Lexical Choice in Silius Italicus' *Punica*

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Title: *Lexical Choice in Silius Italicus'* Punica

Abstract:

In this doctoral dissertation I examine the lexical choice in a selection of Books from Silius Italicus' *Punica* as a means of better comprehending how this choice can turn into semantically built microcosms. I do this by means of identifying isotopies and interpreting what these chains reveal within the text, in an intratextual approach. The study is organized in five Chapters that are designed to demonstrate, as argumentative examples, the hypothesis that the lexical choice can be used as a means of reading each Book thematically. The themes explored are: fear in Book 4; control in Book 6; delay and its counterparts in Book 8; defeat in Book 12; and expressions of the double in Book 15. I conclude that the lexical choice in the *Punica* can be isotopically read and that such reading offers new interpretation possibilities on how the Books are composed and the reflection of it in the whole of the poem.

Keywords: lexical choice; isotopy; intratextuality; microcosm; interpretive reading.

Titel: *Lexikalische Wahl in Silius Italicus'* Punica

Kurzfassung:

In dieser Dissertation wird die lexikalische Wahl in einer Auswahl von Büchern aus Silius Italicus' *Punica* untersucht, um besser zu verstehen, wie diese Wahl sich in semantisch aufgebaute Mikrokosmen verwandeln kann. In einem intratextuellen Ansatz werden die Isotopien identifiziert und was diese Ketten im Text enthüllen, wird dann interpretiert. Die Dissertation ist in fünf Kapitel gegliedert, die als argumentative Beispiele die Hypothese demonstrieren sollen, dass die lexikalische Wahl als Mittel zum thematischen Lesen jedes Buches verwendet werden kann. Die untersuchten Themen sind: Furcht im 4. Buch; Kontrolle im 6. Buch; Verzögerung und ihre Gegenstücke im 8. Buch; Niederlage im 12. Buch; und Ausdrücke der Doppelung im 15. Buch. Es wird festgestellt, dass die lexikalische Wahl in den *Punica* isotopisch gelesen werden kann und dass eine solche Lesart neue Interpretationsmöglichkeiten für den Aufbau der Bücher und deren Reflexion in der Gesamtheit des Gedichts anbietet.

Schlagwörter: lexikalische Auswahl; Isotopie; Intratextualität; Mikrokosmos; Interpretation.

Sworn statement

(Eidesstattliche Erklärung)

I hereby declare, as upon oath, to have referenced all forms of resources used and aids received and to have written the dissertation independently. I have not used any other resources or received any other aids other than those stated. This dissertation has not been earlier accepted in any other doctoral procedures or evaluated as insufficient.

Hamburg, 16.07.2024.

Everton da Silva Natividade

Ruth Zeliaeque,

sine quibus nihil

– in memoriam –

Dizem que não há nada mais difícil do que definir em palavras uma espiral:
é preciso, dizem, fazer no ar, com a mão e sem literatura, o gesto,
ascendentemente enrolado em ordem, com que aquela
figura abstracta das molas ou de certas escadas se manifesta aos olhos.
Mas, desde que nos lembremos que dizer é renovar,
definiremos sem dificuldade uma espiral:
é um círculo que sobe sem nunca conseguir acabar-se. […]
Direi melhor: uma espiral é
um círculo virtual
que se desdobra a subir sem nunca se realizar.

Fernando Pessoa,
Livro do desassossego,
trecho 117

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Contents

Introduction

> Ali estão a Tristeza, o Desejo de Vingança, as Doenças, a Velhice,
> o Medo, a Fome, a Indigência, a Morte, o Sofrimento, as Alegrias Más, o Sono,
> a Guerra, a Noite, a Discórdia. As personificações alegóricas são representadas
> como sombras pálidas que se esvaem. No meio do vestíbulo,
> uma enorme árvore estende seus ramos:
> é a árvore que abriga os Sonhos Falsos. O leitor se interroga:
> que são, afinal, os *somnia uana* a que se refere o poeta? Por que estão ali?
> Zélia de Almeida Cardoso, 1988, p. 133

> Centrality and circularity should tell of acts of enclosure, not release,
> of bounds and involutions. They might suggest
> a series of layerings and repetitions
> that force us, with some irony, to reconsider surface meanings [...].
> Michael J. Putnam, 1998, p. 154-155

Repetition is a common poetic resource of Silius'—and that in variegated forms. Considering the redundant expression *socium... foedus* at 15.279, Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 359, notes that this type of phenomenon—an accumulation of two words that mean somewhat the same—is a frequent one in Silius; redundancy and repetition are at the center of his considerations about *pondere teli* at 1.336 (Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 57-58), where he offers a list of examples of "tournures redondantes typées" and of "des tournures avec un génitif [qui] ont quelque chose de ce caractère redondant." This research reads selected Books in Silius Italicus' *Punica* through the lens of a specific type of repetition, the choice of words and the semantic circularity that comes with it, proposing interpretative (thus qualitative) insight into the poem. The question I ask is how semantic redundancies and word repetition,[1] frequent as they are, can be connected in their circularity and refraction, in order to better understand the underlying themes[2] that guide readings of the selected Books.

In the following pages, I offer a word on assumptions and methods by briefly exposing some of the definitions and ideas that directed this work, pinpointing both the theories that lie underneath my rationale and some of the authors and critics that have, in one way or another, partially trodden the same path.

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[1] For a discussion of the terms *redundancy, recurrence* and *iteration*, see Rastier, 1996, p. 93. On repetition in general, see Frédéric, 1985; on word repetition as a mark of allusions in Latin poetry and a methodologically structured way to study these repetitions, see Wills, 1996; for a quantitative study of repetitions in Silius, see Śnieżewski, 2018. I take "word" as a general term here since words are the center of my analyses. In some cases, though, the scope is extended to expressions, phrases, and verse syntax.

[2] My idea of *themes* here is equivalent to the "abstract themes" that "define the action of individual portions" of the text, as shown by Murphy, 1977, in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (the citations are on p. 234).

1. Isotopies

The circularity I observe in the lexical repetitions form a web that spins different words together and allows us to read meanings that are interwoven all through the text. In an epic poem, they serve as a pattern, repeated at intervals in the fabric, reminding the reader of a topic or an idea that is part of the whole and helps to understand it. Putting these scattered stitches together is one of my textual approaches in this work, which I do by employing, in the background, the concept of *isotopy*.

The examination of how words—or, more specifically, *sememes*, words considered as small units of meaning—are interrelated has been introduced by Greimas (1966, p. 53) in the concept of *isotopy*. His first definition received many adjustments, corrections and *addenda* later,[3] resulting in Rastier's (1972, p. 82) simplified definition: "On appelle isotopie toute itération d'une unité linguistique. L'isotopie élémentaire comprend donc deux unités de la manifestation linguistique."[4] Taking this definition as my starting point, considering the linguistic unit to be *sememes*, the iterativity[5] is one of concatenated terms that are semantically related and that ensure that the text maintains its coherence and cohesion through an idea or a theme. Through this instrumental means, I approach the lexical choice made by Silius and interpret its specificities, enlarging the understanding of the selected Books, their composition, and their meaning as inserted in the whole of the work.

Picking out words as my first choice of analysis,[6] I am connecting the expression and the content since I depart from the meaning and observe the context in the discourse, considering the combination of the chosen sememes with the other words near them (syntax) and their position, both in the verse (metrics) and in the narrative context. A thorough description of the process is offered by the following considerations from the Groupe μ (1990, p. 205):

> Une telle lecture procède, elle aussi, à partir du haut et de la gauche, et, au fur et à mesure qu'elle progresse, utilise également le passé du message comme une base pour établir des projections sur l'avenir de celui-ci. Mais elle rencontre des accidents qui la contraignent sans cesse à réévaluer le passé du message. Par exemple, elle va relever un signifié non indexable sur l'isotopie provisoirement établie ou bien elle va rencontrer, à l'intérieur d'une suite de phénomènes, un groupe identique à un groupe précédent. La lecture se boucle donc sans cesse, revient sur elle-même en cycles de plus en plus amples, et le processus ne s'arrête qu'au terme at au prix d'un ensemble acceptable de réévaluation de tous les accidents rencontrés. Rétrospective, cette lecture se fait en même temps prospective. Tout accident apparu sur la chaîne la met en éveil et, si elle attend que des éléments nouveaux renforcent ou facilitent le bouclage, elle prévoit aussi — avec délice — de nouveaux accidents. Elle se voue donc tout aussi bien à la surprise, une surprise sur laquelle on devra revenir.

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[3] For a summary of this development in detail, see Rastier, 1996, p. 87-92, and Groupe μ, 1990, p. 33-34.

[4] This definition generated a great number of discussions, which are considered in Rastier, 1996, p. 92-102.

[5] The idea of iterativity "indique que l'isotopie est le résultat d'un processus (conscient ou non, là n'est pas la question) d'encodage et de décodage" (Rastier, 1996, p. 93), which means to say that the procedure is used to decode or interpret meanings that may not be immediately perceivable.

[6] This is *one* of the many possibilities in an isotopic study. As Eco, 1984, p. 189-201, makes clear in his chapter on the topic, isotopy has become an "umbrella term," plural and referring "almost always to constancy in going in a direction that a text exhibits when submitted to rules of interpretive coherence, even if the rules of coherence change according to whether what is wanted is to individuate discursive or narrative isotopies, to disambiguate definite descriptions or sentences and produce co-references, to decide what things certain individuals do, or to establish how many different stories the same deed by the same individuals can generate" (citation from p. 201).

> La notion de réévaluation acceptable désigne un système cohérent de mises en relation par lequel tous les motifs prennent leur sens.

This reevaluation of the meaning each word projects when studied in its many occurrences and compared to the other words in the isotopy it is a part of makes the *lecture*—or my interpretation of the text—a circular one since it bases itself upon this movement of *bouclage*.[7]

Fontanille, 1999, p. 16, identifies the insufficiency of the first definition of isotopy: "[...] un seul concept, celui d'*isotopie*. Mais cette dernière, définie comme *la redondance d'une catégorie sémantique dans uns discours*, ne parvient que malaisément qu'à rendre compte des phénomènes qui échappent à la seule répétition, même implicite, des contenus." This previous definition completes the one by Rastier that we cited above, in which it makes clear that isotopies deal with semantic categories, an expression that should be made less vague by the following enumeration of the varieties this redundance (or better yet: this iteration) can be shaped as: "la répétition, l'écho, la reprise d'un thème, la redondance d'une valeur sémantique qui rend les éléments d'une phrase compatibles entre eux, les enchaînements thématiques entre paragraphes, etc., deviennent alors différents modes de construction de l'isotopie" (Fontanille, 1999, p. 18-19). A relevant part of considering the combination of the isotopical words with the other words near them and their position in the verse is the *phonetic isotopy*—in Fontanille's terms, the repetition, the echo that recurs as a reinforcement of some semantic value (or seme), in this work mostly represented by the alliterations, which I sparingly analyze, whenever their exam seemed worthy of special attention. These discursive elaborations, "l'isotopie des sons," is noted by Marouzeau, 1946, p. 25:

> Il y a un signe auquel nous pouvons reconnaître la valeur attribuée à un son : c'est que l'auteur exploite volontiers l'effet phonique en redoublant le son ; dans les textes où nous pouvons étudier le procédé, nous remarquerons que les sonorités expressives sont souvent groupées et conjuguées.
> Ainsi un mot qui exprime la rupture, l'écroulement, l'entraînement : *rumpere, ruere, raptare*, attire autour de lui le roulement des *r* ; un mot qui signifie le glissement, le sifflement : *serpere, scindere, sibilare*, attire le sifflement des *s*, etc. Le son expressif attire le son expressif, et ces groupements, ces cristallisations de sonorités appropriées sont la preuve que l'effet obtenu n'est pas imputable à une rencontre fortuite.[8]

By considering the words in their occurrences in the Books, comparing their contexts and those of their synonyms, checking the correlations that emerge through the cross-referencing in one Book or in the others, proposing analytical readings that are primarily conceived inside the poem, through the observation of the readings it can offer inside its own lines, this research aligns with the efforts of the *intratextual* studies.

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[7] In studying the words and their multiple occurrences, the two volumes of Wacht, 1989, have been the indispensable aid of this research. As for the multiple possibilities of connections between words explored in this work, see the considerations in Rastier, 1999, p. 19-22, on the relation that could be established between the notion of isotopy and some of the concepts of mereology, and the types of imaginable totalities (*agglomérats*, *séries*, and *familles*) he presents there.

[8] Besides Marouzeau's study, for the "isotopies des sons," Thoma, 1949, was also extremely useful. See also Ariemma, 2010a, p. 145, for an example of a short observation of an isotopy ("l'isotopia della *concordia*") and the alliterations that come about with it, as he discusses Marcellus and Crispinus' agreeing in Book 15.

2. Intratextuality

In a whole-page definition, Sharrock, 2018, p. 15-16, provides an extensive perspective on the possibilities of intratextuality; from her text, I would like to retain the first lines: "Intratextuality is the phenomenon and the study of the relationship between elements within texts: it is concerned with structures such as ring composition, continuities, discontinuities, juxtapositions, story arcs and other repetitions of language, imagery, or idea" (citation on p. 15). In studying these elements, I take the word as the starting point and identify these relations[9] as a means of interpreting Silius' poem.

In addition to observing the relationship between words in an isotopy, one key procedure in this research has been the comparison of occurrences of the same word. Putnam, 1998, p. 138, can be taken as an exemplification of the method, as he explains *tumidus* at *Aeneid* 8.671 in the representation of the Actium waters in Aeneas' shield:

> In this context the adjective tumidus is particularly suggestive. At two important earlier junctures in the poem Virgil associates swollen water with infuriate behavior stemming from emotionality, particularly anger. The first, at the start of the epic, is the "swollen seas" (*tumida aequora*) stemming from the storm wrathful Juno stirs up with the aid of Aeolus and which must be calmed by Neptune [note: 1.142]. The second, which occurs at the beginning of book 8 itself, is the swelling of the Tiber, which the river-god himself associates with the anger of the gods and which now, as Aeneas makes his way to the site of Rome, will be calmed [note: 8.40, 86]. Here, as texture and character merge, tumidus likewise suggests water's emblematic role as an image for human passions and the struggles in which they embroil their victims.

By cross-referencing occurrences of the adjective *tumidus* in different books in the *Aeneid*, Putnam establishes that, besides the denotative meaning, the term is used in reference to waters that mirror, in their turmoil, the "human passions and struggles" of the characters involved in the Actium scene. This systematic study of how a word is employed by the author in other passages of his own text, not unlike the isotopies, create "intratextuelle Verbindungen" that "generieren wiederum über die 17 Bücher des Epos eine starke innere Kohärenz des Werkes" (Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 55).[10] This closer observation of the subliminal meanings a word can take under the feather of a specific author is relevant not only in this research, in so far as it helps establish the semes that concur to form the isotopies, but also in its teaching the attentive reader the precise additional, subjective senses (or nuances) one word brings as underlays to the context or scene in whose description it takes part. A good example in Silius Italicus is the use of the word *caput* as "the symbol of political power," as demonstrated by Marks, 2008, who analyzes the occurrences of the term in

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[9] Sharrock, 2000, p. 6-7: "It is the hypothesis of intratextuality that a text's meaning grows not only out the readings of its parts and its wholes, but also out of readings of the relationships between the parts, and the reading of those parts as parts, and parts as relationship (interactive or rebarbative): all this both formally (e.g. episodes, digression, frame, narrative line, etc.) and substantively (e.g. in voice, theme, allusion, topos, etc.)—and teleologically. [...] Intratextuality is about how bits need to be read in the light of other bits, but it is also about the bittiness of literature, its uncomfortable squareness-in-round-(w)holeness."

[10] Sharrock, 2000, p. 5: "Reading intratextually means looking at the text from different directions (backwards as well as forwards), chopping it up in various ways, building it up again, contracting and expanding its boundaries both within the *opus* and outside it."

the *Punica* and comes to the conclusion that it is the image of the hegemony the Romans and the Carthaginians fight for, developed in different contexts and multifarious representations.[11]

In my fragmentation of the text in order to compare the pieces and propose readings that apply both to the details and the whole, intertextuality is less relevant, insofar as I am less interested in the debt my author has to his predecessors and contemporaries as I am in how reading different parts of his work in distinct connections and directions help to understand his ideas and themes, his organization of the whole, and the general images that make up the *Punica*.[12] My use of intertextuality is even more sparing than my incursions in the phonetic isotopies, although guided by the same principle: I have resorted to intertextuality as a means of completing my readings at instances in which the relation between Silius and his predecessor seemed (almost) indispensable to the understanding of the text—this is the case with Scipio's rescuing his father from the battlefield and carrying him away on his back (4.454-471), a scene whose mythical/vergilian heritage needs to be acknowledged, so that the full appreciation of Silius' poetic construct can be interpreted.[13]

A last word on the connection between intertextuality and intratextuality: pursuing the interpretative effects (or possibilities) created by the allusions—in the intertextual approach, between texts; in the intratextual approach, between different parts of the same text—the same effort for a better understanding is common to both approaches. In the following excerpt, Vasconcellos, 2001, p. 32-33, discusses the topic; should we read *intratext* instead of intertext, and *intratextual* instead of intertextual, as well as *parts* instead of texts (that is to say: *mutatis mutandis*), the similarity in the searched result is made evident:

> [...] que efeitos podemos identificar a partir de uma leitura que leve em conta o jogo alusivo, os contextos confrontados, a coerência da nossa análise com o conjunto da obra. O leitor implícito se torna decifrador ativo não de uma fórmula matemática, mas de sentidos tênues que vêm revestir a leitura linear: necessariamente, pairará sempre um quê de mistério, atormentador se não renunciarmos a solicitar do texto uma única e completa resposta precisa que supostamente o desvende definitivamente. A natureza deste aspecto da intertextualidade — evocação de sentidos não explicitados mas suscitados a partir de um confronto com outros textos — convida-nos à prudência. Parece-nos óbvio, porém, que inscritos na estrutura de uma obra, os efeitos intertextuais — seja qual for o modo como os interpretemos — fazem parte do universo semiótico do texto [...]

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[11] See also Chapter 5, p. 122 with n. 61. For another example of interesting intratextual analysis, less inspired by the words employed, taking the recurring images more strongly into consideration, see Dietrich, 2005, especially p. 77-79, in which she compares the expression of Scipio's grief (Book 13) to Tiburna's (Book 2), Imilce's (Book 3), and Marcia's (Book 6). For a successful study of words and themes—very close from what I here call isotopy—in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, see again Murphy, 1977.

[12] Even though I acknowledge the many ways in which intertextuality helps understand an ancient text, whose very creation is imbued in the concept of *(a)emulatio* (I myself have been able to see Silius through these lenses, see Natividade, 2010), I fear that an overusing of the approach has become far too common in the Latin Literature critic, a problem caused by an excess noted long ago by Roiron, 1908, p. 122, as he commented on how three virgilian critics—and in the end "tout le monde"—had been too persuaded of the principle that "Virgile ne peut écrire un mot sans l'emprunter à un modèle étranger, ni moins féru de la règle que là où nous ne connaissons pas ce modèle, il faut le chercher." For two interesting studies that combine intratextuality and intertextuality, see Vasconcellos, 2001, p. 129-148; Hunter, 2018, p. 458-463; and Antoniadis, 2018.

[13] See Chapter 1, p. 14-15.

The idea that microcosms contained in poetical works are miniature representations of the macrocosm is not new. In 1998, Michael Putnam reprinted a collection of articles on ekphrases in Virgil's *Aeneid*, the oldest of which dates back to 1987. It is in the Introduction to the ensemble that the following assertion can be found: "It will be my presumption that all of Virgil's notional ekphrases are in consequential ways metaphors for the larger text which they embellish and that, individually and as a group, they have much to teach the reader about the poem as a whole" (Putnam, 1998, p. 2). Not unlike this notion is what we read in Hartmann, 2004, p. 65, who understands the epic proemium to be a microcosm in which "Grundelemente, Topoi, und syntaktisch-stilistische Normen" abound and programmatically show "in hohem Maβe Aufschluss über das Selbstverständnis des Poeten, das Konzept seines Werkes sowie über den Wandel der Gestaltungsprinzipien der epischen Gattung". A microcosm can then be concepts as far from each other as an ekphrasis, a resource that frequently presents itself in any short extension of an epic poem, and a proemium, an opening that places before our eyes the main themes and tensions of the whole poem.[14] It could also be taken to be a theme spread throughout the text, as "a complex intratextual and intertextual network," as seen in Manolaraki's paper on the tides in the *Punica*, in which she concludes that "the disparity between Silius' external, authorial vision of tides and Hannibal's internal one generates a textured understanding of the main character of the *Punica* and, by implication, of the epic itself" (Manolaraki, 2010, p. 294).

Microcosms mirror themes, tensions, problems, and methods of expression easily recognizable in the macrocosm of the whole poem, and their study as analytical procedure uncovers meaning and facilitates interpretation. One way of comprehending the specifics of a text is through a close observation of the stylistic choice of lexical elements: central ideas are spread all along a specific passage in words that are connected by the same lexical or semantic valor. These lexical elements are microcosms that represent and reflect the macrocosm of the central theme in that section of the text.

Also seen as microcosms are the "structures," "*Bauformen*" or "formulas"[15] typically found in the epic diction. Considering the formulaic in written poetry as inheritance, consequence, and development of the formulas in the oral poetry, Bakker (2019, p. 84) suggests we turn the perspective around and treat "traditionality and speaking as a given, and view originality and writing as the phenomenon in need of

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[14] Many other units could be here considered as microcosms and, as such, as mirrors of the macrocosm they are fixed in, as the catalog, for instance, in Reitz, 2013.

[15] "Epic structures" or *Bauformen* are "certain recognisable scenes [that] organise the poems' sequences of action" and/or "scenes and structures [...] whose set forms, sequences, and recognisable features mark them as a lasting and integral part of the ancient epic tradition," as explained by Reitz and Finkmann, 2019, p. 1-2. The term "formula" designates "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea," according to Parry's definition (Parry, 1971, p. 272 *apud* Bakker, 1996, p. 11). It is my belief that Bakker's thesis (2019, citation from the beginning abstract, p. 81) that "the conditions for formulaic composition of epic poetry in hexametric verse are not confined to the historical context envisaged by oral-formulaic theory: the production of epic song in the complete absence of writing and texts. Reading and writing in their earliest stages do not end a poet's reliance on the interplay between formulas and the verse" is correct and dialogues with my very thesis, that an interpretation through lexical observation and the isotopies they form are a rich means of understanding deeper layers of meaning in Silius' text. See especially the section "Formulas as constructions," p. 86-89 in Bakker's paper.

explanation and understanding." This proposal lies at the heart of the intratextual approach adopted here, and even though I do not point parallels, differences or limits between Silius' practices and the product of his predecessors and contemporaries—which would again be a task for an intertextual study—I do take into consideration that these structures exist and analyze them whenever relevant for the case at hand. Good examples are, for instance, (1) as a formula, the use of the expressions *capite arma, uiri* (8.273) and *rapite arma, uiri* (4.98), as shown on p. 65-66; (2) as a *Bauform* or typical epic structure, the significant use of the ekprhasis of Scaevola's shield in Book 8, as analyzed on p. 58-61.

4. The selected Books

Michael von Albrecht, 1999, p. 294-295, introduces a thematic division of the *Punica*, which "is superior to all previous attempts" (citation from p. 295, n. 1)—he is presenting Uwe Fröhlich's[16] structural analysis: three pentads and two intervening books.

> Perhaps it was the example of Livy and Ovid (who divided his *Metamorphoses* into *ter quinque uolumina*, *Trist.* 1.1.117) which encouraged Silius to create three corresponding pentads: Books 1-5, Books 7-11 and Books 13-17. The first of them describes how Hannibal went to war against Rome, crossed the Alps and gained a series of victories without being confronted with any serious resistance. The second pentad (Books 7-11) exalts Fabius, who is the first to frighten Hannibal (7.20-26; 146-156; 305-307), and Roman *uirtus* (*patientia*). While Roman *uirtus* weathers even the defeat of Cannae (Silius' memorable comment is: *Tempore, Roma, / nullo maior eris,* 9.351-352), the Carthaginians' *uirtus* succumbs to the charms of a Capuan winter (Book 11). The hero of the Books 13-17 is Scipio. He takes the offensive, drives the Carthaginians out of Spain, transfers the theatre of war from Italy to Africa and wins the battle of Zama. Books 6 and 12, which do not belong to the adjoining pentads, culminate in interventions of Jupiter for the benefit of the Roman capital.

It is in accordance with this proposal that my study is organized: five Chapters are designed to demonstrate, as argumentative examples, the hypothesis that lexical choice can be used as a means of reading each Book thematically. In order to do so, one Book from each of the pentads and the two inserted ones form the exemplary *corpus* of this research.

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[16] See Fröhlich, 2000, p. 18-58, in which he reviews the previous structural analyses of the *Punica* (by Martin, Wallace, Niemann, Kissel, Ahl/Davis/Pomeroy, Delarue, and Braun, p. 18-28) before presenting his own (p. 50-58). Albrecht's later review (2006, citation from p. 102) of Fröhlich's thematic division presents us with an interesting critic: "Ein Fortschritt war die zu wenig beachtete, von Fröhlich vorgeschlagene Gliederung in 5+1+5+1+5 Bücher. Damit wird die Sonderstellung des sechsten Buches (als Rückblick) überzeugend erklärt. Einwenden ließe sich gegen diese Analyse, dass das zwölfte Buch weniger isoliert dasteht als z. B. das vierzehnte und dass das siebte Buch mit dem sechsten eng verbunden ist." In addition to this observation, he proposes an interesting (and well-accepted, as Stürner, 2011, proves) division in "zwei Hebdomaden mit einer Trias in der Mitte" (Albrecht, 2006, p. 104). Even though Albrecht's later critic is relevant one, Fröhlich's analysis is still relevant and seemed to me the best choice as basis for my research. My general view on the topic has been beautifully put by Marks, 2017a, p. 289: "All this is to recommend that we not be too categorical in our thinking about the macrostructure of the *Punica*; multiple patterns are not only possible, but likely, and they need not be mutually exclusive. What is more, such structural complexity need not hinder or interfere with our appreciation of the epic, but may enrich it; for by outfitting the epic with multiple structural patterns Silius is able to bring out multiple emphases that would be less easily differentiated and appreciated as such, had he arranged his material around a single, overriding organizational principle." Marks' suggestive readings in this paper are worth considering, as well as Gärtner, 2010, who proposes divisions centered on significant narrative moments and connections to the *Aeneid*.

From the first pentad (Books 1-5), I inspect Book 4, which deals with Hannibal's first facing the Roman troops, condensing the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia, the two first battles between the sides, and introducing Scipio's first aristeia; this Book presents one of the reasons why Hannibal gained a series of victories without being confronted with any serious resistance: *fear* (Chapter 1). From Book 6, I analyze the comings and goings of *control*, *self-control*, and *lack of control* in Chapter 2, asserting circularity as a reading pattern: the theme *control* is presented in the very proemium of the poem, since the narrative is one of the fight for the *caput mundi* (*quaesitumque diu, qua tandem poneret arce/ terrarum Fortuna caput*, 1.7-8). From the second pentad (Books 7-11), I take Book 8, in which I examine the isotopy of *mora* accompanied by its opposites and developments in Chapter 3. From Book 12, in which Hannibal's defeat after Cannae starts to take shape from the announcement of a new season at the outset to his being expelled from the battlefield by Jupiter at the end of the Book, I focus on the isotopy of *defeat* in Chapter 4. In the last Chapter, from the third pentad (Books 13-17), I investigate the isotopy of the *double* in Book 15, mainly dedicated to Scipio's deeds and containing his choice between *Virtus* and *Voluptas*, besides his better characterization when compared to Marcellus, on the Roman side; on the Carthaginian side, Hasdrubal as Hannibal's substitute, in Spain and crossing the Alps, and later as a dismembered body, after his beheading.

