., those chosen by Lyne as some sort of "control" over what constitutes poetic diction (p.4): viz., "Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil (and *Vergiliana* except *Aetna*), Horace, Propertius, Tibullus (including the *Corp. Tib.*), Ovid (all the works examined for the concordance of Deferrari *et al.*), Lucan, Seneca (in the *Tragedies*; including the spurious plays), Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial and Juvenal." I only say "in poetry" without this symbol when T.L.L. makes it possible to say, e.g., "such a phrase never occurs elsewhere in poetry."

I use the following standard abbreviations for the manuscripts and the readings of the lost Coloniensis (the abbreviations are as given by the Budé editors, p. cxi).

L	Laurentianus, plut. XXXVII, cod.16, saec.XV
F	Florentianus, Bibl.Aed.Fl.Eccl. CXCVI, saec.XV.
O	Oxoniensis Collegii Reginensis CCCXIV, saec. XV.
V	Vaticanus lat. 1652, saec.XV.
S	Consensus quattuor codicum LFOV.

Cm	lectiones codicis Coloniensis a F. Modio prolatae in *Nouantiquarum lectionum* epistulis.
Cc	lectiones codicis Coloniensis a L. Carrione prolatae in *Emendationum et Obseruationum libris.*
Ch	lectiones codicis Coloniensis a N. Heinsio prolatae in editione Sili Drakenborchiana.
Cd	lectiones codicis Coloniensis a Drakenborchio prolatae eodem loco.

1-20. Exordium. Silius begins with a formal introduction. He announces his subject, appeals to the Muse, and proclaims the importance of the particular war he has chosen to narrate, the Hannibalic war, promising to reveal its causes.

The formal introduction to an epic is normally called a prooemium, but for convenience we may best keep this word to describe what it originally denoted for the Greeks, a self-contained "prelude" to epic recitation in the form of a hymn to a god: cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 1-115, *Op.* 1-10; N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 1974 3f., and notes on 1-3, 495; R. Böhme, *Das Prooimion* 1937. The poet addresses one god or another, and sings of them at varying length; the prefatory nature of the Hymns is clearly shown by the transitory formulae which a number of them contain at their finish: cf. 9.9, 18.11, 27.21f., 28. 17f., 29.13f., Richardson on *Dem* 495.

The poems of Hesiod have been transmitted with such poems attached: the *Theogony* begins with a hymn to the Muses, the *Works and Days* with a hymn to Zeus. But the narrative epics of Homer were committed to writing without any such prefatory hymn, and the fragmentary openings of the other early Greek epics are likewise bereft of a prooemium. It may well be that these poems were in fact originally prefaced by a prooemium: cf. Böhme 52ff., West on *Th.* 1-115. The opening lines quoted by Aristotle of an epic on the Persian Wars (*Rhet.* 1415 a 17f.), "optimistically ascribed by some editors to Choerilus" (Brink on Hor. *Ars.* 137), echo the closing formulae of the hymns in such a way as to imply that the poet intended a connection to be made: ἥγεό μοι *λόγον ἄλλον*, ὅπωϲ Ἀϲίηϲ ἀπὸ γαίηϲ/ἦλθεν ἐϲ Εὐρώπην πόλεμοϲ μέγαϲ; cf. *Hy.* 18.11, ϲεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενοϲ μεταβήϲομαι *ἄλλον ἐϲ ὕμνον*. Indeed, Crates knew of a version of the *Iliad* that did begin with a prooemium:

Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον, *Homeri Vita Romana* p.32 Wil.

J. Stenzel has strenuously argued against the idea that Homer's epics' exordia had been prefaced by prooemia, *De ratione quae inter carminum epicorum prooemia et hymnicam Graecorum poesin intercedere uideatur*, Diss. Bratislava, 1908 10ff.. In a systematic comparison of the homeric hymns and the exordia of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (16ff.), he shows the many resemblances between the two forms, and claims that the exordia of epic were intended to stand *instead of* prooemia. Even if his conclusions are not accepted, his demonstration of the hymnic form of epic exordia remains very valuable: see 1"arma", "quibus" nn.. The reason for the parallelism is not hard to find: the singers will have found it natural to shape the openings of their songs in the same fashion, whether they were beginning a prooemium or a narrative of heroic deeds.

Originally, then, the epic exordium probably led on from a hymnic prooemium, with which it had many formal affinities. But the loss of the prooemia meant, naturally enough, that the exordia were taken at face value, as sole and sufficient introduction to the poems of which they formed the head. Here is the starting-point for later poets and critics. The function of the epic exordium was defined by Aristotle, taking Homer and "Choerilus" as his examples: δεῖγμά ἐστιν τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα προειδῶσι περὶ οὗ ᾖ ὁ λόγος καὶ μὴ κρέμηται ἡ διάνοια· τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ· ὁ δοὺς οὖν ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ ἐχόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ *Rhet.* 1415 a 12-15. Aristotle's word δεῖγμα, "sample", "indication", is just right for Homer's prefaces, which give "not so much a statement of the contents, but....a very concise indication of the subject", van Groningen 4; c.f. E.S. Bassett, AJPh XLIV 1923 340. Later epic gives a more and more precise programme, so that Quintilian's description of Homer's exordia is really more applicable to Vergil's: "auditorem...docilem summa celeriter comprensa facit", 10.1.48. Aristotle's singling out of the ἀρχή is also acute: the announcement of a starting-point remained an important function of an epic's exordium (see 17-20n). To the proclaiming of the subject and starting-point we may add the invocation of the Muse: "sane in tres partes diuidunt poetae carmen suum: proponunt, inuocant, narrant. plerumque tamen duas res faciunt et ipsam propositionem miscent inuocationi, quod in utroque opere Homerus fecit: namque hoc melius est", Serv. *A.*1.8 (this is in fact what Silius does [3-6]); "beniuolum auditorem inocatione dearum quas praesidere uatibus creditum est....facit (Homerus)," Quint. 10.1.48 (see further 3n.); cf. Brink on Hor. *Ars* 140 for the use of Homer's exordia as paradigms.

Silius' exordium is plainly well grounded in this tradition, as the commentary will show in detail. But Silius is writing historical epic, and he has infused his preface with a strikingly historical, especially Livian flavour. This tone is evident in many items of diction (see 1 "ordior", "quibus"; 2 "iura"; 6 "mouit"; 9 "conuenta"; 11 "temerando"; 20 "motus" nn.), and most remarkably in the thread of historians' common-places which make up the skeleton of the preface: Silius is writing to foster the memory of these events (3); he explains the importance of his particular subject (5f., 12-16); he dwells on the power of Fortune in war (7 f.), and on the victors' near approach to disaster (13f.); he promises to reveal the causes behind the war (17-20). From the historians come also the emphasis on the importance of Rome's manpower (5 "quot" n.), the disparaging references to the Carthaginian character and constitution (5, 10 nn.), and the apophthegm on Rome's safety behind her walls (16).

The historical tone of the exordium should not be allowed to obscure the elements of epic tradition: see esp. 1 "arma", "quibus";

3 "Musa"; 4 "quantosque"; 10 "impius ensis" nn.; the straggling progress of the verses themselves down to 8 recalls the paratactic movement of Homer's exordia. Most importantly, the Vergilian presence in these lines is strong and insistent, though modified at places by a Livian note (see 1 "ordior arma", 5 "uiros" nn.). The whole of the *Punica* may be viewed as a "continuation" of the *Aeneid*, carrying forward the uncompleted Vergilian theme of Roman and Carthaginian rivalry, drawing Vergil down into "history", to describe the fulfilment of what were prophecies in the *Aeneid* (see 17-20n). Of course, as Vergil comes closer to history, so the history comes closer to Vergil; the events themselves, and Silius' poem in which they are described, acquire a somewhat specious automatic dignity by being viewed through a Vergilian film.

The exordium is a satisfying introduction to the book and to the poem as a whole. Besides announcing the subject and justifying it, the preface touches on the basic themes of the poem: antique Roman virtue, Carthaginian "perfidia", the moral authority of Jupiter and Rome: cf. von Albrecht 16-24, Das Prooemium als Ankündigung des Ganzen. Many of the motifs here mentioned are systematically picked up in the poem's last book (see 2 "iura"; 5 "perfida pacti"; 7f.; 14 "reserauit" nn.), so that the work as a whole is given a further degree of formal unity: a similar instinct for cohesion leads Silius to round off the first book itself with reference back to this exordium (see 675-694 n.). He does run the risk of that bathos for which Horace censures the "cyclicus": "Cyclic poets promise (the whole story of) a memorable happening ... after which the (unselected) story will fall flat" (Brink on Hor. *Ars* 136-139); his obligation to the historian's side of his task will have to suffice to clear him of that charge.

In keeping with his consistent traditionalism (cf. C.W. Mendell, Silius the Reactionary, PQ III 1924 92-106), Silius shuns the contemporary fashion whereby the traditional epic exordium was contaminated with elements more appropriate to other genres: the intrusion of a subjective tone, with self-justification and excuse, and the "laudes principis" ("hierin vergilischer", as Häussler 2.178 notes); for the normal silver exordium, see E. Lefèvre, *Das Prooemium der Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus,* AAWM VI 1971. It is here that he is most "epic", most Vergilian, when he avoids the examination of his own motives and aims that was mandatory in an historian's preface, and "de rigeur" for a Neronian or Flavian epicist.

In addition to the works already cited, see: (i) on epic exordia, Brink on Hor. *Ars* 136-139; (ii) on historical prefaces, Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 52-55; G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* 1956; T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* 1964 66ff; Ogilvie 23ff; (iii) on Silius' exordium, G. Lorenz, *Vergleichende Interpretationen zu Silius Italicus und Statius,* Diss. Kiel 1968 4-11; Häussler 2.177f..

1. *ordior arma:* the poem's first two words are a paradigm of Silius' attempt to combine Livian history and Vergilian epic. The noun comes from the opening line of the *Aeneid*, of which it is the first word (not "ille"). When a poet began to sing of a god in a prooemium, the name of the god regularly appeared in the first line, often as the first word: cf. Richardson on *Dem.* 1-3, West on *Th.* 1. The singers used the same pattern when they opened an epic, with the noun that marked out their subject standing in the place of the name of the god (Stenzel 16ff., 30f.): Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, *Il*.1.1; Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, *Od*.1.1; Ἴλιον ἀείδω, *Il.Parv.* fr.1; Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, *Cyc.Theb.* fr.1. The tradition of (normally disyllabic) accusatives in the opening line

became fixed: παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν, A.R. 1.1; "arma uirumque"; Verg. *A.* 1.1.; "bella", Luc. 1.1; "freta .../... fatidicamque ratem", V.Fl.1.1f.; "fraternas acies alternaque regna", Stat.*Theb.* 1.1; "Aeaciden", id. *Ach.* 1.1; see further van Groningen 7; id. *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque* 1958 63f.

If such is the epic, more specifically, Vergilian background to Silius' opening words, "ordior" is an incongruous partner for "arma". This is not because the first person, without any mention of the Muse, is startling. There have been some misconceptions about epic poets' use of the first person ("the epic poet does not speak in his own person", Williams 1968 36, referring to the pre-hellenistic era), but it is plain that the *Ilias Parva* type of tradition is as ancient as Homer's: it is represented in the catalogue of ships, *Il.* 2.493, ἀρχοὺϲ αὖ νηῶν ἐρέω νῆάϲ τε προπάϲαϲ. Cf. Austin on Verg. *A.* 1.1-7; see further 3 "Musa" n..

"ordior" is an unusual word to open an epic because it has nothing to do with "singing", the conventional way of describing epic composition (*Il.*1.1.; *Il. Parv.* fr.1; *Cyc.Theb.* fr.1; A.R. 1.22, 4.1773; Verg. *A.* 1.1; Luc. 1.2; V.Fl.1.1; Stat. *Theb.* 1.4), and because its use, even to describe normal speech, is extremely restricted in epic. Vergil only uses the word in the semi-formulaic participles "orsus" and "orsa", to introduce direct speech (e.g. *A.* 1.325, 12.806), and Lucan follows Vergil's example precisely (e.g. 2.241, 10.85), as does Statius (e.g. *Theb.* 1.451; although at *Theb.* 3.316, *Ach.* 2.19, Statius uses "orsus" at the *end* of a speech). In prose writers "ordior" is used more normally of composition, especially the beginning of composition (e.g. Nep.*Them.* 1.2; Cic.*Brut.* 22). Livy provides only three examples: one at 38.12.2, and then twice in the last sentence of his preface: "sed querellae .... ab initio certe tantae *ordiendae* rei absint: cum bonis potius ominibus uotisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, ... ut *orsis* tantum operis successus prosperos darent", *Praef.* 12f.. The connection cannot be proven, but the likelihood that Silius had Livy's preface in mind will increase as more examples of his adaptions of Livy appear. If he chose the word for its Livian associations, it will have struck him as a happy chance that "ordior" recalls the Greek ἄρχομαι, used in the first lines of many homeric hymns, and of such epics as Apollonius' *Argonautica* (Stenzel, 14f.).

quibus: after the subject is announced, it is elaborated upon in a relative clause: Μῆνιν ../..ἥ, *Il*.1.1f.; Ἄνδρα ...ὅς, *Od*.1.1; Δαρδανίην ..../ἧς πέρι, *Il.Parv.* fr.1; Ἄργος....ἔνθεν, *Cyc. Theb.* fr.1; κλέα φωτῶν../...οἵ, A.R.1.1.f.; "uirumque .... qui", Verg. *A*.1.1; "ratem .... quae", V.Fl.1.2. This feature of epic exordia parallels the relatives at the opening of hymnic prooemia (Stenzel 16f.; cf. West on Hes. *Th*.2). The relatives in prooemia, introducing the god's qualities, ancestry and birth etc., are themselves a feature of the prayer or hymn form: cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* 1913 168ff.; Böhme 56f..

The form of the pronoun is interesting. In general, the contracted form "quis" may be regarded as the more "poetic" form: cf. M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* 1959 144; E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1956 2.285; J. Marouzeau, *Traité de Stylistique Latine* 1946 127f.. Although Vergil, Valerius Flaccus and Statius use both forms freely, Silius is far more exclusive, using "quibus" in only two other places (4.20, 12.441) apart from this most conspicuous position, as the third word in his poem. The rugged tone of the word here is increased by its emphatic and, at first sight, ungainly position in the line: the epics of Lucan, Valerius and Statius show no use of "quibus" in this position, while the *Aeneid* has only one, in a line which Silius may have had in mind: "uir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?", 11.125.

caelo se gloria tollit: cf. Verg. *A.* 10.143f.:

"Mnestheus, quem pulsi pristina Turni/aggere murorum sublimem *gloria tollit*[!]". Such language, common of individual's "canonisation" (cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.36; Headlam on Herod. 8.111), was especially used in panegyric on Rome (cf. Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 92): e.g. Manil. 4.695, "caeloque adiungitur ipsa." The grandiloquent tone was regarded as especially appropriate to an exordium: "attentos autem faciemus si demonstrabimus ea quae dicturi erimus magna, noua, incredibilia esse, aut ad omnes aut ad eos qui audient, aut ad aliquos illustres homines aut ad deos immortales aut ad summam rem publicam pertinere," Cic. *Inv.* 1.23; προϲέξουϲι (οἱ ἀκούοντεϲ) μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢν δείξῃ ὡϲ περὶ μεγάλων ἢ ἀναγκαίων ἢ οἰκείων ἢ χρηϲίμων ἐρεῖ, Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 53; "auditorem...intentum proposita rerum magnitudine...facit (Homerus)," Quint. 10.1.48.

2. *Aeneadum:* the enjambement creates a certain element of suspense, if it was possible not to gather from "arma" that a Roman war was in question. More effective is the enjambement of "Carthago" in the next line, whereby we are kept waiting to hear the identity of the enemy. There can be no significance in the Lucretian echo ("Aeneadum genetrix", 1.1), but it is completely appropriate that we first meet the Romans as the sons of Aeneas: they are carrying on his quarrel (see 17-20n.). Similarly, on Hannibal's shield we see him in Dido's temple, "primo bella *Aeneadum* iurabat ab aeuo", 2.428.

2f. patiturque ferox .... iura / Carthago: like wild animals forced to tolerate the regulation of man, the Carthagians are tamed by "iura" ("hominem pati" is used of wild animals being tamed at Luc. 4.239). "ferox" means "like a wild animal, untamed" ("translate a feritate", Non. p.304.36; cf. Plaut. Men. 863, "equos...iubes capere me indomitos, feroces"), and "ferox"/"ferus" are especially appropriate both to Hannibal (3.444 "ferox"; cf. Cornelius Severus ap. Sen.Suas. 6.26, "ferus Hannibal"), and to the Carthaginians in general: cf. Verg. A. 1.302 f., "ponuntque ferocia Poeni / corda uolente deo": see V. Pöschl, Horazische Lyrik 1970 99f..

The metaphor of the taming of wild beasts may be applied in various areas ("feroces [Amazones] sentiunt Veneris iugum", Sen. Phaedr. 596), but it is especially used of the taming and civilising influence of Roman power and law: "populosque ferocis/contundet moresque uiris et moenia ponet", Verg. A. 1.263f.; "aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:/ cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus/iura dabunt", ib. 291-293; the metaphor is latent at Verg. A. 6.851 f., "tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / ... pacique imponere morem" (cf. Hor. Ep. 1.2.62f., "ira furor breuis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret,/imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena"); "(Italia) numine deum electa, quae .... sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret", Plin. Nat. 3.39. As often, the commonness of a cliché is best proved by an oxymoron which plays upon it: "triumphatisque possit/Roma ferox dare iura Medis", Hor. Carm. 3.3.43f..

The promise of the exordium is fulfilled in the last book, when the laws of Carthage are supplanted by those of Rome: "iura improba adempta/armaque, et incisae leges," 17.619f..

2. *Oenotria:* the Oenotri were thought to have been the first inhabitants of the Italian peninsula (D.H. 1.23). Silius' first two mentions of Italy (here and 4 "Hesperiae") may be intended to derive some dignity from the passage of Vergil in which the Trojans' Italian homeland is first described, "est locus, *Hesperiam* Grai cognomine dicunt,/... *Oenotri* coluere uiri", *A.*1.530-532 (= 3.163-165).

3. *da, Musa, decus memorare:* Silius follows Vergil in postponing his appeal to the Muse until he has stated his theme in the first person: cf. *A.* 1.8, "Musa, mihi causas memora" (similarly Valerius: cf. 1.5, "Phoebe, mone"). It was conventional for the poet to call upon the Muse at critical junctures, especially in his exordium (Austin on Verg. *A.* 1.1-8; Norden on Verg. *A.*.6.264ff.): cf. *Il.*1.1, *Od.* 1.1; *Cyc.Theb.* fr.1; Antim. *Theb.* fr.1; *Epig.* fr.1; Naev. fr.1; Enn. *Ann.* 1.326V; A.R. 1.22, 3.1ff., 4.1ff.; Verg.*A.* 1.8ff., 7.37ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 1.3ff., *Ach.* 1.3. The Muses must inspire the singer; especially, they must remind him of the facts. For an oral singer, this was of critical importance, but the literate poets kept up the pose: "et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis," Verg. *A* 7.645; and "memoro" is often used thus of the Muses "reminding" the poet of the details: "Musa, mihi causas memora", Verg. *A.*1.8; (in parody) "Musa, uelim memores, quo patre natus uterque etc..", Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.33.

In the third line of an epic exordium, one would expect "memorare" to have some such meaning. But Silius has twisted the convention of epic into the convention of history, using "memorare" to signify "to keep alive, preserve the memory of" (Isid. *Diff.* 1.152, "memorat, non qui semel dicit, sed qui saepius idem memoriae conseruendae causa facit"): cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.288f., "ite alacres, numquam uestri morientur honores, / bellaque perpetuo memorabunt carmine Musae": (Tib.) 3.7. "non te deficient nostrae memorare Camenae." It was regular for an historian in his preface to claim that he was writing to preserve the memory of the matter he was treating: ὡϲ μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαϲτά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλληϲι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροιϲι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, Hdt. *Pref.*; cf. Polyb. 1.4.4; D.S. 1.1.5, 2.1, esp. 2.3, τοῖϲ δὲ δι' ἀρετὴν περιποιηϲαμένοιϲ δόξαν αἱ πράξειϲ ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα μνημονεύονται, διαβοώμεναι τῷ θειοτάτῳ τῆϲ ἱϲτορίαϲ ϲτόματι; Procop. *Bell.Pref.* 1.1.1; Agathias, Dindorf 2.132f.; Ioann. Epiph., Dindorf 1.376; Sal . *Cat.* 4.4, "nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile ("worthy of being recorded, memorable", O.L.D. s.v. 1a) existumo sceleris atque periculi nouitate"; Liv. 21.1.1, "In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere"; id., *Pref.* 3. "Utcumque erit, iuuabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro uirili parte et ipsum consuluisse". Silius calls upon the epic Muse to help him fulfil the historian's task.

laborum antiquae Hesperiae: the double gentive is very rare in verse (H.-S. 65), though in prose it becomes increasingly common from Livy onwards. The awkwardness of the construction is a matter of taste: Butler and Barber found it "impossibly clumsy" at Prop. 4.1.103; Shackleton Bailey saw no such impediment (*Propertiana*, 1956 223). But in our passage, coming so early in an epic, the construction must have a rather "craggy" feel to it; Silius is either influenced by or imitating the double genitive in Livy's preface, quoted in the note above ("rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi... consuluisse", 3).

4. quantosque: prooemia and exordia develop the subject with indirect questions, often after an appeal to the Muse (Böhme 57): Ἔϲπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦϲαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουϲαι / ὅππωϲ δὴ μῆνίϲ τε χόλοϲ θ' ἕλε Πηλείωνα (the alternative rhapsodes' opening to the Iliad, cited H.Erbse, Schol.in Il., on 1.1); ἡγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον, ὅπωϲ κτλ (fragment cited by Aristotle, Rhet. 1415 a 17-18); "Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso/quidue dolens...etc.", Verg. A. 1.8f.; "nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum/quis Latio antiquo fuerit status.../expediam", ib., 7.37-40; "inmensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem/inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi," Luc. 1.68f.; "longa retro series, ...si../.. penitus ... sequar, quo carmine ..../unde.../quod...cui.../...cur," Stat. Theb. 1.7-13 (a list of rejected subjects).

5. et quot....uiros: after Vergil's "arma" in the first line comes the long-postponed "uirum", but in the plural: "Die Punica sind nicht auf einen einzelnen Heros zentriert: Gegenstand ist vielmehr der Krieg zweier grosser Völker," von Albrecht 21. The note is rather a Livian one: "ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae uita, qui mores fuerint, per quos uiros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit," Praef. 9.

Two separate points are being made with "quantos" and "quot". The fighting quality of the men of Italy was a truism: Livy produces a detailed encomium of the greatness of Italy's soldiers, generals and privates (9.17ff: "iam in opere quis par Romano miles? quis ad tolerandum laborem melior?", 9.19.9); cf. Polyb. 6.52.10ff.; Verg. *G*.2. 167ff.. Quality, then, and quantity as well: as Livy says, "plurimum in bello pollere uidentur militum *copia* et *uirtus*," 9.17.3. The Romans' preoccupation with their manpower is nowhere better shown than in Appian's discussion of the motives of Tiberius Gracchus: Γράκχῳ δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦϲ τοῦ βουλεύματοϲ ἦν οὐκ ἐϲ εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐϲ εὐανδρίαν, B.C. 1.11; cf. E. Badian, *Tiberius Gracchus and the Beginnings of the Roman Revolution,* ANRW I 1,684-690; D.C. Earl, *Tiberius Gracchus. A Study in Politics,* Coll. Latomus LXVI 1963. It is to the first Roman historian, Fabius Pictor, that we should probably trace the origins of the "conventional and correct Roman view that Rome owed her success to the numbers of fighting men at her disposal" (P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14*, 1971 33; see also 5); cf. D.H. 2.17.3, claiming that Rome survived to victory τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ϲτρατιωτικοῦ πρὸϲ ἅπαντα διαρκῆϲ γενομένη τὰ δεινά, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥϲπερ ὑπολαμβάνουϲί τινεϲ εὐνοίᾳ τύχηϲ χρηϲαμένη. Ennius' statement is the most noble: "moribus antiquis stat res Romana *uirisque*," *Ann*. 500V.

5-8. Silius begins to define his topic more narrowly, following the historians in their practice of "emphasizing the importance and sensationalism of their subject" (N.-H. 2.p.9; cf. Janson, op.cit. 1-20n. fin., 67). The Carthaginians broke a peace and began disputing over the sovereignty of the world. For Silius' readers this must refer to the war with Hannibal. Firstly, 5 "sacri perfida pacti" refers most naturally to Hannibal's attack on Saguntum, treated by Roman authors as the fittest "exemplum" of "Punica fides" (cf. Liv. 30.31.4f.:

Walbank, 1.171f.). More importantly, the Second Punic War was universally depicted as the true starting-point of Rome's accession to world dominion, and as a struggle between the two nations that might rule the others. This is why Polybius makes the Hannibalic war the starting-point of his history (1.3.6, with Walbank ad loc.); cf. App. Hisp. 9; Cic. de Orat. 2.76; Lucr. 3.384 ff.; Liv. 29.17.6, 30.32.2. At the moment before the battle of Zama, Hannibal tells his troops "certatus nobis hodie dominum accipit orbis" (17.337), and as the armies join battle, Silius observes: "discriminis alta/ in medio merces, quicquid tegit undique caelum," ib., 389f..

The train of thought in 3-16 is as follows: "My theme is the important war, the Hannibalic war (3-8); the Romans and Carthaginians fought three wars in all (8-11), but the middle one was the most desperate and decisive (12-16)."

5. perfida: the notoriety of this Carthaginian characteristic earns it a place in Otto's Sprichwörter (291); cf. T.L.L. s.v. "fides" 676. 30-55. Carthaginian perfidy is especially prominent in Livy (e.g. 26.17.5ff, 30.22.6), and their reputation as breakers of treaties was already fixed in Cato: "deinde duoetuicesimo anno post dimissum bellum, quod quattuor et uiginti annos fuit, Carthaginienses sextum de foedere decessere", fr.84 HRR. In the last book Jupiter speaks of the Carthaginians thus: "gentem contra et fatalia regna/Teucrorum quis erit, quaeso, germana, rebelli/fractis foederibus populo modus?", 17.347-349. For the Roman attitude to Carthage, see E. Burck, Das Bild der Karthager in der römischen Literatur, in Rom und Karthago. Ein Gemeinschaftswerk, ed. J. Vogt, 1943 296-345.

6. super: here = "de", an interesting archaism, occurring rarely

in the poets and restricted even in prose: cf. J.N. Adams, CQ N.S. XXII 1972 358f.; see further 682n.. The preposition falls just before the caesura, so that the craggy feeling of the word is reinforced by the fact that one would not normally expect a disyllabic preposition in such a prominent place in the line.

mouit: an historian's word for getting a war under way: cf. Liv. 23.48.6; T.L.L. 8. 1545. 74-84, 2. 1838. 40-56. The tense is as historical as the word itself. Norden, on Verg. *A.* 6.3ff., has demonstrated Latin epic's marked preference for presents over perfects, especially in comparison with Greek epic. The first 100 lines of narrative in the *Iliad*, according to Norden's count, have 107 past tenses and no present, while an identical sample from *Aeneid* 6 reveals 52 present tenses and 33 past. Silius' historicising Exordium shuns the present tense of epic: apart from 1 "tollit" and 2 "patitur", every finite verb in 1-16 is a perfect. On Silius' practice, see further Lindblom 2ff..

7f. The power of τύχη was important to the hellenistic and Roman historians (cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.13; Walbank, 1.16-26). The caprice of Fortune was nowhere more obvious than in war: cf. Polyb. 1.35 (on Regulus); Liv. 9.17.3: "Fortuna per omnia humana maxime in res bellicas potens." And the preface was the natural place for an historian to whet his readers' appetite with a programme of dramatic vicissitude ("nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam temporum uarietates fortunaeque uicissitudines", Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.4): "adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt," Liv. 21.1.2; "Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magna et atrox uariaque uictoria fuit etc.," Sal . *Jug.* 5.1; "opus adgredior opimum casibus" Tac. *Hist.* 1.2.1; αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν πράξεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν προῃρήμεθα γράφειν, ἱκανόν ἐϲτι προκαλέϲαϲθαι ... πάντα ... πρὸϲ τὴν ἔντευξιν τῆϲ πραγματείαϲ, Polyb. 1.1.4; his history describes τὸ κάλλιϲτον ἅμα κὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆϲ τύχηϲ, 1.4.4; cf. 1.13.11, a "mini-preface", on the First Punic War: οὔτε γὰρ πολυχρονιώτερον τούτου πόλεμον εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον ... οὔτε περιπετείαϲ μείζουϲ τῶν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ πολέμῳ ϲυμβάντων ἑκατέροιϲ.

The particular image of Fortune waiting before "placing down" what she carries is reminiscent of Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.14-16: "hinc apicem rapax/fortuna cum stridore acuto/sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet;" but the phrasing itself is borrowed, as often, from a context with no thematic connection: a bird, in Ouid's flood, searches for a resting-place, "quaesitisque diu terris, ubi sistere possit.....", *Met.* 1.307.

7. *qua arce*: either at the Arx Capitolina of Rome, or the Byrsa of Carthage, the inner citadel of the city, centred on the modern hill of St. Louis (cf. Warmington 26, 131). The Phoenician word transliterated Byrsa actually meant "arx", "fortress"; Silius may well have known this, if, as is almost certain, Vergil did: "deuenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernes / moenia surgentemque nouae Karthaginis *arcem*,/ mercatique solum, facti de nomine *Byrsam*,/taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo" (*A.* 1.365-368; for the story arising from the Greek "etymology", Byrsa = βύρϲα , see Conway, Austin ad loc.). Thus Tertullian, speaking of the magistrates "in ipso fere uertice ciuitatis", *Apol.* 1.1, is to be understood as referring to the Byrsa: cf. T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*, 1971 25.

8. *terrarum caput*: a conventional term in panegyric on Rome: cf. Plin.

Nat. 3.38; Liv. 1.55.5f., 45.3 (with Ogilvie ad loc.); T.L.L. 3.426. 29-54. Rome's eventual mastery of the world is assured at the end of the poem: Scipio, with a pun on his name, returns to Italy after Zama "securus sceptri" (17.627). The conventional language drives home the point: the "terrarum caput" might have been *Carthage.*

9. *Ioui:* Jupiter is given great prominence. Throughout the poem he is the representative of the justice of Rome's cause, and each war is represented as an outrage against the highest god (cf. von Albrecht 27). On the ratification of the peace treaties the Carthaginians presumably swore by their θεοὶ πατρῷοι as we are explicitly told they did in 509-508 B.C., when they first made a treaty with Rome (Polyb. 3.25.6). Silius must have followed Livy in thus describing Carthaginian faithlessness as the cause of the First War. For most historians of the war, ancient and modern, the debate has been on the question of Román "perfidia", not Carthaginian (cf.Walbank on Polyb. 1.10.3). Livy's Book 16 has not survived, and the epitome gives no hint of his stance; but cf. Scipio's speech to Hannibal before Zama in Book 30: "neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum", 31.4; also Hanno's speech to the Carthaginian Senate in Book 21: "mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti", 10.5.

conuenta: a remarkable word to find in an epic: its only other occurrence in poetry [*] is Juv. 6.25. If the word is strikingly prosaic, it is not exactly "historical", for it does not occur in Caesar, Sallust, or Tacitus, and only once in Livy (29.24.3). Silius will have had it from Cicero, in whom it is common (*Off.* 1.23, 32; 3.95; *de Or.*2.100, 116; etc.); for another possible Ciceronian usage, see on 10 "fregere".

10. Sidonii: the epithet is appropriate, for the faithless Carthaginians are descended from "a great merchant people, with an unpleasant reputation for sharp dealing which goes back to the kidnapping of Eumaeus and the kidnapping of Io in Herodotus 1.1" (N. Horsfall, Dido in the Light of History, PVS XIII 1973-1974 6). Homer's strictures on the Phoenicians were indeed notorious (Od. 14.288ff.; 15.416ff.): for the Phoenicians' reputation in the ancient world, cf. D. Harden, The Phoenicians 1962 123, 161. In the Aeneid, the Carthaginians' name for faithlessness rests on their Phoenician race: "quippe domum timet (Venus) ambiguam Tyriosque bilingues", 1.661 (to the Roman poets "Tyrii" and "Sidonii" are interchangeable: see Pease on A. 4.75). Especially, see the passage of Cicero in Pro Scauro 42: "fallacissimum genus esse Phoenicum omnia monumenta uetustatis atque omnes historiae nobis prodiderunt: ab his orti Poeni multis Karthaginiensium rebellionibus, multis uiolatis fractisque foederibus nihil se degenerasse docuerunt." The thought and language are very reminiscent of our passage.

fregere: a more violent word than the usual "rumpere" (cf. T.L.L. 6.1.1007. 32ff.). Of the other four occurrences of the usage given by T.L.L. (s.v. 1247. 60-63), one is in Plautus (Cist. 460), and the remainder in Cicero (Dom. 66, Pis. 28, Scaur.42). In all four passages, the context is one of vigorous invective.

duces: a pointed contrast to "patrum" in the preceding line; Rome is governed by a venerable council of elders, while Carthaginian policy is decided by warlords. Polybius provides the most detailed surviving comparison of the Roman and Carthaginian constitutions (6.51ff.), and he contrasts the mob-rule of Carthage at the time of the Hannibalic war with the senatorial aristocracy of Rome (51.6-8). In fact, as Walbank notes, "it seems probable that the democratic and popular element to which P. refers here is to be identified with the ascendancy of the Barca family" (on 6.51.3-6). The "Barcids" were typical of various families which developed great power within the state as a result of their virtual prerogative on the generalship, an office which in Carthage, unlike all other ancient states, was divorced from any political magistracy, and was held without any fixed time-limit (cf. Warmington 120f.).

impius ensis: from Ov. *Met.*14.802 [!], 7.396[!]. The sword appears persuading men to evil at Lucan 4.248, where it is called "iusti gladius dissuasor". For further examples of "impius" qualifying various weapons, cf. T.L.L. s.v. 624. 30-34. "enses" are once more the instruments of treaty-breaking at 1.648f.: "an tanti pretium motus ruptique per enses/ foederis...etc.;" the echo is deliberate (see note ad loc.).

11. *suasit:* an odd function for an "ensis" to perform; the sword takes the place, normally, of peaceful means of proceeding (cf. 2.504, "uis colitur, iurisque locum sibi uindicat ensis").

temerando: the ablative of the gerund is found in early Latin, and in the poetry of Ennius ("unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem", *Ann.* 370 V; "nec pote quisquam/undique nitendo corpus discerpere ferro", *Ann.* 403f. V), but is noticeably rare in the later poets (H.-S. 379). It was especially affected by Livy and, after Silius, by Tacitus (ibid.); this is the tone which Silius is aiming at.

12-16. Silius gives his reasons for singling out the second war: it was the crucial one, the one in which Rome came closest to disaster. The point is a valid one, but Silius is so intent upon it that he falls into gross exaggeration, speaking of Hannibal's three-days' loitering three miles from Rome as a conventional siege (15" obsessa Palatia uallo"). Livy is more subdued and more accurate: "uisa castra hostium e muris urbis" (30.21.7); but the "Hannibal ad portas" topos lent itself to sensationalism (see Mayor's collection, Juv. 10.155f.).

12. medio finem bello: Silius makes his point stand out with this striking word order, in which the finish is in the middle of the middle war.

13-14 propiusque fuere periclo,/quis superare datum: the clearest reference to Livy in the exordium; the "sententia" (quoted above on 7f.) comes from the preface to the Hannibalic War: "adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt", 21. 1.2. The conceit may have been a commonplace: cf. Flor. 1.22, comparing the Second Punic War to the First: "adeo cladium atrocitate terribilius, ut si quis conferat damna utriusque populi, similior uicto sit populus ille qui uicit."

14. reserauit: so, at the end of the poem, Silius states: "hic finis bello . reserantur protinus arces/Ausonio iam sponte duci", 17.618f.. The clause is in antithesis: "reserauit" μέν ...."obsessa" δέ. Dardanus: only elsewhere used of Marcellus (12.190). By Vergil's usage, "Dardanus" and "Dardanius" are the almost exclusive preserve of Aeneas, being otherwise used only of Iulus (10.133) and Acestes (5.30). The epithet is appropriate to the descendant of Aeneas who quells the feud begun by his ancestor.

16. muris defendit Roma salutem: as strongly as possible Silius emphasises

Rome's closeness to disaster. All the weight falls on "muris": it was a disgrace to have to rely on walls rather than men. The ideal state of affairs is exemplified by Gracchus' and Marcellus' campaigns in Book 12: "sed custos urbi Gracchus, tutela uel ipsis/ certior, arcebat muris (Hannibalem)", 63f.; "sed, qui non turribus arma/ defendenda daret, uerum ultro moenia dextra/ protegeret, Marcellus opem auxiliumque ferebat", 164-166; cf. 4.512f., "nec Latius uallo miles debere salutem/ fas putat." Sparta was the paradigm, for she had no walls at all, only men: "ne sit Sparta lapidibus circumdata: ibi muros habet ubi uiros", Sen. *Suas.* 2.3, with Winterbottom's note ad loc.; Agesilaus answers a man who asks why Sparta has no walls by pointing to the army and saying ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τείχη, Plut. *Moralia* 210E, with Babbitt's note ad loc.; similar remarks from Spartans at 217E, 228E, 230C; cf. Pl.*Lg.* 778 D-E; Philostr. VS 514, 584. Remus got himself killed by making a disparaging remark of this type about his brother's new walls: "Iuppiter, ut muro fretus magis quamde manus ui!," Enn. *Ann.* 97 V. According to Vegetius, "apud antiquos murus dicebatur pedestris exercitus," *Mil.* 1.20.

17-23. The subject has been announced and defined, and the Muse invoked; it is time to begin.

Silius' selection of his starting-point is controlled by his allegiance to historical canons and to the *Aeneid.* In epic generally, the problem of where to begin was one which required careful attention, and it was the function of the Exordium to announce the ἀρχή, as Aristotle observed (*Rhet.* 1415 a 15). For the original oral composers, this was a matter of announcing to the audience at which point in the traditional, well-known story the singer would begin on this occasion (cf. van Groningen, op.cit. 1 "ordior arma" n., 64; Böhme 56); but the problem remained for the literate poets, as may be seen most clearly in the ἀπορία affected by Statius in the exordium of the *Thebaid:* "longa retro series..etc...limes mihi carminis esto/ Oedipodae confusa domus" (1.7-16); see further W. Schetter MH XIX 1962 206f..

On the face of it, Silius' return to the very beginnings of the quarrel violates the epic decorum which Horace had recognised: "nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,/ nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ouo:/ semper ad euentum festinat," *Ars* 146-148. But as an "historian" he must go back to the "causae", and as a continuator of Vergil he must link his poem's action to that of his predecessor. The very first historian promised in his preface to show δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμηϲαν ἀλλήλοιϲι, and the problem of causation remained a preoccupation for all later serious historians (N.-H. on Hor./*Carm.* 2.1 2). A very conscientious historian could find himself faced with the dilemma of infinite regression; Polybius begins with the Romans' crossing to Sicily in 264: καὶ ῥητέον αὐτὴν τὴν τῆϲ διαβάϲεωϲ αἰτίαν ψιλῶϲ, ἵνα μὴ τῆϲ αἰτίαϲ αἰτίαν ἐπιζητούϲηϲ ἀνυπόϲτατοϲ ἡ τῆϲ ὅληϲ ὑποθέϲεωϲ ἀρχὴ γένηται καὶ θεωρία , 1.5.3. For epic, Silius had an obvious exemplar in Lucan, who proclaimed "fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum" (1.67: the phrase is echoed clearly in 17), and who devoted 115 lines (1.67-182) to that task.

Lucan's "causae" are all historical (cf. Häussler 2.80-89), but Silius' are essentially mythical. Especially, he assimilates the motive cause of his epic to that of the *Aeneid,* Juno's favouring of Carthage and fear of Rome (*Pun*.1. 26ff. ∼ *A*. 1.12ff.): "Die Punica bewusst als geschichtlicher 'Fortsetzung' oder 'Spiegelung' der Aeneis konzipiert sind" (von Albrecht 168; cf. A.J. Gossage, in *Virgil* ed. D.R. Dudley, 1969 75f.). Further, it is the death and curse of Dido which cause the action of the Punica; although the queen's fate is not mentioned directly in the early part of Book 1, Silius alludes to it clearly enough (see 17 "odiumque", 18 "mandata nepotibus arma", 23 "fatali" nn.), delaying an explicit account until the description of Hannibal's shield in Book 2 (406ff.).

The "continuing" epic had a long history. In the ancient world the Odyssey was regarded by many as Homer's planned continuation of the Iliad: ἀναπληροῖ δέ πωϲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἡ βίβλοϲ αὕτη· ἃ γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴϲ ἐκεῖ ἐνέλιπεν, ἐνταῦθα προϲανεπλήρωϲε (Eustath. 1386-1387; cf. L. Adam, Die Aristotelische Theorie vom Epos, Diss. Wiesbaden 1889 61f.). There have even been some moderns of this opinion: cf. E.S. Bassett AJPh XLIV 1923 49ff.. The cyclic epics carried Homer on (cf. A.W. Gomme, The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History, 1954 3f.), with the Aethiopis going so far as to become part of the Iliad, encroaching upon Homer's final line: ὣϲ οἵ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτοροϲ· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζὼν / Ἄρηοϲ θυγάτηρ (Allen ed. Hom. 5.126): a millenium later, Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica did the same. Similarly, the Epigoni finishes off the action of the Thebaid, and presupposes the earlier poem, as the comparative in the first line shows: νῦν αὖθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦϲαι, Allen ed. Hom. 5.115. See further G.L. Huxley, Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelos to Panyassis, 1969 144ff..

There were Roman continuators as well, like Ovid's friend Macer, who filled in the gaps before and after the Iliad: "tu canis aeterno quicquid restabat Homero / ne careant summa Troica bella manu," Pont. 2.10.13f.; cf. Am. 2. 18.1f.. Such was Statius' unfulfilled intention in the Achilleid: "quamquam acta uiri multum inclita cantu / Maeonio, sed plura uacant: nos ire per omnem / - sic amor est - heroa uelis (scil. Musa) Scyroque latentem / Dulichia proferre tuba nec in Hectore tracto sistere, sed tota iuuenem deducere Troia", 1.3-7; cf. Dracont. Rapt.Hel., 22f., "numina uestra uocans quidquid contempsit uterque (i.e. Homer and Vergil) / scribere Musagenes, hoc uilis colligo uates." Finally, the Aeneid may be regarded as a continuation of the Iliad, although it is extremely difficult to be sure what we mean when we say this (cf. G.N. Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, Hypomnemata VII 1964 353).

17. tantarum causas irarum: an adaption of Lucan 1. 67, a line which, as here, leads out of the exordium: "fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum".

odiumque: the great hatred between the two races was a subject of remark in Livy's preface to the Hannibalic war: "odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus", 21.1.3. But Silius refers here only to the passion of the Carthaginians, in an allusion to Dido's curse: "tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum/ exercete odiis", A. 4.622f. Nepos similarly says of Hannibal, "hic autem uelut hereditate relictum odium paternum erga Romanos...conseruauit," Hann. 1.3.

18. mandata nepotibus arma: refers both to Dido's curse, "pugnent ipsique nepotesque", A. 4.629, and to the succeeding generations of Carthaginians to whom the feud with Rome was entrusted, from 264 to 146. So on Hannibal's shield, "saucia Dido/ mandabat Tyriis ultricia bella futuris", 2.422f..

19. fas: Silius boldly claims to have the right to delve into the the divine motivation behind the events; for poets' assurance or caution

in this matter, see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.19.9 ("fas peruicaces est mihi Thyiadas/...cantare"). Håkanson 7 interprets these words as a prayer, not an assertion, by taking the verb in ellipse to be "sit", not "est"; he compares Aus. Mos. 443f., "fas mihi sacrum/perstrinxisse amnem tenui libamine Musae", where "sit" is certainly the verb in ellipse, not "est". Even if it is more common for a poet to say "fas sit", a confident declaration, as here, demands "fas est": see the examples of N.-H. on the Horace passage quoted above.

20. The line recalls Vergil's second exordium: "expediam et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae", A. 7.40.

primordia: the exordium is rounded off by this picking up of the first word, "ordior".

motus: for the historical tone of this word, see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.1.1.

21-33. Silius brings Juno forward as the instigator of the wars between Roman and Carthaginian. She acts on the basis of her affection for Carthage and her desire to preserve the city from the threat of Rome. Her soliloquy (42-54), however, reveals a second cause; the enmity which Juno felt against Aeneas is still directed against his descendants, and she will have her revenge for being, as it were, baulked in the Aeneid. She will have the Romans pay for their establishment, jsut as in the Aeneid she had determined to have the Trojans' inevitable success paid for at great cost: "sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo", 7.318.

Silius' first cause, then, is identical to the first cause of Juno's acts in the Aeneid (1.19-22). Vergil's second cause is the goddess's memory of slights which she had suffered "in the Iliad"

(25-28); Silius' second cause is similarly the memory of how the goddess was worsted "in the Aeneid". Vergil links his poem to the motive cause of the Iliad, Silius binds his to the motive cause of the Aeneid.

As Silius turns from his historical programme to mythical tales and divine counsels, his language undergoes a remarkable transformation. The technical and austere tone gives way to a mellifluous, almost precious atmosphere, which with its patterning and Grecisms recalls nothing so much as Catullus 64. Especially striking is the bracketing or enclosing of a whole line by a noun and accompanying adjective. The first three lines of the new section exhibit this pattern in succession, a concatenation for which I find no parallel (Lucan comes closest at 1.653 -657, where 653, 654, and 657 are enclosed, while 655 runs "si saeuum.....Leonem"; cf. Claud. Rapt.Pros. 2.339, 341, 342). At 31 the pattern recurs. As Norden observed (ed. Aeneid 6,p.391),"Diese Wortsymmetrie gehörte zu den wohlerwogenen Kunstmitteln, durch welche die Neoteriker die Eleganz ihrer Verse erhöhten" (Norden's whole discussion, 391f., is valuable; see also T.E.V. Pearce, The enclosing Word Order in the Latin hexameter, CQ N.S. XVI 1966 140-171, 298-320).

According to Pearce's figures (166), one line in fifteen is enclosed in this way in Catullus 64, while in Lucretius the ratio is ^{1}/225. Vergil in the Aeneid affected the pattern on occasion: ^{1}/64 according to Norden's count of Aeneid 6. Taking the same number of lines for a sample as Norden, I have examined the first 900 lines of each of the Silver epics. It is noteworthy that while Lucan stays quite close to Vergil's practice (^{1}/45), Valerius Flaccus (^{1}/100) and Statius (^{1}/150 in the Thebaid, ^{1}/180 in the Achilleid) use the pattern comparatively rarely. Silius, as one would expect, is closest of all to Vergil: the last 900 lines of the Punica show exactly the same frequency as Aeneid 6 ($^1/64$), while a random sample from the middle of the poem (9.1 - 10. 243) produces a figure of $^1/82$. The first book of the Punica, however, contains 22 examples of the pattern, to give a high ratio of $^1/31$. But the atmosphere of Books 1-2 is not typical of the poem: "Dans cette partie de l'oeuvre...l'imagination et la légende tiennent autant de place que les faits historiques" (Budé ed. intro.LXVI); it is significant that the other main cluster of the pattern in Book 1 occurs in the geographical excursus on Libya (194, 207, 210). Silius could judge the appropriateness of the device: at the height of the battle of Cannae 382 verses go by without the pattern intruding (9.309-10.36); see further 80n..

Even more markedly "neoteric" is the shape of 27 "ante Agamemnoniam, gratissima tecta, Mycenen": see H.-S. 409; Norden on Verg. A. 6.7; Hollis on Ov. Met. 8.226; O. Skutsch, RhM XCIX 1956 198f.. Especially useful is G. Williams' discussion of Vergil's use of the pattern (1968, 726ff.). In the Eclogues Vergil affected such lines as this (e.g. 2.3, "inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos"), but in the Georgics restricted himself to only three instances of a simpler form (e.g. 4.168, "ignauum fucos pecus"), while in the Aeneid there is only one clear example (6.842f. "geminos, duo fulmina belli,/ Scipiadas"; even here the mannered pattern is deliberately disrupted by enjambement.). As Williams remarks, "Vergil judged [the pattern] suitable for the Hellenistic style of the Eclogues - a mannered style, not altogether remote from that of Catullus 64- but...dropped it almost completely in Georgics and in the Aeneid", 727. Punica 1 has two other examples of the pattern: 322 "hydro imbutas bis noxia tela, sagittas"; 543

"Laomedonteae, Troiana altaria, flammae."

Yet another "neoteric" feature is the preponderance of end-stopped lines without internal pauses (note especially 21-25); see Fordyce, ed. Catullus, p.275; Lyne, ed. *Ciris*, intro. 23f. Finally we may call attention to the exotic flavour of the rare Greek forms and inflections (cf. Fordyce on Catul. 64.3; Lyne, ed. *Ciris* intro. 26f.): see 21 "Pygmalioneis", 23 "Libyes", 26 "Argos", 27 "Mycenen" nn.. The concentrated mannerism lasts as far as 28; thereafter Silius eases off the pressure, aiming for something more like a middle style. 21-25 are a compression of Verg. *A.* 1.340-368.

21. *Pygmalioneis:* in the mannered style, the first word of the enclosed line is often a long and sonorous "Greek" adjective: cf. Catul. 64. 77, "Androgeoneae....caedis"; Verg. *Ecl.* 9.11, "Chaonias.... columbas"; *G.* 2.176, "Ascraeum...carmen"; A. 6.17, "Chalcidica...arce"; Luc. 1.653, "Deucalioneos....imbres"; Sil.2.80, "Thermodontiaca... pelta". The exotic tone is established straight away by the rarity of the adjective: no other poet[*] uses it: its only other occurrence in poetry is later in the *Punica,* at 6.532. Again, the context is a highly coloured excursus (the death of Regulus), and again, the adjective is the first word in an enclosed line: "Pygmalioneam tentarem expromere gentem".

quondam: a reminiscence of the opening line of Catul.64: "Peliaco quondam...." As Fordyce observes ad loc., "'quondam'...sets the scene in the romantic legendary past"; cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.9; Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1040. Such an opening is natural for the "epyllion" form: cf. Theoc. 24.1, Ἡρακλέα δεκάμηνον ἐόντα ποχ' ἁ Μιδεᾶτις κτλ (Theocritus sets the scene similarly for Helen's epithalamion:

Ἔν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτᾳ, 18.1); Call. *Hec*. fr. 230 Pf. (the first line), Ἀκταίη τιϲ ἔναιεν Ἐρεχθέοϲ ἔν ποτε γουνῷ. See D.V. Kubiak, Catullus 64.1-2, AJPh C11 1981 41-42; W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos*, Hermes Einzelschriften XIII 1960 47f..

caerula: a common poetic expression for the sea (T.L.L. s.v. 107.27ff.): Silius uses it 34 times. But here its esoteric connotations may be activated by the context: cf. Catul. 64. 7, "caerula uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis."

terris: a verb of motion to match the ablative of separation seems to be understood; it would be very difficult to take "fugiens" as governing both "terris" and "regnum". Van Veen 289 would remove the difficulty by reading "Pygmalioneas....terras", with "regnum" in apposition. He may very well be right.

22. The shape and wording of the line recall Stat. *Theb*. 2.113, "pollutus placuit fraterno sanguine Tydeus". The imitation highlights the pathos of Dido's crisis, forced into exile by a murder committed by her brother, unlike such archetypal fugitives as Tydeus, fleeing because of their own crime.

23. *fatali:* in two senses; this is the place appointed by Fate for Dido to found her new city and to meet her death. A very similar line describes Dido's sister's arrival in Italy: "fatalis turbo in Laurentes expulit oras", 8.68.

Libyes: "Libya - ae" is the normal form, but the Greek inflection is affected by Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus and Silius especially (see K.-S. 1.425f.). In Book 1, the Greek inflection of this noun recurs at 194, in the geographical excursus which was mentioned above for its concatenation of enclosed lines (on 21-33).

appellitur: Dido is driven helplessly to Libya by language that recalls Vergil's description of the "later" arrival of Aeneas: "diversa per aequora uectos/ forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris", *A.* 1.376f..

24. *pretio mercata*: the gibe is directed at the Carthaginians' mercantile reputation: see 10 "Sidoniis" n.. Later in the book the Saguntine Daunus taunts the Carthaginians thus: "non haec Sidonia tecta/ feminea fabricata manu pretioue parata", 444f..

noua moenia: " 'Carthago' est lingua Poenorum 'noua ciuitas', ut docet Liuius", Serv. A. 1.366.

25. For the story, see 7n..

26. *Argos*: "Greek" neuter singular ("Argŏs"), or "Latin" masculine plural ("Argōs")?'
Cf. Var. *L.* 9.89: "dicimus hic Argus, cum hominem dicimus, cum oppidum graece hoc Argos, cum Latine Argi." The register is shown by the fact that Vergil always has the Latin form (Norden on *A*.6.838), while Horace does so in the satires and Epistles, reserving the Greek form for lyric (see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.9). The Greek form is not impossible in Silver Epic: Statius has it seven times in the nominative, once in the accusative (T.L.L. s.v. 532. 18ff.). Since Silius mentions the town nowhere else, we have no check: but 23 "Libyes" and 27 "Mycenen" incline me to believe that the final syllable of "Argos" is long by position here, not nature.

sic credidit alta uetustas: such comments upon a poet's tradition need not be sceptical (see H.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.23), but a genuine "diffidentia" sometimes makes itself felt: εἰ ἐτεόν γε πέλει κλέοϲ ἀνέρα κεῖνον κτλ., A.R. 1.154; "si uera est fama", Verg. *A.* 3.551; see Häussler 1.265f.. Silius' phrase is a little stronger than, for example, the expression "fertur" which Vergil used in the passage which was his model: "Karthago,../..quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam/ posthabita coluisse Samo", *A.* 1.13-16. He aims rather at that arch attitude which the neoteric adopted towards his subject-matter: thus Catullus in 64 has 2 "dicuntur", 19 "fertur", 76 'ham perhibent olim", 124 "perhibent", 212 "namque ferunt olim" (see further Fordyce on Catul. 64.1, Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 2.203).

27. *Agamemnoniam:* "perhaps first Latinised by Vergil" (Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 356), then regularly in the poets (T.L.L. s.v. 1265. 69ff.). This is the only occurrence in Silius, modelled on Vergil's "Agamemnoniasque Mycenas" (*A.* 6.838; cf. *Eins. Ecl.* 1.39" atque Agamemnoniis opus hoc ostende Mycenis").

Mycenen: the regular form in poetry is "Mycenae - arum" (see Williams on Verg. *A.* 5.52; K.-S. 1.516ff.). The only occurrences [*] of this Greek form are in the Flavian epic: V. Fl. 5.645, Stat. *Theb.* 4.56. Silius once elsewhere mentions the town, in the form "Mycenae" (8.620).

The great towns of the Peloponnese were traditionally dear to Juno: in the *Iliad* Hera claims ἦ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖϲ μὲν πολὺ φίλταταί εἰϲι πόληεϲ,/Ἄργοϲ τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκήνη, 4.51f.. Silius picks out a pair, as had Vergil: "eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas", *A.* 6.838.

28. *profugis:* Delz 1969 91 follows the suggestion of Schaefer 8, and

takes "profugis" as instrumental ablative, not a dative (as Duff and the Budé take it): he compares Verg. *A.* 7.408f., "quam dicitur urbem/ Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis". I do not see how we may decide: the important point is the contrast the word makes with "aeternam."

aeternam condere gentem: a double-barrelled oxymoron when applied to *Carthage*. First, the audience is reminded of the climax to the opening lines of the *Aeneid,* where the plight of the Trojan refugees is described: "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem," 1. 33. Romans of Silius' day will, too, have been accustomed to thinking of Rome as "urbs aeterna". The phrase itself is rare until the third century (F.G. Moore, TAPA XXV 1894 34-60), but "aeterna gens" can have suggested only one city to Silius' listeners: see R. Syme, *Tacitus*, 1958 208 n.1, with literature cited there; also C. Koch, "Roma Aeterna", in *Religio, Studien zum Kult und Glauben der Römer*, 1960 142-175; K.J. Pratt, "Rome as Eternal", JHI XXVI 1965 25-44.

29-31. A bad historical blunder. To speak of Roman "classes" in 264 is nonsense (see Polyb. 1.20. 9ff.), just as it is nonsense to speak of Rome victorious "totum per orbem" at a time when she was only just consolidating her hold on the Italian peninsula. Vergil's purpose and scope required only that Juno be moved by the fear of Carthage's eventual destruction (*A.* 1.19-22); Silius, however, suffers from back-dating Juno's anxiety to 264, at a time when the Carthaginians will have regarded Rome as little threat to Sicily let alone Carthage herself.

29. *magnanimis:* thus S and all editors. Baehrens 631 suggested "magnam aliis", and the emendation is accepted by Delz 1969 91, comparing

V. *Ecl*. 1.24, "uerum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes (Roma)." Håkanson 7f. agrees, regarding "magnam aliis" as "eine evidente Emendation." "magnanimis" makes no good sense (Duff's "aspiring" is an over-translation); as often, the Vergilian parallel is decisive: note the "uerum" with which each line begins.

31. *totum...orbem:* the bracketing conveys the whole expanse of the globe, now filled with Rome's troops.

32. *iam propius metuens: from* Verg. *A*.1.23, "id metuens".

bellandi furore: the genitive gerund of "bello" occurs commonly in the prose authors (T.L.L.s.v. 1817. 17ff.), especially, as here, with words denoting passion for war: "animos ardentis consuetudine et cupiditate bellandi", Cic. *Rep*. 2.26; "homines bellandi cupidi", Caes. *Gal*. 1.2.4; "(Antiochum Hannibal) tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi", Nep. *Hann*. 2.1; "ille (Hamilcar)....flagrabat bellandi cupiditate", id. *Ham*. 1.3. Although the ablative of this gerund is common in poetry (T.L.L.s.v. 1817.38ff.), the genitive occurs elsewhere [*] only at Ov. *Fast*. 5.574, Sen. *Her.O*. 474, Sil. 14.44.

33. *extimulat:* Silius eschews here the more normal post-Vergilian poetic compound "instimulo" (T.L.L.s.v. 1982. 53ff.), preferring the rare "extimulo", which is not found before Ovid, in whom it occurs four times. Besides Silius (five occurrences), Statius is the only other poet [*] to use the word (twice). Occurring sporadically in Silver Latin prose (twice in the Elder Pliny, once in Seneca's epistles, five times in Columella), the word appealed to Tacitus, who has it nine times. For other signs of Ovidian influence in Silius' vocabulary and style, see 106-112, 114, 335 "adductis...

neruis", 571, 637-639, 658, 679 "cauta" nn.

sed enim: another reminiscence of Vergil's Juno - exordium: "progeniem sed enim" etc. *A.* 1. 19. See Austin ad loc. for the Silver poets' adoption of this Vergilian archaism.

conamine: for Silius a word confined exclusively to poetry; in prose first in Fronto (T.L.L. s.v. 1.10 ff.). He has chosen it here for its initial "ç", beginning the series: "contuso", "fractisque", "coeptis", "Sicanio", "Libycis". Vergil uses similar sound-effects in his storm: "creberque procellis/Africus, et uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus./insequitur clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum", *A.* 1.85-87. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.313, ὣϲ ἄρα μιν εἰπόντ' ἔλαϲεν μέγα κῦμα κατ' ἄκρηϲ.

34. *contuso:* an ideal word to describe the smashing of pride or arrogance: "ferum feroci contundendum imperiost", Acc. *trag.* 174; "populosque ferocis/contundet", Verg. *A.* 1.263f.; "quod regum tumidas contuderit minas", Hor. *Carm.* 4.3.8. Silius elsewhere uses it of Hannibal's setbacks and ultimate defeat: "contundet iuuenis (Scipio) Tyrios", 9.545; "at Libyae ductor, Marcello fractus et acri/contusus pugna", 12.420f..

fractisque: Duff well translates, "the enterprise of the Carthaginians was *wrecked*".

gurgite...Sicanio: Silius refers to the great sea-battle off the Aegatian islands in 242, won by C. Lutatius Catulus (RE 4), which settled the issue of the First Punic War (see CAH 7. 691f.).

35f. *iterum instaurata capessens arma:* "instauro" is commonly used by prose writers of starting up wars again (Cic. *Prov.* 19; B. *Alex.* 42. 5;

Liv. 37.19.5; T.L.L. s.v. 1976. 17ff.), but Silius is the only poet [*] to use this semi-technical expression, here and at 13.878, "rursus bella uolet...instaurare" (Verg A. 2.669f., Sil. 1.391, 9.490, the only similar usages in poetry, are used merely of particular incidents in battle). The tautological "iterum" of this phrase is especially prosaic: cf. Liv. 27.37.4, "iterum nouendiale instauratum"; 37.19.5, "bellum nouum de integro instaurare." Again, "bellum capessere" is a common prose expression for beginning a war (T.L.L. 2. 1834. 72ff.): Silius is the only poet apart from Statius [*] (Ach. 1.467) to use the phrase (T.L.L. 2. 1834.73). But here Silius follows his regular habit of using strikingly prosaic language while yet avoiding the exact form of expression that a prose writer would have used (see 114 "terra atque undis", 303 "scita patrum", 566, 609 "concilium uocat", 675 "agitant consulta", 682, 694 "indicere bella" nn.). He does not write "capessens bellum", but uses the phrase "capessens arma" which is regular in the poets in the concrete sense of "picking up weapons" (T.L.L. 3.310. 28ff.).

36ff. Hannibal appears for the first time, as Juno's chosen instrument. The handling is rather inept at this point, for the "inspiring" of 38-55 is not a part of the action, but only a motif. When Juno intervenes in Aeneid 1, we see the consequences of her deed, and the intervention itself is part of the texture of the poem. Here all is vague: time, place unspecified. At 56-69 we progress to a picture of the mature Hannibal, then return to his childhood (70ff.) for a rational account of his hatred for Rome which leaves no need for any divine motivation. Silius is falling between two stools. He wants Juno at the beginning of the poem, breathing might into the receptive Hannibal, for his purposes of imitating and exploiting

Vergil. At the same time he wants to begin his true description of Hannibal's progress from the oath that he and Livy regarded as an important factor in the outbreak of the war (see on 81ff.). He is unable to reconcile in the action a mythological aition with an historical "causa", nor can he blend the divine conventions of epic with the demands of history (this is not to say that the task was impossible). For further discussion of Silius' problems at this point, see Herzog 77.

The text of these lines (36-40) is in dispute: see, most importantly, Ker 14f.; Delz 1969 91ff. (Delz has a full bibliography of earlier work). The focus of the trouble is at 36f., where the paradosis (see Delz 91) is: "arma remolitur dux agmina sufficit unus/ turbanti terras pontumque mouere paranti". Delz is alone in taking "dux" to refer to Juno rather than to Hannibal, punctuating thus: "capessens/arma remolitur dux agmina. sufficit unus..." But the noun must refer to Hannibal, the great military leader: cf. 10 "Sidonii...duces", and the note there. "agmina" is the problem. The Budé editors' "numini" will not help, for it is a cretic. Madvig (Advers. Crit 2.461) proposed "dux omnia sufficit unus/ turbanti terra", and is followed by Duff. He provides half the answer; read "omnes": "dux omnes sufficit unus/turbanti terras". The hyperbole is grand, but cf. 31 "totum...per orbem"; the play on "omnes"/"unus" is quite in Silius' manner: cf. 1.473ff., "non cuncta e muris unum incessentia tela/....tenent".

The stop after "paranti" is also difficult. Ker 14 rightly points out that Silius is fond of postponing the name of a subject (e.g. 7.634ff.), but, as he says, he does not throw out a hint (in the form of "dux"), and then name the subject in the next sentence. Delz simply removes the stop, but the result is anacolouthon. Ker's transposition of 38 and 39 is surely correct, providing Hannibal's delayed and enjambed name as the head of the introductory sentence (cf. 1.426ff., 2.208ff.). The transposition inevitably implies the preference of LFV's "cum" to O's "tum" (see Lindblom 120). As Delz points out, Juno's soliloquy in Aeneid 1 likewise begins with a "cum-inversum" clause: "uix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum/uela dabant laeti.../cum Iuno...etc.", 34-36.

The result is as follows:

36 "dux omnes sufficit unus
37 turbanti terras pontumque mouere paranti
39 Hannibal; hunc audet solum componere fatis.
38 iamque deae cunctas sibi belliger induit iras
40 sanguineo cum laeta uiro...."

The commentary follows the proposed order.

36. sufficit: one man is enough to do the job; the conceit is from Lucan, who describes Marius thus: "uir ferus et Romam cupienti perdere fato/sufficiens", 2.87f..

37. Jupiter accuses Juno in the last book: "turbasti maria ac terras", 17.352. Her protégé is credited with the same desires; he crosses the Pyrenees in Book 3, "turbata...terrarum pace", 416; in Book 17 Jupiter says of him, "miscere hic sidera ponto/et terras implere uolet redeuntibus armis", 377f.. The localised frenzy of Vergil's Juno is made to cover the whole world: cf. Jupiter's words in Aeneid 12, "terris agitare uel undis/Troianos potuisti", 803f..

39. *solum componere fatis:* on "componere", Ruperti has a good note: "voc. propr. de gladiatoribus, cum par pari componitur, ut inuicem pugnent"; see further T.L.L. s.v. 2112. 24f.. The force of the expression depends on this semi-technical use of "componere", "pitting matched pairs against each other": see L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, Eng. tr. 1909 2. 57 for the matching of pairs (the best gladiators "would not fight except with their equals"); cf. 16.615f., "composuit.../dignum te Fortuna parem"; Hor. *Sat*. 1.7. 19f., "Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non/compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius"; Sen. *Prov*. 2.9; Petr. 19; Plin. *Nat*. 8.34, 21.46. Hannibal is completely outclassed by his opponent, and he is one against many ("solum...fatis", not "fato"): "damit ist von Anfang an gesagt, dass er scheitern wird", von Albrecht 48.

38. *belliger:* a word of the Silver Latin poets, especially favoured by Statius and Silius; not found in prose before Augustine, nor in poetry before a solitary occurrence in Ovid: see T.L.L. s.v. 1814. 12ff.

induit: in T.L.L. s.v. III B this is the only example from poetry of "sibi induere aliquid". The verb is used of a conscious act of deliberate assumption: cf. Sen. *Ep*. 47.20, "regum nobis induimus animos"; Liv. 3.33.7, "nouum sibi ingenium induerat (Appius)." Hannibal's mind is not being invaded by the goddess: he is going out to meet her.

iras: for the (non-homeric) "conception of fury as another weapon of war", see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm*. 1.15.12.

40. *sanguineo:* this is the only case I find (certainly the only case

in poetry [*]) where "sanguineus" is used of a man. Vergil boldly attached the adjective to Mars (*A.* 12.332), and was followed by some poets (Ov. *Rem.* 153; Sen. *Phaed.* 465; perhaps V. Fl. 3.85); as an epithet for a human being it is extremely strong language. Cf. 59f. "penitusque medullis/ sanguinis humani flagrat sitis" (see n. ad loc. for the rarity of the image "blood thirsty"); 148f., "asper amore/sanguinis" (Hasdrubal); 11.250f., "sanguine laetum/ humano" (Hannibal).

regna Latini: Silius makes something of a marker out of this phrase: it recurs at 3.223[!], introducing the catalogue of the invading army, and at 3.644 [!], at the moment when the army arrives in Italy after the crossing of the Alps.

41. *turbine:* one of a number of storm words used both of private calamities (e.g. Sen. *Ag.* 196f., "horum te mala/uentura moueant, turbo quis rerum imminent"), and, especially, of public (e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 20," in maximis turbinibus ac fluctibus rei publicae"). Similarly, in the speech of Sicoris at the end of the book, the threat embodied in Hannibal is a great wave about to break on the state (646f.: see there for further discussion).

uenientum: this apparently mild verb is often charged with a sinister and hostile force (see Duff on Juv. 11.10.6): cf. esp. Verg. *A.* 1.21f., "hinc populum late regem belloque superbum/uenturum excidio Libyae"; also Lucr. 3.833, "ad confligendum uenientibus undique Poenis"; Juv. 11.113, "litore ab Oceani Gallis uenientibus;" 137 below, "uenientia fata".

42-54. Juno's bitter monologue is indebted to both of Vergil's Junomonologues (*A.*1.37-49; 7.293-322). These soliloquies, and the imitations they inspired (Ov. *Met.* 3.262ff., 4.422; V.Fl.1.113ff.; Sen. *Her.F.* 1ff.) owe much to the speeches of divine characters in tragic prologues, especially in their angry obsession with τιμή (see 42 "spreta me" n.; the dissertation of H.W. Offermann, *Monologe im antiken Epos*, München 1968, is disappointing. He discusses Silius, 87ff., without mentioning our present speech; and on p.92 puzzles over Silius' failure to provide a proper "Zornesmonolog").

The debt to Vergil's first soliloquy is the more obvious. Both speeches are thirteen lines long; Silius' Juno takes as her starting-point the establishment of the kingdom which Vergil's Juno had hoped to prevent. The structural function of Silius' speech is derived from Vergil, setting the action in train on the divine level (though his success is limited here: see on 36ff. above). But the ἦθος of the speech, vindictive and punitive without any hope of ultimate success, derives from Juno's speech in *Aeneid* 7, where she acknowledges that she can only delay, not avert, the inevitable: "non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,/...at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus" (313-315). The speech is all one sentence, elaborated with two "dum" - clauses, each of five lines, with the second devoted to the battle of Cannae (50-54), the trough of Roman misfortune. The gloating goddess covers the whole run of her protégé's success in one sweep. For further discussion of the speech, see on 123-139 below.

The list of battles recurs often, though usually without the minor affair of the Ticinus (11.345f.; 12.79-82; 15.34f., 814f.; 17.600f.); K.H. Niemann has persuasively argued that Silius exploits this series of catastrophes as an important structural force in the poem (*Die Darstellung der römischen Niederlagen in den Punica des Silius Italicus*, 1975). But any mention of the Second Punic War was likely to elicit such a roll-call: "quod non Trebia aut Trasimenus, non Cannae....perficere potuere", Plin. *Nat.* 15.76; "Trebia Trasumennus Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum consulumque Romanorum?", Liv. 26.41.11; "Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos admonens (Hannibal)", id. 23.18.7; cf. 24.8.20; "O miserae sortis, quod non in Punica nati/tempora Cannarum fuimus Trebiaeque iuuentus!", Luc. 2.45f.; *Paneg.* 3.11; Claud. 24.145.

Silius achieves uniformity by presenting all the battles under the guise of the μάχη παραποτάμιοϲ, a homeric motif (*Il.* 21), shunned, perhaps for its sensationalism, by later epic poets until revived by the Silver Latin writers: Lucan (2.209ff., an ingenious adaption of only part of the topos, the river congested with corpses); Statius (*Theb.* 9.225ff.); Silius (4.573ff.; 10.208ff., 319ff.). In the case of Cannae, where the river itself played no part in the battle, Silius achieves his effect at the cost of some distortion. For discussion of the topos, with bibliography, see Raabe 79ff. ("corpora uolues Thybri pater").

42f. *intulerit Latio...penates:* the action forseen in the *Aeneid*'s exordium is a "fait accompli"; "inferretque deos Latio", 1.6.

spreta me: Silius adapts the verb used by Vergil to describe the slight suffered by Juno in the beginning: "spretae...iniuria formae", *A.* 1.27. Juno dwells on her injured τιμή just like the gods in tragedy, justifying the havoc they are about to let loose: ὁ γάρ με Θηϲέωϲ παῖϲ.../λέγει κακίϲτην δαιμόνων πεφυκέναι/...ἃ δ' εἰϲ ἔμ' ἡμάρτηκε, τιμωρήϲομαι/Ἱππόλυτον, Eur. Hipp. 10-22; (Πενθεὺϲ) θεομαχεῖ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ ϲπονδῶν ἄπο/ ὠθεῖ μ', ἐν εὐχαῖϲ τ' οὐδαμοῦ μνείαν ἔχει, id. Ba. 45f. (see Dodds on Ba. 1-63 for the similarities between the prologues of the two plays); "superat et crescit malis/iraque nostra fruitur...de me triumphat", Sen. Her.F. 33f., 58. Identical sentiments occur in prologues in dialogue, rather than soliloquy (e.g. Soph. Aj. 127ff., Eur. Tr. 69ff.). The divine preoccupation with τιμή is most explicitly on view in Vergil's first Juno-soliloquy; the last word of that speech is "honorem" (49). In Aeneid 7 the word is once more on her lips, as she gives her orders to Allecto: "ne noster honos infractaue cedat/fama loco", 332f..

43. exul: thus Aeneas describes himself at Verg. A. 3.11, "feror exul in altum" (see Austin on A.1.2 for the conventional description of the Trojan/Romans as "profugi"). Silius has borrowed from A.7, where Juno stokes her anger in precisely this fashion: "quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas/ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto", 299f..

bis numina capta penates: the mannered word-order of the apposition belongs in the same range of neoteric patterning as the schema discussed 21-33n.: cf. Norden on Verg. A. 6.7f., "densa ferarum/ tecta...siluas"; H.-S. 409. Ovid is especially fond of it (see Bömer on Met. 2.41), and Silius affects it often enough: cf. 141 "hominum finem Gades", 290 "quondam Laertia regna Zacynthos", 587 "hos...scopulos immitia regna".

In the Aeneid the enemies of the Trojans scoff at their "uictos penatis" (1.68, 8.11). and taunt the Trojans with being "bis capti Phryges" (9.599; cf. 11.402): Silius has combined the two Vergilian motifs. The two sacks are those of Agamemnon and of Hercules: cf. 1.513, where Hannibal prays to Hercules, addressing him as "Troiae quondam primis memorate ruinis"; Verg. *A*.2.642f., 8.290f.; Hor. *Carm*. 3.3.65-68, "ter si resurgat murus aëneus/ductore Phoebo, ter pereat meis/excisus Argiuis, ter uxor/capta uirum puerosque ploret".

44. *sceptraque fundarit:* an unusual phrase. Schrader (personal notes as recorded by van Veen, Hermes XXIII 1888 211) proposed either "regnaque fundarit" or "sceptraque firmarit". Certainly "fundo" is used of substantial edifices or whole cities (cf. Verg. *A*. 4.260, 5.760, 6.810f.), and it is a striking metonymy to have "sceptra" equivalent to "regna" as the object. It may still be what Silius wrote; otherwise, Schrader's second suggestion is attractive.

uictor: Aeneas has beaten the Latins, but he has also beaten *Juno:* cf. Juno's two soliloquies in the *Aeneid,* "mene incepto desistere uictam!" (1.37), "uincor ab Aenea" (7.310). Seneca takes over the motif also, as his Juno broods over Hercules: "me uicit: et se uincat et cupiat mori", *Herc.F.* 116.

Teucris: picks up 42 "Troïus": the goddess probes away at her resentment, "*those* Trojans." ("Les 'Troyens' sont ici 'les Romains'," according to the Budé editors).

45. *Ticine:* Silius regularly apostrophises the rivers and lakes which were the scenes of the Roman disasters, especially Trasimene: cf. J. Endt, Der Gebrauch der Apostrophe bei den lateinischen Epikern, WS XXVII 1905 115.

46. similisque mihi: thus S, and all editors save Summers and Duff, who adopt Postgate's "famulusque". There are numerous other conjectures; "rutilusque" (Hilberg, JKlPh CV 1872 792), "subolisque ...Pergameae" (Schaefer 9), "sociusque" (Owen 173), "Simoisque" (Delz 1969 98). The Budé editors defend "similis" as meaning "semblable au Tessin, cité au v.45, parce que son cours sera, lui aussi, bloqué par les cadavres", while they explain "mihi" as an ethic dative. Apart from the strained reference of "similis", which naturally wishes to go with "mihi" rather than 45 "Ticine", a major objection to this interpretation is the ethic dative, too slack and colloquial for this formal speech. There is only one appealing conjecture, "tibi", made by Gronovius (in Summers' apparatus) and by Prof. Nisbet, independently, in discussion. "similisque tibi" picks up 45 "tuae", "while your banks, Ticinus, cannot contain the Roman dead, and while Trebia, in the same way as you....etc.." It is easy to see how this initially difficult phrase was changed to "mihi". Unless "similisque tibi" is correct, "similisque mihi" should be obelized.

47. sanguine: depends on 48 "retro fluat", like "armis/ corporibusque". Lucan has the opposite, and more "natural" idea, that the river's flow is given more impetus by the new access of liquid: "cernit propulsa cruore/flumina", 7. 789-790.

stipantibus: cf. Statius' river, Theb. 9.436, "stipatus caedibus".

48. retro fluat: cf. Verg. A. 11.405," amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit [!] Aufidus undas." The river's movement, stalled at the spondee "retro", picks up again with the pyrrhic "fluat". The prophecy

is fulfilled at 4.665: "caede, uides, stagna alta rubent retroque feruntur."

largo...tabo: the rhyming ring captures the great extent of contagion which so appalls Trasimene; note also the forceful alliteration with "t" in 49.

49. reformidet: Homer's Scamander (Il.21.218ff.) and Statius' Ismenos (Theb. 9.429ff.) express disgust and resentment at the fouling of their water, but Silius has gone one further in making the lake afraid of its own polluted pools, which from being still ("stagna"), have become unquiet ("turbida").

50. tumulum Hesperiae: so the elder Pliny, writing of Cannae: "busto Romani nominis", Nat. 15.76. cf. Catul. 68.89, "Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque"; Prop. 1.22.3, "Perusina...patriae... sepulcra"; id.2.1.27, "ciuilia busta Philippos"; Luc. 7.861f., "terram (Thessalicam).../Romani bustum populi"; Claud. Bell.Get. 637f., (Pollentia) memorabile bustum/barbariae". The conceit is given further emphasis by the contrast with "campum": the flat plain of Cannae has become the mound of Italy.

51. sublimis: "du haut du ciel" (Budé), "from heaven" (Duff); but the word acquires point from the juxtaposed "mersum": as the plain is submerged in gore, the goddess is elevated.

Iapyga: Apulian, from the son of Daedalus who was supposed to have ruled there; cf. Plin. Nat. 3.202; RE 9.1 745f..

52. *coeuntibus...ripis:* so Scamander is made narrow by corpses (ϲτεινόμενοϲ νεκύεϲϲι, Hom. *Il.* 21.220); Statius seems to be trying to go one better than this, but it is not easy to see quite what he means: "subterque animae supraque recentes/errant et geminas iungunt caligine ripas", *Theb.* 9.432f. Cf. Catul.64. 359, "cuius iter caesis augustans corporum aceruis"; Sil. 15.767f..

Aufide: as one might expect, this is one of the commonest positions in the hexameter for the noun in apostrophe: E. Hampel, *De Apostrophae apud Romanorum poetas usu*, Diss. Jena 1908 30f.

53. The clutter of weapons and corpses (cf. 47f. above) originates in Homer's Scamander: πολλὰ δὲ τεύχεα καλὰ δαϊκταμένων αἰζηῶν/ πλῶον καὶ νέκυεϲ, *Il.* 21.301f.. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 259ff., and especially Verg. *A.* 1.100f., 8.538-540, whence Silius derives his "galeasque uirum": "scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit" (1.101 ~ 8.539).

54. Rivers blocked with carnage have difficulty getting to sea in Homer, *Il.* 21.219f., οὐδέ τί πῃ δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰϲ ἅλα δῖαν,/ ϲτεινόμενοϲ νεκύεϲϲι ; Vergil, *A.*5.806-808, "gemerentque repleti/amnes nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset/in mare se Xanthus"; Statius, *Theb.* 9.436f., "stipatus caedibus artas/in freta quaero uias;" Lucan, 2.212-214, "et strage cruenta/interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor,/ ad molem stetit unda sequens." The following lines in Lucan give Silius his "iter": "iam sanguinis alti uis sibi fecit iter....", 214f..

55. *flammat:* in this sense of "incitare" (T.L.L. s.v. 874.5ff), a

word especially of the Silver poets: first in Seneca (once), twice in Valerius Flaccus, five times in Statius, and six in Silius. In prose first in Tacitus (Hist. 2.74). Our passage, with Augustin. Epist. 127.38, is the only example of "flammare ad".

56-69. A picture of the mature Hannibal at the time before his attack on Saguntum. The immediate model for this quick sketch is Livy's description at 21.4.5-9, where we receive a full image of Hannibal's leadership qualities and military accomplishments, followed by a summary of his "ingentia uitia." Silius has split the two elements and reversed their order, presenting first the Carthaginian's evil make-up (56-60), postponing the more appreciative material until 242-267.

The picture before us now has many affinities with the character-sketch in history (see 239-270n. for further discussion). But the most obvious tradition is that of the five or six line description which the epic poets provide of a bizarre or impressive character. Homer's Thersites is something of a paradigm (Il. 2. 212ff.): already we see the succession of adjectives, and the resumptive pronoun, 224 αὐτὰρ ὅ (see 57 "is"n.). There survive two character-sketches from Ennius' Annales which exhibit the same features; 210-227 V, probably of the poet himself (Skutsch 92ff. = C.Q. LVII 1963 94ff.); and 300-305 V, of M. Cornelius Cethegus (see, likewise, on 59 "is"). The most influential creation, however was Vergil's Drances, A.11. 336-341: see R.T. Bruère, Some Recollections of Vergil's Drances in later Epic, CPh LXVI 1971 30ff.. Important sketches include Statius' Capaneus, Theb. 3. 598-603, and, most significant for Silius, Lucan's Caesar, 1.143ff.. Lucan first amalgamated the epic and historic sketch, providing a picture of the protagonist, not of a minor character, and placing this picture at the beginning of the epic with the first introduction of the chief personage. Probably from Lucan as well comes Silius' imitation of the historian's stylistic tricks for portraiture, the suppression of verbs, the series of brief, expressive, antithetical nominal phrases; for these features, see M. Rambaud, Recherches sur le portrait dans l'historiographie romaine, LEC XXXVIII 1970 442.

The evil, relentlessly energetic, impious Hannibal of Silius is a member of a distinctively Roman tradition, whose outstanding exemplars are Sallust's and Cicero's Catiline, Vergil's Mezentius, Livy's Hannibal, Lucan's Caesar, Statius' Capaneus, and Seneca's Atreus: see the interesting but undeveloped article of S.G. Farron, The Roman Invention of Evil, Studies in Antiquity 1 1979-1980 12-46, discussing this Roman type "who does evil for its own sake", possessed of a "demonic, almost superhuman, force and power" (12: later examples of the type which Farron discusses include Shakespeare's Richard III and Milton's Satan). After Livy's Hannibal, the creation most influencing Silius' portrayal is Lucan's Caesar (Lucan indeed systematically compares Caesar to Hannibal: see Ahl 107ff.): see von Albrecht 54, and notes on 56 "motus auidus", 59 "pacis despectus honos". On the portrayal of Hannibal in Silius, see further von Albrecht 48ff., 172f.; E.L. Evans, Literary Portraiture in Ancient Epic, HSCPh LIX 1948 211-212; E. Burck, *Das römische Epos,* 1979 278ff.; on Mezentius, G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil,* 1979 (Thome is not interested in Mezentius as a literary figure, and does not properly discuss the type: some remarks, with bibliography, 53, 61); on Capaneus, R.D. Williams, ed. Stat. *Theb.* 10, Mnemosyne Suppl. XXII 1972 xvii, note on 827f.; on Caesar, Ahl 190ff., esp. 198ff.; E. Burck, Das Menschenbild im römischen Epos, Gymnasium LXV 1958 141ff..

56f. The restless energy of Hannibal is suggested by three adjectives which all possess a directional force, "sinister", "exsuperans", "deuius": "leftwards ", "mounting up", "off the track", anywhere but straight ahead.

motus auidus: the noun carries more than its usual sense of "political convulsion" (see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.1.1): this is the anarchic lust of the evil man who desires havoc for its own sake (Farron, art.cit. 56-69 above, 26); "Ganz im Sinne Junos, als deren Ziele wir 'turbare' und 'mouere' kennenlernten (1.37, vgl. 20 und 41)", von Albrecht 48. Cf. Catiline, "huic ab adulescentia bella intestina... discordia ciuilis grata fuere", Sal. Cat. 5.2; "numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti", Cic. Catil. 1.25; Caesar, "gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina", Luc. 1.150 (in the following simile Caesar is compared to lightning: "magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens/ dat stragem late", 156-157); on the theme of universal destruction as embodied in Seneca's villains, see the sensitive remarks of C.J. Herington, Senecan Tragedy, Arion V 1966 447ff., esp. 456ff..

fideique sinister: like 57 "deuius aequi", a rather strained genitive; both are listed by K.-S., 1.443ff., under a miscellaneous heading: "eine Einteilung nach bestimmten Kategorien ist hier schwer möglich." Silius is forcing his language for a balanced pair of oxymoronic point: "fides" was normally and naturally associated with the right hand (see 655 "dextram" n.); while "deuius aequi", in keeping with the play on movement in these lines, has Hannibal wandering off the flat. Silius follows Livy in stressing Hannibal's perfidy: "perfidia plus quam Punica", 21.4.9. Although this is natural in speaking of a Carthaginian (see 5 "perfida" n.), contempt for oaths is a hallmark of the man of evil: cf. Sal. *Cat.* 16.2; Luc. 1.225ff.; Stat. *Theb*. 2. 482ff.; Sen *Thy*. 215ff., 482ff.. The prose side of the tradition (see 242-267n) is discernible here as well. A man's treatment of oaths and religion was one of the topics to be discussed, either for praise or blame in epideictic oratory. Those matters came under the heading of "iustitia", δικαιοϲύνη, one of the four cardinal virtues (the other three are wisdom, courage, temperance: see Russell and Wilson, ed. Menander Rhetor intro. xxii ff.); thus Cicero defines "iustitia" as "erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas, uulgo etiam bonitas, creditis in rebus fides etc.", *Part.* 78.; cf. e.g. Men. Rhet. 361.17ff.. Xenophon, for example, praises Agesilaus (3.2) and Cyrus (*An*. 1.9.7) for their respect for oaths, while blaming Menon for his perjury, falsehood and deception (*An.* 2.6.21ff.). Similarly Livy on Hannibal, "nullum ius iurandum", 21.4.9; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 272f. V (on Hannibal), "at non sic duplex fuit hostis/ Aeacida Burrus;" Stat. *Silv*. 4.6.77f., "periuroque ense superbus/ Hannibal". Already in Homer Hecuba had described Achilles thus: ὠμηϲτὴϲ καὶ ἄπιϲτοϲ ἀνήρ, *Il.* 24.207.

57. *is:* the demonstrative pronoun "is ea id" is rare in elevated poetry: see Axelson 70ff., Jocelyn ed. Ennius *Trag*. p.194 n.5. The pronoun here is resumptive, as used by the prose writers along the lines of the Greek ὁ δέ, οὗτοϲ δέ, ἦν γὰρ οὗτοϲ : see Ogilvie 708. Homer's sketch of Thersites picks up in this way: after a description of him, Homer resumes with αὐτὰρ ὅ. An exact parallel offers itself

in Ennius' portrait of M. Cornelius Cethegus, who is first introduced thus: "additur orator Cornelius suauiloquenti/ore, Cethegus Marcus, Tuditano collega,/Marci filius, is dictust popularibus ollis", 300 V ff. (following for the third line the proposal of Skutsch 97f. = C Q N.S. LXVII 1963 98f.); cf. "*hunc* inter pugnas" etc., 227V, after the self-portrait at the beginning of *Ann.*7; "*huic* ampla quidem de sanguine prisco/nobilitas", Stat. *Theb.* 3.600f., elaborating the picture of Capaneus. Amongst the historians Sallust is most given to this use of the pronoun when introducing or developing a character sketch: so when speaking of Marius, "at illum...sed is natus..", *Jug.* 63. 2f.; of Catiline, "hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma inuaserat..., *Cat*. 5.5; of Sempronia, "haec mulier...sed ei...sed ea", *ib.* 25. 2-4.

astu: another vogue word in Silver Latin: twice in Vergil (virtually adverbial), four times in Livy, then ten times in Valerius Flaccus, seventeen in Statius, twenty-three in Silius, eighteen in Tacitus: see T.L.L. s.v. 983. 15ff.. Livy's comment is "plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat", 21.4.5 (cf. Xen. *An*. 2.6.7, on Clearchus: ἐν τοῖϲ δεινοῖϲ φρόνιμοϲ).

aequi: from Statius' sketch of Capaneus in Book 3 (598-603): "aequi[!]/impatiens", 602f..

58. *armato nullus diuum pudor:* the evil man sacrilegiously prefers his weapons to the gods: thus Parthenopaeus, Aesch. *Sept.* 529; Idas, A.R. 1.467ff.; Mezentius, Verg. *A*. 10.773f.; Capaneus, Stat. *Theb.* 3.615f., 9. 548ff.. Cf. Sil.1.304f., 11.183f.. So in Livy, "nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum iusiurandum, nulla religio",

21.4.9, where see Walsh for contrary evidence of Hannibal's piety.

improba uirtus: as Ruperti notes, Silius is fond of this type of oxymoron: cf. 6.378, "atrox...fides"; 13.369, "atrox uirtus"; 11.205, 419, "horrida uirtus". The meaning of the adjective is not immediately plain. Syme refers to this passage as an example of the way in which "uirtus", with its "primary meaning of courage and energy", "might occur and be admired in bad men" (*Tacitus* 1958 526), while von Albrecht has a lengthy discussion (49ff.), arguing, in effect, that the meaning of the adjective here is that of T.L.L. s.v. II B2, "quod modum suetum excedit, i.q. immensus, immanis, ingens." The following line helps determine the meaning, for it qualifies the "uirtus" of Hannibal as well. As Cicero said, "uult plane uirtus honorem, nec est uirtutis ulla alia merces", *Rep.* 3.40; Hannibal's "uirtus" is flawed because it finds its outlet only in war, not in peace. Hence "improba" is strongly condemnatory, as it is, in a slightly different sense, in the Statian passage which was probably Silius' model: "unde haec furibunda cupido,/nate, tibi? teneroque unde improba pectore uirtus?", *Theb.* 318f..

59. *pacis despectus honos:* in speaking of Clearchus, Xenophon accuses him of having been πολεμικὸϲ καὶ φιλοπόλεμοϲ (*An.* 2.6.1), and inserts a sketch of the type of man ὅϲτιϲ ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰϲχύνηϲ καὶ βλάβηϲ αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν (ib. 6). Cf. Sal. *Cat*. 5.2; Cic. *Catil*. 1.25; Luc. 2.439f.; 650f., "at numquam patiens pacis longaeque quietis/armorum (Caesar)"; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 598-600, "atque hic ingenti Capaneus Mauortis amore/excitus et longam pridem indignantia pacem/ corda tumens..etc."

60. *sanguinis humani flagrat sitis:* already described as "sanguineus" (40), Hannibal has ascribed to him the ultimate barbarity: see Plin. *Nat.* 28.1.4ff.. "Blood-thirsty" is a much more powerful image in Latin than it is in English: Seneca applies it to archetypal tyrannical monsters, *Ben.* 7.19.8; Lucan has Caesar hurl it at Pompey, 1.327ff.; it is Cicero's climactic assault on Dolabella, *Phil.* 11.10; " cuius sanguinem non bibere censetis?" The Greeks spoke rather of eating people raw; see Hudson-Williams on Theognis 349. Drinking blood was left to the Erinyes (see Pearson on Soph. *Fr.* 743), although Theognis, in the line referred to above, prays in an access of passion to be able to drink the blood of his enemies: τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν.

his super: the only certain case of this usage before Statius is Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.3, although it is more common in later Latin (H.-S. 281). Statius' "his super", 4.377, presumably showed the way for Silius (cf. also 8.21, 11.143, 12.407, 14.333). For other cases where Silius seems to have followed Statius' lead in vocabulary, or picked up a word made fashionable by him, cf. 38 "belliger", 55, 223 "cornipedes", 292 "diues alumno", 320, 395, 494 "frendens", 552 "ualidam", 559, 563 nn..

60f. *aeui / flore uirens:* cf. Lucr. 1.564, Ov. *Met.* 9.436, "aeui florem". The metaphor is freshened by the apposite "uirens": cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 206, "fronde uirere noua".

61. *Aegatis:* see 34 "gurgite...Sicanio" n..

61f. *parentum/dedecus:* in Book 13 Hamilcar expresses the same wish: "atque utinam amissum reparet decus!". 750.

62. "Plunging into the sea" is a conventional description of rendering something null and void: Tib. 2.5. 79f., "sed tu iam mitis, Apollo,/ prodigia indomitis merge sub aequoribus;" Hor. *Carm.* 1.16. 2-4, "quem criminosis cumque uoles modum/ pones iambis, siue flamma/ siue mari libet Hadriano." But there is extra point in Hannibal's case; he will treat the "foedera" of the Romans the way they treated his ancestors' ships. There may also be a sardonic reference to the practice, especially associated with the oath of the Phocaeans, of sinking lumps of molten metal into the sea to seal a compact: Hdt. 1. 165; Arist. *Ath.* 23.5; Plu. *Arist.* 25.1; Call. 388.9 (Pfeiffer); Alc. P. Oxy. vol.. XVIII p.40. 1360.2. Col ii. 6-7; Hor. *Epod.* 16.25f..

63. *dat mentem Iuno:* as the deities in Homer; Ἔνθ' αὖ Τυδείδῃ Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη / δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, Il. 5.1f.; cf. Verg. *A.* 9. 764, "Iuno uiris animumque ministrat."

64-69. Even in his dreams, Hannibal is obsessed by his precccupations: for the idea, see Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1.45. Silius has a similar picture, of Maraxes, at 7.325ff.. The most famous treatment of the topic is that of Lucretius, 4.962ff., who describes, amongst others, the dreams of men involved in great affairs: "reges expugnant, capiuntur, proelia miscent,/ tollunt clamorem, quasi si iugulentur, ibidem", 1013-1014. The subject of the dream, the scream, the phrase "proelia miscent", these are to be found in Silius' passage. 69 "inania bella" is likewise taken from Lucretius' piece, where dogs are described as dreaming of chasing "inania...ceruorum simulacra" (995f.).

The picture is vivid and effective: the particular description provides a definite halt after the generalisations, in readiness for the transition back to Hannibal's childhood. The dreams of Hannibal, particularly the dream urging him to attack Italy, figured prominently in writings on the war, and were famous enough to be selected as examples by Cicero: see Div. 1.48-49, with Pease's notes. Silius, of course, represents these dreams of Hannibal as being inspired by Juno, an interesting use of the "dreams of day-time preoccupations", which were conventionally classed as "natural". rather than "god-sent": see A.H.M. Kessels, Ancient Systems of Dream-Classification, Mnemosyne Ser.4 XXII 1969 423.

65. Alpes: for the importance of the Alps in the poem, see 117 "Alpes" n..

66. famuli.. ad limina: cf. Verg. A. 9.648, "fidusque ad limina [!] custos."

70-80. The transition back to Hannibal's boyhood is deftly handled. Hamilcar is the key figure in this episode, and his introduction has been prepared for by 61f.; once he has been led into the poem, picked out as the source of Hannibal's hatred for Rome, the regression to the time of the oath is entirely natural.

70. Saturniaque arua: cf. Verg. A.1.569 [!]. There is an effective contrast between the "rabies" of Hannibal and the tranquillity of the land of Saturn upon which it is soon to burst.

71. There are serious problems with the text in this line. The paradosis is: "addiderat tandem puero patrius furor oscus". The

commonest solution (Ruperti; Thilo 613; Budé) has been to punctuate after "furor", and adopt "ortus" (from the reading of a second hand in V). Bauer's objections are conclusive (1888 205): most importantly, Silius cannot have placed a pyrrhic in the fifth foot without a monosyllable preceding, while it is extremely inelegant to begin a new sentence with the sixth foot. Further, we must supply from "patrius" the subject of 72f.; this last objection applies also (amongst various others) to the odd line printed by Duff and attributed to Housman: "addiderat laudem puero patrius furor orsus". Attempts have been made to supply an appropriate monosyllable to precede "furor"; Summers suggests in his apparatus "pater: hinc furor ortus"; Bauer prints Hilberg's suggestion, "addiderat tantam puero patris heu furor altus." Apart from any other consideration, none of these proposals leads sensibly into 72, as Summers concedes: "post h.u. aliquid excidisse facile crediderim."

Earlier in the line, "tandem" looks like a stop-gap. There is nothing in F at this point, and "quondam" has been the commonest makeshift of the editors: Summers prints "iam tum". It is very likely that the corruption is localised at the end of the line, and that Silius wrote "addiderat puero patrius furor". What came after that is irretrievable; as matters stand the only thing to do is to obelise after "addiderat".

72. Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente: the non-Greek and non-Roman names, the unusual cluster of spondees, the ugly triple open "a" of "Sarrana", the harsh "c" and "g", all contribute to give the phrase an aura of barbaric force and strangeness. The atmosphere of this section

is consistently alien and "archaic": see further 75 "Belides", 81 "Elissae", 82 "patria...formidine cultum", 84 "templum", 86 "marmore maesto", 93 f. "atque.../atque", 94 "Acheronta", 101 "Massylae", 104 "olli", 105 "hortando" nn..

Sarrana: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 236V, "Poenos Sarra oriundos": as Steuart explains ad loc. (7.3 by her arrangement), "Sarra" means nothing but "Tyrus", but is closer to the correct Phoenician pronunciation of the name of their head town. By contrast, "Tyria" sounds almost homely.

Barcae: G. Charles-Picard implausibly attempts to discover some kernel of historical fact in this mention of Barcas, son of Belus (*Hannibal*, 1967 17f.). Belus is an all-purpose Phoenician name (see 73 "Belo" n.), while "Barcas" is simply the nickname of the great Hamilcar transmuted into an eponymous hero. "Barcas" is the Carthaginian Bàràq, "lightning" or "sword-flash" (RE7.2303, Walbank on Polyb. 1.56). It is not a family name in any sense, for the Carthaginians, like most ancient races, did not have family names of the Roman type: see Gsell 4.183. Nor is there good evidence that personal nicknames ran in the family: see Walbank 1.110 for one dubious example. We know of no other Carthaginian called "Barcas", and the fact that it was Hamilcar's distinctive property is shown by the phrasing of Polybius, who calls him τοῦ βάρκα ἐπικαλουμένου, 3.9.6, and of Nepos, who calls him "Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca", *Ham.* 1.1, just as he says of Aristides that he was "cognomine Iustus appellatus", *Arist.* 1.2. Livy, however, or his sources, obviously thought that "Barca" was a family name: see e.g. 23.13.6, "familia Barcina"; 21.10.3, "donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit." Modern scholars follow suit, speaking of the family, traditions, and policy of the "Barcids": e.g. C.A.H. 8.30f., Warmington 143 f.. O.L.D., indeed, gives the meaning of "Barcas" as "the name of a Carthaginian family", with our passage cited.

73. a Belo: cf. Verg. A. 1.729, "a Belo" [!]; a more extensive imitation of the same passage at 87f.. Belus is "a stop-gap name for foreign genealogies" (O.C.D. s.v.), especially associated with Phoenicia, and in some cases the father of Dido: RE 3.261. Vergil uses the name for the founder of Dido's line: see Austin on A.1.729; for a convincing demonstration of the Romans' ignorance about the historical Beluses, see Cintas 71-76. The significant point is that Silius wants us to imagine that Hannibal and Dido are of the same royal blood: cf. 8.30f..

73ff. Hamilcar's ancestor was one of the refugees described in Verg. A. 1.360ff.; note 75 "tyranni" and A. 1.361 "tyranni" [!].

74. famulam: even apart from the particular tyranny which they suffer now, the citizens of Tyre share in that state of slavery which the more free peoples of the West delight in describing as the natural lot of the peoples of the East: see Broadhead on Aesch. Pers. 242.

75. Belides: a rare and exclusively poetic word (T.L.L. 2.1865. 12ff.), its exotic flavour is well illustrated by a lush fragment of Cinna's propempticon: "nec tam donorum ingenteis mirabere aceruos/ innumerabilibus congestos undique saeclis/ iam inde a Belidis natalique urbis ab anno/ Cecropis atque alta Tyriorum ab origine Cadmi", poet IC3).

76. By implication, Barcas' descendants are bound tightly to her cause as well: the commitment is unqualified; note the emphatic position of "omnes".

77. Noble birth and skill in war are the two basic topoi of encomia: on birth, see Men.Rhet. 370.10ff., Quint. Inst. 3.7.10f.; on achievements in war, Men.Rhet. 372.27ff.. For a third, beauty, see on 151.

78f. As soon, in other words, as Hannibal began to show signs of intelligence; the ability to make distinct sounds (picked out in "distinguere") is the definitive mark of human speech, as opposed to the unarticulated noises of animals. cf. Cic. N.D. 2.149,"(lingua) uocem immoderate profusam fingit et terminat atque sonos uocis distinctos et pressos effecit": Pease ad loc. has copious parallel material.

79f. nutrire...seuit: The Budé editors ("cultiver") and Duff ("sowed") each render only half of the paired image: Hamilcar will sow the lust for war in his son's heart, and then bring it to maturity by cultivation. The force of the verbs depends on the common image of the "semina belli" (see 654 n. below): it is one thing to speak loosely of the seeds of war, and another to see a father planting them in his son. See further 99f.n..

80. Romanum...bellum: the enclosing word order is quite often used thus, to round off an episode or provide emphatic summation: cf. 17. 596, "lanigeros...lucos", at the end of the battle of Zama; 9.37, "pestifero...amore", at the end of an important speech by

Varro; Verg. A. 2.297, 7.322; Ov. Met. 1.112; Luc. 3.168, 297. The line helps to mark off the ensuing self-contained episode, as it is echoed by a line at the close, 140: "sic clausum linquens arcano pectore bellum."

81-139. The story of the famous oath which the nine year old Hannibal swore at his father's command, μηδέποτε Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοήσειν (Polyb. 3.11.7). There is no good reason to doubt the truth of the story. Warmington 195f., and H.V. Canter, CJ XXIV 1928-1929 571, both stress how such a vow is in keeping with what Warmington calls the "sombre fanaticism" of Carthaginian religion. The tale was a standard feature of the tradition (see Walbank on Polyb. 3.11), but it is Polybius' endorsement of it which should carry most weight: see now the "addenda" of Walbank, 3. 764f.

Once he began moving from the thin air of Juno's speech back to this rational and yet romantic "causa belli", Silius' touch has become more and more sure: see 36ff., 64-69, 70-80nn.. To some extent he is discharging the historian's task in narrating the story, by expounding the importance of Hamilcar in the causes of the war. But his purpose goes further than this, and he brings off a coup by one simple, yet fundamental alteration to the historians' version. Livy implies that Hannibal swore to "di", 35.19.6; Nepos says to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Hann, 2.3; Polybius τῷ Διί 3.11.5 - i.e. Baal Samem; see Walbank ad loc., and on 7.9.2. Silius changes the whole emphasis by making Dido the deity to whom Hannibal swears his oath (119, "per manes, regina, tuos"), and by locating the ceremony in no vague "templum" but precisely in the building where Aeneas and Dido first met. His poetic recasting of the causation of the war is at its most effective here, when he brings together in the same locale the first step, the meeting of Aeneas and Dido, the ultimate "causa", the suicide of Dido, and the "momentum rerum", Hannibal's oath to the queen. On the concomitant distortion to the Vergilian tradition, see 85 "ut perhibent" n.. Delz 1975 169 observes Silius' amalgamation; Ruperti well notes on 81ff., "egregie autem fingit, Hannibalem non in templo Iouis.... sed Didonis, Troianis, Romanorum maioribus, infensissimae, iurasse."

The description of the temple and its grove is especially indebted to the picture of Juno's temple in *Aeneid* 1.441ff., with elements from *A*.8.597ff., 7.170ff.. The description of a holy grove is a "purpureus pannus", a type of ecphrasis (for which see Norden on *A*.6.14ff., Austin on *A*.1.441-493) which was quite standard. Thus Statius defines the subject-matter of epic as "facta/heroum bellique modos positusque locorum", *Silv*. 5.3.235 f.; cf. Hor. *Ars* 16, "lucus et ara Dianae" (with Brink's note); Pers. 1.70f., "nec ponere lucum / artifices", the first part of an epic poet's repertory; Juv. 1.7f. "nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus / Martis." Horace's grove is a "locus amoenus" (for which see N.-H. 2.52f.), such as the grove of Athena in Hom. *Od*. 6.291ff., or the various groves so lushly described by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*; see C. Segal, *Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Hermes Einzelschriften XXIII 1969 4ff.. But the tradition in which Silius' piece is located chooses rather a sinister site associated with necromancy and other suspect religious practices. Prefigured in parts of Vergil (*A*. 6.236ff., 8.597ff.), the type is developed by Ovid (Segal, op.cit., 20ff.), and is variously elaborated by the Silver poets: e.g. Luc. 3.399ff., 6.642ff.; Sen. *Oed*. 530ff.. *Thy*. 650ff.; Stat. *Theb*. 4.419ff., 5.152ff. Of these, Luc. 3.399ff.

and Sen. Thy. 650ff. describe the setting of human sacrifice.

There is a fixed pattern for the abrupt switch into such a set-piece; an important discussion in Williams 1968 640f.; cf. Austin on A. 4.483. The digression begins with "est locus", ἔϲτι δέ τι ϲπέοϲ, or some such phrase, and when it is over the poet resumes with "huc", ἔνθα etc.. Vergil, in the passage which is Silius' primary model, begins with "lucus in urbe fuit media", A.1.441; elaborates with "hic templum", 446; and then reenters the narrative with "hoc...in luco", 450. Thus Silius begins with "urbe fuit media ...templum", 81-84 (see on 84 "templum" for the unusual postponement); elaborates with "hoc...loco", 85f.; and resumes the narrative with "haec...ad penetralia", 99.

G. Charles-Picard has written an article on Silius' description of the temple which raises important and difficult questions about the historicity of Silius' picture: Le Tophet de Carthage dans Silius Italicus, in Mélanges de Philosophie, Litérature et d'Histoire ancienne Offerts à Pierre Boyancé, 1974 569-577. Charles-Picard contends that Silius' account is a surprisingly accurate description of the sanctuary at Carthage which was the scene of ritual human sacrifice (on the sanctuary, see Cintas 311-324; I do not use the word "tophet", which, according to J.-G. Février, JA CCXLVIII 1960 180ff., refers not to the sacred enclosure but to the ditch containing the brazier into which the child was thrown). The idea that Silius might provide good information on such a topic should not be rejected out of hand: see Nicol 149ff., and the authorities cited by Charles-Picard, 569 n.3, for a high assessment of Silius' reliability on the details of the temple and cult of Hercules-Melqart at Gades. But in this case it appears that Charles-Picard has been rather too credulous, particularly in taking for fact what are poetic imitations: see 81 "urbe fuit media"; 83 "taxi circum"; 86 "effigies"; 91f. "centum/stant arae" nn..

It is more difficult to decide what warrant Silius had for depicting a temple dedicated to Elissa/ Dido, a temple in which human sacrifice took place (it is plain from 82, 102f. that we are meant to imagine the temple as being used for this purpose). Charles-Picard assumes that Silius is giving us historical fact, and that the city's foundress was actually worshipped in this manner. This is a large claim when even the divinity of Dido is in dispute (against the authorities cited by Pease, ed. Verg. A.4. 22, set the objections of Gsell 1.392, 4.267, and Preisendanz, RE 2R 8.184), quite apart from the attribution of a mode of worship which is explicitly attested only for Tanit and Baal Hammon; see Warmington 148, Cintas 311.

Discussing Silius' picture, Gsell declares roundly, "ces vers n'ont aucune valeur historique", 1.392.

It is a different question to ask what mistaken or confused tradition Silius may have taken over for his own use. First, there is no doubt that the Greeks and Romans believed that the Carthaginians worshipped the founder of their city after her death: "quam diu Karthago inuicta fuit, pro dea culta est", Just. 18.6.8: see further Roscher 1.1016f.. For this much Silius had good precedent. It seems likely, as well, that the Greeks and Romans mistook the cult of Tanit for the cult of Dido: see Gsell 1.392, 4.267. So that if Silius knew this tradition, and if Silius knew of human sacrifice offered to Tanit, he may have felt that his picture here had some sort of grounding in reality. All in all, though, Silius' choices for this passage are dictated by his allegiance to his own poetic tradition, and he would have handled the episode very much in this way whatever information he had to hand about Carthaginian rite.

81. urbe fuit media: cf. Stat. Theb. 12.481, "urbe fuit media" [!], introducing the ecphrasis on the "Ara Clementiae", from Verg. A. 1.441, "lucus in urbe fuit media", playfully turned by Ovid into "orbe locus medio est", Met. 12.39. With such predecessors for Silius' introductory phrase, we need not worry, with Charles-Picard 573, about the fact that the sacrificial sanctuary at Carthage was not in the middle of the city but at the southern extremity, near to the ports.

Elissae: Although Ennius used an oblique case of "Dido" ("Poenos Didone oriundos", *Ann.* 290V), later poets appear to have followed Vergil's practice of confining "Dido" to nominative and vocative, using the alternative "Elissa" in the remaining cases: see Pease on *A.* 4.335. A single exception is *Priap.* 67.1, "Didonis".

On the Queen's names, and their disputed meanings, see Gsell 1.392f., Cintas 11.16.

82. *Tyriis:* has point when juxtaposed to "patria", for the Carthaginians imported from their ancestral home of Tyre the practice of human sacrifice to which "formidine cultum" refers: "quod sacrilegium uerius quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur", Curt. 4.3.23; cf. R. de Vaus, *Les Sacrifices de l'ancien Testament*, 1964 76f.; E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, 1915 91 ff..

patria...formidine cultum: such holy spots inspire fear in the worshippers: cf. Verg. *A.* 8. 349f., "iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis / dira loci" (of the Capitol); Luc. 3. 410 ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 3.423ff.. Religious fear, or awe, could be praiseworthy if kept on the right side of unbridled δεισιδαιμονία (see Pease, ed. Cic. *N.D.* p.395), but the fear in Silius' passage, as in Lucan's, is of a different order altogether, because of the hideous nature of the worship: cf. Tacitus' description of the Germans' holy grove, *Ger.*39; "in siluam prisca formidine sacram...coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia." "patria" on one level means, as Duff says, "hereditary" (see on "Tyriis" above), but Silius intends to be understood also the fear felt there by the fathers of sacrificed infants; cf. 4.819f., where

Hannibal adresses his country's gods, "di patrii, quorum delubra piantur / caedibus atque coli gaudent formidine matrum."

83. *taxi circum:* yews, probably because of their colour, were associated with the underworld: see RE 2R. 5. 90. 15ff., Bömer on Ov. *Met*. 4.432. They stand in the sacred groves of Seneca, *Thy*. 654, and Lucan, 3.419, 6.643ff. There was a stand of trees around the sanctuary in Carthage at one time, if we may trust Tertullian's testimony, *Apol.* 9.2; but the tradition behind Silius' words is so plain that it is difficult to agree with Charles-Picard 572, that Silius "décrit exactement la réalité".

piceae: linked with "taxi" by Vergil at *G*. 2.257.

squalentibus umbris: the place is much changed since Aeneas' day, when it was "laetissimus umbrae", *A*.1.441[!]. The scaly quality of the trees' bark is transferred to the shadows which they cast, with the added notion of a filth from which the touch shrinks: cf. Amm. 17.1.8. "silua squalore tenebrarum horrenda".

84. *caelique arcebant lumine:* the absence of sun-light is a feature of the sites of nekyiae from Homer on: *Od*. 11.15ff.. The sun is blocked by trees in these groves: see Verg. *A*. 6.238, where Norden cites A.R. 2.737f., Lucian *Nec*. 9, χωρίον ἔρημον καὶ ὑλῶδες καὶ ἀνήλιον; ib. 8.599; Sen. *Oed*. 545f.; Luc. 3.400f., 6.645; Stat. *Theb.* 4.420 f., 5.152f..

templum: the noun finally arrives upon which "sacrum" and "cultum" depend. It is a shock after reading of this grim place to have "templum" thrown in at the end to remind us that this was, to the Carthaginians, a holy place of worship. The formula of the set-piece digression makes the postponement even more startling, since the pattern normally has the head noun very early in the ecphrasis, often as the first word: see 81-139 n..

85. ut perhibent: for the varying tone of such parentheses, see 26 "sic credidit alta uetustas" n.. Silius' diffidence at this point is due to the fact that he is materially altering the canonical version of Dido's death, as given in Aeneid 4, where Vergil represented Dido as committing suicide in the centre of her palace (cf. 645, "interiora domus inrumpit limina"). Silius himself follows Vergil in Book 8, where Dido's pyre is "mediam in penetralibus", 51.

85f. sese...curis mortalibus.../exuerat: very Senecan language; "exuo" is a favourite word of Seneca's for uncluttering oneself of human encumbrances: e.g. Ep. 11.1, 104.21, Dial. 9.8.5; cf. Stat. Silv. 4.4.28f., "exue curis/ pectus". "curis" here recalls Dido's last speech, A. 4.652, "meque his exsoluite curis"; cf. ib. 639, "finemque imponere curis."

86. stant: it is a feature of Vergilian style to have the verb first thus in a descriptive piece: see Austin on A. 4.509. The verb is picked up by 88 "stat", 90 "sedet", 92 "stant": one by one the main features of the novel and sinister scene are isolated; it is as if our eye were moving slowly around the interior of a strange building.

marmore maesto: in Lucan's grove there are "simulacra...maesta deorum", 3.412. Ruperti mentions the interpretation Heyne made of "maesto" ("per literas"): "de colore nigro et ob uetustatem sordido, qui tristem adspectum praebeat". This may be part of the meaning; but the temple is a terrible place, and the Carthaginians were a notoriously gloomy and sullen people (see esp. Plut. Moralia 799D), so that representations of their ancestors are appropriately forbidding. If, as is quite possible, Silius had seen examples of Carthaginian statuary, either of Roman or pre-Roman date, then his language here is even more appropriate: see the glum and mournful plates in, e.g. Warmington, Plate 11; Cintas, Plate 13, figs. 50-51.

87. effigies: the representation of rows of royal ancestors comes from the temple of Latinus in Aeneid 7, 177ff.: "quin etiam ueterum effigies ex ordine auorum etc..." Charles-Picard 575 would have it that Silius is thinking of the numerous stelae of the sanctuary, bearing engravings of the sacrificers.

87f. cf. Verg. A. 1.729f., "Belus et omnes / a Belo [!]."

gloria gentis: cf. Verg. A. 6.767, "Troianae gloria gentis."

89. Probably, as Duff's footnote on Phoenix's "lasting name" implies, the "longa cognomina" apply not only the Phoenicia, but also to the land of the "Poeni".

90. "ipsa" suddenly picks out the statue of the Queen from amongst the crowd of male figures. She is joined with Sychaeus, her murdered husband, not merely, I would suggest, in the underworld (as in Verg. A. 6.473 f.); one thinks of the common type of Roman funerary monument, which showed husband and wife together in marble or stone: see J. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World, 1971 245 ff..

Roman also is the consolatory sentiment: see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* University of Illinois 1942, Togetherness in Death, 247-250.

91. *ensis Phrygius:* the sword which Aeneas had given her, and which she had used to kill herself: see Verg. *A.* 4. 646 f., "conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit / Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus". This last phrase is imitated by Silius when he retells the tale in Book 8, crushing Vergil's pathetic litotes: "ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris", 149. To the young Hannibal the weapon is a reminder and a challenge.

91f. *centum / stant arae:* cf. Verg. *A.* 4.509, "stant arae [!]". A hundred (i.e. many) altars appear at Verg. A.1. 416f., 4.200 (where see Pease). In such a place one thinks of the possible infernal associations of the number, as suggested by Servius on *A.* 4.510: "Hecate dicta est ἑκατόν, id est, centum potestates habens;" see Pease on *A.* 4.199. Charles-Picard 572f. suggests that these "arae" are in fact commemorative stelae erected in the sanctuary, above the urns containing the victims' ashes. It would be difficult to believe this even if Vergil had not furnished a precedent. At 12. 332f. Silius has the Delphic oracle instruct the Romans to set a hundred altars smoking for Jupiter.

92. *Ereboque potenti:* thus S and all editors save Duff, who prints "Erebique", suggested by Bothe.

"Erebi" would then be the name of the place, not the god (for the distinction between the two, see Pease on Cic. *N.D.* 3.45), a dependent genitive of the type very common with "potens" in religious terminology: cf. Hor. Carm. 1.3.1, "diua potens Cypri", and N.-H. ad loc.. "Erebique" also produces a satisfying parallelism in the formula of the gods named (note "caelique...Erebique"), with "deis" and "potenti" each having a dependent genitive defining the sphere of influence. I am inclined to accept the emendation. It is probably only an interesting coincidence tht the Carthaginian King of the underworld was called "Malk addir", and that "addir" meant "potens": see Gsell 4.296 f.. Silius' choice of words is from Verg. A. 6.247, "Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem".

On the various gods mentioned in such contexts, see L. Fahz, De Poetarum Romanorum Doctrina Magica, Diss. Giessen 1964 10ff.; A.M. Tupet, La Magie dans la Poésie Latine, 1976 11 ff. ("Les Dieux des Magiciens").

93ff. Silius closely follows the scenes of magic from Aeneid 4, especially 509 ff.; "stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos/ ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque,/ tergeminamque Hecaten, tria uirginis ora Dianae" etc.. This is a significant imitation, and Silius means it to be recognised. As the scene is set for Hannibal's oath, Silius reminds his audience of an earlier priestess's preparation, one that led to the tragedy at the beginning of the whole sequence.

93. crine effuso: on the principle "in sacris nihil solet esse religatum", Serv. A. 4.518. Unbound hair is especially a sign of divine possession, and Silius' priestess is raving: cf. 101, "euhantis Massylae...iras". In Silius' Vergilian model, the Massylian priestess is described

as being "crinis effusa", A. 4.509: see Pease ad loc. for many Greek and Roman parallels.

Hennaeae...diuae: Proserpina. Although the wife of Pluto is naturally invoked or propitiated in such contexts (e.g. Hom. Od. 11.47, Verg. A. 6.251, Luc. 6.700), Silius may have known of the important Carthaginian cult of Demeter and Persephone, imported from Sicily, with all its Greek trappings and cthonic associations, at the beginning of the fourth century: see Warmington 105, Gsell 4. 267ff..

93f. atque.../atque: this repeated "atque" is unparallelled in poetry before Silius: H.-S. 516; M. Platnauer, C.Q. XLII 1948 92. The archaism (see T.L.L. 2.1054. 46ff., for early Latin's fondness of rolling series of "atque") is in keeping with the sombre and strange atmosphere of the episode.

94. Acheronta: neither the river, nor the underworld (for the extended meaning see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 1.3.36), but the god of the river: see T.L.L. s.v. C. The identity is unimportant; Silius has chosen this deity for his harsh "ch" and "t". Note the ugly run in the line of "qu", "ch", "c", "g", "s", "t".

Stygia: as Ruperti notes, not only "black" but "pertaining to a magician": cf. Luc. 6.766; V.Fl.6.155, "Styia..arte", "magic arts".

95f. The earth cracks with a roar, emitting steam from the underworld as the opening is made: through this hole float the "manes", 97. Such is the power of the priestess, as told by Dido to Anna: "nocturnosque mouet Manis: mugire uidebis/ sub pedibus terram" (where see Pease).

rumpit.../ sibila: a strikingly novel expression. The only analogies are the phrases based on the Greek ῥηγνύναι φωνήν etc., such as "rumpere uocem" (see Pease on *A.* 4.553 for a collection). So the earth here allows a suppressed sound to burst out; but the main point of the choice of this verb is that the sound is made precisely as the earth "breaks".

96. The spontaneous ignition of altar fire may be the sign of the presence or power of God: cf. 1 Kings 18.38, "Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice" etc.; Eur. *Bacch.* 596ff.. Here the phenomenon is wholly sinister, as is the eery fire in the holy groves of Lucan, 3.420; and Seneca, *Thy.* 673 ff., "quin tota solet/ micare silua flamma, et excelsae trabes/ ardent sine igne." This is the work of magic; cf. 103, "audito surgentes carmine flammas"; Luc. 6.647f., "situs numquam nisi carmine factum/ lumen habet"; Paus. 5.27.6, where Pausanias gives, as a striking example of magic craft (μάγων σοφία, 27.5), the power of Lydian priests to kindle flames on the altar by reading from a strange book.

97f. On the power of magic to summon up the shades of the dead, see Housman, JPh XVI 1888 29f. (= Papers 1.49 f.). Silius' Massylian priestess performs the same feat as Vergil's "nocturnosque mouet Manis" (*A.* 4.490). The shades are here for colour only, unlike the shades in a genuine necromancy, where they speak and give information. Ghosts wander around aimlessly in Seneca's grove, *Thy.* 671 ff..

97. *per inania:* "through empty space" (Duff), "dans l'air vide" (Budé): but Silius means the empty spaces beneath the earth through which the shades must fly to reach the surface; cf. Luc. 6.731 f., "non

agitis saeuis Erebi per inane flagellis / infelicem animam?"; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 477 f., "loca muta et inane seuerae / Persephones"; Verg. *A.* 6.269 'perque domos Ditis uacuas et inania regna".

98. The sweat on the statue's face is a momentous sign of disturbance or disaster: see Pease, Cic. *Div.* pp. 271f..

in marmore: goes with "uultus", not "sudat": "Elissa's marble face"; cf. V. Max. 8.11. ext. 4, "cuius coniugem Praxiteles in marmore...in templo...collocauit; Apul. *Met.* 3.11, "ut in aere stet imago tua".

99f. The scene is set, and the characters of the drama enter, their two names emphatically bracketing the introductory pair of lines. With "patrio iussu" and "fertur" (a passive, not a middle), Silius shows the child as being helplessly manipulated by his father. There is something unnerving about Hamilcar's treatment of his son (cf. 79f.). Even though he regards him with affection, he handles him ruthlessly as an agent of his own intent, and an act of paternal fondness (104) takes on a sinister adumbration.

Hannibal later regards his own son in the same way: cf. 4.814ff., and esp. 3. 69ff., where Hannibal instructs his wife to take their son through the identical rites at Dido's temple; see R.T. Bruère, CPh XLVII 1952 219-227.

100. *explorat:* rather more than "closely looking at": this is meant to be a test. cf. 10.111, "explorat dubious Phoebea lampade natos", of the mother eagle. The kiss at 104 shows that he has, so to speak, passed.

101. *euhantis:* the cry of εὐοῖ is a mark of Bacchic frenzy; our passage is the only one where "euhans" is used of any other than Bacchic transport, apart from Apul. *Met.* 8.27, where the devotees of the Magna Mater behave in this manner. But to Silius one form of feminine divine madness is as good as another. Similarly Vergil may say of the Sibyl, "bacchatur uates", *A.* 6.78..

Massylae: not a common nationality for witches (Tupet, op.cit. 92 above, 246); Silius has it from Vergil, *A.* 4.483: see Pease ad loc. for Vergil's choice. Silius consistently associates the family of Hannibal with the exotic regions at the end of the earth, where, for these purposes, the Massyli may conveniently be located: cf. 3.282f., "Massyli.../Hesperidum ueniens lucis domus ultima terrae"; see further 430 f.n..

palluit iras: with an accusative, as at Hor. *Carm.* 3. 27.27f, "pontum .../palluit audax": see K.-S. 2.1.262.

102f. A clear reference to the human sacrifices performed here. Silius never uses "tabum" except of human gore; cf. 4. 791 (Hannibal's wife protests against human sacrifice), "quae porro haec pietas, delubra aspergere tabo?" An expression from the same speech shows the reference of "diros templi ritus" here: "caedumque feros auertite ritus", 794.

103. *carmine:* thus all editors in place of the paradosis "cardine". Delz 1975 169 would keep "cardine", maintaining that the phenomenon is not associated with magic song, despite the sort of parallels noted above on 96, but rather with the range of prodigies connected with the opening of temple doors: he refers to O. Weinreich,

Türöffnung im Wunder-, Prodigien-, und Zauberglauden der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums, Tübinger Beit. z. Altertumswissensch. V 1929 200 ff.. But Silius is here briefly recapitulating the marvels of 93-98, so that this line is a restatement of 96, "inaccensi flagrant altaribus ignes". At 96 the explanation is definitely magic: no door-opening is mentioned, while "magico...cantu" in the following line points the way for the readers' understanding.

104f. A startling, almost blasphemous adaption of Vergil's description of Jupiter addressing his daughter Venus at the beginning of Aeneid 1, 254ff.: "olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum/uultu,...../ oscula libauit natae, dehinc talia fatur." If, as is not at all certain, the imitation is significant, the intention can only be to demonstrate the impiety and hopelessness of the content of Hamilcar's speech, by making it appear almost a parody of the speech in the Aeneid which guarantees the success of the Trojans and the frustration of Carthage's prospects.

104. olli: the consistently "archaic" atmosphere is kept up with this Vergilian imitation: see Austin on A. 1.254 for the archaic flavour of this pronoun. The first foot of the hexameter is the preferred position for "olli", "ollis"; invariably here in Ennius, eighteen times out of twenty-three in Vergil (so Skutsch 194).

105. hortando: see 11 "temerando" n. for Silius' predilection for this gerund form. Here the tone is rather archaic than historical.

talibus implet: cf. V. Fl. 2.126, "his uocibus implet" [!]

106-112. A brief and forceful introduction to the administration of the oath, in which Hamilcar spurs his son on with the twin goads of τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ ἔνδοξον (R. Rebischke, *De Silii Italici Orationibus*, Diss. Königsberg 1913 13 f.; for a fuller discussion of the τελικὰ κεφάλαια see 630-675 n.). The plea on the basis of τὸ δίκαιον consists in 107 "foederibus non aequa", that of τὸ ἔνδοξον in 109 "haec tua sit laus, nate, uelis." The main motivation of Hamilcar (and of Hannibal, cf. 61f.) is resentment at the loss of Sicily, "nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam", Liv. 21.1.5. No mention is made of the Romans' cynical theft of Sardinia in 238, described by Polybius as Hamilcar's chief source of grievance, 3.10.1-5; cf. Liv. 21.1.5, "angebant ingentis spiritus uirum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae".

The speech is a good example of Silius' unsystematic eclecticism. He has taken many of his most striking expressions from Pentheus' speech in Ov. *Met.* 3, 531ff.: 106 "Cadmeae stirpis alumnos" ~ 543 "qua...stirpe creati"; 107 "si fata negarint" ~ 548 "si fata uetabant" [!]; 108 ~ 547f., "uos *pellite* molles / et *patrium* retinete *decus*"; in the oath itself, 115 "ferro ignique" ~ 550 "ferrumque ignisque". The imitation signifies nothing, except that Silius knew where to turn for sentiments of impassioned resentment.

106f. Silius has taken the striking Vergilian word "recidiua" and developed a sustained image out of it over two lines. "recidiua" first occurs in Vergil (see Pease on *A.* 4.344), who uses it of the revivified Trojan race: e.g. "recidiua Pergama", 7.322; 4.344. The ancients themselves disputed over the word's exact meaning, deriving it either from "recĭdo", hence of new growth from fallen seed, or, more commonly, from "recīdo": e.g. Serv. *A.* 10.58, "tractus sermo est ab arboribus quae taleis sectis repullulant"; see Fordyce on A. 7. 322, Ernout-Meillet 82. The second of these two interpretations is the one understood by Silius, and he builds on it with "alumnos" and "premit", each used in a rare technical sense. In arboriculture, "alumni" are scions: e.g. Ov. Met. 14. 630f., "fisso modo cortice lignum/inserit et sucos alieno praestat alumno"; cf. Col. 4.27.4. The stock, "stirps", from which these scions have been taken is that of Cadmus; they have been grafted into Africa; cf. 514 "Phrygiae....stirpis alumnos", said of the Saguntines, who are scions from a Trojan stock, grafted into Spain. "premo" is a verb with quite a range of meaning in arboriculture. It may mean simply "plant", e.g. Verg. G. 2.346; it may mean "prune": see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 1.31.9. Here it refers to the overcrowding against which Columella warned his readers: "generatim autem arbores disponere utilius, maxime ne imbecillae a ualentioribus premantur, quia nec uiribus nec magnitudine sunt pares, neque pariter crescunt", Arb. 18.2. The gist of the whole, then, is as follows: "The Phrygians are putting forth new growth after their cutting, but they are doing so well that they are crowding out the slips from Cadmus' stock that have been grafted into Africa".

107. foederibus non aequa: the technical term behind this phrase is "foedera aequa": the Romans did not speak of "foedera iniqua"; see E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae, 1958 25ff..

108. dedecus: cf. 60f. above, "Aegates...parentum/dedecus"; 13.750 (Hamilcar in the underworld prays of his son), "atque utinam amissum reparet decus!" For further correspondences between Hamilcar's two speeches, see 109 "concipe", 115 nn..

id: like the pronoun of this form, the demonstrative adjective is rare in high poetry: see 57 "is" n.. Especially rare is this adjectival "id", never occurring in Vergil, Lucan, Statius, and only twice in Ovid (*Met.* 4.67, *Pont.* 2.2.57), and Seneca's tragedies (*Phoen.* 491, 622). By comparison, Silius is rather free in his use, with six occurrences of various tone in various contexts: others at 1.278, 2.379, 6.526, 12.520, 17.152. Here the word suits Hamilcar's austere character and terse, emphatic speech.

109. Hamilcar's urgency and feeling are well conveyed by the line's stacatto run; only "concipe" is longer than two syllables, while there are three monosyllables, an extreme concatenation. The thrust of the line is picked up by the two short vowels of "age", a strongly exhortatory word.

concipe: "swear to, declare"; e.g. Verg. *A.* 12.13, "concipe foedus": see T.L.L. s.v. 55.59ff.. In the underworld Hamilcar refers to the oath in the same way: "nostro cum bella Latinis/ concepit iussu (Hannibal)", 13. 745f..

110ff.: Hannibal addresses his own son in similar terms: "spes o Carthaginis altae, /nate, nec Aeneadum leuior metus.../ . iamque aegra timoris/ Roma tuos numerat lacrimandos matribus annos", 3.69ff.. The conceit of the terror felt by the "Latiae matres" is an amplification of the topos "bella...matribus detestata" (Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.24f., where see N.-H.). When Hamilcar prays thus, he is in the same tradition as Achilles: καί τινα Τρωιάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων/ ἀμφοτέρῃσιν χερσὶ παρειάων ἁπαλάων / δάκρυ' ὀμορξαμένην ἁδινὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην, *Il.* 18. 122ff.. One is reminded of Ulysses' reply to Andromache's pleadings in Seneca's Troades (736ff.): "matris quidem me maeror attonitae mouet,/magis Pelasgae me tamen matres mouent,/ quarum iste magnos crescit in luctus puer". Even after the battle of Zama, Hannibal reflects thus: "mihi satque superque,/ ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,/ dum uiuam, expectent nec pacem pectore norint", 17.613 ff.. The motif is especially appropriate to Hannibal, "parentibus...abominatus" (Hor. Epod. 16.8); see N. Horsfall's interesting discussion of Horace's words, Philologus CXVII 1973 138, where he argues that, even in Horace's day, Hannibal was still a "bogey-man": "at the very mention of Hannibal's name, parents averted the evil omen from their young."

The fear of the Roman mothers is inordinate, though quite how inordinate depends on the meaning of 112 "producere". "edere, uel educare" says Ruperti, without committing himself to the meaning "give birth" (O.L.D. s.v. 3b) or "rear" (O.L.D. s.v. 4): the Budé editors adopt the former interpretation ("refusent d'être mères"), Duff the latter ("refuse to rear their offspring"); O.L.D. ("partus" 2) understand the second meaning as well, listing our passage under "offspring, progeny". I take "rear" to be the required sense, as suggested by the phrase "te surgente", to which it answers: "let the Italian youth fear your birth even now; then, as you grow up, let Italian mothers refuse to allow their children to grow up". The mothers exercise the choice on the question of "tollere liberos" which was normally regarded as being the father's: cf. Pl. Truc. 2.4.45, "si quod peperissem, id educarem ac tollerem"; also the "controuersia" topic mentioned by the elder Seneca, on the woman "quae apud matronas disserebat liberos non esse tollendos", Suas. 2.21.

A third, even more grotesque interpretation is possible: that mothers would refuse to bring forth the embryos already within them. This explanation receives some support from the coincidence of a bizarre note in Pliny: "est inter exempla in uterum protinus reuersus infans Sagunti quo anno urbs deleta ab Hannibale est", *Nat.* 7.35. But few will embrace this possiblity.

113. *his acuit stimulis:* cf. Verg. *A.* 7.330, "quam Iuno his acuit uerbis". Silius brings out some of the latent force of "acuo" (cf. θήγω) by using it with "stimulis"; goads are not used to sharpen anything, but they are themselves sharp (hence not "incentives", as Duff has it).

subicitque: in his "Addenda et Corrigenda", Ruperti retracts his opinion that Hannibal is the subject, and refers the verb, like other editors, to Hamilcar: "hanc diram iurisiurandi formulam adiecit". cf. Cic. *Flac.* 53, "subiciens quid in suos ciuis... dicerem"; Prop. 1.7.20, "nec tibi subiciet carmina serus Amor." For the (non-Augustan) quantity "subicit", see F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut-und Formenlehre,* 1948 486f..

haud mollia dictu: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.25, "haud mollia fatu [!]". Lefebvre, observing rather *G.* 3.41, "haud mollia iussa [!]", wished on analogy to adopt "dicta": but the verbal force of the supine is important: not just "harsh words", but "words that were harsh for him to pronounce"; so Duff, "a vow not easy to utter".

14-119: the words of the oath itself, heavy, simple and unadorned. The first sentence is the key, and it comes fittingly as the answer to Dido's dying prophecy: "exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor/ qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos", *A.* 4.625f.: hence comes Silius' "Romanos..../ferro ignique sequar".

114. *terra atque undis*: Silius has a plain formula in the next line ("ferro ignique"), but will not admit two together, and so alters slightly the stock phrase "terra marique": for a history of the expression, see A. Momigliano, JRS XXXII 1942 62ff.. Of course, some change is necessary, since "terra marique" will not fit in an hexameter; but he could have come closer if he had wanted: cf. Juv. 14.222, "terraque marique".

competet: "is sufficient for, strong enough for" (T.L.L. s.v. 1.A.6). The verb is very rare in poetry, occurring only in Ov. *Pont.* 2.5.3, Col. 10.50, before Silius.

115. Another motif from the oath-scene which is picked up in Hamilcar's speech in the nekyia in Book 13: "quod si Laurentia uastat/nunc igni regna et Phrygias res uertere tentat" etc., 747f..

ferro ignique: a stock phrase (T.L.L. 6.1.583. 44ff., 586.6ff.); only here in its exact form in poetry [*], but adapted in various shapes by Ovid, *Met.* 3.550, "ferrum ignisque sonarent" (see on 106-112 above); Statius, *Theb.* 7. 24, "ferrum ignemque ferens"; *Ach.* 1.657, "igni ferroque excisa iacebit". The significant adaption for Silius (see on 114-119 above) is that of Vergil, in *Aeneid* 4,626: "face...ferroque". Silius' retention of the precise wording of the expression is in keeping with the quasi-official tone of the oath-taking ceremony.

Rhoeteaque: from the promontory Rhoetum near Troy. Vergil uses either the form "Rhoetēĭă" (e.g. *A*. 5.646), or, as here, "Rhoetēus" (e.g. 3.108).

fata reuoluam: the Budé editors misunderstand Silius' meaning ("je ferai s'accomplir les destins rhoetéens"), and while Duff gets the gist right ("enact again the doom of Troy"), he has missed the image. Ruperti, as often, sees the point: "'reuoluere' uoc. propr. de stamine....et de filis Parcarum". He refers to the two crucial parallels; Sen. *Her.F.* 181f., "durae peragunt pensa sorores/ nec sua retro fila reuoluunt"; Stat. *Theb*. 7.774f., "immites scis nulla reuoluere Parcas/ stamina."

116f. The limbs of the tricolon ascend from two feet, to four, to one line, with "Alpes" and "saxa" coordinate. "superi" is a surprising first element, since it is difficult to go up from there: but Hamilcar's priorities are vividly exposed when he sets the treaty above the gods.

117. *obstiterint:* cf. Stat. *Theb*.2.453 ff., "non si te ferreus agger/ ambiat aut triplices alio tibi carmine muros/ Amphion auditus agat, nil tela nec ignes/ obstiterint, quin..." etc.

Alpes: the Alps are not out of place with "superi" and "Tarpeia saxa", for they are holy natural barriers to the land of Italy: see 3.500 ff.. The Alps and the Tarpeian rock are linked again at 3.509 f.; climbing the Alps is tantamount to climbing the "Tarpeia rupes". On the Alps as part of the poem's "moenia Romae" motif, see von Albrecht 24ff..

Tarpeiaque saxa: the Capitoline is the heart of Rome, with Jupiter enthroned there guaranteeing the city's inviolability: see 13.741ff., where the people acclaim the triumph "Tarpeii Iouis" after the repulse of Hannibal. In the last line of the poem, 17.654, Jupiter is "Tarpeius Tonans."

118. *nostri...Martis*: the Romans are the true and genuine sons of Mars, "a quo populum Romanum generatum accepimus", Cic. *Phil.* 4. 5; cf. Sil. 10.618, where the Romans are described as men "qui Martem inscribant genti": see Roscher, s.v."Mars" 2426 for Mars' special place in Roman cult and legend. Hamilcar's invocation of "noster Mars" is a challenge and an insult.

119-122. The extispicy is closely based on Dido's divination in *Aeneid* 4, 57ff.: 120 "mactatur" ∼ 57 "mactant", 120 "recludit" ∼ 63 "reclusis" [!], 121 "spirantes" ∼ 64 "spirantia", 122 "consulit extis" ∼ 64 "consulit exta" [!]. As Austin remarks on *A.* 4.63f., this is the only place where Vergil describes the examination of entrails, and some of the designedly foreign and unsettling atmosphere of the Vergilian passage must adhere to the scene in which his successor describes the actions of his characters' successors.

When Silius follows this examination with a prophetic speech, he is combining two quite distinct types of divination. Extispicy came under the category of "external", or "artificial", inspired prophetic utterance under that of "internal" or "natural"; for the distinction, see Pease, ed. Cic. *Div.*, pp.70f.. "Artificial" divination was a way of ascertaining whether the gods favoured an intended course of action, rather than a way of discovering details about future events: see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, Continuity and Change in Roman Religion, 1979, 7f.; Latte 265. Silius has amalgamated in one person the variety of divination which Lucan had distributed amongst three at the end of his first book: the Etruscan Arruns is the first performer, 584ff., followed by the astrologer Figulus, 638ff., and the Phoebus-inspired matron, 674ff.. Silius achieves narrative cohesion at the small price of religious inexactitude. For the separate tradition of prophecy, see on 123-139.

119. nigra: as befits the female underworld deity, the victim is female and black: cf. Hom. Il. 3.103 f., οἴσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν,/ Γῇ τε καὶ Ἠελίῳ; Verg. A. 6.249ff., "ipse atri uelleris agnam/Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori/ ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, uaccam." For the gender principle ("diis feminis feminas, mares maribus hostias immolare", Arnob. 7.19), see Wissowa 413; Krause R E Supplb. 5.267ff.; for the colour, C. Rowe, Conceptions of Colour and Colour Symbolism in the Ancient World, Eranos Jb XLIV 1972 355; G. Radke, Die Bedeutung der weissen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer, 1936 23ff.; Wissowa 413. Silius does not specify the type of animal. Dogs were especially appropriate victims for Hecate (see Gow on Theoc. 2.12), but a sheep is certainly meant here: cf. the passage from the Aeneid quoted above; see Pease, ed. Cic. Div., p.94 on the use of sheep in extispicy.

triformi: i.e. Hecate, composed also of Luna and Diana; see Bömer on Ov. Fast. 1.141 for the various titles "Triuia", "triplex", "triformis".

120. mactatur: Silius retains throughout the appropriate technical

terms used by Vergil (cf. 122 "consulit"); Servius comments on *A*.4.57 "mactant", "uerbum sacrorum, κατ' εὐφημισμόν dictum, ut adolere; nam 'mactare' proprie est 'magis augere'."

120f. On the fancied importance of speed in extispicy, see Pease, ed. Cic. *Div.*, pp.97f.. On *A.* 4.64 "spirantia", Pease collects the various ghoulish passages in which this item of religious protocol was elaborated into sensationalism. Silius picks out the notion behind it all with 122 "fugientem"; you had to get into the beast before its spirit departed altogether.

122. *consulit:* "haruspices enim exta consulere dicuntur cum inspiciunt", Schol. Dan. on Verg. *A.* 4.64.

23-139. The priestess delivers a prophecy of various notable events from the approaching war. We have already had a rather similar list, from Juno, 42-54; the impact of this second speech is correspondingly diluted (see further below). N.-H., 1. 189, comment on the popularity of the prophecy motif amongst the Alexandrian and Roman poets, but as W. Kroll, to whom they refer, remarks, the source for the prophecies in elegy and lyric is epic; cf. *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur,* 1924 220ff.. There are two main types of prophecy in epic, divine and human. Silius has both, Juno's speech representing the former, our present passage the latter. Such prophecies are especially important, as here, when they appear early on in the epic, giving an outline of the poem's contents, or predicting a resolution of the complex of problems in which the early action is tied up: some good observations in L. Hensel, *Weissagungen in der alexandrischen Poesie.* Diss. Giessen 1908 14ff., 51ff.; see also C.H. Moore, Prophecy in ancient Epic, HSCPh XXII 1921 99-175 (Moore has a brief mention of our passage, 152). I have not seen the unpublished dissertation of M.S. Kaufmann, Prophecy in archaic Greek Epic, Diss. State Univ. of New York, Buffalo, 1979 (summary in DA XXXIX 1979 7330A).

In the Odyssey, the disguised Athena promises Telemachus that his father will return home, 1.200ff., αὐτὰρ νῦν τοι ἐγω μαντεύϲομαι κτλ; in the second Book, a human, Alitherses, delivers the same message, 161ff.. The fragments of virtually every epic in the cycle show some scene of prophecy in the early stages. In the Cypria, before Paris' journey, Ἕλενοϲ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ προθεϲπίζει.... καὶ Καϲϲάνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προδηλοῖ, Procl.Chr., ed. Allen OCT 5.102.20ff.; in the Nostoi, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀποπλεόντων Ἀχιλλέωϲ εἴδωλον ἐπιφανὲν πειρᾶται διακωλύειν προλέγον τὰ ϲυμβηϲόμενα, id. 108. 24ff.; in the Ilias Parua, Ὀδυϲϲεὺϲ λοχήϲαϲ Ἕλενον λαμβάνει, καὶ χρήϲαντοϲ περὶ τῆϲ ἁλώϲεωϲ τούτου κτλ, id. 106. 23ff..; in the Aethiopis, Θετιϲ τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει, id. 106. 4f.. It is difficult to believe that there was not considerable prophetic material in the Thebais, with Teiresias and Amphiaraus as characters: Oedipus' curses (frgs. 2-3) may have been prophetic. It is natural to assume that prophecies bulked large in the epics about Amphiaraus' son Alcmaeon (for which see Bethe, RE 1.1562ff.), or the seer Melampus (Schmid-Stählin 1.287), or Hercules, who as a "Wunderkind" attracted prophecies of the type exemplified in Theocritus' Id. 24.

Apollonius continued and developed the tradition; most significant is the speech of Idmon, 1.440ff. (Hensel 9ff.). Vergil has a divine prophecy, from Jupiter, in Aeneid 1 (257ff.), and a human one, foreshadowing the action of the second half of the poem, in Book 6 (83ff.). Later Latin examples include Luc. 1.678 ff. (see 119-122n.); Petr. 121.103ff.: V.Fl. 1.211ff.: Stat. Theb. 1.241ff., Ach. 1.31ff., 80ff.. Cf. Dante, Inferno 1.112ff.. The type most favoured by the Latin poets is that which we have here, the ecstatic speech of a prophetess, or, more rarely, prophet (e.g. V.Fl.1.211ff.). As a result, we do not have the clear predictions of an Athene, or a Circe, but darker previews (see Hensel, 24ff.), with the trappings of ecstatic prophetic utterance, the present tense, the ambiguity, so that the comment of Hensel upon the Argonauts might be equally well applied to Hamilcar and his son: "Die Helden gehen mutig in die Gefahr, deren Ende sie nicht ersehen können" (27).

The tense adopted by the prophetess and her confused ambiguity are both the result of the assumed nature of a divining trance, where all time is open to the mind of the seer, and total knowledge presses overwhelmingly in (a brilliant imagining of the sensation in Lucan, 5. 177ff.): see Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1185. On the notorious ambiguity of prophets and oracles, see Parke and Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, 1956 40; Pease, ed. Cic. Div., pp.537 f.; Norden on Verg. A. 6. 99ff.; Hensel 24ff.. On the characteristic "prophetic present", see Schwyzer, 2.273; J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax 1920 1.161f.; N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 1.15.27, with literature cited there, especially Appendix 4 of E. Wistrand, Horace's Ninth Epode, 1958 49ff., entitled " 'Prophetic Present' in Latin", where our passage is the chief example of the phenomenon. For further characteristics of such speeches, see 126 "cerno", 137 f. nn..

The priestess' mind ranges over what she sees and picks out almost at random the most striking sights. She cannot forsee what

Hamilcar and Hannibal most want her to, the destruction of Rome; but Silius has her play upon their hopes: see on 129 f. "trepidantia fumant/moenia"; 131f., "fluit ecce cruentus/ Eridanus". The confusion is not without effect: we imagine the impact of all this upon the pair of spectators, especially the child; and the speech's power is increased by its being in a tradition which provided for a guarantee at this point of an eventually successful outcome, rather than hints which are quite inconclusive to the listening Carthaginians, and to the poet's Roman audience clear signs of their final disaster (see further 134 ff.n.). But we have had two prophetic speeches in less than a hundred lines, and even if Silius tries hard to avoid duplicating the contents, he has still made each speech weaker than it could have been alone.

The speech as a whole is reminiscent of the speech of the possessed matron at the end of Lucan's first book, 678ff.. Both ladies range over a number of battlefields, both mention the mountain-range of the Alps (Lucan 1.688ff., Sil. 1.127f.), and both isolate the corpse of a great protagonist: "hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena/ qui iacet, agnosco", 685f.; "iacet ore truci super arma uirosque" etc., 132.

123. artis de more uetustae: cf. Luc. 1. 584, where the Romans summon Etruscan seers, "de more uetusto" [!]. Silius writes from a Roman point of view, looking at the art of extispicy as coming from the ancient Etruscans: cf. Cic. Div. 1.3, "haruspicum disciplina, omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam adhibebant", and Pease ad loc.; C.O. Thulin, Die etruskische Disciplin, 1-3, 1906-1909.

124. intrauit mentes superum: usually the entry is the other way around: cf. 3.697, "ecce intrat subitus uatem deus"; Verg. A. 6.78f., "bacchatur uates, magnum si pectore possit/ excussisse deum", and Norden's note ad loc.. This use of the verb "intro" is without parallel (T.L.L. 7.1.64. 32ff. cite Aug. Conf. 2.10.18, but when Augustine says "qui intrat in te, intrat in gaudium domini sui", he is addressing "iustitia et innocentia", not "deus"). Drakenborch compared three passages of Statius where a "uates" is said to "burst in upon" the gods: "superumque inrumpere coetus", Theb. 3.634; "piget inrupisse uolantum/ concilia et caelo mentem insertasse uetanti", ib. 549f.; Ach. 1. 508. I suspect that the choice of expression is a result of Silius' conflation of two types of divination (see on 119-122 above): the priestess is actively enquiring after the gods' knowledge by extispicy, and cannot be straight-away transformed into the passive receptacle that we normally meet in such scenes.

125f. Hannibal's two greatest victories come first, Cannae and Trasimene. The speech begins with a portentous roll of spondees.

125. Aetolos: i.e. Apulian, from Diomedes, who settled there after the Trojan war: RE. 5. 820ff.. Silius uses "Aetoli campi" regularly of Cannae: cf. 9.495, 10.184, 12.673, 8.351; in the last case the words frame the line as here.

consterni: the only case in poetry[*] where this prose writers' idiom occurs: cf. Sal. Jug. 101.11, "omnia...constrata telis armis cadaueribus"; Tac. Ann. 2.25; Cic. Sest. 85.

126. flagrantis: thus LFV; "fragrantes" O; "stagnantes" N. Heinsius;

"spumantes" Drakenborch (on analogy with Verg. A. 6. 87 , "Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno"). But the gleaming of the blood in the lake is not a conceit that needs emending away: Ruperti very well compares 7. 486, "fulgebit strage Metaurus".

cerno: like the English "scry", "cerno" means originally "sift", and comes to refer to seeing into the future. It is almost a technical term for "picking out" images as they appear before the seer's eye: see T.L.L. s.v. 874. 40ff.; cf. Verg. A. 6.87 (quoted on "flagrantis" above); V.Fl. 1.226, "cerno en thalamos ardere iugales"; Pease has a discussion and collection, ed. Cic. Div. p.126. Greek has no equivalent specific word, although in the case of Theoclymenus νόεω looks to denote the same sort of thing: ἐξείμι θύραζε, ἐπεὶ νοέω κακὸν ὔμμιν/ἐρχόμενον, Hom. Od. 367 f.. Aeschylus' presentation of Cassandra shows the same concept of a prophetic state as one in which visions drift before the seer, to be seized upon as they pass: ἒ ἔ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται;/ ἦ δίκτυόν τί γ' Ἅιδου; Ag.1114 f.; ἆ ἆ, ἰδοὺ ἰδού, ib. 1125; ὁρᾶτε τούϲδε τοὺϲ δόμουϲ ἐφημένουϲ/ νέουϲ;, ib. 1217f..

127f. Silius picks the prophecy up at 3.555f.. "optato uertice sidunt/ castraque praeruptis suspendunt ardua saxis."

128. pendent: the picture of the camp hanging as if in mid-air is reinforced by the word-order, with "aerio" well forward from its noun. Coleman, on Verg. E.1.76, "dumosa pendere procul de rupe uidebo", well explains the optical illusion behind the choice of verb: "(the goats) seem to be attached to the steep slope without any support under their feet".

129f. trepidantia fumant/moenia: to the eager ears of the Carthaginians this must refer to Rome, but the reader knows that the reference is general. There is nothing to be said for N. Heinsius' "crepitantia"; for the conceit in "trepidantia", cf. 299, "pauentia tecta" (of Saguntum).

130. Hesperio tellus porrecta sub axe: not simply Silius' normal variation of nomenclature: this is the portentous periphrasis of the fortune-teller.

131f. fluit ecce cruentus/ Eridanus: at the end of the line the Carthaginians will think they know the name of the river: "Tiberis". The reader's knowledge of their anticipation is a result of the Vergilian model, "et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno", A. 6.87. As Ruperti notes, the Po is bloody from its tributaries, Ticinus and Trebia.

132f. The priestess forsees the death of the great M. Claudius Marcellus (RE 220), cos. V, third and last winner of the "spolia opima", for killing in single combat the Gallic chief Viridomarus while consul in 222. He was certainly Hannibal's most redoubtable opponent until his death in ambush near Venusia in 208, and Silius has Hannibal hail his death in extravagant terms (15.383ff.). In the poem he plays, with Fabius, the important part of holding the stage until the appearance of Scipio. Although the greatest Roman killed in the war, and deserving a place in the prophecy for that reason alone, Marcellus' prominent place in Anchises' prophecy in Aeneid 6 will have made an impression on Silius: see 855ff., esp. 859, "tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino."

132. iacet: so Hannibal says over Marcellus' corpse, "iacet exitiabile nomen", 15.384. On the resemblance here to a point in Lucan's first book prophecy, see the end of the note on 123-139 above.

super arma uirosque: a Vergilian tag: "arma uirum/os/i/is" occurs twelve times in the Aeneid. The words give the impression that Marcellus died in battle. In fact he was caught in ambush (Liv. 27.27), and even Silius does not evade the fact that everything was over pretty quickly (15. 343ff.). But the language is more of a compliment to Marcellus and to Hannibal.

133. On the "spolia opima", see conveniently Ogilvie 71.

tulerit: thus S; the editio prima Romana 1471 printed "tulerat", and is followed by, e.g., Ruperti and Duff; Bauer, Summers and the Budé retain the MSS. reading. Strict sequence would require "tulit", so some illogicality will be present whichever reading is adopted. The lesser is attendant on "tulerit": "I see him lying, he who by the time it comes to pass will have...." etc..

134ff. After the high-point of Marcellus' death, the priestess switches to the catalogue of Carthaginian setbacks. The ejaculation "heu!" and the question-form show her mind caught by a new vision: for "heu! quaenam" cf. V.Fl. 1. 211, "heu quaenam aspicio?" The storms are those that thwarted Hannibal before the gates of Rome (12. 602ff.), when Jupiter joined in the war against him (ib. 719ff.). This was in 212, four years before Marcellus' death, but a prophecy does not run in a straight line. Hannibal will not worry that the Roman god is fighting against him, and Juno stops the priestess' mouth before the conclusive nature of Jupiter's opposition is revealed;

but to the Roman audience these lines make plain the impiety of Hannibal's enterprise and the futility of his hopes: see von Albrecht 53.

135. micat igneus aether: cf. Verg. A. 1. 90. "micat ignibus aether" [!].

137ff..The speech is abruptly stopped by Juno, the interruption marked by the rare speech-ending within, rather than at the end of the line (only 25% of Silius' speeches do not end with the line: see on 671 below). As well as being ambiguous, oracles were limited; the gods were reluctant to give away the whole truth: cf. A.R.
2. 311ff., οὐ μὲν πάντα πέλει θέμιϲ ὔμμι δαῆναι/
ἀτρεκέϲ, ὅϲϲα δ' ὄρωρε θεοῖϲ φίλον, οὐκ ἐπικεύϲω./
.... ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸϲ (sc. Ζεύϲ) / βούλεται ἀνθρώποιϲ
ἐπιδευέα θέϲφατα φαίνειν/ μαντοϲύνηϲ,
ἵνα καί τί θεῶν χατέωϲι νόοιο ;
V. Fl. 4.623ff.; Luc. 5. 176f.. Silius' immediate model is Verg. A. 3. 379f.," prohibent nam cetera Parcae/ scire Helenum farique uetat Saturnia Iuno". In the Aeneid, Juno does not wish the Trojans to hear how they might safely come to Italy; in our passage, she cannot allow them to hear more lest they become disheartened: see von Albrecht 53.

137. uenientia: for the occasionally sinister force of this word, see 41 "uenientum" n..

138. fibraeque: the poets' word for "exta" or "iecur ": see Pease ed. Cic. Div. 59f.; RE 7. 2. 2453.

139. conticuere: "conticesco", ϲιγάω are normal words for the silence of oracles or prophets, especially of enforced or calamitous silence: thus Plutarch says of the oracles in contemporary Greece, τὰ μὲν ϲιγὴ τὰ δὲ παντελὴϲ ἐρημία κατέϲχηκε, Def.Or. 411F; Augustus enquired of the unresponsive Pythia, διὰ τί ϲιγᾷ τὸ μαντεῖον (Parke and Wormell, op. cit. 123-139n. §518); cf. Luc. 5. 131ff., "muto Parnasos hiatu/ conticuit..../...seu sponte deorum/ Cirrha silet"; V.Fl.3.301f., "tantumque nefas mens conscia uatum/ conticuit...?" Silius has applied the concept to the entrails themselves; the transference is made possible by the technical term "mutus", used of entrails which gave no sign (here they stop giving signs): "muta exta appellabant, ex quibus nil diuinationis animaduertebant", Paul. Fest. p.156M.

40-143. Within five lines of the end of the oath-scene, Silius has transferred the scene to Spain, disposed of Hamilcar, and introduced Hannibal's immediate predecessor in the Spanish command, Hasdrubal. The compression which Silius achieves in this transition is remarkable. Annalistic epic must have found such passages of summary a challenge to elegance. Silius had numerous passages in Lucan for model (in addition to the great body of lost work): cf. 3. 298f., "ille ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae,/ agmine nubiferam rapto super euolat Alpem"; ib., 453, "dux tamen impatiens haesuri ad moenia Martis/ uersus ad Hispanas acies extremaque mundi/ iussit bella geri"; 5.237 ff.; 6.329ff..

Silius has decided to veil his transition in an atmosphere of romantic glamour, full of grand expression: see 141 "hominum finem", 142 "Herculeis Garamantica", 143 "occubuit" nn.. Important, too, for this strategy is the harmonious shape and fall of the lines. As at 21ff., he has a dense concatenation of end-stopped lines without internal pauses (see 21-33 n.); 141 is an example of the "neoteric" apposition remarked upon above, 43n.. Further, the other three lines show an extremely mannered arrangement of pairs of noun and adjective: abBA (140, 142), abAB (143). Since Norden's analysis of Vergil's use of the patterns (ed. *A.* 6, 394ff.), there has been considerable discussion: see, conveniently, Lyne 24. As Lyne observes, "agreement on when exactly a line qualifies to be thus classified is not total"; but a clear picture of the general range emerges even if we allow for a certain latitude in the figures (my data are from Norden 394, and F. Caspari, *De ratione, quae inter Vergilium et Lucanum intercedat, quaestiones selectae,* Diss. Leipzig 1908 88).

Thus Catullus' cultivation of the pattern (once in every seven lines in c.64), and Cicero's (^{1}/13 in the *Aratea*), shows a real striving after effect in comparison with Lucretius (^{1}/140) or Ennius (in whose *Annales* the pattern, as such, never occurs). Vergil felt such a concentration to be out of place in epic (^{1}/43 in the *Aeneid*; cf. ^{1}/21 in the *Eclogues*, ^{1}/16 in the *Georgics*); but the Silver Epic followed Ovid's lead in returning to the level of the *Georgics* or *Eclogues*: Ov. *Met*. 1, ^{1}/18; Luc. 1-3, ^{1}/9; V. Fl. 1, ^{1}/18; Stat. *Theb*. 1, ^{1}/15. Such lump statistics obscure the crucial factor of distribution (cf. Lyne 22, 24) The three examples in our present passage are especially striking; other passages in Book 1 where Silius has a concentration of such patterning are the colourful geographical digression of 193ff. (197, 207, 210), the excursus on Saguntum's origins at 271ff. (271, 275, 282, 286), the dramatic wounding and rescue of Hannibal at

535 ff. (535, 539, 543, 550, 552, 554). Overall, Book 1 has a ratio of $^{1}/13$; cf. Book 2, $^{1}/13$, and contrast the drier Book 9, $^{1}/31$.

140. *arcano pectore:* cf. Luc. 2.284f., "at illi/arcano sacras reddit Cato pectore uoces"; Stat. *Theb.* 1.246f., "neque enim arcano de pectore fallax/ Tantalus....periit".

Is the chest Hamilcar's (Budé, Duff), or Hannibal's (von Albrecht 53)? The Latin would naturally mean the former, and if the words are meant to refer to Hannibal they are distinctly paradoxical and difficult. But there is much to be said in favour of von Albrecht's interpretation. "arcano" would mean "qui celat uel tacet" (T.L.L. s.v. 1); cf. Germ. *Arat.* 444f., "hoc opus arcanis an credam postmodo Musis,/tempus....docebit"; Mart. Cap. 8.898, "arcanus ille prisci iuris adsertor...consulitur". It would be rather odd for Silius to say that Hamilcar left the plan for war locked in his own secret heart when we have just witnessed a scene in which he reveals his counsel to his son: by applying to Hannibal words which seem at first to apply to Hamilcar, Silius might be driving home his representation of Hamilcar as one who treats his son as an extension of himself: cf. 99f. n.. Above all, this line refers back to 80, which leads into the oath-swearing scene: "Romanum seuit puerili in *pectore bellum* [!]". Silius leads into the scene saying that Hamilcar sowed war in his son's chest: when he comes out of the scene saying that war was left in someone's chest, we should naturally take that chest to be Hannibal's as well.

141. *hominum finem Gadis Calpenque:* Hamilcar is grandly represented as attaining to the limits of human endeavour; thus Pindar praises

Theron, νῦν δὲ πρὸϲ ἐϲχατιὰν Θήρων ἀρεταῖϲιν ἱκάνων ἅπτεται / οἴκοθεν Ἡρακλέοϲ ϲταλᾶν. τὸ πόρϲω δ᾽ ἐϲτὶ ϲοφοῖϲ ἄβατον/ κἀϲόφοιϲ, Ol. 3.43-45. The limits of Spain are the western limits of the world; cf. Str. 3.1.2, Mayor on Juv. 10.1, N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.6.1. In fact, when Hamilcar crossed over to reconquer the Carthaginian empire in Spain, Cadiz, with Gibraltar and a few neighbouring towns, was all that remained of their former holdings (C.A.H. 7.776).

142. Herculeis Garamantica: Silius will have it that Hamilcar died near the Pillars of Hercules, when in reality he subdued this area rapidly, and proceeded East, where he was killed somewhere near Carthago Nova; see Liv. 24. 41.3. The scale of Hamilcar's efforts is enhanced by the use of "Garamantica"; this most remote part of Carthaginian Africa is juxtaposed to the extremest part of Spain, and Hamilcar's exertions acquire a correspondingly glamorous air. For this use of the Garamantes as the people dwelling at the limit, cf. Verg. A. 6. 794f., "super et Garamantas et Indos/ proferet imperium"; E. 8.44, "extremi Garamantes". The expression reinforces Silius' theme of the Carthaginians as competitors for world dominion: they hold one end of the world already; cf. 270, "extremis pulsat (Hannibal) Capitolia terris". See further, on these lines' thematic importance, Herzog 78f..

143. Silius follows the tradition found in Polybius (cf. on 151-168 below), according to which Hamilcar met a glorious death in battle (2.1.7f.). Another version had it that Hamilcar drowned while his army was retreating (D.S. 25.10.3f.). As Walbank notes on the Polybius passage, "This account, though anti-Barcine, is not inconsistent with P.,

who prefers to stress Hamilcar's death κατὰ τὸν τού κινδύνου καιρόν." Similarly Silius, if he knew of the other version, will have felt quite at liberty to gloss over the actual circumstances of Hamilcar's death with the stately verb "occubuit" (a verb of high epic diction: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 17V, 398V; Verg. *A.* 1.97). A death by drowning was a fate to be abhorred for any man, (see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.23), but especially for a great commander: cf. Cic. *Pis.* 44, "M. Marcellus, qui ter consul fuit, summa uirtute, pietate, gloria militari, periit in mari"; id. *Div.* 2.14; Hom. *Il.* 21.279ff.; Sil. 4.670ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 9.506ff.; in the last example, Hippomedon, about to drown in a river, uses the grand verb "occumbere" to describe the death he is entitled to: "adeone occumbere ferro/non merui?" (509f.); cf. Verg. *A.* 1. 96ff., "o Danaum fortissime gentis/ Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis/ non potuisse..!"

144-181. Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, governor of Spain from 229-221, occupies us for some thirty-seven lines, with his character (144-150) and the circumstances of his assassination (151-181). This is a long time to be waiting for Hannibal, and at first sight the interlude may appear quite extraneous, with its description of a fictitious Spanish chief (155-164), and of the tortures suffered by his avenger (169-181). R. Herzog is right to stress Silius' thematic purpose (80ff.), but Silius is not producing a self-contained contrast between "einem unschuldigen Märtyrer und einem grundlos grausamen Peiniger" (80), a contrast elaborated for this end only in an episode with no connection with its context - "ein in sich ruhendes Kontrastbild" (ibid.). The interlude as a whole provides the first practical demonstration of that blood-lust and cruelty which Silius has been ascribing to the Carthaginians throughout.

Further, it sets the scene for Hannibal's accession, establishing an atmosphere of savagery as he comes into his birthright, "haec inter spretae miseranda piacula poenae" (182).

The highly unfavourable picture of Hasdrubal is part of the same intention; he is a paradigm of Carthaginian government. Silius here cuts himself off from the main tradition, as represented by his primary source, Livy, in which Hasdrubal was an untypically mild and peaceful governor: cf. Liv.. 21.2.5, and Walbank, 1.310 f.. The unfavourable picture of Hasdrubal derives ultimately from Fabius Pictor, who is severely criticised by Polybius for his inaccurate attacks on Hasdrubal (3.8.1 - 9.5); see further Nicol 21ff..

144-150. A sketch of Hasdrubal's vicious character, of the type discussed above, on 56-69.

144. interea: a common word in history and epic for a transition, to mark the passing on to a new stage in the narrative; it may even come as the first word in a book: cf. Verg. *A*. 5.1; Val. Fl. 2.1; Sil. 7.1; Stat. *Theb*. 2.1.

rerum....habenae: when Hannibal takes over after Hasdrubal's death, Silius uses a very similar expression: "utque dati rerum freni" (240; see there for the difference between "habenae" and "freni"). The reminiscence helps to demarcate the Hasdrubal - episode.

145f. "Hispania tribus modis designatur" (Ruperti). The distinction between "uulgus Hiberum" and "Baeticolas uiros" looks at first as if it ought to be significant; but the "real men" of Spain were the Astures and Cantabri, not the men who lived in the lush and denselypopulated valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir): for the riches and many cities of the valley, see Strabo 3.2.1ff., C.A.H. 9.311. This rich area Silius comprehends under "opes".

146. furiis agitabat iniquis: cf. Verg. A. 3.331, "furiis agitatus Orestes" (in the same position in the line). Silius, with his fondness for delaying significant words, keeps back the words which reveal the nature of Hasdrubal's government.

147. Silius' picture is in accordance with the analysis of Seneca, who describes "tristitia" and "ira" as being two distinct conditions with different origins and causes (de ira 2.20.4); hence the use of "simul".

duci: N. Heinsius' emendation of the "ducis" of S, accepted only by Summers, Van Veen 289 (Ruperti prints "ducis", but says in his apparatus "'duci' recte, opinor, corrig. N. Heins."). The dative ("Hasdrubal was possessed of a harsh heart") is preferable to the genitive ("the heart that Hasdrubal had was harsh"). "ducis" goes only with "corda", whereas "duci" coheres with both of the next two elements as well ("ira", "fructus"). The initial "s" of the following "simul" explains the corruption.

immedicabilis: a common metaphor in the writings "de ira", where "ira" was regarded as a disease: "morbis medemur neque irascimur; atqui et hic morbus est animi; mollem medicinam desiderat ipsumque medentem minime infestum aegro", Sen. de Clem. 1.17.1; cf. Plut. cohib. ira 453 D-E. Thus, in Greek, ἰάομαι (Plut., ib., 454C), θεραπεύω (453B). When Seneca writes of "ira" that is "insanabilis", he means precisely the bestial and bloodthirsty passion to which

Hasdrubal is subject: "iram...feram, immanem, sanguinariam", de ira 3.40.5; cf. Silius' "feritas" (148), "asper amore/sanguinis" (148f).

148. fructus regni feritas erat: a difficult expression. Ruperti takes it as an objective or impersonal observation: "insolentia eius et crudelitas, imperii summa ipsi tradita, creuit et effrenata esse coepit". Duff is closer: "power he valued because it gave him the opportunity to be cruel". "fructus" is something like "bonus" or "profit accruing": the paradox with "feritas" of course resides in the fact that the profit of kingship in a king's eyes should be glory or, on the worst calculation, money.

feritas: the word used by Seneca to describe the stage beyond "ira" reached by great tyrants, who kill for pleasure, "ii qui uulgo saeuuiunt et sanguine humano gaudent...: haec non est ira, feritas est", de ira 2.5.1f.. Bestiality is a consistent feature of Silius' characterisation of Carthaginians: see 2f. n..

148f. asper amore / sanguinis: see on 60 above for this bloodthirstiness as a trait of tyrants and of Carthaginians. Silius, more suo, enjambs "sanguinis" to sharpen by suspense the oxymoron of "asper amore"

metui demens credebat honorem: such a delusion received the scorn of the moralists; Seneca, attacking the ethos behind Accius' famous aphorism, "oderint, dum metuant", punctures the claims of the angry man to "magnitudo animi" (de ira 1.20. 4-5); see Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 72 for many examples of the commonplace. The tyrant who inspires fear must also feel it, for his acts rebound - as in Hasdrubal's case; "qui sceptra duro saeuus imperio regit,/ timet timentes; metus in auctorem redit", Sen. *Oed.* 705f.; cf. *de Clem.* 1.26.1, *de ira* 2.11.3.

demens: for "immodica ira gignit insaniam", Sen. *Ep.* 18.14 (a quotation from Epicurus); see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.5.

150. The hunting out of novel "poenae" is a mark of madness, especially to be found in tyrants: cf. Sen. *de ira* 3.19, on Caligula's urge to inflict penalties never before thought of; ibid. 3.20.1f., on an atrocity of a Persian King, "nouo genere poenae delectatus est"; ibid. 3.40.2, on Vedius Pollio ordering a slave to be thrown to his lampreys, "rapi eum Vedius iussit ne uulgari quidem more periturum"; Sen. *Con.* 10. pr. 5f., on the burning of Labienus' books: "quae uos, dementissimi homines, tanta uecordia agitat? parum uidelicet in poenas notae crudelitatis est"; Sen. *Thy.* 244ff.; Luc. 2.519ff.. This novel penalty is not the crucifixion itself of the chief Tagus, for crucifixion was the distinctive and normal Carthaginian mode of execution; see RE 4.1729. Hasdrubal's original twist must reside in his arrogant flaunting of the King's corpse before the people, and his refusal to allow burial: "ostentabat ouans populis sine funere regem", 154.

docilis: Duff's "willing" is not right: Silius picks out the tyrant's unresponsiveness to guidance or advice; "he could not be taught to confine himself to normal punishments (let alone giving up cruelty altogether)."

1-168. Silius presents Hasdrubal's assassination as being caused by his own cruelty, as a slave takes revenge for the death of his master.

The motive for the murder, and the subsequent death of the slave under torture, are part of the main tradition (see Walbank on Polyb. 2.36.1); but Silius has derived from somewhere a subsidiary version, as preserved in Polybius, by which Hasdrubal was not killed openly, before witnesses, but at night, in his own quarters: cf. Polyb. 2.36.1, ἐτελεύτηϲε δολοφονηθεὶϲ ἐν τοῖϲ ἑαυτοῦ καταλύμαϲι νυκτόϲ, Sil. 1. 166ff., "clam corripit ensem/ dilectum domino pernixque irrumpit in aulam/ atque inmite ferit geminato uulnere pectus". See Nicol, 23.

151. ore excellentem: epic heroes are conventionally handsome; e.g. Hom. Il. 24.629ff.; Verg. A. 1. 589ff., 9. 336 ("insignis facie"). Here Tagus' beauty is the first member of the set triad of items for encomium (see 77n.), before his skill in war and high birth. For beauty as a topic of encomium, see Quintil. 3.7.12; Men. Rhet. 371. 14ff.. Beauty appears surprisingly early in Roman encomium; cf. the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, "quoius forma uirtutei parisuma fuit" (CIL 1^2 6.7.). Tagus' outstanding beauty makes such a disfiguring death doubly hideous: note "deformem leti", 166.

spectatum: the same word as used of Hamilcar in the passage cited above: "nobilis hoc ortu et dextra spectatus Hamilcar", 77.