If Albrecht, 1999, p. 292, is correct in asserting that "Silius did not compose his books in the same order as we read them but followed the method ascribed to Virgil by his biographers (*particulatim componere*)," the possibility of reading each Book as a self-contained macrocosm in which the lexical elements are organized semantically in order to emphasize important ideas or the most relevant features of each one of these text units should also be deemed to be a valid assumption. Considering further that "certain motifs which are emphasized and repeated in such a way as to hint at underlying tendencies and alignments, even (although the term is much abused) at a 'message' on the writer's part" (Santini, 1991, p. 63), this research examines lexical choice in a selection of Books from Silius Italicus' *Punica* as a means of better comprehending how these microcosms are semantically built. This is done, above all, by means of identifying isotopies and interpreting what these chains can reveal to the sedulous reader within the text in an intratextual approach.

Chapter 1 — On Book 4: *Metus*

pedibus timor addidit alas

Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.224

Fama and her march, announcing the arrival of the enemy in the Roman territory,[1] set the scene for the whole of the plot in Book 4, the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia. Her spreading herself is initially described in a four-verb sequence that tailors the eyes and the ears of the reader to what is about to come: *spargitur* (1), *canit motus* (5),[2] *gliscit gressu* (6), and *quatit* (6).

Spargere (1), which introduces this graded personification of Fama,[3] is to be found four other times in this same Book. The first one (166) in reference to the horses' *grauis ungula* that sprinkles blood on the faces of half-dead warriors; the second one (246) occurs in a simile that compares Scipio to the Thracian North-wind (*Geticus Boreas*, 244), scattering seamen in the deep-sea; the third one (257) refers again to blood sprinkled all over the battle plain; the fourth and last (432), in a *thème guerrier* scene[4] in which Mars arms himself with his terrible lightning-flame-scattering shield. Blood, death, and terror are the surrounding contexts in each occurrence of the verb in Book 4, and this is telling for a better understanding of how Fama, her action, and her appearance is to be imagined by the reader. It is but in Book 6 that Fama will again be the subject of *spargere* (*uera ac ficta simul spargebat Fama per urbem*, 6.554), spreading rumor about Trasimene and its aftermath; her wings are covered in blood (*rapidas perfusa cruoribus alas*, 552) and *Pauor* is the one personification that forms her train.

As for *canit motus* (5), it takes on the idea already promoted by *spargere*,[5] in a possibly correct reading that shows us Fama relaying the news of Hannibal's movements and sets in motion a new isotopy related to hearing. In fact, indication of sounds could already be detected in *minantia* (2) and *iactantem* (4), but it is with *rumoribus* (7), *auditis* (8), *rumorem* (9), and *strepit* (11) that the reader is asked to *hear* most of the scenes that are described. This tailoring of the reader's ears is one of the primary forms of organization in the text up to verse 11, with its closing *arma uirosque*.[6] As from 12, a series

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[1] The fact that the very part of Italy where Hannibal lands is not yet Roman at that particular moment is not taken into consideration by Silius; cf. Chaudhuri, 2014, p. 208.

[2] Duff and Budé; Delz *contra* has *capit motus*. For Book 4, we have adopted the French edition in the Budé collection, established by Miniconi and Devallet, 1979, p. 103-137.

[3] See Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 263, *ad* 4.1. Working definition: "Personification allegory is a method of presenting generalized and idealized notions in literature by literary means" (Bloomfield, 1963, p. 170).

[4] See Miniconi, 1951, p. 163.

[5] See, in this regard, how Drakenborch, 1775, s.v., defines *canere* in this verse: *spargit*. Also on Fama and what she spreads, see p. 36, n. 40.

[6] Exploiting what he calls the *arma virumque* theme, Landrey, 2014, p. 610-611, notes the importance of sounds and sonic reminders: "In the broadest sense, the idea of "an *arma virumque* theme" means any textual moment that evokes the opening of the *Aeneid*, frequently, though not always only, through the deployment of the words *arma* and *vir* in close conjunction. It is the sounds of the words that are significant, the sonic reminders of the Vergilian fingerprint on the text. In order for that fingerprint to be felt, I assume, the words must appear in relative proximity to each other, but need not be linked by syntax or other sense groupings, as at *Punica* 1.1, 5.

of tableaux depicts the result of what had been previously heard by the *Ausoniae urbes* (1), inviting the reader to *see* most of the scenes, to expand from sound to sight.

Following Virgil's imagery in 4.175, Silius' Fama also grows as she marches on, *gliscit gressu* (6). Only once is the verb *gliscere* used again in Book 4, describing the hawk's renewed thirst for blood in the portent appearing before the beginning of the battle at the Trebia (111). This invites comparison between the scenes and leads us to the understanding of Fama as a prey hunter whose eagerness increases as she moves forward. Furthermore, the observation of the two instances in which the verb is again applied to Fama suggests her ever-lasting growing (*longum semper fama gliscente per aeuum*, 6.63) and her connection to hearing, which we had previously noticed (*fama dehinc gliscente sono iam sidera adibat*, 10.578), as well as bloodshed and death, persistent themes, added to the image of growth.

The last verb connected to Fama, *quatit* (7), turns out to be a highly polysemous word, once one follows the intratextual indications it bears in Book 4, as well as the explanations presented by the commentators: Ernesti, 1791, p. 178, *ad loc.*, gives *terret* as a synonym, and Drakenboch, 1775, s.v. in his *Glossarium,* offers the metaphorical definition of an *elegans traductio, ab ariete, qui proprie quatit muros*. This latter sense, implying violent shaking, can be observed in two of the four occurrences in Book 4: at *cadit... / Teutalus, et uasto quatitur sub pondere tellus* (198-199), describing the fall of a Celtic warrior, which Calderini, 2011, p. 298, paraphrases: *concussa est tellus*;[7] and at *iamque ducis nudus tanta inter inhospita uertex / saeuitia quatitur caeli* (752-753), as we learn of Hannibal's losing an eye in the crossing of the Apennines. Both senses are to be found in Mars' arrival (442),[8] because of which Italy's ground shakes, *ingressu tremefacta* (443), and Ticinus' fear, *audito curru* (444), makes the river abandon its banks; not unlike Mars, Fama shakes the citadels in Italy with the news she spreads, helped by *pauor* (9), which makes whatever is heard, *auditis* (8), grow.[9] As previously noted, hearing has a unique role to play in the minds of the readers in the first sequence of this scene (1-11); to the themes of bloodshed, death, and growth previously connected to Fama through the echoes the verbs used to describe her actions will put across, fear and the violent movement it causes or is caused by should be added to the list. Finally, in the occurrences of *quatit* in Book 4, a breeze, combing through

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Although they bear no intrinsic syntactical relationship to each other, the reader still experiences—reads, hears (with his mind or with his ears), maybe says aloud—'*arma . . . viros.*' It is this act, in which the reader perceives the words together as he scrolls through the text, that activates the Vergilian fingerprint and asserts the presence of an *arma virumque* theme." In the present occurrence, 4.11, the reader is lead to *hear* Virgil after a set of lexical indications that prepare his ears all along the ten previous verses. For the predictive function the expression serves here, see Landrey, 2014, p. 616ff.

[7] The warrior's fall making the ground shake under his weight is a traditional motif: see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 291, *ad* 4.293. See also n. 9.

[8] The same scene in which *spargere* is to be found, as discussed on the previous page. On the *epiphaneia*, see Ruperti, 1795, p. 440ff., and his consideration that a god's coming *tempestate motuque in terra indicari*.

[9] The "personified (and theomachic) *Fama*" (Chaudhuri, 2014, 240, n. 20) can have her heftiness measured not only by the reactions she provokes in comparison to Mars', but also by her gigantic nature: she is the daughter of Earth and sister of the Giants Coeus and Enceladus, as Vergil, *Aen.* 4.178-83 teaches us (see Chaudhuri, 2014, p. 224, n. 72). It should also be noticed that *quatitur* is used of the earth's trembling under Teutalus' weight (198-199), another reference (among many others, as in, *e.g.*, 4. 149, 237, 275-278, 293-294) of the Boii's topical height, which leads to their frequent comparison to the Giants and the sketching of battles as a Gigantomachy, a theme of which Silius is particularly fond (cf. an explanation in social terms in Fucecchi, 1990a, p. 35-36). See also n. 61.

the Elder Scipio's helmet's horse-hair plume (515) appears to frustrate the expectation so far aroused, since no real violence seems to be depicted by the usage;[10] it identifies Fama, however, with the swiftness of the wind, not unlike when she blows the news of Hannibal's crossing *citatior Euro* (6) and spreads the rumors that make the cities panic.

Fama's arrival and her actions analyzed above (1-7) bring along two other elements that will compose this Book: *pauor* (9) and *Mars* (11). As regards the latter, much of Book 4 is the narrative of the battles at the Ticinus (88-479) and the Trebia (480-699). As regards *pauor*, it can be seen to introduce the theme in two ways: first, in the very opening scene, as the rumors (*terrificis... rumoribus*, 7) shake and terrify the cities, while being fed by *pauor* (*docilis .../ pascere rumorem*, 9), resulting in a series of vignettes that well illustrate the growing fear that the news cause (12-36, especially 25-36); secondly, as we shall see, all through the Book, even after the battles are over, fear dominates the narrative as a pervading theme prolifically spread all over through means of a structuring isotopy.

1. Fear in its first appearance (1-38)

As Fama spreads her rumors and sings of Hannibal's movements, she grows in her march and shakes the cities with the alarming news.[11] A sense of approaching menace is stressed (*minantia*, 2; *diros*, 5; *terrificis*, 7) in adjectives, and fear (*pauor*, 9) reaches the scene, bringing along worries (*acris... curas*, 9-10), and the clamor of war summons arms and men (11). With the announcement of war, hardness (here understood as *duritia*, see *OLD*, s.v., 1-5) is the new isotopy that can be traced: the glitter on the javelins is cruel (*saeuus*, 12), axes are reforged on the furnace (*noua fornace*, 15), the cuirass is impenetrable (*impenetrabile*, 16), the steed is tamed with the whip (*uerbere*, 18), the sword is sharpened on stone (*saxoque exasperat*, 19), walls are repaired (*muris*, 20), stone is brought up (*saxa*, 21), towers are renewed (*turris*, 22), the citadels are armed with missiles (*tela*, 23), oak-timbers and door bars are brought from the woods (*robora... fidos... obices*, 23-24).

On this *duritia*, permeating the first scenes is the word *saxum* (2, 19, 21, 34), twice cited (19, 21) in connection to the use the Romans make of it, twice in reference to the Alps: *minantia saxa* (2) and *peruia saxa* (34). *Saxa minantia caelo* (2) is comparable to *saxa impellentia caelum* in 11.217, a verse in which Hannibal brags about his crossing of the Alps, *uni calcata deo* (11.218): just as Fama now announces, the Carthaginian *ductor* subdued the might of the sky-menacing rocks, making them his pathway (*peruia saxa*, 34). As opposed to the "*saxa Romanorum*", instruments for sharpening blades (19) and rebuilding walls (21), the "*Carthaginiensia saxa*" are the Alps, mentioned in verses (2 and 34)

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[10] Nevertheless, note the paradoxical phrase *quatit aura* (515).
[11] It is the "*trepida ciuitas* theme": "Souvent, outre la présence des mots habituels exprimant la peur — et parfois même en leur absence —, c'est une description des réactions et des comportements qui développe ce thème" (François, 2015, p. 292, n.17). See also Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 135-137, for a description of the fear in Rome in Book 12, and p. 143-144, for a list of episodes in the *Punica*.

that encircle the Romans defensive efforts (12-25) and their chaotic fear (25-36): to return briefly to a metaphor we used earlier, the tableaux are framed in a mimetic textual procedure, in which the Romans are seen surrounded by the deeds of Hannibal and by the news spread by Fama. If Hannibal has crossed the Alps and reached the Roman territory, what is left? Roman territory is taken, the foe now counts on the same resources (*saxa,* e.g.), which terrifies even the *patres: exterrent immania coepta/ inque sinu bellum* (33-34).[12] It is, however, on a note of hope that the sequence ends: verses 35 and 36 tell us of the unbroken spirit (*crudam... mentem / et magnos... animos*)[13]—the *duritia*—of the same Senate.

The epilogue (36-38) gathers a few references to the very exordium of the poem. *Iuuat ire periclis* (36) reminds *sed medio finem bello excidiumque uicissim/ molitae gentes, propiusque fuere periclo/ quis superare datum* (1.12-14)[14], both passages highlighting the dangers involved in winning. *Ire periclis, ire ad decus: decus* of building up a name to be remembered (*memorandum... nomen*, 37), the same as the poet asks the Muse to allow him to do in the exordium (*da, Musa, decus memorare laborum/ antiquae Hesperiae*, 1. 3-4), taking up the historian's task, now that new battles are to be narrated.[15] In the juxtapositions, the recurrence of *decus* should also be noted: *ire periclis / ad decus* (4.36-37) ~ *da, Musa, decus memorare laborum* (1.3). In Book 4, the Romans are willing to face the dangers that will lead them to a *memorandum nomen*, a *decus* that is the same as the one the poet asks the Muses to allow him to sing in the exordium in Book 1.[16] One last recurrence awaits our inspection: *dextra* (17, 30, 37). Thrice is it employed along these initial scenes, in reference to the blows the enemy will waste on the cuirasses the Romans now prepare (17), to the hands of children that are dragged in the havoc wreaked by the news (30), and to the Roman arms to build a name to be remembered (37). It dexterously reviews the three main topics that are exploited in this new exordium and reveals the upcoming plot of the poem: a great many blows by the foe, mayhem in Rome, the construction of a memorable name by the Romans. To sum up: the epilogue (36-38) of the triple entry scene (1-36) in Book 4 rehearses the themes from the exordium in Book 1 and so mirrors it, as the poet sets off to sing of the first battles on Italian soil.[17]

Even though the senators' spirit remains unbroken in the face of adversity, they fear (*exterrent*, 33) the war brought into their land. This is just the last of the many notations that makes fear one of

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[12] On the resources that become available to the Carthaginians, see the episode of the Trebia swelling its waters to swallow up the Roman army, and the battle that follows (638-699), a mix of civil war and Gigantomachy in Silian colors.

[13] Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 227, on *crudo* 3.385: "'crudus' dans tous ces passages est l'équivalent de 'durus'", confirming the isotopy we've been discussing.

[14] On the reference to Livy in these verses, see Feeney, 1982, p. 20.

[15] On the meaning of *memorare* and its significance for the historians, see Feeney, 1982, p. 10-11.

[16] *Decus* is also to be found in verse 4.14. The context is the ornamentation of helmets' plumes that are redressed. Except for the fact that it describes battle gear, it seems unrelated to the two occurrences we are considering (1.3 and 4.37). Curiously enough, the recurrences of the word seem to fall in one of two situations in Book 4: it either expresses the honor or the beauty of ornaments or pieces of clothing (14, 269, 517) or it refers to the *gloria* found in the battles (37, 138, 184, 198, 221, 398).

[17] One last (maybe looser) connection could still be pointed: in 4.38, Silius remarks that a glorious name is never lavished upon anyone by Fortune *rebus... secundis*, and in 1.8 he reminds us that *ter Marte sinistro* were treaties broken by the Cathaginians.

the main characters in this triple opening scene; in fact, the feeling itself, diversely named,[18] is introduced in the narrative three different times: *pauor* (9), *magister... timor* (25-26), and *metus* (32). *Pauor* is portrayed as *docilis per inania rerum / pascere rumorem uulgi* (8-9), being thus doubly connected to Fama: by executing a function that is clearly hers (compare Ov., *Met.* 12.53-58) and by a verbal echo: in verse 7, Fama *terrificis quatit attonitas <u>rumoribus</u> arces*, and in verse 9, it is for *pauor* to *pascere <u>rumorem</u> uulgi*. Exaggerating what it heard and fueling the rumor, *pauor* spreads as Fama herself, and two virtually become one.[19] *Timor*, also personified, is introduced in verse 25 as the *magister* that industriously precipitates the whole of the preparations described in verses 12-25 and of the dishevelment in verses 27-32. An alliteration on *t* introduces it (*cun<u>c</u>ta magis<u>t</u>er / praecipi<u>t</u>a<u>t</u> <u>t</u>imor, ac uas<u>t</u>is <u>t</u>repida<u>t</u>ur in agris*, 25-26), reflecting the tension of the situation in the repeated plosives. *Magister*, with its triple meaning of commander, captain, and keeper (see *OLD*, s.v. 1-6), emphasizes the complete dominion fear has over the people. As for *metus* (32), it is carried along without further questioning, *nec poscitur auctor*. Fear is then, as *pauor*, first spread like Fama, to become the master of people's actions as *timor*, ending up like a carry-along company as *metus*. This intrinsic relation between fear and the people can be lexically perceived in both verses 9 (*uulgi, pauor*), in which both words appear side by side, and 32 (*sic uulgus; traduntque metus*), in which *uulgus* is the semantic subject that carries *metus*.[20]

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[18] Although I acknowledge that may seem somewhat arbitrary to start the study by putting together three different terms as expression of a same feeling, it seems a proper point of departure for my inquiry and proposes a fuller initial view of the isotopy I am trying to expose. Besides, I invoke the good authority of Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 86 (*ad* 1.559), who explains the common picturing of fear (*peur*) as a feeling that gives wings, and then cites passages in which it is diversely named: 2.238 (*formido*), 4.25 and 7.349 (*timor*); on p. 294 (*ad* 4.325), he takes *Metus*, *Pauor* and *Furor* to be "synonymes" or "quasi synonymes"; Ernesti, 1791, p. 179, annotates *pauor* on 4.8 by using the word *metus*, thus deeming them to mean basically the same. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that some difference can be found when a closer reading of these terms is offered, something we try to consider more subtly in the next topic. For a first observation of the difference in meaning, taking Cicero as a starting point, see Álvarez Huerta, 2016, §5. In addition to that, see a catalogue of Cicero's definitions of *metus* given by Gernia, 1970, p. 31-32. Consider also Thomas, 2015, p. 23, in his concluding remarks in a recent article on *metuere-metus* and *timere-timor* in the archaic and classical periods: "Il n'est pas possible de spécialiser les différents termes du champ lexical de la crainte à un domaine particulier, ni d'établir entre eux une différence de degré. Il n'est pas possible non plus d'établir une synonymie entre tel ou tel et une absence de synonymie ailleurs. [...] Tout au plus peut-on dégager des tendances." Last but not least, a useful bibliographical review on studies on fear in the epic and historiographical genres can be found in Estèves, 2005, p. 10-24.

[19] As *Pauor* is the Latin translation of the Greek *Phobos*, two considerations seem relevant: (1) that *Phobos* "as used by Homer and other epic poets, was that of 'running away' due to panic", and (2) that "The fact that Ares is the father of Phobos and Deimos should indicate that this is a particular kind of fear, one caused by war" (Hancu, 2016, p. 16). Panic that makes run away is meaninful in a scene that describes the speed of rumor being spread. Besides, *Pauor* is personified at 6.557, a line in which it is characterized as *luctificus* and its effect (*timendo*) is said to make the commotion even bigger; it is the charioteer of Fama as the news from the disaster on Trasimene are broadcasted (compare with Homer, *Il.* 13.299ff., 15.119ff., passages in which *Phobos* is given as Ares' follower). See also Clément-Tarrantino, 2015, on how the personifications of fear progressed in Latin epic poetry from Virgil to Statius, and the bibliography she cites in her study (especially in n. 1, p. 91).

[20] At line 9, *uulgi*, according to Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 264, *ad locum*, "implique une condamnation, qui est topique..., et s'oppose à 'patres' 33 (cf. la reprise 'sic vulgus' 32, comme au vers 7, 511). Cette opposition entre la légèreté populaire et la sagesse des sénateurs continue une idée fréquente (e.g. Polyb. 3, 85, 10)..." On the subject of collective fear and its regulation by the authorities in Rome, see Loriol, 2015, especially p. 215-216 and 221-226. In addition to that, if the interpretation proposed by Ruperti, 1795, p. 259, is accepted, "Possis etiam *tradunt metus* interpretari, narrant metuenda," there is a transit of Fama's characteristics first to *pauor* (8-9) then to the *uulgus* (32), making the monstrous giant bigger by its passing through, and the three elements (Fama, fear, and folk) even more intrinsically connected.

Not only by naming the feeling itself is fear represented in verses 1-38: a collection of lexical hints allows us to perceive an isotopy that, as we shall see, permeates the whole of Book 4. This isotopy is first introduced in the description of panic-stricken (*turbatas*, 1) cities upon the news of Hannibal's dreadful (*diros*, 5) movements across the menacing (*minantia*, 2) rocks, the Alps. Fama keeps marching on and inflicts terrifying (*terrificis*, 7) rumors on the already stupefied (*attonitas*, 7) strongholds. As *pauor* enters the scene, relentless worries (*acris... curas*, 9-10) make Mars raise his clamor all over Italy and call men to arms. As *magister timor* enters the scene, the deserted fields tremble in fear (*trepidatur*, 26), and stupefied (*attoniti*, 28) citizens carry sick mothers and old men on their backs; wives with dishevelled hair (*crine soluto*, 29) are guided in front of this procession, and the people go on spreading their fear (*metus*, 32) without even considering the source of the news. The senators fear (*exterrent*, 33) as well, but oppose unbroken spirit to the hardships (*aspera*, 35) because they rejoice in facing dangers (*periclis*, 36).

2. Fear: a pervading isotopy in Book 4

2.1. Naming fear

In order to observe the isotopy of fear, present throughout Book 4, a good starting point is the feeling itself, diversely named, as introduced in different moments of the narrative. Besides *pauor*, *timor*, and *metus*, previously noticed in the opening scene, *terror* and *formido* need be added to this first list of terms.

Terror (325) is part of a repeatedly noticed exercise in creativity: only once is the term used by Silius in Book 4, naming a personification that is part of Hannibal's train. In this regard, Thomas' (1999, p. 230) active definition of *terror* is of interest—"[/ce qui provoque//une inquiétude vive/]"—above all because it defines the only active feeling, i.e., that acts and provokes something, instead of being felt, among the words that express fear and that he examines in his article.[21] Notice that it is as a god would be presented that Hannibal is described in verses 324 to 336: he appears as if flying (*aduolat*, 324), his shield shines its light all around the battlefield (*percussit lumine*, 327), spreading fear as terrified warriors (*trepida mente*, 328) try to run away;[22] he is compared to a fierce

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[21] In the same article, though, Thomas, 1999, p. 231, analyzing what he calls a semantic evolution from the cause to the effect, shows how the word *terror* can designate a precise form of fear, as the one a group of Carthaginian soldiers experience from the presence of Scipio in 9.411-413. In the scene, terror comes before the presence of Scipio, just as it does before the presence of Hannibal in 17.389ff. *Terror* accompanies both Scipio and Hannibal, and this is not the only characteristic they share, as we shall see. At any rate, Silius makes clear which one deserves the reader's admiration (9.436-437): *Marte uiri dextraque pares, sed cetera ductor/ anteibat Latius, melior pietate fideque.*

[22] A brief comparison to "another" epiphany in the very same Book 4 confirms this reading: in verses 430-444, Mars is sent down to help the Romans and the consul Scipio. As Hannibal's shining shield, Mars' spreads flames (*fulminis atri/ spargentem flammas clipeum*, 431-432 ~ 326-327); as Mars arrives, the battlefield is filled with the bulk of his chariot (*implet curru campos*, 436 ~ 327, *percussit lumine campos*); Mars has an entourage: *Irae, Eumenides, Letum,*

Caucasian tigress before its troubled prey (*turbatum... pecus*, 333) in a simile.[23] The terror Hannibal strikes around his appearance is then part of his triple retinue, also formed by *Metus* and *Furor* (325).[24]

Formido, on the other hand, is used twice by the poet: once at 820 and once at 405. In verse 820, it comes as part of Hannibal's speech to the Carthaginian ambassadors that ask for his son as a sacrificial victim: the homeland gods are pleased by the slaughter and mothers' dread (*formidine*, 820), but they should turn their faces to Hannibal's deeds, to the many victims' bloodshed with which he promises to propitiate their shrines.[25] As opposed to the previous *terror*, extreme fear (see *OLD*, s.v. 2), *formido* suggests also the worrying that dreading something may cause (see *OLD*, s.v. 1b). Correspondingly, in verse 405, *formido* (in the same case and metrical position as in 820)[26] is used in Scipio's speech, as he tries to convince his panic-stricken soldiers to stand in the battle and follow his deeds by pushing away their dread (*pulsa formidine*, 405). At the beginning of the same harangue, Scipio asks what *pauor* robbed the soldiers from themselves (*quis uos, heu, uobis pauor abstulit?*, 403).[27] We are hereafter back to the names that had already appeared in the first scene.

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and *Bellona* (436-439 ~ 325); Mars' appearance instills fear (442-443, *quatitur Saturnia sedes/ ingressu tremefacta dei, ripasque relinquit, / audito curru, fontique relabitur amnis* ~ 328-330). See also Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 294 and 72, *ad* 4.325 and 1.433, respectively; Ernesti, 1791, p. 200, *ad* 4.326ff.; Ruperti, 1795, p. 249, *ad* 4.324ff.

[23] See Niemann, 1975, p. 64 and 65, n. 4, for a commentary on this simile and further bibliographic discussion. We later analyze this simile on p. 19. See also Hannibal again as a tigress in Book 12, considered on p. 90 with n. 35. For a list of the 17 similes in the *Punica* that relate to fear, see Albrecht, 1964, p. 105-106, n. 38.

[24] On *metus*, see p. 9. Consider Hübner, 1970, p. 61, "Fama hat eher die Züge einer Furie. Sie selbst handelt in *furor*," an observation (from outside Silius' text) that may well help us understand the connecting link between Fama and Hannibal, *furor*. Fear is also brought by Fama (*pauor*, 9; *timor*, 25; *metus*, 32) and by Hannibal (*Metus*, 325). Again from outside Silius' text, Hübner, 1970, p. 92-93, may help us understand this second link: "Pavor und Fama gehören zu derselben seelischen Verfassung: zur Angst, die Schreckliches erfindet oder bereitwillig aufnimmt."

[25] Ruperti, 1795, s.v. *formido*, states, on 1.81 (=1.82 Budé), that *formidine* means *religione*, and adds that *sane est vulgatum verbum timendi indicari cultum religiosum, etiam in aliis linguis* (see also Lemaire, 1823, p. 14, *ad* 1.81; and Ernesti, 1791, p. 10, *ad* 1.81, and p. 232, *ad* 4.822; Feeney, 1982, p. 65-66). In line 1.82, the reference is to the sacrificial children offered by Carthaginians; in line 4.820 as in 1.82, Silius is likewise referring to the mothers' fear of losing their children in religious offerings. It is only in this occurrence (out of the two in Book 4) that we notice the meaning established by Thomas, 2012, 151, "une inquiétude vive et très prenante dans le temps. [...] Cette peur est donc un état qui perdure. La durée de la peur, le sentiment qu'elle va se prolonger [...] Cet aspect est en effet caractéristique." As Hannibal declares that the gods are to receive his slaughtered victims as sacrifice, he is transposing the fear from the Carthaginian mothers to the Roman ones. It is also worth noting that Hannibal's representation as a god ranks him alongside with the Carthaginian gods he invokes (4.819-822); consequently, not only does his speech imply that he also is pleased by slaughter and the enemies' mothers' dread, but it guides his homeland gods' eyes to where they should find their new sacrificial rejoicing, as though, besides being one of them, he could now choose and direct what kind of sacrifices they may receive, somehow taking over the gods' power of demanding offerings. Still on Hannibal's being matched up with gods, see the considerations in n. 22.

[26] As for the metrical position, it is quite a common one: "La forme du mot a déterminé en partie son succès: les cas obliques de *formīdŏ, -inis* ont fourni aux poètes un dactyle cinquième précieux dans l'hexamètre" (Ernout, 1957, p. 13, n. 4). Gernia, 1970, p. 108-109, notes that *formidine*, ablative singular, is always the form employed by Virgil and that, except for two cases out of twenty three (*Aen.* 10.631 and 11.407), it always forms the fifth-foot pure dactyl.

[27] As noted by Ernesti, 1791, p. 205, and by Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 300 (*ad* 4.404, *ad finem*), Scipio's speech is very close to Theron's in Book 2 (verses 228-232):

> "State, uiri; meus ille hostis; mihi gloria magnae,
> state, uenit pugnae. Muro tectisque Sagunti
> hac abigam Poenos dextra; *spectacula tantum*
> ferte, uiri; uel, si cunctos *metus acer* in urbem,
> heu deforme! rapit, soli mihi claudite portas".

Pauor, "sudden fear" that can affect "a number of persons simultaneously, panic" (*OLD*, s.v. 1), seems to be the richer amongst the five terms we are examining; four considerations spotted in Ernout and Meillet, 1951, p. 866-867, s.v., confirm its expressivity and allow us to set out: (1) it may first have designated an animated force, not a state; (2) it has been considered a divinity that had its own priests; (3) in reference to a state of mind, it is highly expressive;[28] (4) in imperial times, the sense weakened, and the word became a synonym of *timor*. Silius Italicus capitalizes on its expressivity in Book 4, and uses it four times, the same frequency of occurrence as *metus*.[29] We have already discussed the first occurrence in verse 9,[30] where *pauor* is in alliterative connection with *pascere*, a verb used figuratively (see *OLD*, s.v. 4d), but whose first idea (*OLD*, s.v. 1) leads us to picture *pauor* as a kind of *pastor* feeding rumors as if they were his domestic animals. The second occurrence, verse 255, introduces us to Tarius, before he is struck by Crixus: *fata extrema ferens abies, rapiturque pauore/ tractus equi* (255-256). *Pauore*, agent of the action expressed in *rapitur*, is highlighted by the position it occupies, being the last word in the line. Ruperti, 1795, p. 243, takes *pauore equi tractus* to mean *ab equo consternato*; if his reading is right and considering what the *OLD* offers on *consterno* (s.v., especially 1), the term clearly renders Tarius' horse's sudden shock and desperation. Also occupying a position that highlights its importance, after a hephthemimeral caesura, *pauor* in line 316 is used to describe the panic that makes the Carthaginian cavalry retreat, making *pauor* the general instead of Mago (*pauor auehit alas*), which is phonetically emphasized by the rolling of an alliteration on *r* (*rursus Tyrias retro pauor*), and lexically by the repetition of the idea of going back in *retro* and *rursus*, both words framing *Tyrias*. Not unlike it is the strength *pauor* displays in line 403, when Scipio, haranguing his fleeing warriors on their lack of courage, asks them which *pauor* has robbed them of themselves (*quis uos, heu, uobis pauor abstulit?*). A triple assonance in *i, o* and the semivowel *u* mirrors Scipio's woeful desperation in the face of his soldiers' desertion. In this last scene, panic is otherwise marked in *horrida* (403) and *formidine* (405; see above), two other words that delineate the isotopy of fear. In these four occurrences, it would be hard to properly determine whether we should align *pauor* with the first or the third of Ernout and Meillet's considerations enumerated above; as for the second one, *pauor* being

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In Theron's speech, however, it is not the words *pauor* and *formido* that are to be found, but the word *metus* (2.231) alone. After ordering the Saguntine men to stand behind him (just as Scipio does to the Romans in Book 4), Theron tells them to endure the spectacle (*spectacula tantum/ ferte*, 2. 230-231 ~ 4.405-406: *pulsa formidine tantum/ aspicite!*). In Book 2, it is *metus* that seizes them, and not *pauor*, as Scipio states in Book 4; not panic, no sudden fear, but keen fear. Revealingly enough, the spectacle of Theron's fighting must be endured, whereas the one offered by Scipio is to be watched, if the Roman warriors can only push away their apprehension. The Romans in the battlefield are snatched by sudden fear and apprehension (*pauor* and *formido*); the Saguntines, whose city is about to fall, are snatched by keen fear (*metus acer*) and must endure the spectacle of Theron's facing a stronger foe.

[28] They also observe that Cicero only employs *pauor* in his philosophic works, which can be meaningful: its high expressivity may habe been considered excessive for the public speeches.

[29] It is only in Books 4 and 5 (the ones that describe the first three battles in the Second Punic War) that *pauor* occurs four times; it occurs three times in Books 10 (battle of Cannae), 15 (battle of the Metaurus), and 16 (Mago goes back to Carthage; funeral games).

[30] See p. 5.

considered a divinity, the first occurrence seems to be the nearest one, if we are to find any at all in Silius.[31]

Two things are worth mentioning when considering these four occurrences of the word *pauor* in Book 4. Besides the prediction of the topic in line 9, the three following occurrences (lines 255, 316, and 403) belong to the first half of the Book and are significantly connected to the narrative of the battle on the Ticinus. It is the first one to take place between Romans and Carthaginians, and Silius marks with great emphasis the deeds of panic and its consequences: in all of the four occurrences, *pauor* is stressed to be the performer of the actions that follow (subject of the verb in 316, and 403; passive agent in 255). In only one of the four appearances is *pauor* experienced by the Carthaginians (line 316).

Metus occurs four times: lines 32, 325, 772, and 806. The first one has already been discussed: *metus* is among the belongings the Romans carry in their desperation, right after Fama reveals Hannibal's crossing of the Alps.[32] Verse 325 introduces an emphatic personification of *Metus:* as part of Hannibal's train, it is accompanied by *Terror* and *Furor;* an internal rhyme between *Sidonius* and *Metus* stresses the connection between the two characters, and the expression *circaque Metus* is detached from the line by two masculine caesuras, a triemimeral and a hephthemimeral one. Not only in this line is Hannibal accompanied by fear: it is his approaching that creates fear in verse 32, and not unlikely in verses 772 and 806. In line 772, the Carthaginians fear his wrath (*metus armati ductoris ab ira*), where *metus* marks the end of the first hemistich in a second-foot dieresis; in line 806, it is Imilce, Hannibal's wife, who fears her husband's reaction to the demanding of their son's blood for sacrifice. In all of these four verses, an alliteration on *t* links *metus* to other words, offering new emphases and eventual new reading possibilities:

32 Sic uulgus; traduntque metus, nec poscitur auctor

325 Sidonius, circaque Metus Terrorque Furorque

772 Sed propior metus armati ductoris ab ira

806 Tum uero trepidare metu uix compos Imilce

Three conclusions can be drawn from the observation of these occurrences.

Firstly, *metus* and *terror* are not the same in Silius' vocabulary. Just as Lucretius 3.141 establishes a difference between *metus* and *pauor* in that author's *Weltanschauung*, so does 4.325 for Silius between *metus* and *terror*. As previously noted, *Terror* occurs only once in Book 4, in this very personification, and it is difficult, in the encompassed contents of this Chapter, to determine more than the fact that *metus* seems to be a more extensively marked feeling than *terror,* "sudden fear". In this sense, *metus* is

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[31] See p. 5 and n. 19. Notice also that *pauor* is always depicted as the agent of the action (*docilis... pascere rumorem... pauor*, 8-9; *rapiturque pauore*, 255; *pauor auehit alas*, 316; *Quis uos, heu, uobis pauor abstulit?*, 403), "accentuando il suo aspetto di forza attiva" (Gernia, 1970, p. 120), as in Virgil, who always employs the word in its nominative.

[32] See p. 5.

closely linked to the worrying and apprehension detected in *formido*, although, as we have seen, this last word may on occasion have a connection with religious sentiment.[33]

Secondly, Silius employs alliterations and rhymes in order to phonetically draw attention to the use of these words, creating, inside the isotopy of fear, a microcosmic isotopy of sounds that relates words and creates new reading possibilities. As also noticed in the previous cases, caesuras can also determmine reading pauses that serve to emphasize the expressivity of these words in the verses they appear.

Thirdly and last, Hannibal is intimately connected to *metus*. Not only is its personification part of his entourage (line 325), but it is he who strikes fear all over: with his crossing of the Alps, into the Romans (line 32); with the unpredictability of his answer to the sacrificing of his son, both into the Carthaginians (line 772) and into his wife Imilce (line 806). As it seems and as we shall confirm, Hannibal is the only character in Book 4 who does not experience fear—he is fierce and fearless.

As far as naming fear is concerned, one last term remains to be inspected: *timor*. The word presents itself twice in Book 4, one of which (line 26) has already been discussed;[34] the second occurrence, in verse 803, is part of the sequence to Imilce's speech on behalf of her son: the Carthaginian senators hesitate to offer Hannibal's son as sacrifice (*Haec dubios uario diuumque hominique timore/ ad cauta illexere patres*, 803-804). *Timore* indicates the cause of their fear and comes emphatically at the very close of the line; their *timor* is divided between Hannibal and the gods, which turns us back to two issues we have already found earlier: the relation between fear and religion, first observed in the word *formido*,[35] and Hannibal's pairing with the gods.[36]

The last two terms analyzed in this section, *metus* and *timor*, are related to the verbs *metuere* and *timere*, both occurring in Book 4. *Metuere* occurs three times, the last of which in the very same scene we have just discussed. In line 807 (*magnanimi metuens immitia corda mariti*), Imilce fears her husband's heart, because of the decision that will be handed off to him. An alliteration on *m* emphasizes fear as whirling around Hannibal (*magnanimi mariti*), at the close of a passage in which the isotopy of fear is particularly reinforced (*diuumque hominisque timore*, 803; *trepidare metu uix compos Imilce*, 806; *metuens*, 807). In line 484, it is Scipio who fears the plains that have favored the Carthaginians (*At consul, tristis campos*

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[33] For the relation between *formido* and religion, see n. 25. See also Hübner, 1970, p. 13 with n. 50, on *formido* as "Gespensterfurcht."

[34] See p. 5 and n. 18. In that sense, and inasmuch as the personification is taken as a starting point, another passage in the poem is worth considering, 7.348-350 (*instat trepidis stimulatque ruentes/ nauus abire timor, dum caeca silentia dumque/ maiores umbrae*). These verses are found in the description of Carthaginian soldiers' taking measures for an escape: encircled in a valley by the Roman army led by Fabius Maximus, they plot a stratagem (lighting a fire on the cattle's heads) to mislead the enemy. Right before the execution of the plan, we are told that fear (*timor*) urges (*instat*) and spurs the soldiers on (*stimulat*). Not at all unlikely, *haud segnis timor* rushes (*praecipitat*) the Romans' preparations in lines 4.25-26; in Book 7, *timor* is *nauus*, which Lemaire, 1823, p. 474, *ad* 7.350, explains as *qui nauos, strenuos, fortes facit*—mostly like a taskmaster (*magister,* 4.25), another point of agreement. One slight difference should be noted, however: although both the Carthaginian army (in Book 7) and the Roman people (in Book 4) are set in motion by *timor,* and although *timor* is set, both in verses 4.26 and 7.350, in the very same metrical position, Romans flee before the siege, whereas Carthaginians flee after being blockaded.

[35] See n. 25.

[36] See p. 6-7 and n. 21, 22, and 25.

Poenisque secundam/ planitiem <u>metuens</u>, Trebiam collisque petebat, 483-484). *Metuens* comes significantly interposed between the plains on the Ticinus (*planitiem*) and the next battlefield (*Trebiam*), as if mimetically imaging the consul "painted into a corner"; it is worth noticing that this is the same consul that, as we have seen, between verses 401-411, gave his soldiers a hard time concerning their *pauor* (403) and *formido* (405) when facing the enemy. In line 47, Hannibal, as soon as he crossed the Alps, worries about gaining the Gauls' sympathy, a people that invented "being feared by violence" (<u>metui</u>... <u>manu</u>), which may entail being feared as a by-extension characteristic of the Carthaginians, as the Gauls become allies.[37] With respect to *timere* (*timentem*, 601), referring to the Trebia, it expresses the river's fear of the elephant that rolls down its waters.[38] Once again, mimetically imaging the scene, the elephant (*insueta*) comes significantly interposed between *Trebiam* and *timentem*, the enveloping river.

Considering the verbs *metuere* and *timere*,[39] fear seems to be caused by two elements: either the unknown or the enemy. The Trebia (601) and Imilce (806) fear the unknown—the former, the bulky mass in its channel; the latter, her husband's austere heart. The enemy is feared, the Gauls invented being feared by their brutality (47),[40] and the enemy plains of the Ticinus frighten the fleeing Scipio

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[37] The Gauls can, however, also fear, as we learn in Book 15—see p. 116 and especially n. 67 on p. 124. The relationship between the Carthaginians and the Gauls, represented in the *Punica* by the latter being allies to the first, is probably due to a social connection that these two feared peoples had in Rome; for the historical fact, see Bellen, 1985, especially p. 22.

[38] This scene itself is quite significant and brings to light many a theme and tensions that are reccurrent in Silius Italicus' poem. Considered metaphorically, an Italian landscape fears (*Trebiam... timentem*, 601) the menace of the African unknown (*insueta*, 601)—a microcosmic representation of what the *Punica* is all about. Indeed, "the poet creates an image of the periphery as an idiosyncratic 'body,' very different from Roman society and culture, which is nevertheless going to be imposed on it. Many a time, the periphery of the future Roman Empire creates strife" (Augoustakis, 2010, p. 93), as we can see in the following verses (603-621), as the Romans, lead by Fibrenus, decide to test the unterrified valor's (*uirtus <u>interrita</u>*, 604) path to glory: they slaughter the elephant, which falls under a shower of darts, after having its eye pierced and trumpeting hideous sounds (*stridore <u>horrisono</u>*, 612). The bulk of the elephant blocks the river stream, as do the corpses of dead warriors, the beginning of the *mache parapotamios* that follows (622-703): Scipio's battle against the Trebia, the skirmish of an Italian warrior and his protecting gods against an Italian river, presents us with the continual civil war theme of the Punica (see McGuire, 1997, especially p. 92-93, 126-144, 205-229, and Marks, 2010). On this battle, see Santini, 1991, p. 63-113; Chaudhuri, 2014, p. 205-210; and p. 20-21 (in which the words *horrida* (687) and *attonitis* (692) are exploited).

[39] In addition to our observations, consider the conclusions in Álvarez Huerta, 2016: (1) *timere* relates to a feeling of fear in the face of something known to be certain (§ 20); (2) there is a gradation between *metuere* and *timere*, the first expressing a fear in the face of something less certain, and consequently a somewhat "lesser" or "weaker" fear (§ 20); (3) *metuere* expresses a "sentiment" (*un sentimiento*), intellectually elaborated, whereas *timuere* expresses an emotion (*una emoción*), something fugacious and not mentally elaborated (§ 27). Especially concerning this last conclusion, it seems to apply to the verses under examination: it is interesting to envisage the river as less deliberative in its expression of fear, which, if it were to be taken as a characteristic Silius atributes to rivers in general and extended to the Trebia, would give us new possible insights into the *mache parapotamios* (622-703; see n. 38). Another way to express quite the same idea is Thomas' (2015, p. 19): "*Timere-timor* s'emploient pour le sujet qui vit sa crainte, *metuere-metus* se dirait plutôt quand le sujet prend la mesure des choses."

[40] Hannibal's stern heart (*immitia corda*, 807) fuels Imilce's fear; the Gauls caused the Romans' fear and that's why Hannibal tries to gain their fickle hearts (*inania corda*, 49). Similar-sounding expressions and the use of the concept in *corda* to characterize the enemy adds to the proximity between Hannibal and the Gauls. See p. 40, n. 50.

(484). Other verbs of fear offer a significant avenue to approach the isotopy of our inquiry, and it is to them we now turn in the following section.

2.2. Verba timendi

Besides *timere* and *metuere*, five other verbs have been detected as significantly participating in the isotopy of fear: *trepidare* (26, 806); *exterrere* (33, 276); *terrere* (421); *tremefacere* (443); *tremere* (283, 455). Much like what we identified earlier, fear is mostly caused by Hannibal, his decisions and his actions.

In the first scene,[41] Hannibal's crossing of the Alps creates trepidation (*trepidatur*, 26) all over the vast fields (*uastis... in agris*). There is no clear expression of a subject. However, fear is spread in the second hemistich with the flapping of the r's (*trepidatur in agris*), mimetically imitating the vibration of the run, reinforced by the plosion of t's (*uastis trepidatur*),[42] and the sibilance of s's (*uastis... agris*), summoning the whistling and hissing of the mob's agitated comings and goings;[43] in a word, *harmonie imitative* in its best expression. Seven verses later, *exterrere* marks the senators' (*patres*, 33) fear of Hannibal's enormous enterprise (*immania coepta*);[44] their fear is, at any rate, attenuated by its positioning in a concessive clause introduced by *quamquam*, the conjunction itself being connected to the verb by a synaloepha—fear exists, but it does not prevent the authorities from taking due measures and facing the challenge at hand.[45] Passive and no subject expressed, concessive clause: in both lines 22 and 33, in the opening scene, the Romans' fear is verbally mitigated.[46]

Going from one extreme to the other, line 806 at the end of the Book, the verb *trepidare* has its second occurrence: *Tum uero trepidare metu uix compos Imilce*. Imilce's fear in this last scene, unlike the Romans' in the opening one, is clearly attributed and emphasized. The subject is clear (*uix compos Imilce*), Imilce, who can hardly keep control of herself, for fear of her husband's harshness; the verb comes in a narrative infinitive, reinforcing the rapid sequence of events from the Carthaginian senators' proposal to Imilce's speech, their decision, and Imilce's consequent state of mind (*metu*). *Trepidare metu* is actually metrically detached: two masculine cesurae, a triemimeral and a

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[41] See p. 1-3.

[42] Marouzeau, 1946, p. 29: "Le redoublement des explosives exprime une agitation tumultueuse, le mouvement des pas, le galop d'un cheval."

[43] Marouzeau, 1946, p. 25: "L'*s* est fréquemment combinée avec des *c*, sous la forme *sc* ou *x*, et avec des *t*, pour rendre un bruit aigu". For an example of a meticulously observed "harmonie imitative," see Albrecht, 2014, p. 14-17, especially under the sections "Tremolo" and "Klangphantasie."

[44] On the sonority and resonance of *immania coepta*, see n. 40.

[45] A second occurrence of *exterrere* is found in line 276: *mouit signa Mimas caelumque exterruit armis*. Mimas, one of the giants that fought in the Gigantomachy, is used to denote the grandiosity of the *semiferus Crixus* (277), as he expresses his anger to Scipio: at first sight, his murmur and howlings are like Mimas' weapons that terrified heaven. On the importance of the Gigantomachy/Theomachy in the *Punica*, see the bibliography in n. 9 and 61.

[46] In another moment, Silius uses the same procedure: closing a scene less favorable to the Romans (401-479), the poet introduces the eulogy of a typical Roman valor, *pietas*, ascribed to Scipio *filius*; see Niemann, 1975, p. 78.

hephthemimeral one, add emphasis to this expression of vibrating fear.[47] In addition, a sequence of plosives (*tum... trepidare metu uix compos Imilce*) is used to indicate a "tumultuous agitation,"[48] akin to what we encountered in line 26. Both the opening scene (*trepidatur in agris*, 26) and the closing one (*trepidare metu uix compos Imilce*, 806) are built around fear,[49] and as has become evident, the whole of Book 4, a fear that is itself forged around Hannibal.[50]

Between extremes, gods fear, environments fear, the hero-to-be fears. Scipio's harangue to the fleeing soldiers and his demonstration of fearlessness at that point scares Jupiter himself (*Magnanimi me, nate, uiri, ne bella capessis,/ haud dubie extremus terret labor*, 420-421), who then decides to send Mars as Scipio *pater*'s protector (*siste ducem Libyae*, 423) and Scipio *filius*' (the *Africanus* to-be) leader (*magistro*, 428). Jupiter fears that Scipio's uncontrolled bravery may drive him to his last effort (*haud dubie extremus... labor*, 421), a feeling which is expressed in a climactic sentence that develops over two verses (420-421): the affected party, Jupiter, is revealed early (*me*, 420), but it is only after we learn that Mars' intervention is necessary (*ne bella capessis*, 420) and that something may be Scipio's last (*magnanimi... uiri.../ haud dubie extremus*, 420-421), that we finally discover what upsets Jupiter (*terret labor*, 421).

The impact of fear is tremendous. Besides reaching the gods, fear also disturbs the environment—Mars' arrival causes Italy to tremble and the river to flow back to its sources (442-444). In a sequence a-b-a-b (noun-adjective-noun-adjective), Silius depicts the enmeshment of terrified Italy and the god's entrance (*sedes/ ingressu tremefacta dei*, 442-443), and cause and effect seem blurred as if the cause of Italy's fear were Mars and his coming. This scene is in the middle of a bigger act in development, one in which fear plays a significant role: Jupiter fears Scipio's fearlessness (*terret*, 421), Italy fears Mars (*tremefacta*, 443), and the hero-to-be, Scipio, fears his father's approaching death (*trementem*, 455). Note the curious distinction in affects: whereas the verb that describes the god's fear (Jupiter: *me... / ... terret*, 420-421) refers to the effect of fear on the mind, the verbs that describe human affects (Italy *tremefacta* and Scipio *trementem*, 442 and 455) refer to the effect of fear on the body.

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[47] For the same effect in line 325, see p. 9. The expression may be an inheritance of Virgil, since "talvolta *metus* è forza ativa, causa di ansia ed affanno, associata ad un termine che ne accentua la forza expressiva (*trepidò*)" (Gernia, 1970, p. 38), as in *Aen.* 2.685 (*nos pauidi trepidare metu*) and 6.490-491 (*ut uidere uirum fulgentiaque arma per umbras,/ ingenti trepidare metu...*).

[48] See n. 42.

[49] *Trepidare* occurs again in line 310: *atque ima longe trepidant in ualle iuuencae*. It is here the closing line of a second simile, in a sequence that depicts Crixus' falling and its effect on the Celts. Deprived of their leader, they flee as animals and tremble as heifers, as a hunter sets fire to mountain Picanus and makes their haunts burn. The heifers that tremble in fear (*trepidant*) are in the faraway valleys, and the Celts who, even though not close to where Scipio and Crixus battled, and the latter fell, are startled, nevertheless, are the ones compared to the heifers. *Trepidatur in agris* (26), *trepidare metu uix compos Imilce* (806), *trepidant... iuuencae* (310): it is worth stressing that it is only in the instance in which the Romans fear that the verb has no clearly expressed subject—it is but from the context that we learn that the great trepidation in the fields is due to the Romans' fear of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps.

[50] As the last scene also makes clear, Hannibal's imposing fear affects not only the Romans, but also Carthage, his *Carthago parens* (811). On the dichotomy of Hannibal's character as protector and alien to his own *patria*, see Augoustakis, 2010, especially p. 99-102.

Utmost humanity is shown by Scipio *filius*, the hero-to-be. As Scipio *pater* gets hurt, transfixed by a dart, and Scipio *filius* sees it (*conspexit*, 455), the scene takes on a new movement, and four verbs describe the fast sequence of actions performed by three different subjects (*puer... conspexit... gemitum rupit*, 454, 455, 456; *maduere genae*, 455; *corripuit pallor*, 456). Scipio's fear is emphasized in terms of physical reaction, in a present participle (*trementem*, 455), in the representation of his being marred by paleness (*pallor*, 456) and in his letting out a sigh that goes up to heaven (*gemitum*, 456); this mixing of movement, color/vision, and hearing introduce Scipio *filius* as an important character whose first developments will be seen in the following verses.[51]

Niemann, 1975, p. 77-78, had already noticed the effects achieved by Silius in ordering the battle narratives the way he did. To his analytical proposal, we may add a characterization in opposition: Scipio vs Hannibal. In the lines that follow the description of Scipio's reaction to seeing his father's wounding, the boy's (*puer*, 460) first reaction of fear (*trementem*, 455) and his suicidal attempt (457-458) depict him as only too human. This is rapidly changed into fearlessness (*intrepidus*, 460), as Mars directs Scipio's fury against the enemies (458-459), and he decides to follow in the god's footsteps (*Gradiuum passibus aequat*, 460). As we shall see, this comparison proposes interesting insights for the interpretation of Hannibal's previous identification with a god, and namely with Mars.[52] Concerning Scipio, his characterization goes on relating him to other mortals that are significant in the context of Roman culture of *uirtus* and warfare. In opposition to Hannibal's shield, made by the mortal hands of the *Callaici* (2.391-456), Scipio is protected under his *caelesti clipeo* (463), not unlike Aeneas' (*Aen.* 8.608-731); also in terms of Aeneas' inheritance, Niemann, 1975, p. 76, interprets that the victims Scipio makes in front of his father's eyes, described by Silius as *optata piacula* (465), as well as the boy's carrying of his father on his back (467), attest to his *pietas*, which gives the first indication of Scipio's superiority over Hannibal.[53] Scipio's *pietas* will be one of his two aspects emphasized in these lines. It is thanks to his *pietas* that Carthaginians and Iberians make way (468-470); this reminds us, in correlation to Hannibal, that it is through fear that he forces passage (324-330), followed by a train, as we have seen, that connects his appearance to Mars' (430-444). In line 470, *pietas insignis et aetas*, not only does Silius express Scipio's *pietas* in patent words, but confines our attention to a second aspect, *aetas*, which will connect our main character to Virgil's Iulus: Scipio is a promising future hero, just as Aeneas' son was in the *Aeneid*.[54] And as in the *Aeneid* Apollo praised Iulus' future, so will Mars Scipio's in the *Punica*, mirroring the scene and echoing the words in Vergil: *Macte, o macte indole sacra/ uera Iouis proles* (*Pun.* 4.475-476) ~ *macte noua uirtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,*

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[51] Another occurrence of *tremere* is found in line 283: *uel portas quassare trabes: sonat illa tremendum*. When Crixus and Scipio meet, after exchanging the customary bravado, the Gaul throws his spear, and it flies with a dreadful (*tremendum*) sound. *Tremendum* used as an adverb seems to be rare and poetic (see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 19 and 260, *ad* 1.90 and 3.692, respectively). On horrifying sounds in the isotopy of fear, see the adjetive *horrisonus* analyzed on p. 20-21.