152. Tagum: Silius has certainly invented the character. No extant historian gives a name for the master of the slave who killed Hasdrubal, but epic does not have anonymous characters. The discovery of suitable names for minor figures is something of a problem; Silius regularly, as here, takes over local river names: cf., e.g. 387 "Hibari", 403 "Chremetes", 407 "Bagrada" (Ruperti has a collection

on 306 "Caicum"). For the reasons for Silius' choice of name here, see 155-164 n..

152f. *superumque hominumque/ immemor:* "hominumque" is an Ennian line-ending: the full Ennian phrase, "diuumque hominumque" (*Ann.* 249V, 581V), is found at 2.484, the only occurrence in later poetry [*]. For the disregarding of gods and men, cf. e.g., Lys. 12.9, οὔτε θεοὺϲ οὔτ' ἀνθρώπουϲ νομίζει; Cic. *Har.* 43, "deos hominesque uiolauit"; id. *Ver*. 1.56, 2.126; Sal. *Hist*. 1.77.15; Liv. 3.57.3, "deorum hominumque contemptor". "immemor" has point here, for Hasdrubal is in fact punished for what he does.

153. *suffixum in robore:* three of the manuscripts have "suffocum" (LFV), though in L it has been corrected to "suffossum", the same reading given, together with "suspensum", by a second hand in the margin of F. Only O, "in rasura", has the reading which must be correct, "suffixum"; this is the "mot juste" for crucifixion or impalement: cf., e.g. Cic. *Pis*. 42, Catul. 99.4. All of the manuscripts and editors have a simple ablative following, but this presents a difficulty, since "suffigere" in the sense required here regularly has either ablative with "in" (e.g. Catul. 99.4; Hor. *Sat*. 1.3.82; *B.Afr.* 66), or dative (e.g. Cic. *Pis*. 42; Vell. 2.42; Suet. *Jul.* 74): one exception, "suffigere in crucem", Just. 18.7.15. "suffixum in robore" is probably what Silius wrote.

154. *sine funere regem:* herein lies the special cruelty of Hasdrubal's act, that burial was denied, and that it was a king who was treated in this way; once more Silius keeps back the words he wishes to emphasise. The denial of burial is an hybristic act befitting a

tyrant, especially since the corpse is that of a great man: L. Tarquinius acquired his cognomen by such an act, "cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepeltura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum.... interfecit", Liv. 1.49. 1-2; cf. id. 29.9.10, of the unspeakable Pleminius, "tribunos...interfecit, nec satiatus uiuorum poena insepultos proiecit"; Luc. 8.692ff., Plu. *Pomp.* 80 (on the fate of Pompey's corpse); Verg. *A.* 2.557, Sen. *Tro.* 54 (on that of Priam's). See further, on the misery of a great man's lack of burial, Pease on Verg. *A.* 4.620.

55-164. For ten lines Silius celebrates the dead king, the languid and romantic atmosphere accentuating the savagery of the Carthaginians. By choosing the gold-bearing Tagus for his hero's name, Silius has allowed himself the opportunity of developing over five lines a rather precious mood, for Pactolus and Hermus are exotic streams over which it is no trouble for a versifier to linger: see 157-159 n..

155. *auriferi...fontis*: the gold-bearing rivers of Spain, especially the Tagus, are a frequently mentioned wonder in the poets: cf. Catul. 29.19; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.34; Juv. 3.54f., 14.298ff.; Mart. 1.49.15; RE 7. 1564; Otto 340. For non-poetic discussions of these interesting rivers, see Plin. *Nat.* 33.66; Str. 3.2.8; Healy 48, 74ff..

156. The hero bewailed by nymphs comes originally from bucolic: cf. (Bion) Epitaph. Adon. 18ff.; Verg. *E.* 5.20f.. Vergil imported him into epic, in a slightly modified form: "te nemus Angitiae,

uitrea te Fucinus unda,/ te liquidi fleuere lacus", *A.* 7.759f.. Hence such pictures as Ov. *Met.* 3.505ff., 11.44ff. "te maestae uolucres, Orpheu, te turba ferarum,/ te rigidi silices, te carmina saepe secutae/ fleuerunt siluae;" Stat. *Theb.* 5. 579ff., 9.399ff., 10.503ff..

There are problems at the end of the line. The manuscripts give "ululatus", and editors have generally accepted the reading, punctuating with a comma after "Hiberis" (though Ruperti has a stop): cf. Owen 173. Lefebvre emended to "ululatur", and is followed only by Summers, who has a stop after "Hiberis". The first decision to make is over the nature of the pause at the end of the line. Here I think Summer's note is conclusive: "u.156 ad mortem Tagi, ad uitam uu. seqq. spectant." 155f. are an elaboration of the description of Tagus' death, and the impact it made on his people, while 157ff. go back in time to dwell upon his glory. A comma after "Hiberis" produces difficulties of construction and sense whichever variant is adopted, because it links together his wake and his preference for Tagus above other rivers. Once a stop has been established after "Hiberis", there is little to choose between "ululatur", with a past sense, and "ululatus (sc. est)." On balance I would follow Lefebvre and Summers.

Silius' passive use of "ululare" to equal "bewailed" is a bold extension of such cases as Verg. *A.* 4. 609, "Hecate...ululata per urbes", "Hecate whose name is howled out" (see Austin ad loc.); Stat. *Theb.* 3.158f., "ululata.../...Lucina". Cf., much later, Prud. *Ham.* 452, "orbatam propriis ululauit ciuibus urbem."

57-159. The graceful movement of these lines develops gradually, with a check after 157 "uadum", and another after 158 "sibi", before the third "membrum" begins its uninterrupted course, with the enjambed "campum" of 159 losing its final syllable in elision to blur the distinction between the last two clauses.

157. The Maeonian (i.e. Lydian) river is Pactolus, the most famous of the gold-bearing rivers of antiquity, much celebrated, like the Tagus, by the poets; cf. Soph. *Ph.* 394, τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον; Juv. 14.299; Str. 13.4.5; RE 18.2439; Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 11.85; Healy 74f.. Such gold-bearing rivers naturally stood for wealth itself; cf. Juv. 14.298f., "sed cuius uotis modo non suffecerat aurum/quod Tagus et rutila uoluit Pactolus harena"; Otto 261, 340. Tagus is thus paradoxically in the guise of those who reject wealth, when he is made to spurn the rivers of Pactolus and Hermus; the twist is that he does not prefer poverty or a loved one to wealth (cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.38.1, 2.12.21), but prefers *his* rich river to foreign rich rivers.

158. *riguo*: as Ruperti notes, "riguo" is active, "causing to be wet"; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.485, "rigui...in uallibus amnes".

perfunditur: "watered" (Duff; similarly Budé). But Silius is doing more than this; the peculiar river is at once watering the plain with its gold ("riguo auro") and *gilding* it: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 115.9, "auro tecta perfudimus"; and especially Sil. 2.404, "(arma) opibus perfusa Tagi", 16.449f., "duo pocula,.../aurifero perfusa Tago." "perfunditur" is picked up by 159 "flauescit". The second verb also plays upon the strange nature of the river. As the plain is irrigated by the Hermus it turns yellow, but not in the way one would expect: "flauescet campus arista", Verg. E.4.28. "harenis", which gives the game away, is kept till last.

60-164. A more brisk section to describe Tagus' martial prowess. The lines read almost like a snippet from a catalogue: cf., e.g., A.R. 1. 74ff., ϲὺν καὶ τρίτοϲ ἦεν Ὀιλεύϲ,/ἔξοχον ἠνορέῃ καὶ ἐπαΐξαι μετόπιϲθεν / εὖ δεδαὼϲ δῄοιϲιν, ὅτε κλίνειε φάλαγγαϲ; Verg. A. 7.803ff. (Camilla).

160. Conventional praise: cf. Liv. 21.4.8, of Hannibal, "princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conferto proelio excedebat"; Sil. 1. 242ff.; Luc. 9.394ff.: see further 242 f.n..

manu: thus FOV; "manus" L is adopted by Bauer, Duff, Budé: see Bauer 1888 195. "inire Martem" is a phrase with numerous counterparts; e.g. "inire pugnas", Verg. A. 11.912; "inire pugnam", Liv. 22.19.11; "inire proelium", B. Alex. 29.2; see T.L.L. 7.1.1297. 29ff.. It is much more difficult to find parallels for "inire manus"; such expressions as "in manus uenire" (Sal . Jug. 89.2) are not really comparable. "manu" is quite all right by itself: see T.L.L. 8.353.11ff. for various cases of "manu" used absolutely, "de initio pugnae faciendo"; e.g. Verg. A. 11.505, "prima manu temptare pericula belli." With "Martem" as the object of both verbs the expression of the line has a more satisfying concision.

161. sublimis: not just high on his horse (cf. Verg. A. 7.285, "sublimes in equis redeunt"), but "noble", "lofty". A dignified word of high register: see Brink on Hor. Ars. 165; Brink gives various examples of poetic plays upon the metaphorical and literal meanings.

162. *quadrupedem:* when used of a horse, a poetic word: cf. Acc. *trag.* 381; Verg. *A.* 10.892. The grand language (cf. "sublimis" above) boosts the young chief's status and allows Silius to avoid specifics.

163. *ouans:* I do not see how it might be possible to tell whether the repetition of "ouans" from 154 is intended to be significant.

aciesque per ambas: "Carthaginian and Spanish", explains Duff in a footnote, but without saying whether he means Spanish allies or Spanish enemies. It take the reference to be quite general: whenever there was fighting going on, there would be the irresistible Tagus, clearly seen by both sides.

164. *auratis agnoscebatur in armis:* Tagus' armour is gilded with the gold of his river: cf. 2.404, of Hannibal's armour, "opibus perfusa Tagi". Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.265 for another beautiful young chief conspicuous for his finery in the muster: "igneus ante omnes auro micat, igneus ostro" (from the catalogue in *A.* 7, describing the contingent of Oebalus, "aerataeque micant peltae, micat aureus ensis", 743).

65-168. The revenge of the slave is quickly done, in one sentence; see 151-168 n. for the various accounts of Hasdrubal's death.

165. *diro suspensum robore:* the phrase recalls the language of the "archaic" sentence of execution preserved in Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 13, "arbori infelici suspendito". The formula refers to flogging, not crucifixion (see Ogilvie on Liv. 1.26.6), but Seneca, for example, adapts the expression "arbor infelix" to describe a cross: "adactus

ad illud infelix lignum", *Ep.* 101.14.

166. *deformem leti:* I find no parallel for a genitive with "deformis", but Silius is free with such constructions; cf. on 56f., "fideique sinister". The phrase looks back to 151, "ore excellentem."

168. *geminato uulnere:* cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.257, "uulnere Tartareas geminato mittit ad umbras"; Luc. 9.173, "rursus geminato uerbere plangunt" (imitated by Corippus, *Ioh.* 8.340, "percutiensque suum geminato uerbere pectus").

69-181. Silius describes in much detail the tortures inflicted upon the slave, the effects on his body, and his heroic endurance. The Silver Latin taste for scenes of horrific cruelty has been often commented upon; see, most recently, M. Fuhrmann, Grausige und ekelhafte Motive in lateinischer Dichtung, in *Die nicht mehr schöne Kunste*, ed. H.R. Jauss, 1968 23-66; Williams 1978 184ff. ("Cruelty and the exploitation of weakness"); further bibliography in Bömer's note on Ov. *Met.* 6.382-400 (the flaying of Marsyas). In epic, however, only here do we find an extended scene of torture presented as such; although the taste of the time has a lot to do with Silius' elaboration of the historians' brief notices of the slave's death under torture (e.g. Liv. 21.2.6), his passage owes little in the way of detail to earlier poetic scenes of horror. He depends rather upon what appears to have been a well-developed rhetorical, or more specifically declamatory, commonplace: cf. S.F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation*, 1949, 59.

From a passage in Cicero's *Brutus* it seems that even before the Gracchi there was a recognised locus "de tormentis" (124); an example from his own work is the famous scene in the Fifth Verrine (161ff.), including a small list of torture instruments, of the type that was to become standard: "cum ignes ardentesque laminae ceterique cruciatus admouebantur...etc." (163). The Elder Seneca's "controuersiae" reveal the extent to which the "locus" had become fixed (e.g. 10.5.26; 9.6.18, "cum descripsisset tormenta"); especially important is the monstrous "Controuersia" 2.5, in which a woman is tortured by a tyrant: cf. Quint. Decl. 338. The "locus" found its way into history; cf. Curt. 6.11.13ff., Tac. Ann. 15.57: while Seneca's "meditationes mortis" show clearly the force of such exercises; cf. Ep. 14.5, 24.14,67. The "genre" reaches its acme in the Christian martyrologies, such as Prudentius' "Peristephanon" and the "Acts of the Christian Martyrs" (see especially 5, "The Martyrs of Lyons"). Common elements, all in Silius, are the list of "tormenta", the damage inflicted on the body, and the victim's "constantia": I give examples at the appropriate points.

169f.. There is great difficulty, not now acknowledged, in accepting the manuscripts' unanimous tradition: "at Poeni succensa ira turbataque luctu/et saeuis gens laeta". Duff translates, "Carthaginians are cruel; and now, in their anger and grief,..." (similarly Budé). This is to make 170 a general statement about the nature of Carthaginians, and 169 a particular comment on their reaction in this one case; but the Latin is one "simplex" construction, and it is very hard to admit that two halves of a coordinate expression, dependent on "gens", could be understood in two quite different senses. As it stands, the Latin barely makes sense, if at all: "the Carthaginians, a people who have been set ablaze with anger and disturbed by grief, and who are made glad by cruelty..."

A solution might lie in understanding 169 as a general statement coordinate with "et saeuis gens laeta": "the Carthaginians, being an irascible people and prone to distraction with grief..." Certainly perfect passive participles are forced into duty as presents; e.g. "obsessi" = οἱ πολιορκούμενοι (K.-S. 1.757ff.); cf. such usages as "immotus" = ἀκίνητοϲ (H.-S. 392 (§209b: "Möglichkeitsbedeutung")). But I doubt very much that 169 can bear such a meaning.

Marsus, followed by other earlier editors (e.g. Ruperti), attempted emendation, to produce "at Poeni, succensi ira". This solves only half the problem, for "turbataque luctu" remains intractable. A present participle agreeing with "luctu" (e.g. "turbanteque") is not admissible; "the attachment of 'que' to a short 'e' is eschewed by Virgil and Ovid who set the fashion to posterity", Housman, JPh XXI 1893 151 (= Papers 1.269). It is probable that 169 originally gave a specific Carthaginian reaction, and that 170 "et saeuis gens laeta" is an explanatory or amplificatory comment. If this is so, then "ut", "inasmuch as", is the word to introduce such a comment. This leaves: "at Poeni, succensi ira † turbataque luctu,/ ut saeuis gens laeta, ruunt tormentaque portant." But I am by no means sure what Silius may have written here.

saeuis gens laeta: for the Carthaginians' notorious cruelty, cf. Plu. Mor. 799D on the ἦθοϲ of that nation, πικρόν, ϲκυθρωπόν, ὑπήκοον τοῖϲ ἄρχουϲι, βαρὺ τοῖϲ ὑπηκόοιϲ, ἀγεννέϲτατον ἐν φόβοιϲ, ἀγριώτατον ἐν ὀργαῖϲ. The Mercenary War, the execution of Regulus, and Hannibal's occupation of southern Italy were the main elements in the Roman tradition: cf. Polyb. 1.88.7, 9.22.8ff.;

Cic. *Phil.* 11.7; Warmington 189. Later in the book Hannibal takes a Saguntine prisoner to torture him at his leisure (451).

171-175. A list of the "tormenta" applied. Such a list has a place in the slaves' talk in Comedy: cf. Ar. *Ra.* 618ff., (Aι.^{a}) καὶ πῶϲ βαϲανίϲω; (Ξα.) πάντα τρόπον, ἐν κλίμακι / δήϲαϲ κρεμάϲαϲ ὑϲτριχίδι μαϲτιγῶν, δέρων, / ϲτρεβλῶν, ἔτι δ' ἐϲ τὰϲ ῥῖναϲ ὄξοϲ ἐγχέων, / πλίνθουϲ ἐπιτιθείϲ, πάντα τἄλλα; Plaut. *Asin.* 548 ff., "laminas, crucesque compedesque,/ neruos, catenas, carceres, numellas, pedicas, boias/ inductoresque acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi." Such a string of words was capable of far more sinister import: cf. Lucr. 3.1017, "uerbera, carnifices, robur, pix, lamina, taedae." Catalogues of this type became a standard feature of "torture scenes": cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5. 163 (quoted above on 169-181); id. *Phil.* 11.7 , "uincla, uerbera, eculeum, tortorem carnificemque Samiarium"; Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.6, "describam nunc ego cruciatus......exquisita uerbera, laminae, eculeus"; adapted by Seneca, e.g. *Ep.* 14.5, "cogita hoc loco carcerem et cruces et eculeos et uncum et adactum per medium hominem qui per os emergeret stipitem....etc.;" ib. 24.14; *de ira* 3.3.6; 3.19.1, "torserat per omnia, quae in rerum natura tristissima sunt, fidiculis, talaribus, eculeo, igne, uultu suo;" (Quint.) *Decl.* 18.11. To vary his treatment, Silius does not include in his list the rack, but describes the damage it causes (175-177).

171ff. *non ignes..., non uerbera...etc. cessauere*: cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.5, "nullum tormenti genus omisit"; Sen. *de ira* 3.19.1 (quoted above). The anaphora with "non" is found, to different point, in Tacitus' description of the torture of Epicharis: "at illam non uerbera, non ignes, non ira...peruicere quin obiecta denegaret", Ann. 15.57. The similarity points to a stock pattern in the itemization.

candensque chalybs: these are the "laminae", metal plates heated and applied to the body (for the adjective, cf. Hor. Ep. 1.15.36, "lamna candente").

172. lacerum scindentia corpus: "lacerum" is not otiose: Silius means that the true pain of scourging begins when the skin is broken; cf. Curt. 6.11.17, "intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat"; T.E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom, Penguin 1962 454.

173. carnificesue: all modern editors retain the manuscripts' "carnificaeue". Buschius (ed. 1522) proposed "carnificesue", and is followed by, e.g. Ruperti; for this adjectival use of "carnifex" cf. Plin. Nat. 7.43; Mart. 11.84.10, 12.48.10. "carnificus" is an unparallelled form; it is listed, with our passage only, by O.L.D. and T.L.L., but not by L.S., who list our passage with the adjectival uses of "carnifex". Here I should follow L.S..

Note the insistent series of "u's" in this line: "manus penitusue infusa medullis".

174. pestis: this is the agony produced by the fire. Silius himself speaks of a "pestis" in the "medullis" in connection with the pain of hunger (2.461f.), but the image most commonly associated with "pestis" is that of fire: cf. Enn. scaen 29 f.V., "fer mi auxilium, pestem abige a me, flammiferam hanc uim quae me excruciat"; Verg.

A.6.683, 9.540. Silius' choice of words here appears to owe something to Lucan 9.930, "pestis nigris inserta medullis" (of snake-venom).

175. *cessauere*: note once more the characteristic holding back of a key word.

175-178. After going through the tortures, Silius tells us what they did to the victim's body. Again, a standard feature, especially the ghoulish inventiveness in recounting the effects of the rack: cf. Sen. *Contr*. 2.5.9, "deserebatur distortis manibus, emotis articulis; nondum in sua membra artus redierant" (cf. Cassius Severus' excesses in the "Controversia" "mendici debilitati", 10.42); Tac. *Ann*. 15. 57, "postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sellae (nam dissolutis membris insistere nequibat)..." Evident here is the same taste often commented upon in Seneca and Lucan (cf. Bonner, op.cit. 169-181 n., 165, Williams 1978 190) and Ovid (cf. Bomer's note on *Met.* 6.382-400), a taste which revelled in relating - as Williams well puts it - "the ways in which human flesh is modified by the application of gross violence."

175. *per artem*: in deliberate contrast to "ferum" and 176 "saeuitiae"; man's craft and ingenuity, which should set him apart from the beasts, is here abused for "bestial" effect: the translators, characteristically, gloss over the point by paraphrasing the important words ("ferum" = "dreadful" (Duff), "horrible", "affreux" (Budé)).

177. *omni sanguine rupto*: thus S, and modern editors; most older editors

followed Heinsius' "rapto". The phrase one would expect here is "omni sanguine fuso", which actually appears at Luc. 2.158 [!]. If Silius did write this, it is difficult to see why it should have been supplanted by the less easily understandable "rupto". Ker (31) finds fault with Duff's translation ("when all the blood had gushed forth"), and proposes "when all his strength had been broken"; but the general sense, at least, of Duff's version is vindicated by the parallel expressions from other torture scenes: e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.4, "exprimiturque <sanguis> ipsis uitalibus" (accepting Gertz's proposal); ib.6, "extincti sanguine refouebantur ignes"; 9, "deerat iam sanguis." For "rumpere" in the sense of "breaking or bursting forth", Bauer 1888 195 compares Verg. *A*. 2.416, *G*.3. 428. The point of course is that the man himself is being broken up to provide an outlet for the blood, and Silius is prepared to force the language to get this effect; cf. 95f., "tellus rumpit..... sibila", for another idiosyncratic use of "rumpere", twisted for effect.

178. *liquefactis:* (for the long second syllable, cf. Catul. 90.6, Ov. *Met*. 7.161; see T.L.L. s.v. 1476. 30f.) once his proper liquid, blood, has gone, his limbs turn into liquid. The verb is more surprising in this use, of "membra", than of soft bits of the body, such as "uiscera" (Verg. *G*. 4.555) or "medullae" (Ov. *Met*. 7.161).

fumarunt: see 361n..

79-181. The victim's mind remains untouched by his body's pain, at which he merely laughs. The immediate model for the picture is in the historical tradition, as exemplified in Livy, who writes of Hasdrubal's assassin, "tormentis....cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit", 21.2.6. The similarity of Silius' language is immediately noticeable ("superat ridetque dolores"); Silius is either copying from Livy or from the same writer that Livy copied from. In its original form in the annalists, the story will have been an example of the Spaniards' prodigious resistance to bodily pain: cf. Str. 3.4.17, on Spanish ἀπόνοια; ib. 18, τῆϲ δ' ἀπονοίαϲ καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται τῆϲ Καντάβρων, ὅτι ἁλόντεϲ τινέϲ, ἀναπεπηγότεϲ ἐπὶ τῶν ϲταυρῶν, ἐπαιώνιζον; "melius nos/ Zenonis praecepta monent, sed Cantaber unde / Stoicus?" Juv. 15.106ff. Of much interest here is Tacitus' account of the courage of the Spaniard who assassinated L. Piso in 25 A.D.: tortured for the names of his accomplices, "uoce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitauit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam uim tantam doloris fore ut ueritatem eliceret", *Ann.* 4.45. For Spanish toughness, see further 225-228n..

This imperviousness is likewise part of the "torture scene", to be seen at its least sensational in Cicero: "nullus gemitus, nulla uox alia miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur nisi haec, 'ciuis Romanus sum'," *Ver.* 5.162; more forcefully stated, with a philosophical gloss, at *Phil.* 11.7, "quae tulisse illum fortiter et patienter ferunt. magna laus meoque iudicio omnium maxima. est enim sapientis, quicquid homini accidere possit, id praemeditari ferendum modice esse, si euenerit. maioris omnino est consili prouidere ne quid tale accidat, animi non minoris fortiter ferre." cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.4; 8, "caeditur: tacet; uritur: tacet"; 9, "uicerat saeuitiam patientia"; especially in the Christian literature, e.g. Jerom. *Ep.* 1.5; Prud *Peristeph.*

3.143 ("dirus abest dolor ex animo"); 5.232ff..

As the passage from the *Philippics* has already shown, the philosophers also interested themselves in the problem of how the good or wise man should regard the prospect of torture. All the schools agreed that a man ought to bear torture bravely (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.42ff.), but disputes arose over the degree of happiness of the wise man who found himself, e.g., inside Phalaris' bull. Even the Epicureans claimed that a wise man in this predicament would still be εὐδαίμων (see, conveniently, Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 42.3); the Academics made similar claims, which Seneca discounts, since they were so weak as to say that a man under torture could be "beatus", "sed non ad perfectum nec ad plenum" (*Ep.* 71.18). The Stoics may have stated the position most rigorously (e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 66, 67), but Silius' picture here is by no means a "Stoic" one (as claimed by, e.g. Fuhrmann, op.cit., 169-181n., 62f.; Bassett n.22). Even the most Senecan element, the victim's laughing at his pain (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 78.19), is already present in Livy; and such a striking conceit as the divorce of mind and body (see on 179), if taken from Seneca, is a literary rather than a philosophical debt.

179. Seneca sometimes speaks of mind and body as if they were not both part of the one human being: cf. *Ep.* 26.2, and especially 65.21f., "nec per illud (corpus) ad me ullum transire uulnus sino. quicquid in me potest iniuriam pati, hoc est. in hoc obnoxio domicilio animus liber habitat....contemptus corporis sui certa libertas est."

180. *fessosque labore ministros*: for this grisly conceit, cf. Juv. 6.481ff.,

"uerberat atque obiter faciem linit,..../ et caedit,.../ et caedit, donec lassis caedentibus 'exi'/ intonet horrendum"; id. 8.137; Quint. *Decl.* 338 (p.333. 26f. Ritter); Prud. *Peristeph.* 5.121ff.; Acts of the Christian Martyrs, ed. Musurillo, 1972, 5.18.

181. *domini*: the loyal slave under torture represents a motif by itself: cf. Cic. *Part.Or.* 50; Tac. *Hist.* 1.3, "non tamen adeo uirtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit...: propinqui audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam aduersus tormenta seruorum fides;" V. Max. 8.4.3.

182-188. Hannibal is acclaimed as leader of the army by the soldiers themselves; Silius gives the qualities that commended him to them. The scene is historically correct; the Carthaginian leaders waited until hearing whom the army had chosen before confirming the appointment: cf. Polyb. 3.13.3f.; Liv. 21.3.1. The same procedure appears to have been followed in the case of Hasdrubal's succession to Hamilcar: cf. D.S.25.12, οὗτοϲ δὲ ϲτρατηγὸϲ ἀναγορευθεὶϲ ὑπό τε τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίων κτλ..

182. A difficult line, for "piacula" is virtually a synonym for "poena" here. By blurring the congruity (e.g. "while this piteous punishment was inflicted on a victim who made light of it", Duff) the translators may be missing the point; the slave is being punished for despising the punishment. I do not see what other sense may be found in the words.

183. *una / Hannibalem uoce*: Hannibal's name comes first in the new line, sandwiched between "una" and "uoce". The effect is to convey what

the army actually shouted out: "Hannibal! Hannibal!" For "una uoce", cf. Livy's account, 21.3.1;" imperator...ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus."

185. *patriae uirtutis imago*: cf. Verg. *A*. 10.824, "et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago." Livy stresses the importance of the older soldiers' memories of Hamilcar: "Hamilcarem iuuenem redditum sibi ueteres milites credere; eundem uigorem in uoltu uimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri", 21.4.2. Livy puts very similar words into the mouth of Scipio, addressing his dead father's army (26.41.24f.); adapted by Silius, 15.133f., "pars lumina patris,/ pars credunt toruos patrui reuirescere uultus." Hamilcar's "uirtus" here is not qualified, as is Hannibal's at 58; Silius invariably speaks better of Hamilcar than of any other Carthaginian.

186. It makes good sense for Silius to present such a rumour as part of the cause of the soldiers' enthusiasm; in fact the story will have been secret for another twenty-eight years, until Hannibal divulged it to Antiochus (Polyb. 3.11).

187. *uirides ausis anni*: he was twenty-five or twenty-six years old, since he was nine at the time he swore his oath in 237 (see 81-139n.).

feruorque decorus: the oxymoronic flavour of the expression is reminiscent of the antithetical and striking language which Silius had adopted in his character sketch of Hannibal, 56-60; see 56f. fideique sinister", 58 "improba uirtus" nn. In a good man "feruor" would be most indecorous. Similarly in the next line.

188. *armata dolis mens*: we do not expect a general's armoury to consist

of tricks: the word-order prepares for the surprise. This is a far more pejorative comment than 57 "exsuperans astu". Cunning is a Carthaginian trait (cf. Luc. 4.736f., "infectaque semper / Punica bella *dolis*"); Silius is thinking here especially of such notorious Hannibalic ruses as the torch-bearing cattle (Liv. 22.16.4ff.; Sil. 7.310ff.; note 7.337 "dolis"): cf. Lazenby 256 for Hannibal's mastery in this department of war.

uis insita fandi: Hannibal's power of eloquence is an unusual item of praise: but Livy gives him a number of important speeches (e.g. 21.30. 2-11; 43.2-44), and he certainly seems to have commanded a pungent turn of phrase (Lazenby, 255).

189-238. The acclamation of the Spanish and Libyan troops verges into a digression on their countries of origin. This is not an epic catalogue: that comes later (3.231ff.). It is modelled rather on the historians' ethnographic excursus, and Silius has obviously observed and imitated not only the internal organisation of these excursuses but also their structural function. Sallust was the master here; it was from Sallust that Tacitus learnt the "technique of using digressions to separate the principal stages of the narrative" (Ogilvie on Tac. *Ag*.10-12); on Sallust's digressions, see R. Syme, *Sallust* 1964 145: "Digressions are inserted for a variety of reasons by the more artful type of historian. Not merely elucidation...but for variety, to register a pause, or to manage a transition"; on Tacitus' practice, id. *Tacitus* 1958 309ff.. Thus, in Silius, the excursus on Spain and Africa is the demarcation of the introduction. After it, Hannibal is adult and in command and he marches on Saguntum.

The Greek ethnographic set-piece has a long history, whether as a self-contained treatise or as part of an historical work (e.g. Herodotus on the Scythians, 4.5ff.): cf. K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur griechischrömischen Ethnographie*, Diss. Basel 1918; F. Jacoby, Klio LX 1909 80-123; E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*, 1920 10-28; J.J. Tierney, The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius, Proc. Royal Irish Acad. LX 1960 189-197. The Romans followed enthusiastically (Schanz-Hosius 2.834ff.); monographs on the areas which Silius touches upon include works on Spain by Turranius Gracilis (Plin. *Nat*. 3.3; Schanz-Hosius 2.784) and Cornelius Bocchus (Plin. *Nat*. 16.216, Schanz-Hosius 2.646), on Egypt by Seneca (Serv. *A*. 6.154) and T. Claudius Balbillus (Schanz-Hosius 2.656). Tacitus' "Germania" is the finest exemplar of this side of the tradition; for the ethnographic digression in Roman historians, cf. Sal. *Jug*. 17-19; Caes. *Gal*. 5.12-16, 6.11-25; Liv. *Per*. 104 ("prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet"); Norden, 452ff., gives an extensive collection of historical and non-historical writings on "situs et origines".

The genre had been formalised to a high degree, with set headings and topics, while such a great deal had been written on most places that certain "points of interest" had become virtually essential ingredients of a description of any particular area. Thus, the "stock of conventional curiosities" in writings on Britain included Britain's "mare pigrum", mild climate and short summer nights (Ogilvie, ed. Tac. *Agr*., p.165), while Tierney, 193-197, shows how the store of Celtic clichés evolved up to Polybius' time until it included "their beds of straw, their meat-eating, their pursuit of war and agriculture and simplicity of life, and, finally, their institution of clientship." In Silius these θαυμάσια include, e.g. Africa's plentiful snakes (212), the Numidians' use of poison and non-use of the bridle (215-219).

I reproduce Ogilvie's model scheme (164):

(1) the physical geography ("situs")
(2) the origins and features of the inhabitants ("gentes")
(3) climate
(4) mineral resources, agricultural products, etc.
(5) political, social, and military organisation.

Because Silius is dealing with two countries and wishes to avoid ungainly reduplication, neither description has a treatment of each of these categories. Silius concentrates heavily on the "situs" of Africa, for example (193-210), but says nothing concerning Spanish geography; while he describes Spanish mineral resources and agricultural products at much greater length (228-238) than African (213-214). Further, he is thin on the material of (5) because he does not wish to anticipate his full treatment of these matters in the catalogue in Book 3 (231ff.).

The transferring of such material into epic had attracted Apollonius, who is the first surviving epic poet with extensive ethnographic matter (e.g. 2.1001ff., 3.200ff.; cf. ad loc. the notes of H. Fränkel, Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonius 1968). But Apollonius' descriptions here contain no geographical information, and in no way pretend to be a systematic presentation of a whole region in a self-contained excursus. The first to attempt precisely this in epic, on the model of the historians, was, so far as may now be seen, Lucan. At 9. 411-444, Lucan has his one major digression of this nature, discussing the geography of Africa in general, then the region's climate, agriculture and minerals - or lack of them - with a brief description of the people living there. This section will have strongly influenced Silius (see especially 195n.); from here alone he might have learnt the knack of artful placement of digressions, for Lucan has located his excursus to form a halt before Cato's march through the desert, to highlight and mark off the coming test and proof of Cato's "uirtus": cf. 9.444f., at the end of the excursus, "hac ire Catonem/ dura iubet uirtus". Important, too, for Silius is Lucan's description of Juba's kingdom before the battle with Curio (4. 670-675). Here Lucan defines the limits of the kingdom in the approved geographer's manner, giving its eastern and western termini. Silius follows suit, though elaborating with much licence the picture of Atlas (201ff.). On Lucan's geographical digressions, see L. Eckardt, Exkurse und Ekphraseis bei Lucan, Diss. Heidelberg 1936.

189-192. Spain had come into Hannibal's "imperium", but in no sense had Libya done so. Still, Hannibal could command the resources of Libya in his projected war against Rome, and since Hannibal is portrayed as intending war against Rome from the beginning (269-272), a picture of Africa is as appropriate here as a picture of Spain.

190. Pyrenes populi: metonymy, for Hannibal did not control the Pyrenees at this stage, as Silius knows: cf. 643 below. So at 15.451 "Pyrenes tellus" = Spain by synecdoche, and at 16.246 "domitis Pyrenes gentibus" means "when all of Spain had been conquered."

bellator Hiberus: the Spaniards were notoriously warlike: cf.

Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.1, "bellicosus Cantaber"; Liv. 38.12; Str. 3.3.8; Luc. 4.146f.; Just. 44.2.

After "Hiberus", with "continuoque" introducing the next line, we need only a comma or a semi-colon.

193-219. First Africa, which receives a description where the main emphasis is exotic and marvellous. Hence, despite a show of technicality in the middle of the piece (see 195, 196 "terminus", 199 "dirimente" nn.), mythological and poetic expressions are the norm, culminating in the extensive picture of Atlas. Although following the general lay-out of the historians, Silius wishes to assimilate the texture of the digression to that of the epic as a whole.

193f. In fixing Libya's geographical position, Silius gives three separate pieces of information, all of which, while making a distinct point, convey the notion of heat: Libya is to the south, near the torrid zone (cf. Luc. 9. 447ff. for the ferocity of the south wind); it is near the sun-set, i.e. to the west (and hence hot by proximity to the sun: cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.21); and in Cancer's belt of latitude (cf. Luc. 8.851), under a constellation notorious for its heat (cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.126f.; Man. 3.625ff.). Africa's extreme heat was a natural subject of remark: according to Pliny the men round Atlas cursed the sun as it rose and set, *Nat.* 5.45; cf. Luc. 9.431ff., 4.674f.; Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.5 (with N.-H. ad loc.).

lampade Phoebi: for this poetic description of the sun, see Pease on Verg. *A.*4.6.

194. *Libye*: for Silius' fondness for the Greek form of this word, see

on 23 above: cf. 200 "Europes", 221 "Europes".

torretur....Cancro: cf. Luc. 8.851, "Cancro torrente".

195. Silius touches upon a long-standing controversy. The earliest division of the world had been into two continents, Europe and Asia (cf. J.O. Thomson, *A History of Ancient Geography* 1948 66). By the time of Herodotus this view had generally been supplanted by the tri-partite theory, by which Africa or Libya was a continent in its own right (Hdt. 4.45.2; Pind. *Pyth*. 9.8), even though Herodotus himself still tended to regard Libya as an off-shoot of Asia. The "Herodotean" theory was not lost entirely: we find it here, and it is mentioned with some approval by Pliny (*Nat*. 3.5), while Varro treated it as standard (*L*.5.31; *R*. 1.2.3f.); according to Nicol, Varro is Silius' most likely source here (162ff.).

A third opinion grew up meanwhile, by which Africa was part of Europe: this was held by Sallust (*Jug*. 17.3) and by Lucan (9.411ff.); for other adherents, see Housman on the Lucan passage. As Nicol observes (162), Silius' line "is an apparent imitation in form but not in substance" of Lucan 9.411ff., "tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famae/ cuncta uelis: at si uentos caelumque sequaris/ pars erit Europae."

196. *terminus*: it was necessary when discussing a country to delineate its boundaries: cf., e.g., Polyb. 2.14.3ff.; Sal. *Jug*. 17.4; Tac. *Germ*. 1; Str. 3.4.19, 4.6.1. It was especially important when discussing such a contentious issue as the division of continents (cf. Walbank on Polyb. 3.37.2-8); and of all the divisions that between Africa and Asia was the most disputed. To make the Nile

the dividing-line (as here) seemed obvious, and many men upheld this view (Polyb. 3.37.5; Plin. *Nat*. 3.3; 5.1). But Herodotus (2.17.1; cf. Str. 1.32) objected that this was to split the political entity of Egypt into two geographical entities, and was thus intolerable - to us, a strange objection. Hence by some the Isthmus of Suez was made the dividing-line; cf. Str. 1.65. The western boundary was agreed upon: ἡ δὲ Λιβύη κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ Νείλου καὶ στηλῶν Ηρακλείων, Polyb. 3.37.5.

Of course the Carthaginians did not control Africa up to the Nile: Silius' pretext for the excursus is a description of Hannibal's resources in Africa, but his geographical set-piece must follow its course. Juvenal exhibits the same (technical) illogicality: "hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro/ percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti/ rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos", 10. 148-150.

Lageus: from Lagus, father of the first Ptolemy. A rare and precious adjective, occurring only seven times, in poetry [*]. Apart from in Martial (10.26.4) and Valerius Flaccus (6.118), the word comes three times in Lucan, who may well have been Silius' model here: cf. esp. Luc. 1. 684, "qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili" (note "gurgite" in Silius' next line).

197. *septeno*: a conventional attribute of the Nile: cf. Catul. 11.7; Verg. *A*. 6.800; Ov. *Met*. 2.255, with Bömer's note ad loc..

impellens: a rare word in this context, first used [*] by Lucan of the Danube (5.437), and by Seneca and Silius of other great rivers: Sen. *Med*. 587 (Rhône); Sil. 7.482 (Po).

199. *dirimente*: a specialist geographer's word: cf. Mela 2.8, "(Hypanis) Scythiae populos a sequentibus dirimit"; Liv. 24.49.5, "Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto" (sc. "ab Africa"); T.L.L. s.v. 1258. 15ff., 1259. 65ff..

diducta propinquis /...arua iugis: the same oxymoronic play as at Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.18, "tu separatis uuidus in iugis". The play between "drawing apart" and "joining together" calls attention to the spectacular geographical accident that the Straits of Gibraltar represent.

200. *arua*: not simply "lands" (Duff); Spain has rich arable land (237f.), whereas the portion of Africa which is so close is not at all suitable for ploughing and sowing: cf. Sal. *Jug.* 90.1, "Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam aruo student." "arua" and iugis" describe two different types of land.

aequor: i.e. Ocean: this is the end of the world.

200. At first sight this is an odd way of saying that Libya stops with Atlas: the point is that Atlas stops the name "Libya" here because from this point on it is *his* name which holds sway, in the Atlantic Ocean.

201-210. With eight lines before and nine after, the ten-line picture of Atlas is the centre-piece of the digression on Africa. Silius has taken over wholesale Vergil's description of Atlas in *A.* 4. 246-251, anthropomorphism and all. This is not to say that a fabulous and elaborate image of Atlas would be quite out of place in a non-poetic geographical excursus. Pliny calls Atlas "montem Africae uel fabulosissimum", *Nat*. 5.6; he records the awe travellers feel at the sight of the mountain going through the clouds and up into the orbit of the moon ("elati super nubila atque in uicina lunaris circuli", ib. 7). There was a persistent and rather surprising ignorance about the whole region of what moderns call the Atlas range: cf. Thomson, op.cit. 195n., 261; especially the area where Libya met Ocean was notorious for the wildness of the travellers' tales: cf. Str. 17.3.3.

It is plain from 208 that Silius intends Atlas to be understood as the very westernmost portion of the range, indeed, as the Southern Pillar of Hercules: here he is probably following Lucan, who likewise identifies Atlas with the Pillar of Hercules and makes it the boundary of Libya: "qua sunt longissima, regna/ cardine ab occiduo uicinus Gadibus Atlans/ terminat, a medio confinis Syrtibus Hammon", 4. 671-673: see further N.-H. on Hor. *Carm*. 1.34.11.

201f. *Atlas,/ Atlas*: the repetition is a variation on Vergil's: "latera ardua cernit/ Atlantis duri caelum qui uertice fulcit,/ Atlantis... etc.", *A*. 4.246 ff..

207. After a very close imitation of Vergil's passage, the first innovation of any note is the self-consciously obtrusive element of the grotesque in this culminating line. The personification is not taken further than in Vergil (250f., "tum flumina mento/ praecipitant senis"), but the slight changes from "mento" to "rictu", and from "praecipitant" to "ruunt", are enough to heighten the bizarre impression.

208. "geminae" S, "geminas" Bothe: "fauces" S, "cautes" Ch, "crates"

N. Heinsius. The difficulty with "geminae" is finding a subject for 210 "condunt"; better to adopt Bothe's proposal of "geminas", so that 208 "maria alta" is the subject of both "fatigant" and "condunt". Bothe's proposal is also preferable for the personification in "fatigant": the mountain is tired as a man would be by the ceaseless pressure of the waves.

"fauces" cannot be right: "crates", similarly, are too high; "cautes" is the best on offer. "tum geminas laterum cautes maria alta fatigant" remains an odd line, however. Taking the line by itself, one naturally interprets "maria alta" as being the Mediterranean and the Atlantic: they wear away, from each side, both his flanks. But it is plain from 209f. that "maria alta" is the Atlantic alone. What is this prominent "double" feature on the seaward side of Atlas? "tum" appears suspiciously otiose: perhaps "tum geminas" conceals an adjective agreeing with "cautes", an adjective of the shape of, e.g., "piniferas": cf. Verg. A. 4.248f., "Atlantis cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris/ piniferum [!] caput et uento pulsatur et imbri."

209f. Silius smudges the line between realism and personification; against the logic of his mythology, Silius actually puts horses and chariot under the waves, thus taking a step further the conventional picture of the sun bathing his horses in the ocean: cf. Verg. G. 3.359, lauit aequore currum"; Sen. Herc. O. 785, "lassa Titan mergit Oceano iuga"; Häfliger 66.

209. Titan: for the Sun's personification as "Titan", being the child of Hyperion, see Pease on Verg. A.4.119.

210. *fumanti*: Ruperti explains half the idea: "ob uapores quos, si procul spectes, sol tum producere uidetur." But the adjective also refers to the reaction of water to the immersion of hot metal; hence the emphasis on "flammiferum": cf. Lucan's description of sun-set, 9.866, "coeunt ignes stridentibus undis."

currum: for the description of the orb of the sun as a chariot, see Bömer's note on Ov. *Met*. 2.106.

211. *campis squalentibus*: Silius has probably taken this description of Africa from Lucan, 1.205f., "squalentibus aruis/ aestiferae Libyes". Cf. Sil. 3.655, 4.374. Ruperti has an excellent note on this phrase, pointing out how the use of "squalere" anticipates the mention of snakes in the next line, comparing Ov. *Met*. 14.410f., "humus serpentibus atris/ squalere", Luc. 9. 384, "letiferis squalent serpentibus arua"; for "squalere" as "uoc. propr. de serpentibus", Ruperti cites Sil. 2.547, 585, 3.209.

212. *fecunda ueneno*: an obvious paradox, anticipating "felix" in the next line. Africa was notorious for its snakes: cf. A.R. 4.1513ff.; Hor. *Sat*. 2.8.95; id., *Carm*. 3.10.18; Man. 4.662ff.; Luc. 9.619ff.; Plin. *Nat*.5.26; Vitr. 8.3.24. Africa's abundance of wild and dangerous beasts was often put, as here, into contrast with its fertility: cf. Str. 2.5.33; Sal. *Jug*. 17.5f..

"fecundus" is at home in an historicising geographical excursus: it is perhaps a Sallustian word (Syme, *Tacitus* 1958 730).

213. *felix*: literally, "fertile"; here applied to the zone which makes the "agri" fertile. Silius may be thinking of the division in

nomenclature of another province, Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta. On the proverbial fertility of (parts of) Africa, see Otto 8; Pliny remarks upon the small area of the fertile coastal strip of Cyrenaica, *Nat.* 5.33. Cf. G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* 1980 109ff., on the narrowness of Africa's cultivable strip.

214. In praising this portion of Africa, Silius inverts the normal encomiastic trick of "outdoing" by saying that his area is not outdone by various others: cf. Curtius' section on "Outdoing", *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* 1953 162f.; F. Focke, Synkrisis, Hermes LVIII 1923 327ff.. His perspective here is obviously contemporary: for the importance of Sicily's grain to imperial Rome, see Rickman 104ff., and of Egypt's, 118. Silius' model may have been a passage in Lucan, 3.65ff., where the fertility of Sardinia and Sicily is praised, and a synkrisis made with the fertility of Africa: "ubere uix glaebae superat.../... Libye", 68ff..

215. *Nomades*: thus Ch, F s.l.; "numide" S. Leaving aside this disputed passage, "Numidae/-arum" is preferred to "Nomades/-um" only once elsewhere in Silius, and that is a dative (9.242), where "Nomadibus" would be inadmissable. Otherwise Silius invariably uses "Nomades" (e.g. 6.675; 15.368). Especially in this passage "Nomades" is to be preferred, since "passim exultant" ("moving freely about everywhere") is a clear play upon the meaning of νομάδεϲ (thus Sallust, of the Numidians' ancestors, "uagi, palantes", *Jug.* 18.2).

gens inscia freni: cf. Verg. *A.* 4.41, "Numidae infreni", and Pease's comprehensive note ad loc.. Silius' description of the θαυμάσιον appears to be indebted to Lucan's lines from the catalogue of Juba's forces in Book 4 (682f.; cf. the end of the note on 189-238): "et *gens* quae nudo residens Massylia dorso/ ora leui *flectit* *frenorum nescia uirga*". According to Ct. L. des Noettes, *L'Attelage et le cheval de selle à travers les âges* 1931 227f., the Numidians actually used a light cord around the horse's neck in place of a bridle and bit; see, however, J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* 1961 40, and H. Lhote, Bull. Inst. Franc. Afr. Noire XV 1953 1182ff., for the Numidians' use of a rod to control their horses. Lhote has drawings of two coins of Syphax (ob. 202 B.C.), which show clearly Numidians riding free with a rod tapping their mounts' heads, as Silius here describes: 1172, fig. 8, nos. 3, 4.

218f. "altrix" is in effect the same image as Horace's "nutrix", also used of Africa, *Carm.* 1.22. 15f., "Iubae tellus...leonum/ arida nutrix". Silius' model may well be Vergil's striking expression in *A.* 4.37f., "ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis/ diues *alit*".

219. Yet another θαυμάσιον, given a bit of edge by the tension between "fidens" and "fraudibus". Although Libyan "fraudes" often mean "ambushes" and other "ruses de guerre" (cf. 3.232-234; Luc. 4.736), here Silius means the much talked-of African habit of poisoning weapons: cf. 1. 323 "insultat fraude pharetrae", 15.672ff.; Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.2ff., "non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu/ nec uenenatis grau ida sagittis,/ Fusce, pharetra." Various savage races used, or were said to use, poisoned weapons, and this was a conventional talking-point in ethnographic writings: cf. RE 19.1427f..

20-238. Spain receives a similar treatment, although for variety Silius reverses the emphasis of the African excursus, and concentrates upon θαυμάϲια of the inhabitants rather than the geography. Throughout the reader is meant to be made aware of the usefulness of the country as a military base: Posidonius called Spain a ταμιεῖον ἡγεμονίαϲ, Str. 3.2.9; on Spain's great military value, see C.A.H. 8.91.

220f. *Hispanae....cohortes,/ auxilia*: Silius uses the imperial Roman vocabulary of military command: the Empire's "auxilia" were organised into infantry "cohortes" and into mixed infantry/ cavalry formations called "cohortes equitatae": cf. G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, 1969 148f..

221. "Europa" FOV, "Europe" L, "Europae" Marsus. Ruperti explains "Europa" as a locative, but this cannot be right (the Bude editors retain L's "Europe", presumably taking it to be ablative). We need a gentive here, and should almost certainly opt for the Greek rather than the Latin form: the only other occurrence in Silius of "Europa/e" is 22 lines earlier, where Silius has "Europes": cf. 189 "Libyes", 194 "Libye".

222-224. The horses of Spain were famous, and had been praised by Posidonius: ἐοικέναι δὲ (τοὺϲ ἵππουϲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων φηϲὶ) τοῖϲ Παρθικοῖϲ, καὶ γὰρ ταχεῖϲ εἶναι καὶ εὐδρόμουϲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, Str. 3.4.15; cf. J.J. van Nostrand, *Economic Survey of the Ancient World*, ed. T. Frank, 1937, 3.180; F. Bleiching, *Spanische Landes - und Volkskunde bei Silius Italicus* Diss. Erlangen 1928 14ff..

222. "hinc" LOV: "huic" F: "hic" ed. prima Romana 1471. "hinc/hinc"

(= "hinc/illinc") has no obvious point: Duff and the Budé editors translate simply "here/here", "là/là". A slight problem with "hic/hic" is that on first reading this seems to refer back to the "castra" of 220, when in fact all of Spain is meant; but the inference is not difficult to draw. Cf. 228 "hic omne metallum", where "hic" is likewise without a straightforward reference, but where "here in Spain" is very easy to understand.

hinnitibus implet: cf. Verg. *G* . 3.94, "Pelion hinnitu fugiens impleuit acuto."

223 *iuga....bellica*: there is no direct evidence that war-chariots were ever used in the Iberian peninsula: see A. Arribas, *The Iberians* 1964 84. Silius is probably thinking of the practice of the Celts, who continued to use war-chariots perhaps even down to the time of Strabo: cf. T. Powell, *The Celts* 1958, 106, 113.

cornipedes: perhaps a Vergilian coinage, on analogy with "sonipes" etc.: see Norden on *A*. 6.591. On the surviving evidence, Lucan was the first to use the word as a noun (4.762); after isolated occurrences in Seneca and Valerius Flaccus, the word was taken up by Statius (16 occurrences) and Silius (35). For other cases where Silius appears to have adopted a word made fashionable by Statius, see on 60 "his super".

224. Another variant of the synkrisis: see 214n..

Eleus: from the people of Elis, who presided over the Olympic Games: see RE 5.2384.

feruentior axis: proper lubrication must have been a considerable problem in the ancient world: there are frequent references to the heat produced by friction on the axle: cf. Verg. *G.* 3.107, "uolat ui feruidus axis"; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 525f., "rapit igneus orbes/ axis"; Sil. 2.81, "fumantem rapidis quatiebat cursibus axem"; 8.282, "fumat male concitus axis."

225-228. Geronticide, suicidal or no, was one of the hoariest θαυμάϲια, applied with little discrimination to many barbarous nations: Indians, Hdt. 3.99; Massagetae, id. 1.216; Iazyges, Val. Fl. 6. 122ff.: Scythians, S.E., P.3. 210; Huns, Claud. *in Ruf.* 1.328; cf. Thomson op.cit. on 195, 64, 110. Silius repeats his observation in the Spanish catalogue, 3.328ff., though restricting the practice there to the Cantabrians: cf. Bleiching, op.cit. 222-224 n., 7ff.. Although, as here, the Spanish inclination to suicide is sometimes spoken of in general terms (cf. Str. 3.4.18), it is normally attributed to their bellicosity (on which see 190 "bellator Hiberus" n.), and especially to their custom of "deuotio", by which men bound themselves to a great leader, committing themselves to follow his fate should he die. Thus the men of northern Spain, disarmed by the Romans in 195, committed suicide *en masse*, "nullam uitam rati sine armis esse", Liv. 34.17.6. Here belong the extraordinary acts of self-immolation which so appalled the Romans, as at Saguntum and Numantia: cf. Liv. 21.14, Sil. 2.592ff., Sen. Contr. 9.4.5. (Saguntum; cf. Liv. 31.17.5, "Saguntina rabies"); Liv. 28.23. 1-6 (Astapa); Flor. *Epit.* 2.18.15 (Numantia: cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.1, "bella Numantiae"); Str. 3. 4.17 (acts of Augustus' Celtiberian War). On "deuotio", see Caes. *Gal.* 3.22; Plu. *Sert.* 45.4; A. von Premerstein, A.B.A.W., N.F. XV, 1937 54; J. Bayet, l'Année Sociologique (Ser.3) 1951 74ff.; F. Olivier, *Essais* 1963, 269ff.:

W.O. Moeller, Historia XXIV 1975 407 (and the works cited there, n.44).

As with the torture scene (179-181), Silius injects some modern Annaean spice into the traditional blend. Especially 228, "et fati modus in dextra est", recalls in its epigrammatic force the "sententiae" of Lucan and Seneca as they glory in the fact that death is always there for a man to take at will: cf. Luc. 4.478ff., 575ff.; Sen. *Ep.* 70.14; *de Ira* 3.15.3f., *de Prov* 2.10. Of course the notion is stoic (see F.H. Sandbach, *The Stoics* 1975 49-52), but it is not their exclusive property, and Silius' treatment here is no act of allegiance.

225. *prodiga gens animae:* from Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.37f., "animaeque magnae/ prodigum Paulum" (see N.-H. ad loc. for the paradoxical force of the language). Silius is much taken with Horace's phrase: he imitates it also at 15. 42f., but achieves there a rare piece of real wit by putting the words in the mouth of Voluptas, who scornfully derides Virtus' lavish expenditure of human life: "haec patrem patruumque tuos, haec prodiga Paulum,/ haec Decios Stygias Erebi detrusit ad undas."

facillima: the superlative, following the disapproving "prodiga", perhaps carries a note of censure: it is far too light a matter for these people.

226. *florentes uiribus annos:* cf. 9.533, "florentibus annis". "uiribus" brings out the force of "florentes": cf. GLOSS ἀνθῶ. "floret uiget".

228. *et fati modus in dextra est:* an expression which in another context

might refer to the method by which they kill themselves. Here it must mean "it lies in their right hand to determine the measurement of their span".

hic omne metallum: Spain was very rich in mineral resources, which were described by various early authors before Posidonius produced the first detailed scientific description: cf. Walbank on Polyb. 3.57.3; A. Schulten, Polybius und Posidonius über Iberien und die iberischen Kriege, Hermes XLVI 1911 583ff. Before the arrival of the Carthaginians, the Sierra Morena area in the south-west was being extensively mined by the kings of Tartessus: "Even at that time it had been developed into the most important metal industry of the West", C.A.H.7. 772. Under Carthage exploitation progressed, although mining in the unconquered north-west was not a large-scale affair until the Roman occupation, there being only a few shallow diggings by the natives: cf. G.P.B. Jones, Roman Gold-mining in N.-W. Spain, JRS LX 1970 181. When Silius calls his miner "Astur" (231), he is thinking of conditions in his own day, not in Hannibal's, whose main mines were around new Carthage and in the Sierra Morena.

The praise of Spain's minerals was lavish (cf. Plin. Nat. 3.30, 33.96f.; Str. 3.2.8f., reporting Posidonius' rhapsodies) but overdone, for the place never generated much of a cash surplus: cf. van. Nostrand, op.cit. 222-224 n., 124. Still, Healy shows that Spain was for long Rome's main source of gold (48), silver (56), copper (59), tin (60), lead (61), and iron (63). Silius produces a non-technical blend of moralising and borrowed literary conceit. The strictures on the evils of mining and of wealth are a free adaption of Ov. Met. 1 138ff. (cf. R.T. Bruère, Color Ovidianus in Silius' Punica I-VII, in Ovidiana ed. N. Herescu, 1958 476), while the picture of the Asturian miner is taken from Statius, "ubi Dite uiso/pallidus fossor redit erutoque/concolor auro", Silv. 4.7. 14-16 (itself an elaboration of Luc. 4.297f., whence Silius might have got the nationality of his miner, "non se tam penitus.../ merserit Astyrici scrutator pallidus auri").

229. pallent: looks forward to 233 "concolor"; at that point Silius represses the pallidity of his models, Lucan (4.298, "pallidus") and Statius (Silv. 4.7.15).

230. The personification of the earth at this point, with its inner recesses spoken of as a womb, prepares for the activation of the normally dead metaphor in 232 "uisceribus lacerae telluris."

horrida: a natural word to use of uncultivated or unkempt land (Cic. Ver 3.47; V.Fl. 2.644); but here it refers to earth beneath the surface. Perhaps it is precisely with the iron that the earth is bristling.

231. Cf. Ov. Met. 1.139f., "quasque recondiderat Stygiisque admouerat umbris,/ effodiuntur opes" (with Bömer ad loc.).

auarus: the impulse of greed is a natural part of the evil of wealth topos (see Otto "auaritia" 6), but the convicts of Silius' day were not digging for their own benefit.

232. uisceribus: cf. Ov. Met. 1.138, "sed itum est in uiscera terrae."

"uiscera" is not exclusively a poeticism (cf. Plin. *nat.* 2.158, 33.2; κοιλία in Greek, Arist. *Mete.* 349b4), but Silius brings the metaphor to life by personifying the ground at 230.

lacerae: develops the image of "uisceribus"; perhaps also alludes to the surface devastation produced by ancient mining techniques: the photographs in Jones' article (cited above on 228 "hic omne metallum") give an idea of what the country must have looked like in Silius' day.

233. *infelix:* Diodorus has a moving picture of the hardships endured by miners in the ancient world, 5.38.1; cf. Healy 133ff..

concolor auro: Statius' words (*Silv.* 4.7.16), but not Statius' conceit; in that poem the miner is pallid from seeing Pluto.

234. "hinc" S, "hic" Dausqueius (followed by Summers). "hic" is difficult, for the rivers are not competing together in Spain. With "hinc", the Spanish rivers enter their challenge from Spain.

certant: on this rivalry motif, see 214n.. Healy 74ff. discusses these various rivers.

236. *Lethes:* Otherwise Limia, Oblivio. The native name was Belion (RE 13.671): it looks as if the legions, *more militari*, transformed the foreign word into one of their own tongue; cf. the "Tommification" of Ypres ("Wipers"), Wytschaete ("Whitesheet"), Ploegsteert ("Plugstreet"). With such a numinous name, the river attracted many tales("multum....fabulosus", Plin. *Nat.* 4.115); it was not easy for Decimus Brutus (RE Iunius 57), proconsul of 137, to persuade his

men to cross it for the first time: cf. Flor. *Epit.* 1.33.12, "formidatum...militibus flumen Obliuionis". As is his wont when dealing with conventional θαυμάϲια, Silius tries to produce some twist of originality. Here "referens" does the job; this verb of memory paradoxically calls to mind oblivion.

237. This modest meed of praise is appropriate. The greater part of the country, the Meseta or central plateau, was and is poor farming land; cf. A. Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde,* 1955 157. The coastal strips to the South, however, and especially the area of the Baetis, were described as richly productive: cf. Schulten 196, where he quotes Pliny's ardent praise: "Baetica...cunctas prouinciarum diuite cultu et quodam fertili ac peculiari nitore praecedit", *Nat*. 3.7. We might add Strabo's more reserved appraisal, 3.1.2 (more extravagant at 3.1.6): ἡ δὲ νότιοϲ πᾶϲα εὐδαίμων ϲχεδόν τι, καὶ διαφερόντωϲ ἡ ἔξω Στηλῶν. The area outside the pillars is the valley of the Baetis, and the large plain inside the triangle formed by Cadiz, Seville, Huelva.

Cereri indocilis....inhospita Baccho: Silius couches his praise in terms appropriate to the myths attached to the two deities. "inhospita" refers to the reception Dionysius met at Thebes, while "indocilis" is a reference to Ceres in her rôle as the teacher to men of agricultural arts (as well as of her rites: see Richardson on *Hym.Dem*. 273, 474-6). For Demeter as teaching men the art of agriculture, cf. Verg. *G*.1. 147f., "prima Ceres ferro mortalis uertere terram/ instituit"; Ov. *Am*., 3.10.10 "prima Ceres docuit turgescere semen in agris..." etc. (here she teaches the plants and so forth rather than men); Bömer on Ov. *Fast* 4.395f..

238. Cf. Plin. Nat. 17.93, "non alia maior in Baetica arbor." Olives were Spain's prize agricultural product, giving a high-quality oil which was exported in large quantities: cf. van Nostrand, op.cit. 222-224 n., 3.177. For the praise of the olive in such contexts, see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.6.16.

239-270. Hannibal takes over his command; the description of his beginning in power verges into a second character sketch, in which we receive the second half of the Livian portrait that was suppressed at 56-62. There we had what Livy calls Hannibal's "ingentia uitia", 21.49; here we have "tantas uiri uirtutes". In the earlier section it was Hannibal's true nature as the embodiment of Carthaginian evil which Silius' theme demanded; here the important element is the personal military capability of the new commander, at the moment before his decisive attack. Silius' lines follow Livy closely, even so far as the affectation of various stylistic devices appropriate in such a context. Walsh on Liv. 21.4.2 catalogues Livy's adaptions of Sallust's "pithy Latinity", and some of the features he remarks upon may be observed in Silius: historic infinitives (241 "conciliare", 242 "uertere", 248 "certare", 250 "praeferre", 251 "excipere", 262 "frangere", "amare", 263 "tranare", 264 "accersere"); omission of verbs (242, 244).

The historic infinitive is considerably more rare in Silius than it is in Vergil (cf. Schinkel 39), and the concatenation here is all the more noteworthy for that reason. As examples of Silius' occasional use of the historic infinitive, Schinkel quotes 241-244; W.K. Clement AJPh XX 1899 197 adds 248, and Lindblom 48f. adds 249-251.

The form of the historians' character-sketch which Silius imitates here is surprisingly constant, already close to its τέλος in its first exponent, Xenophon. Certain passages in Thucydides may point the way, especially that on Themistocles (1. 138.3); cf. D.R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* 1928 36f.. But, as Stuart points out, Dr. Johnson was right when he observed "that the delineation of *characters* in the end of the first book of the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand* was the first instance of the kind that was known" (Boswell's *Life* 1088; the Doctor should have said the second book: but perhaps he was confused by the death-notice of Cyrus at 1.9); cf. F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie* 1901 87; I. Bruns, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert vor Christi Geburt* 1896 137.

In the *Anabasis* the sketches are in the form of an obituary-notice, a technique extensively imitated: cf. Sen. *Suas.* 6.21. Polybius preferred to give a picture at a relevant juncture; by his language it is plain that the historians he knew tended to follow the same pattern as Livy with Hannibal, giving the character-sketch upon the man's first appearance (10.26.9). While Polybius, then, has two separate discussions of Hannibal's nature, interwoven with his narrative (9.22-26, 11.19), Diodorus (26.2) and Dio (13. fr.54. 1-9) are in the same tradition as Livy.

Silius deserves credit for his isolation of the two main constituent parts of the "character-sketch of the general", and for his setting of each at its most appropriate place. Here we have the "leadership and physical hardihood" material, already to be seen well developed in Xenophon; cf. *Ages* 5.2f., 9.3-5, *Cyr..* 1.6.25, H.G. 6.1.5f. (Jason of Pherae). Tolerance of cold, toil etc. is a set feature of sketches of generals, and plays a prominent part also in the "man of evil" tradition (see 56-69 n.): cf. Sal. *Cat.* 5.3, Cic. *Catil.* 1.26, 2.9, 3.16; *Cael.* 13 (Catiline); Tac. *Ann.* 4.1 (Sejanus; "corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax..... industria ac uigilantia"). Favourable portraits of such toughnesss include Plu. *Alex.* 41.1, 45.4, *Caes.* 17.3; Suet. *Jul.* 57; Cic. *Sen.* 34 (Masinissa); examples of the various topoi will be given in the commentary.

239. *Tyrio...tyranno:* according to Frisk "tyrannus" is "ein unerklärtes Fremdwort aus der kleinasiat-ägäischen Kultursphäre". With his alliterative jingle Silius may be suggesting an origin for the word, or at least enjoying a twit at the sort of homophonous etymology men engaged in. A common derivation was from Τυρρηνόϲ (e.g. Suidas), and Silius could, seriously or not, hint that his parallelism was as close.

240. *rerum freni:* more forcible than "the reins of power", for which ameliorative connotation "habenae" is the appropriate word: cf., e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 1.266, "senatui populus regendi sui potestatem quasi quasdam habenas tradidit." The use of "freni", on the other hand, as T.L.L. puts it, "transit in notionem fere uinculorum uel catenarum"; see the pejorative uses listed there for "freni", 1293. 51-1295. 19.

240-242. The text of these lines has caused problems: for discussions see Thilo 614, Schraeder 11f.. The manuscripts have "nunc" at 240 and 242, but any apposition is very strained, for "nunc donis", "with bribes on the other hand", does not answer to the first clause. The obvious antithesis is with "armis" ("by violent and by non-violent means"); proponents of this view must then emend the first "nunc" to "tunc", place a stop after "uiros", and provide balance for "nunc donis" in one of two ways. Dausqueius emended "consulta" to "nunc scita"; Thilo supposed that the first "nunc" is omitted, giving as a parallel Verg. *A.* 5.830f., "pariterque sinistros/nunc dextros soluere sinus". Yet another solution is that of Schraeder, who keeps the first "nunc" and emends "conciliare uiros armis" to "conciliare uirorum animos".

Schraeder's proposal is ingenious, but the contrast between "armis" and "donis" looks genuine: cf. Silius' description of Hannibal's diplomacy with the Alpine tribes, 4.49f., "hos dum sollicitat *donis* et inania corda/ac fluxam morum gentem fouet *armaque* iungit...etc.. Dausqueius would give us an ungainly "tunc", "nunc", "nunc" in successive lines; Thilo's suggestion is the one to follow.

Nicol (21) claims that Silius is following here the tradition of Fabius Pictor (apud Polyb. 3.8.7) and Appian (*Hisp.* 8 f.), that Hannibal had to bribe and pressurise the Carthaginian Senate into accepting his Spanish command. One objection to Nicol's argument is that Hannibal is definitely in charge and in command before he begins this subversion (239f.); another is that the first appearance of the word "senatus" in the poem will naturally be interpreted as referring to the Roman senate. Silius' encircling technique helps decide the matter: at the end of this section Hannibal is described as "rumpere foedera certus" (268); the "foedera" there are the same as the "consulta" here.

240f. *arte paterna/conciliare uiros:* Hamilcar's powers of persuasive diplomacy were famous: cf. Polyb. 2.1.7, πολλοὺϲ μὲν πολέμῳ, πολλοὺϲ δὲ πειθοῖ ποιήϲαϲ ὑπηκόουϲ Καρχηδόνι ...κτλ ; D. S. 25.10.2, πολλὰϲ πόλειϲ τῇ πειθοῖ προϲηγάγετο.

241. consulta senatus: Silius is the only poet [*] to use the technical phrase as such; also at 2.12. Cf., e.g., Horace's variation, "consulta patrum", Ep. 1.16.41.

242f. primus..../primus: the stress on the importance of leading by personal example is found right at the beginning of the tradition: cf. Xen. Ages. 5.3, An. 2.3.11 (Clearchus falls to and takes the lead in building a bridge): see G.B. Nussbaum, The Ten Thousand, A Study in Social Organisation and Action in Xenophon's Anabasis 1967 115 for Xenophon's own leadership by personal example. Onasander has something to say about the importance of a general falling to work before his men: εἰ δέ τι διὰ χειρὸϲ ὁ ϲτρατηγὸϲ ἐξεργάϲαϲθαι ϲπεύδοι, μὴ ὀκνείτω πρῶτοϲ αὐτὸϲ ὀφθῆναι ποιῶν.... ἰδὼν γάρ τιϲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα πρῶτον ἐγχειροῦντα καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ϲπεύδειν ἔμαθε καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν ᾐδέϲθη καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ἐφοβήθη, 42.2. So Livy of Hannibal, "equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat. princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat", 21.4.8; cf. Lucan's Cato, "dum primus harenas/ingrediar primusque gradus in puluere ponam", 9.394f.. For other echoes of the Lucan passage, see 245f., 260nn.. The zeal of the commander is shown by the perfect infinitives "sumpsisse" and "carpsisse": he is already there doing these things before anyone else can begin.

laborem: πόνοι, "labor" represented for the ancients the bulk of their experience of military service: cf. Hdt. 9.27.4, ἐν τοῖϲ

Τρωικοῖϲι πόνοιϲι ("the Trojan war"); Aesch. *Ag.* 555ff.; Enn. *Ann.* 446 V, "labore nixi militiae"; Cic. *Mur.* 11, "labore militari"; Liv. 23.18.15, "militaris labor"; thus often in Caesar, *Gal.* 5.11.5ff., 7.8.2 etc.; K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* 1974 163. So Livy on Hannibal, "nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus uinci poterat", 21.4.5; for generals undergoing the same "labor" or πόνοι as their men, cf. Xen. *Agès.* 5.3, *An*. 2.3.11 (cited on 242 f. above), H.G. 6.1.5f. (Jason of Pherae); Plu. *Mor.* 210 F 33 (Agesilaus), *Mar.* 7.2; Polyb. 3.17.8 (Hannibal: quoted below on 310 "ducis exemplum").

244. *si ualli festinet opus*: T.L.L. (s.v. "festino" 617. 80f.) and Duff take "festino" to be intransitive; T.L.L. adduce Sen. *Apoc.*. 4.1.2, "sponte sua festinat opus". This does not make very good sense; better to take "festinet" as transitive, with "si" meaning something like the Greek εἴ πωϲ. The usage, almost too vague to qualify, is discussed by H.-S. 543, 666, and is associated with the notions of attempting or expecting. Here, then, "he was the first to undertake a portion (sc. 'operis'), if by doing so he thought he might in any way speed it up"; cf. Thuc. 2.77.2, πᾶϲαν γὰρ δὴ ἰδέαν ἐπενόουν, εἴ πωϲ ϲφίϲιν ἄνευ δαπάνηϲ καὶ πολιορκίαϲ προϲαχθείη.

245. *quaecumque ad laudem stimulant:* Virtue should be its own reward (cf. 13.663, "ipsa quidem uirtus sibimet pulcherrima merces"), but Hannibal is more interested in repute: cf. Juv. 10. 140-142, "tanto maior famae sitis est quam/ uirtutis. quis enim uirtutem amplectitur ipsam,/ praemia si tollas?" (with Courtney's note ad loc.). Silius may have in mind the passage of Lucan which he imitates often in this piece: after cataloguing Cato's hardihood, Lucan animadverts

on the relationship of fame and true merit: "si ueris magna paratur/ fama bonis et si successu nuda remoto/inspicitur uirtus, quidquid laudamus in ullo/maiorum, fortuna fuit", etc..., 9.593ff..

245f. somnumque negabat/naturae: cf. Liv. 21.4.6, "uigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora"; Xen. Ages. 5.2, οὐ μὴν ὕπνῳ γε δεϲπότῃ, ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρῆτο; Luc. 9.590, "somni parcissimus ipse est (Cato)"; the currency of the motif is plain from Ovid's synkrisis of soldier and lover, Am. 1.9.7; "peruigilant ambo". Onasander recommends choosing a general who needs little sleep (1.4).

247f. Cf. Liv. 21.4.7, "multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt"; Xen. Ages. 5.2, εὐνήν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν ϲυνόντων φαυλοτάτην ἔχοι, αἰδούμενοϲ οὐκ ἄδηλοϲ ἦν ; Dio. 13. fr. 54.8; Sil. 7.287ff..

The punctuation and run of these lines have caused problems. Despite the translations of Duff and the Budé editors, it is plain that 247 and 248 are a unit, and that Hannibal's rivalry with the toughness of his troops consists precisely in lying on the ground to sleep with only a "sagulum" for cover: so much is plain from Livy's language. The "que" in 247 "turbaeque" links the two noteworthy aspects of his rivalry, that he lay on the ground and that he covered himself with a "sagulum": "lying on the ground and conspicuous in the 'sagulum' of the Libyan troops, he would vie with his tough soldiers." "turbae Libyssae" needs to go with "sagulo" in order to point the paradox, that Hannibal was using the common soldier's coarse woolen all-purpose cover, and not the distinctive "paludamentum" of the general (as Duff takes it). In deciding which garment is meant here, Livy's "militari sagulo" (from the passage quoted above) makes it certain that Silius is speaking of the common soldier's "sagum". For the morale-boosting commander's trick of wearing the garb of his ordinary troops, cf. Liv. 21.4.8, "uestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur"; Curt. 3.6.19f.; Dio 13. fr. 54.8 (of Hannibal); Xen. *Ages*, 11.11, καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ ϲῶμα φαυλότητι, τῷ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ ϲτράτευμα κόϲμῳ.

249f. The single sentence which J.C. Scaliger could find to praise in Silius: "acute dictum unum modo inueni...", *Poetices libri septem*, 1561 324 (quoted by von Albrecht10). Scaliger quoted "imperium perferre suum", the manuscript reading. It is difficult to know quite what this ought to mean. "C'est un vrai chef qui exerce son autorité" (Budé); "i.e. to do what one bids others do" (L.S. s.v. "perferre" II B). Better is Blass' proposal of "proferre", which might mean "extend his power", or perhaps "exhibit it publicly". The best word for this latter meaning is "praeferre", which Duff prints but does not translate. "praeferre" would do very well here, meaning something like "flaunt", "parade": cf. Plin. *Ep*. 1.22.6, "qui sapientiae studium habitu corporis praeferunt". Hannibal's ostentation is seen in his conspicuous leadership of the column: in the Roman army, and presumably in others, the general was preceded on the march by a large number of cavalry and "auxilia": cf. Joseph. B.J. 3.6.2. The point is underlined with the obvious and haughty "celsus" (which picks up the opposite noteworthy marvel of 247 "proiectus"). Suetonius picks it out as noteworthy that Julius

Caesar "in agmine nonnumquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat", 57.

250. uertice nudo: a hat of some kind was regular wear for travellers in the ancient world, as protection against rain and sun (cf. RE 19. 1120 ff.). The hardy general went without: cf. Cic. Sen. 34 (of Masinissa) "nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit"; Suet. Jul. 57, "capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset"; HA Hadr. 23.1, "peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque frigoribus".

251. caelique ruinam: cf. Verg. A. 1.129, "caelique ruina" [!]. Although "ruina" is sometimes used of that which actually falls out of the sky (e.g. Lucr. 6.155, "ruina grandinis"), the metaphorical use is adapted from such prases as "ruit arduus aether", Verg. G. 1.324. I take my examples from Ruperti's helpful note.

252. The Carthaginians look on at their own man phlegmatically ("spectarunt"); it is the Asturians who are afraid. Until Bauer, who restored S's "exterritus", editors printed "exercitus"; "exterritus" is proven by various closely similar half-lines in Vergil: "refluitque exterritus amnis", A. 8.240; "micuitque exterrita pennis", A. 5.505; "trepidosque exterrita cursu", A. 4.672.

253f. The stormy weather is represented in terms of Jupiter's opposition to Hannibal: later in the book Hannibal is wounded by a spear which comes shooting from a cloud to the accompaniment of Jupiter's thundering (535ff.), and in Book 12 the clash between the two is worked up in extenso (12.609ff.).

255. turbato: the horse is certainly "startled", as Duff translates, but it is also physically buffetted and spun by the violence of the storm.

transiret: the mild and undramatic verb of motion hints at the nonchalance or imperturbability of the Carthaginian.

turbato transiret equo: cf. Verg. A. 7.767, "turbatis distractus equis" [!].

256. For this resistance to heat as desirable in a commander, or a common soldier, cf. Xen. Ages. 5.3, 9.5, Cyr. 1.6.25 (a general must endure cold and heat better than any of his men); Liv. 21.4.6, "caloris ac frigoris patientia par"; see further 260 n..

ardenti...Sirius astro: an example of the sort of pleonasm called "disjunctiveness" by Postgate and "verbal indiscipline" by Shackleton Bailey: Sirius is the "astrum". Cf. Shackleton Bailey Propertiana 1956, on 1.11.11; Housman C.Q. XXVII 1933 4, and notes on Man. 1.539, 4.472, 466, Luc. 1.102. Van Veen's emendation (289) of "astro" to "aestu" is thus unnecessary.

By a simple extension in language and thought the star is conceived of as actually producing the heat, rather than simply marking the time of mid-summer. The confusion was inevitable, and corrected by the astronomers: Geminus, on the stars' marking of the seasons, is careful on this point; οὐχ ὡϲ τῶν ἄϲτρων δύναμιν ἐχόντων πρὸϲ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ τῶν ὄμβρων, ἀλλ' ὡϲ ϲημείου χάριν παρειλημμένων πρὸϲ τὸ προγινώϲκειν ἡμᾶϲ τὰϲ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα περιϲτάϲειϲ, 17.10..

258. *medius....feruor*:cf. Verg. *G.* 3.154, "mediis feruoribus;" 284 below. This is the hottest part of the day, when Mediterranean man seeks shade and rest: see Gow on Theoc. 1.15ff.. Ancient writers are not specific on the point, but it is surely a reasonable assumption that armies on the march normally rested if they could at the height of the day's heat; cf. G.R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* 1969 54f. for rests on march.

259. *inuenta:* LOV; "umenti" Ch. Bauer 1888 195 argues for "inuenta", showing that "inuenta umbra" makes a better pair with "spectato fonte", while "umbra umens" is a set phrase for night (e.g. Verg. *A.* 3.589; Sil. 3.168; cf. Pease on *A.* 4.7). Of considerable weight here is the probability that Silius is imitating once more Lucan's praise of Cato in the desert: "ultimus haustor aquae, quam, tandem fonte *reperto*..." etc., 9.591.

260. The most important passage for Silius here is Lucan's Cato-elogium, referred to in the previous note; cf. also 9.398ff., "sitiat, quicumque bibentem/ uiderit, aut umbras nemorum quicumque petentem/ aestuet" (Cato is speaking). We are reminded of the story of Alexander refusing the helmet-ful of water offered by his troops when pursuing Darius after Arbela (Plut. *Alex.* 42.3 ff.) - a story imitated by Lucan, 9.500 ff.. With "exercetque sitim" Silius puts Hannibal's touchness in this regard into the context of military training; the Greeks and Romans laid great store by training young men to withstand this and other hardships: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.8, 1.4.25, 2.3.13; Cic. *Off.* 1.122.

261f. Hannibal is possessed of the skill in horsemanship which in 215 f. Silius attributes to his troops the Numidians.

262. *lacerti:* not simply equivalent to "dextrae" (i.e. a sword-stroke); Silius means the spear-throwing muscular upper arm: cf. 16.561, "Glagus, insignis uentos anteire lacerto."

263. Swimming was a serious part of Roman military training, as Nisbet-Hubbard point out, on Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.8, quoting Plut. *Cat. Ma.* 20.4, Veg. *Mil.* 1.10. Mehl's RE article on "Schwimmen" (Supplb. 5.861f.) has a diverting collection of stories concerned with the swimming feats of soldiers of various nationalities. Hannibal was brought up in Spain, and Silius could be thinking of the special facility which Hannibal's Spanish troops showed for swimming across rivers: cf. Liv. 21.27.5 (the crossing of the Rhône), "Hispani sine ulla mole in utres uestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranauere." Suetonius comments on Julius Caesar's daring in this regard: "si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens uel innixus inflatis utribus...etc.", 57.

sonantia saxa: cf. Verg. *A.* 6.551, "sonantia saxa" [!]. Hannibal swims across the rocks of the river: the boldness of the expression captures the boldness of the attempt.

265. Not even Silius gives an example of such a feat from a general who was praised by Polybius for running no risks with his personal safety (10.33. 1-3). This is the sort of story that was told of Alexander, at the seige of Tyre, for example (Curt. 4.4.10f.), or Multan: cf. Plu. *Alex.* 63.2, πρῶτοϲ δὲ διὰ κλίμακοϲ τεθείϲηϲ ἀναβὰϲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχοϲ ...κτλ.

266. *proelia miscet:* "proelia miscet/miscent" is an epic phrase which finds itself naturally in this position: cf. Lucr. 4.1013; Verg.

A. 1023, 12.628; Schumann 4.366 ff..

267. A striking picture, more appropriate to the action of a boulder from a catapult than a spear thrown by a man's arm: for this power of ancient artillery to penetrate through the ranks like cannon-fire, see E.W. Marsden, Greek and Roman Artillery, 1969 1.95. Marsden refers to Josephus (B.J.5.270), who describes Vespasian's catapults hurling their shot right through the Jewish front ranks. There is a hint here of the superhuman and grotesque colour of Lucan's Caesar or Statius' Capaneus: see further on 296-326, 319-323.

268. instat fatis: a further exaltation of Hannibal's status; this is a verb that one expects to be used of Fate bearing down on a man, rather than vice versa; cf. Hor. S. 1.9.29, "instat fatum mihi triste"; Lucr. 3.1086, "quidue ferat nobis casus quiue exitus instet". For another striking coupling of Hannibal and the Fates, see above on 39 "hunc audet solum componere fatis".

270. The first intimation of the theme which von Albrecht labels "Der Kampf um Sagunt als Präfiguration des Kampfes um Rom" (25).

extremis.....terris: see on 141.

271-295. Taking advantage of the freedom of his genre, Silius moves straight to the crisis point, omitting the confused and scrappy campaigns of Hannibal's first year of command (Liv. 21.5. 3-17); from his accession Hannibal moves directly to Saguntum to force the issue, so that the reader receives an impression of powerful, almost irresistible energy (cf. notes on 267 above, and on 297 below). See 294f.n. for Silius' justification for depicting an attack on

Saguntum as equivalent to a declaration of war on Rome.

Before the attack begins, Silius gives us an account of Saguntum's origins. He had good precedent for such a digression (see below); his particular aim here is to create an aition that will bind Saguntum as closely as possible to Rome. Hercules, Ardea and Zacynthus fulfil this rôle; in order to put Silius' innovations in perspective, a brief discussion of ancient theories of Saguntum's origin is necessary.

The Saguntum of Hannibal's day had arisen from a gradual blending of Greek newcomers with an original native Iberian settlement, in a process analagous to that described by Strabo in the case of Emporium: Τῷ χρόνῳ δ' εἰς τ' αὐτὸ πολίτευμα συνῆλθον μικτόν τι ἔκ τε βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν νομίμων, 3.4.8. As he goes on to say, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν συνέβη. The root of the name is certainly Iberian (A. Schulten, Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae 1922 6.233). Many early coins have "arse sacen" (CIL 2.511); E. Hübner (Monumenta Linguae Ibericae 1893 46) and H. Schuchardt (Die iberische Deklination , SAWW CLVII 1907 37) take this to be two words, of which "sacen" is the town's name: "fieri potest ut in 'sacen' seruatum sit nomen oppidi uetustum, quod Graecis, ut Polybio, Ζάκανθα esse potuit, 'Sacantum' fortasse antiquitus Romanis, postea consulto, ut Graeca urbs origo fingeretur, mutatum in Saguntum ad similitudinem Zacynthi" (Hübner, loc. cit.).

As Hübner implies, the ancient authorities agreed through an accident of morphology that the island of Zacynthus colonised Saguntum. Strabo says that Saguntum was a κτίσμα Ζακυνθίων (3.4.6), and such was the general view; cf. Schulten RE 2R 2.1755. Silius retains an element of the normal tradition (288-290), but his

Zacynthians are later arrivals, not the original founders. By Silius' version, Hercules is the city's founder, and its eponymous hero is a companion of Hercules, Zacynthus.

Hercules' associations with Spain were confined virtually exclusively to the southwest, where dwelt Geryon (RE Supplb. 3.1000), and where Hercules erected his northern pillar and lived up to his mighty reputation as a founder of cities (ibid., 1010) by establishing such places as Calpe (Str. 3.1.7). Silius' attribution of the founding of Saguntum, in the north-east, to Hercules represents a major exception to this localisation. His version is not his own invention; a hint of the same story survives in Statius' poem on the Hercules statuette, where the god is made to grieve at the destruction of Saguntum, described as "arces/ipsius", *Silv.* 4. 6.82f.. Another story connecting Hercules with the north-east is the Pyrene episode (3.420ff.); Pliny also knew the tale (*Nat.* 3.8), and Nicol 145 suggests that Timaeus must have contained much information, now lost, on Hercules' homeward path through this region. Silius exploits the Hercules-connection especially in Book 2, where the god is used to begin the train of events that will lead to the city's fall (475ff.).

By giving Saguntum Hercules for a founder, Silius helps bind its cause tightly to Rome's, for whose interests Hercules is so solicitous in the poem. He is attempting the same when he foists Zacynthus upon Saguntum as an eponymous hero (for a similar tale from this expedition of Hercules', cf. Liv. *Perioch.* 60, on how the Balearic Islands were named from Balius, "Herculis comite ibi relicto, cum Hercules ad Geryonen nauigaret"). Saguntum's name was considered to derive from the island Zacynthus, not from the island's oikist, Zacynthus the son of Dardanus. But Silius' inventive urge is stirred by the attractive coincidence that Zacynthus, as son of Dardanus and brother of Ericthonius, was of Trojan stock, five generations in the direct line before Aeneas. The dates fit, for Saguntum was thought to have been founded two hundred years before the fall of Troy (Plin. Nat. 16.216). As a result, Saguntum acquires an eponymous hero from the same family which founded Rome. So that when Hannibal, about to kill Murras, calls on Hercules thus, "dexter ades Phrygiae delenti stirpis alumnos" (514), he means not only Rome in the future but Saguntum here and now.