[52] See p. 6-7 on *Terror*, and n. 21 and 25.

[53] See n. 1 in Niemann, 1975, p. 76, and the additional bibliography there.

[54] See Niemann, 1975, p. 76-77. On Scipio's being "educated" through the whole episode, see Marks, 2005, p. 115-122.

dis genite et geniture deos (*Aen.* 9. 641-642). As a result, Scipio is a mortal that fears, but to whom Mars' protection and guidance are granted; a mortal whose deeds are comparable to Aeneas' through his *pietas* and to Iulus' through the early age at which he starts his exploits.

What is especially relevant in the present episode is that, retro-reading Hannibal's arrival on the battlefield (324-336) in association with Mars' epiphany (430-444), some hundred verses later, we are led to identify both appearances.[55] Besides what we have already observed, we should also like to consider the fact that both Mars and Hannibal impose fear (the latter even goes followed by personifications of it, *Metus* and *Terror*, 325) and are surrounded by it (notice all the context around Mars' coming: he is sent because Jupiter fears Scipio's excesses—*terret*, 421; the Italian plains shake in fear with the god's arrival—*tremefacta*, 443; Scipio shakes in fear as he sees his father's wound—*trementem*, 455). Nevertheless, although this connection is presented in parallel characterization and of noticeable intratextual construction, Mars' "blessing" and protection is given to someone else, to *einem gelehrigen Schüler des Kriegsgottes*, as Niemann, 1975, p. 75, puts it.[56] The way Silius plays on this double characterization is not a one-time procedure of our poet's; in fact, it could be described as a reiterative *modus operandi:* Hannibal rivals Scipio and Fabius for the role of Aeneas;[57] Hannibal rivals both Scipio and Fabius for the role of Hercules.[58]

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[55] Once again, see p. 6-7 on *Terror* and n. 21 and 25.

[56] Note also Niemann's observation (1975, p. 75, with n. 5) that Scipio will be compared to Mars in 17.486-490, in the description of the battle of Zama. Scipio and Hannibal's rivaling for the role of Mars is not the only confluence between them: in Book 4, both are said to be *intrepidus*—Scipio, as he is lead by Mars (*Fertur per tela, per hostis/ intrepidus puer et Gradiuum passibus aequat*, 459-460); Hannibal, as Imilce imagines where her husband can be, while the senators propose her son's sacrifice (*Tu nunc fortasse sub ipsis/ urbis Dardaniae muris uibrantia tela/ excipis intrepidus clipeo*, 781-783). Apropos this adjective, two other occurrences are registered in the poem (and these four uses are all that can be found in Silius): it refers again to Hannibal in 11.230 and to both Hannibal and Scipio (*intrepidis ductoribus*) in 9.440. In this last scene, confirming that Mars is Scipio's protector and not Hannibal's, we see him and Minerva coming down their clouds to fight side by side with their favorites. The image of "Mars between Hannibal and Scipio" is fully developed by Ripoll, 1998, p. 179-186.

[57] See Klaassen, 2010, p. 100-106; as "Silius exploits the model of Aeneas for Hannibal to suggest the unfulfilled possibility of Carthaginian world rule instead of Roman" (p. 104), so does he in exploiting the model of Mars to suggest Hannibal's unfulfilled possibility of being a war god; ultimately, it is Scipio who will play Mars' role and win the war.

[58] Cf. Asso, 2010, p. 183: "By associating Hannibal with Hercules, Silius at the same time, however, emphasizes the Carthaginian's hubris and thereby complicates not only his characterization of Hannibal but also his construction of Hercules as a paradigm of heroism, whose exemplary function includes negative as well as positive features. In his destruction of a city dear to Hercules [=Saguntum], how can Hannibal hope for the god's help?" Considering the case at hand, by associating Hannibal with Mars, Silius emphasizes again the Carthaginian's *hubris* and proposes the question—in his fighting against a city whose patron is Mars himself, how can Hannibal properly pretend to impersonate the god? Furthermore, Asso, 2010, p. 192, emphasizes the importance of "human divinity": "Hercules' unphilosophical weaknesses, I argue, succeed in picturing the Roman god in human form, and thus contribute to his role in the poem as a paradigm of heroism for Roman men—an archetype, as it were, of human divinity"; as we have seen, showing fear and weeping and even going as far as trying to commit suicide emphasizes Scipio's human side, but his divine humanity and his human divinity is succesfully depicted by Silius in the character's first appearance, and later, "by establishing Scipio as a son of the ruler of gods, Silius elevates him to the level of a hero, like Hercules before his deification" (p. 189); besides, Scipio's first battlefield deeds in the poem are observed by his divine father and guided by his godly brother, which emphasizes his divine side, and "so preparing the ground for the 'eclectic' character of the protagonist of the last three books" (Fucecchi, 2010, p. 238, n. 82). For more on Scipio, see Chapter 5, especially p. 102-112, and Marks, 2005.

With Hannibal's *hubris*, here emphasized by the poet in comparing the Roman enemy and the war god, we are reminded of the very beginning of Book 4, when, comparing himself to Hercules because of the crossing of the Alps, far from being inferior, Hannibal suggests his being superior, for he was able to guide his army through the rocks.[59] It is in this context that we see the verb *fremere* (66) in Hannibal's speech, describing the Alps' fear in the face of the Carthaginians' horses' snorting: *fremuisse hinnitibus Alpes*. Fear changes its object by the end of the Book: in line 741, *horrescebat* is the opening word in a four-verse sequence in which Silius describes the Apennines as a high-standing mountain (*summo/ piniferum caelo miscens caput*, 741-742; *et uertice celso/ canus apex structa surgebat ad astra pruina*, 743-744), covered in snow (*glacie*, 741; *condiderat nix alta trabes*, 743; *structa pruina*, 744) and protected by its trees (*piniferum caput*, 742) and slippery cliffs (*saxa inter lubrica*, 741). It is winter, and the Apennines stand as a giant whose head reaches the stars and mixes it with the sky; this vertically imposing image is pre-emphasized in line 740, in which we are told that the Carthaginian soldiers are led over the mountains, bulkily mixed with the upper world (*protinus aerii praeceps rapit aggere montis*).[60] These indications of height and loftiness, in addition to the repeated references to touching the sky and mixing itself with it, prompts us to see that the god-opposing giant Hannibal has a new giant in front of him,[61] which he will have to face (and as we also learn, suffer losses from the battle: *manante per ora/ perque genas oculo,* 752-753). Against this backdrop, it is again perceptible how Silius decided to characterize Hannibal as fearless in Book 4: even though a menacing high giant-like mountain stands in his way, he decides to stride forward (the whole crossing lasts seventeen verses, 745-761): *ire iubet* (745).[62] As a part of the war, the crossing of the Apennines is "but an eye", and in his fearlessness,

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[59] Cf. Fucecchi, 1990a, p. 39.

[60] The importance attributed to the mountain and its impressiveness is also metrically marked at 742: Silius employs a tetrasyllabic line-ending that makes a spondaic final clausula, which is very rare in his poem (cf. Arribas Hernáez, 1990, p. 236), the effect is a threatening sight, gravely designed also in its phonetic description. As the use of the word *Apenninus* in this very metric position is an inheritance of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.226), some attention should be given to this description, especially considering that Silius "tends to eschew signposting his intertexts by the technique of 'quotation,' that is, by repeating complete phrases or other word collocations from earlier poems" (Wilson, 2004, p. 226), which he actually does here. If we check the contexts (i.e., Silius' description of the Apennines, its comparison with the already conquered Alps, Hannibal's losing an eye vs Phaeton's burning of mountains in Ovid), it would seem that a clear picture is being drawn here, as the Apennines, despite all their height and loftiness, are impotent against Hannibal's dominion in Silius, as well as against Phaeton's irresponsibility in Ovid. To a certain extent, Hannibal's image is then connected to Phaeton's, and his irresposibility comes well described in the following verses (749-759). If we were to take the comparison further, it would be worth noticing that in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.225-226) not only the Apennines, but also the Alps and Olympus, suffer Phaeton's act, similarly to what we see in Silius' *Punica*. See n. 62.

[61] For Hannibal as a god-opposing giant, see Fucecchi, 1990a. A summarized version of his ideas can also be found in Fucecchi, 2013b, p. 112 and 119; in his conclusions, he draws our attention to a *mise-en-abyme*-like effect that the Gigantomachy theme creates, which could well be applied to the scene under examination: "the influence of the 'Gigantomachy theme' is more structural and creates peculiar kinds of narrative subplots. Good and evil find other places within the course of myth and history to re-enact their dramatic fight and the reader who manages to reach the end of *Thebaid* and *Punica* is left with the impression of a lucky escape from a nightmare" (p. 121).

[62] The lesser importance given to the crossing of the Apennines in terms of amount of verses employed is paradoxically unrelated to the gravity of the event. Silius eschews it in favor of the crossing of the Alps (now as far from the reader as some 700 verses), which is even felt by Hannibal himself (745-746). It is nevertheless interesting to notice that the Apennines are namely cited only five times in the poem (2.314, 333, 354; 4.742; 5.206; 8.649), two of which (2.314 and 4.742) receiving special emphasis in its choice of metrical positioning in the line (see n. 61); besides, on the density of the description forged by Silius in 4.741-744, see Estèves, 2005,

Hannibal would dare give other members away: *non cetera membra moratur/ in pretium belli dare, si uictoria poscat* (756-757).

The verb *horrere* is also seen in another context: in the Allius episode. Allius is an Apulian warrior from Argyripa, whose hunting prowess lasted until only right before his running into Mago and Maharbal, that, compared to two hungry bears, tear Allius' breast apart with their spears—at the same time. Allius' cuirass is of a frightful appearance (*horret*, 558): a samnite bear's hide protects his breast.[63] Ruperti's (1795, p. 307) note, "*horret* exquisite pro *est*," identifies and downplays the accuracy of a verb that serves to describe the ferocity[64] in Allius' breast protection by means of imaging the bristles that are stiffly erect (see *OLD* under *horreo*, itens 1, 2, and 3; for the connection of this verb with fear, see 4, 5, and 6), with an appearance as dreadful as a bear in the wild. Less than twenty verses later, namely in lines 564 and 572, the same adjective appears twice and carries on the isotopy of fear: *trepidus*; in the first of these two occurrences, it refers to Allius in the above-cited simile.

2.3. Qualifying fear: adjectives

Seven different adjectives reiterate the isotopy of fear in Book 4: *terrificis* (7), *trepidus* (111, 192, 328, 391, 416, 564, and 572), *horridus* (180, 249, 403, 440, and 687), *turbatus* (243 and 333), *horrisonus* (278 and 612), *interritus* (604), and *intrepidus* (460 and 873). The most frequent of them, *trepidus* is used twice in very close verses (564 and 572), the first of which occurrences is part of the Allius' simile we discussed above.

In line 564, Allius, whose breast protection is the hide of a female bear, is compared to a bull attacked by two male bears.[65] The line is ingeniously woven around a triemimeral caesura: the pause separates the expressive verb (*inuadant*) that describes the bears' attack from the fierce onslaught, and the confusion and mixing of bears and bull are mimetically represented in a scheme adjective a-noun b-preposition-adjective b-noun a (*trepidum gemina inter proelia taurum*).[66] The adjective that expresses the bull's fear (*trepidum*) is emphasized by its position after the caesura, whereas the noun itself gains

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p. 211-212. Cf. also Bernstein, 2017, p. 156-157 (*ad* 2.314), 164-165 (*ad* 2.333), and 173 (*ad* 3.353-354); Ariemma, 2000, p. 142.

[63] On the irony in the scene, see Niemann, 1975, p. 87, with Bernstein's note (2017, p. 74) on Asbyte's and Mopsus' hunting abilities in Book 2: "In epic, however, hunting is often an inferior form of preparatory training for war, and youthful success at hunting often leads to overconfidence and failure in war." The irony is further developed through a gender marking in the "bears" that fight: Allius has a female bear (*ursae*, 558) on his breast, whereas Mago and Maharbal are male attacking bears (*ursi*, 563). For more on gender bias in Book 4, see further, p. 19, on Hannibal as a tigress in a simile. On the hunting scene in *It stridens per utrumque latus Marusia taxus* (567), see p. 123-124, the commentary on *transuerberare* and *rapere*.

[64] The same "ferocity" we see in the Apennines (*horrebat*, 741), the same consequence in both cases: the mountain, won by Hannibal; the warrior, won by Mago and Maharbal. On the verb *horrere*, Estèves, 2005, p. 43-44, notes that it only appears "au sens physique de « se hérisser »... il demeure un signe extérieur à la peur, le verbe ne désigne pas en lui-même l'émotion : il demeure un signe extérieur à la peur, bien qu'en correlation avec elle."

[65] On the irony (*Pointe*) of the scene description, see Niemann, 1975, p. 87, especially n. 6, and my n. 63 above.

[66] The so called "estructura quiasmática de ordenación concéntrica" (Arribas Hernáez, 1990, p. 242).

emphasis by occupying the last position in the clausula. The second hemistich is still marked by an alliteration on *t*: *t*repidum-in*t*er-*t*aurum.

Verse 572 (*impellens trepidos fluuioque immergere certat*) depicts the Romans after their standards had been scattered, and the way the Punic (*Poenus*, 571)[67] tries to drive them into the river (and the disgrace of the scene is marked with a *miserabile*, 571)[68]. *Trepidos* is here emphasized by its position, right before the penthemimeral caesura, closing the first hemistich; alliterations on *e* and *r* and plausives all along the verse render it remarkably reverberating. The adjective is used as a noun: the Romans are not the "frightened Romans," but "the frightened," which enhances the connotation and adds to the gravity; the same procedure can be observed in verses 192 and 416, in which the Romans are again "the frightened." The impression is built up by the fact that *trepidus* referring directly to the Romans (*trepidos*, 192; *trepidis*, 416; and *trepidos*, 572) is never the subject of the sentence or the performer of the action, but always an object, either accusative or dative.

Amongst the occurrences, two seem especially expressive: lines 391 and 416. In the first (*Virbius. Huic trepidos simulanti ducere gressus*, 391), Virbius, one of the triplets on the Roman side, pretends to run away from the battle, only to come back and slaughter two of the Greek triplets on the Carthaginian side, Xanthippus and Eumachus. In the previous verse (390, *Vltima restabat fusis iam palma duobus*), we had learned that Virbius was the last of the Roman triplets to stand alive; the adjective *trepidos* is then stressed before the caesura, as it describes his steps (*gressus*, last word in the clausula), that are faked (*simulanti*); we learn of the stunt, but remain uncertain as to its result, which is only revealed in the following verse (392, *Xanthippus gladio, rigida cadit Eumachus hasta*), in a condensed sentence structure that keeps the action itself (and the revelation of Virbius' success), *cadit*, to the end of the suspenseful scene (suspense that is fully unraveled in line 393). Another perilous bluff can be seen in line 416, as Scipio threatens both himself and his soldiers, his sword unsheathed, if the frightened do not stand in battle: *nunc sibi, nunc trepidis, ni restent, comminus ensem*. Not unlike what we have seen so far, the verse is highly elaborated. Besides the immediately noticeable alliteration on *n*, pervading the whole of the verse, the uncertainty of the scene is mirrored in the repetition *nunc... nunc... ni...*, describing quick movements that are also rhythmically emphasized by the two first dactyls that form the first hemistich; *trepidis* is positioned right after the caesura, and the dative in *trepidis* and *sibi*, complements to *minatur*, suggests the similarity between Scipio and his soldiers—the scene can easily be read as a metaphorical microrepresentation of the plot at this juncture: the Romans have their life menaced by the drawn sword, which is actually the closing act in the battle of the Ticinus.[69]

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[67] On the epithet *Poenus* and the two meanings it may bear, see Bernstein, 2017, p. 56, *ad* 2.25: "*Poenus* could refer to either the leader [i.e. Hannibal] or his army". See also *Libycus* and *Tyrius* in Book 15—p. 120.

[68] On the use of the exclamatory neuter singular, quite common in Silius, see again Bernstein, 2017, p. 126, *ad* 2.231-232.

[69] Three other occurrences (lines 111, 192, and 328) attest to the importance of the adjective *trepidus* in evolving the isotopy of fear in Book 4. In line 111, *trepidam* refers to the *columbam* (112), which, in the augury presented by Silius before the battle on the Ticinus starts, trembles in fear after the sight of fifteen other doves being slaughtered; in the interpretation that follows (122-130), the doves are construed as the Romans (*Ausoniam praedam*, 124). In line 192, in the middle of the Celtic *furor*, Quirinius decides to dare *inter trepidos*, the Romans

One conclusion is in order by observing the seven occurrences of the adjective *trepidus* in Book 4: fear is always attributed to the Roman side of the battle. Whether in a metaphorical context (111 and 564) or running away (328, 416, and 572), whether pretending fearful steps (391) or observing acts of bravery (192), the Romans are the frightened ones.

From *trepidus*, "filled with alarm or apprehension" and "affected with unsteady or agitated motion, quivering, shaking, trembling, etc." (*OLD*, s.v. *trepidus*, 1 and 4), we drift to "in a state of disorder or turmoil, troubled, turbulent" in *turbatus*, an adjective not intrinsically related to fear, but used in such a connection once in Book 4. In this occurrence, *turbatum* opens line 333, in which it is the description of the *pecus* that fears the tigress: *turbatum insano uultu pecus*. The tigress compares to Hannibal in a simile we have already mentioned;[70] the state of turmoil in which the cattle is thrown is mixed with Hannibal's insanity in an elision that somehow suggests that the trouble of the victim and the frenzy of the attacker are to be seen together and at the same level (*turbat[um]insano*). The caesura itself, a dieresis after the fourth foot, also points to this interpretation: *turbatum insano uultu pecus*, a-A-B-b, the chiastic arrangement[71] that describes the victims' state of mind and the appearance of the attacker, is enclosed in the first hemistich of the hexameter. Another careful detail in this simile is the choice of a *tigress*: although *tigris* (331) is a gender-neutral noun in Latin, the feline is referred to as *illa* (333) two lines later. Considering the gender bias that envelopes the epic tradition, it is arguable that this comparison is an understatement,[72] especially when the simile that compares Hannibal to a female animal is read less than a hundred lines after another simile that compares Scipio *pater* to a violent wind that comes from the North. In verse 243, *Perfurit Ausonius turbata per aequora ductor*, *turbata* receives emphasis in its position right after the caesura, as it depicts the enemy's turmoil, as Scipio invades their ranks and displays his fury in one of the moments of his aristeia, right before being compared to Boreas' strenght as it rages the Icarian see (244-247). In a nutshell, as to what is connected to the adjective *turbatus*, the fear both Carthaginians (243) and Romans (333) feel, the expression of the Carthaginians' seems to be more acceptable, as it is caused by a violent nature-changing attacker, Scipio *pater* compared to Boreas; the Romans' fear, however, is associated to insanity (just as suggested later on, in Scipio's speech, 401ff.), the insanity of a female attacker, that does not do more than display her force, feared only by its minor preys in the valleys.[73]

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that, facing the attack of the enemy's ally, fear in the battlefield. In line 328, the Romans' *trepida mens* abandons the shame of fleeing: after seeing Hannibal's arrival, no one cares for honor anymore. In these three examples (as well as in the four other ones previously discussed), *trepidus* is used in reference to the Romans, to their fear. Also worth noticing is the emphasis given to the adjective in every verse it appears, always related to the caesura between the hemistichs: the adjective comes either before (192, 391, 416, and 572) or after (111, 328, and 564) the pause.

[70] See p. 6-7 and n. 23.

[71] See n. 66.

[72] On this bias and how it affected the literary image of Carthage, see Bonnet, 2011. See again the Allius episode on p. 17 with n. 63 and 65.

[73] This belittling of the Romans' situation was also signalled in lines 315-323, as Silius described the movement of the cavalry. In line 322, the opposition between Boreas (the north wind) and Eurus (the south-east wind) compares the comings and goings of Romans and Cathaginians again in a simile, after the description of Mago's predicament, as his first attack fails. These details demonstrate both Silius' well-succeeded intention to cover

Two adjectives carry the stem of *horror: horridus* and *horrisonus. Horridus* occurs five times in Book 4 (180, 249, 403, 440, and 687), whereas *horrisonus* occurs two times (278 and 612). If *horror* is "une peur anormale, démésurée, qui usuellement suscite des réactions singulières en réaction à des événements inhabituels, voire inouïs" (Clémement-Tarrantino, 2015, p. 106) and since "le lexique de l'horreur n'est jamais anodin, même en poésie, car il introduit une note de forte tension dramatique, sinon tragique" (Estèves, 2005, p. 640), *horridus* should be the adjective that describes something connected to that intensity of fear and that forecasts drama. In fact, observing the uses of *horridus* in Book 4, this is exactly the case. The first occurrence describes the spear that gives death to Picens; the spear is Crixus', and it kills both Picens and his horse at the same time (*geminam... mortem*, 180). Ingeniously, though, the spear is mentioned in line 179 (the word *hasta* actually opens the verse) and the adjective is the second to last in line 180; as the distance between noun and adjective encompasses the victims (*hasta uiri femur et pariter per nuda uolantis/ ilia sedit equi <et> geminam dedit horrida mortem*, 179-180), it also mimetically conveys the length of space covered by the thrown spear. Not less ingeniously, the *inoui* of the scene is emphasized by an assonance on *i* and *e* that runs across both lines 179 and 180; the adjective *horrida*, placed as it is, right beside *mortem*, seems to suggest we read the horror related to the double death, in addition to the spear, as syntax demands us to.

Horrida is also the fate of those standing in the front line, as it may seem to the soldiers who are running away, says Scipio in line 403 (*Quis uos, heu, uobis pauor abstulit? Horrida primi/ si sors uisa loci pugnaeque lacessere frontem,* 403-404), in which the adjective gains emphasis through its position, right after the pause of a dieresis caesura after the fourth foot. The verse is marked by alliterations on *o* and *i*, besides an alternation between consonantal and vocalic *u*, high and grave pitches signalling the exasperation of the general. Like *hasta* (179-180), *sors* here refers ultimately to death, and that is what gives place to the "singular reaction" of the running soldiers. This is not unlike what *horrida* expresses in line 440 (*Fertur ab immenso tempestas horrida caelo*), as it describes the *tempestas* brought about by Mars' arrival, or in line 687 (*Horrida late/ scinditur in rimas et hiatu rupta dehiscit/ tellus, ac stagnis altae sedere fauillae,* 687-689), in which it describes the dryness that splits *tellus* (689) in cracks and chasms, as Vulcan acts against the Trebia at Venus' bidding. Verses 687-689 show the same distance between adjective and noun as the one observed at 179-180, as *horrida* is second to the last word in line 687 and *tellus* is the first word in 689; a dieresis caesura after the fourth foot can be read in 180, which gives us the same metrical procedure as in line 403 (which is also a possible reading in line 249, right before *horrida barba;* see below). Besides, the adjective *horrida,* always in this very form, nominative feminine singular, is the second word to last in all its occurrences, in 3 + 2 clausulae.

The last occurrence of *horrida* describes Crixus' beard (*horrida barba,* 249), which shines in a foam of blood—and this right before his death (290-299, already announced in the same line: *armat contemptu mortem necis,* 249). After the warriors have made room for the single combat between Crixus

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up the fear and the slaughter the Romans suffered and his efforts to attain as much variation as possible (see Niemann, 1975, p. 77-78). See also p. 12 and n. 46.

and Scipio, the first is compared to Mimas, one of the defeated giants, and his breast is described as *semifero* (277); his bravado, mentioning the previous Gallic victory and Brennus, is introduced as *horrisonis ululatibus* (278). The fact that Silius chooses both *horrida* (249) to describe Crixus' beard and *horrisonis* (278) to describe his bravado is revealing. As we have been observing so far, *horridus* is associated with death and its proximity (180, 403, 440, and 687); Crixus' beard, right on his face, is the appearance of death: ironically, both the one he brings in his fury and the one he is soon to be inflicted upon or, as Ruperti, 1795, p. 278, puts it, "Horrida facies hominis desperatis rebus saevientis." Not unlike for *horrida* at 180 (referring to *hasta*), here too, the adjective may contain additional imaging of the visual impression both the spear and the beard project, one related to being stiffly erect, mainly attributed to the related verb *horrere* (*OLD*, s.v. *horreo* 1). As for *horrisonus*, again ironically, the adjective describes Crixus' defying words to Scipio (*horrisonis ululatibus*, 278), but only twice is the adjective seen in Book 4, and the second occurrence is used to qualify the elephant trumpet at 612, *stridore horrisono*. Twice is Crixus identified with giant creatures that will die—first verbally to Mimas,[74] in lines 275-276, then by verbal suggestion to the elephant hunted and killed by the Romans (605-621). The irony is completed by *ululatibus*, twice employed in Book 4, once here, line 278, in reference to Crixus' speech, once in line 692, in reference to the shouting of the nymphs (*attonitis ululatibus*), as Vulcan's fire makes the Euridanus' stream cease. Crixus is thus a gigantic monster, represented as beastly but bound to die and with a voice that sounds like nymphs in fear in his bravado.

Two adjectives carry the stem of *terror*: *terrificus* (7) and *interrita* (604). *Terrificis* (7) are the *rumoribus* spread by Fama[75] at the opening scene; the adjective gains emphasis thanks to its position, right before a triemimeral caesura in a "near-golden" line: adjective a – verb – adjective b – noun a – noun b, *terrificis quatit attonitas rumoribus arces*. These rumors, cause of the panic that will affect the city, are terrific, in opposition to *uirtus*, that is *interrita* (604), in the two-verse *sententia* created by Silius to introduce the Romans' exploit as they hunt and kill the elephant by the Trebia. *Virtus* (or "manhood", in Duff's translation)[76] cannot fear, cannot be affected by terror.

One last adjective deserves mentioning: *intrepidus*. Related to *trepidare*,[77] it carries the meanings of "fearless, undaunted, brave" and "free from anxiety, untroubled" (*OLD*, s. v. *intrepidus*, 1 and 2) and occurs only twice in Book 4. As we have already noted,[78] *intrepidus* refers once to Scipio *filius* (460) and once to Hannibal (783). As for Scipio, the adjective describes him in a verse in which his steps are compared to Mars';[79] this is his first appearance in the põem, and he saves his father from

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[74] In Apollodorus' version (*Library* 1.6.2), Mimas is killed by Hephaestus, who, in his Roman version, Vulcan, will be the helper of Scipio in his following Gigantomachy in Book 4. See n. 9, 45, and 61.

[75] As for the identification of Fama and fear, see p. 5 with n. 19 and Clément-Tarrantino, 2015.

[76] Duff, 1961, vol. I, p. 213.

[77] See p. 12-13.

[78] See n. 56.

[79] Spaltenstein's (1986, p. 304, *ad* 4.460) observation ("Mars est démesuré et c'est le plus rapide des dieux") helps us understand what exactly may be read in the poet's *Gradiuum passibus aequat* (460).

death—Silius' carefully planned presentation of his hero-to-be, here twice depicted in his youth (*puer*, 460 and 475), as before, at the very beginning of the Book (*prolesque ducis qua parte decora/ Scipio quassabat puerilibus arma lacertis*, 116-117; and *postrema subactae/ fata, puer, Libyae et maius Carthagine nomen*, 129-130), makes Scipio go from his physical reactions of fear (*trementem*, 455, and *pallor*, 456) to a completely different state of mind (*intrepidus*, 460, as the opposite of *trepidus*, OLD, s.v. 2, 3, and 4), presenting a firm and goal-oriented atitude right after he is touched by Mars' protective presence. Hannibal, although also depicted as *intrepidus* (783), has this presentation made by his wife's words, in a passionate speech in which she complains about his being fearless, away facing the enemy in Italian soil, whereas the Carthaginian enemy (the senators) asks for his son's life; the description appears to be ironical—he may be fearless, but his fearlessness is wrongly directed.[80]

3. Au bout du compte: *what we learn from the isotopy of fear in Book 4*

In the very opening scene (1-38), fear is diversely named (*pauor*, 9; *magister... timor*, 25-26; *metus*, 32), and its impact is described in vignettes that show the Romans' attitude in consequence of Fama's revealing the news of Hannibal's crossing the Alps. Developing other isotopies (as the one on *duritia*, e.g., that allows us to see, by the reiterated use of the word *saxum*, the difference in *status quo* between Romans—fear and preparations—and Carthaginians—overcoming and perspective of new dominion), the introducing verses take us back to the motives in the proposition in Book 1. A connection links then *Fama*, *Pauor*, and the people, as rumor spreads throughout, and fear motivates the havoc that is wreaked among the Romans. The same isotopy of fear detected in the opening scene pervades the narrative of Book 4 as a verbally spread theme.

In order to analyze the isotopy, the Chapter was divided into three main sections of study: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. In the first section, as *pauor*, *timor*, *metus*, *terror*, and *formido* were studied, some relevant points were considered, among which is the fact that *pauor* is only employed in the first half of the Book, mostly in scenes that describe the battle of the Ticinus, the first in the Second Punic War, and thus marked by Silius as an especially frightening one.

The second section discussed the verbs: *trepidare*, *exterrere*, *terrere*, *tremefacere*, *tremere*, in addition to *timere* and *metuere*. Among points that seemed especially worth attention, the use of *trepidare*, in three occurrences, shows that Silius names the subject in two cases (*iuuencae*, 310, and *Imilce*, 806), but

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[80] The irony in Imilce's speech was duly noted by Ernesti, 1791, p. 230, but only between lines 787-790 (789-792 in his sequencing): "Furorem cum acerba ironia mixtum scite poeta nunc expressit, meo sensu". Besides the irony, it should be considered that Imilce's words are uttered in a bacchic frenzy, a mark the poet emphasizes, stressing her state of *furor* and somewhat partially disallowing her: they are introduced by *faces ceu subdita* (778; Ruperti, 1795, p. 326: "propr. facibus subditis, igni admoto combusta, vnde *clamat*; vel simpl. pro incitata sc. furore [...] vel *subdita,* subiecta, permissa, adeoque stimulada *facibus,* h.e. ceu Maenas, quae adcensis facibus noctu per montes ac nemora cum clamore discurrit") and begin by the apostrophe *Io coniux,* which Lemaire, 1823, p. 284, compares to "io Bacche"—he also offers the example in 5.634 for comparison (*pace* Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 329).

understates it when the Romans are the case at hand (*trepidatur*, 26). In other instances, too, Silius tends to diminish Romans' fear or the shame that they feel. Another point worth mentioning is Hannibal's characterization: he is depicted as a god (namely Mars), whose train is formed by *Metus*, *Pauor*, and *Furor;* his power is overarching in Carthage: he is the one who gets to decide which victims the gods may receive, his son not being among them. Hannibal's "epiphany" and his train allegorize his actions, since his presence and his decisions are the main cause of fear in the Book.

Nevertheless, although Hannibal may be respected above the gods in Carthage and his description match Mars' later epiphany in the Book (caused by Juppiter's fear, *me... terret*, 420-421), we also learn that he is not the war god's protégé: the divine preference is stated in the scene that introduces Scipio *filius* (454-479). On the other hand, Scipio is identified chiefly with mortals at this time, but to figures that are relevant to the Roman culture—Aeneas for his *pietas* and Iulus for his bravery at such an early age (*aetas*, 470).

In observing the adjectives (*terrificus*, *trepidus*, *horridus*, *turbatus*, *horrisonus*, *interritus,* and *intrepidus*), Hannibal's epiphany, which is closed by a simile, gains new significance: he is compared to a winning tigress that proudly shows her force and causes fear all around, although she takes no action, and her prey are terrified (*turbatum*, 333), just as the enemy (*turbata*, 243) in front of Scipio *pater*'s fury in the battlefield: he is compared to the devastating Boreas, that destroys ships and tosses the sailors at sea. Very cautiously, Silius' choice of imagery gives Scipio *pater* too the upper hand: connected by the adjective, one simile approximates Hannibal and a female predator that takes no action, whereas Scipio is depicted as a devastating masculine force of nature. The Romans, though, are mainly frightened, which is clearly expressed by the adjective *trepidus*, which, unlike the verb *trepidare*, marks the Romans' fear exclusively, whether in direct situations or allusively; the two occurrences of *horrisonus* let us observe the comparison between Crixus, the Celt chieftain, Hannibal's ally, and the elephant cornered in the river, both bound to die.

Last but not least, adding to the characterization of Hannibal, again in comparison with his Roman enemies, the adjective *intrepidus* portrays Scipio *filius* in his steps, imitating Mars and also being guided by him, in the middle of the enemy lines, as he saves his father's life; it also designates Hannibal, but in Imilce's speech, initially marked by irony and somewhat disallowed by her comparison to a maenad.

Besides these specificities, the words related to the isotopy of fear, as we have demonstrated, are almost invariably emphasized in the verses they are inserted, by alliterations (and more generally, *harmonie imitative*), rhymes, caesuras, first or last position in the line. Once detected, the isotopy of fear in Book 4 draws our attention to fear itself, in its uses and suggestions; on the one hand, even in scenes in which the isotopic words are not really to be found—so is it in lines 643-8, in which Scipio tries to instill fear by menacing the river Trebia. On the other hand, studying the isotopy of fear can help us recognize other discreet details that ingeniously weave the poem's fabric from this very beginning, the narrative of the two first battles. A case in point, for instance, is Hannibal's

characterization, which can be observed from different perspectives, comparisons—more or less explicit—to Mars, Hercules, Scipio *filius*, and Scipio *pater*.

Chapter 2 – On Book 6: Control, self-control, lack of control

Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
hoc metuens, molemque et montis insuper altos
imposuit, regemque dedit, qui foedere certo
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.60-63

In the first Chapter, in analyzing Book 4, the isotopy of *fear* was detected and studied mostly according to the lexical elements that emphasized this thematic feature of the description of the battles at the Ticinus and the Trebia. Book 4, a self-contained microcosm in the *Punica*, had scenes and details that formed other smaller microcosms (as the very introduction of Fama: 4.1-38), which mirrored and brought cyclically back a set of words related to *fear*. In this Chapter, we accompany the narrative and the characters involved rather than following the occurrence of the parts of speech.

We begin with a scene from the end of Book 6. As Hannibal is exposed to a painting recollecting the facts of the First Punic War, the ecphrastic description and Hannibal's reaction to it (6.653-716) allow us to identify a theme that percolates into the whole of the Book: *control*.[1] As we examine ramifications and subthemes in the isotopy, power and the absence of it, self-control, the opposition between winners and the vanquished, as well as Roman valors such as *pietas* and *patientia* as a product from (self-)control arise in Silius' text.

1. Fight for control over memorialization: Hannibal at Liternum (653-716)

As Silius describes Hannibal's arrival at Liternum and his facing of the paintings in the temple, both the past represented in the First Punic War scenes and the present of the chieftain's reaction (his speech promising a new depiction and his orders to burn down the one before his eyes) are a good summary of the controlling topos that can be observed—as we shall see—in the whole of Book 6. In what follows, three examples illustrate what we mean: one taken from Hannibal's reaction (*inscribere*); one from Hannibal's speech, but that reflects a point from the paintings (ruins and fire: *ruere* and *flamma, flagrantem... facibus, flammis*); a last one from the paintings (*Autololes Nomadesque et Maurus et Hammon/ et Garamas positis... telis* vs. *uictor... Garamasque Nomasque*).

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[1] The motif itself is a central one in the *Punica*, as Bernstein, 2017, p. xxi, notes: "The epic's proem introduces the theme of domination: both the narrator and the characters see the war as a struggle to produce a *dominus*, whom the other side will serve."

1.1. Inscribere

After examining the pictures, Hannibal vents his anger, possibly addressing Carthage;[2] he then provides us with what his view of a new depiction would show: *dabis nostris inscribere tectis/ acta meae dextrae* (700-701). As Fowler, 1996, p. 71-72, puts it, "He knows what is going on [...] His reaction is like that of a warrior responding to a vaunt by a rival"—to a vaunt on the control the enemy exerted in the first war, a control Hannibal has now assumed and is intent on maintaining. As we shall see, shifts in control and in the perspectives of control are exactly what the isotopy brings forth in the Book. As to what controlling means in Hannibal's ideal representation, a closer inspection of verses 700-713 proves revealing. The first thing mentioned by Hannibal, as we see in the two above-cited verses, is the register of his deeds: *inscribere* (700). Comparatively, this occurrence seems to be off since the verb is applied to circumstances of avoiding violence or revenge in its other two instances. In 10.618, as Varro comes back as a survivor from the slaughter at Cannae, Fabius advises the people to avoid wrath, as it is not suitabe to the men who claim (*inscribant*, 618) Mars as their patron not to be able to endure suffering or to impose punishment as a solace to their mourning. In so doing, Fabius leads the Romans in the diametrically opposite direction that is Hannibal's, whose first instinct is to seek solace for his mourning for the losses of the First Punic War by punishing others, as his description of his imaginary murals makes clear in the sequence (700-713).[3] In 13.328, as Jupiter decides to save Capua from destruction, Pan is sent to avert anger and violence from the Roman soldiers' hearts. The wild god's steps are so light as to leave almost no footprint (*uix ulla inscribens uestigia cornu*, 13.328): "la légèreté de la démarche du dieu toujours bondissant explique qu'il semble toujours planer dans l'air" (Volpilhac-Lenthéric, Martin, Miniconi and Devallet, 1984, p. 245);[4] this lightness is once again diametrically opposite to Hannibal. Whereas the uses of *inscribere* related to the Romans (10.618 and 13.328) are connected to contexts of liberation from wrath and violence and its consequent destruction, the use of *inscribere* related to Hannibal (700) is a part of the general's proposition of recording his violence and destruction. What is also telling is the fact that the two occurrences of *inscribere* related to the Romans come with mentions of gods, Mars in Book 10, Pan in Book 13, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of *inscribere* related to Hannibal in Book 6 is not only deprived of any divine mention but goes on to describe a sequence of deeds in which the climax is actually the dethroning of the mightiest of them all, Jupiter, from his Roman dwelling-place. In addition, if we consider that his speech is initially directed to Venus,[5] it could also be read as a threat to the "attending" goddess' satisfaction.

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[2] Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 440, suggests that the subject of *dabis inscribere* (700) should be either Italy or Venus, a remark later considered by Fowler, 1996, p. 292, n. 48, who proposes that Carthage could also be a possibility.

[3] As Littlewood, 2017a, p. 232, stresses, "According to the principles of Roman stoicism, to endure grief with equanimity, without seeking comfort from blaming others or punishing a scapegoat, was a quality demonstrated to a high degree by Fabius himself (*Pun.* 6.613-17, 7.516-17)". On Fabius, see Chapter 3, especially p. 62-65.

[4] An intertextual reading of Pan's description is presented by Bruère, 1959, p. 236-237.

[5] See n. 2.

Metapoetically, Hannibal's desire of keeping the memory of his deeds by inscription goes against the flow. Marks, 2003, p. 137-138, in a paper comparing Silius' Hannibal in Liternum to Virgil's Aeneas in Juno's temple in Carthage, insists on similitudes and differences between the characters. An addition to the distinctions between Hannibal and Aeneas is the fact that Virgil's hero observes the murals and then turns to the words, as he will, in the following books, narrate the experience depicted in the paintings; Silius' (anti-)hero suggests a narrative—in words—that he wants to be inscribed in images. The movement is in the reverse order. It is also ironical that Hannibal not notice that he aims for a memorial of his deeds—in order to eternalize his glory—exactly when his actions prove how memorials can fail to be eternal. *Pace* Fowler, 2000, p. 211-217, who reminds us of Aeneas' rage, erupted at the view of Pallas' baldric at the end of Virgil's epic and lays emphasis on both the facts that "to Aeneas they [the *monumenta* represented in Pallas' baldric] were the spur of the act of vengeance" and that "they function exactly as monuments are supposed to function, [...] as a spur of virtuous deeds" (cited from p. 216). So in Hannibal's case, too. Once again, our (anti-)hero is, nonetheless, no Aeneas: "The end of the *Aeneid* is the beginning of Rome" (p. 217), whereas the end of Silius' *Punica* 6 is the beginning of a first pause in Hannibal's winning streak.

On a different note, it is also worth observing that Silius' giving voice to Hannibal's imagined monument is a way of representing the other, of singing "the losers' epic [...]. Such epics valorize the very contingency and open-endedness that the victor's epic disparages: the defeated hope for a different future to the story that their victors may think they have ended once and for all" (Quint, 1993, p. 9). Nonetheless, this representation is outweighed by a fuller consideration of what is offered the Roman side in Book 6. To begin with, whereas Hannibal wants his deeds to be memorialized, the Romans already have theirs in the mural in front of his eyes; what is more, if Hannibal's voice tells us (and consequently sings) what he has done, Regulus' deeds are already sung all over the Book[6] (and again represented in the murals). Another key element to acknowledge is the lack of a "symétrie dans le thème de la succession familiale": Hannibal has no father to mirror his actions in, but a series of paintings that are in no way complimentary—he wants his *monumenta* to be built; Serranus, on the other hand, as well as Scipio, does not need the *monumenta* (655 and 716) that record their fathers' past actions and that Hannibal wants to burn down, because they can count on the *documenta* (122-123: *sat tibi.../ stant documenta domus*; 13.671: *sat tibi sint documenta domus*) left behind in their families, as Ripoll, 1998, p. 52, n. 138, reveals in detail. Although Hannibal's attempted ekphrasis seems to try and narrate his own epic, it has but a jarring effect, as "[...] even though Roman epic poems are poetry books composed within a literate civilization and for a reading audience, they

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[6] Doubly sung: by the poet and his character, Marus. The power granted to Marus' narrative can be observed in its variety (*discours enchâssés*, e.g.) and in its length (around half of Book 6). The importance of this *mise en abyme* of a narrator that calls himself a *narrator* (530), "kein sehr häufiges Wort unseres Corpus", has been observed and analyzed by Schaffenrath, 2010 (the expression is cited from p. 119). Also illuminating is Fernandelli, 2005-2006, p. 79-88, on Cilnius in Book 7, who adduces parallels to Marus on p. 87. Walter, 2018, also considers Regulus' song through the lens of inconsistencies in the plural narrative that make his fame; see especially her thesis around Regulus' *nomen*, p. 208-212, which corroborates our reading of the distinction between *monumenta* and *documenta*, presented in the following paragraphs of the main text.

tend not to mention, and even to suppress—once again on account of some self-restraint or censorship—their materiality. These poets sing, speak, remember, and call upon the Muses, and perhaps no one would have even bought an epic book that contained expressions like 'I write,' or even worse, 'I read'" (Barchiesi, 2001, p. 129-130). *Documenta* are more important than *monumenta*.

1.2. Fire and ruins

Hannibal's list of deeds provides us with a view of what victory means for the character, a view that is mostly made up of destruction and annihilation:[7] *captam... Saguntum/ ... flamma ferroque ruentem* (701-702), *Ticini spumantes sanguine ripas* (706), *Trebiam et Thrasymenni litora Tusci/ clausa cadaueribus* (707-708), *ruat... / Flaminius* (708-709), *flagrantem effinges facibus.../ Romam* (712-713), *deiectum Tarpeia rupe Tonantem* (713). In that regard, consider the reiterated images of fire and ruins. Mirrored in Saguntum (*flamma ferroque ruentem*, 702), Rome (*flagrantem effinges facibus.../ Romam*, 712-713) is to be burned,[8] both in its future—according to Hannibal's plans—and in its depicted past—according to Hannibal's orders (*in cineres monumenta date atque inuoluite flammis*, 716). In addition to verses 702, in reference to Saguntum, and 716, to the murals in Liternum, *flammis* (same form and metrical position as in 716) appears in line 312, part of Marus' optative counterfactual,[9] wishing that Xanthippus had not been such a skilled general, so that Carthage's walls could have been seen going down (*ruere*, 313) under flames (*flammis*, 312). The verb *ruere* (702), employed in Hannibal's description of Saguntum's fate as a result of the fire, is quite a common word in Silius Italicus' *Punica*,[10] but five occurrences (out of fifteen in Book 6)[11] interest us here.

In lines 104 (*extremas Italum res Ausoniamque ruentem/ aspice*, 104-105), 313 (*Vidissem moenia flammis/ Phoenissae ruere*, 312-313), 595 (*Iouis illa ruenti/ Ausoniae atque Italis tempus protendere regnis/ cura fuit*, 595-597), 702 (*captam... Saguntum/ ... simul flamma ferroque ruentem*, 701-702), *ruere* is related to the fall of a territory (*Ausoniam, moenia Phoenissae, Ausoniae, captam Saguntum*). In Serranus' prayer to Jupiter (104), as he describes Italy's and Rome's sufferings, as well as at the very beginning of Hannibal's

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[7] A view which is not only Hannibal's but also Jupiter's, considering 3.158-221, in which a dream is sent to the Carthaginian by the father of the gods; in it, Hannibal is an all-wrecking serpent whose way is made to pieces once he's passed by. On Hannibal's dream, see Devillers and Krings, 2006, especially p. 344. Hannibal is again compared to a serpent in 12.5-10 and 12.55-59; see Marks, 2003, p. 131, and Fröhlich, 2000, p. 193-194, *ad* 6.151ff., on the Bragrada serpent as a prefiguration of Hannibal; on the association of the Carthaginians to serpents, see Tipping, 2004, p. 357 with n. 48. To our point in case here in Book 6, the passage in 12.55-59, a simile in which Hannibal is compared to a serpent attacking an eagle's nest, i.e. *Jupiter*'s bird (see n. 14 below), is all the more relevant—about this passage, see Volpilhac-Lenthéric, Martin, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1984, p. 229, n. 3 on p. 96. As for Hannibal's desire of destruction in his oath in Book 1 (113-119), see Helzle, 1995, p. 206-208.

[8] Albrecht, 1964, p. 25: "Der Angriff auf Sagunt ist zugleich Angriff auf die Ewige Stadt ; *extremis pulsat Capitolia terris* (1, 270). Der Kampf um Sagunt als Präfiguration des Kampfes um Rom: so stellt ihn der Dichter dar, und so läβt er auch Hannibal sein Handeln verstehen: *portisque focisque timebis, quae nunc externos defendis, Roma penates* (2, 31 f.)." See also Stocks, 2014, p. 221-223, and the whole book for a more complete characterization of Hannibal.

[9] On Silius' counterfactuals, see Cowan, 2010.

[10] Wacht, Vol. II, 1989, p. 979-981, notes 129 occurrences in the poem.

[11] Namely in verses 14, 104, 180, 211, 227, 250, 313, 319, 366, 558, 577, 595, 672, 702, and 708.

imagined paintings, as he describes Saguntum's fall (701), *ruentem,* in the same accusative form and metrical position, is emphasized as the final word in the verse. In two lines (312 and 702) the territory (namely the walls of Phoenicia and the captive Saguntum) tumbles down in flames, the same image found in line 712-713 in Hannibal's description of his dreamed Rome's end; *flammis* (312), *flamma* (*ferroque*, 702), and *flagrantem... facibus* (712) are the expression of this devouring fire. As for line 595, although (as in 104) the image of fire is not brought up, two things identify this occurrence with the one in Serranus' prayer: the naming of both Italy and Rome as the falling land and the allusion to Jupiter; in addition, as in 104 and 701, *ruenti* (595) is in the present participle, a suitable device for describing a scene as seeable as possible, as if it were to be gazed right in front of the reader's eyes, not unlike the present infinitive *ruere* in 313, a picturing of what Marus would have seen, should Xanthippus not have lived. These instances are all interrelated by the image of a territory falling down, and in three (312-313, 701-702, and 712-713) of the five cases, by the accompanying fire that causes the destruction.[12] This isotopy of ruins and fire, associated as a subisotopy of control as a result of exerted dominance, permeates the whole of Book 6.

Still among these, it proves interesting the observation of two suppositions presented. Firstly Marus' expressed counterfactual (310-315), according to which the absence of Xanthippus in the First Punic War would have meant Carthage's ruins and Regulus' salvation, and secondly, Hannibal's presumption that Rome will fall (700-713). They differ in that, even though both express wishes, the former will come true (Carthage's walls will be brought down), in spite of the fact that it is looked at as an impossible past event, whereas the second, still feasible, will never come true (Rome will not burn). Side by side, they prompt at least the consideration of the irony existent between a counterfactual that somehow turns into reality and a future desire that seems acquirable. However, they will prove no more than flimsy (and that is final, at the end of the Book).[13] It is also worth considering that, as we have noted before, Hannibal's idea of what victory means, a view that is mostly made up by destruction and annihilation, is here shared (and earlier in the Book presented) by a Roman.

Insomuch as the paintings have been in the temple to be admired and are now the object of Hannibal's gaze, Hannibal's fancy, on the other hand, is strictly directed to an absent Carthage, and his following orders are addressed but to his working soldiers' hands. In this antinomy, three points can additionally be made. Firstly, Hannibal's *hubris* (or lack of self-control, in a way; self-control is a theme we shall come back to later) and lack of *pietas*. Even though what he has before his eyes clearly attests to his people's previous incapacity to win the enemy, his wish aims at more than the already conquered (*et adhuc maiora dabuntur*, 711), namely at the *impossibilia* (as already declared by

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[12] Curiously enough, note that in Serranus' prayer, right after alluding to Italy's and Rome's plight, he asks the god to look down on the Italian turmoils (*procellis... Iliacis*, 105-106), defined as *procellae*, tempests— as water here is the destroying element, a somewhat divergent drawing is made as in opposition to 312, 702, and 712.

[13] In this respect, see Marks, 2003, p. 131-133, as he shows how the paintings in the temple are a revelation of the future events of the Second Punic War as depicted in Book 17.

Jupiter in lines 600-602) of burning Rome down and deposing Jupiter from the Tarpeian rock.[14] Secondly, Hannibal's inability to see, which makes him a "bad learner," unable to profit from the visual lesson in front of his eyes;[15] in that he is again very different from Aeneas. As Aeneas sees the representation of the war he lost in Juno's temple, he is represented in them and accepts his fate, understanding, however, that this is a different moment, one in which his past deeds, albeit failure ones, made him famous and are part of his path to becoming a hero.[16] Aeneas uses this "obsessive circular return to a traumatic past" in order to force "the Trojans to repeat their past struggle, but they will repeat it [i.e., in the second six books of the *Aeneid*] *with a difference:* this time they will be the winners", as Quint, 1993, p. 50, so well clarifies it. Hannibal, on the other hand, does not see himself represented in the lost war, and consequently does not accept his future fate, one we readers already know from the author's previous (and repeated) assertions; once again, "by establishing his authoritative and omniscient voice early in the epic, Silius makes certain claims about Hannibal's narrow visual and epistemic vision" (Manolaraki, 2010, p. 308). Thirdly and lastly, Hannibal's failure to establish himself as a link between past and future, as he ignores the past and proposes a new present, considering himself to be the bridge between the present and an imagined future, something he will not be able to accomplish: in fact, Hannibal is not Aeneas—and, consequently, he is no epic hero.[17] Concerning the opposition winner vs. vanquished, Hannibal will be among the latter,

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[14] Fowler, 1986, p. 288, n. 20, suggests that the temple in Liternum might be a Capitolium, i.e., a temple dedicated to Jupiter, which would point even straighter to Hannibal's sacrilegious actions as directed towards the father of the gods (see also Albrecht, 1964, p. 27, n. 10, for a list of *loci* where Hannibal is depicted as Jupiter's enemy), whose presence is emphasized both by his own appearance in Book 6 (595-618) and the menace of his overthrowing (713). The sanction that Hannibal's actions lack from Jupiter is not to be separated from the backdrop against which it is set: the end of the ekphrasis, representing the Roman victories in the First Punic War, "receives divine approval when the goddess Venus sanctions it (6.697)" (Manuwald, 2009, p. 44). Consider, in addition to that, as Manuwald, 2009, p. 49, n. 45, observes, that Hannibal's destruction of the paintings in Liternum in Book 6 is comparable to Jupiter's destruction of Hannibal's shield (12.622-626), which "includes the early history of Carthage and scenes possibly embarrassing for the Romans". See also Fröhlich, 2000, p. 394-395, *ad* 6.713; and Fucecchi, 2005, for the many instances in which Rome's "exemplary past" is set as Hannibal's worst enemy—and how these examples end up making the Carthaginian's faith in a possible victory drain.

[15] See Devillers and Krings, 2006, p. 338-339, on a passage in Livy (21.41.8) on "Hannibal's dream" (see n. 7), stating that his dream would be but a creative reply to Scipio's comment on the fact that, should Hannibal look back, he'd have but the view of a past marked by the losses in the First Punic War, which would make his ardor decrease.

[16] "Aeneas construes the murals as evidence for two facts. First, since the eight episodes all deal with events associated with the downfall of Troy, Aeneas notes how universally celebrated such incidents were and, presumably, how worthy they and their protagonists were of immortality," as Putnam, 1998, p. 24, puts it. In addition, Aeneas is hero, observer and "'artist' who both reacts and explains" (Putnam, 1998, p. 53), as he turns into the bard who narrates his own epic in the sequence, whereas Hannibal abandons his future narrative, ekphrastic as it may be, to Carthage (*non leuiora dabis nostris inscribere tectis/ acta meae dextrae... Carthago...*, 700-701) and then acts impromptu, ordering the tableaux to be burned, in contrast to the *Aeneid*'s "set of circumstances where its hero is allowed to choose meditation over action" (Putnam, 1998, p. 54). On Hannibal's "claim to eternal epic *fama*" and on how he "himself voices his own profecy of poetic eternity," see McClellan, 2019, p. 258, n. 42, and the bibliography cited there.

[17] Note that Scipio had been represented as Aeneas in Book 4, as he carries his father out of the battlefield (4.445-479)—see p. 14-15. Hannibal is also no Caesar; Lucan's Caesar (*Pharsalia* 9.950-1003) visits the ruins of Troy and "ends a historical cycle; now that he has given the ruins back to the ruins, now that he has remembered the past, now that he has perceived its grandeur through the desolation of the landscape and the return to

notwithstanding his efforts to be part of the first. Silius dexterously shows this at the end of Book 6, as Ariemma, 2007, p. 25, observes:

> Si tratta anzi del passo che chiude la prima esade, quella che, se si accetta una scansione per esadi dei *Punica* (prescindendo dalle circostanze che portano Silio a chiudere in 17 libri), esaurisce la funzione di protagonista di Annibale, che passerà la mano a Fabio per l'esade successiva (sarà naturalmente appannaggio di Scipione l'ultima *tranche* del poema).