To Hercules, Zacynthus and Zacynthian colonists Silius adds a fourth element, colonists from Ardea, a convenient band providing a close blood link with Rome for the poet to exploit. Livy tells of an admixture of Rutulians from Ardea (21.7.2). The origin of this peculiar story is something of a puzzle: cf. RE 2.1266, 1276, for some attempts at explanation. Wherever it came from, the value of the tradition for Silius is obvious; the main stressing of the resultant bonds between Rome and Saguntum comes in the Saguntine envoys' appeal to the Roman Senate, 658ff..

As in the ethnographic set-piece, Silius' main model in this topothesion and origo is Lucan; cf., e.g., Luc. 2. 610 ff., on the city of Brundisium, "urbs est Dictaeis olim possessa colonis,/quos Creta profugos uexere per aequora puppes/ Cecropiae..../ hinc latus angustum iam se cogentis in artum/ Hesperiae tenuem producit in aequora linguam"...etc.. See, on Lucan's practice, Eckardt, op.cit. at end of note on 189-238, 48 ff..

271. By saying that the first trumpet sounded before Saguntum, Silius means that Saguntum was the first town to have a trumpet sounded before it. The Budé editors make this explicit by printing the unmetrical "primas".

turbarunt portas: i.e. "eos qui intra portas erant"; a similar turn of words at 299, where Saguntum is described as "pauentia tecta".

272. See on 294f. for an account of Silius' reasons for depicting the attack on Saguntum as a cause of war with Rome.

273. hand procul...litore: about a mile in Hannibal's time (Polyb. 3.17.2; Liv. 21.7.2), but three miles by Pliny's (Nat.3.20), as a result of the silt carried down by the River Palancia (thus Walbank on the Polybian passage).

Herculei...muri: they are "fundamenta deum", 447, and an attack on them is an image in miniature of the greater impiety of attacking Rome itself in Book 12.

274. clementer crescente iugo: according to Walbank on Polyb. 3.17.2f., Saguntum is situated at the end of the range of mountains that runs between New Castile and Aragon. The only other poetic occurrence of "clemens" in this sense is Sen. Oed. 281; but it appears four times in Tacitus, and twice in Ammianus (T.L.L. s.v. 1334. 25ff.).

275. There is some odd word-play going on here, of which I can only say that "conditus" goes down while "excelso" goes up; by going down into the ground he went up into the air: by his being "conditus"

the city was "condita".

excelso.....colle: the phrase recurs in just this position at 2.446, "eminet excelso consurgens colle Saguntos".

276. *hic:* after the first mention of the man, the resumptive pronoun introduces the elaboration: see 57 "is" n.. Silius here appears to be imitating Verg. *A.* 6.162 ff., "atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,/ ut uenere, uident indigna morte peremptum/...Hectoris *hic* magni fuerat *comes*...." etc.. Cf. 278 "id" n..

277. *Geryone extincto:* cf. Verg. *A.* 7.662, "Geryone exstincto" [!]; for another reminiscence of the Vergilian passage, see 287 "Inachiumque... Hiberis" n.. According to D. Vessey, "Silius Italicus on the Fall of Saguntum", CPh. LXIX 1974 30, "Geryon with his three lives and triform body may be interpreted as a figure of Carthage, the city that waged war three times against Rome before its final destruction." Silius' attention swings to the θαυμάσιον in any area; if he is going to narrate an incident from Hercules' trip back from Spain with the cattle of Geryon, it will be more remarkable if he leaves out a mention of the monster than if he elaborates upon the prodigy for a few lines. If there is any point in the lengthy description of Geryon's three lives here, it will be that of a pathetic contrast with the man Zacynthus, whom one accident sufficed to despatch. For another idea of Vessey's, see 285-287n..

278-282. The bizarre nature of Geryon made him a popular subject for artists and writers: see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.8. Silius has particularly in mind for a model Vergil's description of Erulus, *A.* 7.564ff.

278. id: for the great rarity of this form in elevated poetry, see 108 "id" n.. A form of "hic" would be more appropriate as a resumptive here, but Silius perhaps wishes to avoid a repetition from 276.

279. armarat: the great difficulty of this expression has aroused no comment. Duff translates "was furnished with", the Budé "avait". Even if the zeugma of arming with souls as well as with hands is allowed to pass, there remains the problem of how to construe "armarat". There seems to be no alternative but to regard it as a middle, which is, at the least, unnatural. Read "armatas"; all the nouns depend on "gerebat". For "dextras armatas", cf. 16. 536, "pro sceptro armatis inierunt proelia dextris".

281. uiro: emphatically placed, to differentiate Geryon, who was after all mortal in the last resort, from Castor, Pollux, Hercules, and so forth.

duraeque sorores: here and at 13.74 with the sense of T.L.L. "durus", II. B, "intractabilis", "obduratus"; as Ruperti says, "inexorabilis". In Vergil (*A.* 7.454) they are the "dirae sorores", and in view of the manuscripts' common confusion of the two words (cf. T.L.L. 5.1. 1268.65), it is possible that this is what Silius wrote.

282. By an easy illogicality the Parcae are envisaged as not starting to spin the third thread until the first two are already snapped - and Geryon hence dead. There are, of course, although Silius does not state it explicitly, as many Parcae as Geryon has lives.

284. medio feruore: for the phrase, see 258n.. Snakes were especially dangerous at noon, according to lore, because the heat and resultant

thirst stirred them up and drove them to attack men: cf. Verg. *G.* 3.434, "saeuit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu"; Sal. *Jug.* 89, "natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur"; Stat. *Theb.* 5.517ff.. Thus the argonaut Mopsus was killed by a snake that lay in the sand, μεσημβρινὸν ἦμαρ ἀλύσκων, A.R. 4. 1505. Silius will have it that the snake's venom is actually created or kindled by the sun's action (285); this too was accepted lore, so that Lucan will even claim that snakes' venom is powerless when the sun is down (9.845). Alternatively, snakes derived their venom from various grasses which they ate: cf. Hom. *Il*. 22.94; Verg. *A*. 2.471.

285-287. According to Vessey, loc. cit. on 277, "the death of Zacynthus, caused by the treacherous serpent, prefigures the destruction of Saguntum by the perfidious Hannibal." And when Zacynthus' spirit departs from Saguntum in the form of a snake (2.584ff.), we know that Hannibal has given up his attack? Silius' paradigms are blunter than this.

285. *tumidas fauces:* the poets conventionally located a snake's poison in its swollen neck: cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 421, "tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem"; *A*. 2.381, "attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem"; Ov. *Met*. 3.73, "plenis tumuerunt guttura uenis"; A. Sauvage, Le serpent dans la poésie latine, RPh XLIX 1975 251f..

286. *rupit letali uulnere:* cf. Verg. *A*. 9.580, "letali uulnere [!] rupit". "fauces rupit" is a striking phrase, analogous perhaps to such uses as 5. 616, "rumpere hiatus", cause suddenly to gape open". Another explanation may be possible, that the snake, being trodden upon by Zacynthus, was ruptured even as it struck: "letali uulnere" then

might mean "fatal to both of them".

287. *Inachiumque.....Hiberis:* the line is bracketed by two widely separated adjectives giving the man's home and place of death, somewhat mechanically aiming at a pathetic effect. Silius is clearly thinking of Vergil's lines on Hercules' arrival in Latium (for another imitation of this passage, see on 277); "Tyrrhenoque boues in flumine lauit Hiberas", *A.* 7.663. As Servius remarks ad loc., the effect is "admiratio locorum longinquitate".

288. The line appears to be a blend of Luc. 2. 610f., "urbs est Dictaeis olim possessa colonis/quos Creta profugos uexere per aequora puppes", and Verg. *A*.7.409ff., "quam dicitur urbem/ Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis/ praecipiti delata Noto".

289f. The encircling of two lines with substantive and adjective is naturally much more rare than the encircling of one line; cf. T.E.V. Pearce, CQ N.S. XVI 1966 147f.. Silius' pattern here is not strictly analogous to, e.g., Verg. *E.* 5.56f., "candidus....Daphnis", because "Zacynthos" is in apposition to "insula"; but the substantive/adjective encircling shape is obviously the model.

Van Veen 289 and Müller 190 suggest "et quae" in 290 for S's "atque". This is to misunderstand the construction, however, for "quondam Laertia regna" is in apposition to "Zacynthos" (for the pattern, see 43n.); cf. Lindblom 121f.. "auxit" then governs "quos" along with "genuit", with a meaning like "alere". Delz 1969 94 n.20 compares "genuit atque auxit" to the Greek γεννᾶν καὶ αὐξάνειν (Pl. *R.* 569B); for Latin parallels he cites Cic. *Rep.* 1.8, "neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educauit"; Liv. 2.40.6, "terram, quae te genuit atque aluit".

289. cf. Luc. 4.407, "quos alit Hadriaco tellus circumflua ponto".

290. Laertia regna: cf. Verg. A. 3.272, "Laertia regna".

291. Daunia pubes: Duff mistakenly refers to the Apulian king Daunus, whose name is used by Silius to denote both Apulia (4.554), and Italy as a whole (5.631). Ruperti has it right: "Daunia pubes, Rutuli siue Ardeates, sic dicti a Dauno, Turni patre."

292. sedis inops: the only poetic occurrence of this expression, which looks like being an historian's phrase: cf. Liv. 45.40.3; Tac. Ann. 13.55.

diues alumno: only one parallel offers itself; the congruity of metrical position suggests Silius' imitation once more; "florebat diues alumnis [!]/ terra", Stat. Theb.5.54f..

293. nunc Ardea nomen: thus S. Bauer 1888 207 f. objects to the bluntness of the expression, which has no preparation in the form of "quondam", for example, such as we find in the Vergilian passage usually cited as a parallel, A. 7. 411-413 ; "locus Ardea quondam/ dictus auis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen,/ sed fortuna fuit". There is special difficulty in that the name of the town is not in the main body of the sentence, but sandwiched inside the phrase to which it supposedly stands in apposition. Bauer proposed "clarum Ardea nomen", where the more strictly adjectival force of "clarum nomen" makes the apposition easier. Thilo 614 defended "nunc", and is followed by subsequent editors except for Duff, who prints Bauer's

"clarum". Bauer's objections have force, but Silius' debt to Vergil is so strong that it may well be that his readers are meant to supply what is needed here from their knowledge of the Vergilian passage.

294f. Silius follows the Livian tradition concerning the peace treaty, his language being very close to the historian's: "foedus renouauerat populus Romanus ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas seruaretur". If he may adapt the vocabulary of the historian for weight, the relative freedom of his poetic persona allows Silius to skirt the technical problems of the controversial Ebro treaty (on which see conveniently the discussion of Walbank, 1.168ff.). The weak Roman case led to various schemes of exculpation. One of these Silius follows, according to which Saguntum was specifically protected by an exemption clause in the treaty; see Walbank 1.171f. on this strand of the tradition. At 2.451, "Hannibal abrupto transgressus foedere ripas", Silius inconsistently wavers in making the crossing of the Ebro rather than the attack on Saguntum the "casus belli"; though it is always possible that Silius at that point is looking to another and more desperate Roman line of defense, which located the city north of the river.

295. imperitare: very likely an Ennian word: cf. Lucr. 3.1028, "magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt"; Hor. Sat. 1.6.4, "olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent". The word was popular with the more colourful historians (not in Caesar); 6 occurrences in Sallust, 8 in Livy, 14 in Tacitus. After the historical tone of the preceding line, such may be the flavour here.

296-326. Hannibal's impetuous advance and the first furious assault before the siege proper begins with the circumvallation at 327ff.. The extravagant and impressive characterisation of Hannibal and his energy continues (cf. on 267); see 297, 299 "mensusque pauentia tecta" nn.. The rush of his approach is conveyed most forcefully by his abrupt spearing of the unannounced Caicus (304ff.); the impiety of his effort is hinted at in some sacrilegious language: see 298 "circumlustrauit", 305 "sancit" nn..

296. abrupto...foedere: cf. 2.451 [!].

flagrantia: Duff's "camp-fires" is odd; cf. rather Ruperti, "sc. cupiditate pugnandi"; T.L.L. 6.1.847. 82, "sc. flagrantes cupiditàte pugnandi copias."

297. An imitation of Verg. A. 8.595f. (~ A. 11.875), "it clamor et agmine facto/ quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum"; from Enn. Ann. 277 V, "summo sonitu quatit ungula terram". "quatit" is a most apt word for a horse; when used of Hannibal's advancement of his army the word's meaning shifts greatly, to invest him with a vast and more than human potency.

298f. The first of a number of imitations of Vergil's siege in Aeneid 9, wherein Hannibal is given some of the colour of Turnus, as he attacks the Trojan camp: "huc turbidus atque huc/ lustrat equo muros aditumque per auia quaerit", 57f.. See further 305 "iaculo", 306 "Caicum", 310ff., 320, 324-326, 340f. nn.. Right down to the end of the siege - topic (375) there are numerous echoes of Vergil's siege.

298. *caput quassans:* cf. Verg. *A*. 12.894, "caput quassans" [!]. Sittl 82ff. would restrict this gesture to denial, with strong disapproval, and quotes our passage with many others in this category, 82 n.10 (e.g. Pl. *As*. 403, Verg. *A*. 7.292). But Duff has it right, "shaking his head in fury"; cf. Sen. *de ira* 1.19.2, where this phrase is used of the gesture of an uncontrollably wild angry man.

circumlustrauit: a rare word, with the same religious overtones as "lustro" (on which see W. Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* 1919 96ff.); cf. Tib. 1.5.11f., "ipseque te circumlustraui sulpure puro,/carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus." The application of the verb to Hannibal has, by this stage in the book, an inevitably sacrilegious tone, for he is not a purifier but a destroyer, and Saguntum is his first victim. The measured pace inherent in the verb is pointedly denied in "quassans", "anhelo", and "saeuus" in the next line; cf. the tension in the Vergilian passage, quoted above 298f.n., between "turbidus" and "lustrat".

299. *saeuus equo:* the words cohere more closely through juxtaposition than English translation easily suggests: "he went around on his horse, looking savagely imposing on his horse."

The adjective is part of the animalistic imagery consistently applied to Hannibal and the Carthaginians in general: see 2f. "patiturque ferox...iura / Carthago" n..

mensusque pauentia tecta: Silius uses very similar language of the attack on Rome which this lesser attack prefigures: "inde, leuis frenis, circum pauitantia fertur / quadrupedante sono perculsae moenia Romae", 12. 563 f.. In the later passage there is some explanation of the shaking metaphor: here Silius is bolder. "paueo" (once only in Vergil, *G.* 4. 152; 31 occurrences in Ovid, 27 in Statius) is rarely used of inanimate objects, and when it is so used the root sense of "shaking" is often strongly felt, as at, e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 11.409 "signa pauent", which Poynton translates "the standards reeled" (sc. "in the hands of their bearers"). Of 25 occurrences in Silius, in only one other place does "paueo" have a metaphorical sense, used of an inanimate object (5.109, of the Tarpeian rock's fear of the Gallic multitudes of 225 B.C.) Here the extravagant language is of a piece with the spectacular tone of the description of Hannibal's impact.

301. *imperat:* enjambed for emphasis, the verb recalls the "sententia" six lines above, where we learnt that Hannibal had been expressly denied such power: "et Poenis urbi imperitare negatum", 295. After the verb there is an anacolouthon, as "et" leads into "oratio obliqua". The construction would be much easier without "et", with a colon after the verb and a verb of speech understood. Hence "imperitat" is attractive; cf. Man. 2.464, a precisely parallel case, where Bentley emended the MSS' "imperat et" to "imperitat", and Sil. 2.52, where N. Heinsius emended the "imperet et" of SCh to "imperitet". Certainly parallels for "imperito" with an infinitive are late: Coripp. *Laud. Just.* 4.237, "omnibus imperitans...procedere"; Cypr. Gall. *Hept.* *Iesu Naue* 144f., "uatibus imperitans..../...proflare". But the improvement in construction in our passage is enough to justify the change.

301. *clausis:* irrationally picks up 300 "pandere", even though the one verb refers to gates and the second, in a different sense, to people.

foedera: the treaties are often in speakers' mouths in this section of the book; cf. Daunus at 447, "fundamenta deum Romanaque foedera cernis"; Hannibal at 479f., "foedera, faxo/ iam noscas, quid uana queant." Silius means to give new stress, at the first action of the war, to the theme of Carthaginian contempt for treaties which he had announced in his exordium: see 5 "perfida" n..

302. *Ausoniam:* at 332f. Hannibal's taunt is implicitly rejected, "sed dignam Ausonia mortem putat (sc. iuuentus) esse Sagunto,/ seruata cecidisse fide."

303. *scita patrum:* strictly inaccurate, for the "plebs" passed "scita", the "senatus" "consulta" (and the "populus" "leges"); but when even the historians eschewed fastidious precision in technical terminology (cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* 1958 343f.), a poet needs no excuses.

fidemque deosque: a trochaic caesura in both the fourth and the fifth feet is rare in epic; see Norden on Verg. *A.* 6.140, Austin on Verg. *A.* 1.188, 2.380. Austin may be right to suggest that the rhythm was avoided because it felt too much like a line-ending: certainly in our example, Silius appears to be playing upon such an expectation, for "deosque" comes most forcefully as the climax to a list of those things which Hannibal holds in contempt.

304. *sua:* prominently displayed at the end of the sentence, between the weak third-foot and strong fourth-foot caesura, this disyllable arrogantly counterbalances the whole run of the preceding line.

305. *sancit:* doubly oxymoronic: the verb's religious aura is belied by the impious character of the "sanctifier", while Hannibal is

breaking a treaty rather than establishing one (for the set phrase "foedus sancire", see T.L.L. 6.1.1007. 3ff.).

iaculo: the hurling of a javelin marks the beginning of hostilities; so Hannibal's first clash with the Romans themselves begins with the prophet Bogus hurling a spear towards the Roman ranks (4. 134f.). When performed by Rome's enemies, this action appears especially sinister by virtue of being a parody of the ritual used by Rome's own Fetiales to initiate hostilities. The whole procedure is described by Livy, 1.32. 6-14, with the climax of the business following the declaration of war: "id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat" (loc.cit., 13); see further RE 6.2264.

Silius follows Vergil here, who had Turnus hurl a javelin to mark the start of the campaign against the Trojans: "iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,/ principium pugnae", A. 9. 52f.. Turnus' action, however, was wholly symbolic, and we expect Hannibal's spear to disappear likewise, without effect. But it immediately transfixes a character who is not introduced or prepared for: the sudden and unexpected gesture is quite in keeping both with Hannibal's general impetuosity and with the sweeping rush of his progress in this section: cf. on 296-326 above.

306. minitantem uana: such posturing invites retribution; cf. the fates of Arruns in Vergil, "uana tumentem", A. 11.854; Remulus, 9.621ff.; Liger, 10.575ff.. For actions speak louder than words, as Homer's Aeneas reminds Achilles, Il. 20.256f. (after a speech of 58 lines), and as Vergil's Aeneas proves in Latium, A. 10.584f.: "sed non et Troïus heros/ dicta parat contra, iaculum nam torquet in hostis". Silius is fond of depicting, even in the most perfunctory manner,

boasters getting their come-uppance: cf. 1.440ff., 4.279ff., 17.429 (with Vergil's phrase, "uana tumentem"). He will perhaps have been influenced in his perfunctoriness here by the bittiness of Ovid's concatenation of the topos in his mini-battle at the beginning of *Metamorphoses* 5 (64ff., 190ff., 194ff.): here, as often, Ovid led the way in reducing such motifs to tags.

Caicum: at the start of the siege of the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9, it is Caicus who raises the alarm, announcing the approach of the hostile Latins; "primus ab aduersa conclamat mole Caicus", 35. The instantaneous death of his Saguntine counterpart may be intended as a sign of the different issue of the second siege.

307. *exacti medius per uiscera teli:* a very forced expression, for which Ruperti's proposed parallel is not a true equivalent; citing 14.481 "medius alni", Ruperti omits the noun upon which "alni" depends: the whole clause runs, "ualida medius, dum se alleuat, alni/ cuspide." Ruperti's explanation is correct, however: "ita transfossus ut aequa pars teli et a fronte et a tergo promineret"; i.e. "he had now become the middle part of the weapon which had been driven through him". In this, his first description of a death in battle, Silius is presumably attempting a piece of unusual and striking colour: cf. 309n.. Homer has one such spectacular death scene, *Il.* 12.385 f., ὁ δὲ ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικὼς/κάππεσ' ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ πύργου, λίπε δ' ὀστέα θυμός.

308. *effusis.... membris:* "effundi" well conveys the collapse of the body that comes with loss of consciousness: cf. Lucr. 3.113, "cum effusum iacet sine sensu corpus". It is also especially appropriate when, as here, the victim is falling from a height: cf. Verg. *A.* 6.339,

"exciderat puppi mediis effusus in aquis".

309. An ingenious twist is given to the first victim's demise. Vergil had such a picture of the bird in Aeneid 5, "fixamque refert delapsa sagittam", 518. Statius took it over, and applied it to the work of Capaneus: "nullaque tectorum subit ad fastigia, quae non/ deferat hasta uirum perfusaque caede recurrat", Theb. 10. 746f.. From here to Silius; see on 319-323 for another imitation of the same Statian passage.

310ff. The "siege-motif" is discussed by Raabe 192ff; he shows in detail how Silius follows Vergil's siege in Aeneid 9. According to Raabe, the joining of the siege and the attack on the walls are treated under a general focus, as a sort of tactical over-view, without the concentration on individual wounds or deaths which is regular in other battle narrative. Miniconi 92 has some superficial remarks on our passage: more informative is his appendix, 175f. ("Le combat sous les murs et aux portes"); here he collects various passages from epic relating to the topoi of siege-warfare. See further 314-318, 319-323, 334-337 nn..

The general view of the attack on a walled town represents a development of Homer's practice. Homer has three or four lines on the concerted Trojan effort to tear down the Achaean wall and lever up the projecting buttresses that anchored the palisade (Il. 12.258ff.): but it is Hector's great rock that smashes the gates (445-471) and Sarpedon's mighty hands that pull away the battlements (397-399). We cannot imagine Glaucus huddling in a testudo with the Lycians or struggling up a ladder. It is Vergil who first exhibits for us a judicious blend of homeric aristeia and

Roman "ars militaris". The main body of the account of the initial attack on the Trojan camp in Aeneid 9 is sober and quite un-homeric in its verisimilitude and technical language: "accelerant acta pariter testudine Volsci/ et fossas implere parant ac uellere uallum;/ quaerunt pars aditum et scalis ascendere muros", 505-507. When the focus does shift to individual attackers, they are fearsome and impressive, but they are doing essentially what any legionary was trained to do: "parte alia horrendus uisu quassabat Etruscam/ pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis;/ at Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles,/ rescindit uallum et scalas in moenia poscit", 521-524.

The difficulty is how to return to the traditional schema of single combat. Vergil forces two Trojans to commit the gross folly of opening their gate (672ff.); Silius' historical sources give him a painless opportunity, for Livy describes how a section of the wall collapsed, leaving an open space for the armies to meet (21.8.5ff.). It is over this wreckage that Silius has his series of fights involving Murrus and Hannibal (376ff). The question of Silius' relation to Livy in the account of the siege is interesting and not straightforward: see 327 ff. n..

310. ducis exemplum: for the importance of leading by personal example, see 242f. "primus" n.. It is very likely that the historical tradition dwelt upon this aspect of Hannibal's leadership in the description of the siege of Saguntum, his first major enterprise: cf. Polyb. 3.17.8, on Hannibal's conduct at the siege, ἐνεργῶς προσέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοτὲ μὲν ὑπόδειγμα τῷ πλήθει ποιῶν αὑτὸν καὶ γινόμενος αὐτουργὸς τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις

ταλαιπωρίαϲ, ἔϲτι δ᾽ ὅτε παρακαλῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ παραβάλλωϲ διδοὺϲ αὑτὸν εἰϲ τοὺϲ κινδύνουϲ. Cf. Scipio's calculated bravado at the siege of New Carthage; "ipse trium prae se iuuenum ualidorum scutis oppositis - ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum e muris uolabat - ad urbem succedit", Liv. 26.44.7.

secuti: although the subject of the verb is obvious, there is a slight clumsiness in our having to supply it, for there has been no recent mention of the army. For a more drastic case, see 340 "clamatque" n..

311. inuoluunt atra telorum nube: cf. Luc. 4.488-490, "non tamen in caeca bellorum nube cadendum est,/ aut cum permixtas acies sua tela tenebris/ inuoluunt." Silius' eclecticism is so indiscriminate that his choice of words may be influenced by a Senecan passage, quite unrelated in theme: "quis me per auras turbo praecipitem uehet/ atraque nube inuoluet...?, *Thy*. 623f..

The "cloud of missiles" is a conventional image: cf. Verg. *A*. 10.809; Luc. 2. 262, "caeca telorum in nube"; Liv. 21.55.6 (qualified by "uelut"). Silius gives it a twist with the first word of the following line, "clara"; the shining courage of the army is set off by the black cloud of their weapons. Josephus pays testimony to the furious effect of a Roman army's missile bombardment in a siege when he uses language that shows the force of Silius' metaphor: καὶ πάντοθεν ἀφιεμένων ἀπὸ ϲυνθήματοϲ τῶν βελῶν τὸ φῶϲ ὑπετεμνετο, BJ 3.7.27: compare the stories of the Persian army at Thermopylae, who hid the sun with their arrows, so that the Spartans could fight in the shade, Hdt. 7. 226; cf. Stat.

Theb. 8. 412, "exclusere diem telis".

312. *nec in numero uirtus latet:* it was more common to make the opposite point: each of Silius' predecessors in the Silver Epic produced an aphorism on the insignificance of individual valour in a general encounter: Luc. 4.490f. (following on from the passage quoted in the preceding note), "conferta iacent cum corpora campo,/ in medium mors omnis abit, perit obruta uirtus"; V. Fl. 6.200, "mixta perit uirtus"; Stat. *Theb.* 8. 421, "casus agit uirtutis opus". An aphorism of Sallust's on soldiers in a siege-attack is in accord with Silius' point: "parique periculo sed fama inpari boni atque ignaui erant", *Jug.* 57.6.

312f. The importance of making the men feel that they were being watched by their commander is obvious, and is stressed by Caesar, for example: "Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testis suae quisque uirtutis haberet", *Gal.* 1.52.1; cf. 2.25.3; Liv. 26.44. 7 f. (of Scipio), "hortatur imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque uirtutis atque ignauiae cuiusque adest"; Min. Fel. 37.2, "quis non miles sub oculis imperatoris audacius periculum prouocet?"; Sil. 7.620f.; Xen. *An.* 1.9.15, τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἴοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι.

14-318. After the initial attack, the epic poet will pick out a series of group efforts: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.505ff. (quoted above, 310 ff.n.); 12. 575 ff., "dant cuneum densaque ad muros mole feruntur;/..... discurrunt alii ad portas....,/ ferrum alii torquent"; Stat. *Theb.*

10.525 ff., "hi praefixa selo uellunt munimina, at illi/ portarum obiectus minuunt..../...pars ad fastigia missas/ exsultant haesisse faces, pars ima lacessunt".

314. fundit Baliari uerbere: cf. Verg. G. 1.309, "Balearis uerbere fundae". "fundit" is a natural word for this use (cf. 325f.; 7.646f), but Silius indulges in an etymological play, for the weapon involved is a "funda"; cf. Isid. 18.10.1, "funda dicta eo quod ex ea fundantur lapides, id est emittantur."

The Balearic islands were notorious for their slingers: cf. Liv. 28.37.6, "fundis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter alios omnes Baliares." Etymology was arranged accordingly: "παρὰ τοῦ βάλλειν Baliares appellarunt", Serv. G. 1.309; cf. T.L.L. 2.1697. 5-14.

315. Cf. Verg. A. 9.586f., "fundam.../ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena".

316. The reading of a hand in L, "ascondit", has always been preferred by editors (as "abscondit") to the "ascendit" of FOV. The idea behind the line escaped N. Heinsius, who proposed "accendit", and Summers, who proposed "permisso uentis ascendit in aera telo." Owen 173f. rejected Summers' changes - rightly; cf. Ov. Met. 14. 825 f.," ceu lata plumbea funda / missa solet medio glans intabescere caelo"; Verg. A. 9.588, "liquefacto plumbo" (following the lines quoted in the previous note). Drakenborch's note here is a good one.

317. *librat:* Schrader 1870 proposed "uibrat", but "libro" is unobjectionable in this context (cf. Verg. *A*. 9.417, "telum librabat"; Sil. 5. 576), while its connotations of swinging are more appropriate to slings than the whippy action involved in "uibro", naturally used of spears: cf. Ov. *Ep*. 4.43, "tremulum excusso iaculum uibrare lacerto."

stridentia saxa: the "s" alliteration with "strideo" is extremely common; "strideo" is used with "hasta" (Enn. *Ann*. 365 V), "fornacibus" (Lucr. 6. 149); "cauernis stricturae" (Verg. *A*. 8. 420f.); "striges" (Ov. *Fast*. 6. 140).

319-323. After the common soldiers have been on show, the leader's activities receive attention: cf. Verg. *A*. 9.521-524 (Mezentius and Messapus); 12.579ff., "ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit/ Aeneas..." etc.. Especially important for Silius here is the potent figure of Statius' Capaneus: as he attacks Thebes, his huge energy and varied armoury put us very much in mind of our passage (note expecially the "nunc.....nunc" by which the frantic picture is organised: cf. Silius' 320f.): "agmina....Capaneus agit...,/cornua nunc equitum, cuneos nunc ille pedestres....../nunc spargit torquens uolucri noua uulnera plumbo,/ nunc iaculum excusso rotat in sublime lacerto..." etc., 739ff.. For another imitation in our passage of this Capaneus-scene, see 309n..

319. *insignis in armis:* cf. Verg. *A*. 6. 403, "pietate *insignis et armis*" [!]: a good example of the insignificant nature of most of Silius' borrowings of earlier poets' phrases.

320. cf. Verg. *A*. 9. 535, "princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus."

nunc sude, nunc: cf. Luc. 6. 174, "nunc sude, nunc" [!]. Fire-hardened stakes were thrown by defenders in sieges: cf. Caes. *Gal.* 5.40.6; Sal. *Jug.* 57.3; Verg. *A.* 11.894; Luc. 3, 494; Stat. *Theb.* 10.532 (with Williams' note). Here "sudis" appears to be merely a synonym for "hasta" (cf. Greek κάμαξ, A. *Ag.* 66; E. *Hec.* 1155); Silius uses "sudis" thus also at 9.157, although elsewhere he restricts the word to sieges (1.523? [see note ad loc.], 6.559) or to the rough and ready weapons of rustics (8.552; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.524; Stat. *Theb.* 4.302). He may well be following Statius here; that poet generally observes the same restrictions, but does use "sudes" apparently *tout court* of spears: "concurrunt per inane sudes et mutua perdunt/ uolnera, concurrunt hastae", *Theb.* 8.415f.. Tibullus might provide an earlier example: "sed manibus qui saeuus erit, scutumque sudemque/ is gerat", 1.10.65f.. There, however, the stake is probably that carried by the legionary for the "uallum" of the "castra". See 60 "his super" n. for other cases of Silius' following Statius' lead in vocabulary.

322. For the shape of this line, see 43n.. *bis noxia tela:* Ruperti explains "uulnere et ueneno", and quotes Stat. *Theb.* 8.418, "formidandae non una morte sagittae". Hannibal is at home with such a weapon: it is used by his Numidians (see on 219), and his character delights in the "fraus".

324-326. The first simile in the poem. The immediate picture is triggered by the mention of poisoned arrows; the nationality of the archer in the simile is presumably suggested by Ovid's various references to the envenomed darts of the Getae: cf. eg. *Tr.* 4.1.77 f., "hostis habens arcus inbutaque tela uenenis/....moenia lustrat"; *Pont.*

1.2.15f., "mortis saeuo geminent ut uulnere causas,/ omnia uipereo spicula felle linunt;" 4.9.83, 4.10.31. See on 326 "ripas... binominis Histri" for a direct imitation of a phrase from Ovid's Epistulae ex Ponto. Silius takes his usual care to knit the simile into its context with various points of reference, not necessarily direct. Thus the Dacian archer uses the poison of his native land (325 "patrio...ueneno"), while Hannibal is conspicuous in his father's armour (319 "patriis insignis in armis"); the two uses of the adjective point to each other, although the application is different in each case. Again, "inopina" is not simply "sudden", as Duff has it, but refers to Hannibal's guile, and to his unforseen rupture of the truce. On this characteristic feature of developed similes, see M.S. Silk, Interaction in Poetic Imagery 1974; D. West, Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the Aeneid, JRS LIX 1969 40-49; id., Virgilian Multiple-Correspondence Similes and their Antecedents, Philologus CXIV 1970 262-275.

The simile also serves a structural function, helping Silius to glide away from Hannibal's terrific exertion, which leads nowhere, back into the main course of the narrative, which leads to the circumvallation itself. Silius has presumably observed the device in Vergil: a good example occurs in the description of the siege in Aeneid 9 which has been of such importance in the last 25 lines. There Vergil needs to pick up the action again after the lengthy episode of Ascanius and Remulus (590-660). The Trojans acknowledge the god Apollo's sign and rush to the walls (661-663). There is no necessarily logical point for re-entry; Vergil accordingly sketches the general position in four lines (664-667) and leads us even further away with a four-line simile (668-671); after the lull he can plunge us straight back in: "Pandarus et Bitias..." etc., 672.

325. qui: the emendation of N. Heinsius and Bentley for S's "quae". Summers retained the manuscript reading and defended his decision in CR XIII 1899 296. He would place a comma after 323 "neruo" and take "atque - pharetrae" as parenthetical: 325 "spicula" would then be the object of "contendit", like 322 "sagittas". The proposed parenthesis is ungainly: a more serious objection to Summers and S is the fact that an extended simile such as this one is self-contained, and needs its own main verb. Further, "quae" restricts the range of comparison to the mere shooting of the arrows, whereas "qui" more naturally makes the comparison more general, taking in the whole picture of energy and delight in guile: Hannibal is like the Dacian in every respect.

acuisse: cf. 12.52, "audebat cuncta atque acuebat fraudibus enses."

326. inopina: indeed unexpected, one and a half lines after its noun, and disrupting the coherent phrase "ripas binominis Histri."

ripas...binomis Histri: cf. Ov. Pont. 1.8.11, "ripae....binominis Histri" [!]; also imitated by Statius, Silv. 5.1.89, "ripa binominis Histri". According to Pliny, Nat. 4.12.79, the river was called Danuvius from its source until it entered Illyria, from which point on it took the name Hister. The identity of Danube and Hister was, in Ovid's time anyway, fairly recent news: it was the expeditions of Augustus and Tiberius which plotted the whole course of the stream and showed that the two were the same: cf. M. Cary and E.H. Warmington, The Ancient Explorers, 1963 138f..

327ff. After the initial attack, the Carthaginians settle down to constructing works of circumvallation. This is very much as Appian describes the opening of the siege: τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐφίστη, ἑλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ περιετείχιζε, *Hisp.* 10. Nicol 23f. notes that Livy makes no direct reference to a circumvallation, and suggests that Silius is following here the same annalistic source as Appian, and not that of Livy (see on 144-181 above for another such case). It is difficult to be certain in such matters: R. Oehler takes it for granted that Livy means to imply a circumvallation, but does not describe it explicitly; see Sagunt und seine Belagerung durch Hannibal, Neue Jahrb. für Philol. CXLIII 1891 425f.. Certainly Livy speaks of an "obsidio" (21.8.1), says that the Carthaginians are engaged in "apparatus operum" (ibid.), and describes the renewed assault as if coming from all sides: cf. 8.2.5. It is quite possible that Silius is following another source at this point, but equally he has written nothing which he might not have deduced from Livy's account.

A further point inclines one to believe that Silius is working from Livy here (or, it must be said, from a source which at this stage is very close to Livy's). In Livy's account of the early section of the siege, three dramatic high-points stand out: the wounding of Hannibal by a javelin (7.10); the collapse of a large portion of wall, with the ensuing fight in the breach (8.6ff.); finally, the operation of the awesome falarica in the course of that fight (8.10-12). It is at once evident that these three high-points are likewise the main points of interest in Silius' description of the first phase (327-583). But Silius has rearranged the elements to produce a unified and dramatic piece of action, with the wounding of Hannibal as its high-point. Silius takes the collapse of the walls as an opportunity for Hannibal to engage in "heroic" combat, where he is wounded (475ff.); his wounding is not a chance event *preceding* the breach of the walls, as it is in Livy, but rather the culmination of the whole main action of the book. In Livy Hannibal's mischance causes a halt to the first attack, and a few days' pause in the fighting (7.10-8.1); Silius seizes his chance, and rounds off here this major portion of the narrative, shifting his perspective to the Saguntines and then to Rome (556ff.). With all the dramatic interest on Hannibal and his opponent Murrus during the fighting in the breach (376ff.), Silius does not want to clutter things up with the falarica: he extracts it, bringing it forward to provide some spectacle and diversion until the walls fall in (350-364).

One further innovation deserves mention: in Livy the Carthaginians use battering rams to bring down the wall (8.5), while in Silius the guileful race go underground and mine in stealth (365-367).

327. *cingere:* used commonly both of sieges (T.L.L. 3.1064. 34ff.) and of garlands (T.L.L.3. 1063. 61ff.); "fronte" activates the image, so that we see the hill garlanded with a ring of battlements: cf. e.g., 13.13 (of the personified Carthage), "turrita celsa figura". Silius is doing something rather different from the regular poetic usage, whereby the defenders of a city were described as a corona: cf. Luc. 3.373f., "cum moenia clausa/ conspicit et densa iuuenum uallata corona"; Verg. *A.* 9.508; Stat. *Theb.* 10.531 (with Williams' note).

328. *castelloque. ..circumuallare:* immediately following the pointed

and "poetic" line comes one of a more workmanlike, historical tone. Silius is the only poet [*] to use "circumuallare" (two other occurrences: once metaphorically and in tmesis in Statius, Silv. 5.1.155f.). He has "castellum" twice elsewhere; formerly once in Vergil (A. 5.440, an "anachronistic" simile), Statius (Silv. 5.2.145, self-consciously technical), twice in Ovid (Tr. 5.10.27, of Tomis; 4.2.37, describing the models in a triumph), three times in Lucan (6.40, 126, 268, of Caesar's forts at Dyrrachium). At Verg. G. 3.475, V.Fl. 3.739, "castella" means only "high towns".

329f. The language is taken from Verg. A. 6.878, "heu pietas, heu prisca fides....!" The heavy play on "numen" and "nomine" is Silius' own; cf. 11.158 for a similar case: "tum solum Decius Capuae decus."

330. in terris: the phrase is a stock one when dealing with the topos of "deities leaving mankind in disgust" (N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.20.3, quoting, e.g. Juv. 6.1f., "credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam/ in terris"). Such is the tale that Silius tells of Fides in Book 2 (496ff.); here he tries to sharpen the cliché by opposing to it the more personal "populis": once she was a living presence amongst the people, but now she is only a name on the inanimate earth.

Fides: (note the characteristic postponement of the noun for effect) the first explicit appearance of the concept which is so important in the Punica, already hinted at in the exordium; see 5 "perfida" n.. Fides is a constant theme, but too much has been made of it by von Albrecht 55ff. and Vessey, art. cit. 277 n.. In the case of the siege of Saguntum, more important to Silius than any scheme of Stoicism is the pre-existent literary tradition, which treated Saguntum as an "exemplum pietatis": cf. Liv. 21. 7.3. "fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt"; V. Max. 6.6. ext. 1 (misplaced to 212?), "crediderim tunc ipsam Fidem humana negotia speculantem maestum gessisse uultum...." etc.; Mayor and Courtney on Juv. 15. 113 ff.. Especially important is the example of Lucan, who had constructed his siege of Massilia on the Saguntine model, with "pietas" and "fides" as chief themes: cf. 3.302, 342 ("fides" as motive), 349f. (Saguntum as exemplar: "nec pauet hic populus pro libertate subire,/ obsessum Poeno gessit quae Marte Saguntum"). This is the perspective from which to regard Silius.

stat: the monosyllable, straight after the caesura, effectively conveys the resolution of the defenders, until we read the next line and the word acquires an intimation of helplessness. The predicament of the young men recalls that of Vergil's Trojans under siege from Turnus' army: "at legio Aeneadum uallis obsessa tenetur/ nec spes ulla fugae. miseri stant turribus altis/ nequiquam..." etc., A. 9. 120 ff..

dura iuuentus: cf. V. Fl. 4. 668, "dura iuuentus" [!], the only other occurrence of the phrase in T.L.L. Examples are few of apparent Silian imitation of Valerius Flaccus: cf. W.C. Summers, A Study of the Argonautica, 1894 12; for another possible case, see below on 470f. "frigida nautis/ corda tremunt".

331. claudi...aggere muros: when under attack a town or fort closes its walls against the enemy: cf. Verg. A. 10.22, "non clausa tegunt iam moenia Teucros"; Buc. Eins. 2.27f., "clausis oppida muris/ bella....parant." Here the defenders have their walls enclosed

against them by the attackers: the play on "claudi" comes from Lucan's Massilian siege, 3.342f., "si claudere muros/ obsidione paras....." etc..

332. *Ausonia:* a noun, or an adjective agreeing with "Sagunto"? Opinion si pretty evenly divided. "dignam Ausonia mortem" is such a coherent unit that it is hard to accept that we are meant to take "Ausonia" as anything but an ablative dependent on "dignam". Follow Duff: "they think it a death worthy of Italy, for Saguntum to fall with her loyalty preserved." Thus the noun is an echo of and an answer to Hannibal's opening taunt, 301 f., "longe clausis sua foedera, longe/ Ausoniam fore....." etc. (note how "clausis" is likewise picked up by 331 "claudi").

333. *seruata cecidisse fide:* it was their willingness to die in the cause of loyalty to Rome which so excited admiration and comment: cf. Liv. 21.7.3 (quoted above on 330 "Fides"), "fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt". Naturally, the Saguntines' defence of their city was not altogether altruistic; and their voluntary death was in accord with Spanish custom, not Roman Ethics (see 225-228n.).

334. *intendunt uires:* the sense of muscular straining in the verb anticipates the catapult's action.

334-337. In Silius' piece this one catapult does duty for the "answering hail of projectiles" motif, which appears in epic sieges at this stage in the narrative, after the initial attack; see Miniconi 175, citing Verg. *A.* 2. 445, 9.509f., "telorum effundere contra/omne genus Teucri

..." etc.; 11. 893-895; Luc. 3. 463 ff., 10.491 ff.; Stat. Theb. 10.531 ff., 856 ff.; Sil. 13. 181 ff..

335. adductis.....neruis: cf. Ov. Met. 8.357 (likewise of a catapult's action), "adducto...neruo" [!].

stridula: not "with a roar" (Duff); the word refers to the twang of the released cords: cf. Verg. A. 5.502, "neruo stridente sagitta". Vitruvius comments on the distinctive sonority of a catapult's ropes when they are taut and ready to fire: "cum manibus sunt tacti, aequalem in utroque sonitus habeant in responsum.....ita cuneorum conclusionibus ad sonitum musicis auditionibus catapultae temperantur", 10.12.2f.. On the noise produced upon firing, cf. Sen. Nat. 2.16, "nam ballistae quoque et scorpiones tela cum sonitu expellunt."

336. Phocais: the adjective worried Ruperti, who suggested "Phoenissa". But as Summers observes in his apparatus, "per totam narrationem Silio obseruatur Lucanus in Massiliae obsidione." The machine which Lucan described (3.464-468, following Caesar, Civ. 2.2.2) was a "ballista", a "two armed stone-thrower [which]...could be adapted for shooting bolts if exceptionally high performance was required" (Marsden, op.cit. on 267, 188; Marsden takes our passage as evidence that such machines were a Massiliote speciality: 188 n.6).

effundit uastos: the juxtaposition well conveys the huge power of the engine. "effundo" is normally used of a great cloud of missiles fired by more than one agency: cf. Verg. A. 9. 508; Liv. 27.18.11, "telorum....uis ingens effusa in eos est"; further, T.L.L. 5.2.218. 50 ff..

ballista: this spelling is preferable to "balista", for the word derives from βάλλειν: cf. Isid. orig. 18.10.2, "ballista genus tormenti ab emittendo iaculo dicta, βάλλειν enim graece mittere dicitur"; further T.L.L. 2. 1700. 76 ff..

uastos...molares: cf. Verg. A. 8.250 "ramis uastisque molaribus instat"; and Servius ad loc., "asperrimis saxis, non unde molae fiunt: et secundum Homerum (Il. 7.270 μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ) dixit."

337. ferratam....ornum: according to Caesar, the missiles flung by the Massiliotes' ballista were "asseres...pedum XII cuspidibus praefixi", Civ. 2.2.2.

excutiens: used of a twangy force that gives a bouncing kick to an object. Thus Manilius, of acrobats, "corpora, quae ualido saliunt excussa petauro", 5. 439. Hence of catapults, bows etc., which rely on torsion or tension: cf. 474f. below, "saxa per artem/ tormentis excussa"; Sen. Her. F. 989f., "excutiat leues/ neruus sagittas".

media agmina: presumably referring to the carry-on effect of a catapult's bolt, noted above on 267: even the men in the middle of the press, behind the front rows, are hit.

339. conseruere acies: this language of set-piece battle (cf. Luc. 4.31, "consertis...maniplis"; Liv. 38.22.9, "inter se conserti") is most inappropriate at this stage of proceedings. The following comparison and the next stage of narrative (347f.) make it plain that no Saguntines are outside the wall. Silius is more careful later, when he uses the creation of a breach to allow epic combat (374f.), or a sortie by some defenders (426f.).

339f. ueluti circumdata uallo/Roma foret: see 270n..

340. clamatque: Marsus was right to emend thus S's "clamantque", for the subject is obviously Hannibal; but it is a bold intrusion nonetheless, since the Carthaginian has not been the subject of a main verb since 323, a gap of 16 lines (not 30, as Williams implies, 1978 245 n.111). Williams collects in this note various examples of changes of subject where the "epic poets [of the Silver Age] fail to make textually clear the subjects of sentences, often relying on a pronoun, which is ambiguous to a reader, to refer to a subject that has not been mentioned for some time", 244f.. Not all of his cases are valid (at Luc. 6.300, for example, the subject is not "ipse" but "ipse....dux"), but the phenomenon is noteworthy. Our example, without so much as a pronoun, is particularly abrupt: the striking switch makes a dramatic introduction to Hannibal's forceful speech. See above, on 310 "secuti", for a similar case.

super: = "insuper", "in addition".

340-344. As Ruperti says of these hortatory questions, "uim sarcasmi facile senties". Such sarcastic questions are appropriate in the mouth of a commander urging on the slack or wavering: cf. Agamemnon, Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέεc, οὔ νυ cέβεcθε;/ τίφθ' οὕτωc ἔcτητε τεθηπότεc, ἠΰτε νεβροί;/... ἦ μένετε Τρῶαc cχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν...; Il. 4.242 ff.; Pallas, "quo fugitis, socii?.../deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petamus?" A. 10.369 ff.; Frederick the Great, "Ihr Hünde, Wollt Ihr ewig leben?" (quoted, with other variations, by B. Knox, Word and Action: Essays on the ancient Theatre, 1974 14).

tot milia, gentes: cf. Verg. A. 9.132, "tot milia gentes" [!]. The annalistic tradition had fantastic figures for Hannibal's army at Saguntum: Livy gives 150,000 (21.8.3).

340f. gentes/ inter tela satae: compare the boast of the Rutulian Numanus during the siege in Aeneid 9: "durum a stirpe genus..../omne aeuum ferro teritur", 603ff.. Silius has earlier commented on the bellicosity of the Numidians (218f.) and the Spaniards (222 ff.).

341. capto...hoste: another possible reminiscence of the words of Numanus, who taunts the Trojans with being "bis uicti Phryges" (599).

342. nonne: Summers prints the reading of Ch, and Ruperti comments "recte, opinor" beside it in his apparatus; Bauer, Duff and the Budé give the "anne" of S. Lindblom 122 demonstrates that nowhere in Silius does "anne" come before a consonant: in this regard Silius follows epic practice; see Norden on A. 6. 719. "nonne" suits better the sarcastic tone: not "you aren't ashamed of our undertaking, are you?", but "you really are ashamed of our undertaking aren't you?" See further, in defence of "nonne", Van Veen 290.

343. primitiaeque ducis: the attack on Saguntum is consistently represented as being Hannibal's first action: see on 271-295, and cf. 549 below, where his fighting is described as "naua rudimenta et primos in Marte calores."

345f. haustusque medullis/ Hannibal exagitat: picked out as a rare example of boldness of expression in Silius by J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome: Silver Age^{3} 1964 371. The image is helped by the common use of "haurire" to describe rapt attention: cf. Verg.

A. 4.359, "uocemque his auribus hausi" (with Pease's note); Liv. 27.51.1, "oculis auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes." "haurire" and similar expressions are used of "drinking words in" (cf. N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.32); here the word even goes a bit further, so that Duff's translation is close to the meaning; "the spirit of Hannibal sank deep into their hearts".

"medullae" is the marrow, of the same nature as the brain (Plin. *Nat.* 11.178), and hence "the stuff of vitality and strength" (R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*^{2} 1954 149): here lodge such powerful emotions as grief and rage (ibid., 150).

347. *inuadunt manibus uallum:* in their fervour the troops revert to primitive methods; here we are back in the world of the *Iliad*:

Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἄρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑλὼν χερϲὶ ϲτιβαρῇϲιν/
ἕλχ', ἡ δ' ἕϲπετο πᾶϲα, 12.397f..

347f. *caesasque relinquunt/ deiecti muris dextras:* Silius has presumably taken the grotesque conceit from Lucan, who has such an incident in a "siege" (6. 175f.) and a naumachia (3. 611 ff.). The ἀρχὴ κακῶν is probably Cynegeiros, who died from having his hand chopped off as he grabbed at a Persian ship during the battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 114): S.F. Bonner, AJPh LXXXVII 1966 281f., has a diverting discussion of the history of the story as a declamatory topos.

348. *subit arduus agger:* "subit" well catches the way in which these mounds were erected, beginning at some distance from the wall and gaining in height as they approached (see, e.g., Joseph. BJ. 3.7.8ff.); "arduus" indicates at once the strenuousness of the operation and

the steep height of the *agger*: at Masada, admittedly an extreme example, the *agger* "climbs 225 ft. at an incline of 1 in 3", according to I.A. Richmond, JRS LII 1962 154.

349. "imponit" governs "urbi": "puts bands of soldiers into the city": hence "desuper" means "from above" (cf. T.L.L. 5.1. 789.43).

globos: bunches and groups of men, not organised in proper units: cf. Veget. 3.19, defining a "globus" as a formation "a sua acie separatus".

351. Cf. Grat. 342 (of a version handled only by one man, a sort of spear), "manu uibrata *falarica dextra*" [!]. Silius follows Livy in describing a large catapult-missile (21.8.10 ff.); on the distinction between the two, see RE 6.1968. The weapon was named from the "fala", an offensive siege-tower; cf. GLOSS "phala": "phalae et phalaricae sunt bellicae turres uel machinae, quae muris applicatae frequentibus eos pulsant balistis." But a fiery missile of this sort was especially useful for defenders to use against siege-towers, as Vegetius recommends (4.18): such is its use in Silius' account, 362-364; cf. Aen. Tact. 33. 1f. for similar devices.

falarica: once more the delayed subject.

352. *horrendum uisu:* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6. 892, "horrendum uisu"; Verg. *A.* 4.454. 8.565 "horrendum dictu" [!].

352f. By dwelling on the spot where the piece of wood was felled, Silius incongruously for a moment elevates the missile to partnership with such portentous timber as that which formed the ship of Jason

(Eur. Med. 1 ff., εἴθ' ὤφελε.../..μηδ' ἐν νάπαιϲι Πηλίου πεϲεῖν ποτε/ τμηθεῖϲα πεύκη; Enn. 246f.V, "utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus/ caesae accidissent abiegnae ad terram trabes"), or of Paris (Eur. Hec. 631 ff., Ἰδαίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ὕλαν / Ἀλέξανδροϲ εἰλατίναν/ ἐτάμεθ'). Such parallels might induce us to view with favour N. Heinsius' proposal of "secta" for "lecta", but "seco" is used rather of chopping off branches than of chopping down whole trunks.

353f. The punctuation is in dispute. Duff carries straight on after "cuspis", Summers has a comma, Ruperti a semi-colon. The best solution is Bauer's, adopted by the Budé, of putting "uix muris toleranda lues" in parenthesis, qualifying "cuspis". The contrast with "sed" ("it had a huge point - but as for the rest of it...") is blurred unless the intervening phrase is in parenthesis.

plurima cuspis: three feet long, according to Livy, 21.8.11.

354. uix muris toleranda lues: the falarica's danger to walls finds a mention whenever Silius brings in the weapon: cf. 9. 339, "ipsis metuenda falarica muris"; 6.214f..

sed cetera: perhaps from Livy's description of the falarica, 21.8.10, "telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum unde ferrum exstabat". Silius' next line also appears to owe something to Livy's language: cf. 21.8.10, "id (sc. ferrum), sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice."

In Livy "cetera" is an adverbial accusative plural, and N. Heinsius interpreted Silius' use thus also, making the necessary change of "fumant" to "fumat", with the subject still "trabs".

This is certainly right; the "haec" repeated over the next lines (356, 360, 362) naturally hooks onto "trabs...fumat", while the reading "cetera...fumant " forces the reader to hunt back for a point of reference for "haec".

355. circumlita sulphure fumat: cf. Verg. A. 2. 698, "circum loca sulphure fumant" [!]. Silius describes the passage of the falarica with the words Vergil had used of a falling star: he continues thus at 357. In the ensuing simile he compares the falarica to a falling star; this technique of creating links between simile and context is very important to Silius: see 324-326 n..

356. fulminis...ritu: cf. Vergil's (hand-propelled) falarica, A. 9. 706, "fulminis acta modo". Silius adapts the words for his own theme, for the thunder-bolt is Jupiter's ultimate check on Carthaginian impiety, and at two crucial moments Hannibal is stopped by Jupiter's olts: outside Saguntum (1.535ff.), and outside Rome (12.622 ff.). e potent associations of the "fulmen" image here are underlined the words describing the bolt's origin: "summis e moenibus arcis". So, at Rome, Jupiter casts his thunderbolt "summo de culmine montis", 12.622.

357. incita: the enjambed dactyl is intended to convey the sudden impulse of the shot.

sulcatum: an allusion to the visible trail that the smoky pitch and sulphur must have left in the air for some time. Apollonius was the first to use δλκόν of the path left by a falling star (3.1377f.), and he was followed by Vergil (A. 2.697, "sulcus"), Lucan (5.561-563), Valerius Flaccus (1.568f.). J.G. Griffith has a note on the history of the image, CQ N.S. XXIX 1979 463f..

tremula secat: "seco" is commonly used of swift motion through the air (cf. Verg. G. 1. 409; A. 4.257; Cic. Arat. 48), but "sulcatum" is a vivid reminder of the word's literal force, greatly stressing the sharpness and power of the weapon. "tremula", well used of the flames on a moving object, produces an interesting tug between its own flickering, uncertain connotations and the direct, incisive "secat".

358f. The simile serves to draw our attention to more than the visual. Comets, meteors and falling stars were commonly regarded as portending great upheavals: see Pease, ed. Cic. Div., 106f.; ed. N.D. 1.584. The evil aspect of this star is shown by its blood-coloured tail; cf. Sen. Nat. 7.17.3," (cometes) cruenti quidam, minaces, qui omen prae se futuri sanguinis ferunt"; Verg. G. 1. 488, A. 10.272f.; Sil. 1.461 f., "crine ut flammifero terret fera regna cometes,/ sanguineum spargens ignem.."; 8.636f., "non unus crine corusco,/ regnorum euersor, rubuit letale cometes."

358. praestringit lumina: cf. Luc. 1.154, "praestringens lumina [!] flamma." "lumina" is a normal enough word for eyes, but there is a play here in one bright light making another set of lights dull.

361. fumantia membra: far separated from the dependent "pugnantum": the syntactical disjunction perhaps reflects the physical one. The limbs smoke not only because of the pitch; Silius uses "fumo" of ordinary wounds as well. Victims' "cruor" may smoke on an altar (e.g., Verg. A. 8.106); the ground, a sword, even hands might

"steam" with fresh blood: Stat. Theb. 10.300, "fumat humus"; Ach. 1.432, "(ferrum) sanguine fumet"; Shakespeare, Julius Caesar 3.1.158, "now, whilst your purpled hands do reek and smoke". Valerius Flaccus (2.233) and Silius are the only authors to use the verb of a wound or wounded part: for Silius, cf. 178, 419.

362-364. Raabe 203 discusses what he calls the "Turm-motif", the firing and collapse of a siege-tower. Vergil, who is Silius' main model here, describes the destruction of a defensive tower, part of the fortifications of the Trojan camp (A. 9. 530 ff.); but normally it was the mobile offensive siege-towers which were the victims, fired by the missiles or the sallies of the defendants: cf. Luc. 3.498 ff.; Sil. 14.300 ff.; see G. Webster, The Roman Imperial Army 1969 231f..

362. lateri....fixa: cf. Verg. A. 9.536, "et flammam adfixit lateri (sc. turris)."

363. pluteis.....adesis: cf. Verg. A. 9.537, "postibus...adesis." Silius substitutes the technical substantive, which he found in Lucan's Massilian siege (3.488): these are the only poetic occurrences [*]. (At Prop. 4.8.68 the word denotes part of a couch, at Juv. 2.7 a wall-bracket).

364. arma uirosque: "arma" and the forms of "uir" are a favourite line-opening of Vergil's, the first line of the Aeneid being especially conspicuous: for "arma uiros" alone, cf. A 6.814, 9.57, 462. The phrase, with its many variants, becomes an epic tag: see Schumann 1.130f..

365. artae: thus Koch, taking over the "arte" of F.. He is followed by Bauer, Summers, Duff and the Budé. LOV have "arct(a)e"; from this Marsus suggested "actae", on analogy with Verg. A. 2.441, "acta testudine", and Ruperti and Ernesti follow suit. Koch is right, however, for Silius is following his predecessors in ringing the changes upon Vergil's expression, which is the conventional Latin for forming up a "testudo" (cf. Caes. Gal. 5.43; Sal Jug. 94.3): thus Lucan has "densa testudine", 3.474; Statius "caeca testudine", Theb. 10.530; in all four writers the variants take up the same portion of the line.

366. subducti: Koch's certain correction of S's "subducto": the Carthaginians are baffled by the falarica, and retreat from their attack to try another method, mining.

366f. There is a paradoxical apposition between "caeca latebra" and "pandunt": by hiding themselves they reveal the city.

In Livy it is battering rams that effect the breach (21.8.5); the covert method which Silius has the Carthaginians use is appropriate for the character they have in his poem: see 327 ff.n.. It is possible that the Carthaginians were pioneers of this technique; it first appears in 409, during Hannibal's siege of Himera, when he brought down a section of the wall by digging underneath the defenses and then burning out the wooden props of the tunnel to produce a cave-in: see D.S. 13.59.8.

368. in sonitum: the walls actually pitch forward into the spot where they produce the noise; in a way that is hard to describe, "in" is a very good choice. It gives the same picture of buckling over

as Lucr. 3.1049, "omnes plerumque cadunt in uulnus"; Stat. Theb. 4.463, "in uulnus cecidere greges;" Sil. 2.129f., "tum subitum in uulnus praeceps deuoluitur altis/ aggeribus muri."

369f. aggere uicto/ Herculeus labor: the juxtaposition is pointed, for Hercules' distinctive epithet in cult was "inuictus"; cf. RE 8.1. 560 ff..

369. Herculeus labor: an adaption of Hor. Carm. 1.3.36, but meaning here not a Labour of Hercules but a piece of work erected by Hercules.

370. caeli: thus ChS, followed by Bauer (and defended by him, Bauer 1888 195f.), Duff, the Budé, and Summers; early editors, including Ernesti and Ruperti, give "caelo". The genitive is untranslatable ("and a mighty rumbling of the sky followed their fall", Duff; "les blocs énormes.....font monter jusqu'au ciel un puissant grondement", Budé). The dative makes perfect sense: as often, a Vergilian parallel is decisive; "ingentem caelo sonitum dedit", G. 2.306.

370-372. Hannibal's conquering of the walls built by Hercules is represented in a simile in which the walls of Italy, pierced before only by Hercules (2.356f.), crumble. The simile begins abruptly at the bucolic diaresis; the switch to the remote world of the simile is dramatic and effective.

370. Alpibus altis: "Alpibus, quae Gallorum lingua alti montes uocantur", Serv. A. 4. 442; cf. Catul. 11.9, "siue trans altas gradietur Alpes."

371. aeriae rupes: cf. Verg. G. 3.474, "aerias Alpes"; Petr. 123. 144,

"Alpibus aeriis."

372. fragmine montem: cf. Verg. A. 9. 569, 10.698, "fragmine montis" [!].

373. "certantem" S, "certantum" corr. LF, "certatim" Ch, "(cumulis) etiam tum" Summers. Koch 11, Thilo 591 defend "certatim", but Summers 1899 297 convincingly demonstrates that neither "certatim" nor "certantum" makes any sense. When dealing with Silian cruces it is always a good idea to search for his model. Ruperti gives it correctly as Luc. 3.508, where the Roman agger collapses: "procubuit maiorque iacens apparuit agger." Enough of Silius' line is undisputed for it to be certain that some such idea is present, even if, as Summers says, Silius has toned down Lucan's exaggeration: "the collapsed 'agger' rose up [in heaps/in a heap]." Summers' "etiam tum" ("even now after its collapse") is certainly possible, even if it involves the change of S's "cumulo" to "cumulis". This emendation is by no means certain, however: I suspect that "certantem/um" conceals a word for "rubble". Thus, purely for the sake of example, "surgebat cumulo saxorum prorutus agger." Best probably to obelise "certantem".

374. obstabatque iacens uallum: although suppressing the absurdity of Lucan's expression (quoted above), Silius retains some of the paradoxical flavour by the tension between the two verbs: although lying on the ground, the vallum still stood in the way.

ni: Duff and O.L.D. (2b) take "ni" to equal "ne": "the vallum prevented them from joining battle". Thilo 591f. and Lindblom 122f. understand "ni" as "nisi", Lindblom paraphrases "obstabat uallum et re uera impediuisset pugnare, nisi protinus institissent" (for the vivid use of tenses, see H.-S. 328, S.A. Handford, The Latin Subjunctive 1947 121f.; on Silius' practice in this regard, Lindblom 95f.); in English, "the collapsed wall was still high in parts (373), and would have been a serious obstacle if the two sides had not there and then set to fighting in the middle of the wreckage."

Decisive in favour of the second interpretation are the following considerations. There is no sense in Silius' saying that the wall prevented fighting if he goes on to describe at length the fighting that actually took place in the ruins (376 ff.). "media pugnare ruina" has no point as a description of what they could not do, while it has a lot of point as a description of the particular handicaps of this unique crisis. Finally, Livy, almost certainly Silius' source, lays special stress on the fact that the demolition of this stretch of wall made hand-to-hand combat possible: "captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, uelut si pariter utrosque muros texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat,....sed iustae acies [cf. 375 'acies'], uelut patenti campo, inter ruinas [cf. 375 'ruina'] muri tectaque urbis modico distantia interuallo constiterant", 21.8.6 f..

376-420. The aristeia of one Murrus, a Saguntine defender, who despatches eleven of the enemy in 38 lines. If Hannibal is to have a grand single combat before his wounding, then his antagonist must be built up to proper stature beforehand. This consideration is alone enough to justify the detail lavished on Murrus; there is no need to assume with Münzer (RE 16.670) that the wealth of personal information here is token of the historicity of the individual, for epic heroes cannot be nameless (see 152 "Tagum" n.), and the background about his parents serves to make him more of a substantial character. The name is rare: according to Swanson, outside Silius its only other occurrence in poetry is Luc. 9.828, as the name of one of Cato's troops. Münzer may be right to suggest that the name is Spanish: Silius has it once elsewhere, of a soldier in Hasdrubal's army who might be a Spaniard (15.467); an inscription from the Spanish town of La Olleria records a L. Furius Murrus (C.I.L. 2. 3650). S. Lundström suggests that Silius intends a significance in the name: as the "murus" collapses, Murrus steps forward in its place (*"Sprach's" bei Silius Italicus* 1971 46f.). There may be something in this, for Silius is aware of the "men/walls" motif; see 16n..

The aristeia itself is a tepid affair, marked by a depressing "mediocritas". First we have three mini-combats (380-402), each with a little speech. Nowhere do Homer or Vergil so abbreviate the sequence of encounter, combat and speech, accumulating one on another. When Aeneas, for example, goes on the rampage after Pallas' death (*A.* 10. 510ff.), Vergil presents him in three fights in which words are spoken by one or both combatants; but the whole sweep of this action takes 95 lines, as against Silius' 22, and the peaks of the major combats are a dozen lines apart in each case (537-549, 561-574). As Lundström remarks, commenting on the abrupt "tum" of 386 and "mox" of 392 (58), "Es geht also um Routine, nicht um Heldentaten."

There follows a 15-line list of victims (403-417). Here there is neither a string of names in the homeric manner, on the ἔνθ' ἕλε pattern (cf. B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* Hermes Einzelschr. XXI 1968 68f.), nor a varied schema of diverse pace and emphasis. Instead, Silius hits upon τὸ μέσον with a series of names which all receive some small bits of information. The result is a dogged homogeneity of temperature, quite unlike the effect achieved in such lists by Vergil, who chooses one man or two to set out from the crowd: "protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni,/persequitur, fortemque Numam fuluumque Camertem,/ magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri/ qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnauit Amyclis", *A.* 10. 561-564. Nor is the information which Silius gives us designed to affect our emotions or make these men mean anything to us: he produces a parade of θαυμάσια of more ethnographic than human interest. He might have turned to Ovid's mini-epic, *Met.* 5.30-235, or even Valerius Flaccus' show-piece battle in Book 6, to discover how to manage a concatenation of encounters with elegance and variety.

Silius' observation of Vergil, however, leads him to a more successful list of victims when he describes Hannibal's exploits: see 437 ff. n..

376f. *emicat..../....Murrus:* a common form of bringing on or re-introducing a hero, with the verb brought forward and the name postponed: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.728f., "emicat hic impune putans et corpore toto/alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem"; 7.55f., "petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis/Turnus"; V.Fl.6. 203f., "uiderat Hyrcanos paribus discurrere fratres/ Castor equis"; Stat. *Theb.* 8.441f., "abstulit ex umero dextram Calydonius Agreus/Phegeos"; Sil 4. 594f., "enabat tandem medio uix gurgite pulcher/ Irpinus."

The bringing forward of the verb is a characteristic effect of Latin prose or verse, producing emphasis of various kinds; cf. J. Marouzeau, *L'Ordre des Mots dans la Phrase Latine* 2,1938 64, Volume Complémentaire 1953 48f.; W. Kroll, Anfangsstellung des Verbums in Lateinischen, Glotta IX 1918 112-123; K.-S. 2.2.599 ff.. The force here is arresting and dramatic; as Marouzeau puts it (1938 64), it has something of the effect of "ecce", "voici que".

primaeuo flore iuuentae: the translators miss the point: Silius is specifying the age at which young men were considered most attractive. They are then barely "iuuenis", which is why Vergil, in the line imitated by Silius here, puts them together with "pueri": "ante urbem pueri et primaeuo flore iuuentus/ exercentur equis", A. 7. 162 f.. Compare Homer's Hermes, referred to with approval by Socrates (Prot. 309F): βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητήρι ἐοικώς,/ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη, Il. 24.347f.; also Vergil's Euryalus,"quo pulchrior alter/ non fuit Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma,/ ora puer prima signans intonsa iuuenta", A. 9. 179-181.

377. Rutulo...de sanguine: see end of note on 271-295 for the story of the colonists from Ardea.

377f. As Shackleton Bailey 173 points out, Duff misconstrues these lines. They run thus: "Murrus was of Rutulian blood (sc. from his father, as any unqualified attribution of a man's race would imply); but at the same time ('at idem') he had Greek blood from his mother, who was a Saguntine"(and hence Greek, as Shackleton Bailey says: "To Silius Saguntine = Greek; cf. 3.178, 'Graia Saguntos'").

379. All editors print S's "Italis", which can only mean "by virtue of the fact that he had these two parents he mixed Greek descendants with Italian ones -- by his own offspring ("prole"). This is not

very satisfactory. Van Veen 290 suggests "Itala", which Shackleton Bailey 173 and Summers (with a "fort. recte" in his apparatus) incline to accept. It seems perfectly right: "with this double parentage he mixed in his own person Greek descendants with Italian stock."

Dulichios: Zacynthian, by metonymy, for both islands are part of Odysseus' Kingdom: cf. Odysseus' "Dulichias domos" at Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.60.

381. Cf. Hom. *Il*. 22. 324f., φαίνετο δ' ᾗ κληῗδεϲ ἀπ' ὤμων αὐχέν' ἔχουϲι,/ λαυκανίην, ἵνα τε ψυχῆϲ ὤκιϲτοϲ ὄλεθροϲ; Verg. A. 11. 691ff., "Buten auersum cuspide fixit/ loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis/ lucent"; V.Fl. 6.375, "inde Thoen (sc. ferit), qua pelta uacat"; Stat. *Theb.* 8.524f., "direxit iactus, summae qua margine parmae/ ima sedet galea et iuguli uitalia lucent."

corpus.....patescit: this has nothing of the clearly visualised and pathetic quality of Vergil's "colla lucent" (from the passage quoted above). Schrader 1870 suggested "pectus" for "corpus", but the change is unnecessary.

382. *conantis:* here, as often, of making an attempt that is vain or audacious (cf. τολμάω): cf. Cic. *Ver*. 5, "quod si quam audax est ad conandum, tam esset obscurus in agendo"...; *Catil.* 1.15, "nihil adsequeris, [nihil moliris], neque tamen conari ac uelle desistis".

motus speculatus: warriors eye their adversaries over, looking for the best spot to aim at: cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.321, εἰϲορόων χρόα καλόν, ὅπη εἴξειε μάλιϲτα, 13.159, 370; Verg. *A.* 12.920 f., "cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,/ sortitus fortunam oculis"; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 760f. (of boxers), "ut sese permensi oculis et uterque priorem/ sperauere locum...." etc..

383. prostratumque premens telo: a natural pose for vaunting speeches: cf. Hom. Il. 13.618f., ὁ δὲ λὰξ ἐν ϲτήθεϲϲι βαίνων/ τεύχεά τ' ἐξενάριξε καὶ εὐχόμενοϲ ἔποϲ ηὔδα; Verg. A. 10.736f., "tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta:/ 'pars belli haud temnenda, uiri, iacet altus Orodes'."

urget: although metaphorical, the word still picks up the force of "premens": both Murrus' words and weapon oppress Aradus.

The contemptuous speech to an opponent is a recurrent item in epic battles: Miniconi 177 has a collection. Murrus specialises in the sarcastic, a variety with some unpleasant specimens (Hom. Il. 16. 745-750; Verg. A. 10.592-594). His words to Aradus are of the type which taunt a man for failing in what he dreamed or boasted of doing, and point out how the tables are turned: cf. Hector to Patroclus, Hom. Il. 16.830 ff., ἦ που ἔφηϲθα πόλιν κεραϊξέμεν ἁμήν/... ϲὲ δέ τ' ἐνθάδε γῦπεϲ ἔδονται, and Achilles, in turn, to Hector, 22. 331ff., ἀτάρ που ἔφηϲ, Πατροκλῆ' ἐξεναρίζων, /ϲῶϲ ἔϲϲεϲθ', ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲν ὀπίζεο νόϲφιν ἐόντα/... ϲὲ μὲν κύνεϲ ἠδ' οἰωνοὶ/ ἑλκήϲουϲ' ἀϊκῶϲ. Vergil has nothing quite like this; but we find similar things in Statius: cf. e.g. Theb. 9.544-546, "hic ferus Hippomedon, hic formidabilis ultor/ Tydeos infandi debellatorque cruenti/ gurgitis!"

384. iaces: cf. Hom. Il. 21.122, κεῖϲο; Verg. A. 10.557, "iace". The imperative is ferocious; Silius has taken over the indicative from contexts in Ovid where it has a pathetic or awe-struck tone: Met. 1. 720, "Arge, iaces"; 13.495, "nata, iaces".

384f. Capitolia.../scandebas uictor: the impiety of the Carthaginian's ambition is shown by this paradoxical use of the language used to describe the Roman *triumphator*'s progress to the Capitol: cf. Liv. 42. 49.6, "triumphantem....mox cum exercitu uictore scandentem in Capitolium ad ... deos" (cf. 45.39.2).

385. *quae tanta licentia uoti?* the borrowing of Lucan's famous words ("quae tanta licentia ferri?", 1.8) has no particular point in this passage: they are taken for their forcefulness, a quality which Silius obviously feels to be as readily transferable as the words themselves. At 11.162, however, the borrowing is genuinely forceful, for there an analogous phrase is in the mouth of a man addressing his fellow-citizens, attempting to dissuade them from the equivalent of civil war: "quae tanta obliuio recti?" (with an echo, perhaps, of Statius' adaption of the phrase, "quae tanta obliuio luctus?", *Theb.* 8.669).

5. *nunc Stygio fer bella Ioui:* i.e., now that your foolish attack on Capitoline Jove has come to a premature end: for the attack on Saguntum and on Rome as an attack on Jupiter, see 270n..

tum feruidus hastam: cf. *Ilias* 777, "tum feruidus hasta" [!]. "feruidus" occurs in diverse formulae at this point in the line: see Schumann 2.262f..

387. *aduersi...Hiberi:* Silius is unfortunately fond of this pattern, with an adjective forward and the name of the character delayed: so only four lines later ("instaurantis...Hiberi"); 10. 73-76 is his worst example: "ac retro cursum tendentem ad crebra suorum/ agmina et in densis furantem membra maniplis/ per conferta uirum et stipata umbonibus arma/ consequitur, melior planta, atque

obtruncat Acherram".

The name of the soldier killed here is irretrievably lost. The manuscripts have "Hiberi", but Hiberus is another character, who enters at 391 ff.. The name "Hiberi" has crept up from 392 because, as Summers 1899 297 rightly explains, the corrector misunderstood 391 "instaurantis pugnam" and "so imagined that 'Hiberus' had been described as fighting before. He accordingly altered the name which originally stood at the end of 387" (this explanation removes the need for the rearrangement of lines suggested by Schaefer 15f.). The Budé editors believe that "instaurantis pugnam" refers to the man who is clearly "hors de combat" in 388, but this is quite impossible ("Hibérus tente de se débattre"): "renewing the fight" here means only getting it going again after the pause made by Murrus' speech.

If we obelize "Hiberi" we restore sense: there is no need to follow Summers in going further and rearranging the sequence of the whole passage (he proposes 387, 403-419, 388 ff.).

in inguine: it is noteworthy that, in the Iliad, this region is the particular speciality of Meriones (see Fenik, op.cit. 376-420n., 18). Vergil mentions a wound here twice only (A. 10.589, 786); Silius has a cluster in Book 10 (39, 158, 178), and an isolated example at 4.198.

388. Not a Vergilian or Homeric topos: cf. Ov. Pont. 4.7.47 "ense tuo factos calcabas uictor aceruos"; Met. 5.88, "extructos morientum calcat aceruos"; Ib. 29; Luc. 7.747 ff., "impulit amentes..../... caesos calcare duces." The whole business reeks of the declamation schools: cf. Quint. Decl. 246 (p.9, 1.12), "calcastis cadauera

hostium"; [Quint.] *Decl*. 9.18, "age, si perisset, cadauer calcasses?"; but the general notion of "kicking a man when he is down" goes back at least to the fifth century: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 884f. (with Fraenkel's note), ὥϲ τι ϲύγγονον/βροτοῖϲι τὸν πεϲόντα λακτίϲαι πλέον.

oraque....singultantia: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.752f., "ut singultantia uidit/ora". The "singultūs" of death-throes resemble sobbing in being juddering and jerky convulsions brought up from the chest: hence Vergil can speak of the "singultūs" of death thumping away at the abdomen; "uoluitur ille uomens calidum de pectore flumen/ frigidus et longis singultibus ilia pulsat", *A*. 9. 414f..

389f. The sarcasm is in the same vein as the Statian passage quoted above on 383 "urget", where the effect is achieved simply by stating the aim of the enemy with full contempt.

390. *o metuenda manus:* cf. Aeneas' savage words to the corpse of Tarquitus, *A.* 10.557; "istic nunc, metuende, iaces."

392. *latus haurit Hiberi:*

This usage of "haurio" has attracted considerable comment: important discussions are T.L.L. 6.2573. 61 ff. (Brink); D. West, C Q N.S. XV 1965 275f.; Hollis on Ov. *Met*. 8.371; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 890. West is right to refer this metaphorical meaning to the basic meaning of "haurio": "(it) is to be understood with direct reference to the physical act of scooping out a helping of liquid or grain" (275). A rather difficult note by Servius helps clarify the image. Commenting on *A*. 10.314 "per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum", Servius says "haurit: ferit... sed non nudum latus, sed quod aperuerat." It is, then, an opportunistic stroke, a side-long swipe directed against an inadvertently exposed area, so that the blade is in and out again, scooping or gouging out an exposed chunk. Thus, in Livy, Torquatus catches a huge Gaul's shield with his own, moves very close in, and swipes at the area his deftness has exposed: "uno alteroque subinde ictu uentrem atque inguina hausit," 7.10.10. Our passage is very similar: "circumsilit arma/ et rapto nudum clipeo latus haurit Hiberi;" cf. Ov. Met. 5. 126, where Pelates is defenceless as his hand is pinned to the wall, 'haerenti latus hausit Abas"; Sen. Ag. 890, where Agamemnon is trapped in the net, and Aegisthus is not man enough to run him through, "haurit trementi semiuir dextra latus," almost "dabbing" at him.

It is natural, then, that most examples should refer to a man's flank being slashed at in this way: cf. the rest of Servius' note; "quidam italicam (militarem Schoell) elocutionem putant: cum enim a latere quis aliquem adortus occidit, 'haurit illum' dicunt."

393-396. Later epic did not follow, probably did not even notice, Homer's practice with such passages: in the Iliad such "anecdotal information" normally comes before a man's death, and straight after the mentioning of his name: see C.A. Beye, Homeric Battle Narrative and Catalogues, HSCPh LXVIII 1964 345-373; Fenik, op.cit. 376-420 n., 16ff..

Silius' Hiberus is an odd mixture of the man of substance, such as Homer's Diocles (Il. 5.544) or Vergil's Camertes (A. 10.563), and the pastoral or woodland youth, skilled with bow and javelin, such as Homer's Scamandrius (Il. 5. 49ff.) or Vergil's Nisus (A. 9. 176 ff.), Amycus (9. 771 f.), or Ornytus (11. 677 ff.).

393. diues agri, diues pecoris: cf. Verg. A. 10.563, "ditissimus agri"; Ov. Met. 5.129f., "ditissimus agri,/ diues agri[!]"; Hor. Ars. 421 (= Sat. 1.2.13), "diues agris, diues [!] positis in faenore nummis." The genitives are homeric: cf. Il. 5.554, ἀφνειὸϲ βιότοιο, Od. 1.165, ἀφνειότερον χρυϲοῖό τε ἐϲθῆτόϲ τε.

394. feris: thus Marsus, followed by Ruperti, Ernesti, Summers and Duff. Bauer and the Budé editors retain S's "ferens".

At first sight "bella ferens arcu iaculoque" seems a reasonable phrase: cf. 3. 365, "funda bella ferens Baliaris et alite plumbo." But then "agitabat" is left apparently without an object, unless it governs "bella" along with "ferens". This alternative is not very happy. Further, 393 "famaeque negatus" coheres intimately with 394, making no sense if we read "ferens" but very good sense if we read "feris": "he led an obscure life, hunting away quietly, and would have been better off if he had never come to war". The reference to hunting in this line is picked up in 396.

agitabat: commonly used of waging war (T.L.L. 1.1335. 62 ff.); here used metaphorically, with the metaphor aided by the regular extended use of "agito" to describe hunting (T.L.L. 1.1330. 47ff.). Of course, there is a plain contrast between the safe and successful "wars" he fought against animals, and the fatal character of his first war against human beings.

395f. felix heu..../si...etc.: cf. Verg. A. 4.657, "felix, heu [!] nimium felix, si...." etc.; Pease's note collects many similar expressions: see further T.L.L. 6. 1. 444.83ff..

395. uitae...opacae: the only other example of this metaphorical use of the adjective given by T.L.L. (9.2. 659. 6-10) is Stat. Silv. 3.5. 17, "opaca quies." Clearly here the sense is also present of "shady", as being in the woods.

397. hunc miseratus: Homer commonly uses a warrior's compassion for a dead friend as a way of bringing in the next combat; cf. Il. 5.561ff., Τῶ δὲ πέϲοντ' ἐλέηϲεν ἀρηΐφιλοϲ Μενέλαοϲ,/ βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων...κτλ, 5.610; 17.346, 352. I find nothing really comparable in Latin epic, besides our passage and two others in Silius (6.207, 9.413). Silius' words presumably come, then, from his own reading of Homer: hence it is remarkable that Juhnke does not record the parallel in his index, considering how rare such direct imitation of Homer is in Silius, and how insubstantial are the majority of Juhnke's parallels.

398. cui saeuum arridens: another Homerism: Il. 7.212, μειδιόων βλοϲυροῖϲι προϲώπαϲι. cf. Ov. Met. 5. 115f., "Pedasus inridens 'Stygiis cane cetera' dixit/ 'manibus'" (where the content of the contemptuous speech is reminiscent of Murrus' speech here to Ladmus).

398-400. Ruperti has collected the topos material from Vergil: A. 2. 547ff., " referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis/ Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta/ degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento"; 9. 742, "hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem" (whence Silius has taken his "narrabis"); 11.688 f.; cf. V. Fl. 4. 312 ff.. Silius is especially fond of this topos: cf. 4.286 ff., 5.561ff.. At 11.255f. he inverts the idea, so that a man who thinks he is about to die cries out: "mihi fama sub umbras/ te feret oppressum Capuae cecidisse ruinis." Homer does not have this "messenger-bearer to

Hades" motif: it looks as if it comes from tragedy; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 422 (spoken by Polyxena just before her execution, addressing Hecuba) τί ϲοι πρὸϲ Ἕκτορ' ἢ γέροντ' εἴπω πόϲιν ;.

399. *uulgi:* like Homer's λαοί to denote the common soldiers (*Il.* 2.365, 13.108).

400. L comitem dedit, *in marg.* dabit; O dedit; V dabit; F et ferit dedit.

"Hannibalem uobis comitem dabit" is certainly sense, and is printed by, e.g., Summers. Blass proposed "Hannibalem uobis dederit comitem", which is accepted by Bauer (defended Bauer 1888 208f.), Duff and the Budé. The resulting elision, especially with finals in --"m", is very rare at this point (Soubiran 537), but it could easily be defended as an example of Silius' fondness for abrupt endings of speeches, when they are followed by a sudden or striking gesture: cf. 12.25ff., "'nunc' inquit, 'rapta petamus,/ quod superest, Libyci ductoris tegmina' - et ardens/ terrificis saeuam fundit stridoribus hastam"; 2.388 f., "'accipite infaustum Libyae euentuque priori/ par,' inquit, 'bellum' - et laxos effundit amictus." The objection to Blass' proposal is rather one of construction, for it is difficult to see that a future perfect is preferable here to a future. "dabit" gives "you will tell Hamilcar's shade about my right hand - my hand which, moreover, will give you Hannibal for company forthwith"; "dederit" gives "you will tell Hamilcar's shade about my right hand, which - by the time you get around to telling Hamilcar - will have given you Hannibal for company." With "dederit", "iam" is not easy to understand. We should do best to accept the reading and word order of V and L "marg".

comitem: cf. Stat. *Theb*. 2.607 ff., "rotat ipse furentem/ Deilochum, comitemque illi iubet ire per umbras/ Phegea."

400f. *alte/ insurgens*: cf. Verg. *A.* 11. 697, "altior exsurgens"; 12.902, "altior insurgens."

401f. Williams 1978 260 has a brief treatment of these lines which is worth some discussion, for it is characteristic of the instinctively unfavourable judgements passed upon Silius, and in Williams' argument is used to substantiate his claim that "what is most disturbing in a reading of (Silius') epic is a constant infelicity and clumsiness in his choice of words."

Williams begins with a misapprehension of what Silius is trying to describe: "the horrible idea of the noise made by the bones.... spilling from the split bronze." Bones cannot spill, but brains can, and it is brains which are the centre of attention in the passages to which Williams refers (Hom. *Il*. 11.97; Verg. *A.* 10. 416, "ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento"), along with the Lucan passage, not mentioned by Williams, from which Silius has taken his "dissipat", together with a main element of his conceit (see 402 "tegimen" n.): "caput obterit ossaque saxo/ ac male defensum fragili conpage cerebrum/ dissipat", 6. 176-178. If Silius were talking about brains then he could justly be criticised for taking over Vergil's words "without visualising his different context", and for "the weak imprecision of *tegimen* (which presumably just repeats *aera*), together with the unnecessary emphasis of *ipsum*." But he is not talking about brains, nor, primarily, about noise: he is attempting to convey the terrible force of a blow which causes a veritable explosion of the skull, so that the bones burst through the *very thing* ("ipsum") which was meant to *protect* them; "tegimen" does not mean "covering", as Duff and Williams translate it (see 402 "tegimen" n.), and it does not just repeat "aera".