However, what is enacted here goes even further: the fact that it is impossible to thoroughly erase what is already written and registered, as Ariemma, 2007, p. 27, submits:

> Dare alle fiamme i *monumenta*: questo l'ordine di Annibale ai *iuuenes*, per dar luogo come dicevo, ad un'epica mai scritta, riproducente affreschi o bassorilievi mai prodotti. Un rogo che non avrà luogo, né nella realtà, né in un testo epico impossibile da mettere assieme; e invece sussiste e sopravvive l'epica scritta, quella destinata a dare conto delle vicende ancora ignote all'Annibale del terzo e del sesto libro, quell'Annibale che, già *mannequin* di Giunone (*induit iras*), concluderà nel proprio nome l'epica siliana vittima di un amaro contrappasso, effigiato nel trionfo scipionico, ridotto a icona dei propri fraintendimenti.

To the detriment of his expectations of becoming a link between the symbolically burned past, the winning present, and the enemy-destroying future, Hannibal's inability to learn from what he sees is all the stronger because Silius marks the temporality of the whole scene in a cyclical manner, lexically reinforced, as Marks, 2003, p. 135, fleshes out:

> Even at this moment [referring to Hannibal's order, 714-716], however, we are reminded of how near at hand the future and the past really are. As Hannibal calls the paintings *monumenta* (6.716) at the end of his speech, Silius takes us back to the beginning of the episode (*monumenta*, 6.655) and invites us to ponder the implications of this word. While Hannibal believes that what he has seen are "reminders" of the First Punic War, we know that what we have seen are "warnings" of the Second.

Last but not least, to epexegetically return to the occurrences of *ruere,* it is related to Flaminius' fall in line 708, a character whose actions are seen to be both related to Juno (since he is her sent, 4.708-710) and, in Hannibal's hypothetical monument, an equivalent to Xanthippus in the First Punic War.[18] In setting Flaminius as Xanthippus' parallel, Silius may have been pointing to the irony of facts: even though "a giant in giant armour" (Duff's translation for *ingens corpore et armis*, 708) and even though "heimlich Verbündete" (Fröhlich, 2000, p. 371), the Roman consul falls. Besides, used once to describe Saguntum's fall (*ruentem*, 702), once to describe Flaminius' (*ruat*, 708), twice

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nature, he can turn towards the future and breathe new life into Troy, while re-founding Rome" (Schnapp, 2016, p. 386). Hannibal, on the other hand, needs to *create* the ruins, burn the past down in flames, forget the past and ignore the enemy's grandeur before he can go on. Not even a *damnatio memoriae*, but a complete destruction of it; see our observations on p. 122, n. 61. On another inversion of beginnings and endings, see McClellan's observation on the tempest in Book 17 (2019, p. 257-258).

[18] See Fröhlich, 2000, p. 370-371.

employed in Hannibal's imaginary decoration,[19] *ruere* seems to try and rebut the *ruentem/ litoribus Libycis dispersa per agmina pubem* (673-4), since "Was die Anordnung der Bilder anlangt, fällt auf, daß die Struktur des liternischen Denkmals durch das hannibalische Gegendenkmal zumindest ansatzweise nachgeahmt wird" (Fröhlich, 2000, p. 370). This rebut is all the stronger, since the meaning of *ruere* (673) in reference to the Roman youth is related to their chasing the Carthaginian armies, which, shameful as it is, does not compare to a double fall—of a whole allied city, Saguntum, and of a Roman general, Flaminius. The drama of *ruat* (708) is defined by Ruperti, 1795, p. 462: "*ruat in perniciem, cadat.*"

1.3. The winners and the defeated

In like fashion, the parallel between *Autololes Nomadesque et Maurus et Hammon/ et Garamas positis dedebant oppida telis* (675-676) and *ardua celsis/ persultet iuga uictor equis Garamasque Nomasque* (704-705) is conspicuous, as it can be seen to introduce two replies in Hannibal's speech to one mention in the paintings. In the ekphrasis, Autololes, Numidians, Moors, Ammonians, and Garamantes surrender arms and cities to Regulus (675-676—following *ruentem/ litoribus Libycis dispersa per agmina pubem*, 672-673, which we have just discussed); in Hannibal's imaginary monument, the crossing of the Alps should have no little room (*nec Alpes/ exiguus domitas capiet locus*, 703-704), and the winning (*uictor*) Garamantes and Numidians are to be represented riding their noble horses, as they range about the difficult paths (*ardua celsis/ persultet iuga uictor equis Garamasque Nomasque*, 704-705). In addition, if the African peoples are seen running away and surrendering in the ekphrasis, in Hannibal's decoration, the consul himself, Scipio, will be depicted bleeding and running (*fugiat consul manante cruore/ Scipio*, 710-711). Barchiesi, 2001, p. 138, points that "The ecphrasis Hannibal plans sounds like a possible subversion of Silius' *Punica*. It is no accident that the last word, the climax of the project, *Tonantem* (6.713, 'Capitoline Jupiter hurled down from the Tarpeian rock'), is the same word that closes the entire epic poem (17.655ff.)." In a nutshell, it is also no accident that, even in the lexical choice, most of Hannibal's depiction mirrors what we see in the ekphrasis, even though the reflections are like the ones in a hall of mirrors—distorting what the images in the porticoes first show. In this sense, also consider that, from the five different African peoples designated in the ekphrasis, Hannibal's ornament picks two for the crossing of the Alps; taking Spaltenstein's (1986, p. 69, *ad* 1.414, and p. 39, *ad* 1.215) observations into account, this choice also seems intentional: the Garamantes are frequently related to Ammon (in Silius' view, the Carthaginian main god), and the Numidians are the excelling horse riders.

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[19] Besides the irony contained in Hannibal's so proudly describing the fall of a general who Silius says was sent by Juno (and consequently favorable to the Carthaginians' cause), note also the following: "The subsequent outline of the imagined decoration of the monument in Carthage (6.700-713), put into the mouth of a character, describes a monument that is even more fictitious than the preceding one" (Manuwald, 2009, p. 46). On another cyclical characteristic of Hannibal's described monument, see McClellan, 219, p. 266-267.

In the ekphrasis, we can gather a collection of words that designate Rome's leading position and that can be added to the isotopy of control we have been exposing;[20] three words in the isotopy refer to the Carthaginians, but all of them suggest a kind of paradox that could easily be read as an irony as to what the vanquished enemies are: in line 670, *honores* are attributed to Hanno, but not for winning something, but as funeral honors, as he is labeled as *ductoris... Poeni* (671); Xanthippus is the *Amyclaeum... rectorem* (681-682), but the same irony is to be detected, as *rector* is employed at the moment of the general's death; *ductoris genitor* (690), Hamilcar, who is at the same time referred to as Hannibal's father, and as *iuncto religatus* (689), that is to say, vanquished and emprisoned—as he is being exposed in the triumph parade at the end of the First Punic War, a "fact" of Silius Italicus' invention.[21] One word deserves special attention as to what we mean here, in this agonistic context: *uictor.* It can be seen twice in the ekphrasis. In line 672, as Lucius Cornelius Scipio is named the winner of the Sardinian lands, *Sardoa uictor terra*,[22] a mention to his victory over the Carthaginians on both Corsica and Sardinia in the expedition of 259-258 B.C., in which Hanno was killed and received his funeral honors from the Roman general (hence the above-discussed *honores/... ductoris... Poeni*, 670-671). In line 688, *captiuas puppes ad litora <u>uictor</u> agebat,* Caius Lutatius Catulus, consul in 242 B.C., is given by Silius as the winner of the Battle of the Aegates and as conducting the captured ships to shore. Once in Hannibal's riposte, *uictor* is, in line 705, although in the singular, the qualification of *Garamasque Nomasque*, two African peoples, the Garamantes and the Numidians, which, as we have mentioned, are reestablished as winners by Hannibal, even though they are part of the *ruentem... dispersa per agmina pubem* (672-673) in the ekphrasis.

2. Controllers: duces and ductores

Turning back to two words we had been discussing in the previous topic, *dux* and *ductor*, they both are, not surprisingly, mostly used in reference to Regulus. Synonyms, as they are,[23] the way Silius employs both words in Book 6 creates the possibility of comparing characters and defining shades in our comprehension of Regulus, as well as identifying how control is exerted by these same

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[20] Namely, besides the ones discussed in the sequence, e.g., *princeps* (660), in reference to Appius Claudius Caudex (consul in 264 B.C.), the first to declare the war according to the Roman tradition; *ducebat* (662), in reference to the alledged triumph conducted by the same Appius Claudius Caudex (see Fröhlich, 2000, p. 381-382); *gerens... surgebat* (664), in reference to the naval victory ensured by the consul Duilius (260 B.C.) in the Battle of Mylae, after which a column (*columna*, 664) with the beaks (*rostra*, 664) from the Carthaginian ships was shown in a triumph; *duce* (679), in reference to Regulus, as he is pointed out fighting against the viperine slaver (*uiperea sanie*, 678) of the serpent of Bagrada.

[21] See Marks, 2003, p. 132-133.

[22] After a line that opens with *Scipio* (671), the use of the expression *Sardoa... terra,* with the rare adjective (as noted by Roosjen, 1996, p. 43, and cited by Fröhlich, 2000, p. 386), may be one more stylistic resource of Silius' to draw attention to Scipio's victory and to the family name of the definitive winner of the *Punica*.

[23] See Bernstein, 2017, p. xlv, and 53 *ad* 2.14.

figures. In Book 6, *dux* is found in eight verses,[24] seven out of which in allusion to Regulus,[25] six of which are a part of Marus' speech.[26] The only instances in which *dux* is not in Marus' words are lines 639 and 679. The latter describes Regulus in the battlefield, against the serpent, as the conflict is depicted in the ekphrasis we analyzed in the last topic;[27] the first refers to Hannibal, as he is mentioned as the one Fabius is to be matched against in terms of military genius, which makes the Roman general superior to his three hundred mythical forbears. Although *en passant* laudatory of Hannibal's ability, line 639 (and the *enjambement* in line 640) actually praises Fabius' prowess. Since these three *duces* come somehow in an intersection, the comparison between them is prompted. As for Fabius, his preeminence in his *gens* invites the reflection that Regulus stands out from his fellow Romans, as not infrequently pointed—see, e.g., 296-298.[28] As for Hannibal, a critic of great stature as Michael von Albrecht (1964, p. 64) already noticed that "Regulus ist das Gegenstück zu Hannibal", and, although this is mostly related to *fides*, corollary emphasis can also be laid on the contrast in their leading, dualistically separating fair motive from its counterpart, good from evil or god-like from titan-like: "Diese Haltung macht Regulus in den Augen des Dichters zu einem Übermenschen, allerdings nicht — wie Hannibal — zu einem Titanen, sondern zu einem Gott" (Albrecht, 1964, p. 63).

       Ductor, on the other hand, besides the two occurrences we commented on in the last topic,[29] can be seen in eleven occurrences in Book 6, five out of which designate Regulus (83, 206, 241, 349, and 462), the six others referring to Xanthippus (303, 328, and 504), Evander (633), and Fabius (612) and Hannibal (654) again. Among these six, again not surprisingly, it is Xanthippus that is mostly designated as *ductor*:[30] three times, as if to establish a direct opposition to Regulus, who is five times called *ductor*, somehow melding together lexical choice and historical fact. The subtle irony we noted above, as we examined Xanthippus in the ekphrasis as paralleled to Flaminius in Hannibal's imaginary decoration,[31] is to be seen again in the three mentions of the Spartan leader: to undermine Xanthippus' duty, in two of them (303 and 504), *ductorem* comes as the object of *mittere*, making the

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[24] Namely: 296, 314, 347, 368, 384, 549, 639, and 679.

[25] 296, 314, 347, 368, 384, 549, and 679.

[26] 296, 314, 347, 368, 384, and 549.

[27] Note the use of *bella* in line 679 (*pugnabat serpens et cum duce bella gerebat*): as Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 65, *ad* 1.394, notes, although *bellum* can be used (quite rarely) to refer to a mere hunt and eventually oppose it to war, for which hunting is but a preparation, *bella* here refers to "un combat véritable". What's more, Fröhlich, 2000, p. 387, *ad* 6.679, observes that the hexameter-ending clause *bella gerebat* (and similar) can be found in six other instances in the *Punica* (1.69, 7.745, 8.218, 10.172, 11.328, and 14.157). Observing each one of them in its context, it's not difficult to perceive that the clause is a description of real war combats.

[28] Other parallels can still be drawn between Regulus and Fabius, as, for instance, the *patientia* both are gifted with—Regulus in his sufferings and Fabius in his *cunctatio*—and the way both fall misunderstood in their actions—Fabius in his tactics (see, e.g., 7.214-252) and Regulus in his unbreaking *fides* (see, *e.g.*, Marcia's accusations, especially 6.516-520; see section 4, p. 41-44). See also Albrecht, 1964, p. 67 and 71.

[29] Namely lines 671 and 690; see p. 33.

[30] Two of these three occurrences are to be found in our present section: lines 303 and 328.

[31] See p. 31-32.

general a mere envoy, depriving him of the expected headmost position; in line 328, it is the Greek leader himself who turns his back to battle and runs away, *ficta formidine*.[32]

As for Hannibal, he is *ductor* in verse 654, as he observes the paintings in the temple, which we discussed in the last topic.[33] Besides being a *ductor* on marshy grounds (*stagnosi*/ *Literni*, 653-654), in a city that is historically linked to the winner-to-be Scipio Africanus,[34] *ductor* in reference to Hannibal comes in the same line as *uaria splendentia cernit* (654), bringing back the above-mentioned problem of his seeing without understanding—murals of a past defeat that predict his future one.[35] His reaction, too, as we pointed before, shows the opposite of the *patientia* a Roman reader probably expected from a *ductor*.[36] Silius' irony goes on.

On the Roman side, Fabius and Evander are designated as *ductor*. Evander is actually cited in a digression that explains Fabius' origins; the Arcadian leader (*Arcadius... ductor*, 631-633) is responsible for setting the foundations of the Palatine hill, imagetically sided by his poor people and his virgin daughter (*paupere sub populo ductor, cum regia uirgo*, 633), the two elements that make him a king and the ancestor of the Fabii, since it is from the union (*crimine laeto*, 634) between his daughter and Hercules that the new *gens* is to be created. The passage (619-640) is an encomium to Fabius, as Jupiter decides to guide the Roman people to the choice of his name for commandment (593-618). In this encomium, his leading abilities, his *fides*, and his *pietas* are emphasized: the idea of how great a *ductor* he is appears in the repeated stem *reducem* (621), the returning youth Fabius rejoices in bringing back home, and in *duxerat* (622), marking these are the soldiers he had taken into war. Even though sparing his soldiers, he is *uictor* (625), covered in the enemies' blood, as he would get back to his city walls, *repetebat moenia* (626), the *moenia Romae* (630) that then stood where once Hercules had been—Hercules, Fabius' forefather. Before this very encomium, Fabius is the general (*ductori*, 612) to whom Rome's "reins of salvation" (*salutis habenas*, 611) are to be trusted, a point strongly made by the alliterative beginning of line 612, *credere ductori*.

Fabius is engraved with characteristics that bring us back to Regulus: he is to be Rome's savior (612), as Marus repeatedly asserts Regulus would have been (296-298; 461-465); Fabius' loyalty lies with the motherland rather than with his family (623-625). Regulus himself is also *ductor*. In fact, in his first identification as *ductor* (*ductorum*, 83), this is emphasized both by the appearance of the word at the very beginning of the line and before a triemimeral caesura, but also by the superlative in a

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[32] On this *ficta fuga*, see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 413, *ad* 6.326: "Ce détail a pu être inventé ensuite pour expliquer et excuser la défaite romaine et la capture du consul, un double et grave déshonneur". On pretending to run away as a tactic in battle, see p. 49-50 with n. 70 and 71.

[33] See p. 25-33.

[34] Fowler, 1996, p. 63: "Hannibal puts in at Liternum, the town to which Scipio Africanus – whose triumph over Hannibal concludes Book 17 of the *Punica* – was later to retire in disgrace, leaving as his epitaph the famous words *ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes* ('ungrateful/unwelcomed fatherland, you have not even my bones')." See also Marks, 2003, p. 144.

[35] See p. 25-33.

[36] See p. 25-30 on Hannibal's *hubris*; n. 16, on his choice of action over mediation; n. 28, on *patientia* as a characteristic of both Regulus and Fabius.

vocative prosopopoeia: *te, <u>maxime</u>, uidi/ <u>ductorum</u>, cum captiuo Carthaginis arcem/ terreres uultu* (82-84).[37] Regulus is next called *ductor* in line 206, in which *ductori* is highlighted by its position, right after the main caesura in the verse, a penthemimeral; this highlight can also be observed in verses 241, in which *ductor* comes before the triemimeral, and 462, after the triemimeral in the sequence *patriae ductorem*, which is formed by a dative and the accusative, but which, in the reading process, could have its dative be at first understood as a genitive ("the motherland's leader"), before we get to *redderet* in the *rejet* (line 463) and "correct" our (mis)understanding. Regulus is also depicted in his very performance in line 241, fighting against the serpent, as he calls his soldiers back to battle (*propere reuocatam in proelia turmam*), being again opposed to the previous pictures of Xanthippus we had been presented with, in which he was, as we pointed out, either an envoy or a runaway.

To sum up, Regulus as *dux*/*ductor* invites comparison with Hannibal, Fabius, Evander, and Xanthippus; in these comparisons, Regulus stands out as a preeminent god-like figure, a true leader gifted with *patientia*, *fides*, and *pietas*. In addition, irony as a means of portraying how Carthaginians carry out their function as *rector* and *ductor*, as seen at the end of the last section,[38] is continuously employed by Silius.

In addition to *dux* and *ductor*, another related word deserves consideration, *rector,* which is once (370), in the section under study (346-402) used to refer to Regulus, as he is described as captain of the Roman fleet as they first got to the Sidonian lands. Prior to that, in verse 257, a wordplay had already drawn the reader's attention to Regulus' abilities as a *rector*: *Regulus arte regendi* is the resonant expression Silius formulates in order to describe Regulus' skill in riding the horse, as he faces the serpent "in single combat."[39] Figuratively, Fabius is also *rector*, as the Romans are about to decide whom they should accredit as commander at the head of the armies (*rectorem ponere castris*, 593), which is a concern both of the senate (*maxima curarum*, 593) and of Jupiter's (*cura*, 597).[40] In its other two

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[37] Regulus' *uultus* and his superiority in different levels is also one figuration of his overbearing or *control*; see, on his face and eyes, p. 38; on his superiority, see the discussion in section 4, p. 42-45.

[38] See p. 33 on verses 670, 671, 681-682, 690, and 689, and n. 20.

[39] It is not moot to remember, with Michael von Albrecht, 1964, p. 67, that "während zu Regulus in durchsichtiger etymologischer Spielerei die *ars regendi* (6, 257) gehört, die später auch Fabius auszeichnen wird (7, 377)". The "etymologische Spielerei" was often noticed and commented on: see, e.g., Fröhlich, 2000, p. 213, *ad* v. 257.

[40] Still on Regulus and Fabius, note that the Romans are to offer Fabius the *salutis <u>habenas</u>* (611), and Regulus is the great rider that, *ablato... aequo* (257-258), eludes the serpent *detortis... <u>habenis</u>* (260). Inserting undercurrents of meaning, the reins, attributed to Regulus and to Fabius in different moments of crisis, slant towards a positive heroic depicting of their *ars regendi* (see n. 39 above). The only other occurrence of *habena* in Book 6 (*excussit habenas/ luctificus Pauor*, 556-557) refers to *Pauor*, in a scene in which, once Fama broadcasts the disaster at Trasimene, fear takes control in Rome (on *Fama* and *Pauor* acting together, see Chapter 1, especially p. 1). The scene at hand here, 552-573, indeed reflects the situation in 4.1-38 (see Chapter 1, especially p. 3-6), in which an isotopy of fear was triggered off; the fears escalating here are both caused by the enemy's proximity (*"hostis adest!"*, 6.559 ~ 4.33-34, *exterrent immania coepta/inque sinu bellum*) and generate an isotopy (6.558, *Pauor... timendo*; 559, *horrida*; 568, *pauent*; 569, *metus*). See also Williams, 2004, p. 79, for other images of *habenae* connected to Fabius. Note also Fernandelli, 2005-2006, p. 107-108: "Le *habenae* appartengono a un *Leitmotiv* ideologico, concretando in immagine l'idea del controllo su una potenza irrazionale, e distruttiva se lasciata a se stessa."

occurrences in Book 6, *rector* relates to Cothon, the Carthaginian pilot (356);[41] to Xanthippus (682), as he is described as perfidiously sunk by the Carthaginians, a late and merited vengeance to Regulus' sufferings, according to Marus.

3. Controlling oneself: Regulus' self-control

It is on Regulus' behavior that we find the best *continuum* to our isotopic theme, *control*: Regulus' *self-control* is central to this sequence, enriched by some other eye-catching effects and additions. To return to a comment made along the way, some expected qualities of a leader are exponentially developed by Silius in his Regulus: *fides*, *pietas*, and *patientia*. In what concerns his *fides*, the very title of Fröhlich, 2000, *Regulus, Archetyp römischer Fides*, gives us a clear idea as to how Regulus has been seen as the *Vorbild* for this virtue. Not surprisingly, since he is the main character in one of the central Books in a poem that can be designated as "*Epos der Fides*", as Albrecht, 1964, p. 55, points out. As for Regulus' *pietas*, it can be Janus-faced, as we discuss in section 4 below. Regulus' *patientia*, on the

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[41] Cothon is *ante omnes doctus*, a qualification that grabs the attention; in fact, the whole sequence describing the preparations (350-363) is detailed in its tableaux and observes the Carthaginians' meticulousness as sailors. From the emphasis on the initial nautical setting (*nauali propulsa ratis... nautica pubes*, 351), our eyes are guided through the carefulness with which some fit the ropes (*aptare rudentes*, 353) and with which the captain fits the rudder (*aptat clauum*, 357), and we are invited to visualize the curvature of both the prow (*unca... prora*, 355) and of the anchor (*curuati pondera ferri*, 355), before we are led to hear the strict rhythm in which good sailing is made (360-363):

> Mediae stat margine puppis,
> qui *uoce* alternos nautarum *temperet* *ictus*
> et remis *dictet* *sonitum* pariterque relatis
> ad *numerum* *plaudat* *resonantia* caerula tonsis.

However, even though this attention to minutiae comes through as some sort of praise to the Carthaginians (another instance of "representing the other", see p. 26-27, and Williams, 2004, p. 83), we can still read Silius' irony here, too. The addition of *tela* and *uariam... contra aspera ponti... opem* (359-360) may suggest that the Carthaginians are somehow at a loss to understand the boundaries between sailing and making war, consequently hinting at their major skills as sailors (as the long previous description highlights), but conveying their inadequateness as warriors. In that sense, it seems also ironic that the *ante omnes doctus pelagi rectorque carinae* (356) should receive the name of a harbor (see Volpilhac, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1981, p. 153, n. 2 on p. 46)—a helmsman whose name indicates a place where ships are supposed to be moored. This is all the more ironic if Fröhlich, 2000, p. 271, *ad* v. 357, is right, and Cothon is a Carthaginian name meaning "little" that Silius tries to pass on. On this general doubleness or indefinition, one last observation, albeit almost excursive: the Carthaginians' vessel has its image duplicated by its reflection on the water (*micat aereus alta/ fulgor aqua*, 357-358) and its beak is *trifidus* (*trifidi splendentis in aequore rostri*, 358), an adjective only once used elsewhere in Book 6 (line 222), referring to the movement of the serpent of Bagrada—an animal whose nature is also twofold: it inhabits both earth (149-154) and water (162-165).

Last but not least, the scene on the preparations for departure (especially 350-363) has some remarkable convergences with the opening mayhem in Book 4 (lines 9-38; on the confluences of this scene and 6.552-573, see n. 40). *Verbatim*, thwarts are renewed in Book 6, whereas javelins were made new in Book 4 (6.353, *transtra nouant ~ pila nouant*, 4.12); *tela* and *opem* are concerns in both cases (6.359-360 ~ 4.21 and 23). Besides the fact that both "movements" have a conductor (6.356-357, *rector... Cothon ~ haud segnis cuncta magister/ praecipitat timor*, 4.25-26), everything is made in a rush (6.350, *nec moras ~ raptim... subitusque*, 4.10). The effect is that we are led to compare both scenes and visualize how Carthaginian organization and meticulousness in preparations are somewhat similar to Roman havoc and desperation.

other hand, is represented through a great deal of self-control, much of which can be observed in this section (346-402), in words and expressions that await our inspection.

Marus' view of Regulus is as laudatory as can be; as we mentioned before, Regulus is seen as the one who would be able to put an end to Rome's sufferings if he were still alive (296-298; 461-465). Among the descriptions Marus offers, he repeatedly reminds Regulus' unshakableness, which can be observed mostly in his facial features. Regulus' *lumina* (368) face the Carthaginians that had come to see his being sent back to Rome with a placid aspect (*pacatus frontem*, 369),[42] just as when he approached the Sidonian coast, even though his role has changed—he was then *rector* (370) of his docked fleet. In line 385 Regulus' *lumina* are evoked as possibly *prodentia sensum* (384), as Marus watches his countenance (*uultus*, 384), but his expression remains unalterably the same under different adverse circumstances (*unum... inter mille labores/ unum.../ ... unum uidi... uultum*, 386-388).

In addition to what can be read between lines 346 and 402, four other occurrences of these terms also prove relevant. In spite of his situation as a captive, Regulus' face terrified the citadel of Carthage: *uultu* in line 84 is detached from its adjective (*captiuo*, 83) and immediately preceded by *terreres*, adding a mighty effect to the complex, namely an emphasis to the terror Regulus' face inspires, notwithstanding the fact that he is but a prisoner, which is still highlighted by the heavy long syllables that dominate the first hemistich: *tērrērēs uūltū*. Regulus' face is *sacratos uultus* (420), even when he is to be scolded by his harsh behavior,[43] and the expression is all the more emphasized by the possibility of reading the verse with one single hephthemimeral caesura right after this expression, which again has its solemnity reinforced by the long syllables: *sācrātōs uūltūs*. In his visit to Rome, exhausted after his time of imprisonment in Carthage, Regulus' face is *fronti... squalente* (427), but his *terribilis decor atque animi uenerabile pondus* (428) is nevertheless remarkable. Concerning his *animi uenerabile pondus*, we go from his self-control in *patientia* back to his *fides*: "Unsichtbar, still und verschwiegen, kann Fides nur in der Menschenbrust Wohnung nehmen. *Pectus, mens, animus* sind ihr Gemach" (Albrecht, 1964, p. 59). His *lumina* (466) and extended palms accompany a prayer in front of the Senate, a display of religious *pietas*.