402. *tegimen:* Silius takes over Lucan's conceit of the brain's inadequate covering, "ac male defensum fragili conpage cerebrum/ dissipat", 6.177 f.. Lucan meant the brains and the skull, Silius means the bones and the helmet, so that "tegimen" refers to the (now inadequate) *protective* function of the "galea". For this meaning of "tegimen" in Silius, cf. 2. 402, 5.525, 12.259. Ovid plays upon the double meaning of "covering" and "protection": "si fuit Andromache tunicas induta ualentes,/ quid mirum? duri militis uxor erat;/ scilicet Aiaci coniunx ornata uenires,/ cui tegimen septem terga fuere boum", *Ars* 3.109-112; at *Met*. 12.92 "tegimen" is the whole protective armour. Tacitus uses the word of a helmet (*Ann*. 2.21) and Livy of a bronze breastplate (1.20.4).

crepitantia: "not a good word", according to Williams. In fact Silius has chosen well, to reinforce the chief notion of the huge power of the blow. The sense of "crepito" which he wants here is that which describes a concatenation of sound produced by a flurry of small objects striking each other or another object; hence of hail, "tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando", Verg. *G.* 1. 449 (cf. *A.* 5.459; Sen. *Ep*. 45.9); of chattering teeth, "clare crepito dentibus", Plaut.*Rud.* 536 (cf. Lucr. 5.747; Man. 5.602). Here the word well conveys the disintegration of the skull, reducing the casement to hundreds of small fragments.

403. *Chremetes:* thus proposed by Gronovius (*Observ. Lib.* 4.18) for S's

"Chremes". "Chremes" (Χρέμηϲ: cf. Hor. *Ars*. 94, "iratusque Chrĕmes") will not scan, while "Chremetes" (Χρεμέτηϲ) not only scans but suits, since it is the name of a river in Libya: see 152 "Tagum" n. for Silius' common use of river names for invented characters.

405. *crudaque uirens.....senecta:* cf. Verg. *A*. 6.304, "iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus"; Tac. *Agr*. 29.4, "cruda ac uiridis senectus". As Ogilvie says ad loc., "the Virgilian phrase became something of a tag." He is not correct, though, in saying that "the later allusions only comprise 'cruda senectus' and disregard 'uiridis'." In our passage "uirens" is a hint at "uiridis", and elsewhere Silius happily accepts the metaphor: 3.255, "consilio uiridis sed belli serus Ilertes"; 7.4f.; 13.127.

406. *non pauidus fetas mulcere leaenas:* This bizarre expression of Karthalo's courage is presumably to be let past because Karthalo is from Africa, a land where Silius imagines the natives to spend much time associating with lions in one way or another: 2.439f. (a "soror Mauri" "mulcet" a trained lioness); 10.124-127 (Moorish hunters attack a lioness and cubs); 16. 235-238 (Syphax plays with lion cubs, which it was his "mos patrius nutrire"). On lions and Africa see further N.-H. on Hor. *Carm*. 1.22. 15f.; Pease on *A.* 4.159.

fetas: when they were considered most fierce, with their cubs to protect (or avenge, as Achilles in *Il*. 18. 318ff.): "sed neque fuluus aper media tam saeuus in ira est/...nec lea, cum catulis blandentibus ubera praebet/...quam...etc.", Ov. *Ars* 2.373 ff. ; V.Fl. 3.737f.; Stat. *Theb.* 10.414; Hor. *Carm*. 3.20.1 f..

407. *caelatus:* cf. Turnus' shield, exhibiting a pattern with the same

technique: "caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna", Verg. *A*, 7.792. On "caelatura", the engraving of bass-reliefs in metal, see RE 2R 12. 1750 ff..

Bagrada: named after his river (see above, 403), "Hauptfluss des punischen Africa, heutzutage Medjerda" (RE 2.2773); it had its mouth just south of Utica.

parmam: the accusative is very forced, meant to parallel 403f. "frontem...saeptus", and 415 "insignis...galeam."

Ruperti adduces various other passages in which shields display "heroum...origo et imago uel historia maiorum rerumque ab his et a toto olim populo praeclare gestarum": 2.158f.; 4.153f.; 8.384-389; 10.174f. (where we have a similar construction to 1.407, "Phorcys...Caelatus Gorgone parmam"). Ovid, in his mini-epic, has a hero with a river emblazoned on his shield: "Nileus qui se genitum septemplice Nilo/ ementitus erat, clipeo quoque flumina septem/ argento partim, partim caelauerat auro", *Met* 5. 187-189.

408. *uastae...Syrtis populator:* cf. "uastas Syrtis", Verg. *A*. 1.146. Silius' Nasamon ravages the ravaged Syrtis: "populator" also points up the etymology of "syrtis", from σύρω, "drag". The atmosphere of the whole conceit helps determine the reading in the next line, between "captare" and "raptare".

All this play is designed to highlight the paradoxical idea of this man living off what is to other men a desolate place. For the Nasamones, if not actually wreckers, certainly scavenged off the many wrecks of the Syrtes, as Silius explains in the next line (see

O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans,* 1914, 105f.; he points out that the Nasamones profited most by "conventional" piracy). Typically, Silius repeats himself when he mentions the Nasamones again in the catalogue: "huc coit aequoreus Nasamon, inuadere fluctu/audax naufragia et praedas auellere ponto" (3.320f.). When speaking of this custom of the Nasamones Lucan achieves a concatenation of pointed conceits and paradox remarkable even for him: "quem mundi barbara damnis/ Syrtis alit. nam litoreis populator harenis / imminet et nulla portus tangente carina/ nouit opes; sic cum toto commercia mundo/ naufragiis Nasamones habent", 9.440-444.

Hiempsal: this is a *Numidian* name, a favourite of the Massylian royal house, and not at all appropriate for a Nasamonian. This is an unusual sort of error for Silius to make.

409. *in fluctu laceras:* using "lacer" of shipwrecks is common, with Ovid, so far as the evidence shows, coining the idea (T.L.L. 7.2. 820. 82ff.). But Silius brings out any force left in the jaded image by putting the word beside the liquid and eminently unlacerating "fluctu". S "*captare*" (followed by Bauer, Summers and Duff), ed. prima Romana "*raptare*" (followed by Ernesti, Ruperti). The context, with its manifold plays upon the nature of the Syrtis, positively demands "raptare" (~ ϲύρειν).

411-413\. Another tit-bit of African lore, the wondrous snake-control of the tribesmen, especially the Psylli. Naturally, this θαυμάϲιον crops up again in the catalogue (3.300-302) and later (5.354). Although these practices attracted a good deal of comment from the geographers (Plin. *Nat.* 7. 14; Str. 13.1.14, 16.11; 17.1.44), it was almost certainly Lucan's lengthy account (9.891-937) upon which Silius drew here (see below, 413n.). On the Roman poets' accounts of these practices, see Tupet, op.cit. 92 n., 188f..

exarmare ueneno: the reverse of Vergil's "armare ueneno", the line-ending at *A.* 7.773.

412 *Athyr:* the only occurrence of the name in Roman poetry, according to Swanson's lists. It is the name of an Egyptian god or month, scarcely appropriate here, (see RE 2.2073f.); it is quite conceivable that Silius simply picked it for its exotic sound and was happy to disregard any inaccuracy.

tactuque: it is, naturally enough, the actual touching which is stressed; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.753f.: "hydris/ spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat."

graues...chelydros: "grauis" = χαλεπόϲ, as Conington suggests on the Vergil passage which Silius imitates here: "galbaneosque agitare grauis nidore chelydros", *G.* 3.415. But even so, "graues" sits well beside "tactu"; the "heavy" thing disarmed at a touch.

413. Cf. Lucan's line, from where Silius took "dubius" and "exploro": "letifica dubios explorant aspide partus" (9.901). One version, that of Lucan (9.902ff.), had it that the test depended on the baby not being afraid to touch the snake. It was perhaps inevitable that a more sensational version should be current as well, whereby the babies were actually bitten, their survival vindicating their parenthood: "Psylli cum arbitrantur suppositum aliquem esse in stirpe, ei admouent, ut pungat, colubram. Cum pupugerit, si de

genere sit, uiuere; si non fit, mori", Prisc. Gramm. 2.524.5. See Aelian, Hist. Anim. 1.57, where Aelian notes that the Psylli used Cerastae (see below) - his Psylli drop their babies into a box-ful of snakes.

ceraste: "poetam h.l. agnoscas in uariandis serpentum nominibus" (Ruperti). Not many readers will share Ruperti's admiration; but, as noted above, Silius is strictly accurate here, though it may be a coincidence that he and Aelian name the same snake.

414-417. There is something of a problem here, for, as Ruperti says, "Garamantes longe ab hoc oraculo in Marmorica (sc. the Sîwah Oasis of Zeus Ammon) remoti erant", ie. from the desert south-west of the Greater Syrtis to the Oasis in present-day Egypt: 15 days travel according to Strabo (17.3.19). One is tempted to solve the problem by identifying the "fatidici luci" with one of the various other groves and temples sacred to Ammon which we can locate much further westwards, a result of the diffusion of the popular cult which carried as far as Carthage (see Bates, op.cit. 408n., 197f.; at 9.298 Silius speaks of Ammon as the native god of Africa). But this is impossible, for in Book 3 Bostar travels to the oracle, which is not only situated "inter anhelantes Garamantas" (10) but also gives resonses to the people of Marmarica (687), i.e. around Sîwah. Silius is merely using Garamantia in a vague way to mean desert areas south of the littoral. Silius appears to identify Ammon especially with the Garamantes (5.357; 14.440), for Ammon sired their king Hiarbas (2.59; Verg. A. 4. 198); and since he makes Hiarbas the Garamantian the king of all the tribes of Libya (2.59ff.), we may assume the part to stand for the whole. Garamantian then means just "Libyan", "North

African". A passage in Book 14 helps to show this: Ammon is called "numen Libyae gentile carinae" (438), and then is addressed by a sailor as "Garamantice uates" (440).

414. *tu quoque:* Silius is mercifully short of apostrophe, a feature which can be so disfiguring if paraded as often as by Lucan, for example. But even here Silius must make the worst of a bad job, by delaying the vocative for four lines. He is imitating, and exaggerating to bathos, the poignant technique of Vergil: "tu quoque, flauentem prima lanugine malas/ dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon....," *A.* 10. 324f..

accola lucis: the only instance given by T.L.L. of "accola" with a dative following. But the analogy with, e.g., "affinis", makes it easier. For the position of the vocative, see 52 "Aufide". n..

415. Silius' mind jumps to the θαυμάσιον: Ammon's horns are there virtually whenever he is mentioned (3.667; 9.298; 14.439, 461; 15. 679f.). These ram's horns were a distinctive feature of representations of the god himself (s.v. "Ammon", Roscher 288f.), and of special devotees, even "children", such as Alexander and Seleucus (ibid., 290). By wearing a helmet with this motif Hiarbas contrives simultaneously to proclaim his allegiance to the god and to affect the appearance of one of those demi-gods of the past - one of them his namesake (see above 414-417n.). Nabis (15.672ff.) does the same.

cornu: we find the singular elsewhere in connection with this divine distinction: Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.29; Ov. *Ars.* 3.348 (both of Bacchus).

416f. By presenting the devout Hiarbas as Jupiter's dupe (an identical case at 15.672ff.), Silius rings the changes upon the old theme of the seer whose prophetic arts cannot save him -- or his sons -- from death: cf. Hom. Il. 2.830 ff., 5.148 ff., 13.662 ff., Verg. A. 10.417 ff. (the prophet's sons); Xen. Symp. 4.5; A.R. 2.815-817, 4.1502 ff.; Verg. A. 9.327 f.; Min. Fel. 26.5 (the prophets themselves). A related topos is that of the seer who knows his fate but will not avoid it: Hdt. 7.221, Simonides 83D (both of the Spartan seer at Thermopylae); A.R. 1. 139-141 (where Hensel, op.cit. 129-139 n., 9 ff. considers that Idmon's knowledge of his death is an innovation of Apollonius'); V.Fl. 1.228ff.; Stat. Theb. 3. 635-637, 4.187-190, 6.379f..

417. Hiarba: Silius has taken the name and the connection with Ammon from Vergil (A. 4.196 ff.). An exact parallel for Vergil's king occurs at 2.58 ff..

418. The piece of horror comes from Lucan, complete with alliteration: "ut primum cumulo crescente cadauera murum/ admouere solo", 6.180 f.. On such mounds of corpses, see 453 n..

419. "The ruins smoked with horrid slaughter", according to Duff. He has missed the main image of the line, which is a liquid one. The "caedes" is blood (T.L.L. s.v., B.1), it is black, as blood often is (T.L.L. 2.1019. 6ff.), and it has been poured all over the wreckage ("ruinae perfusae").

fumabant: a favourite word of Silius', who uses it sometimes in a very extended fashion; see 301n..

420. From Vergil, who describes Aeneas' attempts to come to grips with Turnus this: "illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit", A. 10.661.

auido: it is most revealing of ancient attitudes to war that this word of appetite is used to describe the wish to fight and kill. In Homer we commonly find μάχηϲ ἀκόρητοϲ (Il. 12.335, 13.639, 20.2) and ἆτοϲ πολέμοιο (Il. 5.388, 22.218; see J. Griffin, Homer on Life and Death 1980 34f.): similar expressions occur elsewhere: ἐξῶλέϲ ἐϲτι μάργον Αἰγύπτου γένοϲ/μάχηϲ τ' ἄπληϲτον, Aesch. Suppl.. 741f.; αἰχμᾶϲ ἀκορέϲτον, id. Pers. 998; ἄπληϲτε αἵματοϲ Κῦρε, Hdt. 1.212. Latin poets follow Homer: cf. "auidus pugnae", Verg. A. 9.661, 12.430; see T.L.L. 2.1425. 76ff.. But this is not just poeticism. Consider Livy's horrid phrase "auidos caedis milites", 9.14.2 (similar phrases 7.14.10, 9.37.2, 31.37.6, 32.12.2), and his description of a Roman massacre of some Boii: "nam ita caedis magis quam uictoriae auidi pugnarunt Romani, ut uix nuntium cladis hosti relinquerent", 33.37.8.

421-425. The simile which the MSS have in this position was transposed to after 532 by Bauer, 1888 209-211, although he declared in the preface to vol. 2 of his Teubner (p.vi) that he had afterwards changed his mind, persuaded to retain the MSS order by the arguments of Thilo (614 f.). Duff and the Budé retain Bauer's original suggestion, while von Albrecht (1963 367 ff.; 1964 111 ff.) argues in favour of leaving the lines in their traditional order.

The arguments for transposition are still very strong (most of these come straight from Bauer). The simile of a boar at bay is most inapposite to Murrus' present position. Murrus is successfully on the offensive, he is not under attack, he is not cornered or frustrated. Nor can his state of mind be in question: Murrus is greedily and exultantly shouting after Hannibal, while the boar's mood is dogged and grim. Bauer makes an excellent choice of an appropriate home for the misplaced simile. At 517 Hannibal kills Murrus and is immediately surrounded by a ring of Saguntines, whose attacks wear him down to a state of exhaustion. Of Hannibal it is said, "tum creber penitusque trahit suspiria, sicco/ fumat ab ore uapor" (530 f.: see note ad loc.), of the boar, "canentem mandens aper ore cruorem" (424); of Hannibal, "stant loricae squamis horrentia tela" (527), of the boar, "hirto/ horrescit saetis dorso" (422 f.). The boar bravely fights on against its enemies; Hannibal "mente aduersa domat gaudetque nitescere duris/ uirtutem et decoris pretio discrimina pensat" (533f.).

Such "animal at bay" similes are regularly used in epic of a great figure hard-pressed by a host of lesser men. Such is the boar-simile of Mezentius in *Aeneid* 10, where Mezentius, surrounded by the Etruscans, shakes off their missiles and stands firm (707-716, O.C.T.). Especially important for our context is the simile used of Turnus in *Aeneid 9*, where he is compared to a lion being attacked by hunters. The Budé editors, in their appendix on this passage (138-140), argue convincingly that Vergil's lines are the model which Silius took to describe Hannibal's predicament: cf. *A*.9. 791 f. "acrius hoc Teucri clamore incumbere magno/ et glomerare manum", 801 "sed manus e castris propere coit omnis in unum", *Pun.* 1.520 f. "coit aucta uicissim/ hortando manus, et glomerata mole feruntur"; *A.* 9.808 ff., *Pun.* 1.524 ff.; A. 9. 812-814, *Pun.* 1. 526. In Homer also, such similes are used of resolute defence under pressure (in other words, of Hannibal's crisis rather than

Murrus'): cf. *Il*. 13. 470 ff., 11. 414 ff. There is one exception (*Il*. 12. 41ff.),. and it is siezed upon by von Albrecht.

In accord with his general thesis on Silius' similes, that they illuminate not the immediate context but the whole "Gestalt" or "Situation", von Albrecht will have it that the boar-simile does apply to Murrus, for it reveals the "Grundsituation": despite his momentary success Murrus is still "ein Einwohner der von Feinden umstellten Stadt Sagunt. Diese Grundsituation bleibt für den Helden bestimmend, auch wenn er hervorstürmt, um mit den Angreifern zu kämpfern - gleich einem aufgescheuchten Eber", 1963 368. Such an extremely broad, even paradoxical application of the simile seems to me to miss the fact that the simile well concentrates upon one situation and a series of details: a particular predicament and then noise and foaming mouths. I can think of no other simile in Silius which is so incongruously apposite, nor does von Albrecht mention any.

The parallel that he does claim is the homeric simile mentioned above (*Il.* 12.41 ff.), holding it to be Silius' model. Hector's initial rush has stalled at the ditch, and as he moves up and down the ranks trying to persuade his men to cross over he is described as a boar or a lion which is faced by ranks of men like a wall (πυργηδὸν ϲφέαϲ αὐτοὺϲ ἀρτύναντεϲ, 43); they hurl javelins at him; whenever he attacks, they fall back. According to von Albrecht, "bei diesem Ebergleichnis finden wir nähmlich dieselbe auffallende Diskrepanz zwischen der äusseren Situation und dem Wesen des Helden. Hektor ist in diesem Augenblick nicht in Bedrängnis, sondern er berennt das Lager der Achaier", 369. All one can say to this is that Hector *is* "in Bedrängnis"; no one will go over the ditch nor will his own horses (50-57), and his thwarted attack does not get under way again until 88ff.. And he is not just now assaulting "das Lager der Achaier", even if in the general run of things he is. His position, even without going to extremes in finding exact correspondence, is well mirrored in the frustration of the boar or lion, faced by missile-throwing enemies formed up like a wall, and unable to come to close quarters.

This simile appears to bolster a small-scale approach, rather than a large-scale: there is no parallel to Murrus here. In general, Vergil counts for far more in Silius than Homer, and we must prefer Hannibal/Turnus to Murrus/Hector: see further on 421-425 below.

426-455. We see Hannibal in action for the first time, and for this reason Silius spends 29 lines describing his exploits. After the unsatisfactory relating of Murrus' killings, Hannibal's mini-aristeia is surprisingly elegant in its construction: a list of names (437-439), and a more detailed encounter with a certain Daunus (see on 437 ff.). As well as Hannibal's "homeric" side, there is revealed his unnatural cruelty (see 451n.), and Silius is consistent in giving a picture of Hannibal as "dux" (see 452-455 n.).

The combat is introduced by a monster of a sentence, whose on-rushing sweep is presumably designed to give an impression of the momentum of the actions it describes. The eleven lines (426-436) are devoid of development; the ugliness of the articulation is laid bare by a list of the link words: "qua, ceu, quem, qui, quantus, quo."

426. at parte ex alia, qua: cf. Verg. A. 10.362 [!]. It is a note-

worthy coincidence that this is the Vergilian sentence which Norden picks out as an uncharacteristic "Monstrum" in his Appendix "Periodik" to Aeneid 6 (379). Perhaps Vergil's tangled syntax made a too vivid impression on the mind of his devotee.

426f. se insperata iuuentus / extulerat portis: the only way in which Hannibal can dispose of a few defendants, since Silius does not want him yet at Murrus' collapsed stretch of wall. On a battlefield it is possible simply to say something like "ductori Turno diuersa in parte furenti" (Verg. A. 10.691), but in Silius' special circumstances he needs to be more specific.

427f. The application of the "ceu" clause is slightly ambiguous, as a result of the excessive hypotaxis. Silius must have hoped that hearers would instinctively take the "qua" clause to be self-contained, as I suppose most of them would. One recoils against the hyperbole until one remembers that, although wounded, Hannibal never did in fact meet any arrow or hand that could bring him death. But his confidence that he cannot be wounded is blasted by the actions of Jupiter in the scene which caps off this train of action (535-547). On Hannibal's imperviousness, cf. 11. 146-148: "unum, ducibus tot caede peremptis,/ tot fusis acie, stare inter proelia nullis/ attactum telis."

428-9. permixtus utrisque/ agminibus: one sees how Lucan could describe "acies" as "permixtas" (4.489), or how Livy could talk of fighting "in permixta turba" (44.35.12); but the force of Silius' words disappears under logical scrutiny. The only reasonable understanding of Silius' phrase is that Hannibal darted in and out between his line and the enemies; but the more ridiculous notion obtrudes of indiscriminate rampaging amongst his own men as well as the Saguntines. Silius has tried to impress by blending into the narrative some of the atmosphere of superhuman dominance from the simile that follows.

429. Hannibal: Silius is addicted to such contrived postponements, of subject (84, 290), vocative (417), gentive (392), verb (382). Here some sense of climax is presumably intended, but it is at the cost of some initial vagueness, and runs the risk of the opposite.

quatit ensem: this "waving", "brandishing" has strictly nothing to do with fighting: it is a gesture of defiant challenge, exultation or contempt. So Syrticus waves around a branch while taunting Lateranus and Lentulus (Pun. 5.244); Mezentius advances with magnificent disdain "ingentem quatiens...hastam", A.10. 762. Silius is not describing Hannibal's fighting but his aura and force.

430f. The relative clause is not too ungainly by itself, but the ugliness becomes insupportable with "Temisus qui" in the next line, and the simile tacked on after that.

With the magic sword we leave the world of real epic, of Homer and Vergil, to whom such things do not square with the dignity and seriousness of epic. But Hannibal has intimate connections with the less conventional forms of religion, especially as seen in the oath-scene (81-139), and also with such exotic parts of the world. Hannibal and his family are given magnified status by their contacts with the romantic ends of the earth: Hamilcar dies at the Pillars of Hercules (see above on 142), while Hannibal sacrifices at Gades (3.1 ff.), and receives his shield from the "Oceani gentes" (2.396). That he should have such a weapon is disquieting from a standpoint of classical taste, but it is part of Hannibal's generally superhuman and demonic characterisation (see 267, 297 nn..).

430. cantato...igni: for such magical "cantus" and "carmina" see Pease on A. 4.487. In three lines Silius tells us three times that Temisus sang chants to toughen the sword; here, and "carmine pollens", 431; "magica...lingua", 432.

431. Temisus: the only time this name occurs in Latin verse, according to Swanson's list (where he is "a Spaniard"). I find no Temisus, or anything close, in the reference books. A remarkably exotic name, then, if not invented by Silius.

crudescere: a startling and good choice of word. T.L.L. lists this occurrence under the heading "crudeliorem uel saeuiorem fieri" (4. 1232. 51-72), and there is certainly a strong tinge of that common meaning here: the noxious charms make the sword savage and eager to kill; "crudius, saeuius, et hinc nocentius et effacius fieri" (Ruperti). But the gloss on the word is "ualidior fit", and, especially in Late Latin, this meaning is predominant, in T.L.L.'s sense "durum fieri": Macr. Sat. 7.4.5, bad food is hard to digest - it goes hard ("crudescit"); Heges. 5.24.2, "post biduanum ieiunium si quid auidius sumpseris, statim crudescit." Duff translates "hardened" without further ado, and he is half right.

lingua: makes a fine oxymoron with "crudescere"; it is a shame that the effect is muted by this being the third time that he tells us.

433-436. Silius has taken the basic idea of a simile on Mars and his horses from Vergil's description of Turnus (*A.* 12. 331-336), although his actual wording owes little to Vergil's passage. Since Hannibal is not in a chariot like Turnus, Silius has moved the simile's centre of attention from the horses to Mars himself.

Bistoniis: commonly the playground of Mars in latin poetry: cf. Luc. 7.509; V.Fl. 3.83; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.19, *Theb.* 6.665, 7.7. Thrace was Mars' favourite spot since Homer (e.g. *Il.* 13.301, *Od.* 8.361) -- indeed, it has been suggested that Ares was originally a Thracian deity; cf. L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 5. 1909, 399ff.. The Bistones stand for Thracians, as is plain from the examples cited above: "Bei römischen Dichtern scheint ihr Name häufig für thrakisch überhaupt zu stehen" (RE 3.504 f., with the passages cited there).

Gradiuus: generally explained by the Romans as deriving from "grădi" (Serv. on *A.* 3.35, Fest. 97M)-- discounted by Boehm (RE 7.2. 1688) as impossible, since only Ovid ever has the vowel short (once, *Met.* 6. 427) -- less usually, from "grauis", κραδαίνω ("ab hastae concussione") or "gramen", derivations described by Boehm as "noch zweifelhafter". According to Walde this "Fremdwort unbekannter Herkunft" might even be a Thracian word.

434 *belligero:* in a sense more specific than the usual, perhaps; the chariot *is* carrying Bellum / Mars.

coruscans: this dignified word is especially at home in epic (T.L.L. 4.1074. 27-37). Vergil has three very similar line-endings: "telumque coruscat", A. 12. 887; "hastamque coruscat", 12.431;

"strictumque coruscat/ mucronem", 10.651.

435. Titanum: "in later literature the Titanomachy is frequently and thoroughly confused with the Gigantomachy", West on Hes. Th. 617-719: M. Mayer, Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst 1887 144 ff., gives a list of the authors, from Aeschylus down, who confounded the two stories. It is a question of poetic metonymy rather than error: in our passage, Titans simply sound more impressive.

Hannibal is here compared to Mars, who repelled the Titans, but as the poem proceeds it is Hannibal who is revealed as truly Titanesque (see 509-514 n.).

flagrantia: a favourite word of Silius', who elsewhere also uses it in very broad applications: "flagrantia castra", 1.296; "lacus flagrantes sanguine", 1.126; "curis flagrantia corda", 7.285; "flagrantia arma", 3.117; "iuuenemque cruento/ flagrantem luxu", 14.101 f.. Here the word conveys the unbridled temerity of the urge for war, as it can describe the temerity of anger (Catul. 68.139) or lust (Tac. Hist. 4.39).

436. domat: a striking usage, especially since the most obvious explanation, "Mars quells the wars", is not in keeping with the way in which Mars is usually pictured as doing his best to incite fighting (Verg. A. 12.333, "bella mouens"; Hom. Il. 7.208f., 13.298). The difficulty was such that the early editors, from Marsus to Ruperti, printed "tonat". We must understand "bella domat" to mean, not "tamed war till it calmed down", but "controlled war (a thing uncontrollable to others) and made it act as he wished." A similar

sense occurs at, e.g., Plin. *Nat.* 16.171, where Pliny says that after the reeds have waited for a few years, it still takes a great deal of practice to be able to make the flute perform properly, as you want it to perform: "tunc quoque multa domandae exercitatione et canere tibiae ipsae edocendae."

437ff.. A typically epic list of casualties (see also on 376-420 above): cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.677ff., 6.29ff.; Verg. *A.* 9.767, 10.561 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 5.85 ff.; V. Fl. 6.637ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 7.711ff; 8.444ff.; Sil. 4.186. Here Silius follows a Vergilian pattern, in which a string of names is followed by a more detailed description of one individual: cf. *A.*10. 561-564. Silius is also imitating Vergil's trick of arranging such lists in markedly homeric rhythms: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.767, "Alcandrumque Haliumque Noemonaque Prytanimque" (based on *Il.* 5.678). Silius does not follow Vergil all the way, however. He avoids the "homeric" lengthening of "que", and in his lines the trochaic caesura is not the main caesura, which comes after "Pholum", "simul" and "Gyan" (only three lines in Book 1 show a trochaic caesura as the main caesura: 3, 170, 361). Still, 437-439 do have trochaic caesura in each line, while 439 has diaeresis after the second dactyl, a pattern much more commonly found in Greek hexameters than Latin (Silius has 16 instances in Book 1, Homer 110 in the first 694 lines of the *Iliad*).

The names themselves are an odd mixture of borrowings from earlier poets and of unparallelled forms.

437. *Hostum:* occurs again at 12.347, where he is a Sardinian, an historical figure, the son of the Sardinian chief (cf. Liv. 23.40.4). Here

Silius uses the name, the only Latin poet to do so, for its uncouth and exotic associations.

Pholum: a cipher from Verg. *A.* 12.341, where he is in a similar list -- or perhaps from Statius (see on 439 "Chromin").

Metiscum: Turnus' charioteer in the Aeneid (12.623); otherwise an unknown name in Latin poetry. By such continual minor touches does Silius acknowledge his loyalty.

438. *Lygdum:* the name of the famous eunuch of the younger Drusus (RE 13.2. 2226); it was taken up by Martial to describe dubious house slaves (6.39.13), adulterers (6.45.3), homosexuals (11.73; 12.71) or swineherds (11.41.7). The name appears as casualty fodder in Statius as well (*Theb.* 9. 764), and nowhere else in poetry.

Durium: this river in Spain is used by Silius only, in his usual way (see above on 152), to provide the names of two Spanish heroes; the other appears (with "Hiberus") as a charioteer in 16.379. This Saguntine Durius receives another mention at 5.323; Hannibal took his sword and gave it to Mago.

Galaesum: in Vergil, a paragon, one of the first Latins to be killed (*A.* 7.535ff.). His adjective "flauum" is a play upon his name, which might be taken to derive from γάλα: cf. Verg. *G.* 4.126, where there are two such plays, "qua *niger* umectat *flauentia* culta Galaesus."

439. *Chromin:* a Trojan in a casualty list at Verg. *A.* 11.675. In Statius, a notable Theban, who is killed at *Theb.* 8.476. It is remarkable that in Statius' description of his death the word "Chromin" is in just the same position as it is in Silius ("ense Pholum, Chromin

ense..."), and he is joined with Pholus, who also finds his way into Silius' list (437).

Gyan: a companion of Aeneas (*A.* 5.117, et saep.).

demiserat umbris: along the lines of Vergil's "miserat Orco", A. 9.785, "multos Danaum dimittimus Orco", *A.* 2.398; Homer's ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν, *Il.* 1.3; μιν ἔμελλε/πέμψειν εἰς Ἀΐδαο, *Il.* 21.47f..

440. *Daunum:* a long way from Apulia, one thinks at first. But Silius here hints again at the Ardean connection (see above on 291). Daunus gets no verb, and the reader assumes the accusative to be governed by "demiserat umbris" until 450, when Silius at last explains that Daunus is taken alive. We are misled by thinking of such Vergilian lines as *A.*10. 702ff., where a fresh list of accusatives begins without a verb at all, and we are left to assume a vague verb of killing from a few lines earlier: "nec non Euanthen Phrygium Paridisque Mimanta etc..."

quo non spectatior alter: Vergil is the model: "Amycum, quo non felicior alter/ unguere tela manu", *A.* 9.772f.; "Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter/ aere ciere uiros", *A.* 6.164f..

441. *orando:* "oro" in this sense of "oratory" never lost its antique feel: "orare antiquos dixisse pro agere, testimonio sunt.... oratores", Fest. 198M. The venerable air is enhanced by the gerund: so Quintilian in the final sentence of his great work before the valediction, names his beloved subject for the last time: "Ipsam igitur orandi maiestatem, qua nihil di inmortales melius homini dederunt...", 12.11.30. The dignity and weight is contributed to

by the "monumental molossus" coming after the third foot masculine caesura. As well, the gerund adds to the generally prosaic air of these lines (see on "fingere mentes" and "legum custos").

fingere mentes: Cicero uses the same language when speaking of oratory: "nulla res (actio) magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit", *Brut*. 142; "actor (is cui ius est cum populo agendi aut cum senatu) enim moderatur et fingit non modo mentes ac uoluntates, sed paene uoltus eorum apud quos agit", *Leg*. 3.40.

442. *legum custos:* again, as befits the context, Cicero's language is imitated: "legis....seueri custodes", *Div. Caec.* 18; cf. *Ver.* 5.126, *Agr*. 2.25, *Leg.* 3.8.

telis: sc. "asperis".

443f. *paternae/....Furiae:* Daunus pins the blame for the war on the dead Hamilcar, herein voicing history's *communis opinio*: see on 81-139.

With "Poene", the adjective forms a vigorously contemptuous piece of alliteration. For the contemptuous overtone of repeated "p", see the first stanza of Hor. *Carm*. 2.13, with N.-H.'s note on 4. To their examples one might add Hom. *Il*. 1.150, πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν; 21.99, νήπιε, μή μοι ἄποινα πιφαύσκεο μηδ' ἀγόρευε; Verg. *A*. 10.774-776, "uoueo praedonis corpore raptis/ indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum/ Aeneae."

444-447. The gibe follows a stock epic pattern: "now you are not dealing with some easy or base matter (such as you are used to); no, rather, this time...etc." cf. Verg. *A*. 9.602ff., 737ff., "non haec dotalis

regia Amatae,/ nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum./ castra inimica uides"; V. Fl. 6. 536ff., "pauidos te' inquit 'nunc rere magistros/ et stolidum petiisse pecus? non pascua nec bos/ hic tibi ...etc."; Stat. *Theb.* 2. 661ff., "non haec trieterica uobis/ nox patrio de more uenit, non orgia Cadmi/ cernitis...etc."; 9.340ff., 792ff., 12.761ff.. Daunus' gibe recalls the Vergilian passage quoted above, in that it imputes effeminacy to the enemy. It is possible that already in Ennius the sex of the Carthaginians' founder was a matter for sarcastic comment: see Steuart's comments on *Ann.* 290V "Poenos Didone oriundos" (8.21 by her arrangement). See on 445 "pretioue parata" for another taunt to which the Carthaginians were exposed.

R. Williams' comment on Verg. *A.* 9.737ff. (given above) is worth quoting, as being equally applicable to Silius' lines: "These are splendidly ironic and confident phrases; but they leave Turnus entirely unmoved, as we see in the slow spondees describing his reaction" (ed. *The Aeneid of Vergil, Books 7-12*, 1973).

445. *feminea:* potentially one of the most sarcastic words in the language: see the examples collected in T.L.L. 6.1. 466. 59-66. Temperatures are highest when, as here, women are doing things most natural to men: cf. Sen. *Herc. O.* 1179-1181, "inuicta si me cadere feminea manu/ uoluere fata perque tam turpes/ colus mea mors cucurrit" (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1454, πρὸϲ γυναικὸϲ δ' ἀπέφθιϲεν βίον); "pilaque feminea turpiter acta manu," Prop. 4.6.22.

fabricata manu: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.145 [!].

pretioue parata: if the Carthaginian can be taunted for the sex of the founder of his city, another fine target is the unmartial and crookedly commercial aspect of the city's first settlement. Silius follows Vergil in stressing the fact that Carthage began with a financial transaction: cf. Verg. *A.* 1.365, "mercatique solum"; see on 24 above, "pretio mercata (Dido) locos".

446. *dimensis...harenis:* although it is not in the slightest relevant to the sense, Silius cannot resist this word-play, with its hint at the proverbial impossibility of counting sand: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.28. 1f., "numeroque carentis harenae/ *mensorem*", with N.-H.'s note ad loc..

447. *fundamenta deum:* see 273 "Herculei...muri" n..

449. Despite the accusative in 440 which we instinctively link with those of 437-439, only here do we learn that Daunus is not killed but taken off the battlefield. Prisoners are not taken in epic: the exceptions are either "off", like Lycaon (Hom. *Il.* 21.34ff.), or else amongst the few chosen by Achilles to sacrifice to Patroclus (21. 27-32), or by Aeneas to sacrifice to Pallas (*A.* 10.517-520). When Menelaus wants to capture Adrestos for ransom, Agamemnon persuades him to kill the suppliant: αἴσιμα παρειπών, says Homer, 6.62. Hannibal, however, is a Carthaginian, and what represents extraordinary action in Achilles or Aeneas is for him normal: see on 451 "ad poenam lentae ...irae".

451. *Hannibal:* again the delayed subject, exactly as in 429.

ad poenam lentae...irae: the point is that Hannibal is a Carthaginian, and Carthaginians are notoriously cruel and fond of torture (see on 170 "saeuis gens laeta"). Hannibal has flown in the face of epic convention and removed Daunus, not for ransom, but in order to torture him at his leisure: such is the force of the oxymoronic "lentae irae"; cf. 11.378, "Decius, reduci lentas seruatus ad iras."

452-455. Silius does not lose sight of Hannibal's rôle as "dux"; for all his dashing about he is directing a siege and commanding an army. Accordingly, the style takes on an historical colour: see on 452 "inferri signa iubebat", 454f. "cunctosque ciebat/ nomine".

452. *increpitansque suos:* "increpitans" is a word used almost invariably of railing at "inimici" (probably only two exceptions, according to T.L.L. 7.1. 1050. 52-59); this is how Silius elsewhere uses the word. "suos", then, is an effective surprise: the phrase economically captures Hannibal's occasionally bullying style of command. Livy has something to say of Hannibal's forceful παρακέλευσις at Saguntum: "animos eorum (sc. militum)...ira in hostes stimulando...accedit" (21.11.3); see below on 455 for the other prong of the fork.

inferri signa iubebat: very much the historian here: cf. Caes. *Gal*. 7.67, "signa inferri iubebat"; 2.25; *Civ*. 2.42; Liv. 3.60.8, 4.47.2, 10.29.9, 21.31.14.

453. *caedis cumulos:* heaps of dead in Vergil, too, and other poets: cf. Verg. *A.* 10.245, "caedis aceruos", 11.207 "caedis aceruum"; Ov. *Met.* 5.88; Luc. 7.790f.; Sil. 5.668-669, 15.766. It all looks like poetic hyperbole, but close-order battles, if hard-fought, ended up like this: Scipio's front line at Zama, for example, had to be halted and reorganised, since it had been disrupted advancing "per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis" (Liv. 30.34.10).

Battles like Cannae became notorious: as the survivors in Livy claimed, they fought "superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum" (Liv. 22.59.3).

454f. cunctosque ciebat/ nomine: as M. Petreius had done before the final battle against Catiline: "ipse equo circumiens unumquemque nominans appellat", Sal. Cat. 59.5 (with Vretska's extensive parallels ad loc.). Hannibal primes his men in similar fashion before Cannae (9.244ff.) and Zama (17.295ff.).

"nomine" is the first foot in Vergil's line describing Tarchon, "nomine quemque uocans", A. 11.731.

in praedas: Livy's whole sentence, quoted in part on 452 "increpitansque suos", reads "interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit", 21.11.3.

456-459. The news of Murrus' success is brought, and Hannibal drops what he is doing to intervene. Silius' passage recalls at a number of points another scene from Aeneid 9, where Turnus is told of the sally made by Pandarus and Bitias: "ductori Turno diuersa in parte furenti/ turbantique uiros perfertur nuntius, hostem/ feruere caede noua et portas praebere patentis./ deserit inceptum atque immani concitus ira/ Dardaniam ruit ad portam", 691-694. Yet again the Vergilian Turnus is called to mind: see on 298f., 421-425 above, and on 496ff., 505, 522-532 below. Any systematic modelling by Silius here has Turnus and Pallas as the figures for Hannibal and Murrus: Juhnke's attempt to descry Achilles and Hector as models is characteristically misguided (185-187).

456. *allatum:* very much a prose author's word for bringing news or responses: cf. T.L.L. 1. 1196. 79ff.; 1197. 32ff.. Silius has it at four other places; 2.12, 6.79, 12.297, 338.

456f. *feruere partem /....Marte:* cf. Verg. *A.* 8. 676f., "Marte uideres/ feruere Leucaten."

459. *lymphato:* merely a stronger version of "amens", with no hint of the "irrational panic terror" that the word originally denoted: see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.14.

ingentes deserit actus: cf. Luc. 5.659f, "licet ingentes abruperit actus/ festinata dies fatis." "actus" in this sense of "deeds" is exclusively a post-Augustan usage: cf. T.L.L. s.v., II C 2.

460. *letiferum:* the grecising adverbial adjective has caused some discomfort: the edition of Parma in 1481 suggested "letifero" (sc. "uertice"), other early editors "letiferae". But the line as a whole imitates a homeric formula which contains such an adverb: δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν, *Il.* 3.337, 15.481, 16.138.

461-464. The starting-point of the simile is not the flashing of the helmet, but the colour of the plumes. "crine" is the crucial word, denoting at once the red hair of the helmet's plumes (cf. Verg. *A.* 9. 50, "cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra"), and the hair which was the common figurative term for the tails of comets: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.89, "cometas Graeci uocant, nostri, crinitas, horrentis crine sanguineo." The red plumes of a helmet could be seen as all too apposite for war: cf. Verg. *A.* 11.8, "rorantis sanguine cristas", 9.732f., "cristae/ sanguineae." Here Silius has them mirror the red bloody light of a comet's hair, itself a sinister sight: "cruenti quidam (cometes), minaces, qui omen prae se futuri sanguinis ferunt", Sen. _Nat._ 7.17.3. "fulgentes" in 460 is the first hint that Silius is imagining a gleaming, scintillating light, not a baleful, dull glow: comets were considered to be "aut lucidiorem...aut rubicundiorem", Sen. _Nat._ 7.11.3.

A dense simile then, with the bloody red of the plume's hair, which portends death to Hannibal's opponents, leading into the bloody red of the comet's hair, bringing death to men at large. In the natural way of similes, once the idea of a comet has been set up Silius elaborates it independently, describing at some length, under the influence of Homer and Vergil, this bright and impressive object. For the original and predominant connection between armour and celestial phenomena in similes was the splendid flaring of both (e.g. _Il._ 19.380-383, 22. 134f.), a connection taken beyond the merely visual by Homer's Sirius simile (_Il._ 22.25ff.). When Silius depicts a gleaming comet (462-464) he has in mind these homeric passages, as well as Vergilian lines such as those in which Vulcan's armour is described, where the red of the plume is matched with the glare of a comet, and the flash of the shield with the blaze of Sirius: "ardet apex capiti cristique a uertice flamma/ funditur et uastos umbo uomit aureus ignis:/ non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae/ sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor/ ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris/ nascitur et laeuo contristat lumine caelum" (_A._ 10. 270-275). As he returns to the narrative, it is the shine of weapons which stays in his mind: "iacit igneus hastae/ dirum lumen apex " etc. (466f.).

461 See on 358f. above for the portentous significance of comets.

terret fera regna: monarchs especially were thought to be the ones threatened by the appearance of comets: see Pease, ed. Cic. Div. 107. There is a characteristic play in "terret fera"; wild animals terrify, here bestial kingdoms are being terrified.

462. sanguineum spargens ignem: cf. Verg. A. 10.272f., "cometae/ sanguinei lugubre rubent;" Plin. nat. 2.89. The adjective explains the choice of the verb (cf. Greek ϲπείρω).

uomit: this "vomiting" well suits the action of a volcano, where the material is at least semi-liquid: τᾶϲ ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸϲ ἁγνόταται/ ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί, Pind. Pyth. 1.21; "faucibus eruptos iterum uis ut uomat ignis", Lucr. 1.724; similarly at Ov. Met 5.353, Ib. 598; Aetna 328; Sen. Phoen. 314; Sil. 14.57f.. Used of flame in other contexts, the application is more forced. Vergil, with, I should think Lucretius in mind, used the word twice of flame shooting from armour ("uastos umbo uomit aureus ignis", A. 10.271; "geminas cui tempora flammas/ laeta uomunt", A. 8.680f.). It will be these passages that Silius is imitating here, just as at 17.398 Scipio appears as Augustus, "flammam ingentem frons alta uomebat", and as Jupiter's aegis is described in the same language as Aeneas' shield: "aegida commoueat nimbos flammasque uomentem/ Iuppiter", 12.720. f..

467. dirum: often used by the poets of forbidding celestial phenomena: cf. T.L.L. s.v., II B 3 a β.

Silius' words follow the natural order of vision, with the sharp point of light from the spear leading the eye, as it were, to the circular and more diffuse glow that follows it apace. For the spear's gleam of light, cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 318-320, ἐν δ' ἄρα χειρὶ/ ἔγχος ἔχ' ἑνδεκάπηχυ· πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρὸς/αἰχμὴ χαλκείη.

468-472. In 465-468 we see the panicky reaction to Hannibal's approach, and Silius fixes our attention again on the gleaming instruments that inspire the panic. Then, all at once, we are in the middle of another simile, of a quite different nature, whose reference and import are not soon obvious. There is no "sic" at the other end to point the direction. Ruperti considers the simile to mirror Hannibal's whole progress: "sic Hannibal magno armorum strepitu procul audito, praeceps in hostes ruit." For von Albrecht, on the other hand, "die Furcht der Saguntiner vor Hannibal wird veranschaulicht durch die Angst der Seeleute vor dem Sturm, der die Wogen vor sich hertreibt" (1963 363); an interpretation disparaged by Ruperti: "possis etiam uim eius in terrore militum et nautarum quaerere; sed ornatus tum minus placet."

There are a couple of other similes in Silius which "hang" in a similar way (e.g. 15. 154ff.), but this is not one to make into a great puzzle. In "frigida nautis/ corda tremunt", 470f., there is surely, *pace* Ruperti, a hint of the fear that Hannibal's mad career produces, not just in the Saguntines, but in all who saw him: note "*ambae* trepidant acies", 466. But Ruperti is on the right track when he says that the main thrust of these lines is Hannibal's whole onrush, with the noise from afar presaging the stunning arrival at the critical point (see further on 470 below). The effect lies in the might and irresistible force of the sea: in Homer the vast natural fury of a storm is invariably applied to whole armies: e.g. *Il.* 4.422ff., 13.795ff., 15.381ff.. Silius may have taken from

Vergil the idea of restricting these wave-similes to an individual, for in the *Georgics* the fighting bull receives for himself an adaptation of the wave-similes which Homer applies to whole armies: "praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem:/ fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto,/ longius ex altoque sinum trahit...etc.," 3.236ff..

The use of such a close doublet is worth commenting on, for it is a trick seldom pulled off. It strikes me as particularly homeric: at least, I do not notice any in Vergil or Apollonius. Silius uses it elsewhere (5.384ff., 7. 139ff.), and Statius too has clusters (*Theb.* 6. 595ff., 716ff.). The device is best used when, as here, the same subject is regarded from two very different viewpoints: Hannibal is at one moment a remote, flickering comet, and the next an all too close and overpowering wall of water. The proximity of the two is surprisingly successful, each gaining in impact from the countervailing tendency of the other. So in Homer, where Ajax is first a lion, and then the famous donkey, belaboured by boys in the wheat-field (*Il*. 11. 548-562). Great pathos can be achieved by this double stand-point. When Euphorbus, Panthoos' only surviving son, is killed by Menelaus, a simile describes the tragedy from the father's perspective: a young olive has been carefully nurtured by a man, only to be uprooted in a storm. Straight after, we see the killing from Menelaus' point of view: a lion breaks a bull's neck and laps up its blood and its guts (*Il*. 17. 53-69).

468. *Aegaeo:* a fine place for a storm, αἰγίϲ : see N.-H. on Hor *Carm.* 2.16.1.

ad sidera: not merely "towards", as one might hope: the hyperbole on this topic was extreme; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 3.423, "et sidera uerberat unda"; Sen. *Ag.* 471, "in astra pontus tollitur" (with Tarrant's note).

469. *per longum:* "all along the coast" (Duff), "sur toute la côte (Budé). It is not easy to see how "per longum fluctus in terras portat mare" can mean this. Rather, "per longum" goes with "suspensum"; the waves are carried to shore over great distances, from far out to sea, and they remain erect and unbreaking until they hit the land: cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 238 (from the simile discussed on 468-472 above), "*longius* ex altoque sinum trahit (fluctus)."

470. The diaeresis after "mare " is very effective. It is the first strong break after 2½ very spondaic lines, and well captures the waves' long build-up and sudden thumping end: for similar devices see on 400. Straight after this dramatic jolt comes the reaction of the sailors, "frigida nautis/ corda tremunt." Lucan has an identical pattern at 3.633, "inque locum puppis cecidit mare".

frigida: through fear, as often (T.L.L. s.v., I A 2 C). Silius perhaps has in mind two famous sailors of epic who go cold with fear in a storm: "Ulixi cor frixit prae pauore", Liv. Andr. ap. Serv. *A.* 1.92; "Aeneae soluuntur frigore membra", Verg. *A.* 1.92. It is less likely, as Summers 1894 12 suggests, that this is one of Silius' rare imitations of Valerius Flaccus: cf. V.Fl. 3.577f., "ceu pectora nautis/ congelat hiberni uultus Iouis agricolisue."

471. *tumescens:* strictly speaking, "tumesco", like πορφύρω or οἶδμα, refers to the swelling and heaving of the sea under the wind, before it forms breakers: cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.16, ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος

μέγα κύματι κωφῷ; 23.229f., αἱ δ' ἄνεμοι πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαν οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι/ Θρηΐκον κατὰ πόντον· ὁ δ' ἔστενεν οἴδματι θύων; Cic. Div. 1.17.3, "atque etiam uentos praemonstrat saepe futuros/ inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit"; Verg. G. 1.356f.; Ov. Met. 1.36 (further examples of waves swelling under the wind collected by Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 466-9). In our passage, however, "tumescens" has something of the force of an aorist participle.

472. A typical word-play: αἱ Κυκλάδες, "the encirclers", are themselves overrun by "curuatis undis."

pauidas: "quarum incolae pauidi sunt ob aestum maris" (Ruperti). But, as noted above on 299, words connected with "paueo" commonly retain the root sense of quaking or shaking together with the metaphorical: here, an apt colouring.

Cycladas: a notoriously stormy and dangerous area: see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 1.14.20. They receive another drenching in a simile at 4.247.

473. cuncta....unum: "all against one" is a contrast used by Vergil of an attack on Turnus: "manus e castris propere coit omnis in unum", A. 9.801; it is especially favoured by Ovid: cf. Met. 5. 149f., "omnibus unum/ opprimere est animus", with Bömer's note ad loc., and on 3.544. Silius' hyperbole here is higher than these passages: it recalls the prelude to Capaneus' death-scene in Thebaid 10, where he climbs his ladder unaffected by the range of missiles brought against him (856ff.).

475. excussa tenent: Hannibal's irresistibility comes across strongly

in the opposing force of these two words, with the vibrant kick of "excussa" unequal to the blocking power of "tenent ".

475-477. The glittering display of Murrus' finery must appear inadequate after the recent remorseless simile on the potency of Hannibal's gleaming headwear (460-464).

477. *contra:* Summers' emendation of S's "inter": a "convincing solution", according to Owen 174. Certainly "inter" is hard to construe: T.L.L. 7.1. 2127.21 suggests as Silius' model Verg. *A.* 8. 528f., "arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena/ per sudum rutilare uident." In Vergil's lines, however, the weapons are actually up in the middle of the cloud. "contra" gives excellent sense: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.173 (of Mithrax, a precious stone), "multicolor ac contra solem uarie refulgens."

rutilantia: "rutilus" is basically a red colour (so of "ignis", Verg. *G.* 1.454, "flammae" Ov. *Met.* 12.294f.), "inclining to golden yellow", as L.S. put it (so of gold, Luc. 9.364; the golden fleece, V.Fl. 8.114). A ruddy gold is exactly what we want here.

turbidus infit: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.10 [!] (of Turnus).

478f. Saguntum is merely a prelude to the main war: see 343n.

479f. *foedera.../...uana:* the empty worth of plighted troth was much bemoaned in private life: cf. Eur. *Med.* 492, ὅρκων δὲ φρούδη πίϲτιϲ; ib. 21f., βοᾷ μὲν ὅρκουϲ, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶϲ / πίϲτιν μεγίϲτην; Callim. *Ep.* 11 Gow-Page (with their notes); Catul. 70; Prop. 2.28.8. Between cities, too, much was made of the folly of trusting in treaties rather than more tangible assets. When the Melians declare their faith in their alliance with Sparta, the Athenians reply: τῆϲ δὲ ἐϲ Λακεδαιμονίουϲ δόξηϲ..., μακαρίϲαντεϲ ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον, Thuc. 5.105.3. Such rugged pragmatism finds its best expression in the mouths of various Spartans, quoted by Plutarch in his Apophthegmata.

When Lysander was taken to task for breaking oaths he had made in Miletus, he answered τοὺϲ μὲν παῖδαϲ ἀϲτραγάλοιϲ δεῖ ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺϲ δὲ ἄνδραϲ ὅρκοιϲ, *Mor.* 229 B 4; momentarily worsted in a legal dispute with Argos, the same man, ϲπαϲάμενοϲ τὴν μάχαιραν, 'ὁ ταύτηϲ' ἔφη, 'κρατῶν βέλτιϲτα περὶ γῆϲ ὅρων διαλέγεται', 190 E 3.

480. *uester Hiberus:* Hannibal speaks of the Ebro as a cherished protection that will do no good; it looks as if Silius is for the moment joining those who placed Saguntum north of the river (see 294 f.n. for this complicated business). It is, though, always possible that he is writing loosely, and means by "foedera et Hiberus" "the Ebro treaty", by which Saguntum's safety is guaranteed.

481. *fer tecum:* sc. "ad umbras". See 398-400 n. for this motif of carrying down messages etc. to Hades.

482. *deceptos mihi linque deos:* the brazen impiety is in the "man of evil" tradition: see 56-69, 58 nn..

483. *exoptatus:* a word used especially of close family relationships, between husband and wife (Pl. *Am.* 654), father and son (Pl. *Capt.* 1006, Verg. *A.* 2.138), brothers-in-law (CIL 6.1767); also of

honoured men, such as the princeps (Suet. *Cal.* 13). The paradoxical use here enhances the sense of gloating anticipation with which Murrus greets his intended victim: see 420 "auido clamore" n..

proelia poscit: Silius uses here the same Vergilian line-ending (*A.* 10.661) as he had used in 420, of Murrus' urge to fight Hannibal: "tum ductorem auido clamore in proelia poscit". In this way Murrus acknowledges the granting of his request.

484. flagrat: a favourite word of Silius' to describe such blood-lust: cf. 1.60 "sanguinis humani flagrat sitis"; 5.245, 590.

485. require: Ker 15 must be right to suggest "require" for S's "inquire": "The word 'inquire' will not do: 'inquiro' always elsewhere seems to mean 'to look into' or 'investigate', until we come to the Christian writers..... Surely Silius wrote 'require', 're' at some stage having fallen out after 'tellure'."

The origin of the conceit is probably to be found in the more appropriate words of Turnus, who twice offers Trojans six feet of the land they claim is theirs: "hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas", *A.* 10.650; cf. 12. 359-361.

488. cernens: Duff has produced a tangle here, making Hannibal instead of Murrus the subject of this participle. Ker 15f. clarified these lines, and sums up: "Murrus, on top of the wall, throws the stone down on Hannibal, and Hannibal then climbs up."

489. loci: thus S and all editors save the Budé, who do not report it, but print "locis", which is impossible to construe: they translate,

nonetheless, as if printing "loci"; "pour lui-même, l'escarpement du lieu est un avantage."

fidum: Ruperti compares "fidus ensis" (Verg. A. 7.640) and similar expressions, but this is not the sense: it is possible to speak of a "trusty sword", personifying a man's possession into his servant, but not of "trusty rubble". Nor is the Budé correct, "l'escarpement du lieu est un avantage." Duff has it right: "he could trust the overhanging ground where he stood" (sc. not to collapse under him): cf. 5.496, "senio male fida...arbor"; Tac. Ann.. 15.15, "ualidum et fidum (pontem)." The interpretation of "fidum" depends on whether one imagines Murrus to be standing on an intact wall, or perched on top of a mound of rubble. If, as I believe, the second is the correct picture (see below on 495), then Duff's translation must be right.

ingens: there is a hint of ambiguity about the case of the word until we come to "saxum" in the next line. For a second we are left with a picture of the gigantic Murrus on top of the wall.

490. nitentis: Silius keeps reminding us of the broken ground and the difficulty of moving over it. This helps decide which way to go in interpreting "saxa uetantia" below, 495.

491. deuoluit: a good word, and a good position for it. Murrus does not throw the rock, as a man normally does in epic; he rolls the monster down, and the three long syllables at the beginning of the line well illustrate the effort needed to get it moving -- as the bouncing dactyls in the rest of the line illustrate the impetuous flight of the boulder once it is on its way.

silex: the word is chosen for its hardness (note 492 "duro fragmine"): cf. "dura silex", Verg. A. 6.741; "nec in tenero stat tibi corde silex", Tib. 1.1.64; "duras silices", Ov. Met. 9.304.

actu: thus N. Heinsius, for S's "ictu". The emendation is appealing, for instead of Murrus giving the boulder a thrusting blow, he would be giving it initial movement. A Vergilian parallel should decide us: "ac ueluti montis saxum de uertice praeceps/ cum ruit auulsum uento...;/ fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu ", A. 12.684ff..

492. Straight after the boulder's dactyls comes this spondaic line describing its crushing impact.

493. To describe a man's recovery after setback, Silius has gone to Vergil: "tum pudor incendit uiris et conscia uirtus", A. 5.455; cf. A. 12. 666ff..

494 uirtus pressa loco: "though taken at a disadvantage" (Duff); "malgré sa position difficile" (Budé); "uicta iniquitate loci" (Ruperti). Ruperti is closest: Hannibal's ability to exhibit his "uirtus" is constricted by the odd locality in which he must fight.

frendens: a favourite word of Silius' (6 occurrences) used thus before him in poetry only by Cicero (Carm. frag. 33), Vergil (G. 4.452), Ovid (Met. 8.437), Valerius Flaccus (6.556), Statius (Theb. 6.768; 10.416, 911).

495. per saxa uetantia: Budé ("à travers le barrage de pierres") and Ker 15f. obviously take these "saxa" to be missiles thrown down by the defenders, while Ruperti ("obstantia, adscensu difficilia") and

Duff ("climbed up over the stones that barred his way") imagine Silius to be speaking of the litter of rubble left by the wall that had collapsed at 368-75. Ker speaks of "an eminence of fallen stones which the reader would have to invent as he goes along", but in fact Silius has made the state of affairs quite clear. At 368ff. a section of the wall collapses, and whatever the text, there is certainly mention of heaps of rubble in 373f.. It is at this point of the wall that Murrus fights, for he jumps forward immediately the breach is made ("emicat ante omnis"...376); and the rock he throws at Hannibal is expressly said to be picked up "aggere conuulso" (490), and to be a "fragmen muri" (492). Silius comments on how difficult it was to climb over this mess (490 "nitentis"; 494 "luctatur"; 494f. "aegro ..nisu"), while "praeruptum loci" is much more naturally said of a collapsed section than an intact man-made rampart.

496ff. Hannibal close-up, face-to-face, is a very different thing from Hannibal seen scrambling down below; this is the force of the twice-stressed proximity ("propior", "uicino") and the shock of the upright stance ("tota se mole"). Hannibal need do no more than appear. Murrus offers no resistance, his eyes go dark, and he can scarcely drag his limbs. The killing itself is easy, Murrus regards his death as inevitable, and so does everyone else (see on 502f.). This collapse might seem overdone, especially after Murrus' trail of carnage in 380-420, and his confident abuse in 483-487. But it is in the tradition of young men, who are prone to cave in before greater adversaries. Even if a young man keeps fighting he might still feel misgivings; so Pallas, in full cry, "iuuenis tum iussa superba/ miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens/ lumina uoluit obitque truci procul omnia uisu" (_A._ 10.445-447). But when a man cracks there supervenes the weakness in the knees, the clouding of vision and the dream-like atmosphere which Silius inherited from his predecessors. Cf. Patroclus, struck by Apollo: τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εἷλε, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα· / στῆ δὲ ταφών, Il. 16.805f.; Lycaon before Achilles: τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ./ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἀφέηκεν, ὃ δ' ἕζετο, χεῖρε πετάσσας/ἀμφοτέρας, Il. 21.114-116. Turnus suffers almost complete physical collapse at the end: he is Aeneas' junior, as he had been Pallas' senior: "sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem/ tollentemue manu saxumue immane mouentem;/ genua labant, gelidus concreuit frigore sanguis.../... ac uelut in somnis.../...non lingua ualet, non corpore notae/ sufficiunt uires nec uox aut uerba sequuntur", A. 12.903-912; cf. Haemon before Tydeus: "leuius Cadmeius Haemon/ tela rotat nulloque manum cognoscit in ictu/ tunc magis atque magis uires animusque recedunt,/ nec pudor ire retro..."etc., Stat. Theb. 8. 519-522; Parthenopaeus before Dryas, ib. 9.849ff..

496 fulsit: commonly used of the dazzling appearance of armour (cf. T.L.L. 6.1.1510. 50-84): Silius is fond of it; cf. 2.79, 4.534, 5.239, 8.395, 12.233, 15.255. The word is properly used of celestial phenomena (cf. T.L.L. s.v. A1), and here it takes our minds back to the comet/armour simile of 460-464.

497. tota se mole tulit: it is noteworthy that Vergil, whom Silius is imitating here, uses such phrases of ghastly monsters: Cacus ("magna se mole ferebat", A.. 8.199), Polyphemus ("uasta se mole mouentem", A. 3.656). This is the flavour behind Silius' words: Hannibal is scarcely human.

498f. *cingant....premant:* the second verb is more forceful and immediate as the panic grows. The numbers increase as well, from "agmina" to "cuncta castra".

lato: has been questioned by N. Heinsius (who suggested "laeto"), and Blass ("late", "tanto"); but Bauer 1888 197 defended "lato" convincingly: "allein ein Blick auf die folgenden Worte zeigt uns deutlich, dass lato vollkommen am Platze ist: denn diesen Worten liegt die Anschauung von 'breiter Ausdehnung' zu Grunde; dem Murrus dunkelt es vor den Augen, da er weit und breit nur Feinde zu sehen vermeint." An epic fighter is naturally "ingens", καλόϲ τε μέγαϲ τε, and Silius is giving the convention a slight twist in its new context.

caligat: this is not the darkness of death (τὸν δὲ ϲκότοϲ ὄϲϲ᾽ ἐκάλυψε, Hom. *Il.* 4.503, et saep.) but that of the wounded man, or the one who sees death facing him: of the wounded Aeneas, ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄϲϲε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε, *Il.* 5.310. Here, "caligat" is the opposite of Hannibal's "fulsit", and the result of it, for, as Lucretius observed," splendida porro oculi fugitant uitantque tueri./ sol etiam caecat, contra si tendere pergas," 4.324f..

500f. This multiple vision was normally associated with drunkenness or madness, but it could easily be extended to fear (see Pease on Verg. *A.* 4.470).

The syntax is a little jumbled, perhaps reflecting the dazed impressions of Murrus. Each of the three units of the tri-colon depends on "uidetur", with the result that not only the swords but the hands holding them appear to be flickering. Our attention is led from the hand to the sword in it, and at the climax to the crest on the helmet, where Silius had begun his description of Hannibal's approach to the combat (460). 502f.. These virtually formulaic lines occur, with full intent, one step too early in the action. The great cry of the armies normally comes as the champion is laid low. Odysseus kills Democoon, δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ./χώρησαν δ' ὑπό τε πρόμαχοι καὶ φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ./Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγα ἴαχον.., Il. 4.504ff.; this is repeated, from χώρησαν, at Il. 17.316ff., where Aias kills Phorcys; Polydeuces kills Amycus, ὁ δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃ γνὺξ ἤριπεν. οἱ δ' ἰάχησαν/ἥρωες Μινύαι..., A.R. 2.96f.; Mezentius falls, "clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique ", Verg. A. 10.895; Turnus is hit by Aeneas, "consurgunt gemitu Rutuli", ib. 12.928. And, in Homer, it is after the death itself that the comparison with the burning city comes, as the home of the defender is left vulnerable to the inevitable sack: ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ/κωκυτῷ τ' εἴχοντο../..τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὡς εἰ ἅπασα/Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης, Il. 22.408ff.. Vergil adapts these words to Carthage, bereft by the death of Dido: "femineo ululatu/tecta fremunt.../..non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis/Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes/ culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum", A. 4.667ff.. Lucan and Statius, more vague, attach the conceit to no particular death, but use it as a general description of panic and hubbub (Luc. 1.493ff.; Stat. Theb. 7.599-601).

Silius, typically, is tighter and cleaves more closely to his masters; with the difference that these sure tokens of a champion's death come before a blow has been struck, greatly stressing the vulnerability of Murrus and the power of Hannibal. Similarly, at the end of the battle of Cannae when the burning city recurs in connection with the consul Paulus, we know that Paulus is as good as dead (10. 264ff.).

503. _micet:_ at first sight an odd word to use of the conflagration implied by "tota", for "micare" suggests a remote or flickering light rather than a full-bodied blaze (as shown, e.g., by Lucan's words, "non seruant fulmina flammas/ quamuis crebra micent", 4.77f.). I am not convinced that the word carries the meaning "accensae" in any of the passages cited by T.L.L.,along with this one, under the heading "res splendore illustratas uel accensas" (8.930. 26-31); not in the sense of a roaring fire, at least. Plin. _Nat._ 5.7. seems to me to refer to flickering at a distance; Prud. _Perist._ 5.3.52 and Sev. Sulp. _Mart._ 23.6 refer expressly to light seen through chinks in a door; the sense of Sen. _Thy._ 674 is well captured in Miller's Loeb translation, "through all the wood flames go flickering"; and at Claud. _Rapt._ 3.398 the trees "micuere" because they are "coniferi" -- the word refers to the distinctive crackling and popping way in which cones burn. On the whole, I do not think Duff and the Budé are right to translate "as if all Saguntum were on fire" or "comme si Sagonte s'embrasait tout entière." I think we are meant to imagine a picture of Saguntum seen burning from far away, or, perhaps, an early stage of the fire. But it is possible, especially in view of the thorough incineration described by Vergil and Homer, that Silius is using the word loosely.

503f. _languentia leto/ membra:_ exactly as in Lucretius, 5.1008f.; cf. _Pun._ 10.274 "languentia membra"; 11.418f. "languentia somno/ membra."

505. _conditor Alcide:_ Murrus prays to Hercules as Pallas had done: "te precor, Alcide" etc.. (Verg. _A._ 10. 461), but Hercules makes no

response whatever, not even the outburst of tears with which he had honoured Pallas (A. 10. 464f.).

cuius: as regularly in prayers, the relative pronoun follows the vocative: see Norden, op.cit. 1 "quibus" n., 168ff..

505f.."terra" (sc. "sacra") OV; "terrae" (sc. "minitantem procellam") LF; "terrae huic" N. Heinsius; "terras" Summers; "hanc colimus terram" Postgate; Schaefer 17f.. has a discussion. It seems pretty certain that "sacrā terrā" is a unit; "terrā" would be lame by itself, and "uestigia sacra" is rather feeble; while "terrae minitantem" is not attractive. Duff's translation is correct, "whose footsteps we inhabit on hallowed ground."

506. minitantem...procellam: a debt to Cicero, who was fond of the image of the storm threatening the ship of state: cf. Dom. 137, "tu procella patriae, turbo ac tempestas pacis...;" ib. 24; Cael. 59.

auerte: cf. Verg. A. 3.265, "di talem auertite casum"; Sil. 9.55, "dira auertite diui"; further, T.L.L. 2.1322.84 - 1323.22. It is plainly an ancient formula: a prayer from the second century B.C. asks "auertas morbum, mortem, labem, nebulam, impetiginem", Fest. p.210 M.

507. defenso: thus S; "defendo" Ch. I am tempted to read "defendi". Everybody, including Murrus, knows that he is on the point of death. These words are his "suprema uota" (504); the basis for his plea on behalf of Saguntum is not his present combat, for Murrus, and everybody else, knows that he cannot fight any more. The quid pro quo, the "pietas" for which Murrus begs reward, in his earlier prowress, related at 376-420. His last prayer craves recognition

of his former great deeds not his present collapse.

It is typical of prayers to list past services in this way: cf. Hom. Il. 1.39ff., Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα, / ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα...κτλ; Od. 4.763f., εἴ ποτέ τοι πολύμητιϲ ἐνὶ μεγάροιϲιν Ὀδυϲϲεὺϲ/ἢ βοὸϲ ἢ οἴοϲ κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηε; Catul. 76.17 ff., "o di,..../me miserum aspicite et, si uitam puriter egi,/eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi;" Verg. A. 12.777f., "Faune, precor, miserere.../...colui uestros si semper honores"; ib. 1. 603ff., 5.687ff.; Stat. Theb. 1.60ff.; see G. Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus, Religiongeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 7.2, 1909 153.

509-514. Hannibal's sardonic speech is the first sign of his claim to be a successor of Hercules. Identification with Hercules/Melqart was an important part of the propaganda of Hannibal and of his father Hamilcar: cf. C. and G. Picard, Hercule et Melqart, in Hommages à Jean Bayet 1964 572ff., E.S.G. Robinson, Punic Coins of Spain and their Bearing on the Roman Republican Coinage, in Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to H. Mattingly 1956 39. Hannibal's historians Sosylus and Silenus must have contributed to the identification: cf. Polyb. 3. 47. 6-9 (attacking writers who compare Hannibal's crossing of the Alps to that of demi-gods), with Walbank's note ad loc.; traces survive even in Livy: cf. Scipio's speech before the battle of the Ticinus, "experiri iuuat utrum.....Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert", 21.41. 6f..

In Silius the crossing of the Alps is likewise Hannibal's main claim to the mantle of Hercules: cf. 2.334-337, 3.91f., 4.4f., 63f., 11. 135f., 218, 15. 505f.. His claim is progressively exposed as fraudulent as the poem goes on, especially as Hannibal and his army come to be identified with the Titans and Giants, Hercules' mythical antagonists (cf. 11. 304-309, 12.693ff.), while Scipio Africanus reveals himself as the true heir of Hercules: cf. 15. 18-128 (the "Hercules in Biuio" episode), 13. 632ff., 640ff.. At the end of the poem, as Scipio rides to the Capitol in triumph, a simile encapsulates the true relation of the two men to the exemplar each had claimed: "qualis..../aut cum Phlegraeis, confecta mole Gigantum,/ incessit campis tangens Tirynthius astra", 17. 646-650. On Roman identification of Scipio with Hercules, see further A. Elter, *Donarem Pateras* 1907, 2.10ff.; A.R. Anderson, Heracles and his successors, HSCPh XXXIX 1928 32ff.; G. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* 1972 128, 160ff.; von Albrecht 82ff.; E. Bassett, Hercules and the Hero of the Punica, in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. L. Wallach, 1966 258-273; H.P.L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture,* 1947 49-53.

509f. The Budé editors have confused the punctuation and translation here. There should be a stop after 510 "affuerit", while their translation of "cerne -- affuerit" ("allons! c'est à nous etc.") removes the sadistic sarcasm of the Latin: "cerne" is "just wait and see".

Tirynthius: Bassett 266f. would have it that Hannibal means Melqart here, but the edge of the sarcasm is lost unless Hannibal is saying "The very same Hercules that you pray to will help *me*." The Hercules of Silius' poem is regularly the "hellenistic" son of Jupiter and Alcmena: indeed, as is shown in the articles cited above on 509-514 by Robinson and C. and G. Picard, Hamilcar and Hannibal themselves vigorously promoted the amalgamation of the Punic Melqart with the Hellenistic Herakles.

510. *aemula uirtus:* a line-ending at Luc. 1.120, V.Fl. 5.86. Hannibal attempts to prevent the god from taking offence at his rivalry, but the arrogance is nonetheless impious and dangerous: χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν, Pind. *P.* 2.88.

512. *inuicte:* Hercules' distinctive title in Roman cult: cf. RE 8.1.560ff..

513. Hercules was the first sacker of Troy: see 43 "bis numina capta penates" n..

514. *Phrygiae stirpis alumnos:* the phrase recalls the speech of Hamilcar in the oath-scene: "gens recidiua Phrygum Cadmeae stirpis alumnos/ foederibus non aequa premit", 106f.. The first reference of these words is to the Saguntines, with their admixture of Trojan blood from Zacynthus (see above on 271-295); but they refer also to the larger war ahead, against the "Aeneadae".

515. *pressumque ira ... ensem:* for the phrase "pressum ensem", cf. Luc. 7.562, "quae presso tremat ense manus."

exigit ensem: cf. Verg. *A.* 10.862, "exigat ensem" [!]. Many examples of this common line-ending in Schumann 2.201f..

516. *qua capuli statuere morae:* thus S and editors. No one has explained what sense this is supposed to make. Van Veen 290 proposes "qua capuli statuere moras", ie. "up to the point where the hilt established a stop." This (or "moram") looks convincing.

Silius follows Vergil here, in applying to a helpless victim the motif of sinking a sword in up to the hilt. In this way Pyrrhus kills Priam ("ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem", *A.* 2.553), Aeneas kills the suppliant Mago, *A.* 10.536, and Euryalus kills the unarmed Rhoetus in the night-massacre, *A.* 9.347f.. Thus Achilles kills the hapless Lycaon, πᾶν δέ οἱ εἴσω/ δῦ ξίφος ἄμφηκες, *Il.* 21.117f.. In Homer the formula is not exclusive as in Vergil: at *Il.* 16.340, in an unusually close-fought combat, Peneleus kills Lycon, πᾶν δ' εἴσω ἔδυ ξίφος. It was probably inevitable that Statius should have a sword driven in deeper than the hilt: "capulo nam largius illi/ transabiit animam cognatis ictibus ensis/ impius", *Theb.* 2. 8-10.

517. The line calls to mind Vergil's description of the death of Mezentius: "undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore" *A.* 10.908. There can, of course, be no significance in the echo, especially when one puts it beside the hints of Pallas which have touched Murrus earlier. A most striking proof of Silius' essentially verbal, rather than imaginative debt to Vergil, of his small-scale level of operation, and of the dangers of expecting consistent schemes of imitation in his poetry.

518-521. Angered by Murrus' death, the Saguntines hem Hannibal in, attacking him with missiles. There follows a lengthy account of Hannibal's predicament, 522-534.

518. *casu:* means "disaster", "catastrophe"; but it pointedly looks back to "labentis" in the previous line, to show precisely what was the nature of the disaster.

519. procurrit: a variant on the practice of enjambing a dactylic verb to show dramatic or energetic action: see 551 "aduolat" n..

519f. arma...corpusque.../...spoliare negant: "spoliare" means "to strip the covering off"; here it goes well with "corpus", but is very forced with "arma". If "spoliare" goes with both nouns, Silius has produced a very odd phrase: "to strip the body and the weapons." An alternative is to regard "negant" as governing "arma" and "corpus spoliare": "they deny the proud victor the weapons of Murrus and the stripping of his body". I am not sure which of these expressions is the harder.

520f. Cf. Verg. A. 9. 791f., "acrius hoc Teucri clamore incumbere magno/et glomerare manum"; 801, "sed manus e castris propere coit omnis in unum." The following lines in Silius likewise owe much to the Vergilian passage, where Turnus is assailed by a host of Trojans: see 522-532n..

521. hortando: does not go with the subject of the sentence, but acts as a verbal noun. This usage occurs even in Cicero (see Nisbet on Cic. Pis. 43.20), and is fairly common in the poets; see F. Antoine, De Casuum Syntaxi Vergiliana 1882 184f., citing Verg. G. 3. 454, "alitur uitium uiuitque tegendo"; A. 12.46, "exsuperat (Turnus) magis aegrescitque medendo"; Ov. Pont. 3.7.25f.", curando fieri quaedam maiora uidemus/ uulnera."

522-532. Our passage is mentioned by Williams 1978 199-205, in a discussion of the motif of the hard-pressed warrior alone against an army, a motif to be seen in Homer, Il. 16. 102-111, Ennius, Ann.

401ff. V, Vergil, A. 9.806-814, Lucan, 6.192-225, Statius, Theb. 2. 668-674, 8. 700-712. Williams 204 rightly observes that "Silius based himself closely on Vergil", but it is not obvious that "in his expression of the details it is clear that he used the second passage of Statius (i.e. 8.700-712) also as a model". Certainly Silius had his eye caught by a phrase 300 lines earlier in Statius, as Williams notes: see 530 n.. Worth commenting on was one important detail which Silius owes to Lucan, and not to Vergil: see 527n..

522. Cf. Verg. A. 9. 808f., "strepit adsiduo caua tempora circum/ tinnitu galea et saxis solida aera fatiscunt".

523. sudibus: see 321 "nunc sude nunc" n. for Silius' and Statius' use of this word to denote "hasta" tout court: it is unlikely that Silius means here the stakes thrown by defenders of city walls.

524. decisae uertice cristae: cf. Verg. A. 9.810, "discussaeque iubae capiti."

525. in caede: "is to be taken with 'direptum', not 'nutantum'" (Ker 31). This cannot be right, for the phrase "nutantum in caede iubarum" coheres tightly, and it would be unnatural to make the central unit apply to a word at the other end of the line. But one sees Ker's difficulty, for "nutantum in caede iubarum" makes no obvious sense: Duff's "crest that nodded over the slain" is what Silius should have written, but "in caede" cannot be made to bear that sense. If the words are to stand, "caedes" will not mean "gore" or "corpses", but "killing", i.e. "fighting": "the plumes nodding amongst the fighting"; cf. Cic. Mil. 12, "caedem,

in qua P. Clodius occisus est" ("the deadly slaughter, conflict", as L.S. translate the noun in this passage).

526. membra fluentia: cf. Verg. A. 3.626f., "uidi atro cum membra fluentia [!] tabo/ manderet". His limbs are flowing with Murrus' blood: cf. 516f. above, "teloque relato/ horrida labentis perfunditur arma cruore."

527. Hannibal's might is stressed: he takes the forest of missiles not, like Turnus, on his shield (Verg. A. 9.806), but on his chest. In this detail Silius follows Lucan: "densamque ferens in pectore siluam (sc. hastarum)", 6. 205.

loricae squamis: the "lorica squamata" was composed of oval or rectangular slabs, normally of iron, which might be from 1.3 x 2.5 cm to 1.5 x 1.8 cm. in size (RE 13.2. 1446). Popular with wealthy Romans from about 400 B.C. the "lorica squamata" had been ousted from the first class by mail well before the time of Polybius: cf. P. Couissin, Les Armes romaines 1926 160f.. Reintroduced in the first century B.C., at first for general use (ib. 341), it increasingly became a uniform of high prestige, so that by Silius' time it was probably restricted to senior officers and pretorians, the common soldier being equipped with the standard "lorica segmentata" (ib. 447f.). It is appropriate, then, for Hannibal to wear one, and Silius is consistent in deciding who should wear such élite garb: the only other men who wear the "lorica squamata" are the consul Flaminius (5.140f.), and Curio, leader of the men of Picenum (8. 425).

squamis horrentia tela: perhaps Silius had in mind the words with which Vergil describes Turnus: "iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus aënis/ horrebat squamis", *A.* 11.487f.; perhaps he was caught by the fancy of describing the spears as bristling all over things that were themselves naturally described as "bristling" (cf. Verg. *A.* 11. 754, "arrectisque horret squamis (sc. serpens)"; Sil. 8.425, "horridus et squamis"). Silius has very likely taken the phrase "horrentia tela" from Ennius (it is found nowhere else): cf. *Ann.* 285 V, "densantur campis horrentia tela uirorum." But he has made the tag do new work by putting it beside "squamis".

528. Ker 16 queried the sense of this line as it has been conventionally printed and translation: "no respite was possible and no change of armour, beneath the rain of blows" (Duff), "sous ces coups, il n'a pas un instant de répit pour changer d'armure" (Budé). Ker's suggested alterations to the line are convincingly rebuffed by Håkanson 8, who regards the line as a "lapsus poetae".

The silliness to which Ker objected declines considerably, however, if we take the line as an amplification of that immediately preceeding. There we are told that Hannibal's cuirass is covered in spears; his mobility and efficiency would obviously be much impeded, and it is natural that he would get rid of his cuirass and put on a new one if he could. Hemmed in as he is, he is unable to retire to do so. What causes the problem here is the discrepancy between the hyperbole of 527 and the earnest way in which Silius takes the implications of this hyperbole seriously in the next line.

529. *genua labant:* cf. Verg. *A.* 5. 432, 12. 905 [!].

fessique humeri: cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 106f., ὁ δ' ἀριϲτερὸν ὦμον ἔκαμνεν,/ ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων ϲάκοϲ αἰόλον; Verg. *A.* 9.806f., "ergo nec clipeo iuuenis subsistere tantum/ nec dextra ualet."

gestamina: first of a shield in Vergil, "clipeum magni gestamen Abantis", A. 3.286; then in Ovid, Met. 15. 163, Valerius Flaccus, 1.760, Silius, 5.349. The plural denotes a shield at Ov. Met. 13. 116.

530f. The lines, down to "uapor", are very clumsy as they stand. "trahens suspiria" would properly be said of the man himself: cf. Pl. Truc. 600; "ducere suspiria", Ov. Met. 1.656, Sil. 8.209. We are kept waiting a long time to discover the noun of "creber", and when it comes it is odd, for the picture becomes one of steam dragging up gasps. Logically, the gasping cannot be caused by the steam, but rather the opposite.

Van Veen 290 emended away these difficulties with "dum creber penitusque trahit suspiria." The grecising adverbial adjective should not be an obstacle: cf., e.g., Verg. A. 5. 459f., "densis ictibus heros/ creber utraque manu pulsat uersatque Dareta." The change is particularly attractive in that it restores "trahit suspiria" to its natural human agent: the sense of "trahens" needs to be very attenuated if it is to go with "uapor", but "penitus", reinforcing the physical notion of dragging up from deep down, will not allow this to happen. Van Veen's emendation goes too far, however. "tum ...trahit" is preferable, for it retains the connective, which deserves to stay, and preserves the imitation of the language Vergil used to describe this sensation: "tum creber anhelitus artus/ aridaque ora quatit", A. 5.199f.. "tum --suspiria" then describes his gasping, and the tricolon develops with "sicco-uapor" giving a visual elaboration, and "nisuque- murmur" an auditory.

suspiria.../fumat: as Williams 1978 205 notes, Silius has adapted these words from Statius, "pariter suspiria fumant", *Theb.* 8.400.

sicco/....ore: cf. Verg. *G.* 4.97, "sicco terram spuit ore".

In these two lines we have a general idea taken from Vergil, verbal reminiscence of two passages from different poems of Vergil, and a borrowing of a striking phrase from Statius: so close, at times, does Silius' style come to cento.

531. *elisus:* to denote a harsh sound forced out by great physical stress, used only here, and by Seneca (of a man on the rack, *Ep.* 24.14), and Quintilian (of a straining orator, 11.3.51).

531f. Three, perhaps four of the key words here occur together in a passage of Lucan which may wellhave been Silius' model: "spumea tunc primum rabies uaesana per *ora*/ effluit et *gemitus* et *anhelo* clara meatu/ murmur", 5. 190-192. Williams 1978 205 n.31 comments on the currency of this picture of groaning and weeping inside a helmet: cf. V.Fl. 6. 738; Stat. *Theb*. 2.634f., 4.20ff., 7.528f.; Sil. 5.303f., 12.553 f..

532. *fractumque in casside murmur:* "murmura" are described as "fracta" by Statius *Theb*. 11.337, and Avianus, *Fab.* 17.13: in these cases the sense is of being broken off by pain, death, etc.. Tacitus has "fractum murmur" in an application very similar to ours, describing the muffled echoing of a voice in an enclosed space. Of the singing in Germany, Tacitus says "adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur obiectis ad os scutis quo plenior et grauior uox repercussu intumescat", *Germ*. 3. This muffled echo is part of what

Vergil intended when he wrote of breakers, "audimus longe fractas ad litora uoces", A. 3.556.

Similarly with trumpets, whose"fracti sonitus" (e.g. Verg. G. 4.72, "uox auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum") are normally explained as intermittent. But this cannot be what Vergil means when he compares the sound of trumpets and bees, for bees make a noise which (like that of distant breakers) is anything but intermittent. It is the same low resonant sound which Tacitus describes. In fact, the use of the idea "broken" derives from the way in which trumpets "break up" the air going through them, as flutes, for example, do not: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν · αὐλῶν εἶναι τὰϲ γλώττα ϲ πυκνὰϲ καὶ λείαϲ καὶ ὁμαλάϲ, ὅπωϲ ἂν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διαπορεύηται δι' αὐτῶν λεῖον καὶ ὁμαλὸν καὶ μὴ διεϲπαϲμένον, Arist. de Aud. 802b. The tuba's tone was "tief and dröhnend" (RE 2R 13.750), as a result of its wide aperture and the mouth-piece of horn, a material whose "raucous" qualities ("struxit querulas rauca per ossa tubas", Prop. 4.3.20) were considered to be a result of the horn's makeup: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων οἱ τῶν κεράτων ἦχοι πυκνοὶ καὶ ϲυνεχεῖϲ πρὸϲ τὸν ἀέρα προϲπίπτοντεϲ ποιοῦϲι τὰϲ φωνὰϲ ἀμαυράϲ, Arist. de Aud. 802a. Such sounds were "dispersed", "broken up" (κατὰ μικρὰ μέρη διεϲπαϲμέναι, ib. 804b), "fractus", and the sound itself appeared "raucus", as Vergil says of his bees ("ille aeris rauci canor", G. 4.71), or τραχύϲ (such "cracked" sounds are, according to Aristotle, ϲχεδὸν παραπλήϲιαι ταῖϲ τραχείαιϲ, ib. 804b). Thus, adjectives applying strictly to what happened inside the instrument were used to describe the sort of noise which came out, and, by extension, a whole range of similarly low and resonant sounds: bees, waves, the reverberating timbre of a voice inside the megaphone formed by a full-face helmet or by shields held round the face.

Aristotle describes another case, exactly identical to ours, in which a voice might be said to be "fractus": ἀπορρήγνυϲθαι δὲ ϲυμβαίνει τὰϲ φωνάϲ, ὅταν μηκέτι δύνωνται τὸν ἀέρα μετὰ πληγῆϲ ἐκπέμπειν· ὥϲπερ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ϲκέλη καὶ τοὺϲ ὤμουϲ ἐκλύεϲθαι ϲυμβαίνει τὸ τελευταῖον ϲυντόνωϲ, οὕτωϲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸν πνεύμονα τοπον, ib. 804b.

421-425. For the transposition of this simile see on 421-425 above. It fits naturally at this juncture: after the lone warrior against a crowd motif there follows regularly, but not invariably, a wild-animal simile, especially one which, as here, describes an animal cut off and hard-pressed by hunters; cf. Hom. *Il*. 13. 470 ff., 11.414 ff.; Verg. *A.* 10. 707-716 (O.C.T.); Stat. *Theb*. 2. 675-681. Most important for Silius is the simile at the end of *Aeneid* 9, where Turnus is compared to a lion (792-796). In Vergil the simile precedes the detailed description of Turnus' exhaustion, sweat etc. (806-811), but Silius' inversion of Vergil's order to fit the usual sequence will not surprise anyone: see further on 421-425 above for the correspondences between Hannibal and Turnus at this point.

421. *fulmineus:* as Delz 1975 170 notes, Silius is influenced here by Ovid's language in the *Metamorphoses:* cf. 1.305 f., "nec uires fulminis apro.../...prosunt"; 8.288, "fulmen ab ore uenit (sc. apro)"; 10.550, "fulmen habent acres in aduncis dentibus apri."

Spartanis: a renowned breed of hunting dog came from Sparta: cf. D.B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece,* 1964 31-33.

421f. *latratibus.../...occursu:* cf. Verg. *A.* 12.751, "uenator cursu canis et latratibus instat"; Silius has split the nouns up, referring one to dogs and one to men.

422f. *hirto/horrescit saetis dorso*: of boars in such similes; cf. Hom. *Il* 13. 473, φρίϲϲει δέ τε νῶτον ὕπερθεν; Verg. *A.* 10. 711 "inhorruit armos".

The example of the Vergilian phrase led van Veen to suggest "hirtum dorsum", but the change is unnecessary.

424. *aper:* once more the subject is delayed (see 429 "Hannibal" n.), but no surprise can be intended, since the nature of the beast has been plain since the first word of the simile: see on 421 "fulmineus".

The wild boar is the most appropriate animal with which to compare such monsters as Hannibal or Mezentius, for it excelled all other beasts in ferocity: "the wild boar is generally acknowledged to be the most dangerous and difficult animal in the world to hunt (with the possible exception of the rhinoceros)", Hull, op.cit. 421 "Spartanis" above, 103.

425. A vexed line. LF give "iamque gemet geminum contra uenabula torquens"; OV have the same, with the last word missing; in the margin a later hand in O has written "dēte": see Delz 1975 169f..

Bauer, Duff and the Budé follow Lefebvre's proposal of "iamque gemens geminat contra uenabula dentem". The objection here is not "gemens" but "geminat". When such verbs of "doubling" are used of hitting, it is, logically enough, the blows themselves that are doubled: e.g. Verg. *A.* 5.457, "nunc dextra ingeminans ictus". Nowhere is the uncompounded "gemino" used in this way, and I find only two places where an author speaks of doubling the thing striking rather than doubling the blow it inflicts: Verg. A. 11. 696ff., "tum ualidam perque arma uiro perque ossa securim/.....congeminat"; V.Fl. 6.378ff., "cum regina grauem nodis auroque securim/ congeminans partem capitis galeaeque ferinae/ dissipat" (an obvious imitation of Vergil's words, for Valerius' Amazon-warrior has Camilla's weapon). We should be loath to emend a word to join this unique company, especially since the context is so very different, and since a considerable silliness obtrudes: a boar has "twin" tusks, and we would have him doubling up doubles.

"geminum", then, should stand. If we have "geminum" we certainly need some mention of tusks. Most proposals have incorporated the "dentem" of the second hand in O. There are a host of suggestions for a corresponding verb to replace "gemet": "ciet", N. Heinsius; "premit", "terit", "acuit", Ruperti; "regit", Bauer. But the paradosis is "torquens" and we should look rather to ways of seeing whether this may be retained: "iamque gemens geminum dentem in uenabula torquet", Schlichteisen; "iamque ignem geminum contra uenabula torquens", Delz 1975 170. Delz's line is attractive, involving only the change from "gemet" to "ignem" (though we should read "torquet": Silius does not use "iamque" with participles, but with finite verbs). For this "double flame" as the boar's tusks, Delz refers to the Ovidian passages cited 421 n., where the tusks of boars are compared to thunderbolts. "torquere" would have a most apposite colour if Delz is right, for it is used of the hurling of thunderbolts: cf. Verg. A. 4.208, "cum fulmina torques (Iuppiter)". I am inclined to think that Delz is right.

533f. "Virtus" is inevitably on show in hard circumstances: cf. Hes. *Erg.* 289, τῆς δ'ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα (sc. ὁδὸν) θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν; Corn. Sev. fr. 2 Morel, "ardua uirtuti longeque per aspera cliua/ eluctanda uia est: labor obiacet omnis honori"; Fur. Ant. fr. 3 Morel, "increscunt animi, uirescit uolnere...uirtus." Silius' hyperbole here has a distinctly Annaean feel about it: cf. Sen. *Prov*. 4.3. f., "itaque quidam ipsi ultro se cessantibus malis obtulerunt et uirtuti iturae in obscurum occasionem per quam *enitesceret* quaesierunt. *gaudent*, inquam, magni uiri aliquando rebus aduersis, non aliter quam fortes milites bello"; cf. ib. 2.4; Luc. 9.402-404, "serpens, sitis, ardor harenae/ dulcia uirtuti; *gaudet* patientia *duris*;/ laetius sit, quotiens magno sibi constat, honestum." In Silius' lines, the phrase "gaudetque nitescere duris" is especially reminiscent of these passages. For "shining virtue", see the elaborate praise by Cicero of M. Cato's "uirtus", "quae in tempestate saeua quieta est et lucet in tenebris et pulsa loco manet tamen atque haeret in patria splendetque per sese semper neque alienis umquam sordibus obsolescit", *Sest.* 60.

535-555. Silius unblocks the stalemate by having a heavenly spear wound Hannibal, forcing him to hobble from the field, with the spear pulled out by Juno herself.

Hannibal was in fact wounded in the thigh by a spear during the siege of Saguntum: "Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, aduersum femur tragula grauiter ictus cecidit", Liv. 21.7.10. It is easy to sympathise with Silius' desire to make something out of this cryptic notice, and it was no stupid decision to place this potentially very dramatic incident at the climax of the action which dominates the centre of the first book: see 327ff. n. for Silius' adaptation of Livy's narrative here to his own structural requirements.

The success in operation is another matter. Although Silius is careful not to state explicitly that Jupiter himself hurled the spear, the inference is so easy that considerable embarrassment results: see 538-540, 544 nn.. Worse than this is the unprepared appearance of Juno. We have had no word of her since a brief mention at 137f., really not since 55. There is no set divine grandstand as there is in Homer, so that Silius' introduction of the character is necessarily makeshift: see 548 f.n.. Once she is on, Juno does only what a human doctor might do: even though one may respect Silius' wish to have Hannibal move off under his own power, rather than being whisked away by his patroness, there remains a feeling that the goddess is under-utilised, that the anticlimactic nature of her action does not justify the price paid in narrative cohesion for her introduction.

535f. Ruperti oddly comments on these lines "triste augurium, ut laetum, caelo sereno": but it was not a bad sign in itself for there to be thunder in a cloudy sky, for this was obviously the normal occurrence: cf. Hor. Carm. 1.34. 6f. "igni corusco nubila diuidens/ plerumque." It was the direction of the thunder which counted: see Pease. ed. Cic. Div., 482-484. "fragor" is noteworthy, and intended as a surprise: with this splitting of clouds and smacking of earth we surely expect "fulmen". "erupit" in particular leads us to expect a bolt to follow, for the word is especially used of bolts and flames bursting out: cf. T.L.L. 5.2. 839. 36-59. The unusual pause at the diaresis contributes to the sense of shock:

see on 400 and 470 for similar effects.

535. *scisso...caelo:* Ruperti very appositely cites Mark 1.10, σχιζόμενοι οὐρανοί; Matt. 3.16 οὐρανοὶ ἀνεῴχθησαν; Ov. *Fast.* 3.371 (the appearance of the "ancilia"), "a media caelum regione dehiscere coepit."

nubila caeli: "nubila caelo/i" is a set hexameter-end formula (Schumann 3.574): cf. Lucr. 1.6; Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.15; Verg. *A.* 3.586; etc.. It is an especially common variant of the "nubila" + spondee line-ending: cf. Schumann 3.574 f..

536. *quatiens terram:* Silius gives a particular instance of the earth-shaking power of thunder: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.7ff., "per purum tonantis/ egit equos uolucremque currum,/ quo bruta tellus...../ concutitur," with N.-H.'s note on 9 "quo".

536f. *super ipsas/....pugnas:* laborious, but not otiose: the localised shock shows that the event is not random, and that Jupiter is taking a direct interest.

537. *bis:* Jupiter thunders two, three (Verg. *A.* 7. 141f., Stat. *Theb.* 11. 410f.) or four times (Stat. *Theb.* 5. 86f.), "ne, si semel factum fuisset, casus putaretur", Donat. ap. Verg. *A.* 7. 141f.. Silius makes the point twice, with "bis" and "geminato fulmine".

538-540. As noted above, Silius does not explicitly state that Jupiter threw the weapon, although 538 "inter nubes" and 545 "dei" leave little doubt as to the divine impetus of the "lancea". Not only for reasons of decorum does Silius do well to leave Jupiter's rôle vague: it was too easy to ask why, if Jupiter took the trouble to intervene in the first place, he did not do a better job of it; see Pease, ed. Cic. *Div.* 428 for the large sarcastic literature on the odd targets of thunderbolts, and on the near scrapes of such men as Anaxagoras. In Book 12 Hannibal asks why Jupiter does not kill him outright, since he is throwing so many bolts around (674-677): similar problems are posed here when Silius points out that the spear would have killed Hannibal if it had only gone in a bit deeper (545-547): see further on 544 "fallacis imagine teli."

538. *uentorum turbine caeco:* cf. [Ov.] *Nux* 161f., "optaui quotiens aut caeco turbine uenti/ aut ualido missi fulminis igne peti;" Stat. *Theb.* 7. 791, "caeco nocturni turbine Cori".

539. *uibrauit:* one might have expected, e.g., "uibratur", but the active is regularly used with a visual force, of gleaming or flickering: cf. Cic. *Ac.* 2.105, "mare, qua a sole collucet, albescit et uibrat"; Verg. *A.* 9.769f., "uibranti gladio conixus ab aggere dexter/ occupat"; Sil. 2.664, "in tremulo uibrant incendia ponto"; Hollis on Ov. *Met.* 8. 342. Hence the importance of "caeco" in the previous line: against the darkness the rapidly-moving spear flashes out.

540. *femine:* thus F CmCh; "femore" OV, "femure" L. "femin--" is the more common stem until the second century: cf. T.L.L. 6.1.470.50ff..

sedit: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.575f., "claua.../...aduersi sedit in ore uiri"; Flor. *Epit.* 4.2.40, "in scuto centum atque uiginti tela sedere". The abrupt spondee puts an effective full-stop to the weapon's progress.

541-543. The address to the holiest centres of Rome's religion builds up in the predictable three stages: the first leg takes up two and a half feet, the second three and a half, while the third branches out over two lines, with an elaborate and striking structure at the cap (see 543n.). Silius' language looks as if it owes something to lines from a very different context in the Aeneid (Sinon's appeal to the Trojans): "'uos, aeterni ignes et non uiolabile/ testor numen', ait, 'uos arae ensesque nefandi'," A. 2. 154f.. For further discussion of these impassioned invocations, see 666 n..

541. rupes...saxum: these are the same Mons Capitolinus, home of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (hence the plural "superis"). The line is reminiscent of Vergil's trick of joining together in one line, with "et", two sentences which denote the same thing: e.g. A. 5. 292, "inuitat pretiis animos et praemia ponit"; 6.331, "constitit Anchisa satus et uestigia pressit": cf. Williams 1968 728.

habitabile: a geographer's word, precise and scientific (cf. T.L.L. s.v. A 1 a), and self-consciously used as such by a few poets: cf. Hor. Carm. 4.14.5; Ov. Met. 1.49, 8.624, 15.830, Trist. 3.4.51; Man. 1.238. There is point in using the word here: this is a part of the world in which it is possible for the gods to maintain themselves.

542f.. Silius addresses, as the guarantors of Rome's existence, the fires of Vesta which Aeneas had brought out of Troy with his Penates: see Austin on A. 2.320, RE2R 16. 1753f..

543. On this mellifluous pattern, see 21-33n.. Silius has made it as grandiose and sonorous as possible, with a rolling polysyllable to

open the line, and then a falling cadence with the last three words, in each of which there is coincidence of ictus and accent: see Wilkinson 129 on the dignity sensed in this effect, as shown by Vergil's favouring of it for the endings of periods.

544. fallacis imagine teli: the language is strained, too much influenced by those passages which play upon the deceptive character of "imago": cf. Verg. *E.* 2.26f., "non ego Daphnin/ iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago"; Ov. *Met.* 3.463, "nec me mea fallit imago"; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.18, "fallax imago". The phrasing is problematic here, imputing "fallacia" to the supreme deity as well as bad aim. The influence of Lucan is probably to be felt, with his posturing about the gods' relationship to men: cf. 2.1ff., "iamque irae patuere deum..../...cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi,/ sollicitis uisum mortalibus addere curam,/ noscant uenturas ut dira per omina clades?"; 7.445ff., "sunt nobis nulla profecto/ numina: cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu,/mentimur regnare Iouem. spectabit ab alto/ aethere Thessalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?/ scilicet ipse petet Pholoen, petet ignibus Oeten/ inmeritaeque nemus Rhodopes pinusque Mimantis,/ Cassius hoc potius feriet caput?.../...mortalia nulli/sunt curata deo."

546. clausae starent mortalibus Alpes: see 509-514n. for this tradition of Hannibal as the first man to emulate Hercules in crossing the Alps.

The Alps stand for the walls of Italy, in a common figure: cf. Liv. 21.35.8f., "consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat (Hannibal) subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis

Romanae"; Polyb. 3.54.2; Cic. *Pis.* 81. "Alpium uallum contra ascensum transgressionemque Gallorum" (with Nisbet's note). The Alps form an important part of the poem's "moenia Romae" motif: see von Albrecht 24 f..

547. *Thrasymenne:* see 45n. for Silius' regular apostrophes directed towards the rivers and lakes which were the scenes of the principal Roman disasters.

Allia: the panicky rout at the Allia was a disaster that made a more powerful impression than any that followed: "maiores nostri funestiorem diem esse uoluerunt Alliensis pugnae quam urbis captae", Cic. *Att.* 9.5.2. July 18 was a "dies ater": cf. Liv. 6.1.11; RE 1.1585; Bömer, ed. Ov. *Fasti.* intro. 37f..

The battle of the Allia provided, as here, a sort of yardstick for later catastrophes: cf. Liv. 22.50.1, "haec est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par"; *Paneg.* 12.46, "Alliensi die Emathia funestior"; C.I.L. 11.1421. 25f (of C. Caesar's death in 4 A.D.), "di⟨em⟩que eum, quo die C. Caesar obit,....pro Alliensi lu⟨gub⟩rem memoriae prodi"; Luc. 7. 407-409," Pharsalia tanti/ causa mali. *cedant,* feralia nomina, Cannae/ et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis."

cederet: the image is of deference to a social superior, hence ubiquitous in such a status-conscious society (see N.-H. on Hor *Carm.* 2.6.15): cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.149, "debemus...cedere iis, qui magistratum habebunt"; Verg. *A.* 7.332 f., "ne noster honos infractaue cedat/ fama loco", further, T.L.L. s.v. 3. III C 1. The word might be used in any comparison, of trees, for example, or fruit: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.4.70, "Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco"; Verg. *E.* 5. 16-18:

see 214n. for the "oneupmanship" of such comparisons.

548f. From Vergil, A. 12.134ff., "at Iuno, ex summo.../prospiciens tumulo... etc.." In the Aeneid we accept the verisimilitude of a deity looking down from the Alban hills at a scene not twenty miles distant; in Homer, too, it is easy to believe that Zeus can keep an eye on things from mount Ida (e.g. Il. 11.336f.). under thirty miles from the plain, and 5,806 feet high at its peak. But Silius, for want of a closer hill, puts Iuno on the Pyrenees, almost 250 miles away, and punctures the whole illusion. Such extravagance is foreshadowed even in Vergil, who has Juno see down into Latium from the sky above Pachynus, south of Syracuse (A. 7.288f.): cf. V. Fl. 1. 575, where Boreas in Thrace sees the Argonauts leaving Iolcus.

At this point Ruperti puts his finger on a cardinal weakness of Silius' treatment: for a full discussion of the problem, see The Gods, 402 ff..

549. in Marte calores: cf. 12.389 "bellantum calorem." "calores" is commonly used of love (Hor. Carm. 4.9.11; Prop. 1.12.17; Ov. Ars 1.237), but not elsewhere in the plural of battle-lust: here it describes a series of actions, repeated exhibitions of "calor".

550-551. These lines, not in S, were reported as being in the codex Coloniensis by Modius and Carrio.

550. ut uidet: the only occurrence in Silius of this quasi-formulaic epic line-opener. Vergil six times opens a line with "ut uidit"; Ovid introduces the dactylic "ut uidet" (Met. 12. 426), and is followed by Lucan (3.115, 6.11) and Valerius Flaccus (2.637,

6.373).

551. *aduolat:* three times a line-opener in Vergil, twice, as here, enjambed (*A.* 10.456, 511).

The enjambment of a vivid or dramatic dactylic verb is a common epic device: cf. J. Marouzeau, *L'Ordre des Mots dans la Phrase Latine* 3, 1949 181; Wilkinson 66; W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil* 1971 69.

Without doubt Lucan and, especially, Statius are the most addicted to it; see, e.g., the remarkable grouping at *Theb.* 3.88-90, where each successive line begins with an enjambed verb in a dactylic foot, of four, two and three syllables. Silius, by contrast, is sparing in his practice: only five examples in Book 1 (204, 551, 557, 642, 683).

obscura circumdata nube: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.416 (of Venus coming to aid her wounded son), "obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo". Divinities regularly envelop themselves thus when they move amongst mortals: cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 790 (Apollo); Ov. *Met.* 3.273, "fulua recondita nube" (Juno); Stat. *Theb.* 9.727f. (Diana).

552. *ualidam:* used of a spear only by Vergil (*A.* 10.401) and Statius (*Theb.* 1.222 [of a "cuspis"], 3.590, 9.95): see 60 "his super" n..

duris....ossibus: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.66, "duris dolor ossibus ardet". The collocation of "duris" and "ualidam" suggests the effort required to pull out the fast-stuck spear. "euellit" serves the same function: otherwise used only by Ovid of pulling out a weapon (*Met.* 9. 129), the word is used of removing objects implanted by roots and wellembedded: so teeth (Lucil. 404) and trees (T.L.L. 5.2. 1 A 2 a).

553. ille: it is nineteen lines since Hannibal was last the subject (534), but there is no ambiguity: they are his "ossa" in the line above. See further 340 "clamatque" n. for striking introductions of subjects in Silver Latin.

fusum....cruorem: Silius knits in obliquely the formula which describes the rush of blood that follows when a weapon is pulled out of the flesh: cf. Hom. Il. 11.458, αἷμα δέ οἱ ϲπαϲθέντοϲ ἀνέϲϲυτο, 16.505; Verg. A. 10.486f., "ille rapit calidum frustra de uulnere telum:/ una eademque uia sanguis animusque sequuntur."

554. dubio uestigia: cf. Verg. A. 9. 797f., "dubius uestigia" [!]. Thus of the wounded Aeneas, "alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus", A. 12.386; cf. V. Fl. 2.93, "alternos aegro cunctantem poplite gressus."

555. auersus: thus FOCd; "aduersus" LV. Bauer 188 197f. has a discussion: he rightly decides for "auersus". Although Hannibal does not actually turn his back on the Saguntines, "auersus" coheres so closely with "ab aggere" that it causes no problems; "aduersus", on the other hand, while satisfying the condition that Hannibal should face his enemies while retreating, would sit very oddly with "ab aggere."

556-575. Night-fall brings a halt to the fighting, but the Saguntines do not sleep: while some repair the walls, the elders confer and decide to send an embassy to Rome for help.

Such anxious night-time consultations have a long pedigree:

cf. Hom. Il. 7.313ff., 345ff., 9.9ff.; Verg. A. 9.224ff., "cetera per terras omnis animalia somno/ laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum:/ ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuuentus,/ consilium summis regni de rebus habebant"; Stat. Theb. 10.156ff.; Sil. 7.282ff.; V.Fl. 5. 278ff. (where note the resemblance to our passage in the shape of the scene-setting), "nox hominum genus et duros miserata labores/ rettulerat fessis optata silentia terris./ at Iuno et summi uirgo Iouis intima secum/ consilia et uarias sociabant pectore curas." See further 558 n..

The upshot of Silius' council, like that of Vergil's in Aeneid 9, is a decision to send messengers to Rome to call an army to the relief of the besieged. Once more (see 144-181, 151-168 nn.) Silius follows a subsidiary historical tradition. According to Polybius (3.15.1) and Livy (21.6.1f.) the Saguntines sent embassies to Rome before Hannibal attacked them, warning of the impending danger. Appian (Hisp. 11) preserves another version, which Silius follows, according to which the Saguntines' plea for help followed after they had been attacked.

Silius' version, of course, helps to exculpate the Romans, who thereby have less time to respond to their clients' request: see Walbank 1.320 for a discussion of the Roman tradition's distortion of the chronology relating to the embassies. But this is not the important point. Silius has chosen the version which enables him to organise his material as dramatically as possible, with the night-time council, the appeal for aid while Saguntum is in great danger, and as harmoniously as possible, taking us from beleaguered Saguntum to the "curia", so that his first book can end on a note of high tension in Rome. The movement of the book, from Carthage through the flash-point to Rome, produces a satisfyingly cohesive order. See further *The Structure*, 366 below.

556ff.. The wall is repaired in the space of one night, a natural epic compression of the long time it obviously took them: cf. Liv. 21.11.5.

556f. *nox.../...pugnas...diremit:* night-fall stops the fighting both in epic (Hom. *Il*. 8.485ff.; Verg. *A.* 11.912ff.; Luc. 4.472f.; V. Fl. 6.752ff.; Stat. *Theb*. 8.159ff.), and in real life (Thuc. 1.51.5). The phrase itself was standard in the historians, as is shown by Pliny's comment, "actionem meam, ut proelia solet, nox diremit", *Ep*. 4.9.9.; cf. Sal. *Jug.* 60.8, Tac. *Hist.* 4.35.

557. *condidit:* the image is made explicit by Statius, "nox.../...nigro... polos inuoluit amictu", *Theb.* 3. 415f. "condo" is often used of sunset, especially with a sinister or frightening overtone: cf. Hor. *Carm*. 2.16.2f., "simul atra nubes/ condidit lunam"; Sen. *Phaed.* 674f., "omnis impulsus ruat/ aether et atris nubibus condat diem"; Luc. 4.433, "condidit umbra/ nox lucem dubiam". "nox" governs the two verbs at each end of the line: their prefixes, "con" and "di", pull in opposite directions in accordance with the night's double effect.

558. *durae:* formally opposed to the characteristic epithets of sleep and night: "(nox) mitis", Stat. *Theb.* 3.417; "(soporem) placidum", Verg. *A.* 4.522; "(quies) placida", *A.* 5.836.

An individual's or group's unquiet night is naturally contrasted with the peace of the rest of the world: cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 1f., ἄλλοι μέν ρα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρεϲ ἱπποκορυϲταὶ/ εὗδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ'οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμοϲ ὕπνοϲ; Sapph. Frag. Adesp. 976, δέδυκε μὲν ἀ ϲελάννα/ καὶ Πληΐαδεϲ, μέϲαι δὲ/ νύκτεϲ, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὤρα,/ ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω; A.R. 3.744ff.; Verg. A.. 4.522ff. (with Pease's notes); Ov. Met. 8. 81ff. (with Hollis' note on 81-83); Stat. Theb. 3-415 ff.; Silv. 5.4 (to Somnus: see P. Friedländer, Statius an den Schlaf, Antike VIII 1932 218ff.); Häfliger 88 ff..

molemque reponunt: i.e., the section of wall that had collapsed at 368ff.. The words are picked up at 579, when the work is finished, "mole extructa".

559. noctis opus: looks at first like an affectation of the historian's "accusative in apposition to the sentence"; cf. Hor. Carm. 2.1.6 "plenum opus aleae", with N.-H. ad loc.. But Silius will probably have had his phrase from Statius: cf. Theb. 6.86 "montis opus" [!], 552 "pacis opus" [!].

559f.. The "cornered rat" syndrome. It was especially the resolution coming from acceptance of sure death that men commented upon: cf. Hor. Carm. 1.37.29, "deliberata morte ferocior" (with N.-H. ad loc); Luc. 4.267f., "ut leti uidere uiam, conuersus in iram/ praecipitem timor est" (cf. 4.533f.); Stat. Theb. 7.699f. "certus et ipse necis, uires fiducia leti/ suggerit"; Sil. 10.218. The less suicidal form of resolve also attracted notice: cf. Sen. Nat. 2.95.5, "nullus perniciosior hostis est quam quem audacem angustiae faciunt, longeque uiolentius semper ex necessitate quam ex uirtute confligitur"; Liv. 4.28.5, "uirtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis"; 21.44.8f.; Sal. Cat. 58.19 (with Vretska's note).

extrema pericli: a phrase compounded from Livy, who has "extrema periculorum", 7.29.2, and "extremum periculi", 21.34.8.

563. mananti....uulnere: "mano" is used of wounds elsewhere only by Statius (Theb. 9.528 "tunc uulnera manant"): the use is an easy extension from such phrases as "manant lacera ora cruentis/ unguibus", Stat. Theb. 12.109f., "sanguineae man ant tamquam de uulnere guttae", Ov. Met. 2.360.

saxaque...subuectat: cf. Verg. A. 11.131 "saxaque subuectare."

564. "patribus" = "claris senum" : for the mannerism, see 541n.. "claris" is important, for the rest are at work (561).

566-568. Thus correctly transcribed in Cm, Cc; S confuses these lines into "defessis subeant rebus reuocentque impellite puppim".

566. defessis...rebus: slightly ungainly, coming six lines after 560 "fractis rebus". This is the only occurrence of "defessae res": but "fessae res" is a common periphrasis for political trouble: cf. Verg. A. 11. 335, "consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis"; Tac. Ann. 15.50, "deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret"; Sil. 6.590, 10.274.

568-573. The speech of the "patres" is vividly introduced with an abrupt switch into "oratio recta", and the urgent note is maintained with the uncharacteristic zeugma in 568 ("remis uelisque"), and the repeated imperative of 571.

568. It is quite characteristic of Silius that he should take over

his language from a completely different context, Dido's outburst of rage at the Trojans' departure: "ite,/ ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos", *A.* 4. 593f. (see Pease ad loc. for a collection of exhortations on the "ferte citi" model).

569. *fera:* only once elsewhere is Hannibal actually called a wild beast (7.401, "Libycum leonem"), but bestial imagery is consistently applied to Hannibal and the Carthaginians: see 2 f.n..

570. *rupto:* thus S; "rapto" vulg. Bauer 1888 198 has given the right reasons for preferring "rupto".

grassandum ad clara periclis: on this topos, a favourite of Silius', see 533 f.n.. Silius' wording is reminiscent of an expression of Sallust: "animus ubi ad gloriam uirtutis uia grassatur", *Jug.* 1.3. But in a supposedly tight and urgent speech of exhortation, the intrusion of this otiose "sententia" is flabby and out of character.

571. *ite citi:* such repetition of imperatives is not a regular feature of high epos. In the *Aeneid* only Book 3 exhibits any examples: cf. 41f., 44 "heu *fuge* crudelis terras, *fuge* litus auarum", 639 "sed *fugite*, o miseri, *fugite.* " Silius will have had it from Ovid, in whose style the device forms part of his rhetorical armoury (see Bömer on *Met.* 3.95): cf. *Met.* 3.562, "'ite citi' (famulis hoc imperat) 'ite'"; 4.583, "accede, o coniunx, accede, miserrima"; 8.794f., "accipe currus,/ accipe, quos frenis alte moderere, dracones." Bömer, on *Met.* 3.562, refers with approval to von Albrecht's comparison of this Ovidian trick to the frequent repetitions of imperatives in the *Eclogues* (*Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen und ihre dichterische Funktion* , Diss. Tübingen 1959 84ff.): e.g.

1.74, "ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae"; 7.44, 10.77. But in Vergil the device is only one aspect of the pervasive bucolic anaphora: cf. T.G. Rosenmeyer, The Green Cabinet 1969 96f..

574f. As the ambassadors set off, Silius has no thought for what he wrote earlier: "stat dura iuuentus,/ ereptamque fugam et claudi uidet aggere muros", 330f..

574. celerant....gressum: Pease has a note on Verg. A. 4.641 on the uses of "celerare" with "gradum", "cursus", "iter", "uiam", "uestigia". Silius and Dracontius (Romul. 8.553) are the only writers to use this particular expression, but cf. Acc. 23f. R, "celebri gradu gressum adcelerasse decet."

qua proxima: cf. Verg. A. 8.594 [!].

575. per spumea caerula: Ennius is the originator of this particular grouping: "marmore flauo/ caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum, Ann. 384f. V; cf. Verg. A. 8.672, "fluctu spumabant caerula cano"; 4.583 = 3.208, "adnixi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt." F.E. Brenk, CW LXXIII 1979 2, has a note on the history of these expressions, with their Greek antecedents.

uelo: the flight is made to appear even more impetuous by the παρὰ προσδοκίαν, for, as is seen in the examples above, it is conventionally and naturally the oars which whip up the sea into foam.

576-578. The dawn of the new day, a hackneyed epic common-place: see Hollis on Ov. Met. 8. 1-2, referring to Sen. Ep. 122. 11f.; Häfliger 32ff.; Pease on Verg. A. 4. 90; A.W. James, Night and Day in Epic

Narrative from Homer to Quintus of Smyrna, *MPhL* III 1978 153-183 (basically a collection, from Greek authors only).

Our passage is unremarkable, but Silius is capable of some good effects in this department: at the beginning of Book 6, for example, as the sun rises on the "foeda strages" of Trasimene (5), we are told that it rises too on the far-off Chinese: "primique nouo Phaëthonte retecti/ Seres lanigeris reptebant uellera lucis", 3f..

576. *Tithoni...coniunx:* cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.1f., Ἠὼϲ δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο/ ὤρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοιϲι φόωϲ φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖϲιν; Verg. *A.* 4.585 = *G.* 1.447, "Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile" (with Pease's note); Ov. *Fast.* 1.461, "proxima prospiciet Tithono Aurora relicto" (with Bömer's note); Häfliger 21.

roscida: of Aurora, Ov. *Ars.* 3.180, Sil. 15.439; "nox", Sil. 5. 24; Hesperus, Ov. *Fast.* 2. 314; Iris, Verg. *A.* 4. 700; Luna, Verg. *G.* 3. 337.

577. *rutilus:* the same colour is meant as with Homer's κροκόπεπλοϲ (*Il.* 8.1), Vergil's and Ovid's "luteus" (*A.* 7. 26, *Met.* 7. 703), and Vergil's "croceus" (*A.* 4. 585, where see Pease); Häfliger 29f.

sonipes: Dawn has a chariot like the sun: cf. Hom. *Od.* 23. 246, Λάμπον καὶ Φαέθονθ', οἵ τ' Ἠῶ πῶλοι ἄγουϲι; Verg. *A.* 7. 25; Ov. *Fast.* 4. 714; Häfliger 22.

hinnitibus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 154f. (of the sun's horses), "hinnitibus [!] auras/ flammiferis inplent." Bömer ad loc. is not right to say that Silius here and Claud. 8. 562 apply the neighing to the horses of the sun: at Claud. 8. 561 the poet names "uelox *Aurorae* nuntius Aethon."

578. *afflarat:* the word can be used simply of fire (cf. Lucr. 5. 567; Ov. *Trist.* 1. 9. 22), hence easily applied to the fire that issued from the nostrils of the horses of the sun (Silius appears to be the only author to use the verb of the horses of Dawn): "ubi primus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis", Verg. *G.* 1.250: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.71, πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸϲ ἵππων.

montis: the hills catch the sun first: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.113f., "Postera uix summos spargebat lumina montis/ orta dies."

roseasque....habenas: the homeric adjective (cf. *Il.* 1.477, ῥοδοδάκτυλοϲ; H. Hom. 31.6, ῥοδόπαχυν; Theoc. 2.148, ῥοδόεϲϲαν) could be applied to Dawn's chariot (Verg. *A.* 7.26), horses (Ov. *Fast.* 4.714), or axle (Ov. *Fast.* 3.518). Silius may have had this particular conceit from Ov. *Am.* 1.13.10, "roscida purpurea supprime lora manu."

579f. The lines recall 330f., "stat dura iuuentus,/ ereptamque fugam et claudi uidet aggere muros" - except that now the enclosure is their own work.

579. *extructa mole:* marks the completion of the task begun in 558, "molemque reponunt."

581. *pendent:* cf. Vergil's description of the lull in the building of Carthage: "pendent opera interrupta minaeque/ murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo", *A.* 4.88f..

actus: in this sense an exclusively post-Augustan usage, except for Sal. Hist. 5.4, Grat. 233: cf. T.L.L. s.v. C. 1-2. "actus rerum" is a favourite expression of Seneca's: cf. de ira 3.3.5, 6.6, 41.1; Ep. 101.4.

581-583. As Ruperti notes, Silius appears to have before his eyes Liv. 21.8.1, "obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit dum uulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum." But Silius portrays a complete pause in activity, so as to leave the Saguntum-episode with a cadence as he turns towards Rome.

582. pugnandi...ardor: this gerund can have an Ennian tone: see Norden on Verg. A. 6.660. But here the historians are the exemplars: for the phrase "ardor pugnandi", cf. Liv. 2.45.9, Tac. Ann. 2.23.7. "pugnandi" is found also with "causa", Liv. 37.21.3; "copia", Liv. 4.21.2, Sal. Cat. 56.4, Jug. 52.3, 56.1, 82.1; "potestas", Liv. 31.36.5; "studium alacritasque", Caes. Civ. 3.37; "cupido", Tac. Ann. 3.20.4.

pendent, laxata, substitit, uersae: all these words denote a momentary and tentative lull rather than a definitive halt.

584-608. These verses describe the journey of the Saguntine envoys to Rome: bad weather off Monaco and the subsequent lamentation are the highlights which Silius picks out to the exclusion of other detail. We have had our attention firmly on Saguntum for over three hundred lines, since 271, and some moments of transition are necessary before we come to Rome for the emotional climax of the book. The envoys' lamentation is meant to reveal their anxiety, and to give a sign of the ultimate futility of their journey. It is less obvious why Silius has chosen the storm off Monaco as the focal point of the trip. It gives him an opportunity to include a colourful piece of something epic - never a motive to be taken lightly in such an author. Important, too, is the fact that Monaco, considered by some the starting-point of the Alps (cf. Str. 4.6.1) and hence the gate to Italy (cf. Verg. *A.* 6.830f.), could be taken as the significant half-way point in the journey. Further, Hercules is the founder of Saguntum; the turbulent reception which his Saguntines receive off his cape (note 585 "Herculei...colles") may well cause anxiety in the suppliants.

584. *interea:* see 144 "interea" n. for this connective.

Rutulis: Silius reminds us of the Saguntines' origins (see 271-295 n.) as they go back to their Latin homeland for aid.

per aequora uectis: from Catullus (101.1) a common line-ending formular (Schumann 1.26), especially favoured by Vergil: cf. *G.* 1.206, "per aequora uectis", *A.* 1.376 "per aethera uectos", 3.325, etc..

585. *Herculei.....colles:* the "colles" are set off by the flat sea (584 "aequora"). Ancient Portus Herculis Monoeci, Μονοίκου λίμην, modern Monaco, is a "rocky headland, rising about 200 ft. from the shore" (*Encylopedia Britannica,* s.v.), "a bold and prominent rock" (*Baedeker, Southern France* 457). On the promontory was a temple of Hercules Monoecus, and the place provided the last safe anchorage before Genoa, if only for a few ships: cf. Str. 4.6.2, ὅλως δὲ ἡ παραλία αὕτη πᾶσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Μονοίκου λιμένος προσεχής τέ ἐστι

καὶ ἀλίμενος; Luc. 1. 408, "tuta...statione Monoeci"; Tac. *Hist.* 3.42. The rockiness of the area (cf. 586f.) was commented upon: cf. Str. 4.6.2., ὑπερκείνται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐξαίσιοι κρημνοί; Luc. 1. 405f., "quaque sub Herculeo sacratus nomine portus/ urguet rupe caua pelagus." This passage of Lucan (1.405-408) is the only considerable poetic piece before Silius which deals with Portus Monoeci, and it has influenced him considerably: see 587-594 n..

ponto coepere existere: the verb "existo" is normally used of more spectacular events, such as earthquakes: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.203, "et alio (sc. motu terrae)...extitisse Prochytam." But similar verbs catch this illusion of land rising up or growing as a ship approaches: cf. Verg. *A.* 3. 205f., "quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem/ uisa"; ib. 551 f.. Seneca describes the opposite effect: "ubi omnis terra decrescet pelagusque crescet", *Tro.* 1047f.; Valerius Flaccus and Statius describe both: "tunc tenuis Lemnos crescitque Electria tellus", V. Fl. 2. 431; " a tergo decrescit Bacchia Naxos,/ ante oculos crescente Samo", *Ach.* 1. 678f.. Greek will use φαίνομαι (as Latin "appareo", e.g. Verg. *A.* 3. 193, 270): cf. A.R. 1. 582f., ἔδυνε δὲ Σηπιὰς ἄκρη·/ φαίνετο δ' εἰναλίη Σκίαθος - or ἀναφαίνομαι cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.29, τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἤδη ἀνεφαίνετο πατρὶς ἄρουρα. Apollonius has a bold use similar to the Latin: ἦρι δὲ νισσομένοισιν Ἄθω ἀνέτειλε κολώνη / Θρηικίη, 1. 601f..

586. "The hills of Hercules...began to lift up from the range the cloud-capt cliffs of Monoecus" (Duff.). The oddity is that the "hills of Hercules" and the "cliffs of Monoecus" are the same thing, rather as, in the passage from Apollonius quoted above, Ἄθω and κολώνη Θρηικίη are the same thing. Silius moderately indulges himself in this play: see 256n.. Cf. Luc. 4. 157, not exactly parallel

in construction, but perhaps providing Silius' words: "attollunt campo geminae iuga saxea rupes."

nebulosa: in Silius four times, but before him rare in poetry [*], occurring once in Propertius, Seneca, Lucan and Statius. Lucan is presumably the significant predecessor for this passage (6.91, "nebulosis....saxis").

The adjectives in "--osus", and especially their register, are something of a vexed question. Axelson's only discussion is of "formosus" (60f), where he claims that "wie so manche andere Bildung auf --osus hatte 'formosus' zweifellos ein etwa triviales Gepräge." A. Ernout, in his review of Axelson, RPh XXI 1947 64, and H.-S. 1. 342.3 qualify these words, with H.S. making the observation that certain "--osus" adjectives, especially those formed on analogy with homeric --όεις adjectives, were "evident poetisch."

F.T. Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius 1895 122, and Ernout, Les Adjectifs Latines en --osus et en --ulentus 1949 80, both comment on the popularity of the "--osus" adjectives with the technical writers of all periods, in part a result of Latin's poor technical vocabulary. Thus we find "nebulosus", for example, in Cat. Agr. 6.1, 4; Sen. Nat. 5.3.2; Col. 11.2.57; Vitr. 1.4.1. But such adjectives were not doomed to this low register: they could be redeemed, especially by Vergil; cf. M. Leumann, Die lateinische Dichtersprache, MH IV 1947 130. "harenosus", for example, exactly comparable in word-formation to "nebulosus", and likewise a technical writer's word throughout (Cat. Agr. 34.2; Plin. Nat. 17.44; Col. 3.6; Vitr. 2.3.1, 6.5), came to be perfectly at home in high diction: cf. Bömer on Ov. Met. 1.702.

587-594. A mini-storm, with a number of the features of the full-blown "epic storm": on this motif, see C. Liedloff, *De Tempestatibus* Diss. Leipzig 1884; E. de St. Denis, *Le Rôle de la Mer dans la Poésie Latine* 1935; W.-H. Friedrich, *Episches Unwetter,* Festschr. B. Snell, 1956 77-87; M. Morford, *The Poet Lucan* 1967 20-58; E. Burck, *Unwetterszenen bei den flavischen Epikern* AAWM 1978 8; Tarrant, ed. Sen. *Ag.*, pp. 262 ff..

Ruperti has high praise for the passage: "egregia aquilonis pictura, in cuius singulis partibus summum πάθος et exquisitiores imagines effulgent, quae tamen in 593-4 nimis audaces uideri possunt." More surprisingly, the Budé editors include it in a list of "passages qui offrent soit des formules frappées en médaille, soit des échappées d'éloquence, soit des visions poétiques pleines d'ampleur et de mouvement", intro. XCIX. It is difficult to see what prompts such admiration. The picture of a windy Monaco, and especially the conceit of a wind's sole dominion there, he has taken straight from Luc. 1.406-408, "non Corus in illum/ ius habet aut Zephyrus, solus sua litora turbat/ Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci". The hyperbole of the piece may be accepted as appropriate bravura (see on 592f., 593), but objectionable above all is the *ad hoc* articulation of the whole. By the time we reach 594 we imagine we have been reading a general description of the hazards of the Riviera; but at 595 we are startled to see that some particular event has been going on over the last few lines. Can the Saguntines really have been in a storm? Loath to credit such lack of grip, we read on, to have all doubts dispelled in 596: they have indeed suffered "casus maris". The *locus* "quid agant uenti" (Juv. 1.9) has been ineptly meshed in to a narrative in which it might have had some effect if ably deployed.

587. *Thracius...Boreas:* all the winds, but especially Boreas, had their home in Thrace: see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.11, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 479. On vases Boreas wears the national costume of the Thracians, the long flowing ζειρὰ ποικίλη (Hdt. 7.75; Xen. *Anab.* 7.4.4) and the ἀλωπεκίϲ, a foxskin cap (Hdt. loc. cit.; cf. H. Steinmetz, *De uentorum Descriptionibus apud Graecos Romanosque*, Diss. Göttingen 1907, 11 n.1). Here Silius means the Mistral, which takes the forms of "persistent currents of cold dry air from the north-west... The Mistral occurs along the coast from the mouth of the Ebro to the Gulf of Genoa, but attains greatest strength and frequency in Languedoc... With the passage of a cyclone over the gulf,...the Mistral develops into a stormy wind of great violence," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* s.v.. Testimony survives of the wind's notoriety: τὸ μελαμβόρειον (as Strabo calls it) φαϲι ... κατακλᾶϲθαι δὲ τοὺϲ ἀνθρώπουϲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀχημάτων καὶ γυμνοῦϲθαι καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἐϲθῆτοϲ ὑπὸ τῆϲ ἐμπνοῆϲ, Str. 4.1.7. The Romans called it Circius; "uentus cercius...buccam implet, armatum hominem, plaustrum percellit", Cato ap. Aul. Gell. 2.22.28; "Galli uentum ex sua terra flantem quem saeuissimum patiuntur, Circium appellant", Sen. *Nat.* 5.17.5; Plin. *Nat.* 2.121. To the Greeks it was normally Θραϲκίαϲ (RE 3.2569; T.L.L. 3.1101 62ff.), but some called it Θρᾳκίαϲ (Arist. *Vent.* 973f); if it were not for the fact that "Thracius" is so very much Boreas' own epithet, it might be tempting to suggest that Silius is here "naming in Greek" the wind that his model, Lucan, labels with its proper Latin appellation, 1.408.

scopulos immitia regna: cf. Verg. *A.* 3.272, "scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna". On the word-pattern, see 43n..

588. *solus habet:* cf. Luc. 1.407f., "solus sua litora turbat/ Circius."

Silius' words are a pun on Μονοίκοϲ: cf. Serv. *A.* 6.830, "dictus autem Monoecus uel quod pulsis omnibus illic solus habitauit, uel quod in eius templo numquam aliquis deorum simul colitur." "habet", in this sense of a deity's dominion over a place, is equivalent to ἔχω: cf., e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 24, Βρόμιοϲ ἔχει τὸν χῶρον.

rigens: the stiff, unyielding adjective points to the θαυμάϲιον of the physical power exerted by insubstantial air in its concentrated form: see Lucr. 1.265ff., for an eloquent disquisition on the subject (although his point is precisely that air is not insubstantial).

38f. *nunc litora pulsat,/nunc....Alpes:* cf. Verg. *G.* 1.334, "nunc nemora ingenti uento, *nunc litora* [!] plangunt." The "nunc -- nunc" and the range from land and hill to sea are standard features of such descriptions: cf. Lucr. 1.271ff., "principio uenti uis uerberat incita pontum.../...interdum rapido percurrens turbine campos/ arboribus magnis sternit montisque supremos/ siluifragis uexat flabris"; Hor. *Epod.* 13.2f., "nunc mare, nunc siluae/ Threicio Aquilone sonant"; *Carm.* 1.9.9-12; V.Fl. 1.577f., "omne dei (sc. Boreae) rapidis nemus ingemit alis,/ strata Ceres, motuque niger sub praepete pontus."

39. *plangit:* thus CmF; "tangit" LOV. "plangit" is far preferable, being a deft transformation of the intransitive "plangunt" of his Vergilian model (quoted in the preceding note).

40. *se....fundit:* of winds before Silius only in Valerius Flaccus [*], 1.610f., "fundunt se carcere laeti/ Thraces equi" (listed under "de animantibus" by T.L.L., 6.1. 1572.48); the usage is an easy extension from the context of rivers, for example: cf. T.L.L. 6.1.1572. 39-45.

ab Arcto: Boreas is often spoken of as coming from the pole: cf. Man. 4.591, "asper ab axe ruit Boreas"; Ov. *Trist.* 1.2.29, "nunc sicca gelidus Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto"; ib. 4.8.41, "sub axe boreo"; Arien. *Orb.* 242, "boreali in Arcto."

92. The three key words are from Vergil's storm in *Aeneid* 1, "*torquet* agens circum et *rapidus* uorat aequore *uertex*", 117.

92f. *fractaque anhelant/aequora:* "frangi" might be used of sea "breaking" on the shore (Verg. *A.* 10.291) or against other bodies of water (Luc. 5. 606). Here the latent force of the word is energised by the extraordinary "anhelant": the flat stretches of water gasp as they are broken up by the wind. Silius is the only writer [*] to use "anhelo" of water: elsewhere at 8.629, 9.286, the latter very similar to this passage, "torquet anhelantem spumanti uertice pontum". Before him, Valerius Flaccus had boldly extended the range of the word: cf. 2.31f., "pariter tunc omnis anhelat/ Trinacria"; 3.208f., "ut magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat/ Trinacria." Vergil may have provided a lead: cf. *G.* 1.327, "feruetque fretis *spirantibus* aequor"; *A.* 10. 290f., "speculatus litora Tarchon,/ qua uada non *spirant* (v.l. sperat) nec *fracta* remurmurat unda."

93. *iniecto conduntur gurgite montes:* sharply criticised by J. Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* 1561 324: "etiam uehementer miror quemadmodum solum Boream ad Monoecum regnare scribat. quoque modo Borea flante ait 'iniecto conduntur gurgite montes'. immo uero illius flatu abducitur fluctus et montis uadorumque ima nudantur." The exaggeration is gross, but it is not Silius' own: cf. Verg. *G.* 1. 331-333, "ille (sc. Jupiter) flagranti/ aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo/ deicit"; Luc. 5. 615-617, "a quotiens frustra pulsatos

aequore montes/ obruit illa dies! quam celsa cacumina pessum/ tellus uicta dedit"; Ov. Met. 11.554f., "nec leuius, quam si quis Athon Pindumue reuulsos/ sede sua totos in apertum euerterit aequor."

Silius has pulled off one fine stroke. His mountains are buried by having thrown on top of them - a "gurges", preeminently a thing that sucks down. He has at least grasped the fact that in this sort of extravaganza, bravado is the only way to success.

An adaption of the normal "sea" topos: see 468 "ad sidera" n..

furorem: commonly used of"tempestates": cf. Ov. Trist. 2.150; Sen. Ag. 576; Stat. Silv. 2.2.26, 3.2.71; T.L.L. 6.1. 1633. 52-57.

casus bellique marisque: the toils of sea-travel and warfare occur naturally together: cf. Verg. A. 1.3, "terris iactatus et alto", 12. 803f., "terris agitare uel undis/ Troianos potuisti"; Hor. Carm. 2. 6. 7f., "sit modus lasso maris et uiarum/ militiaeque"; ib. 13. 26-28, "te sonantem plenius aureo,/ Alcaee, plectro dura nauis,/ durae fugae mala, dura belli."

dubium rerum euentum...uolutant: an adaption of Verg. A. 6. 157 f., "caecosque uolutat/ euentus animo secum". "dubius euentus" is, apart from our passage, exclusively a prose usage: cf. T.L.L. 5.1.2111. 52ff..

o patria, o Fidei domus inclita: cf. Verg. A. 2.241f., "o patria, o diuum domus Ilium et incluta bello/ moenia Dardanidum"! Valerius Flaccus also adapts the line-opening "o patria", 2.113. It might be thought that Austin's note on the Vergilian passage, with his description of Petronius' imitation (89.8) as a "desiccated ghost of the Vergilian passion", could well be applied to our passage also. J. Endt, art. cit. 45n., 116 is no doubt correct when he says that "der Ursprung für diese Art der Apostrophe...ist die Tragödie"; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 596, ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμίς, id. *O.T.* 1394f., ὦ Πόλυβε καὶ Κόρινθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια/ λόγῳ παλαιὰ δώμαθ; Eur. *Med.* 166, ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις; Enn. *scen.* 92 V, "o pater, o patria, o Priami domus."

598f. *quo tua nunc sunt/ fata loco?* cf. Verg. *A.* 2. 322, "quo res summa loco"; 9.722f., "ut...cernit/...quo sit fortuna loco."

600. An adaption of Verg. *A.* 4.324, "hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat."

601. Silius begins and ends the line with the two words which frame a similar prayer for help in Vergil; he imitates, too, Vergil's "f" alliteration: "ferte uiam uento facilem et spirate secundi", *A.* 3.529.

602. *ignis:* a pointed surprise. We expect a human, Hannibal, to follow "Poenicus" after such a personal verb as"insultat" ("insultare... est inimicis inridere per cauillationem, exsultare uero gloriari et laetum esse", Serv. *A.* 10.20): before Silius the only non-personal use of the verb is in Seneca, "pomaque desuper/ insultant foliis mitia languidis", *Thy.* 163f., where the apples over Tantalus' head are brilliantly personified as coquettes.

602f. *templorum.../culminibus:* a most unnerving portent, the burning of a city's temples signals complete catastrophe: when Saguntum finally falls in Book 2, such a scene is the climax: "ardent tecta deum", 663; cf. Vergil's simile at Dido's death, "flammaeque furentes/ culmina perque hominum uoluantur *perque deorum*", *A.* 4.670 f..

604. *noctemque diemque:* a common variant of the common line-ending formula "noct(es)que di(es)que" (Schumann 3. 526f.): cf. V. Fl. 2.89; Stat. *Theb.* 6.335, etc..

605. *Laurentis...oras:* it appears probable that "Laurentum" designated "the tract of Latin sea-board lying between the Tiber and the Numicus", B. Tilly, *Vergil's Latium*, 1947 89; certainly the Tiber's banks could be described as Laurentian soil: cf. Verg. *A.* 5.797, "Laurentem Thybrim"; Tilly 94. Here, then, "Laurentis oras" may mean simply "Tiber mouth"; but it is possible that Silius' choice of words may be intended to get its resonance from the ancient, pre-Vergilian tradition that Aeneas and his followers first landed at Laurentum, whether this name was imagined to denote an actual town near the Numicus or only the coastal strip: cf. Liv. 1.1.4, "ad Laurentem agrum"; D.H. 1.45.1, Τρῶεϲ οἱ ϲὺν Αἰνείᾳ διαφυγόντεϲ ἐξ Ἰλίου ... κατέϲχον εἰϲ Λωρεντόν, αἰγιαλὸν Ἀβοριγίνων ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενον; Zonaras 7.1; Tilly 1-3, 87f.. Silius would then be reminding his audience of the Saguntines' and Romans' common ancestry, at the moment when the suppliants arrive: cf. 669, "ultra Pyrenen Laurentia numina duxi" (see note ad loc.).

606f. *pater.../...Thybris:* see A. Momigliano, "Thybris Pater", *Terzo*

Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del mondo antico 1966 2. 609-639. It is a hallowed formula: cf. Enn. Ann. 54V, "teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sacro"; Verg. A. 8.72, "tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto"; CIL 14.376, "Tiberino patri"; Liv. 2.10.11; Verg. G. 4.369, A. 10.421. A very Italian form, this, for river-gods. Besides "pater Tiberinus" we find "Padus pater" and "Turpenus pater" (Wissowa 224). Cf. Vergil's "Amasene pater", A. 7.685, and even, as exports, "Nile Pater" (Tibul. 1.7.23) and "pater Inachus" (Stat. Theb. 2.217 et saep.).

On the epic form "Thybris", probably coined by Vergil, see Fordyce on A. 7.30.

606. acceptis Anienis ditior undis: the Anio is the last significant river to join the Tiber before it enters the sea. Silius' "ditior" is a nice turn on the conventional description of rivers as "diues" in the sense "fertile", "nourishing" (T.L.L. 5.1 1590. 84-1591.9). Duff's translation is characteristically apt: "richer by the tribute of Anio's waters."

The Anio is mentioned only to spin out the description of Tiber over two sonorous lines.

607. flauo gurgite: the epithet is possibly Ennian: see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 1.2.13. Silius will have had his phrase from Vergil's description of Turnus jumping into the Tiber: "ille suo cum gurgite flauo/ accepit uenientem", A. 9. 816f..

608. moenia Romae: Silius runs the risk of bathos by taking over one of the most portentous verse-endings in the Aeneid (1.7). Others

fought shy of the phrase: when Lucan uses it (3.90, 298), I take his purpose to be strongly ironical.

609-616. The convocation of the senate, followed by a brief sketch of that noble body's sterling qualities in its pristine state. Their virtue is said to come from their hardy life of poverty (although at 3.575ff. Jupiter castigates the Romans for becoming soft and idle).

Roman political moralising made the topos of "paupertas" peculiarly its own, but we see in Greek authors too, in political contexts, the equation of poverty with toughness, and the apposition of both to soft luxury. In Herodotus Demaratus praises the poverty of Greece, and especially of Sparta, before the Persian King, 7.102.1; the epilogue strongly stresses the moral, from the Persian point of view: in Cyrus' words, φιλέειν... ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺϲ ἄνδραϲ γίνεϲθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ γῆϲ εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαϲτὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδραϲ ἀγαθοὺϲ τὰ πολέμια, 9.122.3. "Der griechische Sieg wird vielmehr ganz diesseitig verstanden als der Sieg griechischer, vornehmlich athenischer ἀρετή und τόλμα über πλῆθοϲ und πλοῦτοϲ des Ostens", W. Kierdorf, *Erlebnis und Darstellung der Perserkriege*, Hypomnemata XVI 1966 113; cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* 1971 65.

Sparta was the principal paradigm. The Spartans were supposed to have banned from their city any form of money but iron spits: cf. Xen. *Resp.Lac.* 7; Plut. *Lys.* 17; but see the sceptical comments of A.H.M. Jones, *Sparta* 1967 36-38. It was this πενία which accounted for their success, according to some: Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε τὸ μὲν

παλαιὸν ἐκ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν πόλεων ὁρμηθέντεϲ διὰ τὸ ϲωφρόνωϲ ζῆν καὶ ϲτρατιωτικῶϲ κατέϲχον Πελοπόννηϲον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεῖζον φρονήϲαντεϲ τοῦ δέοντοϲ, καὶ λαβόντεϲ καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰϲ τοὺϲ αὐτοὺϲ κινδύνουϲ κατέϲτηϲαν ἡμῖν,

Isocr. *Areop.* 7; cf. R. Vischer, *Das Einfache Leben* 1965 94ff.; E. Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* 1969, 5ff., 39f., 53f..

The Roman writers embraced this "paupertas", placing their supposedly poor and sturdy early history as the backdrop for the decline to luxury, immorality and disorder. Writers praised the morals and toughness which the early Romans' poverty guaranteed -- including Cato, who was one of them: "ego iam a principio in parsimonio atque in duritia omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui", ORF fr. 128; cf. the remarkable "de sumptu suo", fr. 173; "in illa (paupertate) enim morum integritas seruabatur", Aug. *Ep.* 138.16, quoting Sal. *Cat*. 11.6, *Jug.*. 35.10, Juv. 6. 287-295; "hunc et incomptis Curium capillis/ utilem bello tulit et Camillum/ saeua paupertas et auitus apto/ cum lare fundus", Hor. *Carm*. 1. 12. 41-44; "priuatus illis (i.e. Romulus and Cato) census erat breuis,/ commune magnum", ib. 2.15. 13f.; Liv. *Praef.* 11f.; "hoc animo scio nostros fuisse maiores, hoc illum Aelium Tuberonem cuius paupertas uirtus fuit", Sen. *Con.* 2.18; Luc. 1.160ff.; Ov. *Fast*. 1.193ff.; Sen. *Cons.Helv*. 10.7, *Ep.* 95. 72f., 98. 13, 120.19; Quint. 12.230; Machiavelli, *Discourses* 3.25, "On the Poverty of Cincinnatus and of many other Roman Citizens"; Otto 102, 129; Vischer 150ff; N.-H. 2. 247f.; W.V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327-70 B.C.* 1979 65f., 264f. (Additional Note 11 on the stereotype of "Modest Means of the old Aristocrats"). Polybius' judgement is, characteristically, a corrective:

παρ' οἷς (τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις) δ' οὐδὲν αἴσχιον τοῦ δωροδοκεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ καθηκόντων· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐν καλῷ τίθενται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηματισμόν, κατὰ τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐν ὀνείδει ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπειρημένων πλεονεξίαν, 6.56.2f.; for modern doubts on the truth of the stereotype, see Harris 66f., C.G. Starr, *The Beginnings of Imperial Rome: Rome in the Mid-Republic* 1980, esp. Chap. 4 "Wealth and Culture" 41-56.

The rot was supposed to have set in with the overseas wars, from around 200 (Polyb. 18.35.1): various of the dates canvassed were 187 (Livy's annalistic sources at 39.6.7), 168 (Polyb. 31.25.4), 154 (L. Piso, in Plin. *Nat.* 17.244), and, especially, 146 (Sal. *Cat.* 10.1, *Jug.* 41.2, D.S. 34/ 5.33.5): cf. Walbank on Polyb. 31.25.3, Ogilvie on Liv. *Praef.* 11. Silius places himself firmly in this tradition, with the fall of Carthage as the "fons malorum" (10.657ff.). Further in the epic, in an unwonted moment of drama, the personified Voluptas fortells her eventual triumph after being rejected by Scipio in favour of Virtus: "uenient, uenient mea tempora quondam,/ cum docilis nostris magno certamine Roma/ seruiet imperiis, et honos mihi habebitur uni", 15. 124-127. Similar expressions of pessimism recur elsewhere: cf. esp. 9. 351-353. It is possible that Silius' scheme reflects or aims at touching the preoccupation of the emperor Domitian with public propriety and private morality. Domitian's measures as "censor perpetuus" are detailed in Suetonius' Life, chapter 8, and they exhibit what C.A.H. 11.36 calls "an archaic severity". If the temple where the senate meet is in fact a "prototype" of Domitian's temple of Jupiter Optimus

Maximus (see 617-629 n.), then the probability is greater that Silius' upright and decent senators are designed to strike a chord in the heart of his master. Elsewhere Silius refers more directly to Domitian's strict policies: cf. 14.686-688, a flattering reference to the scrupulous care which Domitian exercised over provincial governors (Suet. Dom. 8), "at, ni cura uiri, qui nunc dedit otia mundo,/ effrenum arceret populandi cuncta furorem,/ nudassent auidae terrasque fretumque rapinae."

609-611. A rather straggly period, rising from a plain description ("concilium uocat augustum") to the highest expression of their worth ("aequantem superos uirtute senatum"), by way of the poverty and martial excellence which elevate them. The lines are noteable for the forceful alliteration of "c" and "p", and for the antithetical marking off in "paupertate....triumphis", "consul....sentatum".

The "consul" of 611 figures not at all in the action that follows. Chronology is not exactly Silius' prime concern, but he may have been aware of a difficulty and kept to vagueness in order to avoid it. The problem is the notorious one of the date of the siege of Saguntum. Livy, whose chronology "is clearly in a hopeless tangle" (Lazenby 26), presents the siege and the Saguntine embassy as occurring in the consulship of P. Cornelius Scipio and Ti. Sempronius Longus, i.e. in 218, and he has these consuls introduce the Saguntines to the Senate (21.6.3). But Silius follows a different tradition in the matter of the embassy (see 556-575n.), and he may well have known that the whole course of the siege took place in 219, when the consuls were L. Aemilius Paullus, later killed at Cannae in his second consulate, and M. Livius Salinator, hero of the Metaurus. At the hypothetical time of Silius' embassy both the consuls were campaigning in Illyria, having left Rome just after the siege of Saguntum began (C.A.H. 7. 849), and returning there just before Saguntum fell (C.A.H. 7. 851). Faced by these problems, Silius presumably took the line of least resistance, followed proper senatorial procedure by having a consul convene the senate, but kept him discreetly anonymous and dropped him from the narrative forthwith.

609. *concilium uocat:* a common poetic variant on the more standard prose words "conuoco", "aduoco" (T.L.L. 4.48. 18-21); cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 167; V. Fl. 2.313, "conciliumque uocat"; T.L.L. loc. cit. 21-23.

beatos: as early as Ennius we find the punning use of "beatus" in a context playing on the subsidiary meaning "locuples": "suauis homo, facundus, suo contentus, beatus", *Ann.* 245 V; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9. 45-49, "non possidentem multa uocaueris/ recte beatum: rectius occupat/ nomen beati, qui deorum/ muneribus sapienter uti/ duramque callet pauperiem pati"; Sen. *Con.* 1.6.4, "quid tibi uidentur illi ab aratro, qui paupertate sua beatum fecere rem publicam?" Machiavelli plays upon a similar double meaning in Italian "felice", in the chapter of the *Discourses* referred to in the note on 609-616 above: "This poverty lasted to the days of Paulus Aemilius, which were the last happy days ("felici tempi") this republic enjoyed, days wherein a citizen would by his triumphs bring riches to Rome, yet himself remain a poor man" (3.25, Pelican Translation by B. Crick).

609f. *castaque..../paupertate:* in this sense of "pecuniae non cupidus non prodigus", "castus" is quite rare (T.L.L. 3. 569. 75ff.), and only occurs once in poetry before Silius: Luc. 9. 201 (of Pompeius' house), "casta domus luxuque carens". The linking of ϲωφροσύνη and πενία is more common: in Aristophanes' Ploutos πενία claims περὶ ϲωφροϲύνηϲ ἤδη τοίνυν περανῶ ϲφῷν κἀναδιδάξω/ὅτι κοϲμιότηϲ οἰκεῖ μετ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ Πλούτου δ' ἐϲτιν ὑβρίζειν, 563f.; cf. Isocr. Areop. 4. ϲυντέτακται καὶ ϲυνακολουθεῖ τοῖϲ μὲν πλούτοιϲ καὶ ταῖϲ δυναϲτείαιϲ ἄνοια καὶ μετὰ ταύτηϲ ἀκολαϲία, ταῖϲ δ' ἐνδείαιϲ καὶ ταῖϲ ταπεινότηϲι ϲωφροϲύνη καὶ πολλὴ μετριότηϲ.

610. nomina parta triumphis: Duff describes these words as "an anachronism", since "Scipio was the first Roman general to take a name from a conquered country". In fact, before the Hannibalic War, we find such examples of triumphal agnomina as L. Aemilius Mamercinus Priuernas, cos. 341, L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, cos. 275, M. Valerius Maximus Messalla, cos. 263. When Silius describes Scipio at the end of the poem as "deuictae referens primus cognomina terrae", 17. 626, there is no contradiction; there is a valid distinction in grandeur between the name of an Italian or Sicilian town and the name of an entire continent or province. Here Silius is quite accurate: there was no "Siciliensis" or "Siculus" from the First Punic War. See Ruperti on 17. 626.

611. aequantem superos uirtute senatum: the point is helped home by the oxymoron of "aequantem superos", "getting on a level with those on a higher level". Silius has taken the words over from Ovid: cf. Trist. 4.8.51f., "at uos admoniti nostris quoque casibus este,/ aequantem superos emeruisse uirum." Ovid's language belongs to the realm of panegyric of kings and emperors: cf. Theoc. 17. 16f., τῆνον (i.e. Ptolemy) καὶ μακάρεϲϲι πατὴρ (i.e. Zeus) ὁμότιμον

ἔθηκεν/ἀθανάτοις; [Sen.] *Oct.* 500-502, "inuictus acie, gentium domitor, Ioui/ aequatus altos ipse per honorum gradus/ Caesar"; Sen. *Benef.* 1.13.12, "quia Herculi aequabatur (Alexander)." This meed of regal praise Silius transfers to the Senate, first described by Pyrrhus' ambassador Cineas as βασιλέων πολλῶν συνέδριον, Plu. *Pyrrh.* 19.5; cf. Flor. *Epit.* 1.18, "regum consessus"; Amm. Marc. 16.10.5, "in unum coactam multitudinem regum."

612. *recti...cupido:* also at 11.26, previously only in Seneca, *Ep.* 108.8. The earnestness of the senators' rectitude is stressed by the very strong "cupido", a word which, if not exclusively used "in malam partem", is even in ameliorative contexts applied to the more self-regarding virtues: cf. Sal. *Cat.* 7.3, "sed ciuitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum breui creuerit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat"; Suet. *Ner.* 55, "erat illi aeternitatis perpetuaeque famae cupido."

613. *hirtaeque togae:* a shaggy and bristly toga, like a shaggy and bristly face (see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.41), was a mark of "prisca uirtus". Such a one is worn by Lucan's Cato, 2.386f.; Quintilian regards it as an affectation: "do tempori, ne hirta toga sit, non ut serica, ne intonsum caput, non < ut> in gradus atque anulos comptum", 12.10.47; Propertius pushes the topos to the limit," Curia, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu,/ pellitos habuit, rustica corda, patres", 4.1.11f..

"comae" is in fact the reading of S, plumping for the more common motif: Cm gives "togae".

neglectaque mensa: expenditure on food was a consistent target of legislation and of moral comment in Rome: for a lively sketch, see N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* 1966 161-165. Gastronomic parsimony became another standard virtue of the "antiqui": cf. Luc. 1. 160ff., "namque, ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto/ intulit...../...non auro tectisue modus, mensasque priores/ aspernata fames"; Grat. 312ff..

614. *a curuis capulo...aratris:* the curved plough-handle gives way to the straight hilt. The call from the plough had Cincinnatus as its paradigm, although, as Ogilvie notes on Liv. 3.26.6, the tale was told of other men, and in various forms even of Cincinnatus: cf. Verg. *A.* 6.843f., "paruoque potentem/ Fabricium uel te sulco, Serrane, serentem"; 9. 607f., "at patiens operum paruoque adsueta iuuentus/ aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello"; Cic. *Sen.* 56; D.H. 10.17.3; Sen. *Con.* 1.6.4. 2.1.8; Plin. *Nat.* 18.20.

615. *exiguo faciles:* perhaps a variation on striking ablatival phrases in two of his predecessors: "paruoque potentem/ Fabricium", Verg. *A.* 6. 843f.; "agricolae prisci, fortes paruoque beati", Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.139.

616. *paruos...penates:* cf. Verg. *A.* 8. 543f. (Aeneas enters Evander's hut), "hesternumque larem paruosque penates/ laetus adit." The small-scale gods encapsulate the antique or rustic piety: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.23. 13-16, "te nihil attinet/ temptare multa caede bidentium/ paruos coronantem marino/ rore deos"; 1.12. 42-44, "tulit et Camillum/ saeua paupertas et auitus apto/ cum lare fundus"; Ov. *Met.* 8. 637 f. (Jupiter and Mercury enter the house of Philemon and Baucis), "ergo ubi caelicolae paruos tetigere penates/ summissoque

humiles intrarunt uertice postes"; Sil. 7. 173 f. (Dionysus enters Falernus' house), "nec pigitum paruosque Lares humilisque subire/ limina caelicolam tecti."

The apposition between great gods and little is explicit in Ovid's passage and in Silius' imitation of it in Book 7; here the work is done by "curru", the triumphal chariot, which reminds us that the triumphatores drove to the Capitoline to sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

617-629. A description of the temple where the senate meets. The lines are an interesting blend of close adherence to a literary prototype with allusion to matters of contemporary interest. On the one hand, Silius' treatment is modelled, with fidelity remarkable even for him, on Vergil's description of the great temple of Jupiter where Ilioneus addresses King Latinus in Aeneid 7, 170-186. Vergil's picture is certainly meant to bring to mind the contemporary temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol: see W.A. Camps, C Q N.S. IX 1959 54ff.; id., An Introduction to Vergil's Aeneid 1969 153f., n.14. Silius has picked up this point, for he obviously also intends his temple to be recognised as that of Jupiter on the Capitol. He eschews any clear representation of the place, but his audience must have thought of Domitian's magnificent re-building of the temple after its destruction by fire in 80: "with its columns of Pentelic marble, its doors plated with gold, and its gilded tiles, (it) was one of the wonders of the world", C.A.H. 11.34; cf. S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome 1929 291; E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome^2 1969, 1. 158ff..

It need not be an invidious comparison between Domitian's splendid building and the ancient temple of Hannibal's day, noteworthy only for its trophies: Vergil could praise without conflict the poverty of Evander's Capitol and the magnificence of Augustus': "hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit/ aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis", *A.* 8. 347f..

The custom of adorning temples with trophies was widespread; see W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 3 1979, Chapter 7 "Dedications of Armour" 240-276. In Rome Jupiter Optimus Maximus above all was the recipient of such honours: Roscher 2. 728-731 has a list of the most notable donations. By 179 B.C. the clutter was so great that the censor had to clear it up: "censor Lepidus ab columnis quae incommode opposita uidebantur, signa amouit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis generis dempsit", Liv. 40.51.3.

617. *in foribus sacris:* cf. Verg. *A.*7.183, "sacris in postibus".

618. *captiui currus:* cf. Verg. *A.* 7. 184, "captiui pendent currus"; Stat. *Theb.* 3.580-582, "arma paternis/postibus et fixos superum ad penetralia currus/ uellere amor." Silius has postponed Vergil's "pendent" to 621, at the cost of considerable awkwardness, since the reader naturally assumes until he reaches the verb that it is a minor sentence. Silius has presumably arranged matters thus for the sake of a play on 621 "claustra" (see note ad loc.).

619. *saeuaeque in Marte secures:* cf. Verg. *A.* 7. 184, "curuaeque secures". "in Marte" appears at first sight otiose, but he is stressing that they are now harmless.

620. *seruantia tela cruorem:* a very different point from the model, "arma/nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus", Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.4f..

621. *claustraque portarum:* cf. Verg. *A.* 7. 185, "et portarum ingentia claustra". Duff has "bolts", but the Budé's "barrières" is better, setting off "pendent": the bars which once sat rigidly horizontal now dangle. Vergil's "ingentia" shows that he intended bars to be understood.

622f. The great naval battles of the First Punic War: see 34 "gurgite... Sicanio " n..

622. *cernas:* this is not the "historian's" second person singular (for which see K. Gilmartin, A rhetorical figure in Latin historical style: the imaginary second person singular, TAPhA CV 1975 99-121). Rather, Silius' use here derives from Vergil's technique of isolating in turn various portions of Aeneas' shield: cf. *A.* 8. 650, "aspiceres"; 676, "cernere erat"; 691, "credas".

623. *rostra:* Vergil's temple, too, has its rostra (anachronistically): *A.* 7. 186, "ereptaque rostra carinis."

624-626. The events surrounding the Gallic sack of Rome in the early fourth century. Silius' language is indebted to the Livian tradition (see on 624 "improbus"), but in 625f. he appears to preserve a trace of another tradition, faintly extant elsewhere, according to which the Capitol itself was actually captured by the Gauls: see O. Skutsch, The Fall of the Capitol, JRS XLIII 1953 77f. (= *Studia Enniana* 1968 138-141, with a supplementary note 141f.).

624. improbus: the adjective picks up Livy's tone concerning the ransom story: "pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius", 5. 48.9.

625. arbiter ensis: neither Duff nor the Budé get this right: there was a squabble over the weighing of the gold, and it was the sword which "settled" the dispute.

626. These are the spoils from Camillus' rout of the withdrawing Gauls at the eighth mile-stone (Liv. 5.49. 4-6). The saviour of the city returned from the battle as "triumphator" (note "pompa"): "dictator reciperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit", Liv. 5.49.7.

627. Aeacidae: i.e. Pyrrhus, who bragged of his descent from Achilles, and who failed in his Italian wars of 281-275.

628. Ligurum: the process of grinding down the Ligurians had begun in 238, although the job was not done until 180: see C.A.H. 8. 328-331.

628f. parmaeque relatae/ Hispana de gente rudes: the Budé editors in their note on 622, explain these Spanish trophies as having been taken from Spanish mercenaries in the Carthaginian armies during the First Punic War. But 628 "relatae" must imply going to Spain and bringing back trophies from there, and no Roman army had ever been inside Spain before 218 (Lazenby 125).

629. Alpinaque gaesa: cf. Verg. A. 8. 661f., "Alpina.../gaesa". A

similar anachronism here to that of the previous line: "Except for the two Latin colonies that had been planted at Placentia and Cremona, far afield in the Po basin, on the eve of Hannibal's arrival there, the Commonwealth was still confined to Peninsular Italy during Rome's contest with Carthage and her ensuing contests with Macedon and the Seleucid Monarchy", A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* 1 1965 88.

The "gaesa" receive only a geographical epithet, as opposed to "Ligurum *horrentes* coni" and "parmaeque relatae Hispana de gente *rudes;*" but the uncouthness of "Alpina" is self-sufficient.

630-674. With an introduction (630-633) and a coda (672-674), Silius gives us the speech of the Saguntine envoy Sicoris, a carefully constructed deliberative oration which aims to persuade the Senate to stand by the treaty and rescue the city.

The deliberative branch of oratory concerned itself from the beginning with just such matters (see, in general, Volkmann 294-299): ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν, εἰϲὶν ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν προθέϲειϲ, περὶ ὧν δημηγορήϲομεν· ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐϲτι καὶ βουλεύεϲθαι καὶ λέγειν ἡμᾶϲ ἐν βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ ἢ περὶ ἱερῶν ἢ περὶ νόμων ἢ περὶ τῆϲ πολιτικῆϲ καταϲκευῆϲ ἢ περὶ τῶν πρὸϲ τὰϲ ἄλλαϲ πόλειϲ ϲυμμαχιῶν καὶ ϲυμβολαίων ἢ περὶ πολέμων ἢ περὶ εἰρήνηϲ ἢ περὶ πόρου χρημάτων, Anaximenes, Spengel 1.2.18. 14-20; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1.4.7. Quintilian summarises the topics "de pace bello copiis operibus uectigalibus", 3.8.14.

Ambassadors' speeches, πρεϲβευτικοὶ λόγοι, (Polyb. 12.25 a 3), might be regarded as a specialist subdivision of the προθέϲειϲ dealing with alliances, war and peace: see C. Wooten, The Ambassador's speech: a peculiarly hellenistic genre of oratory, QJS LIX 1973 209-212 (hereafter Wooten 1973). The rhetoricians appear to have subdivided even further, isolating speeches which seek help for a city in distress: "nonnumquam etiam mouenda miseratio, siue ut auxilium obsessis feratur suadere oportebit, siue sociae ciuitatis euersionem deflebimus", Quint. 8.3.12; Menander Rhetor has a chapter περὶ πρεϲβευτικῆϲ, in which he tells you what to say ἐὰν... ὑπὲρ πόλεωϲ καμνούϲηϲ δέῃ πρεϲβεῦϲαι (423.7), though his collapsing aqueducts and dilapidated monuments are less of a pressing danger to the citizenry than the armies at issue in Quintilian's passage.

The most important problem facing the composer of a deliberative oration was that of the τελικὰ κεφάλαια, the various types of argument upon which you based your proposal: see Volkmann 299-307, Kennedy 1963 30ff., 86; C. Wooten, AJPh XLV 1974 244f. (hereafter Wooten 1974). The basic range was summarised early on: τὸν μὲν προτρέποντα χρὴ δεικνύειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ παρακαλεῖ δίκαια ὄντα καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ϲυμφέροντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ ἡδέα καὶ ῥᾴδια πραχθῆναι, Anaximenes, Spengel 1.2. 13.9-12: the list settles down into Latin as "utile", "honestum", "necessarium", "iustum", "possibile". Thucydides' speakers notoriously concentrate on τὸ ϲυμφέρον, and Aristotle certainly subordinated all other considerations to the paramount one of ϲυμφέρον ἢ βλαβερόν, Rhet. 1.3.5; but in general, from the fourth century on, it became increasingly desirable to achieve a blend of the various "partes suadendi": cf. G. Kennedy, Focusing of Arguments in Greek deliberative oratory, TAPhA XC 1959 131-138. The consensus held to be supreme τὸ ϲυμφέρον and τὸ καλόν, "utile" and "honestum": cf. Cic. Inv. 2.156ff.; Quint. 3.8.22. It was, of course, possible to haggle indefinitely: Quintilian worries away at the question of whether Cicero was right in *de Orat.* 2.334ff. to elevate "possibile" to the same status as the prime pair, 3.8.25ff.. Silius ably exploits both lines of attack, as the composer of a good πρεϲβευτικὸϲ λόγοϲ ought: "The most popular course in an ambassador's speech seems to have been to try to show that a certain course of action is not only honorable or just but also expedient", Wooten 1974 244f.; cf. Wooten 1973 211. His particular approach will be examined in the commentary.

The position and overall nature of the speech deserve attention. H.C. Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic* Diss. Johns Hopkins 1909, provides useful figures which help to put Sicoris' speech in the right perspective. According to Lipscomb's tables, 13f., *Punica* 1 has a lower percentage of speech (18.2%) than any other book in the *Punica* apart from 14 (2.6%). In the rest of Roman epic, only *Thebaid* 6 (11.0%) and *Argonautica* 6 (15.1%) have a lower proportion of speech. Further, Sicoris' speech is a long one (38 lines), and speeches of such length are a comparative rarity. Vergil has 13 speeches of more than 40 lines; Lucan noticeably more with 18; Valerius Flaccus 6; Statius 7; Silius 18; cf. Lipscomb 9. In the first two books of the *Punica* there are only two other speeches of comparable length: they are the pair of deliberative orations held before the Carthaginian senate in Book 2, 279-326, 330-374.

Sicoris' speech comes with considerable weight, then being of such length and coming as the climax of a book which is remarkable for its small amount of direct speech. Livy has only a brief note of the Saguntine's entry into the senate house, 21.6.3, with no mention of any speech of theirs: R. Rebischke, *de Silii Italici*

Orationibus, Diss. Königsberg 1913 56 well observes that Silius seizes the opportunity to elaborate at this point, "ut suam dicendi facultatem praestaret in re a Livio non praeoccupata". Silius uses the speech to bring together the thematic threads of the first book, the Fides of Saguntum and Rome, the savagery of Hannibal, and the threat that he poses to the peaceful land of Italy. All these important elements of the introductory book are condensed together in an emotional and striking high-point; the ensuing deliberations of the Senate are a relaxation of the climax, taking us to the end of the book and the resolution of the initial stage of the action: see on 675-694.

It is necessary to rearrange the order of certain lines in this section. The trouble begins at 643. Shackleton Bailey 173 writes as follows: "Hannibal did not have to cross the Pyrenees in order to stir up the Rock of Gibraltar. Mr. G.T. Griffith has healed this passage by a simple transposition: 'exciuit Calpen et mersos Syrtis harenis/ molitur populos maioraque moenia quaerit/ trans iuga Pyrenes, medium indignatus Hiberum'" (i.e., moving 643 to follow 645). I find this completely convincing. The thought becomes entirely logical, but not bald, and the climax, pointing to Rome, becomes satisfyingly forceful. Ker 16, however, challenges the transposition, and would leave the lines in their manuscript order. Since the result is nonsense (a small matter to the Budé editors, who do not report Griffith's proposal), Ker proposes to read "crescet" in 642, and to punctuate after "Hiberum" instead of "armis": "et quantus crescet in armis/ trans iuga Pyrenes, medium indignatus Hiberum." He paraphrases: "Once he is across the Pyrenees, scorning the Ebro between, he will grow more powerful in allies. He has already roused the peoples of Gibraltar, and is at work on the N. Africans; and he is out for more still." The difficulty of 645 "molitur" forces him then to suggest "molitus" (sc. "est"). But "trans iuga" needs *some* verb if it is to mean "once he is across", and "crescet" cannot play the part. Further, "in armis" here cannot mean "in allies". "quantus in armis" must balance "qua mole", referring to the physical impression of Hannibal in battle: 642 "et" thus links "qua" and "quantus"; by Ker's interpretation the word is quite lame. The Vergilian parallel, as often, is decisive: Silius has simply inverted the order of Vergil's description of Aeneas: "experto credite *quantus*/ in clipeum adsurgat, *quo* turbine torqueat hastam", *A.* 11. 283f..

A similar problem closely follows, at 656f.. Sicoris has changed tack from "utile" to "honestum", and pleads, "even if you weren't in danger yourselves, you should help us because of our blood-ties" (653-655). But before Sicoris goes on to talk about these blood-ties, he appears to interrupt himself for two lines to stress the dangers to Saguntum again, claiming that all of Spain, Gaul, and Africa are threatening the town (656f.). We already know how great is Saguntum's danger, from 638-642; we want to know about the blood-ties, and are held up; worse, Gaul is no threat to Saguntum in the least, since Hannibal has no Gallic allies, and will not have any until Saguntum has fallen and he has crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul or the Alps into Northern Italy; finally, Saguntum is not being *threatened* with attack (657 "imminet") - it actually *is* being attacked. The lines must refer to Rome, and they belong in the section which lists the dangers facing Rome. Buchwald 23 was on the right track when he proposed moving 656f. to follow 652: more convincing is Postgate's transposition to after 645.

Postgate's transposition fits very well with Griffith's:

644 exciuit Calpen et mersos Syrtis harenis
645 molitur populos maioraque moenia quaerit
643 trans iuga Pyrenes, medium indignatus Hiberum.
656 omnis Hiber, omnis rapidis fera Gallia turmis,
657 omnis ab aestifero sitiens Libys imminet axe.
646 spumeus hic, medio qui surgit ab aequore, fluctus
647 si prohibere piget, uestras effringet in urbes.

"imminet" is now perfectly apposite, preparing for the "fluctus" in the next line. "Gallia" is later "Gallia Cisalpina", where the Romans were engaged in desperate campaigns just before Hannibal's war, and where Hannibal gathered great numbers of allies for his war against Rome (see on 656). The triple "omnis" portentously summarises and caps the threat to Rome which Hannibal's attack on Saguntum presages. The run of the whole, especially "medium indignatus Hiberum./ omnis Hiber, omnis rapidis fera Gallia turmis", is strongly reminiscent of Liv. 21.16.5f. (almost a proof in itself): "Poenum hostem.....recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; conciturum auidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse." On a different level, Postgates' transposition removes a slight inelegancy which results from Griffith's: 643 and 646, juxtaposed, exhibit two uses of "medius" in two different cases and two very different senses.

The commentary follows the proposed order, i.e. 644, 645, 643, 656, 657, 646, 647.

630. *horrida bella:* apparently a coinage of Vergil's, *A.* 6.86, which became a tag for hexameter poets: cf. T.L.L. 2.1847. 41-44; Schumann 2.519.

Here the latent literal sense of the adjective is set off by "squalor" in the next line: the war has made them unkempt: see T.L.L. 6.3. I. A.3 for "horridus" in the sense "squalidus", "incomptus": cf. Sil.3. 541f., "illuuie rigidaeque comae squalore perenni/ horrida semiferi promunt e rupibus ora."

631 *squalor:* a technical term for the dark and filthy garments and unkempt appearance assumed by defendants, suppliants and mourners: cf. RE 2R.12. 2225-2231. Even Quintilian approves of the boost such garb could give to one's appeal: cf. 6.1.30, 33.

631f. Even before they begin speaking the Saguntines have achieved the desirable effect of φαντaϲία or ἐνάργεια, "demonstratio" (Kroll RE Rhetorik, Supplb. 7. 1111 f.). ἐνάργεια was defined as λόγοϲ ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὰ δηλούμενα, Anon. Spengel 1. 371. 11f.. [Longinus] says φαντaϲία is used ὅταν ἃ λέγειϲ ὑπ' ἐνθουϲιαϲμοῦ καὶ πάθουϲ βλέπειν δοκῇϲ καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν τιθῇϲ τοῖϲ ἀκούουϲιν, *Subl.* 15.1; Quintilian defines φαντaϲίαι, "per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur", 6.2.29; cf. Auct. ad Herenn. 4.68; Cic. *de Orat.* 3.202. This is precisely the effect which Sicoris' speech has on Lentulus: "Lentulus, ut cernens accensae tecta Sagunti," 676. But you could achieve the same, as here, without opening your mouth. Quintilian, following on from the passage on "squalor" cited in the previous note, mentions swords and shrouds and so on, concluding, "quarum rerum ingens plerumque uis est uelut in rem praesentem animos hominum ducentium", 6.1.31.