Regulus' self-control makes him superior: to the governing consul and to the gods. Lines 394-402 present an interesting scene in this regard. As Regulus arrives at Rome, the commotion is great; he nonetheless stood still (*stetit*, 394) and didn't move (*inter tot gemitus immobilis*, 396);[44] the consul reached out his right hand to welcome the captive, but Regulus is the one to make him not dishonour his office: *collegit gressum; monitusque recedere consul/ nec summum uiolare decus* (399-400). As Regulus goes

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[42] "So erträgt er die Folter *placido ore* (6, 537, vgl. 369)"—so Michael von Albrecht, 1964, p. 65, notes the parallel between the expression we just discussed (*pacatus frontem*, 369) and *placido ore* in line 536 in our Budé edition. In fact, Regulus' aspect of self-control is to be detected also under *placido ore* again in line 457, and he is only depicted as *truci... ore* (658) in the ekphrasis, as he advises the Romans go to war.

[43] On Regulus' *fides*, its extremes and the reproaches it entails, see Section 4 below, p. 42-45.

[44] Intertextually, *stetit.../ iuuenumque.../ gemitus immobilis* (394-396) point to a characterizing of Regulus as the wounded Aeneas in *Aeneid* 12.398-400: *stabat acerba fremens ingentem nixus in hastam/ Aeneas magno iuuenum et maerentis Iuli/ concursus, lacrimis immobilis*; see Fröhlich, 2000, p. 277, *ad* v. 394-396. See p. 92-93 with n. 42 there for more on *stare* connected to the idea of self-control.

on in his dignity, he puts the gods to shame: *inuidiam caelo diuisque ferebat* (402).[45] Regulus' visit to the senate is another moment in which we see his self-restraint as *decorum* he observes more strictly than the senators in the session (458-460):

> *Intulit ut gressus, certatim uoce manuque*
> *ad solitam sedem et uestigia nota uocabant.*
> *Abnuit antiquumque loci aspernatur honorem.*

The hypallage in line 458 *antiquum loci honorem* instead of *antiqui loci honorem* underscores the illogical relationship between characters and their attitudes: senators behave lightly, whereas a captive maintains the honor of the sacred place he is now but visiting.

Composed as he is, Regulus' self-control is also played against the collective, and this individualization of the hero shows how much self-control he bears, as opposed to the loud and uncontrolled mob. Three instances should suffice to exemplify what I mean. As Regulus, *pacatus fronte* (368), is led to the ships in order to embark for Rome, his arrival attracts the people, who are described as a noisy gathering of all ages: *omnis turba ruit, matres puerique senesque* (366). In Rome, his appearance is not differently received; people from all over Italy come to see Regulus, hills are crowded, and river banks become strident (389-391):[46]

> *Obuia captiuo cunctis simul urbibus ibat*
> *Ausonia, et, campum turba uincente, propinqui*
> *implentur colles; strepit altis Albula ripis.*

In the very same scene, unmoved in his self-control (396), Regulus stands still in front of suffering senators, mothers, and young men: *stetit, illacrimante senatu/ et matrum turba iuuenumque dolore profuso* (394-395). Regulus' silent self-control and individualization is also played against the background of mixed Romans and Carthaginians alike (*superba/ Poenorum turba captiuoque agmine*, 400-401),[47] as he marches forth (*ibat*, 402), surrounded (*saeptus*, 401) and escorted (*cingente/ superba Poenorum turba*, 400-401). Even more pictorial is the last occurrence of *turba* that interests us here: between lines 461 and

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[45] The stoic conformity is delicately questioned in some characters' voices, as they challenge the gods' goodness or omnipotence; this can be observed, in Book 6, in lines 84 (*crimen culpamque Tonantis*), 87 (*Estis ubi en iterum, superi?*), 130-131 (*donec dis Italae uisum est extinguere lumen/ gentis*), 340 (*Dedecus, o Gradiuue, tuum!*), 367-368 (*atque inimica per ora/ spectandum Fortuna ducem*), and 402 (*inuidiam caelo diuisque ferebat*). The *loci* have been noted by Fröhlich, 2000, p. 155-156, *ad* v. 84, and p. 272-273, *ad* vv. 367ff.

[46] "Become strident" stands for *strepit* (391), a verb which is only once more to be seen in Book 6: *ut uero strepuere tubae* (224). In this scene, the trumpets blare as the serpent attacks Regulus' soldiers in Africa. The same verb is also employed in another commented passage in Book 4, in which *strepere* is the "roar" of Mars' arrival: *per omnem / Ausoniam Mauors strepit et ciet arma uirosque* (4.10-11; see p. 1, n. 6). Paralleled to trumpets in Book 6 and to Mars' noisy arrival in Book 4, the *turba* that gathers to see Regulus are a loud contrasting background against which the hero's silence is depicted.

[47] *Contra*: Fröhlich, 2000, p. 278-279, *ad* v. 401, advocates the reading *captiuoque tegmine saeptus* and translates, on p. 242, "in Gefangenentracht".

465, Regulus' ability is again mentioned, as senators come to him and suggest he accepts the ransom because he is worth the *captiua... turba* (463-464) of Carthaginians that would pay for his freedom.[48]

A last term that merits consideration is *captiuus*, quite a *locus classicus* for Regulus' *patientia*. In three of its eight occurrences in Book 6, it refers to Regulus as a prisoner of Carthage's: 83, 389, and 476.[49] Line 83 creates a paradoxical image: *captiuo* as Regulus is, he is at the same time *maxime... ductorum* (82-83) and capable of terrifying the Carthaginian citadel (*Carthaginis arcem/ terreres uultu*, 83-84). Line 389 is interesting in the dramatic effect it produces. In its context, verses 389-396, Regulus is the captive that draws attention to his passing, congregating around him all the cities of Italy, standing still and impassive in the middle of the commotion of women, older men, and the youth (*senatu/ et matrum turba iuuenumque*, 394-395); even the Carthaginian nobles suggest he, with his stern heart (*immitia corda*, 392),[50] resume his native dress and dignity. Compared to the context between verses 366-370, this scene is a reenactment.[51] When leaving Carthage, Regulus was also the captive that drew the attention of women, old men and the youth (*matres puerique senesque*, 366), and even though he is dragged by his enemy Fortune (*Per medios coetu trahit atque inimica per ora/ spectandum Fortuna ducem*, 367-368), he is the leader (*ducem*, 368) who maintains his peaceful aspect (*pacatus frontem*, 369), just as when he was at the head of his fleet (*rector*, 370). No need for the old native dress and honors: what the Carthaginian nobles do not notice is that Regulus dignity is in his unchanged heart, standing upright in front of adversity with unchanging countenance, as Marus advertently reports in the middle of his description of both scenes: *unum etiam in patria saeuaque in Agenoris urbe/ atque unum uidi poenae quoque tempore uultum* (387-388). Line 476 can also be elusive without a closer look at the context. Even though Regulus complains about his old age and about the forces he now loses in its captivity (*uinclis*

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[48] *Mutatis mutandis*, the same insinuation of the difference between the unrestrained *turba* and the self-controlled Regulus is tellingly accomplished in the use of *proceres* in line 392 and of *pubes* in lines 242, 348, and 351. In addition, it is maybe worth mentioning that the Carthaginians accomplish great tasks in groups (in this Book, for instance, between lines 351 and 363, as they prepare to set sail, a passage Fröhlich, 2000, p. 269, *ad* v. 351-354, compares to Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.423-429, as the Carthaginians organize their city under Dido), whereas the Romans are always highlighted as individual heroes (Regulus, Fabius, Marcellus, Scipio, to name the main ones in the *Punica*) and sometimes cannot even count on their entourage for help (*e.g.*, 6.239-248, 4.401-416, and in Saguntum, 2.222-232; see p. 7-8, n. 27).

[49] A fourth occurrence might be added if we consider the reading offered by Fröhlich, 2000, p. 278-279, to line 401: *captiuoque tegmine saeptus* (see n. 47). In this configuration, Regulus would be poorly dressed in prisoner's clothes as a captive.

[50] Curiously enough, not unlike Hannibal himself in 4.807, Regulus here is said to be of a stern heart; see n. 40.

[51] In his study of the *Aeneid*, Quint, 1993, especially p. 53-96, considers the function of repetition as a means of constructing the narrative. In the section entitled *Undoing the past in* Aeneid *12* (p. 65-83), the thesis previously advanced, namely that "It is only when the past has been successfully repressed—when it ceases to repeat itself in its former version—that it can be repeated *with a difference* in order to be reversed and undone" (p. 65), is proved and supported. What are we to think then of Silius' hero, whose countenance remains unchanged in Carthage and in Rome? If Aeneas' undoing of his past lets him "undo his past defeat at Troy, inflicting it upon another", which, in turn, "transforms repetition into mastery" (p. 71), Regulus' repeated scene suggests the stability of the State he represents. His not trembling in front of the adversity gives us another chance to observe the "doppelte Bedeutung des Regulus als *exemplum fidei* und als *exemplum patientiae*" (Albrecht, 1964, p. 65), and this is the link this character has with Virgil's Aeneas. As Quint, 1993, p. 83, notes, "Virgil sings of arms and the man, but the man may not count for much: Aeneas himself may be reduced to one more piece of weaponry, the instrument of his historical destiny", not unlike Regulus, for whom it is the future of the Roman nation that counts. Also in this, Silius is as virgilian as can be, in that his "hero of empire became an executive type who places duty over individual desire, the goals of history over the present moment" (Quint, 1993, p. 95).

et longo carcere torpent/ captiuo in senio uires, 475-476), even though he seems to complain about what Rome reduces him to (*exsangui spectatis corpore nomen*, 478), he declares his warring subsistence (*Fuit ille nec umquam, / dum fuit, a duro cessauit munere Martis/ Regulus*, 475-477) and Carthage's ignorance of how much there still is in his old age (*Carthago... inscia quantum/ e nobis restet*, 479-480), strongly admonishing: *ite dolos contra* (482). Compared to these three instances, the other three (349, *captiuamque manum*; 463, *captiua turba*; 481, *captiuos*), that refer to the Cartaginians, oppose Regulus as a detached individual, self-controlled even in his defeat, from a collectivity that is mostly designated with some scorn.

Not less important is the use of the related words *uinctus* and *uinculum*. They call to attention the already mentioned opposition between Regulus' individuality and the collective, for one, in lines 465 (*dextra... uincta catenis*) and 475 (*uinclis et longo carcere torpent*), in which Regulus' binding can be set in contrast to 348, *uinctam inter proelia pubem*, in which the Carthaginian soldiery is once again a collective entity. The context of lines 475-476 deserve a closer reading since they add to Regulus' *pietas* and *fides*—he declares his old age weakened by the long imprisonment but holds on to his *fides* to the motherland, taking the harder option of going back to Carthage and suffering the consequences (484-489), on the one side, and holding on to his *pietas*, on the other side, since it is in a prayer that he begins his speech (466-472), but a prayer in no way disrespectful or mourning the gods' inattention. In addition, a counterbalance to captivity in Regulus' exhausted forces *in his old age* (*nunc etiam uinclis et longo carcere torpent/ captiuo in senio uires*, 475-476) can be seen in the fact that Carthage's *youth* is imprisoned (*uinctam inter proelia pubem*, 348).

The word *uinctus* apears also in verse 582 (*uinctum... catenis*); Marcia, Regulus' wife, is the speaker in the context of verses 574-589, in which she receives her son back. As she sees Marus, her first comment is the expression of the past sufferings she has not yet forgotten: *agnoscensque Marum: "Fidei comes inclite magnae, / hunc certe mihi reddis", ait* (579-580). After voicing her fears of Serranus' wounds, she resigns herself: *Quidquid id est, dum non uinctum Carthago catenis/ abripiat poenaeque instauret monstra paternae, gratum est, o superi* (582-584). In the occurrence, it is worth noticing that, not unlike what we observed about Regulus, his son is also represented in an unreal possibility as an individual captive, and Marcia shows her preference for a presence tarnished by wounds instead of an undesired absence. Her past trauma is still pretty much alive. In fact, the other verse in which the word *uinclum* occurs is related to Marcia: *Has inter uoces uinclis resoluta moueri/ paulatim et ripa coepit decedere puppis* (512-513). While pronouncing her last words before Regulus' departure back to Carthage, the ship is released from its ropes and starts drifting away. The word *uinc(u)lum*, often related to marriage (*OLD*, s.v., item 6; in the examples cited there, with *iugale* and *tori*), could easily be read as a metaphor for the previous attachment or agreement (Regulus' marriage to Marcia) as being dissolved,[52] as Regulus

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[52] For the construction *uinclis resoluere* instead of *uincla resoluere*, see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 426, *ad* 6.512: "cette tournure renouvelle cependant l'idée de "délier" [...]. Le lecteur devait donc y voir une figure expressive". The fact that the expression is thought to draw attention adds to the possibility of reading it as a metaphorical extension.

sticks to honoring his latest one (with Carthage). Marcia's voice is silenced, no self-control or control over her choices is given the character: she starts vociferating accusations and cannot fulfill her wish of going with her husband.

4. Lack of self-control: Marcia (434-451; 497-520; 574-589a)

Marcia is depicted against Regulus' powerful image of faithfulness, sobriety, and self-control in a threefold way. Firstly, in two of her public appearances (434-451 and 497-520), she displays almost no self-control; in fact, she can be defined as a character that stands in opposition to Regulus in that sense. While Regulus stood still and unmoved amidst the general commotion (*stetit, illacrimante senatu/ et matrum turba iuuenumque dolore profuso, /inter tot gemitus immobilis*, 394-396), Marcia's image is restless and hyperbolically described as in a funeral, when Regulus embarks back to Carthage (*At trepida et subito ceu stans in funere coniux/ ut uidit puppi properantem intrare, tremendum/ uociferans*, 497-499). Secondly, again in her two first public appearances, she does not have any control over her wishes: she can't have her husband stay home for the night he spends in Rome (450-451), and she cannot go with him as he departs (512-515). Thirdly, she has a different way of experiencing her *pietas* and her *fides* (584-589a), and she exposes how ambivalent Regulus' *pietas* and *fides* are.

In her very first appearance (434-451), Marcia is faced with her husband's return to Rome, and with his own decision to spend the night away from his family. Her voice is then a shout (*clamabat*, 437) that is taken as despisable (*reliquit*, 451) crying (*fletus*, 450) and complaint (*questus*, 451). In her second appearance, again hardly heard by Regulus, Marcia is depicted in an increasing lack of control: she shakes (*trepida*, 497) and mourns (*ceu stans in funere*, 497), vociferates loudly (*tremendum/ uociferans*, 498-499; *exclamat*, 515) against the ship, and, again left behind, she is miserable (*uero infelix*, 514), bewildered in her pain (*mentem furiata dolore*, 514);[53] her voice is again despised: *cetera percussi uetuerunt noscere remi* (520).

In her first appearance (434-451), Marcia addresses Regulus and tries to convince him to stay the night (*patrios damnare penates/ absiste ac natis fas duc concedere noctem*, 448-449), but to no avail. In her second appearance (497-520), she first suggests her being taken with Regulus to Africa (*Tollite me,*

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[53] Helzle, 1995, p. 8-9, observes that Fabius, characterized as a Stoic, is *cauta mente* (1.679) in Book 1, and *quieta mente* (6.616-617) in Jupiter's words in Book 6. The same word *mens* is used to describe Regulus, not less stoic, who has his chest taken by Fides as her *sedes* (*in egregio cuius sibi pectore sedem/ ceperat alma Fides mentemque amplexa tenebat*, 6.131-132), is later taken by the desire for glory (*abripuit traxitque uirum fax mentis honestae/ gloria*, 332-333), describes himself as respectful of his oaths to the gods (*iurata mente*, 469), and is not of the same mind as Marus (*putabam/ esse uiro et nostrae similem inter tristia mentem*, 381-382). In not one of these examples is the use of the word in a negative context as in Marcia's description, in which case the word depicts a lack of rationality. The sequence *furiata dolore* is a "Didoesque guise" that "accentuates the climactic *pathos* of the episode. [...] In this respect, Marcia resembles the Bacchich aspects of Dido's distraught situation in *Aeneid* 4" (Augoustakis, 2006, p. 155). See also Dietrich, 2005, especially p. 77-83, for a reading of Marcia's mourning both in intratextual and intertextual terms. Note also, with Foley, 2005, and Fantham, 1999, especially p. 224-225, on Euryalus' mother in the *Aeneid*), that Marcia's attitudes are mostly biased according to gender-role in the Roman epic.

Libyes, comitem poenaeque necisque, 500) and then reminds him of his belonging to the family he now deserts (*Accipe mecum/ hanc prolem*, 506-507), but again to no avail. Marcia's characterization is one of double lack of control: besides not being able to control her outbursts of emotions, she cannot control her destiny, because her wishes are related to Regulus, an obstinate man who refuses to listen. In her despair, she seems to suggest a collective suicide (*si stat rumpere uitam, / in patria moriamur*, 510-511), and behaves as if the separation imposed were the death of her husband (*ceu stans in funere*, 497). These associations with death that her lack of control brings forth are also to be seen in her way of life—besides her speech being interpreted as crying and lamentation, she is later depicted as a woman in continuous mourning who tolerates life only for the sake of her children, but avoiding any furher social contact (575-578):

> atque olim post fata mariti
> non egressa domum uitato Marcia coetu
> et lucem causa natorum passa, ruebat
> in luctum similem antiquo

Marcia turns into what coud be called the result of a trauma, and her last speech makes it clear: *Nimium uiuacis dura senectae/ supplicia expendi. Quaeso, iam parcite, si qua/ numina pugnastis nobis* (587-589).[54] This last statement is a signifier and a good barometer of how unbalanced is Marcia's way of facing the sufferings she was exposed to; this outlines quite a shocking background for Regulus' attitudes, which are, from the outset, mostly extolled as an oasis of self-control: *fert lumina contra/ pacatus frontem* (368-369); *unum... inter mille labores* (386); *stetit, illacrimante senatu* (394; compare, again, with Marcia's *ceu stans in funere*, 497); *uoce quieta/ affatus* (411; compare with Marcia's *clamabat*, 437, *tremendum/ uociferans*, 498-499); *placido ore* (457 and again 536; compare with Marcia's *turbata*, 578, *mentem furiata dolore*, 514).[55]

In her "disjunctive conjunction" with her husband, a corroborating subisotopy (inside the isotopy of control) that can be detected in the three scenes is related to *steps and ways*. The word *gressus*, for instance, appears twice, and these two occurrences are quite significant. In line 437 (*Quo fers gressus?*), as Marcia expresses her astonishment at Regulus' going away with the Punic guard and ignoring the possibility of spending his Roman night with his family; in line 499 (*celerem gressum referebat ad undas*), it is Marcia who, even though disdained in her first try, approaches the ship and struggles for a second chance. In the third scene, the same stem depicts one of the results of the past experience: *atque olim post fata mariti/ non egressa domum uitato Marcia coetu* (575-576). The same opposition can be observed in the occurrences of *uestigia*. Whilst Marcia uses the word to reminisce and attest her chastity (*uestigia nostri/ casta tori.../ inuiolata*, 438-440), Silius employs it to answer the question in 437: *Hos inter fletus iunctus uestigia Poenis/ limine se clusit Tyrio questusque reliquit* (450-451).

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[54] In addition to this definition as a "walking trauma" (575-578), Marcia also describes herself quite singularly, in negatives that seem to answer (unasked) questions in a quite gloomy way: "I am the one who doesn't ask for..." (447-448) and "I am not..." (504-505). See also Augoustakis, 2006, p. 156, and his interpretation: "Silius describes the woman's mourning and seclusion from life, another token of his emphasis on the darkness and the difficulty of the period for the Roman state."

[55] References on Regulus listed by Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 423, *ad* 6.457.

Even in the face of Regulus' continued running away (*Non Punicus hic est, / Regule, quem fugias, carcer*, 437-438; *Cur usque ad Poenos miseram fugis?*, 506), Marcia insists on reminding him of the past honored home they used to have, one in which he received distinctions (*unde ingens humeris fulgentibus ostro/ uidisti Latinos consul procedere fasces*, 443-444) and to which he'd come back with additional ones (*unde ire in Martem, quo capta referre solebas/ et uictor mecum suspendere postibus arma*, 445-446). In both scenes, though, to Marcia's despair, her words are taken as mere lamentations and fall into deaf ears: *Hos inter fletus iunctus Poenis/ limine se clusit Tyrio questusque reliquit* (450-451) – *Vltima uox duras haec tunc penetrauit ad aures* (519).

In the same sense as the steps and ways that go different directions, also opposite is the notion of *pietas* and *fides* expressed by both characters. In her first speech, Marcia insists on the chastity of her bed (*uestigia nostri/ casta tori domus et patrium sine crimine.../ inuiolata larem*, 438-440), and her accomplished role as a mother (*semel hic iterumque.../ ... prolem.../ ... sum enixa tibi*, 440-442); by emphasizing her fidelity as a chaste and childbearing wife, she highlights both her *fides* and her *pietas* and makes it clear that family always comes first with her. Since Regulus' priorities are elsewhere, Marcia puts herself in second place (*Non ego complexus et sanctae foedera taedae/ coniugiumue peto*, 447-448), questions Regulus' *pietas* and asks of him that he not disrespect the household gods (*patrios damnare penates/ absiste ac natis fas duc concedere noctem*, 448-449). In her second speech, lines 516-518, she challenges his *fides*:

> *"En, qui se iactat Libyae populisque nefandis*
> *atque hosti seruare fidem! Data foedera nobis*
> *ac promissa fides thalamis ubi, perfide, nunc est?"*

Marcia sees Regulus as *perfidus* because her personal hierarchy puts family first; she had previously declared her disposition to face whatever needed to stand by her husband, as Fröhlich, 2000, p. 294, *ad* 6.503, makes even clearer: "Marcias Entschlossenheit, zu dulden und zu ertragen (*ferre, pati*), kennt keine Grenzen – ihre Leidensbereitschaft erstreckt sich auf welche Mühen auch immer (*quoscumque*), auf alle Gefahren der Welt [... *terrarum pelagique... caelique labores*, in line 503—] konstituieren Festland, Meer und Firmament den Kosmos." Regulus stands in opposition to that, as he puts his duty to the State in the first place.[56] Or to the gods, considering he is abiding by the rules of the oath he had taken back in Carthage.[57] Marcia's speech, however, denounces a *fides* that is so stubborn as to be identified with betrayal and assimilating with the enemy; as Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 426, *ad* 6.516,

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[56] Pomeroy, 2010, p. 70, notes that "the effect is more to strengthen the picture of Roman resolve on the part of Regulus", which seems clear, although I fail to see the "ironic context" he proposes for Marcia's words (a position I consequently do not spouse). Also on p. 70, he offers a good summary of the intertextual models chosen for Marcia (Lucan's Cornelia, Ovid's Scylla and Virgil's Dido).

[57] It is worth noticing that the expressions *attollere/tendere palmas*, generally used in religious praying contexts (see Natividade, 2015, p. 156-161), are also employed by Marcia and Regulus in slightly different situations, which points to a different view on things *pietas/fides*. Regulus, *palmas... attollens ac lumina caelo* (464), introduces his speech in the Senate, asking Jupiter, Fides and Juno for their testimony, before he presents his advice in the matter of Carthage's proposal. On the other hand, when Marcia, *fessas tendens ad litora palmas* (515), makes her request, she addresses Regulus. Each one's divinities seem to be of a different nature.

remarks, Silius highlights this in a triple repetition (*Libyae populisque nefandis/... hosti*, 516-517). In her last speech, as she receives her son back, Marcia's main theme is *fides* itself. *Fidei* (579) opens her utterance, and she names Marus her new *comes* (579) in this new part of her life, the one left after Regulus' departure. In her previous speech, she had highlighted the importance of her *fides* as a companion (*comitem*, 500; *coniux*, 501; *tecum*, 502; *mecum*, 506; *teque tuosque simul*, 510; *comes*, 511). Her *fides* is also expressed in terms of gratitude (*gratum est, o superi*, 584) for the returned son, a first prayer heard (*quotiens heu, nate, petebam*, 584), after so much suffering in a life that may have been architectured by some enemy god (587-589). Her attachment to family is not absent (*paternae*, 583; *nate*, 584; *patrias*, 585; *parentis*, 586), and the trauma of the past experience is not left behind in this unexpected homecoming (580-581)—this happy-ending *leue uulnus* (580) does not erase the *graue uulnus* of the past.

Marcia's *fides* and *pietas* are not only reserved to another perspective, a somewhat different discussion of what the important terms can mean, but they are also evidenced in different spaces: Marcia's are always limited and stuck in untransposable boundaries. In her first appearance, even though following her escorted husband up to the Carthaginian abode, she knows and respects her imposed limits (*in limine primo*, 436).[58] Later, in her second appearance, in front of the ship, her actions and words are limited by her mental scenery: *ceu stans in funere* (497). In her last appearance, before recognizing Marus and receiving her son back, we learn that, *non egressa domum... in luctum similem antiquo* (576-578), she has become a secluded old woman. In these limited spaces, Marcia has some control; over her desires, for instance, which are clearly confounded with her obligations and *foedera*, as we have seen in her *exorationes*, as she mentions her unchanged chastity. A somehow new definition for the character is that, limited in her narrow spaces, she does find some control of herself and her body. Her questioning Regulus' *fides* and *pietas*, then, are a "cry for help"—how is it worth being like she is (or as she sees Regulus now being), in control and maintaining treaties and respecting boundaries, if there is no counterpart? Marcia's given voice is a powerful poetical questioning of the established structure.[59]

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[58] See Augoustakis, 2010, p. 166, especially n. 24.

[59] Augoustakis, 2010, p. 179: "Marcia's voice of dissent has a subversive role. Her display of power and 'masculinity' competes with Regulus' own qualities. Therefore, we have to look into the representation of Regulus in this episode and ponder whether he is truly and unequivocally portrayed as the flawless general or whether his portrait contains certain flaws that Silius deliberately exploits." See also Williams, 2004, p. 77-78, for a comparison between Regulus and the reckless generals Flaminius, Minucius, and Varro. See also the interesting discussion on the simile that associates Regulus with a wolf (329-331) in Cowan, 2007, p. 7: "If one were to read any further levels into this imagery, the bold, invasive Roman venturing into Carthaginian territory is not necessarily the straigtforwardly positive figure which the narrative voice depicts." Last but not least, Dietrich, 2005, p. 79-83, connects Marcia's lamenting figure to other female ones (Tiburna in Book 2, Imilce in Books 3 and 4) in the first half of the *Punica*, emphasizing the female lament as "calling attention to the menace facing Rome as Hannibal advanced into Italy" (p. 87).

5. Fight for control over the landscape: Regulus and the serpent (140-154; 174-196; 233-260; 275-290)

At the very beginning of Marus' narrative, Regulus is faced with a serpent he has to battle by the river Bagrada (140-290). In search of water, his men decide to camp around the river, where a monstrous serpent inhabits a cave; not unlike the lake in Book 5, Trasimene, the river Bagrada passes through the surrounding sand (*sulcat harenas*, 140; *patulos inuoluere campos*, 143 ~ *effigiem in pelagi lacus humectabat inertis*, 5.5), and "controls" the territory all around it (*non ullo Libycis finibus amne/ uictus limosas extendere latius undas*, 142 ~ *et late multo foedabat proxima limo*, 5.6) with its stagnating waters (*stagnante uado*, 143 ~ *restagnans gurgite uasto*, 5.4). The very scenery, itself somehow a reflection of the landscape in the previous Book, should warn us of the gruesome end of this narrative, which is in addition connoted by the lack of light (*pallentibus umbris*, 144; *sine sole*, 148; *tristes sine luce tenebrae*, 150) and mentions to death and its entourage (*iuxta Stygium*, 146; *monstrum exitiabile*, 151; *letalem ripam et lucos... Auernos*, 154). To this gloomy territory the serpent is tightly linked (283-285), as some kind of protecting entity or extension of the territory itself;[60] even though the warriors insist on dominating what is not their due, another example of "man's implacable determination to overcome by all possible means the resistance he meets" (Santini, 1991, p. 97), which leads to inevitable consequences—"certain motifs which are emphasised and repeated in such a way as to hint at underlying tendencies and alignments, even (although the term is much abused) at a 'message' on the writer's part" (Santini, 1991, p. 61).