The point is reinforced by the παρὰ προσδοκίαν of 631 "squalor": we expect a verb of speech after 630, especially since "patefacio" is often a verb of speech (O.L.D. s.v. §5), as is "oro" (O.L.D. s.v. §2).

631. *praesens:* pins down the effect: cf. Quintilian's remarks in the previous note, "*praesentes* habere uideamur", 6.2.29, "uelut in rem *praesentem*", 6.1.31. Similarly "ante oculos" in the next line: cf. Auct. ad Herenn. 4.68, "demonstratio est cum ita uerbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res *ante oculos* esse uideatur" (at this stage, of course, the effect is still non-verbal).

633. *tum senior maesto....incipit ore:* cf. Verg. *A.* 12.692, "simul *incipit ore* [!]"; ib. 5.409, "tum senior [!]"; Ov. *Met*. 5.396f., "maesto/.....ore [!]."

Sicoris: the name of a river, in Lucan, 4.130. Silius often resorts to river names for walk-on characters: see on 152 "Tagum".

634-636. *Exordium*. This is brief, as is typical in deliberative speeches: Quintilian recommends that in deliberative oratory, "etiam cum prohoemio utemur, breuiore tamen et uelut quodam capite tantum et initio debebimus esse contenti", 3.8.10; cf. Arist. *Rhet*. 3.14.7.

For all that, the exordium had an important function: "in senatu et utique in contionibus eadem ratio quae apud iudices adquirendae sibi plerumque eorum apud quos dicendum sit beniuolentiae", Quint. 3.8.7; cf. Cic. *Inv.* 20. Praise of the addressee was in place: ἐρεῖς μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὃ προείρηται ἐν τῷ στεφανωτικῷ,

πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ βασιλέως αὐξήσεις...
καὶ ὅταν εἴπῃς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθά, ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὴν μνήμην
τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς πρεσβεύσεις, Men. Rhet. 423. 8ff.. Thus Sicoris addresses the Romans as "sacrata gens clara fide", and praises their achievements in war. Nor would deprecation go amiss. Aristotle, discussing the need to make a good impression in the exordium to a deliberative speech, has this to say of διαβολή: περὶ δὲ διαβολῆς ἓν μὲν τὸ ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ὑπόληψιν δυσχερῆ ἀπολύσαιτο· οὐθὲν γὰρ διαφέρει εἴτε εἰπόντος τινὸς εἴτε μή, ὥστε τοῦτο καθόλου, Rhet. 3.15.1. Thus Quintilian: "mire uero in causis ualet praesumptio, quae πρόληψις dicitur, cum id quod obici potest occupamus. id neque in aliis partibus rarum est et praecipue prohoemio conuenit," 9.2.16. Accordingly Sicoris, with the appropriately mild figure litotes, disavows frivolity in 636, "ne crede emensos leuia ob discrimina pontum."

634. sacrata gens clara fide: the compliment is not gratuitous, for it is precisely Rome's "fides" to which the Saguntines appeal, and upon which they base their hope. Similarly, the conventional praise of τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις in 634f. prepares for the "argumentatio" while mollifying the audience. See on 330 "Fides" for the thematic importance of "Fides" in the poem: for the identification of Fides with the Romans, see P. Boyancé, Les Romains, Peuple de la Fides, Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé, XXII 4^{e} série 1964 419-435 (= Etudes sur la Réligion romaine 1972 135-152).

634f. fide..../...ferro: the alliterative disyllables at almost identical points in consecutive lines pick out the twin pillars of Roman success: their moral worth and martial valour.

635. Marte satam: see 118n..

parere subacti: restates, from the conquered nations' point of view, Vergil's "parcere subiectis", A. 6.853. The trophies which Sicoris has just seen are still vividly in his mind.

636. emensos: thus F, followed by Bauer, Duff and the Budé: "emensum" LOV, followed by Summers. "emetior" can be used passively in the perfect participle (T.L.L. 5.2. 481. 35-55), but the more common use is preferable (T.L.L. 5.2. 480. 81- 481.35), especially since we want a personal reference to the Saguntine ambassadors here to balance the address to the Roman audience.

You cannot measure out the sea; any more than you can measure out sand: cf. Pind. I. 1.37, ἐξ ἀμετρήτας ἁλός. Silius' word-play here is as compulsive and irrelevant as the parallel one noted on 446 above.

637-647. Narratio: "a survey of the situation, including as many facts as are necessary to support the proposal", Highet 51.

637-639. uidimus..../uidimus: an abrupt raising of the tension, reinforced by the dramatic repetition. "uidere" has here the common meaning of " 'look upon'; in relation to something terrible or odious", Shackleton Bailey Propertiana 1956 3, on Prop. 1.1.12, "ibat et hirsutas ille uidere feras." Cf. Greek ὁράω: ἔμαθον../..ἐσορᾶν πόντιον ἄλσος, Aesch. Pers. 106ff.; δέδορκεν δ' οἶκος ἐσεῖδε κακόν, Callim. 23.4 Gow-Page; ναῦν ἅμα καὶ ψυχὴν εἶδεν ἀπολλυμένην, ib. 38.2. Thus commonly in Latin: "quotiens Cyclopum efferuere in agros/ uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam," Verg. G. 1. 471 f.; "uidimus flauum Tiberim etc.", Hor. Carm. 1.2.13, with N.-H. ad loc.; "uidimus furentia toto orbe ciuilia arma", Sen. Suas. 6.6; "uidimus patriam ruentem nocte funesta", Sen. Ag. 612, with Tarrant ad loc.. In all these Latin examples the reference is, as here, to a national disaster, and the voice is a corporate one. The verb is often repeated: cf. Enn. Scaen. 92 ff. V, where the order of the lines is uncertain, but where "uidi" occurs three times in a pattern of significant repetition (see Jocelyn 236); Hor. Carm. 3.5.21; Verg. A. 2. 499-501, "uidi ipse furentem/ caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas,/ uidi Hecubam"; Sen. Her. F. 50, "uidi ipsa, uidi"; id. Tro. 170, Her. O. 207. Silius' patterning here is elegiac, with the verbs beginning their respective lines, and between them what is in Ovid a pentameter: "uidi consortes pariter generisque necisque/ tres cecidisse - tribus, quae mihi, mater erat;/ uidi, quantus erat...etc.", Ep. 3.47-49. Silius repeats the pattern exactly at 6. 111-113: "uidi crescentes Thrasymenni caedibus undas/ prostrataque uirum mole; inter tela cadentem/ uidi Flaminium."

638. coetus: Müller 190 suggested "coitus", but "coetus" will stand: Summers in his apparatus compares Stat. Theb. 4. 214f., "Taenariis hic celsus equis, quam dispare coetu/ Cyllarus ignaro genuerat Castore prolem."

The prototype of the unnatural birth topos is in Homer, Il. 16. 33-35, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεύς,/ οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,/ πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής. The most notable imitation is Vergil's: "nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,/ perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens/ Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres", *A.* 4. 365-367 (where see Pease for numerous parallels.). Silius takes Vergil's beasts and Homer's sea, as had Ovid: "te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis/ robora, te saeuae progenuere ferae,/ aut mare", *Ep.* 7. 37-39.

Sicoris does not include the first half of the topos, the denial of the target's true parentage; when Hamilcar is a paradeigmatic monster it would not do to bring him in as the antithesis to sea and beasts. Besides, the pattern of the lines allows Silius only one verse at this point.

639-641. A charged ἐκφώνησις, "exclamatio": see Volkmann 498f.; Caplan on Auct. ad Herenn. 4.22. Silius' lines owe their form to Lucan: "procul hunc arcete furorem,/ o superi", 2. 295f.. The prayer that they should be *allowed* to keep fighting Hannibal is of course admirably designed to win the hearts of their audience ("uerba generosa et ad beneuolentiam adliciendam idonea!", Ruperti ad loc.), while 639 "his a moenibus" looks forward to 645 "maiora...moenia", the first hint of the "argumentatio ex utili".

640. *nostroque in Marte:* at 118 Hamilcar swears an oath "nostri per numina Martis", where the words express defiant contempt by usurping the national god of the Romans. Here the origin of the point is the same, the "adoption" of Mars by another nationality, but the direction is quite different. The effect is self-effacing and deprecatory: "*Our* Mars, *our* weight in war, for what is it worth."

641f. *qua mole.../...quantus:* cf. Verg. *A.* 11.283f., "experto credite *quantus/* in clipeum adsurgat, *quo turbine* torqueat hastam." "mole" is translated "might" (Duff), "vigeur" (Budé), but the word retains a sense of size and massiveness: "with what a mighty bulk". Cf. 497 (of Hannibal), "tota se mole tulit."

642. *exigit:* normally used of hand-weapons (T.L.L. 5.2.1451. 52-72). Ovid uses the word of the driving impact of a spear (*Met*. 5. 139) or an arrow (*Met.* 12. 572), but Seneca is the first to use the verb of discharging without the impact being stated: "tela quae Fortuna in Scipiones...exigit", *Cons. Marc.* 16.5. Silius has another case at 14.505f., "seu splendentem sub sidera nisu/ exigeret discum."

644. *mersos Syrtis harenis:* on one level "mersos" = "procul abditos" (T.L.L. 8. 836.6), but the odd nature of the Syrtes affords inspiration for much paradox (see also 408 n.): "Syrtes...primam mundo natura figuram/ cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit," Luc. 9. 303f.. Here the Africans are "drowned" in *sand.*

645. *maioraque moenia quaerit:* the attack on Saguntum is only a prelude to the real war: see 270n..

643. *medium....Hiberum:* the Ebro is not only physically between Hannibal and Rome; it embodies the treaty and is hence a "mediator": see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.27 for this sense of "medius". Cf. esp. Sil. 16.219ff., where the word has the same double meaning as here: "tu Libya, tu te Ausonia cohibere memento./ haud deformis erit uobis ad foedera uersis/ pacator *mediusque* Syphax"; Syphax promises to be a mediator between Carthage and Rome, but his kingdom is physically between the two other states.

656f.. An ascending tricolon, with epanaphora and asyndeton. Such devices were felt to be powerful vehicles of feeling: "haec exornatio (epanaphora) cum multum uenustatis habet tum grauitatis et acrimoniae plurimum: quare uidetur esse adhibenda et ad exornandam et ad exaugendam orationem", Auct. ad Herenn. 4.19; cf. [Longin.] Subl. 20.1; "hoc genus (asyndeton) et acrimoniam habet in se et uehementissimum est", Auct. ad Herenn. 4.41; "apta cum quid instantius dicimus", Quint. 9.3.50. Silius allows himself some variation: "every Spaniard, all of Gaul, every Libyan."

656. Gallia turmis: "turma" is the proper name for a unit of Roman cavalry, but the word could be used of other nationalities (e.g. Numidians, Liv. 25.17.3; Thracians, id. 42.57.8).. Silius has probably been influenced by the conditions of his own day in choosing "turma". It was the horsemen of Gallia Comata who became, after Caesar's death, "the flower of the Imperial cavalry", G.C. Cheesman, The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army 1914, 81; cf. ib., 64f.; G. Webster, The Roman Imperial Army 1969, 143, 146; J.J. Hatt, Histoire de la Gaule Romaine 1966, 77-79; Str. 4.4.2, on the Gauls, εἰϲὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηταὶ πάντεϲ τῇ φύϲει, κρείττουϲ δ' ἱππόται ἢ πεζοί, καὶ ἔϲτι Ῥωμαίοιϲ τῆϲ ἱππείαϲ ἀρίϲτη παρὰ τούτων. Now the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul , who are in question here, did possess many horsemen; their great coalition in 225 mustered 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse and chariots (Polyb. 2.23.4), and Celtic cavalry was found fighting in the Hannibalic war on both sides (e.g. Polyb. 3.65.5, 72.9, 113.7). But Silius has probably slipped into naming these Cisalpine Celts

as "auxiliaries" on analogy with the Transalpine Gauls of his own day.

657. aestifero sitiens Libys axe: cf. Luc. 1.206, "aestiferae Libyes"; ib. 368, "percalidas Libyae sitientis harenas"; Stat. Silv. 5.2.134, "aestiferis Libyae .. in aruis".

646f. The lines form an ἐπιφώνημα, summarising and capping the preceding chain of thought: see Volkmann 455, who gives as an example the line chosen by Quintilian, "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem", Verg. A. 1.33. Silius' ἐπιφώνημα consists of a pungent metaphor: it is dramatic and poetic, but such a technique was recommended for those seeking ὄγκοϲ even in prose orations. Aristotle advises μεταφοραῖϲ δηλοῦν καὶ τοῖϲ ἐπιθέτοιϲ, εὐλαβούμενον τὸ ποιητικόν, Rhet. 3.6.3, and his chapter 7 contains a series of splendidly striking metaphors from the political oratory of the preceding century. Plutarch has a similar section, praec.rep.ger. 803A, where he says that ὁ πολιτικὸϲ λόγοϲ uses far more metaphors and striking turns of phrase than judicial oratory: he quotes such examples as Pericles calling Aegina "the eyesore of the Peiraeus", τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶϲ; cf. Wooten 1974 250 for a collection of bold ἐπιφωνήματα from Polybius' ambassadors' speeches.

There are brief discussions in Cic. de Orat. 2.155-170, Quint. 8.6.14-18, although the main emphasis is on avoiding the ταπείνωϲιϲ involved in such over-vigorous metaphors as "morte Africani castratam esse rem publicam." Roman writers of this epoch appear in general to have been more wary than the Greeks of what Kennedy 1972 325 calls "extreme metaphor".

The use of wave metaphors is a natural part of the whole ship of state allegory (on which see conveniently N.-H. 1.179f.), representing the perils faced by the city: e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 20, "gubernacula rei publicae tractare in maximo cursu ac fluctibus"; further material in T.L.L. 6.1.947. 54ff.. The threat from Spain, Gaul and Africa is a great breaker about to dash onto the Roman state. It is hard not to be reminded of the vivid and dramatic simile of 468-472, where Hannibal himself is compared to a wave that comes from far out to sea to crash over an island.

It is only at this point that Sicoris' drift becomes clear. He appeals first to the Romans' sense of self-interest, and only later to their honour (653ff.). The "argumentum ex utili" develops as if inevitably from the "narratio", and leads to the first statement of the "propositio" (651f.). Sicoris then switches to the "argumentum ex honesto", which he develops with oaths, appeals to former ties and historical "exempla". When Sicoris appeals to the Romans' self-interest by claiming that an attack on this one small place is in fact the opening of an attack on their own city, he is following the same line of argument as, e.g., the Corinthians in Thucydides' first book, when they assert that the Athenian siege of Potidaea is only part of their larger design against Sparta (68ff.).

46. *spumeus:* the critical danger is stressed with this word: the wave is not beginning to build up without breaking; already, even so far out, the wave is broiling. "spumeus" is more than the Budé's "écumante". Cf. Verg. *A.* 2.418f., "stridunt siluae saeuitque tridenti/ spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo"; ib. 496f., "aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis/ exiit oppositasque euicit gurgite moles."

surgit ab aequore: comes "up" from the "flat".

647. *effringet:* the intransitive use is rare but not unparalleled: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.131; Apul. *Mund.* 11; T.L.L. 5.2.203. 53-56. Hence we do not need to follow Bentley's and Madvig's "se effringet", nor Barth's "se franget", nor Blass' "se effundet".

648-665. *Argumentatio, Propositiones:* the rhetorical question in 648-650 is the first part of the "argumentatio" proper, "the presentation of reasons for adopting the proposal", Highet 51. Sicoris concentrates on the two principal τελικὰ κεφάλαια, "utile" and "honestum", stating his "propositio" twice, first from the angle of "utile" (651f.), then from the angle of "honestum" (660).

648-650. A sarcastic rhetorical question, with an argument from probability, and a conjecture "de animo". The three lines wind up on the sardonic "Sagunto" (650), with alliteration before to prepare for the sarcasm, "ut statuat superatae". The argument from probability is equally at home in judicial or deliberative oratory: Volkmann 196ff.; Arist. *Rhet.* 1.2.14; Quint. 5.10.16 ff.. Here it depends on "coniectura" -- a question which can be posed in past, present or future, and which is founded on fact ("res"), or character, motive ("animus"); cf. Auct. ad Herenn. 2.3; Quint. 7.2.1. Here we have a "coniectura de animo", since we know what Hannibal is doing, but not what his actions signify. And the conjecture is based on the present, as Quintilian's examples show: "animi coniectura non dubie in omnia tempora cadit: 'qua mente Ligarius in Africa fuerit', 'qua mente Pyrrhus foedus petat', 'quo modo laturus sit Caesar si Ptolomaeus Pompeium occiderit,'" 7.2.6.

648. *motus:* "a common euphemism for political convulsions", N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.1. The word is doubly apt here after the vigorous "fluctus"

metaphor of 646f..

648f. *ruptique per enses/ foederis:* the phrasing recalls the language Silius had used in the poem's exordium, "impius ensis/ ter placitum suasit temerando rumpere pacem", 10f.; the programme has been fulfilled.

649. *iurata in bella:* refers to the oath which Hannibal swore as a boy (see 81-139n.). Alongside of "rupti foederis" and "iura" in the next line, the phrase acquires a sinister and paradoxical air: "foedera" should be "iurata", not "bella"; cf. Luc. 8.218f., "si foedera nobis/ prisca manent mihi per Latium iurata Tonantem".

650. *statuat ... iura:* a variant on the prose authors' "iura dare" (T.L.L. 5.1. 1676.28ff.), used of victorious nations establishing supremacy. Applied to Hannibal, though, the words are, intentionally, grotesquely inapposite: "of course, he is doing all this to give *law* to Saguntum."

651f. *Propositio:* presented from the point of view of expediency. The injunction may appear abrupt, but such trenchancy was quite in order: "In the political orations of the *Aeneid* the proposals are all clear and definite", Highet 51; "et diuisa autem et simplex propositio, quotiens utiliter adhiberi potest, primum debet esse aperta atque lucida....., tum breuis nec ullo superuacuo onerata uerbo; non enim quid dicamus sed de quo dicturi simus ostendimus", Quint. 4.5.26. Demosthenes illustrates well: φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι· πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ, 2.11; τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, 3.6; c.f. 1.2, 4.16, 16.27. Cicero's proposals, by the nature of the setting, are generally in the form of a committee-resolution: e.g. Phil. 5.53, "de exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernendum ...."But when no formal resolution is to be laid down, he will proceed thus: "Primum igitur acta Caesaris seruanda censeo, non quo probem- quis enim id quidem potest? - sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque oti", Phil. 1.16. Sallust's Marius, at the end of a long ramble, comes to his point: "quam ob rem uos, quibus militaris aetas est, adnitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit", Jug. 85.47; cf. Cat. 52.5.

651. ocius: the adverb "belongs to the spoken language" (N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.11.18), and contributes to the air of extreme urgency.

nascentem extinguite flammam: the exhortation is couched in the form of a gnomic tag: see Otto 287 for examples of the type "uenienti occurrite morbo", Pers. 3.64 (note the similarity of shape here); "principiis obsta: sero medicina paratur", Ov. Rem. 91. Callimachus has a very similar image, of the fires of love: τὸ πῦρ δὲ τὠνέκαυσας, ἄχρις οὐ πολλῇ/πρόσω κεχώρηκεν φλογί,/ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζει κἠπὶ τὴν τέφρην ο̣ἰ̣[::]ν̣εῖ,/ κοίμησον, iamb. fr. 195 Pfeiffer 23-26.

flammam: metaphorical (T.L.L. 6.1.868. 32-43): cf., e.g., Cic. Phil. 10.11, "quae tempestas, di immortales, quae flamma, quae uastitas, quae pestis Graeciae!" But plainly the Saguntines have in mind the actual conflagration of their city: at 602f. they expressed their anxiety thus, "si nondum insultat templorum Poenicus ignis/ culminibus."

653. quemquam o: cf. Verg. A. 5.195, 11.415 [!].

si nullus terror: the switch from "utile" to "honestum".

obruta: smothered, but not extinguished, i.e. by the checking actions of the Saguntines, and especially by their wounding of Hannibal: cf. Flor. Epit. 2.9, "male obrutum resurrexit incendium"; Lucr. 4.926, "cinere ut multa latet obrutus ignis"; Liv. 10.24.13, "quem ille obrutum ignem reliquerit, ita ut totiens nouum ex improuiso incendium daret, eum se exstincturum". The image is that of "a domestic fire, which was kept in at night by banking ash over the embers", N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.1.7; cf. Callim. 9.1f. Gow-Page (with their note), ἔcτι τι, ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα, κεκρυμμένον, ἔcτι τι ταύτῃ/ναὶ μὰ Διώνυcον, πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ cποδιῇ.

54. semina belli: a double metaphor. (i) "sparks of fire", as in Verg. A. 6.6, "semina flammae"; Lucr. 5.660f., "aut quia conueniunt ignes et semina multa/confluere ardoris"; Cic. Fin. 5.18, "quasi uirtutum igniculi atque semina". (ii) "root causes", used by Lucan in a semi-technical sense to describe the underlying large-scale causes of the war, as opposed to the immediate motivations of the principals, "hae ducibus causae, suberant sed publica belli/ semina", 1.158f.; see Häussler 2.85-89. Tacitus has precisely the same "double" metaphor: "Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici iubet, mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset", Hist. 4.80. Lucan is attempting the same distinction as Thucydides, who differentiated between the ἀληθεcτάτη πρόφαcιc of Spartan fear of Athens (1.23.6; what Walbank, on Polyb. 3.6.3, calls "the truest explanation") and the αἰτίαι, the events at Corcyra and Potidaea (what Walbank calls the "proximate 'casus belli'"). But Cicero earlier used the expression without any such defining force: "ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti", Phil. 2.55;

"nec uero umquam bellorum ciuilium semen et causa deerit, dum homines perditi hastam illam cruentam et meminerint et sperabunt", *Off.* 2.29. Silius here is using the phrase unrigorously as well.

655. *consanguineam protendere dextram:* it was an important part of any ambassador's speech to retail the earlier relations between the two states involved (Wooten 1973 210), and especially to play upon any blood-links that may have existed. One thinks of the way in which Aeneas painstakingly spells out the bloodties between himself and Evander, when he proposes an alliance: "cognatique patres...etc.", *A.* 8.132ff.; a variety of imitations in Valerius Flaccus, 2.559ff., 5.476. Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, pleads with the Spartans, νῦν ὦν πρὸϲ θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ῥύϲαϲθε Ἴωναϲ ἐκ δουλοϲύνηϲ, ἄνδραϲ ὁμαίμοναϲ, Hdt. 5.49.3; cf. Thuc. 1.26.3, ἦλθον γὰρ ἐϲ τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδεϲ, τάφουϲ τε ἀποδεικνύντεϲ καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προϊϲχόμενοι ἐδέοντο ϲφᾶϲ κατάγειν; ib. 71.4 (the Corinthians urge the Spartans to help Potidaea), ἵνα μὴ ἄνδραϲ τε φίλουϲ καὶ ξυγγενεῖϲ τοῖϲ ἐχθίϲτοιϲ προῆϲθε. When the Segestans surrendered themselves "in fidem populi Romani" in 262 B.C., they based their appeal, at least in part, on their common Trojan blood: see J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Légende Troyenne de Rome*, 1942 452f.; G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* 1969 173. The Mamertines, according to Polybius, included a similar plea in their application to Rome in 264 B.C., δεόμενοι βοηθήϲειν ϲφίϲιν αὐτοῖϲ ὁμοφύλοιϲ ὑπάρχουϲι, 1.10.2. For the Saguntines' blood links with Rome, see 271-295n..

The gesture itself, stretching out the right hand, is a token of Fides observed and help promised (Sittl 138): cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5.153, "cui ciui supplici non illa dextera inuicta fidem porrexit et spem salutis ostendit?" Cicero once even applies the gesture, in a fashion rather similar to our passage, of personified countries: "Graecia tendit dexteram Italiae summumque ei praesidium pollicetur", *Phil.* 10.9. See further P. Boyancé, La Main de Fides, in *Hommages à Jean Bayet* 1964 101-113, reprinted (with an additional note on Greek custom) in *Etudes sur la Réligion Romaine* 1972 122-133.

658f. An example of the ὀμοτικὸν ϲχῆμα: see Volkmann 499; R. Kühnlein, *De Vi et Usu Precandi et Iurandi Formulam apud X Oratores Atticos* Diss. Neustadt 1882. Cf. e.g., Cic. *Planc.* 103, "nolite, iudices, per uos, per fortunas, per liberos uestros, inimicis meis ... dare laetitiam"; Sal. *Jug.* 13.25, "patres conscripti, per uos, per liberos atque parentes uostros, per maiestatem populi Romani, subuenite mihi misero". It was an effect very difficult to bring off, and Quintilian recommends caution in its use, 9.2.98f.. But certain examples were greatly admired in antiquity, especially Demosthenes' famous oath by the dead of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea, *de cor.* 208, praised by Quintilian, 11.3.168, 12.10.24, and, memorably, by [Longinus], *Subl.* 16.

The general run of Sicoris' oath is close to that of Ascanius in *Aeneid* 9, 258f.: "per magnos, Nise, penatis/ Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae."

658. *per uos culta ... primordia:* the dislocation of the pronoun is typical of the word-order in such earnest adjurations: cf. Verg. *A.* 4.314, " per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam...etc.", with Pease's note ad loc.; Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.1f., "per omnes/ te deos oro", with N.-H.'s

note ad loc.; K.-S. 1. 584f., 2.593.

Rutulae primordia gentis: modelled on a pattern favoured by Ovid: cf. *Ars* 3.337, "altae primordia Romae [!]"; *Ep.* 17.57, "Phrygiae late primordia gentis [!]"; *Met.* 5.190, "nostrae primordia gentis [!]." Cf. Luc. 10.177, "Phariae primordia gentis [!]."

59. *Laurentemque larem:* for the basis of this appeal see 605n..

pignora Troiae: the Vestal Fire, the culminating member as in Ascanius' oath, quoted on 658f. above, and in the invocation of 541-543. Probably to be understood here also is the Palladium, the guarantor of Rome's invincibility: see 13. 36-81 for Silius' version of how it came to Rome.

60. *conseruate:* the second statement of the "propositio", put from the point of view of "honestum": cf. 651f.n.. The only poets [*] to use the verb instead of "seruare" before Silius are Lucretius (4), Catullus (1), and Propertius (1); cf. Axelson 69 on the word's unpoetic quality. Silius has it twice, and although at 8.252 there is no obvious explanation for its use, in the present case he is imitating the manner of the orators' appeal to the jury: cf. Cic. *Arch.* 31, "quare conseruate, iudices, hominem..."; *Cael.* 77, "conseruate igitur rei publicae, iudices, ciuem bonarum artium..."; many other examples in T.L.L., 4.419. 51-59. Cf. Andoc. *Myst.* 149, ὑμεῖϲ με παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν αἰτηϲάμενοι ϲῴϲατε.

61. *Acrisioneis:* it was Danaë, the daughter of the Argive King Acrisius, who founded Ardea: cf. Verg. *A.* 7.409f. (where see Fordyce), "Rutuli ad muros, quam dicitur urbem/ Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis".

Silius has kept the weighty four word line, with the first word unchanged. Vergil's "Acrisioneis colonis" caused problems for the commentators, since the regular version of the myth had Danaë put to sea in a box with only her baby for company. Servius accordingly wanted to have "Acrisioneis" as a patronymic: "sola enim uenerat, non cum colonis". It is impossible to say when the Vergilian passage first became the object of scholarly attention, but it may be that Silius is here proffering his own judgement on what had been recognised as a crux: by his imitation of the enclosing word-order, with "Acrisioneis" in his own line unmistakeably agreeing with the noun at the end, he is perhaps putting right those who had doubted what Vergil intended with "Acrisioneis colonis".

2-665. Sicoris appeals to two historical "exempla" to bolster his argument: for these παραδείγματα, see Volkmann 233ff.; K. Alewell, *Über das rhetorische παράδειγμα in der römischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit,* Diss. Leipzig 1913, 54-86, 100-118; Wooten 1973 210f.. παραδείγματα were either ὅμοια or ἐναντία; cf. Anaximenes Spengel 1.2.39.22f.. Here analogy is the basis. Aristotle distinguished between historical παραδείγματα and αἶνοι, *Rhet.* 2.20.2, and recommended historical παραδείγματα as being most useful for deliberative oratory, ib. 2.20.8; similarly Quintilian, "exempla plurimum in consiliis possint", 3.8.36.

The examples to which Sicoris points are both illustrations of the Romans' determination to stick by their "fides" and protect small states which appealed to them: on the process, see E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* 1958 30ff.. At first sight his first "exemplum" looks to be more apposite than the second: "You were prepared to run the risk of war with Carthage over Messana, a town oppressed by a tyrant's siege, as we are". But the point of the second "exemplum" is that Capua had been founded by a Trojan, Capys: cf. RE 3.1555; Verg. *A.* 10.145, "hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi", Sil. 11. 30f., "Dardana ab ortu/ moenia"; 177-179 (a Capuan speaks), "ille ego sanguis/ Dardanius, cui sacra pater, cui nomina liquit/ ab Ioue ducta Capys." If the Romans went to war because of this bloodlink (664f. "dignum/ Sigeis duxistis auis" refers to "the Trojan ancestors which you and the Capuans had in common"), then so should they protect their "fellow-Trojans" from Saguntum who need help against a barbarian attacker.

662f. Rome gave help to the Messanians, attacked by Hiero of Syracuse, and found herself as a result involved in her first war with Carthage: on this very confused affair, see Badian, op.cit. previous note, 34-36; Walbank on Polyb. 1.10.3.

662. *Zanclen:* ἡ Μεϲϲήνη... κτίϲμα... ἐϲτι Μεϲϲηνίων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήϲῳ, παρ' ὧν τοὔνομα μετήλλαξε, καλουμένη Ζάγκλη πρότερον διὰ τὴν ϲκολιότητα τῶν τόπων (ζάγκλιον γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ϲκολιόν)
Str. 6.2.3; cf. G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle* 1958 52ff..

"Zancle" occurs in poetry before Silius only in Ovid [*] (*Met.* 14.5, 15.290), the adjective "Zanclaeus" in Ovid (*Met* 13.729, 14.47) and *Culex* 332.

663. *egregium:* i.e. καλόν, "honestum".

664. *moenia:* the walls of cities are before our eyes throughout the speech: cf. 637, 645, 661.

depulso Samnitum robore: a reference to the so-called First Campanian War, described by Livy, 7.29–8.2. Supposedly fought in 343 to protect Campania against the Samnites, the war is almost certainly apocryphal: see C.A.H. 7.588f.. For the circumstances surrounding Roman-Campanian alliance, see A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* 1939 39-47.

665. *Sigeis:* Sigeum was a promontory in the Troad, the supposed burial place of Achilles: see RE 28. 2275f..

665-671. *Peroratio:* As Sicoris makes his final emotional appeal to the "fides" and "pietas" of his audience, he speaks in the singular, but he speaks as if he were the city itself: νομίζε ... τὴν τοῦ πρεϲβευτοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι πάϲηϲ τῆϲ πόλεωϲ, Men.Rhet. 423. 28f.. The play upon the audience's emotions becomes quite overt; it was recognised that a "peroratio" consisted either in a summary of the facts or in an attempt to direct the mood of the listener ("aut in rebus aut in adfectibus", Quint. 6.1.1.): μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, δήλων ὄντων καὶ οἷα καὶ ἡλίκα, εἰϲ τὰ πάθη ἄγειν τὸν ἀκροατήν· ταῦτα δ' ἐϲτὶν ἔλεοϲ καὶ δείνωϲιϲ καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ μῖϲοϲ καὶ φθόνοϲ καὶ ζῆλοϲ καὶ ἔριϲ, Arist. *Rhet.* 3.19.3.

665. *Dauni:* thus S, followed by Summers and the Budé: Bauer and Duff accept Blass' "Daunus" (Bauer 1888 212 has a discussion). The poets do use proper names for adjectives: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.12, "Syra...merce" (with N.-H. ad loc.); ib. 2.13.8, "uenena Colcha" (with N.-H. ad loc.). The genitive cannot stand with "incola", but Silius might have written "accola".

666. "auersus quoque a iudice, qui dicitur apostrophe, mire mouet, siue aduersarios inuadimus..., siue ad inuocationem aliquam conuertimur: 'uos enim iam ego, Albani tumuli atque luci'," Quint. 9.2.38. The quoted passage is from Cic. *Mil.* 85, and Quintilian is very fond of it, citing it again at 11.1.34, as "plena sanguinis", and at 11.3.167, as "pleniore canali". When quoted in full the *pro Milone* passage reminds one even more of the present apostrophe: "uos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, uos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, uosque, Albanorum obrutae arae, sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales" (Clark in his commentary would read "testor", as does Quintilian at 11.1.34). Cicero was much given to these invocations. The most remarkable comes in the "peroratio" to the *Verrines,* beginning with Jupiter ("nunc te, Iuppiter Optime Maxime", 5.184) and extending over five chapters of deities to the actual words of the appeal ("ceteros item deos deasque omnes imploro et obtestor", 5. 188); cf. *Balb.* 13, *Dom.* 144.

stagna arcana Numici: cf. Verg. *A.* 7.150, "haec fontis stagna Numici". The Numicius was a very holy river, close by Ardea, the Saguntines' "home town". It was Aeneas' supposed death-place (or vanishing-place): cf. Tilly, op.cit. 605n., Chapter 4; Roscher 3.1.475-477; Frazer on Ov. *Fast.* 3.647.

667. *felix nimium:* from Vergil's "felix, heu nimium felix", a much-imitated phrase: see Pease on *Aeneid* 4.657. Silius' words are Vergil's, but his sense is quite different, for he uses "felix" in its root sense of "fertile" (T.L.L. 6.1.436. 30-45).

669. In what sense did the ancestors of the Saguntines carry "the Laurentian name" across the Pyrenees? Sicoris has just appealed to the holy

sites of Latium, and testifies that when his ancestors left Ardea they were carrying "the sacred things and the inner shrine from the house of Turnus" (Duff). Surely what they took over the Pyrenees were "Laurentia numina". Cf. Verg. *A.* 1.5f., "dum conderet urbem/ *inferretque deos* Latio"; Hor. *Carm.* 4.4. 53-56, "gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio/ iactata Tuscis aequoribus *sacra*/ natosque maturosque patres/ *pertulit* Ausonias ad urbes."

670f. A striking and pathetic image crowns the piece, with a remarkable sequence of elisions in 670 to reinforce the sense and the emotion.

670. *decisa atque auulsa a corpore membra:* limps lopped off the body politic are a metaphor of diverse application. At 17.150, "stabat Carthago truncatis undique membris", they are the props of empire; at Cic. *Phil.* 8.15 the image is a medical one: "in corpore si quid eius modi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, id uri secarique patimur, ut membrum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intereat; sic in reipublicae corpore, ut totum saluum sit, quidquid est pestiferum, amputetur." There is something of the sort at work here: "Don't regard our loss as a painful sacrifice you will just have to tolerate."

The basis of the "body politic" conceit is laid out in Aristotle, *Pol.* 1281 b. 5-7, ὥϲπερ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον τὸ πλῆθοϲ πολύποδα καὶ πολύχειρα καὶ πολλὰϲ ἔχοντ' αἰϲθήϲειϲ: cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.22; Liv. 2.32. 9-12 (The Meneneius Agrippa parable, with Ogilvie's discussion, p.312).

auulsa....membra: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.490, "artus auulsaque membra."

671. LFO's "noster" is clearly preferable to V's "uester" (cf. Bauer 1888

198f.): "why should it have to be *our* blood (rather than his: note the emphatic position of 'noster') that pays for the treaty that he broke?" (as at Verg. *A.* 12.694f., "me uerius unum/ pro uobis foedus luere", "foedus" = "foedus ruptum").

The speech finishes with the line, as it began with the verse-opening. It is fitting that such a major speech should be marked off by this formality: 41% of Silius' speeches begin within the verse, and 25% end within the verse (Lipscomb, op.cit. 630-674 n., 37).

672. *miserabile uisu:* first in Vergil (*A.* 1.111, 9.465), the phrase becomes common, invariably in this position, and is confined to epic, with the single exception [*] of Statius' high-toned poem, *Silv.* 5.3.70.

673f. Quintilian can see the usefulness of "stratum denique iacere et genua amplecti", 6.1.34; Menander Rhetor would fall flat with his hands out at the end of an ambassador's speech, πρὸ τῶν γονάτων πίπτομεν, τὰϲ ἱκετηρίαϲ προτείνομεν, 423.27f.. In Livy, suppliants before the Senate regularly behave thus: "sub haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in uestibulo curiae procubuerunt", 7.31.6; cf. 42.23.10; 44.19.7, "sordidati, barba et capillo promisso, cum ramis oleae ingressi curiam procubuerunt"; cf. Sittl 149ff., 158ff..; R. MacMullen, Romans in Tears, CPh. LXXV 1980 254f..

673. *lacerato tegmine uestis:* a conventional sign of mourning and distraction; cf. Eur. *El.* 184f., ϲκέψαι μου πιναρὰν κόμαν/καὶ τρύχη τάδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων (the type of thing that attracted Aristophanes' scorn, *Ach.* 412ff.); Verg. *A.* 12.609, "it scissa ueste Latinus"; [Sen.] *Oct.* 328, "scindit uestes Augusta suas"; *Job.* 1.20, "Then Job arose, and rent

his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground"; see RE 2R. 12. 2226; Richardson on Hymn Dem. 41.

674. adfigunt: S, "adfligunt" Giganius, according to Summers' apparatus. We should make the same decision here as Housman provided at Luc. 2.30f., "hae pectora duro/ adflixere solo" ("afflixere" PU, "adfixere" MGV).

5-694. The Senate discusses the proposal of Sicoris, and after some dissension decides on a compromise. They will approach Hannibal first: if he is obdurate then they will present Carthage with a declaration of war. Silius rounds off his first book with language that recalls the exordium. As Carthage was "ferox" (2) and "sacri perfida pacti" (5) at the beginning, so here the Carthaginians are "diuum obliti" (694); while the "arma" which Silius placed as the second word in the book are answered by the penultimate word here, "bella": thus far has his development advanced, from the announcement of the theme to the irrevocable engagement of the action.

The nature of the resolution presents problems: see on 691-693. Even more problematic is the dramatic confrontation between Lentulus, arguing for immediate war, and Fabius, enjoining caution. Polybius denied vigorously that such a debate ever took place (3.20. 1-5: he does not name the speakers). From his attack it is plain that certain earlier writers - he names Chaereas and Sosylus - had presented a full-scale debate περὶ τοῦ πολέμου (although after the fall of Saguntum), προϲκατατάττοντεϲ ἔτι καὶ τοὺϲ εἰϲ ἑκάτερα ῥηθένταϲ λόγουϲ, 3.20.1. Whatever the ultimate source for the Roman annalistic tradition (Walbank ad loc. suggests Fabius Pictor), the Lentulus/ Fabius debate descended by one route or another into Silius and Cassius Dio, who also preserves speeches from each protagonist (frg. 55; Zonaras 8.22). It is on the face of it most plausible that Dio has gone to the same source as Silius - quite probably Valerius Antias, whom Nicol 109, 123 considers as almost certainly Silius' source at this point.

The actual historicity of the debate has been generally assumed, despite Polybius' strictures (see Walbank on 3.20.1). Discussion proceeds: see, in favour of historicity, J.W. Rich, Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion 1976 110-118; against, Harris, op.cit. 609-616n., 204, 269f.. For our purposes, it is fortunately necessary only to understand why Silius has chosen this particular version from the range he had before him. What must have attracted him was the tension of the divided senate, together with the countervailing weight of the Cunctator. Not for the last time in the poem, Fabius' foresight and sense are worsted by more impetuous men, but even as he is overruled by "lacrimae atque ira mixtus dolor" (690), his presence is the one reassuring element in the tense and anxious atmosphere with which the book ends. On the importance of Fabius, see 679n.

The sombre and restrained mood is enhanced by the uncharacteristically consistent historical tone of these last lines. The historian's pose is partly maintained with the unusually numerous echoes of official language, even if actual jargon is avoided: see on 675 "agitant consulta", 677, 682, 683, 684, 694. Even more, the whole cast of the scene is meant to recall the treatment of the historians, with the step by step account of the various proposals and the extensive use of "oratio obliqua" for the "sententiae" of the speakers. In Sal. Jug. 14-16, for example, there is precisely the same pattern as Pun. 1.630-694. First in 14, a long speech by Adherbal to the Senate, begging for help (see 658f.n.); then, after a brief reply by Jugurtha's envoys (15.1), "senatus statim consulitur", 15.2. The two sides and their views are presented: "fautores legatorum...at contra pauci....ex omnibus maxume Aemilius Scaurus" (2-4), and finally the Senate's resolution: "decretum fit uti..." (1.2). So Caesar describes the meeting of the senate at the beginning of De Bello Ciuili. First, "referunt consules de re publica infinite" (1.2); then the discussion, "L. Lentulus consul ..... in eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio .... dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam, ut primo M. Marcellus.....ut M. Calidius...etc." (1.2-2.4); finally, the resolution, "uti ante certam diem" (2.6).

The extent of "oratio obliqua" is especially striking. The epic poets, even the Roman ones, held closely to the homeric proportion of directly reported speech; the whole of the Aeneid contains only some 85 lines of "oratio obliqua" (Highet 343), Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica 75, Statius' Thebaid 65, the Punica 200 (the figures are Lipscomb's, op.cit. 630-674n.. 24f.). Comparison with the historians' practice is illuminating; K. Gries has some figures (Livy's use of Dramatic Speech, AJPh LXX 1949 140). According to his table, based on samples of representative books, computed by lines in the Teubner editions, Herodotus has 8% of his speech reported indirectly, Thucydides 30%, Polybius 64%, Sallust 27%, Caesar 93%, Livy 51%. These figures will fluctuate according to which books are selected for the sample: thus C. Wooten's different group gives him a figure of roughly 50% for Polybius' proportion of "oratio obliqua" (Wooten 1974, art. cit. 630-674n., 236). But the essential point comes across, especially as regards the extreme ranges, Herodotus and Caesar. Similar work done on Tacitus shows an increasing predilection for reported speech in that historian: from being 21% of all the speech in *Hist.* 1, "oratio obliqua" increases to 86% in *Ann.* 13, 56% in *Ann.* 14, 69% in *Ann.* 15; thus N.P. Miller, Dramatic Speech in Tacitus, AJPh LXXXV 1964 292. In this matter the distinction between Roman epic and Roman history was profound; and in our passage the austere reporting of the deliberations of the Senate is even more remarkable after the eminently "epic" and emotion-charged speech of Sicoris.

675. *agitant consulta:* Silius characteristically modifies the jargon phrase "consilia agitare" (T.L.L. 1. 1337. 65-70): similar variations in, e.g., Cicero; "agitatam rem esse in senatu", *Ver.* 2.100; "sententia agitata in senatu", *Dom.* 19.

curasque fatigant: normally one wears out one's heart/mind etc. with care: cf., e.g., Sen. *Ag.* 62f., "alia ex aliis cura fatigat/ uexatque animos noua tempestas"; Sil. 7.302, "quae te cura fatigat?" But here, as if with a blend of such a phrase as "exercere curas" (Sil. 11.374), Silius has produced a unique expression and a novel conceit: "they wear themselves out by toiling over their anxiety."

676. *Lentulus:* L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, cos.237, pont. max, RE 211; see H.H. Scullard, *Roman Politics 220-150B.C.,* 1951 40f.. His proposal is in fact the one adopted, since in Book 2 Carthage has a choice between surrendering Hannibal or waging war. But this is obscured by Silius' phrasing at 691-694, itself a result of his desire there to combine two separate embassies (see 691-693n.).

ut cernens: the effect of φαντασία: see 631f.n.

677f.. Lentulus proposes that, unless the Carthaginians surrender Hannibal, war should be declared. This is the regular form of the ultimatum as it appears in the historians: cf. Polyb. 3.20.8; Liv. 21.6.8, "ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum"; Zonaras 8.22.

Since the article by A.H. McDonald and F.W. Walbank in JRS XXVII 1937 180-207, it has been the accepted orthodoxy that the embassy to Carthage in 218, with its demand for the surrender of Hannibal, represents a typical example of the evolved form of Fetial Law, modified under the various pressures Rome faced as she expanded beyond Latium: cf. Ogilvie 127f.; Harris, op.cit. 609-616n., 267-269; Rich, op.cit., 675-694 n., 59 n.6, has a full bibliography. The original three separate journeys of the fetiales ("denuntatio", or "rerum repetitio", "testatio deorum", "indictio belli") are supposed to have become impracticable as Rome's borders spread. Further, as Ogilvie puts it, "since her new enemies did not share 'ius fetiale' with Rome, the 'fetiales' were replaced by senatorial 'legati' and the whole ceremony secularised", 128. Hence, "the 'legati' were empowered by the Senate and People in advance to carry out all three stages on their own authority without reference back to Rome if the enemy refused to give the required satisfaction. This was the procedure used at the start of the Second Punic War", ibid..

This whole reconstruction is challenged by Rich who regards the ultimatum presented to Carthage in 218 as being the exception rather than the rule. It is outside the scope and competence of this commentary to debate on this issue; it is even open to question whether Silius himself had any knowledge or opinion here. What is important for the present purpose is to observe the use which he made of the material he had to hand. And here it is possible to find praise for the way in which Silius has cut the Gordian knot of entangled and conflicting strands of tradition, resolving everything into one embassy: see 691-693n..

678. *exuri:* only once before used of devastation: "Locri Phocii Boeotii exusti", Cic. *Pis.* 96; a similar use at 8.272, and later in Ammianus, 27.9.1, 30.1.22. But the uncompounded "uro" is commonly used of the ravages of war, either literally (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 4.48, "iisque permissum uastare, urere, trahere praedas"), or metaphorically (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 12.9, "[Gallia] exhauritur, uastitur, uritur"; Liv. 27.39.9, "quo [bello] Italia urebatur": here, naturally, the literal force of the word is very close to the surface).

Lentulus' proposal perhaps contains a sardonic edge, if one considers the use of "uro", "exuro" to describe the effect of the sun on the exposed lands of Africa, especially in ἡ διακεκαυμένη ζώνη (Str. 2.1.13). Normally the torrid zone lay to the far south: "post (Gaetulos) Aethiopas esse, dein loca exusta solis ardoribus", Sal. *Jug.* 19.6. But the poets' freedom could spread the band: "itque super Libyen.../...premit orbita solis/exuritque solum", Luc. 9.690-692; "uadimus in campos steriles exustaque mundi", id. 9.382 (Cato is speaking of the journey through the Syrtes). Silius himself had described the lands of Carthage in terms more suited to the middle zone: "Aeoliis candens austris et lampade Phoebi/ aestifero Libye torretur subdita Cancro", 1.193f.. Lentulus may imply, "they're used to having their lands scorched by the sun; let's see how they like having them scorched by us" (note the emphatic positioning of 678 "bello").

679. *Fabius:* Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (RE 116), consul V, censor (230), dictator II, pontifex, augur. Fabius is one of Silius'

great heroes, and there is a good case to be made for the theory that Silius' glorification of this character derives from an extremely pro-Fabian annalistic source, whose ultimate fount will have been Fabius Pictor himself, a junior contemporary and relative of the Cunctator: cf. Nicol 37 f., 40-42, 45f., esp. 70-76; von Albrecht 72ff.. He appears again, imbued with like caution, at the end of Book 16, when he and the other grey-beards oppose Scipio's rash proposal of invading Africa (597ff.). See G.R. Stanton, Cunctando restituit rem. The tradition about Fabius, Antichthon V 1971 49-56.

cauta: besides Plautus and Terence, the only poets [*] to use the word before Ovid are Horace (three times in the Satires, Carm. 2.10.3, Ars. 267) and Propertius (twice). Ovid's 25 occurrences establish the word for the Silver poets.

Caution and foresight naturally go together: cf. Liv. 25.34.7, "dux cautus et prouidus", 36.9.7, "cauti et prouidi".

680f. We do not know, and nor did Silius, what sort of general Fabius had proven himself when he won his triumph over the Ligurians (Plut. Fab. 2.1); these lines describe the Fabius of 217-216 B.C..

lacessere Martem: similar to such expressions as "pugnam lacessunt", Verg. A. 5.429, "ferrum lacessere", ib. 10.10; cf. Luc. 3.553, Stat. Theb. 1.413. But here the real force of the verb is brought out by having a person as object.

bellum producere: a phrase unique to Silius, so far as I discover (repeated at 9.135). coined on analogy with such phrases as "uitam/ cenam producere" (O.L.D. s.v. "producere", §10).

682. So in Livy's debate on the fall of Saguntum, "erant qui non temere mouendam *rem tantam* ...censerent", 21.6.7.

super tantis rebus: this usage of "super" is part of official phraseology: see Adams, art. cit. 6 "super" n., 358f., for "super re" in the prose authors. The poets' rare uses of "super" in this manner reflect this tone: cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 17ff., "patrumque/...decreta super iugandis/ feminis"; id. *Carm.* 3.8.17, "mitte ciuilis super urbe curas"; Sil. 2. 270f., "Poenorum interea quis rerum summa potestas,/ consultant bello super." Silius' plural avoids the precise phrase: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.11, 18.4 "super tanta re".

682f. *ducisne/...patres:* the same antithesis as that in the exordium between "patrum" and "duces" (9f), though serving a very different purpose here.

683. *signa moueri:* an exclusively historical/military expression, parodied as such by the poets: "signa mouet praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem", Verg. *G.* 3.236 (the bull's charge); see T.L.L. 2.594. 82ff..

684. *mittique uiros qui exacta reportent:* a blend of two Vergilian lines (*A.* 1.309, "quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre"; 9.193, "mittique uiros qui certa reportent"), themselves modelled on the language of military and historical narrative: cf., e.g., Caes. *Gal.* 4.11, "mittit qui nuntiarent..."; Cic. *Deit.* 25, "mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent et celeriter ad se referrent."

685f. *prouidus.../...praemeditans:* "gleich einem stoischen Weisen", von Albrecht 69. The philosophers, especially the Stoics, recommended looking ahead and being ready for trouble: see N.-H. on Hor. Carm. 2.10. 14. But since the context is overtly political, we should think rather of those passages which define foresight as one of the indispensable skills of the statesman. Menander Rhetor advises praising the Emperor as being προΐδεϲθαι τὸ μέλλον κρείττων μάντεωϲ, 376.21f.: we find praise of the practical foresight of Themistocles, Thuc. 1.138.3; Iphicrates, Plut. Mor. 187 A2; Hannibal, Polyb. 3.47.7, Dio frg. 54.2; Marius, Plut. Mar. 7.2; Regulus, "hoc cauerat mens prouida Reguli", Hor. Carm. 3.5.13; Solon, the man judged worthy of the pot which the Delphic oracle ordered to be given to the man ὃϲ ϲοφίᾳ τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐϲϲόμενα προδέδορκεν, D.S. 9.3.2. Similarly, in the catechism with his father, Cyrus asks, φρόνιμοϲ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ϲυνοίϲειν μέλλοντοϲ πῶϲ ἂν τιϲ τῷ ὄντι γένοιτο; Xen. Cyr. 123 (the answer is to learn as much as possible and to leave the rest to μαντική). Cf. Pind. Nem. 1.27ff., πράϲϲει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν ϲθένοϲ,/ βουλαῖϲι δὲ φρήν, ἐϲϲόμενον προϊδεῖν / ϲυγγενὲϲ οἷϲ ἕπεται; Arist. Pol. 1252 a 32f., τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύϲει καὶ δεϲπόζον φύϲει; ib. 1308a 33-35, τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ γινόμενον κακὸν γνῶναι οὐ τοῦ τυχόντοϲ ἀλλὰ πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρόϲ; Cic. Phil. 6.19, "est autem uestri consili, patres conscripti, in posterum quam longissime prouidere. idcirco in hac custodia et tamquam specula conlocati sumus uti uacuum metu populum Romanum nostra uigilia et prospicientia redderemus"; id. Off. 1.81, Mur. 4; Machiavelli, The Prince, ed. Everyman Chap. 3, 15, "The Romans did in these instances what all prudent princes ought to do, who have to regard not only present troubles, but also future ones, for which they must prepare with every energy, because, when forseen, it is easy to remedy them". Dio, in his account of Fabius' speech in this debate, puts just such an aphorism into Fabius' mouth, so that it is possible that some common matter in their source leads to both Silius and Dio stressing Fabius' far-sightedness at this juncture: δεῖ γὰρ τοὺϲ ὀρθῶϲ καὶ καλῶϲ βιοῦνταϲ καὶ τοῖϲ πράγμαϲι χρωμένουϲ προδιαϲκοπεῖν πρότερον ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, frg. 55 3b.

685. *ritu uatis:* Livy had praised Fabius' foresight in similar terms: "cuius tantae dimicationis uatem qui nuper decessisset Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum, grauiorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem quam in aliena fuisset", 30.28.2; cf. Men. Rhet. 376. 21f. (quoted in previous note), προϊδέϲθαι τὸ μέλλον κρείττων μάντεωϲ; Tac. *Ann.* 6.48 (Arruntius speculates on the likely sequel to Tiberius' death), "prospectare iam se acrius seruitium eoque fugere simul acta et instantia, haec uatis in modum dictitans uenas resoluit".

685f. *fundebat ab alto/pectore:* a Catonian tinge: "ille deo plenus, tacita quem mente gerebat,/ effudit dignas adytis e pectore uoces", Luc. 9.564f..

686. *surgentia bella:* cf. Verg. *A.* 4.43, "bella...surgentia".

687. *magister:* Fabius is pictured as the "gubernator" of the ship of state (for material, see N.-H. on Hor. *Carm.* 1.14). But the simile avoids banality, knitting itself convincingly into its context (see 324-326n.). "surgentia" in 686 already prepares for the simile itself, although allusively, so that we have a picture of the wave in the context and of the wind in the simile: the impending war has already been likened to a great wave by Sicoris in his speech, 646f.. Fabius takes prudent steps to avert disaster, but the gale, which has been threatening to "come into the sails" (688), exerts its force, as it were, even outside

the simile, when the Senate's emotion "impulit" them (690). For von Albrecht 111, however the simile is an example of the "Eigenart des silianischen Gleichnisse, von denen man keine Spiegelung der äusseren Handlung erwarten darf, sondern ein Bild der Gestalt in ihrer Totalität." Again, "abgesehen von seiner momentanen Bedeutung ist dieses Gleichnis ein Wesenbild", 110. Obviously a simile such as this must be appropriate for the man who is its central figure, but von Albrecht's formulation would have us close our eyes to much that is present in these lines. The simile is not exclusively about Fabius Maximus: it represents, deftly and without bombast, the obscure motives that sweep the Senate off course and force it to disregard its wisest member.

e celsa.....puppe: Anchises, Octavian and Aeneas are consecutively represented in the Aeneid, "stans celsa in puppi", 3.527, 8.680, 10.261.

grandaeuus: Fabius' date of birth is difficult to determine. Livy says that when he died in 203 he had been an augur for 62 years (30.26.7). His first consulate was in 233, and if he held it, as one might expect of a man of his family and station, in his early forties, then he became an augur before he entered his teens. I have not been able to discover whether such a low age was possible for accession to the augurate. Münzer (RE 6.1815f.) assumes without further ado that he must have been in his early twenties when he became augur. If Livy's figure is correct, then Fabius will have been at least 50 when he first reached the consulate. This is so unlikely, according to Münzer, that we must disregard Livy's figure as inaccurate.

Münzer's line of reasoning takes it for granted that Fabius could not have become an augur while still a child. He gives no evidence for this assumption: I leave it to historians to decide whether an eleven-year-old augur cuts a better or a worse figure than a great Fabius entering his first consulate in his fifties.

689. The circumspect Fabius "shortens sail" at the sign of trouble ahead; so Horace advises Licinius, "cautus" in his seamanship in the first stanza, to trim when it is appropriate: "sapienter idem/ contrahes uento nimium secundo/ turgida uela", Carm. 2.10. 22-24. Silius' language owes something to a (non-metaphorical) passage of Lucan: "omnia si quis/ prouidus antemnae suffixit lintea summae", 9.327 f..

690. atque ira mixtus dolor: from Verg. A. 10.398, "mixtus dolor et pudor", and Ov. Ep. 6.76, "atque ira mixtus abundat amor." Livy reports a similar mixed bag of emotions in the Senate's reaction to the news of Saguntum's capture: "tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit", 21.16.2. On the basis of this congruence we may guess at some set-piece description in the earlier annalistic tradition.

691. praecipitare latens fatum: the third leg, as it were, to the tag "ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt", Sen. Ep. 107.11. When Seneca talks in this way he means suicide: cf. Her.F. 867, "quid iuuat durum properare fatum"; Ep. 58.34; see M. Griffin, Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics 1976 373f.. Lucan refers in this way to men's desire to speed up what is inevitable: "dira subit rabies: sua quisque ac publica fata/ praecipitare cupit", 7.51f..

691-693. The traditions about the diplomatic toing-and-froing over Saguntum are very confused. It seems tolerably certain that there were two principal embassies sent out from Rome: the first, in late 220, *before* Saguntum had been attacked, went to see Hannibal in New Carthage, and then went on to Carthage when Hannibal proved insufficiently submissive; the second, in spring 218, *after* the fall of Saguntum, went to Carthage and there declared war: see Lazenby 26f.. In the alternative, annalistic tradition which we have seen Silius following in the Fabius/ Lentulus debate (675-694n.), the first embassy is sent *after* Saguntum has been attacked; cf. Liv. 21.6.5-8, 9.3; Zonaras 8.21; App. *Hisp.* 11; see Walbank on Polyb. 3.15.2. So much warrant Silius had for the version he follows here, whereby his embassy goes off to remonstrate with Hannibal once the siege has begun. As an epic poet, however, he can go even further, in the interests of conciseness and drama. He blends the historians' two embassies into one, and gives his one embassy the additional task of carrying on to Carthage to declare war if Hannibal proves recalcitrant. This task they carry out in Book 2 (270ff.). Silius' expedient is not only effective for the organisation of his material: it is also satisfyingly exculpatory, removing with one gesture the unedifying spectacle of Roman dithering which the historians' version inevitably provided.

692f. *si perstet surdus in armis/pactorum*: the striking hyperbaton of "pactorum" is meant to reinforce the new expression of the "silent leges inter arma" conceit (Cic. *Mil.* 10): cf. Luc. 1.277, "at postquam leges bello siluere coactae"; Plu. *Mar.* 28.3, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦ νόμου διὰ τὸν τῶν ὅπλων ψόφον οὐ κατακούσειεν; V. Max. 5.2.8, "inter armorum strepitum uerba se iuris ciuilis exaudire non potuisse" (these last two refer to Marius' comment on enfranchising the Camertes).

"surdus pactorum" is a bold expression in itself, let alone the hyperbaton and enjambement: I find only two other examples of "surdus" with the genitive, one of them again in Silius, "uotorum haud surde meorum", 10.553; the other is Col. 3.10.18, "surdis ueritatis."

694. diuum oblitis: at this climactic position, we are strongly reminded of the Carthaginians' impiety, and hence of the justice of Rome's cause. The words look back to the exordium: "sacri...perfida pacti/ gens Cadmea", 5f., "ter Marte sinistro iuratumque Ioui foedus conuentaque patrum/ Sidonii fregere duces", 8-10.

indicere bella: Silius characteristically forbears from using the exact phrase, "indicere bellum", T.L.L. 2.1837. 50-62.

Excursus 1. The Structure of The Punica.

> "The Paradise Lost is an Epic, or a Narrative Poem; he that looks for an Hero in it, searches for that which Milton never intended."
>
> Addison, Spectator no. 297, 9 Feb. 1712.

Silius' task was to describe a war which lasted from Hannibal's attack on Saguntum in April/May 219 to Scipio's triumph in Rome in 201, which involved the whole Western Mediterranean, which had for Roman protagonists a mighty host of names and a not insignificant group besides Hannibal for Carthaginian. Where in all this was he to find cohesion of narrative? The baldest linear arrangement of events would demand incessant changes of scene, and continual retrogressions in time would be unavoidable even in a rigidly annalistic framework. Such chopping and changing is bearable in a history, but it could not easily be reconciled with the very different demands of epic. Simply marshalling and retaining control of his material was one of Silius' greatest problems, and it is surprising how well he coped with it.

Many of those who have written on Silius have concerned themselves with the problem of unity, one aspect of the larger question of organisation. Amidst the enormous press of characters and events they have searched for the man, the men or the theme which might serve as a focus, a centre-peg for the poem. Debate has centred especially on the alluring figure of the "hero",[1] as, indeed, has happened in the case of those other Silver Latin epics which do not have one central character, or whose central character is considered inadequate.[1] The appeal of this useful personage is well expressed by, for example, M. Wallace: "In order to unify the poem, Silius sought one central character. This is, of course, Hannibal, who may be considered to be the unifying force demanded by the canons of epic poetry."[2]

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[1] See Bassett 258 for a summary of the various views.

We may begin the discussion of the epic hero by observing that Greek and Roman critics had no such word to use: Silius, or any other epic poet, was unable to ask himself, "Who is the hero of my poem?" When Plato wanted to say (as we would put it) that Achilles and Odysseus were the "heroes" of the Iliad and Odyssey, he was reduced to periphrasis: ἑκάτερον γὰρ τούτων (sc.τῶν ποιημάτων) τὸ μὲν εἰϲ Ὀδυϲϲέα ἔφη πεποιῆϲθαι, τὸ δ' εἰϲ Ἀχιλλέα, Hipp. Min. 363 B. Even here the connotations are un-English, for Plato's expression is coloured by the encomiastic purpose that he and others attributed to epic, so that M. Croiset in the Budé translates πεποιῆϲθαι εἰϲ as "composé en l'honneur de". Compare Protagoras' observation that the works of the good old epics contain πολλαὶ δὲ διέξοδοι καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, Pl. Prot. 326 A: see further Koster 114f.; D.W. Black, PVS VIII 1968-1969 41ff..

Now, there were ancient poets, and presumably critics, who sought unity via one individual: such were those singled out by Aristotle, ὅϲοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακληίδα Θηϲηίδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκαϲιν. οἴονται γάρ, ἐπεὶ εἷϲ ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆϲ, ἕνα καὶ τὸν μῦθον εἶναι προϲήκειν, Poet. 1451 a 20-22. Statius' Achilleid is only the most modern example for Silius; but note that such poems are βίοι, not pieces of action centred around a "hero". Aristotle's objections to these men are central to our argument: μῦθοϲ δ' ἐϲτὶν εἷϲ οὐχ ὥϲπερ τινεϲ οἴονται ἐὰν περὶ ἕνα ᾖ· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἑνὶ ϲυμβαίνει, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων οὐδέν ἐϲτιν ἕν· οὕτωϲ δὲ καὶ πράξειϲ ἑνὸϲ πολλαί εἰϲιν, ἐξ ὧν μία οὐδεμία γίνεται πρᾶξιϲ... ὁ δ' Ὅμηροϲ ...Ὀδύϲϲειαν.. ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίηϲεν ἅπαντα ὅϲα αὐτῷ ϲυνέβη, ...ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἵαν λέγομεν τὴν Ὀδύϲϲειαν ϲυνέϲτηκεν, ὁμοίωϲ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα, 1451 a 16-30. I rely on Aristotle for two reasons. Firstly, because he is right; his objections still stand, so that in our poem, for example, it means nothing to say that the many different actions of 1-12 are unified simply because Hannibal is present in most of them, just as it means nothing to say that the last part of the poem is necessarily a unity because Scipio figures often in those books. Secondly, because his insistent emphasis upon μῦθοϲ and πρᾶξιϲ can help redress the balance against the modern commentators, who ignore structure in their search for unity.

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[1] The views of F.Ahl are representative, Hermes CII 1974 305; cf. id. Lucan 150 ff..

[2] HSCPh LXII 1957 161 (from a Ph.D. précis).

Hence their complaints over Lucan's, Statius', and Silius' epics, for in none of these is there, in Ahl's words, "a hero in the conventional epic sense"[1] -- whatever that may be. In the case of Lucan, for example, the unity of the poem is felt to suffer because there is no one hero.[2] But the truth was pointed out a long time ago, by R. Getty[3] and B. Marti ;[4] as Marti says, Lucan "knew Aristotle's statement that the unity of a plot does not consist in having one man

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1. Lucan 150.

2. See Ahl's discussion, Lucan 150-156.

3. ed. Lucan Book 1, 1940, intro. xviv-xxix, "Who is the hero of the Poem?"

4. The Meaning of the Pharsalia, AJPh LXVI 1945 352-376.

as the hero but in having an action that is organically unified."[1]

Silius' declared subject is not "uirum" or ἄνδρα but "arma" (1.1), and he asks the Muse to allow him to record "quantos ... ad bella crearit / et quot Roma uiros", 1.3f.. With such a programme concentration on one man is not compatible. If his subject is "arma", then judgement of his success in achieving unity must be based on his skill in imposing some ordered pattern on the many incidents of the war. Hannibal is present from beginning to end, and figures prominently, but Silius would never have said that his poem was "about" Hannibal, or "about" any other individual. Hannibal's dominance as a character is historically true and poetically useful, but even his dominance in the first twelve books will be seen to be the result of a structural decision of Silius'. To speak of him as a "hero" (or "anti-hero") is simply irrelevant. Similarly with Scipio: the inadequacy of the whole approach becomes patent when we observe Bassett begging such a question as this: "The Punica suffers also from his decision to chronicle the Second Punic War in its entirety from the very beginning. Naturally therefore, Scipio, the hero, has no major rôle to play until late in the poem."[2]

There is no profit, then, in looking for unity via the hero: one may not assume that the figure of the hero, as we understand the word, had any ancient status; Silius' glorification of Rome's corporate effort would thereby be weakened; and those who follow the modern hero distract attention from the articulation of the narrative itself, the true source of any unity or cohesion there may be in the poem.

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1. 352.

2. 261.

A second distraction is "theme". Here too the hero may intrude, causing von Albrecht, for example, to make a blend of the two, much as H.C. Nutting did when he proposed Libertas as the heroine of Lucan's epic.[1] Von Albrecht declares, "'Held' der Epen des Ennius und Naevius ist Rom, und so ist es auch bei Silius, nur dass der Aspekt, unter dem Roms Männer sich bewähren, noch präzister erfasst wird: es ist nicht Rom schlechthin, sondern die römische Fides, die in ihnen Gestalt gewinnt."[2] Viewed from the standpoint either of modern or ancient criticism, this means about as much as saying that Achilles is a theme in the *Iliad.*

The cause of theme has been furthest advanced by D. Vessey, who scorns all mention of πρᾶξις and begs the question of where to turn to if the characters fail us: "In the case of Lucan and Statius (and, to a lesser degree, Silius), the overriding unity is that of theme... Integration of narrative is achieved more by the philosophical and psychological basis on which the epic is built *than by the characters themselves.*"[3] I am not sure quite what Vessey means, but on the face of it, it seems unlikely that different episodes could be considered "integrated" in any helpful sense merely because the author adopts a similar stance in representing them: in what way does such a definition not embrace even different works by the same author in the same genre?

Vessey rightly calls attention to the episodic nature of epic: "Its basis is expansive, it scope almost unlimited. It is not bound, like tragedy, within relatively narrow and predetermined confines, for it can range freely over an extensive terrain."[1] But the Aristotelian authority to which Vessey appeals can give no support to his view of epic as a series of episodes whose unity "cannot quickly be apprehended", coming as it does from some single "philosophical and psychological basis."[2] Aristotle concedes that, in comparison to tragedy, ἧττον ἡ μία μίμηϲιϲ ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν, Poet. 1462 b 3f.; and he will allow of numerous accretions: λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐὰν ἐκ πλειόνων πράξεων ᾖ ϲυγκειμένη, ὥϲπερ ἡ Ἰλιὰϲ ἔχει πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη καὶ ἡ Ὀδύϲϲεια ἃ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔχει μέγεθοϲ, 1462 b 7-10. But we must not be distracted from the words immediately following: καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ ποιήματα ϲυνέϲτηκεν ὡϲ ἐνδέχεται ἄριϲτα καὶ ὅτι μάλιϲτα μίαϲ πράξεωϲ μίμηϲιϲ, 1462 b 10f..[3]

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[1] AJPh LIII 1932 41-52.

[2] 55.

[3] 57 (my emphasis); Williams 1978 249, in similar vein, speaks of the *Bellum Civile's* "emotional unity".

That ὅτι μάλιϲτα is important, and especially important in a poem on war, as all historical epics were; for, as Aristotle says when attacking historical-type epics, (δεῖ) μὴ ὁμοίαϲ ἱϲτορίαιϲ τὰϲ ϲυνθέϲειϲ εἶναι, ἐν αἷϲ ἀνάγκη οὐχὶ μιᾶϲ πράξεωϲ ποιεῖϲθαι δήλωϲιν ἀλλ' ἑνὸϲ χρόνου, ὅϲα ἐν τούτῳ ϲυνέβη περὶ ἕνα ἢ πλείουϲ, ὧν ἕκαϲτον ὡϲ ἔτυχεν ἔχει πρὸϲ ἄλληλα, 1459 a 21-24. There is no necessary rational connection or unity in the events of seventeen years, but certainly it is here, with πρᾶξις, not with hero or theme, that we should at least begin the search for cohesion. Nor is unity the whole problem, for we will need to examine how Silius coped with the very difficult problem of simply packaging his material in a controllable form, not in a bristly and formidable concatenation of facts.

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[1] 55

[2] ibid.

[3] Cf. his remarks on epic plots at 1459 a 18-20, δεῖ τοὺϲ μύθουϲ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖϲ τραγῳδίαιϲ ϲυνιϲτάναι δραματικοὺϲ καὶ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν ἔχουϲαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέϲα (note the plural) καὶ τέλοϲ.

We face at the outset an important problem, central to the question of the structure of the poem. At 17.290 Venus quells the storm that strikes Hannibal during his retreat from Italy to Africa. Immediately in the next line, 291, we read of the armies advancing into battle at Zama: "obuiaque aduersis propellunt agmina castris". Although Ruperti, Ernesti and Bauer defended the text, other editors and writers on the passage have assumed a lacuna. Duff's footnote on the lines is worth quoting in full, for it seems to me conclusive: "the present episode is not completed; and the following episode requires introductory matter which is lacking. There is no other instance in the poem of narrative so faulty. Further, it is known that Scipio and Hannibal met in conference before the battle; and it is inconceivable that Silius should pass over an incident so dramatic."

If there is a lacuna, then, the problem is to decide how many verses have dropped out, in particular to decide whether so much has dropped out that we must assume the existence of an eighteenth book; for elaborate theories have been built up on the supposition that Silius planned and executed a poem of eighteen, not seventeen, books. When the whole of the argument is from silence it is necessary to move carefully and to be tentative in drawing conclusions.

The events missing are the matter of Liv. 30. 24f., 29-31, namely, the breaking of the truce made after the capture of Cirta, Hannibal's landing in Africa, and the preparations for the battle of Zama, with the conference of Scipio and Hannibal as the high point. In fact, since Silius makes no mention of the sealing of the truce at the appropriate point in his narrative (17.149ff.), we may doubt that he later bothered to include its violation. We are left with what Livy described in nine pages of the O.C.T. (30. 29-31), in effect, the marching together of the two armies and the conference of the generals. M.T.V. Wallace is over-confident when he claims, "this would certainly involve too much material to be included in a single book."[1] Although, as we shall see, Silius sometimes manages remarkable expansions of Livy's narrative, the degree of elaboration required here would be difficult to parallel. Even if the hypothetical Book 18 and the truncated Book 17 were each as short as Book 11, at 611 lines the shortest of the poem, we should still be missing some 550 lines, and more probably something like 750-800, assuming the last two books to be of average length. This is a lot into which to fit three chapters of Livy.

Few would be anxious for the lacuna to be so long if it were not for the understandable feeling that seventeen is an uncomfortably prime sort of number, and if the tally of the existing books were not so tantalisingly close to that of the *Annales* of Ennius, whose eighteen books of historical epic were certainly admired and imitated by his successor.[2] The great surviving intact epics have accustomed us to thinking in terms of base four, the homeric epics, Apollonius, Vergil and Statius. By the very nature of the evidence, it is exceedingly difficult to discover the book-totals of lost epics. Early Greek epic has on show a Cypria of eleven books, an Aethiopis and a Nostoi of five, a Heraclaea of fourteen.[1] More important to Silius was the Roman historical epic tradition: he will have had before him Naevius' seven books on the First Punic War (thus divided by the grammarian Octavius Lampedio[2]), and Cicero's three books "de temporibus suis" (the total is given by Cicero, Fam. 1.9.23). Besides these two works, and the eighteen books of Ennius' Annales, we do not know of any book-totals from the lost body of Roman historical epic.

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[1] The Architecture of the *Punica*: a Hypothesis, CPh LIII 1958 101.

[2] For Silius' imitation of Ennius, see E. Wezel, *De Silii Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis*, Diss. Leipzig 1878 Chap.2.; especially L. Woodruff, *Reminiscences of Ennius in Silius Italicus*, University of Michigan Studies IV 1910 355-424.

Silius may have intended the rugged sum of his books to recall the work of his predecessors, while superimposing shape and form on the apparently intractable total. For a seventeen-book Punica has a structure even more intelligible than the hypothetical eighteen-book poem, as I hope to show in detail further on. Of some weight perhaps is the observation of G. Lorenz, that the Punica in its present form contains funeral games in its penultimate book (16. 277-591), as does the Iliad.[3]

The Ennian question is more tangled, for on the basis of a hypothetical "Ennian" eighteen-book Punica have been advanced the only attempted theories of the Punica's structure. E. Bickel,[4]

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[1] See G.L. Huxley, Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis 1969, 126, 144, 177.

[2] Schanz-Hosius 1.53.

[3] Vergleichende Interpretationen zu Silius Italicus and Statius Diss. Kiel 1968 231.

[4] De Silii Punicorum libris VII ss. post Domitanum abolitum editis, RhM LXVI 1911 500-512.

J. Martin[1] and M.T.V. Wallace[2] base a good deal of their analysis upon an apparent hexadic structure, and Wallace and Bickel at least appeal to such a structure in Ennius for support. But already in 1905 F. Skutsch had cast serious doubt on the hypothesis of a hexadic organisation of Ennius' Annales,[3] and indeed disparaged any attempt to find architecture there: "Einen kunstvollen Gesamtplan kann man schon der annalistischen Abfolge wegen für das grosse Epos kaum vorassetzen."[4] O. Skutsch lends his weight against the hexads, especially in his suggestion that the epic was originally planned to end with the fifteenth book.[5]

If hexadic analyses of the Punica cannot rely on Ennius as a paradigm, they are vulnerable on other points. Bickel's theory, adopted by Martin, Wallace, and Schanz-Hosius,[6] will have it that Books 1-6 were composed during the life of the Emperor Domitian, since the goddess Minerva, especially favoured by the ruler, only begins to play an anti-Roman rôle after Book 6. The theory has been sufficiently refuted by E. Wistrand.[7] Martin has produced the most elaborate hexadic plan, although, oddly, he makes no mention of the lacuna in 17.[8]

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[1] Die Punica des Silius, Würzb. Jahrb. Alt. 1 1946 163-165.

[2] art. cit. p.361 n.1.

[3] RE 5.2610.

[4] ibid., 2604.

[5] 19f.

[6] 2.528.

[7] Die Chronologie der Punica des Silius Italicus, Acta Univ. Gothob. LXII. 9, 1956.

[8] Like Bickel, Martin attributes the present seventeen books to Silius' own decision: "Eher ist anzunehmen, dass Silius des fortgeschrittenen Alters wegen den ursprünglichen Plan von 18 Büchern aufgegeben und den Stoff der letzten Ereignisse knapp zusammengedrängt hat", 165.

The schema (4+1+1, 1+4+1, 1+1+4) is Procrustean and unconvincing: Book 11, the revolt of Capua, is included in the four-book "battle of Cannae" section; Book 5, the battle of Trasimene, is not included in the initial four-book "Hannibal" section. The "correspondences" and "contrasts" of Wallace's plan will command even less confidence: one example of his pattern-finding must suffice; "Book 6, which contains a long digression concerning Regulus, is actually parallel to Book 16, which contains the description of the funeral games. Book 7, in which Fabius Maximus is prominent, corresponds roughly to Book 15, which narrates the exploits of Scipio in Spain, but which closes with the battle of the Metaurus. Books 6 and 7 are therefore related to Books 16 and 15 in a chiastic arrangement."[1]

If these particular plans are unsatisfactory, the choice between a seventeen-book or eighteen-book Punica is not thereby automatically decided. It remains a matter of seeing whether the structure of the poem as it now stands is satisfactory and intelligible. Only if it is not will it be necessary to fall back upon the eighteen-book hypothesis, and to find ways of coping with the prime difficulty of assuming that Silius made something like 800 lines out of three chapters of Livy. Book 17 could have been 241 lines longer before it became the longest book in the poem.

Looking at the great mass of the Punica we have the same impression of being swamped that Silius must have had when he contemplated the sweep of the poem's action. He needed to organise the material into some sort of shape, and his principal initial preoccupation will have

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1. art. cit. p.361, n.1, 101.

been with the difficulty remarked upon by C.W. Mendell, that the greatest obstacle preventing the war being a successful epic subject was that "it did not centre around any single dramatic achievement."[1] In fact, Silius did his best to make his poem centre around a single dramatic achievement, which he represents as the peak of Roman glory. His attempt becomes clear when one examines his varying expansion and compression of Livy's narrative, and his shaping of it around a middle block of three books.

The high tide of Hannibal's success is generally considered to be the battle of Cannae, fought on August 2, 216, when he obliterated two consular armies by the banks of the Aufidus. This impression is not strictly true: as Lazenby points out, "the years that followed were to be years of continued success, and the real turning point only came in 212-211."[2] Lazenby refers to the Roman recapture of the two great rebellious cities, Syracuse and Capua, events which came half-way through the war, and which frame the centre of Livy's decade: Syracuse falls at 25.31, nine chapters before the end of the book, and Capua at 26.16.

The dramatic significance of Cannae remains, if not the military. The impression we retain is of two years of terrific activity culminating at Cannae, followed by a long and remorseless wearing away. To the historian, naturally, the wearing away is as important as the initial onrush, even if less glamorous. Polybius devotes twelve of his fifteen books on the war to events after Cannae, Livy eight of his ten; the Cambridge Ancient History takes eighty-one of its

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1. Silius the Reactionary, Ph Q 111 1924 97.

2. 86.

one hundred and twelve pages on the war to cover the ground. But Silius decided to cut himself off from the historians here, and to carry off the paradoxical effect of making Hannibal's high-point the centre of his poem on Rome's supreme moment of glory and worth.

With build-up, action and aftermath, the battle of Cannae occupies a greatly disproportionate amount of Silius' poem: three books in all, from the beginning of 8, when Juno starts events moving with Anna's mission to Hannibal, to the end of 10, when Rome's reaction to the disaster is described. With seven books before and after, these three hold the centre of the poem. The structural kernel of the poem is in fact expressed in Juno's prophetic list of victories (1. 42-54), inasmuch as Hannibal is raised up to harry the Romans to the limit Fate allows, with the peak at Cannae, and is then pressed back.[1] This clear and simple device for superimposing a unified pattern is valuable for the expression of theme also. Dunkirks are often remembered over victories; as Livy said of the Roman response to Cannae, "nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset", 22.54.10. Silius similarly makes Rome's fortitude at the time of the disastrous battle the highest proof of her greatness; to this design he subjoins his consistent pessimism concerning the deterioration of the Roman nation: "haec tum Roma fuit: post te cui uertere mores/ si stabat fatis, potius, Carthago maneres", 10.657f.. In the centre of the central book, just before the battle begins, we read, "uerum utinam posthac animo, Romane, secunda/ quanto tunc aduersa, feras. satque hactenus, oro,/ nec libeat tentare deis, an Troia proles/ par bellum tolerare queat. tuque, anxia fati,/ pone, precor, lacrimas et adora uulnera, laudes/ perpetuas paritura tibi; nam tempore, Roma,/ nullo maior eris;

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[1] See Commentary 42-54n. for the sturctural significance of this speech.

mox sic labere secundis,/ ut sola cladum tuearis nomina fama", 9. 346-354.

The central book itself, Book 9, neatly but vividly illustrates Silius' theme with an example of the tight framing which he sometimes achieves. At the beginning of the book, 1-65, we have the two consuls, Paullus and Varro, presented in their typical guises: Varro is rash and impious, Paullus sensible, concerned but helpless. The pair return at the end of the book as paradigms of the two possible reactions to the disaster. In 632ff. they meet, Paullus taunts Varro, and rushes off to find glorious death. There is in fact no evidence to suggest that the two consuls met, but Silius wants their differing fates juxtaposed, for Varro, when he comes under attack in his turn, quavers and runs (656f.). These are the last lines of the book, the nadir of Roman fortune and prestige; but redemption soon comes, for the first word of the next book is "Paullus", and we are treated to 308 lines describing his aristeia and death.

Such is the simple basis of Silius' attempt at cohesion.[1] It involves him necessarily in a pattern of narration markedly different from the historians' in emphasis and arrangement; four fifths of their material becomes his half, and his other half must play out the remainder.

The principal expansion of Livy's narrative is in the central three books, built out of the twenty-seven chapters which Livy devotes to the preparations for the battle and the battle itself (22. 34-61).

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[1] The pivotal importance of Cannae is picked out by Ramaglia 38; R.B. Steele, CPh XVII 1922 323; Häussler 2. 176f.; W. Schetter, in _Das römische Epos_ ed. E. Burck, 1978 73f..

Silius can call in digressions to spin out the tale, such as the Anna story (8.25-31) and the cautionary tale of Satricus and his family (9. 66-177), while the description of the battle itself was a quite open-ended affair. In the books leading up to 8 we see a similar expansion, and in these first eleven books his arrangement is intelligent and by no means self-evident, achieving a tightness which eludes him in the more diffuse Books 12-17.

The focus here throughout is maintained, not on Hannibal, but on the events laid out in Juno's prophecy (1.42-54), the events leading up to and including the crowning mercy of Cannae. Silius excludes mention of any campaign or theatre not connected with this chain of events (there is no material on, for example, the Scipios' Spanish campaigns), but he relieves the myopic focus with shifts back and forth from Carthage and Libya, with digressions of significant reminiscence of the first war, and with various prophecies and portents.

In the first three books, up to Hannibal's arrival in Italy, it is primarily the length of Silius' battle for Saguntum which makes 2,115 lines out of what is only 37 chapters in Livy. But the difference in genre makes bearable, even effective, what a simple comparison of figures might suggest to be prolixity. Saguntum has a dominant thematic importance for Silius, since it embodies the "pietas" and "fides" which Silius will represent as the causes of Rome's eventual victory. As well, Silius has Hannibal's attack on Saguntum prefigure his attack on Italy and Rome, and he needs extra space in which to deploy this motif.[1] Saguntum is the first arena for the display of Hannibal in all his awful splendour as Rome's greatest antagonist: the dwelling on his great deeds there is not out of place.

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1. On the motif, see von Albrecht 25ff..

Silius constructs his first book in accordance with the significant rôle of Saguntum. We begin with the war's motive cause, Hannibal. And we meet him in his proper context of Carthage, whose origin and earlier history Silius fittingly, if hurriedly, sketches out. The poem begins in Carthage, and we stay there until 140, by which time we have a real impression of the cradle of the war. Saguntum occupies the middle of the book, and the outcome of Hannibal's attack is still in suspense when the scene shifts to Rome, the antithesis of the place where we were at the beginning. By the end of Book 1, then, the two antagonists have been put concretely before us, and they frame Saguntum, the cause of their collision and the embodiment of the issues at stake in their war. It is the last time for five books that the setting is Rome. Not until 6.589, after the battle of Trasimene, does Silius return to the Senate, to present, as at the end of Book 1, the solid and reassuring bulwark of Q. Fabius Maximus.

In Book 1 the reader is taken from one of the hostile cities to the other, via their flash-point; in Book 2 the scene opens and closes in Saguntum, with the centre-piece being the Senate-house of Carthage, where war is declared (270-390). Something of the same binding instinct is seen in Book 3, where Hannibal's departure from Spain and arrival in Italy are marked by the activities of a certain Bostar. As Hannibal sacrifices in Gades this Bostar is sent off to consult the oracle of Ammon (3.6-13), a mission which is presumably an invention of Silius'. At the end of the book, with Hannibal safely arrived in Italy, Bostar rejoins him and delivers his report of Ammon's reply (647-714). The device demarcates the book, makes a unity, a block out of it, and helps to establish Hannibal's journey as a self-contained portion of the action.

A number of books are made into self-sufficient units in this way. Book 5, in which the battle of Trasimene takes place, is neatly encapsulated by the dawn and dusk that mark the termini of this dark day. The sun is barely out when Flaminius' army hurries towards the trap (24-28), and the last lines of the book describe the onset of night, "finemque dedere/ caedibus infusae, subducto sole, tenebrae", 677f.. Book 7 begins with an encomium of the newly-appointed Fabius (1-73), and ends with another encomium of the same man -- this time in the mouth of Minucius (737-745), the folly of whose intransigence has been illustrated by the narrative of the book. The war in Sicily has a book to itself, in which the mighty Marcellus can shine; this self-contained Book 14 provides also a pause between Scipio's Nekyia at the end of 13 and his triumphant Spanish campaigns in 15. Begging the question of the number of books, it is possible to see such a frame in 17, which begins with one Scipio guaranteeing victory by accepting Cybele into the city (1-47), and ends with another Scipio entering the city in Bacchus-like triumph after gaining the victory promised.

Bostar's arrival at the end of 3, then, is not an isolated example of the device. It is also the first of a number of references to Hannibal's homeland and family which help bind together the progress up to the battle of Cannae. As Hannibal debouches into the North Italian plain, he meets Bostar, who has arrived from Africa to announce Ammon's heartening words, which culminate thus: "nec ponet pubes umquam Saturnia curam/ dum carpet superas in terris Hannibal auras", 711f.. At the end of Book 4, after winning the battles of Ticinus and Trebia, Hannibal is met by a delegation from Carthage, asking his permission for his son's immolation. This, like the Bostar story, may well be an invention of Silius' fancy, but it prompts an ironically enthusiastic outburst from Hannibal, who sketches out the glorious career which he covets for his son (814ff.). And, at the end of Book 6 (653ff.), in another fictitious episode, of unwonted and effective power, Hannibal is confronted with paintings of the catastrophes suffered by his motherland in the first war: his father Hamilcar is there in chains (689-691). Hannibal's progress to his great achievement is not marked by sure and repeated signs of future glory, as is, for example, the progress of Aeneas. Rather, three books end with the three generations of "Barcids", present, future and past, all being marked with implications of failure. Hannibal will achieve great things, but, we know, not victory; his son might as well never have lived; and we see his father, not arrogant and successful, as on Hannibal's shield (2.429-431), but in chains amongst the prisoners.

As far as Livy's narrative is concerned, the general theme remains the same until Book 11, a consistent expansion beyond Livy's proportions. After such comparatively leisurely progress Book 12 comes as a shock. The climax has been reached, the secession of Capua has received in Book 11 all the attention it deserves from a writer who uses the episode as a major *exemplum* of his favoured "Virtus/ Voluptas" confrontation, and now Silius must face the unpalatable consequences of putting such a war into verse. In the 752 lines of Book 12 Silius packs the crowded incidents of five years, 215-211 (to which Livy had devoted the space of 23.1-26.11), although still retaining his Italian focus; with Ennius in Sardinia (342-419) we leave Italy for the first time since Book 4, and for the only time before 14. The pace slows dramatically once more in 13, in which the only historical content is Hannibal's retreat from Rome and the fall of Capua. The bulk of the book concerns Scipio's Nekyia, into which Silius artfully inserts, through the mouths of Africanus' father and uncle, a brief sketch of the Scipios' Spanish campaigns from 218 (663-695); in this way he skirts an ungainly switching to and fro between Italy and Spain, such as a strictly annalistic construction would have forced upon him.

At the beginning of Book 14 Silius announces his intention of leaving Italy and describing the overseas theatres (1-10). Book 14 itself, a cohesive and unhurried description of Marcellus' Sicilian campaign, is bearable enough, but in 15 we are subjected to the same whirl as in 12. After the 128 lines of "Scipio in Bivio" which begin the book, Silius uses only 695 lines to dispose of the years 210-208, including Italy and Spain, along with a 33-line travelogue which is meant to pass for a history of the ten-year war against Philip of Macedon (286-319). The pace is similarly frantic for the first 114 lines of 16, containing the three years of warfare in Spain which Scipio took to establish control after Baecula.

All in Silius cuts his losses as best he can. The really solid and intractable stuff he mainly packs into 12,15 and the early part of 16. In these sections one senses Silius' despair as he gallops through the material his conscience and his genre would not allow him simply to leave out. But even these ghastly blocks are separated by the much slower tempo of 13 and 14, while it is only the central portion of 15 (286-492) which is especially remarkable for its breathless career. Once he had committed himself to such an undertaking, Silius handled it by no means feebly or stupidly. He made the most dramatic moment of the war his structural and thematic centre-point, even if he cannot lead down from it as elegantly as he leads up to it; and he comes as close as he can to doing what one wishes he had done to the extraneous matter - dropping it. But the mass is, in sum, awesome, and it leaves both poet and reader swamped.

Excursus 2. The Gods.

I. The Background.

ποίηcιc δέ ἐcτι cημαντικὸν ποίημα μίμηcιν
περιέχον θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων Posidonius.

Modern opinion will have it that Lucan did very well to discard divine apparatus from his epic,[1] and Silius is correspondingly blamed for reacting against his example. There are two principal elements in the praise or censure. The first concerns the special nature of these epics as historical epics; the modern sensibility instinctively regards it as incongruous that any work which poses as, in any sense, "historical" should involve the presence of supernatural beings directing and manipulating the affairs of real men who really existed. Such is the view put forward by Henri le Bonniec, for example, in connection with Lucan: "Le sujet moderne, pleinement historique, dépourvu de tout 'aura' légendaire, interdisait, sous peine de ridicule, toute participation directe des dieux à l'action."[2] Others concur: "The facts, even the details, of what happened would have been well known to his readers. The literary and intellectual infancy of the Roman world was long past, and with its passing, the possibility of representing familiar, historical events, in the extravagant manner of traditional epic faded;"[3] "Well aware of the intrinsic greatness of the figures in a colossal struggle, Lucan relied for his effects more on history than on romance."[1] Similar preconceptions lie behind criticisms of Silius, even though he was writing of a remote and more shadowy past: "It is one of the incongruities of Silius' poem that events known as historical facts should be interpreted so simply as the result of divine machinations";[2] "l'adaption du merveilleux traditionnel à une épopée historique aboutit à dépouiller précisément l'histoire de sa vraie grandeur".[3]

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[1] So Henri le Bonniec, for example, in "Lucain et la réligion" FH XV 1970 166: "il a donc sagement renoncé à une affabulation qui n'eût été que froide convention." For bibliography on Lucan's divine apparatus, see, most conveniently, Häussler 2.96f., nn. 89f..

[2] loc. cit., ibid..

[3] Ahl Lucan 69.

The second ground of contention is the more general one of the aesthetic or poetic success of the divine action. The divine apparatus is regarded as an anachronism, virtually bound to fail. Thus D.J. Campbell, in his Oxford Classical Dictionary article on Silius, speaks of him "clinging to a mythological scheme and the outworn epic machinery". To others Silius' gods are "artificiel",[4] "cardboard".[5] On the rare occasions when scholars attempt to pin down the actual reasons for the failure of the divine apparatus in the *Punica*, it is to Silius' lack of conviction that they turn: "gli manca l'ἐνθουϲιαϲμόϲ che aveva dettato i versi di Virgilio, perche il suo spirito non aderisce alla materia trattata";[6] "Das nur Nachgebaute, dem die Seele gläubigen Erlebens fehlt, ist zum Misslingen verurteilt, selbst wenn keine groben

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[1] J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome: Silver Age*^{3}, ed. A.M. Duff, 1964 254.

[2] A.J. Gossage, in *Virgil*, ed. D.R. Dudley 1969 77.

[3] Silius Budé ed. intro. lxviii; similar complaints from Duff: "he makes gods interfere where a historian would investigate causes and motives", op.cit. n.1 above, 369.

[4] Silius Budé ed. intro. lxviii.

[5] R.G. Austin, ed. Vergil *Aeneid* 2 235.

[6] Ramaglia 35.

Kunstfehler unterlaufen".[1] The other side of this coin is seen in the writings of such scholars as P. Boyancé, who attributes the success of Vergil's divine machinery to the religious emotion behind the conception.[2]

To begin with the first point, that of the historical nature of the poems. The modern criticisms of divine action in historical epics are interestingly highlighted by comparison with the opinions and practice of the ancient poets and critics. If Lucan is praised by moderns the more closely he approximates to the office of historian, the reverse is true of the ancient critics, for whom (to anticipate) the desideratum was a transformation of historical events into epic, rather than an historical treatment of events in a verse form: "non enim res gestae uersibus comprehendendae sunt," as Eumolpus put it;[3] "it's not just a matter of packaging history in verse form". The question may be looked at from two rather different points of view: defensively, that poetry may be excused for containing matter which would be out of place in history; positively, that poetry has an actual obligation to treat events, even historical events, in its own distinctive and independent manner.

As early as Hesiod the Muses had claimed ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,/ ἴδμεν δ'εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι, *Th.* 27f..[4] In the case of narrative epic, we find Herodotus stating with equanimity Homer's right to suppress the true story of Helen

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1. Häussler 2.210.
2. *La Réligion de Virgile* 1963 esp. 37ff..
3. Petr. 118.
4. Kroll begins his very useful discussion here, 44ff..

because it was not ὁμοίωϲ ἐϲ τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴϲ .... τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήϲατο, 2.116.1. Aristotle attempted a more sophisticated formulation of the difference between history and poetry,[1] but the blunter view of "poetic licence" prevailed. Thus Polybius claims that discrepancies between Homer and contemporary geography can be explained away by "changes in the course of time" (μεταβολαί), "ignorance" (ἄγνοια), or else ποιητικὴ ἐξουϲία, ἣ ϲυνέϲτηκεν ἐξ ἱϲτορίαϲ καὶ διαθέϲεωϲ καὶ μύθου, 34.4.1 (quoted by Strabo, 1.2.17). Such language is part of a constant tradition of criticism. Servius defines the Aeneid as "heroicum", "quod constat ex diuinis humanisque personis continens uera cum fictis" (Thilo-Hagen 1.4; cf. Horace's description of Homer's method: "atque ita mentitur, sic ueris falsa remiscet,..." etc., Ars 150); ἔϲτι δὲ ποιητικὴ ἀπαγγελία πραγμάτων δία μέτρων καὶ ῥυθμῶν μετά τινοϲ καταϲκευῆϲ, τὸ μυθῶδεϲ, μετὰ καὶ τόυ ἀληθοῦϲ ἐνίοτε ϲυμπεπλεγμένου μετὰ καὶ ἱϲτορίαϲ, ἐν ποιᾷ λέξει περιέχουϲα, Schol. Dion. Thr., GG 1. 3 p.449, 21ff. Hilg.[2]

The relevance of such an approach for the defence of divine action in historical epic is obvious. We are fortunate in having a discussion on the problem surviving from a practitioner. At the beginning of the De Legibus Cicero, his brother and Atticus spend a short time on the question of Cicero's poem "Marius", an epic in celebration of C. Marius of Arpinum, of which survive one line in isolation (Leg. 1.2) and an extended piece of thirteen lines (Div. 1.106). Atticus points out that various people expect "ueritas" in this case, "quod et in recenti memoria et in Arpinati homine uersere" (1.4; it is plain from the context that the supernatural element is at issue). Cicero replies by accusing such people of lack of critical sense: "faciunt imperite, qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta, sed ut a teste ueritatem exigant; nec dubito quin idem et cum Egeria conlocutum Numam et ab aquila Tarquinio apicem inpositum putent" (ibid.). Quintus then provides the feed for Cicero to sum up: "Q. 'Intellego te, frater, alias in historia leges obseruandas putare, alias in poemate.' M. 'Quippe, cum in illa omnia ad ueritatem, Quinte, referantur, in hoc ad delectationem pleraque'", 1.5. The formulation is an old one, going back at least to the fifth century, where in the Dissoi Logoi we find it stated that τοὶ ποιηταὶ οὐ ποτὶ ἀλάθειαν ἀλλὰ ποτὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ποιήματα ποιέοντι, (VS 90.3.17);[1] it is captured as neat truism by Ovid: "exit in immensum fecunda licentia uatum,/ obligat historica nec sua uerba fide", Am. 3.13. 41f.[2]

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[1] Poet. 1451 b.

[2] See further Koster 13ff., Häussler 2.212-231.

Cicero, then, feels no compunction in defending his use of a mythological element by appeals to an established critical tradition; and this even when he is engaged "in recenti memoria et in Arpinati homine". But so far only the negative side has been represented; it is time to follow the critics as they move onto the offensive, analysing the rôle and vindicating the worth of the divine element in epic.

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[1] See further Koster 22ff., Häussler 2.31ff..

[2] In the same poem Ovid appears to echo Cicero's words against those "qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta, sed ut a teste ueritatem exigant", Leg. 1.4: "nec tamen ut testes mos est audire poetas", 19. This seems to have been a bit of critical jargon: cf. Petr. 118, where Eumolpus contrasts the passionate impulse of poetry to "religiosae orationis sub testibus fides". For further references to the conflict between "history/truth, poetry/untruth", see Häussler 2.241 ff., Kroll 52ff., 60f..

Homer himself affords something of a definition of epic, when he had Penelope address her bard thus: Φήμιε! πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδαϲ, / ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουϲιν ἀοιδοί, *Od.* 1.337f.;[1] and it was always recognised that a divine element formed an integral part of the genre. Socrates defines Homer's subject matter in this way: περὶ πολέμου τε τὰ πολλὰ διελήλυθεν καὶ περὶ ὁμιλιῶν πρὸϲ ἀλλήλουϲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ δημιουργῶν, καὶ περὶ θεῶν πρὸϲ ἀλλήλουϲ καὶ πρὸϲ ἀνθρώπουϲ ὁμιλούντων ὡϲ ὁμιλοῦϲι, καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων παθημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου, καὶ γενέϲειϲ καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, *Ion*. 531c. In the hands of the critics and scholars the formulation settled down into ready shape: ποίηϲιϲ δέ ἐϲτι ϲημαντικὸν ποίημα μίμηϲιν περιέχον θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων, Posidonius, fr.44 Edelstein and Kidd; ἔποϲ ἐϲτιν περιοχὴ θείων τε καὶ ἡρωϊκῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, Gramm. Lat. 1.484. 1f. Keil; "Est autem heroicum quod constat ex diuinis humanisque personis continens uera cum fictis", Serv., *A*. pr., 1.4 Thilo-Hagen.[2]

In the case of historical epic this is no less true: indeed, historical epic is in the mainstream here for the very reason that Homer's epics themselves were regarded as having, at least, an historical kernel.[1] Hence the critical attitudes formulated to deal with the admixture of the supernatural in Homer could be brought to bear on epics of a more overtly historical, even contemporary nature.

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[1] Theocritus turns the definition on its head at the beginning of *Id*. 16, 1-4, Αἰεὶ τοῦτο Διὸϲ κούραιϲ μέλει, αἰὲν ἀοιδοῖϲ, / ὑμνεῖν ἀθανάτουϲ, ὑμνεῖν ἀγαθῶν κλέα ἀνδρῶν. / Μοῖϲαι μὲν θεαὶ ἐντί, θεοὺϲ θεαὶ ἀείδοντι· / ἄμμεϲ δὲ βροτοὶ οἵδε, βροτοὺϲ βροτοὶ ἀείδωμεν.

[2] See further Häussler 2. 226 ff., Koster 86 ff.

Homer was thought to have used the divine as a way of embellishing what was, essentially, historical fact. Thus Polybius, in the passage already mentioned above (p.376), refers to Homer's ποιητικὴ ἐξουϲία, breaks this down into ἱϲτορία, διάθεϲιϲ and μῦθοϲ, and defines the constituent parts as follows: τῆϲ μὲν οὖν ἱϲτορίαϲ ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλοϲ ...., τῆϲ δὲ διαθέϲεωϲ ἐνάργειαν..., μύθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἔκπληξιν.[2] Strabo also speaks of Homer using history as "raw material"[3] for poetry: ὥϲτε καὶ τὴν Ὀδύϲϲειαν, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα, ἀπὸ τῶν ϲυμβάντων μεταγάγειν εἰϲ ποίηϲιν καὶ τὴν ϲυνήθη τοῖϲ ποιηταῖϲ μυθοποιίαν, 3.2.13; οὕτωϲ ἐκεῖνοϲ ταῖϲ ἀληθέϲι περιπετείαιϲ προϲεπιτίθει μῦθον, ἡδύνων καὶ κοϲμῶν τὴν φράϲιν.... οὕτω δὴ τόν τε Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον γεγονότα παραλαβὼν ἐκόϲμηϲε ταῖϲ μυθοποιίαιϲ, καὶ τὴν Ὀδυϲϲέωϲ πλάνην ὡϲαύτωϲ, 1.2.9.[4]

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[1] See especially, A.W. Gomme, The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History 1954, Chaps. 1-2. Häussler's chapter on this topic (1. 22-38) is much overstated.

[2] 34.4.1 ff.. Compare Plutarch's comment that poetry aims at pleasure rather than truth, and that nothing makes for as much pleasure in poetry as εὖ πεπλεγμένη διάθεϲιϲ μυθολογίαϲ, Quomodo ad. 16b. We will meet ἔκπληξιϲ as a justification for myth in Homer again: see below p.381 n.1.

[3] "Rohstoff", Häussler 2.242.

[4] The allegorical, rather than poetical interpretation of homeric myth is another story: bibliography in Koster, 26. The approach is summed up by Plutarch: οἱ γοῦν φιλόϲοφοι παραδείγμαϲι χρῶνται, νουθετοῦντεϲ καὶ παιδεύοντεϲ ἐξ ὑποκειμένων· οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ ταὐτὰ ποιοῦϲι πλάττοντεϲ αὐτοὶ πράγματα καὶ μυθολογοῦντεϲ, Quomodo ad. 20 b.

If myth was an essential part of the transformation of "history" into "poetry", it was likewise at home in a genre which was not thought of as aiming at a realistic representation of life in the first place.[1]

It was the polemic of Plato which first made this point, that poetry is divorced from reality even when it is closest to verisimilitude: δεῖ δὴ ἐπιϲκέψαϲθαι πότερον μιμηταῖϲ τούτοιϲ οὗτοι ἐντυχόντεϲ ἐξηπάτηνται καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντεϲ οὐκ αἰϲθάνονται τριττὰ ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ὄντοϲ καὶ ῥᾴδια ποιεῖν μὴ εἰδότι τὴν ἀλήθειαν — φαντάϲματα γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄντα ποιοῦϲιν, Rep. 598 e.[2] P. Vicaire summarises thus: "La poésie n'est pas et ne peut pas être un fac-simile, mais une sort de transposition, à un degré de réalité moins élevé".[3] Even without an appeal to the theory of forms such an objection had obvious force, and Aristotle felt compelled to answer it. First, he turns the criticism around by claiming that "the statements of the poet, so far from being inferior to statements of particulars, are more comprehensive and more philosophical";[4] such is the drift of chapter 9 of the Poetics, where he champions poetry's description of οἷα ἂν γένοιτο over history's τὰ γενόμενα. Secondly, he greatly expands the range of those things susceptible to the mimesis of the artist, from Plato's "things in the actual world of phenomena"[5] to ἢ οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔϲτιν, ἢ οἷά φαϲιν καὶ δοκεῖ, ἢ οἷα εἶναι δεῖ (Poet. 1460 b 10-11). His twenty-fifth chapter is, accordingly, a defence of poetry's right to be exempt from strict criteria of naturalism, if a violation of these criteria is in accordance with the demands of poetry: an argument summed up by αἱρετώτερον πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν, 1461 b 11f.. The demands of poetry, of course, are directed towards evoking pity and fear (1449 b 27), and Aristotle specifically rates epic above tragedy in its greater capacity to effect surprise, the best source of pity and fear (1452 a 1-11). Epic's advantage here is precisely its greater tolerance of the irrational: μᾶλλον δ' ἐνδέχεται ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ τὸ ἄλογον, δι' ὃ ϲυμβαίνει μάλιϲτα τὸ θαυμαϲτόν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶν εἰϲ τὸν πράττοντα, 1460 a 12-14; ἀδύνατα πεποίηται, ἡμάρτηται· ἀλλ' ὀρθῶϲ ἔχει, εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλουϲ τοῦ αὑτῆϲ (sc. τῆϲ ποιηϲέωϲ)..., εἰ οὕτωϲ ἐκπληκτιώτερον ἢ αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλο ποιεῖ μέροϲ. παράδειγμα ἡ τοῦ Ἕκτοροϲ δίωξιϲ, 1460 b 23f.[1]

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[1] Kroll 47 ff. has a valuable account of epic's essentially "non-mimetic" nature.

[2] For discussions of Plato's views on the subject, see P. Vicaire, Platon Critique Littéraire 1960 197 f., 223 f.; G. Grube, The Greek and Roman Critics, 1965 51ff.

[3] Op.cit., 224.

[4] From M. Hubbard's introduction to her translation of the Poetics, in Ancient Literary Criticism, ed. D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, 1972 88.

[5] So put by Grube, op.cit., n.2 above, 51.

In Aristotle's view, then, epic is more accommodating of τὸ ἄλογον than tragedy, precisely because it is less mimetic: we are not sitting and watching the events in epic; they are further removed from reality.

Such an approach was too promising to lie fallow, and the ideas were soon taken up and elaborated upon.[2] Perhaps Theophrastus,

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[1] We are reminded of Polybius' defence of Homer's myth (cited above, p.379), that its τέλοϲ was ἡδονὴ καὶ ἔκπληξιϲ : cf. Plut. Quomodo ad. 25d.

[2] Häussler's section 6(a), "Wahr, wahrscheinlich, unwahr (scheinlich): zur Entwicklung einer poetologischen Trias und ihres Verhältnisses zum Epos" (2.212-231) is an involved and often perverse exposition of some of the matters that concern us here. See Kroll 47ff..

Aristotle's pupil, was the first actually to fix the triad that became canonical[1] - ἱϲτορία, πλάϲμα, μῦθοϲ (in Latin, "historia", "argumentum", "fabula") - where each member is increasingly distant from τὸ ἀληθέϲ. Homer, the master, was praised for combining all three; as well as history, he combined narrative that was μιμητικὸϲ τοῦ ἀληθοῦϲ (like the πλάϲμα of comedy, as Kroll points out, p.47); and ὁ καθ᾽ ὑπέρθεϲιν ἀληθείαϲ καὶ φανταϲίαν, Κύκλωπεϲ, Λαιϲτρύγονεϲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ περὶ θεῶν.[2] Now, epic remained something of a special case if it was built on an historical foundation, but, in general, the genre was regarded, together with tragedy, as being furthest removed from reality. Quintilian affords a typical formulation: "narrationum ....tris accepimus species, fabulam, quae uersatur in tragoediis atque carminibus non a ueritate modo sed etiam a forma ueritatis remota, argumentum, quod falsum sed uero simile comoediae fingunt, historiam, in qua est gestae rei expositio", 2.4.2.[3] Epic, in other words, was not intended or interpreted as a naturalistic representation of events; not even historical epic; we think of Cicero's words about his own historical epic; "faciunt imperite qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta sed ut a teste ueritatem exigant", *Leg.* 1. 4. In the light of these ancient presuppositions about epic mimesis, the modern objections cited in the introduction lose much of their force.[4] We

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1. So A. Rostagni, St. It. 11 1922 119.

2. Schol. T. *Il.* 14. 342-351; praise of realism, e.g. 5.370, 6. 647, 13.211. Cf. 2.478 f., γραφεῖϲ μὲν τὸ ἀληθὲϲ μεταδιώκουϲι, τραγικοὶ δὲ τὸ ϲεμνότερον, κωμικοὶ δὲ τὸ ἔλαϲϲον, ὅπερ ἅπαντα παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐϲτι.

3. Cf. (Cic.) *Rhet. Her.* 1.13, Cic. *Inv.* 1.27 (here he quotes a line from Ennius as an example of "historia"), Serv. *A.* 1.235. See Russell on [Longinus] *Subl.* 9.15.

4. I refer to the comments of the Budé editors and Duff, cited p.374 n.3.

approach the problem from the wrong end if we regard the divine machinery as depriving the events of their grandeur or reality, or if we assume that the poets would have done better to let the facts speak for themselves.[1] It is salutary to remember that the most overt homeric fantasising in the *Aeneid* comes at the description of the most significant event of contemporary history upon which the poem touches - the battle of Actium (8.675 ff.). Admittedly, the passage is not narration, but the description of a work of art; still, the point remains that Vergil did not feel that he was demeaning the human agents or belittling their actions by transfiguring the battle into a clash of divinities.

Epic as a genre which does not aim for naturalism but for something higher; epic as a genre which transmutes reality, history, τὸ ἀληθές into poetry by means of, inter alia, myth: this is the critical background to keep in mind as we come to Eumolpus' pronouncements in the *Satyricon*.[2] It is important to realise that Eumolpus is not denying that history is a proper subject for epic, as many modern commentators take him to be saying: "Von Eumolp war Lucan abgelehnt worden, weil er 'res gestae' in Versen, statt 'fabulosa' gab".[1] If he had thought so, he would not have produced his own version of how to do it. When Eumolpus says "non enim res gestae uersibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt" (118), he means that the writing of epic based on history is feasible, but that it is not just a matter of packaging historical events into verse form. His objection is precisely that made by Aristotle: ὁ γὰρ ἱϲτορικὸϲ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴϲ οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουϲιν (εἴη γὰρ ἂν τὰ Ἡροδότου εἰϲ μέτρα τεθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἂν εἴη ἱϲτορία τιϲ μετὰ μέτρου ἢ ἄνευ μέτρων), Poet. 1451 b 1-4. This, rather, is the way to do it: "sed per ambages deorumque ministeria et † fabulosum sententiarum tormentum † praecipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi uaticinatio appareat quam religiosae orationis sub testibus fides" (ib.).

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[1] As so often, one gets the impression that the irritation felt by many critics over the divine machinery in historical epic is in fact the same feeling they have in the case of "mythological" epic as well. G. Kirk, for example, shows well how, for us moderns, the "human interest" suffers as soon as the gods appear: "The close support and constant intervention of the gods...seems once again to weaken the dramatic force of much of the action - if modern standards are applied" (*The Songs of Homer*, 1962 378: very similar remarks, 379).

[2] Recent bibliography on the section at Häussler, 2. 112f., nn.14-17. Despite the value of many studies (particularly E. Sanford, Lucan and his Roman Critics, CPh XXVI 1931 233 ff.), Koster's is the only one which attempts to put the Satyricon piece into the tradition that formed it, rather than regarding it as the beginning of a specifically anti-Lucan thread of criticism (139 ff.).

There is nothing terribly novel in the prescription: even the image of the witnesses is owed to Cicero ("non ut a poeta, sed ut a teste ueritatem exigant", Leg. 1.4) or Ovid ("nec tamen ut testes mos est audire poetas", Am. 3. 12.19).[2] Essentially, the point is the use of τὸ μυθῶδεϲ to transform τὸ ἀληθέϲ into ἡ ποίηϲιϲ, the same transformation which we saw the Greek critics discussing above, and which later Latin critics similarly isolated as the reason why Lucan's poem was not a real epic. So Suetonius: "officium autem poetae in eo est ut ea, quae uere gesta sunt, in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conuersa transducat.[1] Unde et Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum non ponitur, quia uidetur historias composuisse, non poema".[2] Similarly Servius, who congratulates Vergil on oblique use of myth to convey an historical fact ("hoc loco per transitum tangit historiam, quam per legem artis poeticae aperte non potest ponere", *A.* 1.382), and goes on to censure Lucan by comparison: "Lucanus iamque ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia uidetur historiam composuisse, non poema" (ib.). These passages illuminate the main burden of Eumolpus' attack, which rests on "per ambages". The word has been variously interpreted: "Orakeln",[3] "such digressions on side issues as would have no place in a historic account";[4] ἐπεισόδια;[5] "complexities of plot".[6] We want rather a sense like that of O.L.D.sv.2, "applied to behaviour which indicates something obliquely".[7] P. Grimal adduces an apposite parallel for the meaning "symbole": at Liv. 1.56.9 Brutus carries a staff which is "per ambages effigiem ingenii sui",[8] "a symbol, by oblique representation, of his character".

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[1] Häussler, 2. 242. Such is the gist of M. Winterbottom's translation, for example, of the words "non enim res gestae uersibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt" (118): "Historical events are not the stuff of verses - that's much better dealt with by historians", Ancient Literary Criticism, op.cit. p.380 n.4, 299.

[2] See above, p.377 n.2.

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[1] Rather than the Ms. "transducant": see Häussler 2.239.

[2] *De Poet.* pr. 13f. Rostagni. Here see especially Sanford, art. cit. p.383 n.2, and Häussler 2.239 ff..

[3] Häussler 2.217.

[4] Grube, op.cit. p.380 n.2, 266 n.2.

[5] Koster 139.

[6] Winterbottom, loc. cit. p.384 n.1.

[7] "per ambages" conveys the same message as Servius' "per transitum", Suetonius' "in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conuersa".

[8] *La Guerre Civile de Pétrone* 1977 28.

The example of Lucan no doubt focussed the minds of the critics, but they criticised him from the standpoint of a long tradition which took for granted the presence of divine elements in historical epic, regarding them as the indispensable component that differentiated ποίηϲιϲ from ἱϲτορία.

If the theory at Silius' command led him to consider it worthwhile adopting divine machinery for his epic, he will have been even more strongly influenced by the powerful impulse of the actual practice of his predecessors.

The practice of the first poets of historical epic is in doubt, and there is considerable controversy about the divine element in pre-hellenistic historical epic.[1] K. Ziegler denied its existence categorically: "Der Götterapparat im historischen Epos ist nicht unmittelbar homerisch, sondern hellenistisch";[2] and he was forcefully supported by W. Misgeld, who denied that there had been divine machinery even in the epics of Rhianus, a younger contemporary of Apollonius Rhodius.[3] Häussler, on the other hand, believes that Homer's influence predominated with Choerilus of Samos, the inventor of the genre, and that later men followed suit.[4] In the face of such differences of opinion, on a knotty topic not directly related to our concerns, it is perhaps best to suspend judgement.

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[1] See Haussler 1.68 n.143 for bibliography.

[2] Das hellenistische Epos, 1934 (2nd ed. 1966) 28; c.f. 24ff., 67.

[3] Rhianos von Bene und das historische Epos im Hellenismus, Diss. Köln 1968, 29-30, 89ff. Earlier writers on Rhianus had assumed the existence of divine machinery: see esp. J. Kroymann, Pausanias und Rhianos, Neue Deutsche Forschungen, 1943 68ff., 125ff.

[4] 1. 60ff.

The way becomes clearer when we turn to Rome. Here, from the beginning, the national epic was historical epic, and contemporary historical epic at that. The first original Roman epic which was not an historical epic was probably the Argonautae of Varro Atacinus, written around the 50's B.C.[1] And, from the beginning, the gods figured prominently as characters in the action.[2]

Naevius' De bello Punico, in Saturnians, certainly included the gods as actors in the "archaeology",[3] and very likely in the historical portion as well,[4] while Ennius' Annales, the first Roman epic in hexameters, definitely features divine action in the historical sections as well as the more mythological early books.[5] The next poet of whom we have any information is Hostius, whose Bellum Histricum dealt with the war of 129 B.C. in at least three books.[6] A line and a half long fragment was taken by Schanz-Hosius[7] as proof of some divine role in the poem: "Dia Minerua simul, simul autem inuictus Apollo/ arquitenens Latonius", fr. 4 Morel. Bardon disagreed: "il s'agit d'une invocation qui n'implique point le 'merveilleux divin'";[8]

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[1] See Bardon 1. 368f., Schanz-Hosius 1.312.

[2] Häussler 1.92 ff., 276 ff..

[3] Häussler 1.92 ff.. See especially the conversation between Jupiter and Venus in the first book (Macr. 6.2.31).

[4] "Es ist keineswegs ausgeschlossen, dass, ähnlich wie bei Ennius, auch Naevius den Götterapparat für den historischen Teil beibehalten hat," V. Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms, Gymn. Beih. 111 1963 48; cf. 54f.. K. Buchner does not agree, Studien zur römischen Literatur VI, Wiesbaden 1967 14.

[5] See, e.g., RE 5.2606.

[6] Häussler 1.277.

[7] 1.162.

[8] 1.179 n.5.

but as Häussler points out,[1] "inuictus" is nominative, not vocative: Apollo must be doing something.

Of the practice of such shadowy figures as Furius of Antium[2] we have no knowledge; it is Cicero who next gives us something to go on. Apart from his Marius, he wrote two epics on himself, one with the self-explanatory title of de consulatu suo, the other dealing with his exile and return, entitled de temporibus suis.[3] In the first, if we are to believe Ps. Sall. in Cic. 2.3, Cicero displayed himself being admitted to the council of the gods and being taught by Minerva how to fend off the danger to Rome, while in the second there appears to have been another "concilium deorum", this time not graced with the statesman's presence.[4] Quintilian too, embarrassed for his idol, wishes that Cicero had let drop "Iouem illum a quo in concilium deorum aduocatur, et Mineruam quae artes eum edocuit: quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat", 11.1.24.

The following years saw a number of historical epics appear: little in the way of fragments survives, and we must assume that even the names of many poets are lost.[5] We are quite in the dark as to whether the gods figured in Varro Atacinus' Bellum Sequanicum, on Caesar's Gallic campaign of 58,[6] or Furius' Annales Belli Gallici,[7] or Cornelius Severus' *Bellum Siculum,*[1] or in the unknown poet in Ovid's Catalogue "quique acies Libycas Romanaque proelia dixit",[2] or Rabirius' poem containing the death of M. Antonius,[3] or Albinovanus Pedo's poem, from which we have 23 lines on Germanicus' sea-voyage in 16 A.D.[4] In the fragment found in Herculaneum of a poem "de bello Actiaco",[5] there are lines describing Atropos gloating over Cleopatra; they look like more than a façon de parler: "procul hanc occulta uidebat/ Atropos inridens inter diuersa uagantem/ consilia interitus, quam iam qua fata manerent" (55-57 Baehrens).

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[1] 1.277 n.85.

[2] Schanz-Hosius 1.162.

[3] Schanz-Hosius 1.535 ff..

[4] See Häussler 1.281; note also the lengthy account of the omens presaging Catilina's conspiracy given by the Muse Urania at Div. 1.17-22. Urania is addressing Cicero here; note 11, "te consule", etc..

[5] General overview, Schanz-Hosius 2.281 ff.

[6] Schanz-Hosius 1.312.

[7] Schanz-Hosius 1.163; Bardon 1.350.

The obscurity is even denser in the Neronian and Flavian periods.[6] We know nothing of the type or nature of the epics of Saleius Bassus, for example, or Serranus, mentioned by Quintilian (10.1.90), or Statius' eminent friend Manilius Vopiscus (*Silv.* 1.3.102) or Carus, victor at the Alban contest (Mart. 9.23, 24). But we do know of two epics written on the fighting on the Capitol in 69, one by the emperor Domitian himself,[7] the other by Statius senior. In the epicedion which the son wrote for the father, there are clear signs of the mythic content which must have formed part of the poem: "Talia dum celebras, subitam civilis Erinys / Tarpeio de monte facem Phlegraeaque mouit / proelia. sacrilegis lucent Capitolia taedis, / et Senonum furias Latiae sumpsere cohortes./ uix requies flammae necdum rogus ille deorum / siderat, excisis cum tu solacia templis / impiger et multum facibus uelocior ipsis / concinis ore pio captiuaque fulmina defles. / mirantur Latii proceres ultorque deorum / Caesar, et e medio diuum pater annuit igni," Silv. 5.3.195-204. If the schoolmaster wrote in these terms, the son of the princeps may well have done likewise.

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[1] Schanz-Hosius 2. 268f.; conceivably Quintilian's description of him as a better "uersificator" than "poeta" (10.1.89) should incline us against the possibility of a high mythic content.

[2] *Pont*. 4.16.23; Schanz-Hosius 2.271.

[3] Schanz-Hosius 2.267. But Rabirius' poem must have been very high-toned epic: "magnique Rabirius oris" (Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.5).

[4] Schanz-Hosius 2.266: 20-23, though suggestive, could still have come from a poem in which the gods were not characters: "di reuocant serumque uetant cognoscere finem/ mortales oculos: aliena quid aequora remis/ et sacras uiolamus aquas diuumque quietas/ turbamus sedes?" Bardon, however, has no grounds for claiming that "Le merveilleux humain se substitue à la mythologie" (2.71).

[5] Schanz-Hosius 2.267.. The fragment is often attributed to Rabirius; but see Kroll, RE 2R.1.28, Bardon 2.73f.

[6] "Les poètes épiques n'ont guère laissé de traces", says Bardon of the Flavian era (2.229); similarly Schanz-Hosius 2.810.

[7] Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines,* 1968 282 ff..

With such great gaps in our knowledge, there is no room for dogmatism. But what we know of the tradition inclines us to regard as most likely the hypothesis that divine presence in Roman historical epic was the norm, rather than the exception. The ancient debate about Lucan certainly makes more sense if he was swimming against, rather than with the tide.

Not only critical theory, then, but the practical example of his predecessors will have given Silius licence for retaining divine apparatus in a poem on the second Punic War. He will not, like the modern critics, have regarded divine apparatus in historical epic as inherently absurd. The gods in Silius' poem have a perfect right to be there: they must stand or fall on their own merits, and their success or failure is something which must be judged from within the poem. If they do not "work", it will be because Silius has not succeeded in making them work.

II. The Execution.

> "Die Frage, wie diese mythische Götterwelt im Gedicht darzustellen sei, ist für ihn keine Glaubens -, sondern eine Stilfrage."
>
> R. Heinze, *Ovids Elegische Erzählung.*

The very spring of the Punica's action lies in the *Aeneid*;[1] Dido's curse commits the two nations to eventual war,[2] while Jupiter prophesies the time when Carthage will attack Rome and the gods will have their battles to fight again: "adueniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus, / ..... tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit", *A.* 10. 11-14. As Delz remarks in connection with this passage, "Gerade die Götterhandlung erwuchs aus einer der Keimzellen des silianischen Epos."[3] Especially, the action is set in train on the divine plane, in the Punica as in the *Aeneid,* with the pro-Carthaginian and anti-Trojan goddess Juno.[4] Indeed, it is very likely that even before Vergil the epics of Naevius and Ennius had treated the Carthaginian wars as the work of Juno, viewed under the aspect of Juno Caelestis, the Carthaginian Tanit.[5]

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[1] "Die Punica bewusst als geschichtlicher 'Fortsetzung' oder 'Spiegelung' der Aeneis konzipiert sind", von Albrecht 168; cf. Gossage, op.cit. p.374 n.2, 75 f..

[2] *A.* 4.622 ff.; her last words, "pugnent ipsique nepotesque" (630), are recalled by Silius in his proem, "mandata nepotibus arma", 1.18. See Commentary, 17-20 n..

[3] 1969 89.

[4] von Albrecht 167 ff.; Delz 1969 88 f.; Ramaglia. On Juno in Vergil, see now especially V. Buchheit, op.cit. p.387 n.4 ; also L. Lieberg, La dea Giunone nell' Eneide di Virgilio, Atene e Roma XI 1966 145-165; Häussler 2.259 f..

[5] Häussler 2. 187-198, Buchheit 54f., 144ff.. On Juno/ Tanit, and the Roman attitudes towards her, I have found useful G.Ch-Picard, *Les Réligions de l'Afrique antique* 1954. He declares that "Tanit peut être considérée comme la forme punique de la grande déesse de la Méditerranée occidentale, et paraît plus particulièrement apparantée a l'Héra sud-italique" (65): again, "l'identité de Junon-Héra et de Caelestis-Tanit est en effet absolue; elle repose non sur de hâtifs rapprochements fondés sur les analogies extérieures des divinités.

[continued over]

Buchheit especially argues strongly that Juno's role in Aeneid 1 owes much to Naevius' Juno.[1] If the storm and divine conversation of Aeneid 1 are indeed taken from Naevius, as Macrobius says (6.2.31 = fr. 14 Strz.), then Buchheit may well be right in suggesting, "so darf man wohl annehmen, dass Venus schon bei Naevius in Juno eine Gegenspielerin und Karthago in ihr eine Helferin hatte".[2] With Ennius the case is clearer. When Vergil's Jupiter consoles Venus in Aeneid 1 with the words "quin aspera Iuno../... consilia in melius referet" (279-281), Servius comments, "quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Iuno coepit fouere Romanis". Again, on A. 12.841, Servius comments "constat bello Punico secundo exoratam Iunonem". The location of Juno's change of heart in Ennius is a matter of dispute: Vahlen puts it at a "concilium deorum" after Cannae,[3] Norden in a conversation with Jupiter at the same date,[4] while Fürstenau chooses Hannibal's appearance before the gates of Rome,[5] and Buchheit the propitiatory sacrifices of 207, described by Livy at 27.37. 7-15.[6] The last suggestion appears most plausible, considering Servius' words "placata" and "exorata", which, although not inconceivable as referring to

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......comme tant d'autres équivalences proposées par les anciens, mais sur une connaissance parfaitement exacte de la nature de l'une et de l'autre, et sur une tradition qui remonte a la constitution meme du culte de Tanit, au v^e siècle avant notre ère" (109).

[1] 54ff.; cf. Häussler 2. 196 f..

[2] 55.

[3] CLXXXIX.

[4] Ennius und Vergil 1915 168 f..

[5] De Silii Italici imitatione quae fertur Enniana, Diss. Berl. 1916, 61, 63.

[6] 144 f., esp. n.620: already suggested by Steuart 175 ff..

Jupiter's persuasion, make most sense if they refer to the success of human prayers directed to the goddess.

However that may be, a reconciled Juno inevitably implies a hostile one earlier on, though it remains quite an open question how much impetus Ennius' Juno had in beginning the wars, and how much of the action she dominated. Silius is, then, very much in the mainstream of Roman national epic in setting the enmity of Juno at the head of his poem. Vergil is his particular model.

He brings on at the beginning of the poem the goddess in a rage, anxious to defend her Carthage, speaking in a soliloquy of the slights she has suffered (Pun. 1.26ff. ~ A. 1.12ff., Pun. 1.42ff. ~ A.1.37ff.). He rounds off the action with a dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, preceding the final combat, in which the god rebukes his wife for her mischief-making (Pun. 17.350 ff., "turbasti maria ac terras" etc. ~ A.12.803f., "terris agitare uel undis / Troianos potuisti"), and declares an end to her activities (Pun. 17.356, "ad finem uentum est; claudenda est ianua belli" ~ A.12. 803, 806, "uentum ad supremum est../ ...ulterius temptare ueto"). The goddess meekly (Pun. 17.357, "supplex" ~ A. 12.807, "summisso uultu") concedes, making one request only (Pun. 17.364f., "illud te gemini per mutua pignora amoris / et soror et coniunx oro" ~ A.12. 819f., "illud te ... / pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum"). Unlike Vergil's Juno, however, - or Ennius' - ("adnuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit", A.12.841) Silius' goddess remains implacably pro- Carthaginian, and when she has saved Hannibal from death, "tunc superas Iuno sedes turbata reuisit", 17. 604.

Between the two extremes, Silius shows some signs of having attempted to use Juno as Vergil had, as the prime organising element in the construction of his poem.[1] The centre-piece of Silius' poem is the battle of Cannae, and it is Juno who sets in train the events that lead up to this climax, by sending the nymph Anna to urge Hannibal on towards the battlefield (8.25 ff.); then it is Juno who completes the action of the central portion by despatching another minor divinity, Somnus, to lay Hannibal to sleep and dissuade him from overreaching himself with a march against Rome (10. 337 ff.). The goddess fulfils a structural function again in 12, in an exchange with Jupiter which recalls that of Aeneid 12 and anticipates that of Book 17. As Hannibal approaches the walls of Rome for the third time, Jupiter warns Juno to stop him (691ff.). Her intervention at this juncture is a counterpoint to her initial intervention in 1, and marks off as finished the run of success which Hannibal has had so far.

If Silius' Juno has many affinities with Vergil's, the same is true of the figure of Jupiter.[2] Most strikingly, he appears, as in the Aeneid, addressing Venus with a consolatory speech, fortelling the eventual triumph of the Roman cause and praising the contemporary princeps (Pun. 3.557 ff. ~ A.1. 227 ff.; cf. 3.559f., "quis poenae modus aut pereundi terminus, oro / Aeneadis erit?"; A.1. 241, "quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?": Pun. 3.571f. "pelle metus... / ... Cytherea"; A. 1.257, "parce metu, Cytherea"). But the figure of Jupiter is in fact radically different in Silius,[3] and it is here that we may best begin the work of comparison; by holding Silius' creations up to the light of the Aeneid we throw into relief any imperfections in the craftsmanship.

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[1] See Buchheit 70 for a formulation of Juno's structural role in the Aeneid; the basic notion already present in V. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil^2 1966, esp. 31 ff.. But the Budé editors go too far in saying that "Silius a voulu donner à Junon un rôle identique à celui quelle assume chez Virgile", intro. lxv.

[2] Gossage, op.cit. p.374, n .2, 79.

[3] It is very odd that Gossage (loc.cit.) should claim that "there is no significant point of difference between his Jupiter and that of Virgil."

Discussion of the role of Jupiter in the Aeneid has sometimes stuck at the baulk of monotheism,[1] but despite this, a clear picture has formed of the elevating and refining process to which Vergil subjected Homer's Zeus.[2] Vergil's Jupiter is not moved by anger or lust as is Homer's Zeus, he is not a braggart or a bully; despite his guarantees of Roman success, he is remarkably non-partisan, and abstains from directly influencing the course of the battle.[3]

This remote and dignified figure underwent a transformation in the quasi-epic of Ovid, by which medium there filtered through to the Flavian epicists a god who was, if anything, closer to the Homeric Zeus than the Vergilian Jupiter. R. Heinze's contention that it was "unverkennbar Ovids Bestreben, möglichst wenig von der göttlichen Erhabenheit aufzuopfern",[4] has been systematically undermined by more recent critics, who have looked rather to Ovid's deliberate trivialising of Vergilian propriety and his lampooning of epic decorum.[1] We first meet Ovid's Jupiter in Augustan splendour on a heavenly Palatine (1.175f.): he boasts of his treatment of Lycaon (209 ff.), and ends his speech in a rant ("dicta Iouis pars uoce probant stimulosque frementi / adiciunt", 1.244f.). Quite un-Vergilian vacillation follows: he will blast the world with bolts ("iamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras", 253); no he won't - it may set fire to heaven ("sed timuit, ne forte sacer tot ab ignibus aether / conciperet flammas", 245f.). And when Jupiter approaches Apollo after the Phaethon disaster, there is no trace of Vergilian decorum in Ovid's blend of embarrassment, wheedling and bluster: "missos quoque Iuppiter ignes / excusat precibusque minas regaliter addit", 2.396f..

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[1] Thus Bailey expresses Vergil's "highest and deepest religious conviction" as a "monotheism in which Jupiter is supreme, and, like the Stoic world-god, expresses his will in the decrees of Fate", Religion in Virgil 1935 233. Cf. Pease, ed. Verg. A.4, 52.

[2] Heinze 293ff.; Büchner RE 2R. 16. 1455 ff.. W. Kühn, Die Gotterszenen bei Virgil, 1971 26, 66f..

[3] At least, he abstains until the last moment, when he destroys Turnus by sending the Dira against him (12.853f.): Juturna recognises the sign ("nec fallunt iussa superba / magnanimi Iouis", 877 f.; the epithet is magnificently ironic), and so does Turnus ("non me tua feruida terrent / dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis", 894 f.).

[4] Ovids elegische Erzählung, in Vom Geist des Römertums^3, Stuttgart 1938, 308-403.

In the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, Jupiter is definitely not comic, but he has quite lost the dispassionate calm of Vergil's god.[2] He gives a justification of the Argo's voyage in terms of Rome's mission (1.531 ff.), but the first motive of which the poet tells us is his discontent with tranquillity: "patrii neque enim probat otia regni" (1.500). He loses his temper with Juno (4.3ff.), and plays the part of a minion deity in laying to sleep his son Hercules

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[1] Heinze was first criticised by A. Rohde, *de Ovidii arte epica,* Diss. Berlin 1929, esp. p.15, n.17. Especially critical of Heinze is D. Little, Richard Heinze: Ovids elegische Erzählung, in *Ovids Amores und Ars Amatoria,* ed. E. Zinn, 1970. In a section on "Göttliche Majestät" Little remarks, "The conception of the gods which underlies these myths as Ovid relates them, has little to do with justice or sublimity. Their most god-like characteristic is that their egoism is untrammelled" (92). Cf. B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet,* 1966, 123 ff., 357 ff.; L.P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled,* 1955, 193 ff.; G.K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses,* 1975 162-173; finally E.J. Kenney's remark in The Style of the Metamorphoses, in *Ovid* ed. J.W. Binns, 1973 145; "what could be more human than the gods of the Metamorphoses?"

[2] O. Schönberger, though, rightly points out that, of the three epics, Valerius' Jupiter is closest to Vergil's: Zum Weltbild der drei Epiker nach Lucan, Helikon V 1965 125f..

(4.15ff.). When Mars and Pallas quarrel before him over the battle of their favourites, Jupiter will not curb them: "quolibet ista modo, quacumque impellite pugna, / quae coepistis, habent quoniam sua fata furores../ ... uadite, et aduersis, ut quis uolet, inruat armis" (5.675-689). In a simile, the reader even sees Jupiter playing the part of Vergil's Juno, and flinging open the gates of war (5.304 ff.).[1]

Statius' Jupiter may disclaim private motivation ("ast ego non proprio diros impendo dolori / Oedipodionidas: rogat hoc tellusque polusque" etc., *Theb.* 215f.), and he may be depicted as supreme lord of the Fata ("graue et immutabile sanctis / pondus adest uerbis, et uocem fata sequuntur", *Theb.* 1.212f.), but he is a passionate and involved deity for all that.[2] In Book I he expresses his resentment at man's transgressions in a speech to a "concilium deorum" which on the surface recalls Zeus' speech in *Odyssey* 1.32ff., but which contains a real animus far removed from the spirit of Zeus' aggrieved generalisations: "quonam usque nocentum / exigar in poenas? taedet saeuire corusco / fulmine (1.215-217)...nunc geminas punire domos, quis sanguinis auctor / ipse ego, descendo" (224f.). Even more savage are his instructions to Mars: "rape cunctantes et foedera turba, / cui dedimus, tibi fas ipsos incendere bello / caelicolas pacemque meam", 3.233-235. The orders are repeated for Mercury to transmit in 7, after Jupiter has noticed, "haud aequo corde" (2), the Pelasgians' tardiness: "at si ipsi rabies ferrique insana voluptas / qua tumet, immeritas cineri dabit impius urbes / ferrum ignemque ferens.. / ... nunc lenis belli nostraque remittitur ira", 22-26. This Jupiter is scarcely different in kind from Juno. Again, Statius has him operate in fits and starts, as did Ovid: when Capaneus has killed the sacred serpent in Book 5, then "ipse etiam e summa iam tela poposcerat aethra / Iuppiter, et dudum nimbique hiemesque coibant, / ni minor ira dei grauioraque tela mereri / seruatus Capaneus; moti tamen aura cucurrit / fulminis et summas libauit uertice cristas", 583-587.

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[1] Statius has a very similar picture: *Theb.* 5.143 ff.

[2] See Gossage, op.cit., p.374 n.2. L. Legras (*Étude sur la Thébaide de Stace,* 1905, 168f.) well illustrates Statius' essential inconsistency. Comparing *Theb.* 1.213 ("pondus adest verbis et uocem Fata sequuntur"), 7.197f. ("Sic expostus ego: immoto deducimus orbe / Fatorum"), and 3.214-243 ("sic Fata mihi nigraeque Sororum / iurauere colus: manet haec ab origine mundi / fixa dies bello, populique in proelia nati"), Legras comments "si les destins sont fixés dès le commencement des choses, ils ne suivent donc pas la parole de Jupiter, comme l'assure le poète, et surtout, si ce sont les Parques qui font les Destins, ce n'est donc pas Jupiter". Such difficulties are not mentioned by D. Vessey, in his chapter "Jupiter and Fatum: the Stoic Universe" in *Statius and the Thebaid,* 1973

It is no surprise to find that Silius, at the end of the tradition, has similarly lessened the majesty of the chief god; perhaps paradoxically, for the Jupiter of the Punica is not a quasi-Zeus as in the Thebaid or Argonautica; he is Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the national god of the Roman State: "The core of the old religion, the providential care of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for Rome, is proclaimed with greater assurance than ever".[1] So far from being enhanced, however, his rôle is diminished when he becomes in this way an overt partisan of one of the two sides.

When Jupiter first appears in the Aeneid, it is as the guarantor of a just outcome, a counterweight to the malevolent work of Juno, promising to Venus the safety of her son and stock (1.257-296). Similarly, Homer's Zeus first appears in the Odyssey promising to Athene that her favourite will eventually return home (1.64-79), and in the Iliad, guaranteeing to Thetis the reinstatement of her son's τιμή (1.518-527). Statius follows suit, with Jupiter justifying his punishment of the offending families (Theb. 1.214-247), as does Valerius (1.531-560), who has Jupiter expound the historical rôle of the Argonauts' journey as the ἀρχὴ κακῶν that will nonetheless lead to the establishment of the Roman Empire. Statius even has a similar motif in Achilleid 1, where Thetis pleads with Neptune on behalf of her son, and is given cheerless promises of his future glory (1.61 ff.); the scene is the only piece of divine apparatus in this strikingly naturalistic, almost novelistic fragment.

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[1] J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, Continuity and Change in Roman Religion 1979, 173.

In Silius, Jupiter does not figure as a character in the first book at all. He does not come on until Book 3, and then in a remarkable fashion, not affirming the just resolution of the complex of problems at the poem's start, but as the instigator of Hannibal's attack on Italy. He sends Mercury down to the sleeping Hannibal, and Mercury reveals the extraordinary vision of the snake of the rampage, portending the devastation of Italy (183 ff.). The story of this vision comes originally from Hannibal's historian Silenus, and was narrated by Coelius Antipater (Cic. Div. 1.49), Livy (21.22. 6-9), Valerius Maximus (1.7. ext.1) and Dio Cassius (Zonaras 8.22).

In some respects, Silius' adaption of the story is by no means inept. Livy says that the guide in Hannibal's dream was "iuuenem diuina specie qui se ab Ioue diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum" (21.22.6), and according to Cicero's report of Coelius, Hannibal spoke to Jupiter in a "Concilium deorum", and was then allotted as guide "unum e concilio". Mercury was the obvious choice for a poet remodelling such tales in the conventions of epic; and then Silius could have done a lot worse than to choose as his exemplar Jupiter's despatching of Mercury to Aeneas in Aeneid 4 (219 ff.). But the objections outweigh.

What we have here in effect is a second divine motivation of the poem's action, after Juno's stirring up of Hannibal in Book 1. Any energy generated in Book 1 is hereby dissipated, and the whole motivation of the action begins to falter, as the poet's grip wavers and the source of the poem's movement ceases momentarily to be the passionate hatred of Juno and becomes the purgative zeal of Jupiter.

Again, Silius' sources had Jupiter as the agency in the story of Hannibal's vision.[1] In following suit, rather than attributing the vision to another deity, Silius for the first of many times strays on to difficult ground. His Jupiter is the chief god of the Roman state: he is also, for the purposes of the epic, endowed with "Vergilian" omniscience and omnipotence, with unchallenged power over lesser deities; his will is supreme, equal to or identical with Fata.[2] Why should he allow his people to suffer the great disasters which it is within his power to avert? Worse, why should he actually incite his people's enemy to the task? Silius' solution, a degenerate Roman race demanding reinvigoration (3.163 ff., 575ff.), is inevitably feeble, quite apart from the fact that such a picture is at odds with the general picture given of pristine Roman hardihood (see esp. 1. 609 ff.). The motive is base; it reeks of expedience; it is the poetic equivalent of ϲώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα.

Homer's Zeus is anthropomorphic in all respects for the purposes of the plot, like the other gods: if the story demands something which he would not condone, then Homer may trick him through Hera (Iliad 14). Vergil's way around the problem is, partly, to depersonalise Jupiter, but mainly to refine Jupiter out of the realm of partisanship and assimilate him to Fate. Silius' anthropomorphic and partisan, yet quasi-Vergilian Jupiter falls between these stools.

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[1] Walsh on Livy 21.22.6 points out that originally the god in question must have been Ba'al Hammon.

[2] See especially Schönberger, art.cit. p.396 n.2, 142. Jupiter's determinant power is most plain in the final dialogue with Juno (17.341ff.; see esp. 385: "Dum statuit fata Omnipotens urbique ducique...").

In the middle of the Battle of Cannae, for example, Pallas and Juno complain to Jupiter of Mars' aid to the Romans (9.524 ff.). Pallas has already been ordered off the field by Jupiter, consoling herself with the reflection that not even the supreme god can avert the disaster (9.481f.: "sed Pallade pulsa / num fata avertet?"). In reply to the goddesses' representations, Jupiter tells them that they are fighting against Fate, which will ensure Rome's eventual triumph (543 ff.). Nonetheless, he recalls Mars, leaving Hannibal free to finish off the Romans. All the issues raised by this confused exchange are skirted by Vergil's tact, but Silius perhaps does not even see the problems. Why is Jupiter inferior to Fate here, and not, for example, in 17.385? Why should he not save his people, since he has the power? No mention is made here of his desire to cleanse them.[1] It is not as if it is beneath his dignity to intervene. On the contrary, Silius has a more narrow gap between the supreme god and men even than Homer, and he fritters away the god's status by having him pull strings on the basis of personal predilection. He sends Mars off to rescue Scipio the elder at the battle of the Ticinus (6.595 ff.). After the battle of Trasimene he causes the election of Fabius as dictator (6.695 ff.), just as Juno later causes the conferment of equal power on Minucius (7.511f.). Coming back from Ethiopia he sees Hannibal attacking Rome and takes up station on the Capitol, stirring up storms and actually throwing a thunderbolt onto Hannibal's shield (12.605 ff.); the incident provokes a pertinent question from Hannibal: "ubi nam tunc fulmina tandem / inuicti latuisse Iouis, cum sterneret ensis / Aetolos campos? ubi, cum Tyrrhena natarent / stagna cruore uirum?" (671-674). The fate of loyal Saguntum poses similar problems. Silius says that the town is "iniustis neglecta deis" (2.657), and opens Book 3 with these words: "Postquam rupta fides Tyriis, et moenia castae, / non aequo superum genitore, euersa Sagunti ..." The language recalls Aeneas' account of Troy's fall ("Postquam res Asiae Priamique euertere gentem / immeritam uisum superis", _A._ 3. 1f.), but Silius does not see the incongruity of transferring the anguished words of a survivor into his own mouth.

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[1] Cf. 5.69 ff., where Trasimene is represented as a calamity which Jupiter cannot prevent: after he thunders in warning, Silius comments "heu uani monitus frustraque morantia Parcas / prodigia! heu fatis superi certare minores!," 75f..

In eschewing Vergil's decorum, Silius has caused himself only problems. His temperamental and partisan god, without compassion or stature, is not a consistent creation.[1] Silius vacillates, adjusting his picture according to the demands of his immediate context. In an epic filled with the military disasters of the populus Romanus, the rôle of Jupiter was bound to be a severe test of the poet's tact and control; it cannot be said that Silius has risen to the challenge.

If the poet's own conception of one of his poem's central characters is so shaky, it is difficult for that figure to win the credence of the readers. Another, even greater stumbling block is the actual mechanism by which the gods are made part of the texture of the poem. Once more, Vergil will be the basic standard of comparison.

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[1] Cf. Häussler 2.207 ff., though some of his points are, I think, unfounded.

The clear articulation of Vergil's narrative, on both the divine plane and the human, is one of the great strengths of the *Aeneid*, nowhere more brightly illuminated than in those studies which contrast his style with that of Statius[1] or Valerius Flaccus.[2] Vergil's basic method with the gods as actors in the narrative resembles Homer's, in that he does them the credit of treating them - in this regard - on the same basis as the human characters, adhering to "the need for the narrative to be credible even where the poet is describing the extraordinary or the miraculous".[3] Thus Neptune in *Aeneid* 1 first feels the commotion above him (125, "sensit"), then examines the disaster and guesses the cause of it (126-130), and finally acts to quell the storm because of certain reasons, which make sense, relating to his divine prerogatives (132 ff.). This is familiar from Homer. In *Iliad* 1, for example, when Chryses prays to Apollo events follow on accordingly. Apollo hears the prayer (ἔκλυε, 43), he responds for a reason (χωόμενοϲ κῆρ, 44), and he undertakes an action which has an issue in the ensuing narrative (48 ff.). The episode is motivated and described; its results proceed, it is an integral part of the diegesis.

Although the really significant innovations for the silver epic were those of Ovid, already in Vergil we see occasional signs of the lack of attention to narrative coherence - or lack of concern for it - which was to become endemic amongst the epigonoi. The most spectacular example is the breathtaking intervention of Juno towards the end of Aeneid 7, where she bursts in upon the action in an unprepared, stunning rupture of verisimilitude, smashing open the gates of war with her own hand: "abstinuit tactu pater auersusque refugit / foeda ministeria, et caecis se condidit umbris. / tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis / impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso / Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis", 618-622. More common is a certain perfunctoriness in meshing together the strands of human and divine action. Heyne, with his insistent concern for the marshalling of the elements of the narrative, is very acute on this matter. At 9.802 ff., for example, he finds fault with Vergil's mention of Juno: "Iuno enim, si recte diiudicamus, nunc inducitur necessitatis magis caussa ad expediendam rem, quam rerum ordine ita postulante." As Heyne says, the cohesion of the plot is violated by the "ad hoc" intrusion. Again, in an excursus on 9.638 ff. ("aetheria tum forte plaga crinitus Apollo" etc.) Heyne objects to the random motivation of the episode: "apud Homerum deos sedere et Achiuorum Troianorumque proelia prospicere non miramur, cum partes deorum quisque suas tuendas sustineat. At Apollo hic otiosus plane sedere, nec poeta satis prouide curasse uideri potest, ut eius sollicitudinem de exitu rerum commodo loco commemoraret".[1] Even Servius had an eye open for a too unprepared switch to divine action; so on A.11.532

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[1] S. von. Moisy, *Untersuchungen zur Erzählweise in Statius' Thebais* 1971, esp. 45-57, comparing Verg. *A.* 1 233ff., Stat. *Theb.* 7.145ff.; G. Krumbholz, Erzählungsstil im Thebais, Glotta XXIV 1955 93-139, 231-260, esp. 248 f..

[2] F. Mehmel, *Valerius Flaccus* Diss. Hamburg 1934, esp. section entitled "Klarheit", 67-72.

[3] N.J. Richardson, Literary criticism in the exegetical scholia to the Iliad: a sketch, C Q N.S. XXX 1980 272.

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[1] Heyne goes on to praise Vergil's normal care for linking and integration: "sed et aliis locis meliorem rationem reperit Maro, ut lib.I, 124 sqq., ubi 'Neptunus sensit' (the example I used above,) lib.IV, 219, 'audit Iupiter preces' et sic Didonem Aeneamque respicit".

("uelocem interea superis in sedibus Opim"), Servius expresses dissatisfaction with "interea": "ineptus est et uituperabilis transitus. habet autem tales transitus et in superioribus libris et in sequenti praecipue, ubi Iuppiter appellat Iunonem" (12.791).

Such comments of Heyne and Servius may appear to be mere quibbling, and indeed they should not be allowed to obscure the remarkable success of the gods as characters in the Aeneid. But they pick out those inconsistencies in Vergil's technique which were to be seized upon and magnified by his followers.

In Ovid's treatment of the gods, the abrupt handling which we remarked upon as an occasional feature of Vergil's style becomes more and more obtrusive: the approach is bitty and motif-obsessed. Juno notices the birth of a boy to one of her husband's "paelices", and delivers what appears to be a soliloquy (Met. 2.466 ff.). The reader imagines the goddess to be in heaven or in a cloud, and it is a great shock when we read immediately afterwards: "dixit et adversam prensis a fronte capillis / strauit humi pronam", 476f.. Ovid's intention and technique are similar to Vergil's in Aeneid 7; the brusqueness illustrates the force and potency of the goddess.

Ovid regularly affects an elliptical, impressionistic style which puts little premium on narrative cohesion. At 9.394 ff. the miraculously rejuvenated Ioläus enters the room to interrupt Alcmena and Iole. In apparent parenthesis Ovid tells us the reason for Ioläus' youth: "hoc illi dederat Iunonia muneris Hebe, / uicta uiri precibus", 400f.; but the next lines verge into a narrative of the bestowal of the gift, with a speech by Themis: "quae cum iurare pararet, / dona tributuram post hunc se talia nulli, / non est passa

Themis" 'nam iam..." etc.," 401-403. And at the end of this floating exchange between Hebe and Themis we find ourselves in the middle of a "concilium deorum", which we must assume to have been the framework from the start: "haec ubi faticano uenturi praescia dixit / ore Themis, uario superi sermone fremebant ..." etc., 418f..

This unarticulated, at times virtually incoherent mode of narration is a most remarkable feature of Silver Latin Style, nowhere more clearly seen than in descriptions of divinity at work. It is evident in non-diegetic forms: in Seneca's Agamemnon the messenger's speech exhibits exactly this kind of treatment. The wreck of the Greek fleet is proceeding apace, without any divine impetus, when suddenly, out of nowhere, there is Pallas - "ecce alia clades! fulmine irati Iouis / armata Pallas"...etc., 528f.. Some lines later Ajax's defiant speech is abruptly terminated by another deity of whose presence we have had no word: "plura cum auderet furens / tridente rupem subruit pulsam pater / Neptunus..." etc., 552-554. Tarrant, on 528 ff., mentions "the brusque 'ecce alia clades,'" and observes that "the intervention of Neptune, abruptly introduced in Seneca (552ff.), is more clearly integrated into the narrative in Quintus Smyrnaeus (14.567 f.; Poseidon is active in 14.507 ff.)." But there is no need to assume with Tarrant that Seneca is awkwardly abbreviating a source in which the rôle of the gods was more systematically laid out; further examples from Silver epic will show how typical Seneca's treatment is.[1]

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[1] One should not be surprised if Seneca does not describe the gods' motivation, as does Quintus; in an epic such description is possible, but a tragedy, even one whose bounds are pushed as far as here, must preserve at least the illusion of a purely human viewpoint. The messenger is, after all, an eye-witness.

From Seneca's Neptune to Valerius Flaccus'. The Argonauts have set off, when Boreas incites Aeolus to unleash a storm (1.574 ff.; it is, incidentally, most un-Vergilian for such a minor deity to take the initiative in this way). In the description of the storm, without any motivation or build-up, Neptune appears in a "cum"-clause: "undique feruent/ aequora, cum subitus trifida Neptunus in hasta / caeruleum fundo caput extulit," 640-642. As Mehmel says, contrasting this scene with Vergil's in Aeneid 1. (124 ff.), "Bei Valerius taucht Neptun unerwartet auf einmal auf. Man weiss nicht, woher und warum".[1] Such quasi-shorthand is possible because the reader immediately thinks of the Vergilian model; with this in mind, we may read between the lines.

More drastic dislocations occur elsewhere. In the story of Io, we see the girl walking over the fields, when an "ecce" introduces from thin air Tisiphone, enjambed for effect:[2] "ibat agris Io uictrix Iunonis, at ecce / cum facibus flagrisque et Tartareo ululatu / Tisiphonen uidet", 4.392-394.[3]

Statius' divine apparatus is something of a special case, since the exceptionally allegorical content often makes questions of narrative verisimilitude rather irrelevant.[1] Thus when Tisiphone stands on Argos' citadel at the beginning of Thebaid 4 and throws her spear 120 kilometres to Thebes, the event does not shock us as it would if we read it in the Aeneid, for Tisiphone is not at all on the same plane as the mass of the epic: there is no illusion of reality to be ruptured.[2] At other times Statius' attitude towards the norms appears to be one of gleeful perversity: at 5.691 ff., relating how messengers took the news of Archemorus' death to the boy's city, Statius makes actuality jar as harshly as possible upon convention by saying that "Fama" got there first: "uolucres equitum praeuerterat alas / Fama recens..."

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[1] op.cit. p.403, n.2, 68.

[2] Compare the enjambments of "Pallas" and "Neptunus" in the Seneca passage discussed above (529, 554), together with the "ecce".

[3] For further discussion of this aspect of Valerius' style, I may refer to Mehmel's section on "Klarheit" (see p.403, n.2).

Statius' attitude to narrative coherence is, if anything, more libertine even than Ovid's.[3] At 3.218 ff., for example, Jupiter sits watching events below, to all appearances alone. He calls Mars, and in the middle of his orders to the War-God breaks off with "uos, o superi" etc., 239. Are we then in a "concilium deorum?" We might be; we might not, for Statius' Jupiter can easily apostrophise absent personages while addressing a character (c.f. 7.20, where in a speech to Mercury he cries out, "hicne tuus, Gradiue, furor?"). Only at the end of the speech is the setting clarified: "dixit, et attoniti iussis," 253.

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[1] Since the provocative and sketchy remarks of C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, 1936 49-56, I know of no good treatment of this fascinating aspect of Statius' technique. D. Vessey's book (see p.397 n.2 above) is over-schematic and confused in its terminology, while W. Schetter reached the odd conclusion that such figures as Mars and Tisiphone are not allegorical at all, but are conceived of as being "mythologische Chiffren übergewaltiger und unbegreiflicher, den Menschen jählings überfallender und ins Verderben stürzender Gewalten" (Untersuchungen zur epischen Kunst des Statius, Kl. Ph. Studien, Wiesbaden 1960 28).

[2] Similarly we do not worry when Tisiphone laughs as Amphiarus' wife puts on the fatal diadem (4.213, "et graue Tisiphone risit gauisa futuris"): Tisiphone here is only an idea, and a vaguely imagined idea at that; she is not a character in a narrative.

[3] Von Moisy is especially good on the stacatto and disconnected nature of Statius' narrative (op.cit., p.403 n.1).

At the beginning of 8, Pluto tells Tisiphone to go up on earth to avenge Amphiaraus' violation of Hades: "i, Tartareas ulciscere sedes, / Tisiphone," 65f.. But Tisiphone has been on earth since the beginning of the poem (1.88 ff.)., and has had sufficient motive for her work since then. Statius' focus is very circumscribed: he produces a creature when he needs it and drops it when he has finished.[1]

A final example. At 12.464 begins the description of the march of the suppliant women to Athens. Leading them is Juno, winning the people over to their cause. We do not know why she is doing this, nor are we shown how she decided to do it. But leave that aside: what is actually going on? Is Juno exercising only a numinous power? Then at 468f. she is actually with her hand giving the women boughs of olive, with a tag from A.7.621: "ipsa manu ramosque oleae uittasque precantes / tradit" - in her own person? - in disguise? Statius deliberately leaves all vague and unformed. The goddess holds centre-stage in this disconcerting fashion for a few lines, then fades away. When the women come to the Ara Clementiae some 40 lines later, not Juno but the people have shown them where it is ("huc uulgo monstrante locum manus anxia Lernae / deueniunt", 512f.); in the interim the goddess has simply evaporated from the narrative.

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[1] Statius' bit-by-bit approach reveals itself in a flash at 8.655f.. Atys, Ismene's betrothed, is mortally wounded (8.585f.); Statius describes the removal of the young man to the palace, and his last meeting with Ismene. Then, "dumque ea per Thebas, aliis serpentibus ardens / et face mutata bellum integrabat Enyo". The verb shows it all; the battle has of course been continuing all the while that Atys and Ismene have been together, but Statius keeps his eyes fixed on his immediate context, and cannot distinguish between the action and his narrating of it.

In Silius such inchoate treatment is universal, and when applied to the divine apparatus, seldom defends itself either by sensationalism or allegory. It is the single most important factor militating against the success of the gods in the poem, for it betrays, by faulty technique, a fatal lack of sustained imaginative power, with perfunctory handling and cramped scope.

The first divine creature to figure in the Punica is Juno, as in the Aeneid and Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica. She delivers a soliloquy,[1] (1.42 ff.), and then "iuuenem facta ad Mauortia flammat," 55. This is not an event taking place at a certain time and place, having certain results in the action (compare the Juno soliloquy in Aeneid 1, which begins the poem's movement, or the initial stages of the divine action in Homer, or even in Statius): it is a floating piece of colour, generating nothing. Any poetic drive it may have developed is dissipated when Silius brings in Hannibal's oath as another cause of war (70 ff.), and, later, Jupiter's intervention (see p. 400 above).

In Book 2 occurs an example of the "shorthand" which we observed as a characteristic of Valerius Flaccus,[2] whereby apparent brusqueness or inconcinnity in the silver poet's account is to be supplemented out of his Vergilian model. Juno notes Fides in Saguntum in lines clearly recalling Aeneid 7 (Pun. 2. 526f., "Quam simul inuisae gentis conspexit in arce / forte ferens sese Libycis Saturnia castris" ~ A.7. 286f., "ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis / saeua Iouis coniunx" etc...), and she carries on to summon Tisiphone. Here Silius has a puzzling phrase, "ira turbata gradum" (529), "stumbling in her rage" (Duff). What does this mean? Where is she going? In the context only of Silius' account, it is not easy to tell. But turn to Vergil, and it becomes clear that Silius is thinking of Juno's defined progress there: "haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petiuit," 323.

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[1] Duff translates as if she were actually addressing Hannibal; "with these words she fired the youthful warrior"... translating v.55.

[2] p. 407.

The divine action in the battle of the Trebia affords a more sustained reference for comparison. Silius' model, Homer (Il. 21.211 ff.), puts the action on earth in the foreground, with an everpresent divine audience, whose marshalling and taking up of positions he repor and to whom he often returns. There is nothing of this in Silius. In the middle of the human battle we suddenly read: "Tum Trebia infau noua proelia gurgite fessis / inchoat ac precibus Iunonis suscitat undas," 4.573f.. This is the first mention of Juno since Book 2 (694): here she is non-existent as an actor; we do not see her or hear her speak.[1] The river rages on, and addresses the struggling Scipio in angry tones (660 ff.). At this point Silius blends two homeric episodes; Achilles' cry for help to Zeus (21.273 ff.), and the unsolicited intervention of Hera and Hephaestus some sixty lines later (331 ff.). In Homer, of course, the gods are there watching, we can see them and hear them. But in Silius there has been no mention whatever of the presence of any gods; hence, to motivate Vulcan's intervention in favour of Scipio, he is reduced to perfunctor makeshift, and inveigles his gods into the action in a garrulous aside: "Haec, Venere adiuncta, tumulo spectabat ab alto / Mulciber,

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[1] A very similar, scarcely less perfunctory line occurs in the battle of Cannae, when Aeolus unleashes his winds "Iunonis precibus, promissa haud parua ferentis," 9.494.

obscurae tectus caligine nubis,/ ingrauat ad caelum sublatis Scipio palmis: 'di patrii...' etc. / ...tum percita dictis / ingemuit Venus et rapidas direxit in amnem / coniugis inuicti uires," 667-678.

The sketchiness of the episode's resolution will by now be familiar. In Homer the river pleads first with Hephaestus, then with Hera, arguing with them, giving reasons why they should spare him; Hera is won over and tells her son to stop (21.357 ff.). In Silius no speech, no motivation, but a rush to finish the job off: "tum demum admissae uoces et uota precantis, / orantique datum ripas seruare priores," 696f.; in other words, "here see Homer".

Similarly at 12.201 f.. Marcellus has just attacked Hannibal's army, and has challenged him to single combat. Hannibal wants to respond - "sed non haec placido cernebat pectore Iuno / coeptoque auertit suprema in fata ruentem". Juno pops in and pops out, no word, no action; the two lines are a mere ruse to avoid the follow-on from Marcellus' challenge.

When Marcellus dies, the event is marked by a similarly perfunctory Homerism. Marcellus embraces his son and prays for success (15. 362f.): "nec plura, sereno / sanguineos fudit cum Iuppiter aethere rores / atque atris arma aspersit non prospera guttis," 363-365. In Homer, Zeus sends such a sign to show his esteem for his dear son Sarpedon, whom he is unable to save from Patroclus (16.458 ff). But in Homer Zeus is there before us; he has just had a conversation with Hera (433 ff.), he is watching and taking an interest; this token is only part of a believable and consistent chain of events, which leads eventually to the removal of Sarpedon's body to Lycia (666 ff.).

In Silius the blood-shower is an isolated, floating motif.[1]

Not only in divine narrative do we see such piecemeal use of sources, together with a failure to imagine the scene and make it real. Take the dramatic tale of Scipio at Canusium (Liv. 22.52.7 - 53.13; Pun. 10.415-448). In Livy we see the fugitives from Cannae gather at Canusium, and Scipio, with Ap. Claudius Pulcher, is made their leader. At Scipio and his companions confer, P. Furius Philus comes to tell them of the planned desertion of a group of young nobles. Scipio leads a group to the tent of Metellus and administers an oath of allegiance to the traitors. Silius describes the gathering of the army's remnants at Canusium (387 ff.), then begins with Metellus, and describes his conspiratorial activities. A sudden switch follows: "quae postquam accepit flammata Scipio mente" etc.... (426 ff). The suppression of Furius, the omission of precise detail is excusable, perhaps laudable. The problem is that this is the first mention of Scipio since 9.459, in the middle of the battle of Cannae. Silius has one eye on Livy and one eye on his own work, and does not perform the simple but necessary task of telling his audience where Scipio was, and what he was doing at Canusium: he lets Livy do the job for him.

The success or failure of divine apparatus in epic is commonly regarded as a matter of the poet's own religious beliefs, convictions

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1. And of course Marcellus is not Jupiter's son, so that Jupiter's cause for especial grief has to be inferred by the reader. Silius is similarly astray at 3.593 ff., in Jupiter's speech of prophecy to Venus. The references to the Flavians there are not so pertinent as the praise of Augustus in Aeneid 1, 286 ff. ("nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, / ....Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo"); for Augustus is Venus' descendant.

or sensibilities. At one extreme, the success of, say, Vergil's divinities is represented as the reuslt of Vergil's own religious outlook: the most consistent exponent of such a view is P. Boyancé, who ends up by asserting that Vergil was a traditional polytheist,[1] but even the more representative work of W. Kühn betrays the presupposition that the power of Vergil's representations of divinity must correspond to what the man actually believed: "Sein religiöses Empfinden lässt ihn göttliche Kräfte in der Geschichte am Werk spüren".[2] By analogy, Silius' failure is invariably described as the result of some shortcomings in his own religious or emotional makeup: "gli manca l'ἐνθουσιασμός che aveva dettato i versi di Virgilio, perche il suo spirito non aderisce alla materia trattata";[3] "das nur Nachgebaute, dem die Seele gläubigen Erlebens fehlt, ist zum Misslingen verurteilt, selbst wenn keine groben Kunstfehler unterlaufen"[4]; "Silius die Götter mehr als Requisiten denn als wirkliche Mächte ansah. Ihnen fehlt das Fascinosum ebenso wie das Tremendum, sie sind für Silius keine Ehrfahrung, nur Begriffe"[5]; "Da ihnen eine vergleichbare innere Erfüllung fehlt (i.e. compared to Vergil's gods), entsteht bisweilen bei aller formalen Kunst der Eindruck leerer Worte ... Weder irgendwelcher religiöser Gehalt noch eine tiefere symbolisch - allegorisierende Bedeutung ihnen zukommt."[6]

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[1] La réligion de Virgile, 1963, esp. 37f..

[2] op.cit., p.395 n.2, 39: this is not in connection with the battle of Actium or anything, but the Dido/Amor scene in Aeneid 1. See also 140. W. Schetter has similar opinions on Statius: see p.408 n.1.

[3] Ramaglia 35.

[4] Häussler 2.210.

[5] Schönberger, art.cit. p.396 n.2, 140.

[6] E. Burck, Das römische Epos 1979 287.

But the failures I have been isolating so far have been essentially poetic failures, ones of imagination and technique. What Silius, or Vergil, themselves believed is beside the point - we can only get any idea of this by extrapolating from their poems anyhow, a perilously circular method -; what matters is whether they can make us believe in the characters and settings they create, be they divine or human.[1] And that is a task for poetry, not religion.[2]

This is where Silius falters. If he cannot present a consistent picture of his deities, if his divine action is a perfunctory and "ad hoc" matter, then it is partly because his craftsmanship is not up to it, and partly because, so far from taking the divine action in his poem too far, he does not take it seriously enough as an integral part of the narrative. In the end, we cannot accept most of Silius' divine action for the same reasons that we cannot accept most of his human action.

If we look for moments where the divine apparatus works, we are often directed to Silius' use of allegory.[3] Scipio's meeting with Virtus and Voluptas is the most striking case (15.18-128). But it

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1. At this level it is a worthwhile to ask whether Vergil "believed in" the Juno of his poem as to ask whether he believed in Dido.

2. The critic who has seen this most clearly is W.R. Johnson, in Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid 1979. In the case of personal, non-epic poetry, the truth was seen a long time ago: see, e.g., Williams 1968 Chap. VIII, Truth and Sincerity: "In fact these questions about truth and sincerity ought to be translated into questions of literary technique and imagination", 525.

3. See e.g. Häussler, 2. 209f.; D. Vessey, Silius Italicus on the Fall of Saguntum, CPh LXIX 1974 28-36. Häussler appears to believe that allegory is per se an effective and successful device; but it has to be made to work in a poem like anything else.

is rather wooden in execution; it is an un-epic shortcut, for the theme should have suggested itself through the medium of mimetic action; and the basis of the episode is characteristically weakened by Silius' limited attention span: here in Book 15 we have Scipio wondering whether to pursue glory or pleasure, when two books earlier he has had from the Sibyl's mouth an explicit prophecy of his glorious career (13.507ff.). Besides, the encounter corresponds with nothing we know of the Scipio in the poem. He is consistently brave and glorious before the meeting, and consistently brave and glorious after it: there is no choice.

The end of Saguntum is a better piece of work. Silius gives a leading role to two opposed pairs: Hercules and Fides, Juno and Tisiphone. Hercules approaches Fides for help for Saguntum (2.479 ff.), an act which is prepared for already, since Hercules is the patron god of the town (1.273 ff.), and will naturally be concerned about its fate. Fides can do no more than "prolong the renown of their death and send it down to prosperity",[1] by encouraging the people to die rather than surrender (507 ff.). Flying down, she inspires the people with her power, a convincing passage marred only by 521-523, where it appears for a moment that Fides urges them to commit cannibalism. Fides now disappears from the narrative, leaving the citizens at a pitch of enthusiasm.

Having depicted the awakened loyalty of Saguntum Silius now adds a sinister and complex element. Juno spies Fides, and summons Tisiphone, ordering her thus: "populumque ferocem/dextris sterne suis,"

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1. Duff's translation of 511.

532f.. By one turn and another, the Fury whips the Saguntines on to an act of self-destruction. But just as the Fury's influence begins to work, Silius has these introductory lines: "inde opus aggressi, toto quod nobile mundo/aeternum inuictis infelix gloria seruat," 612f.. The paradox is most clearly caught at 650, where the horrific internecine murders are described as "laudanda monstra". As Vessey says, "whereas the purpose and result of the self-imposed massacre are noble and uplifting, the concomitant violence is carried out under the guidance and encouragement of Tisiphone."[1]

The collective suicide is certainly a noble deed ("at uos, sidereae, quas nulla aequauerit aetas,/ite, decus terrarum, animae, uenerabile uulgus", 2. 696f.), and death is what Fides had promised Hercules for the Saguntines. Yet Juno also approves of their death, and it is her creature who actually brings about the deed. In effect, Fides and Tisiphone are collaborators. The divine apparatus has enabled Silius economically to encapsulate the paradoxical nature of the act, at once glorious and repellent, noble and bestial, by juxtaposing two diametrically opposed creatures as the jointly responsible agents.[2]

The Budé editors of Silius complain that "les dieux n'apparaissent guère que comme des adjuvants de l'histoire; venant à la rescousse de l'action, ils expliquent ou excusent des faits que le lecteur comprend sans eux ... Toutes les occasions où nous voyons intervenir

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[1] art.cit., 34.

[2] Livy's ghoulish account of such an incident in Scipio's Spanish campaign exhibits a similar mixture of admiration and abhorrence (28. 22f.; Silius' narrative owes much to Livy here).

Junon à partir de 3 s'expliquent aisément par la seule logique des événements et des hommes".[1] But precisely the same may be said of virtually all the divine action of the Aeneid; thus Irvine, speaking of Book 4, says, "Everything in the story could have happened without a god lifting a finger. Yet Virgil marks every crisis of the drama by the action of a god".[2] The purpose of much of the divine machinery of the Punica is precisely that; to pick out the "cardines rerum", events which are, in Ruperti's bald phrase, "digna tanti momenti (sic)". Thus Hannibal's attacks on Rome in Book 12 call out the panoply of divine equipment: "quod cum iudicio fecisse censendus est, cum res ipsa tanti fuerit momenti", as Ruperti comments on 603-663.[3] And indeed there is something impressive in the idea of an episode between Jupiter and Hannibal, with the Carthaginian elevated to titanic stature at the moment when he comes closest to total victory. But even if successful at this much - and faulty execution too often impedes - the most one could praise him for would be honest use of his trade.

More disconcerting than these poetic shortcomings, because less expected, is Silius' failure to evoke the potency of Rome's antique cult and ritual. As Liebeschuetz says, "Compared with Vergil or Livy, Silius Italicus seems to be less interested in the rich variety of traditional religious and political institutions of Rome."[1] Liebeschuetz very appositely contrasts Livy's account of Fabius' religious measures after Trasimene (22. 9f.) with Silius' (7. 74-89); as he says, "Silius' account is simplified and less specifically Roman."[2] One does not expect lists of prodigies for their own sake in an epic, nor even detailed descriptions of state devotions; but it is still astonishing, even in comparison with Livy, let alone Vergil, how feeble an impression one derives from reading the Punica of any grandeur, dignity or vitality in connection with religious matters. Such a gap is all the more astonishing when one considers that Livy was - notoriously - a chair-bound "privatus" all his life, while Silius, out of all the surviving Latin epicists, was the only one who had actually stood in the shoes of Marcellus and the Cunctator, performing public sacrifice as consul on behalf of the populus Romanus.

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[1] intro. lxvif.; similar complaints, concerning Statius, are expressed by G. Williams, 1978 174: "Statius overuses the divine machinery. For instance, he builds up distinct and convincing characters for Tydeus and Capaneus, but he carefully makes Tisiphone instigate their final acts, which are otherwise very much in character. Or, again, the single combat of the two brothers in Book 11 is very elaborately arranged by Tisiphone and Megaera". This is radically to misunderstand Statius' technique.

[2] Quoted by Pease, ed. Verg. A. 4, 51 n.398.

[3] Similar remarks on e.g. 1. 535 ff., 4.417-479, 5. 201-207.

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[1] Op.cit., p.398 n.1, 173. [2] Ibid., n.6.