One of the depictions of the serpent (174-187) allows us to grasp its domination of the space it inhabits in terms of comparisons with five mythological creatures, namely the Eurus, Cerberus, the Giants and their serpent-like legs,[61] the Lernaean Hydra and the dragon-serpent that protected Juno's golden apples in the Hesperides' garden. The *spiritus* (176) coming out of the grove[62] is compared to a hellish *turbo* (175) that is sterner than the insane Eurus, the east wind (*insano saeuior Euro*, 175). Although such comparisons are common and proverbial, a topos (Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 125, *ad* 2.173; Bernstein, 2017, p. 105-106, *ad* 2.173), the fact that the monster is related to a wind coming from the east, usually topical for the foreign and barbarian, adds to the situation of fear in

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[60] The first word used to refer to the serpent is *monstrum* (151). On this word, its meaning as "un prodige qui avertit de la volonté des dieux" and its etymological connection to *monere*, see Martin, 1979, p. 29-31. As for a possible humorous "Augenzwinkern" use of the word in line 193, see Fröhlich, 2000, p. 204, *ad loc*. On *monstra* as Regulus' sufferings, see Augoustakis, 2010, p. 188. On another word related to *monere*, *monumenta*, see p. 26-28 and 31 (with Marks, 2003, p. 135, cited there). On the monster as an extension of the territory itself, see Martin, 1979, p. 33 and 37. Ogden, 2013, p. 173-175, adresses the subject of how snakes "make outstanding natural guardians" (p. 173) and discusses an etymology existent since the time of Homer that associated the word *drakōn* to *derkomai*: *drakontes* would then be "starers" from the very name they have (with fiery eyes: *Terribilis gemino de lumine fulgurat ignis*, 220). He goes on (p. 174-175) to present serpents that were taken to be natural guardians of temple treasure and treasuries. Unbeknownst to our poet or not, it is curious that the Bagrada serpent is set as a kind of guardian of the *laticum, quorum est haud prodiga tellus* (144), a treasure in itself, and of the landscape (a temple of some sort?) pertaining to the local naiads (289).

[61] See Ogden's term "composite *drakontes*" and his explaining and defending the notion (2003, p. 115).

[62] On another serpent that ended up inhabiting a grove, Pyrene, see 3.415-440. An analysis of the episode in terms of "the violence that underwrites the assimilation of the female to the topography of epic" is offered by Keith, 2004, p. 56-57.

face of the unknown in the strange grove.[63] In addition, as Spaltenstein notes (1986, p. 403, *ad* 6.172), the idea of "souffle" is repeated four times, in the use of the words *turbo* (175), *spiritus* (176), *tempestas* (177), and *procellam* (177), which underscores the importance that the comparison with the wind plays in this scene, further emphasized by the two synaloephae in the verse (*turb[o] atqu[e] insano*), which, denoting the speed of the wind in the reading, make the most costumary caesuras unviable.

The *procella* that is generated by the *tempestas* (177) makes a noise that is compared to Cerberus' barking (*tempestas oritur, mixtam stridore procellam/ Cerbereo torquens*, 177-178). According to Duff, 1934, p. 294, n. *b*, "The mention of Cerberus implies that a passage to the nether world was opened up", and this can be observed in the details that follow. The ground starts making noises (*resonare solum*, 179), the earth shakes (*tellusque moueri*, 179), the grove falls in ruins (*antrum ruere*, 180), and the spirits of the dead seem to come forth (*uisi procedere manes*, 180). Right after the description of the *turbo-spiritus* that haunts the entrance of the grove, verbs of sound and movement (*resonare-ruere + moueri-procedere*, 179-180) stress the all-encompassing control that the phenomenon has over the place; Fröhlich, 2000, p. 200, *ad loc.*, notices, in addition, the chiasm *resonare solum – tellus moueri / antrum ruere – procedere manes*, that go as far as building a between-verse structure. The comparison between Cerberus and the air dominated by the serpent's breath achieves the effect of further dramatizing an atmosphere of fear that brings the five senses into synesthesia and conveys the power exerted by the monster in its lair. When the Romans cross the grove's entrance, hell is allowed to break loose—and this cannot predict but death.[64] Cerberus is one of the monsters confronted by Hercules' civilizing (brutal) strength, just like another mythological creature serving in the multiple simile: the Lernaean Hydra.[65]

The Hydra of Lerna, the multi-headed second guardian of the Underworld's door, besides having the obvious connection of its being a serpent, also has three characteristics that might as well have been thought by Silius as foreshadowing possibilities. The multiple attacking created by the different heads is here depicted in terms of the many episodes in which the fight against the Bagrada monster unfolds (the battle scene occupies around a tenth of Book 6, 190-205; 224-282); the quasi

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[63] In fact, whenever the Eurus is cited in such comparisons referring to his speed, characters or creatures somehow allied to the enemy are described: in 2.173 (*ocior Euro*), Asbyte is "swifter than the Eurus"; in 3.292 (*uelocior Euris*) "[the Getulians' horses are] swifter than the Eurus" (this is part of the catalog of Hannibal's allied forces, African and *oriental* contingent—curiously enough, a little earlier, 3.282-286, there is a reference to the Hesperides' garden); in 4.6 (*citatior Euro*) Fama is "swifter than the Eurus." As to warriors compared to winds, see Stocks, 2010, p. 154, n. 16; on comparisons in general, see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 76-77, *ad* 1.468. More specifically on similes, see Albrecht, 1964, p. 90-118, with a summary of the main ideas on p. 116, and p. 192-194 (Anhang II), an annex with a panoramic view of similes in the *Punica*. Albrecht's study is revised and discussed in Matier, 1986. See also p. 1-3, and p. 70-71 on 8.513.

[64] See Ogden, 2013, p. 228, and especially his acute remark in n. 102: "After Virgil and Lucan, it is wholly appropriate that such underworld imagery should appear in the sixth book". For further observations on the relationship between the Bagrada and the underworld rivers, see Haselmann, 2018, p. 130-135 (especially p. 134). Besides, darkness is another overarching theme in Book 6, as Augoustakis, 2006, p. 151-154, detailedly shows; in the same text, p. 167, n. 57, he also notes the connection of the words *turbo, spiritus, tempestas,* and *procella* with Juno, storms, and Underworld forces.

[65] The snakes he has as a tail and the others supposed to be appended to his body make the appearance of the hellish hound in like fashion very fitting.

immortality of the Hydra is also reflected in the curse related to the serpent after its killing (283-290). The fact that the Hydra's breath is said to be venomous and lethal (*e.g.*, by Pseudo-Hyginus in his *Fabula* 30, *Herculis athla duodecim ab Eurystheo imperata*)[66] can be read in Silius' insistence in the topic (a point we shall come back to later). In addition to that, the Lerna, a region of lakes and swamps in the Greek Peloponnese (highlighted in *lassauit in undis*, 182), was believed to be an entrance to the Underworld, to which, as we have already seen, the grove's threshold is also identified.[67]

The Bagrada serpent is also as big as the dragon-serpent that watched over Juno's golden apples in the Hesperides' garden (*qualisque comantes/ auro seruauit ramos Iunonis anguis*, 183-184), a comparison that should let us foresee that the monster has some kind of divinely attributed function, which we will learn later in lines 283-290. Besides, it should also be remembered that, in the whole cycle of the myth, Hercules' labor turns out to be useless since Athena takes the golden apples back to the garden at a later moment. The introduction of these three simile figures (namely: Cerberus, the Lerneaen Hydra and the Hesperides Dragon) is fitting, since these three myths link Regulus to Hercules as winner and conqueror: "Il est évident que Régulus en face du serpent va être un nouvel Héraclès face à une autre hydre de Lerne" (Martin, 1979, p. 35).

Silius brings up a fifth mythological set of serpents: the Giants' legs, as they tried to take possession of the Olympus (*Quantis armati caelum petiere Gigantes/ anguibus*, 181-182).[68] In fact, this comparison introduces the threefold simile that matches the Bagrada serpent, in its sequence, to the Hydra (183-184) and to the Hesperides Dragon (184-185). Describing the monster against which Regulus and his soldiers will fight for the landscape they now occupy, the triple simile functions as a gradual description of what is to be faced, as Silius' similes "behalten zu jeder Zeit des Geschehens in einem ganz umfassenden Sinne Geltung" (Albrecht, 1964, p. 114). It is to be expected as a big and plural force (*Quantis... / anguibus*, 181-182), armed (*armati*, 182), strong enough to fatigue Hercules, water-associated (*lassauit in undis/ Amphytrioniaden*, 182-183), and guardian of something sacred (*comantes/ auro seruauit ramos Iunonis*, 183-184). Somewhat paraphrasing Anhalt, 1995, p. 295, in her conclusion to an article on the simile in *Iliad* 24.314-321, the multiple simile here "both prefigures the culminating event", the battle between the creature and Regulus, "and provides a visual depiction of human existence as defined by barriers", whether they be respected or not.

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[66] See Ogden, 2013, p. 67, especially n. 242.

[67] The fact that "The Hydra is eventually revenged upon Heracles: it is the unbearable agony of her burning venom, mixed in with the blood or semen of the centaur Nessus and smeared over his tunic by Deianeira, that compels him to suicide on the pyre on Mount Oeta", as Ogden, 2013, p. 33, well summarizes, may also be taken here for a prefiguration of Regulus' future suffering, which is taken to be a consequence of his killing the serpent (286-290; more on these verses in the sequence in the main text).

[68] The Gigantomachy is also related to Hercules, as Bassett, 1955, p. 6, remarks: "A noteworthy point here is that the three comparisons all have connections with Hercules; he took part in the battle of the gods and giants on the side of the gods, and two of his twelve labors were killing the hydra and winning the golden apples of the Hesperides." Another point worth observing is that the word *terrigena* is only twice to be seen in the *Punica*: here at 254, referring to the serpent, also said to be *ira/ telluris genitum* (151-152; see n. 77 below), and in 9.306, referring to the giants, in a simile that marks the beginning of the Cannae episode, as the gods decide to take part in the battle. On the importance of the Gigantomachy/Theomachy in the *Punica*, see the bibliography on p. 2, n. 9, and p. 16, n. 61.

Whilst the two first adduced images (Eurus and Cerberus) make reference to the more ethereal power of controlling the environment, the last three (the Giants' serpents, the Lernaean Hydra, and the Hesperides Dragon) insist on the serpent's physical magnitude and, consequently, its visible and gigantic corporeality. With the conjunction of these multifarious symbols, Silius succeeds in composing the metaphorical meaning of this fight for control over the landscape, which has been pointed by Albrecht, 1964, p. 66: "[...] der Drachenkampf des Regulus ist schon vor Silius ethisch gedeutet worden. [...] Es geht um den Kampf des Weisen gegen den Tod".[69]

As for the symbols of control that can be found here, they are, as we have already mentioned, closely linked to the space both the serpent and Regulus want to have. In the fight, a shifting movement of coming and going back, of conquering territory and running away, plays in zigzagged developments that go both ways. The expression of the serpent's violence is strongly marked in phrasings such as *rapit* (235), *gaudet/ elisisse premens* (235-236; with the double idea of pressing highlighted), *semesaque membra relinquit* (239); the Romans fleeing is highlighted in *cedebant* (241), *auectas* (242), *debellauit inertes* (244). In this context, as revealing as *gressus* and *uestigia* in the negotiation of the occupied space, steps, and ways between Marcia and Regulus previously analyzed, is the word *tergum/terga* here. The cumulative effect of the expression *terga dare* is telling. First of all, the serpent is *impatiens dare terga nouusque dolori* (254), which is in diametrical opposition to the Romans' actions, who run away and get scolded by their general: *Serpentine Itala pubes/ terga damus Libycisque parem non esse fatemur/ anguibus Ausoniam?* (242-244). The monster is *impatiens dare terga nouusque dolori/ et chalybem longo tum primum passus in aeuo* (254-255), emphasis given to its unwillingness to suffer the pain (*dolori*, 254, and *dolore*, 256; note the double highlight)—the fact that the serpent hadn't suffered pain since long (*nouusque dolori/... longo tum primum passus in aeuo*, 254-255) contrasts with the pains the Romans suffer all along the Book, *dolor* being the keyword, both in the present war situation (47, Laevinus; 86, Marus, as he sees Serranus at his door; and 563, in the *hostis adest* scene, with Romans shaken by *Fama* and *Pauor*) and in the flashback presented by Marus (395, senate, *matres*, and youth, seeing Regulus; *numquam summissus colla dolori*, 414, Regulus; 496, the Roman people, seeing Regulus go back to Carthage; 514, Marcia). Regulus' valor is highlighted both in inflicting the first injury on the monster (imposing his "herculean civilizing dominion") and in his not giving in to the surrounding sorrow (414). In opposition to the snake *impatiens dare terga*, Regulus flees the serpent's fury by pretending to run away in lines 257-260:

> *ni Regulus arte regendi*
> *instantem elusisset equo rursusque secutum*

[69] Somewhat *contra*: Ogden, 2013, p. 67: "One of the most intriguing aspects of the tale is its determined modernity and its feinting towards realism. It is projected not into a nebulous mythical age but into the hard historical one of a specific year, 256/5 BC, in a closely documented war. The use of ballistas, torsion catapults, and falarica-missiles also serves to bring the story out of any mythical Never-Never-Land and situate it in the real world. Indeed, one senses that the story serves, in part, to celebrate the technology, much as modern fantasy movies do when they dispatch their rampaging monsters with the latest military hardware." On the same page, n. 244: "This full range of weapons is supplied at Silius Italicus 6.211-15, 271-4, 279-82."

cornipedis gyros flexi curuamine tergi
detortis laeua celer effugisset habenis.

A battle movement quite often assimilated to the Numidians (as in, *e.g.*, Livy 35.11.8-12), playing the runaway is also frequently associated with the perfidy of the tactic, as it is to be seen in 326-328, about Xanthippus: *fraudem nectens.../ et dat terga celer ficta formidine ductor.*[70] The final register in the murals (674-675) is nonetheless positive: it is Regulus who chases the runaway serpent—*instabat crista fulgens et terga premebat/ Regulus.*[71]

Gressus, uestigia, terga—two other body parts offer interesting points, valuable for our analysis: the head and the belly. *Caput* describing the serpent's head occurs six times, of which three (165, 186, and 234) draw attention to the monstrous size of the creature or its force[72] and three depict its going down (251, 272, and 280). This shift in positions of power is a flow-and-ebb movement that can be observed in other instances of the battle, as in the voices and sounds that take up the surrounding air/sky (see below). The creature's belly, both *uenter* (155)[73] and *aluus* (156, 199, and 273), that devours even the mighty king of the jungle, as Silius colorfully elaborates in lines 155-156 (*Ingluuiem immensi uentris grauidamque uenenis/ aluum deprensi satiabant fonte leones*), overlapping the two terms, is also part of this cyclical effect, as Martin, 1979, p. 40, notes:

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[70] See our commentary on p. 34-35. Observe as well that Regulus has been called *perfide* (518; see the discussion on p. 44-45, and Wills, 1996, p. 26-27 with n. 42, for an intertextual reading of the word, connecting Catullus, Virgil, and Silius). See also Augoustakis, 2010, p. 177, and his conclusion on p. 194: "Simultaneously, however, in this constant negotiation of representations of Romans as non-Romans, we may conclude that boundaries are weakened: Marcia is transformed into the atypical Roman mother of the centre, who denounces the *perfidia* of her husband, now almost an African, a Carthaginian in dress and demeanour." In the animals connected to Africans and Romans, too, a certain association may be observed: Bassett, 1955, p. 17, n. 51, indicates that "*Gyrus* is common with reference to snakes [...] and likewise for the wheeling movement of horses [...]. In fact, most of the Virgilian phraseology regarding horses in *Georgics* 3 is imitated by Sil. either for horses [...] or for the serpent". The word *gyrus* is to be seen only twice in Book 6, in line 226 (*glomerat sub pectore gyrus*), describing the serpent's movement, and in line 259 (*cornipedis gyros flexi curuamine tergi*), describing Regulus' horse's movement.

[71] Ripoll, 1998, p. 127, describes Regulus' characterization in terms of a development: "[...] cet héroïsme moral est l'aboutissement d'une progression intérieure qui fait passer Régulus de l'état de guerrier fougueux et irréfléchi (VI, 332 sqq.) à celui d'*exemplum uirtutis* (cf. v. 535) approchant la divinité (cf. v. 426)." Later on, p. 248, Ripoll expands the idea: "Régulus, qui est au début de sa geste un fougueux combattant entraîné par la *gloria*, « fax mentis honestae » et la « fallax fiducia Martis » (VI, 332) du héros épique traditionnel, devient par sa *fides* et sa *patientia* dans la souffrance un *exemplum* stoïcien, et c'est une gloire d'une nature plus élevée que celle qu'il poursuivait au commencement qui lui est promise à la fin : « Longo reuirescet in aeuo gloria » (VI, 546)." The idea is further developed by Ripoll in terms of a superior form of warrior *uirtus*, p. 348-351. Considering these theses and the previously noted relationship in Regulus' and Fabius' characterizations, Williams, 2004, p. 84 (as cited by Augoustakis, 2006, p. 165, n. 10), is an important *addendum* to the discussion: "Regulus' policy of direct aggression and no avoidance resembles an anachronism of sorts, a form of guileless 'uirtus' that is no match for a Xanthippus or a Hannibal, and one that contrasts with Fabius' more enlightened strategy in the second Punic War.... [T]he struggle... is not just between Rome and Carthage but also between different versions— Regulan and Fabian, even 'traditional' and 'modern'—of Roman military virtue, strategy and heroism." On *gloria* and *uirtus*, see also p. 103-109, on Scipio's *Scheideweg*.

[72] Not to be pushed too far, but worth noticing, is the curious parallel between the power displayed by the serpent in 233-234 (*super tumidis ceruicibus altum/ nutat utroque caput*) and Jupiter's decision in lines 600-602 (*Tum quassans caput: "Haud umquam tibi Iupiter", inquit, / "o iuuenis, dederit portas transcendere Romae/ atque inferre pedem*).

[73] The word *uenter* is only twice used in the *Punica*, the second occurrence being in line 2.472 (*rabidi ieiunia uentris/ insolitis adigunt uesci*, 2.472-473), describing the Saguntines' desperation in hunger, which, Bernstein, 2017, p. 213, *ad loc.*, explains, recalls Ovid's (*Met.* 15.75-76; Pythagoras complaining about meat consumption) and Virgil's (*Aen.* 2.356-357; a wolf simile) texts, "further associating the Saguntines with criminal eaters."

Il habite et il est en même temps un ventre profond et imonde, *obscaena alvus* (v. 199) ; Il est vaste gorge et noire cavité. [...] Les victimes sont contenues dans le ventre du serpent, qui est contenu dans le ventre de la grotte, qui est contenue dans ce lieu clos qu'est le bois sacré *lucus*. [...] Et pour que tout s'emboîte bien, l'avaleur est à son tour avalé puisque le serpent, rejoignant la ligne de plus grande pente, docile au paysage, meurt et s'abandonne à "l'aval" de la rivière.

As for Regulus' winning moment, his ability as a leader is highlighted in the already mentioned *Regulus arte regendi* (257) and in his speech calling the soldiers back (242-247), which is somewhat close to Scipio's in 4.402-412.[74] Regulus is also identified with Jupiter: *Clamans haec atque interritus hastam/ fulmineo uolucrem torquet per inane lacerto* (247-248). *Fulmineus* is Regulus' arm, an adjective not so common in the *Punica*;[75] the noun it derives from is only once to be seen in Book 6 (*Quater inde coruscum/ contorsit dextra fulmen.../... per aethera uoluens/ abrupto fregit caelo*, 605-608), as Jupiter sends Hannibal away from Rome. Also in the parallel are *torquet* (248) for Regulus and *contorsit* (606) for Jupiter; *per inane* (248) for Regulus' flying spear, and *per aethera* (607) for Jupiter's thunderbolt.[76] Not in vain is this implied relation sung by Silius, since the serpent, besides all the mythological creatures it reminds, also has an extended dominion over the soil, river, and air, which is variously mentioned all along the narrative of the episode.

The sense of dominion that the serpent has over the landscape is expressed in terms of the concrete room its bulky body occupies and the aerial space in which its sounds and poison project out. In the first case, the concrete room occupied is both horizontal (*serpens centum porrectus in ulnas*, 153; *nondum etiam toto demersus corpore in amnem/ iam caput aduersae ponebat margine ripae*, 164-165; *tantus disiecta tellure*, 185; *serpens euoluitur antro*, 218; *resoluens/ contortos orbes directo corpore totam/ extendit molem subitoque propinquus in ora/ lato distantum spatio uenit*, 227-230) and vertical (*sub astra coruscum/ extulit assurgens caput atque in nubila primam/ dispersit saniem et caelum foedauit hiatu*, 185-187; *spiris ingentibus altae/ arboris abstraxit molem*, 194-195; *procera cacumina saltus/ exsuperant cristae; trifido uibrata per auras/ lingua micat motu atque assultans aethera lambit*, 221-223; *alte/ immensum attollit corpus*, 224-225; *super tumidis ceruicibus altum/ nutat utroque caput*, 233-234; *sublime rapit*, 235; *sollitum in nubes tolli caput*, 272). Horizontality and verticality appear conjoined to make up the terror of a scene in which the humongous monster smashes the little soldiers (*trepidos inde incitus ira/ nunc sublime rapit, nunc uasto pondere gaudet elisisse premens*, 234-236)—the serpent's *ira* is highlighted.[77]

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[74] See p. 7-8, n. 27, on this speech in Book 4 and Theron's in Book 2. Bassett, 1955, p. 18, n. 57, notes some of the intertextual characteristics in the passage, and Williams, 2004, p. 73, interestingly observes: "he rallies the troops with a speech that (inevitably) ends by turning the spotlight upon himself."

[75] A total of eight occurrences are registered by Wacht, 1989, Vol. I, p. 439, out of which only this one in Book 6.

[76] On verses 247-248 and the *supra* analyzed words, see Bassett, 1955, p. 18, n. 58, for a series of considerations on the phrases and their use by other epic poets. As for expressions similar to *per inane* in reference to the serpent's power over the air, see the following paragraphs in the main text.

[77] *Ira* is a word that revolves around the snake; this form of lack of control (Seneca, *De ira* 1.1.2: *breuem insaniam; aeque enim inpotens sui est, [...] rationi consiliisque praeclusa, uanis agitata causis, [...] ruinis simillima quae super id quod oppressere franguntur*) gave birth to the serpent (*ira telluris genitum*, 151), determines its actions (*tepidos inde incitus*

Much more expressive and reiterated is the power the serpent exercises in the air through its venomous slaver (*in nubila primam/ dispersit saniem*, 186-187; *ater/ tabificam exspirat saniem specus*, 275-276), through its hissing (*nam sibila totum/ implebat nemus*, 189-190; *Stygios aestus fumante exsibilat ore*, 219), and through its breath (*tractae foeda grauitate per auras/ ac tabe efflatus uolucres*, 158-159; *uictorque caternas/ longius auectas afflatus peste premebat*, 239-240; *si debellauit inertes/ halitus*, 244-245). The serpent's might and main through the air are emphasized by expressions such as *in nubila* (186), *caelum* (*foedauit hiatu*, 187), *per auras* (158; 218; 221), *aethera* (*lambit*, 223), *in nubes* (272), *in auras* (281), and *nebulam* (282). Considering Regulus' *hastam... uolucrem* brandished *per inane* (247-248), the fight for controlling the surrounding landscape takes actual sky-high dimensions. In fact, also in terms of sounds uttered in the air an opposition can be observed as one structuring pattern throughout the episode. In the very first encounter, the serpent's hiss is all-encompassing (*nam sibila totum/ implebat nemus*, 189-190) and hellish (*Stygios aestus fumante exsibilat ore*, 219), as well as visually synesthetic (*lingua micat motu*, 222); the soldiers' reaction, on the other hand, is described as a shy shouting (*tenuemque metu conamur anheli/ tollere clamorem frustra*, 188-189) or the latest expression (*extrema uoce*, 198). On the counterattack, horses (*feralem strepitum circumtonat aulam/ cornea gramineum persultans ungula campum*, 216-217; *omnis anhelat/ attonitus serpentis equus, / [...] exspirat naribus ignes*, 230-232) and war-trumpets (*strepuere tubae*, 224) can be heard. At the turn of the tide, Regulus' voice is first mentioned (*uocibus impellens*, 242; *clamans*, 247), and then as the snake's head falls to the ground, the warriors' triumphant shout (*clamor ad astra datur, uocesque repente profusae/ aetherias adiere domos*, 252-3), in which *aetherias domos* gives the Romans' voice a power that had until now but pertained to the serpent's noises. With the final blow, we hear the weapon's hissing and the head's falling to the floor with a thump (*donec tormentis stridens magnoque fragore/ discussit trabs acta caput*, 279-280), an inversion in which the stridency of the serpent's hissing is transferred to the soldiers' weaponry.[78] So much for the flow. Killing the serpent brings an unannounced ebb, some kind of curse, meted out punishment; this is described in a sequence (283-290) of strongly alliterative high-pitched i's and mournful o's and u's:

> *Erupit triste fluuio mugitus et imis*
> *murmura fusa uadis; subitoque et lucus et antrum*
> *et resonae siluis ulul_arunt flebile ripae.*
> *Heu quantis luimus mox tristia proelia damnis!*
> *Quantaque supplicia et quales exhausimus iras!*
> *Nec tacuere pii uates famulumque sororum*
> *Naiadum, tepida quas Bagrada nutrit in unda,*
> *nos uiolasse manu seris mohe battle. nuere periclis.*

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ira/ nunc sublime rapit, 234-235; *Furit ilicet ira/ terrigena*, 253-254), confuses it (*[cohors] alternasque ferum diducit in iras*, 268), and, ultimately, punishes the warriors responsible for its killing (*quales exhausimus iras!*, 287). See also Augoustakis, 2006, p. 160-162, on the word *ira* as related to Regulus. More generally in the *Punica*, Albrecht, 1964, p. 107: "Als Ursache des ganzen Krieges geht dieser Affekt [= *ira*] von Iuno aus und verkörpert sich in Hannibal."

[78] Ogden, 2013, p. 242 and n. 198, exemplifying instances of "sound against the *drakōn*", notes that "A nicely simmetrical case is presented also by Silius' Bagrada serpent. Its terrible hissing 'filled the entire grove' and drowned out its victims' cries for help, but the serpent was then in turn alarmed by the army's trumpets." The references are lines 189-90 and 216-219.

Besides the strong alliteration, three (sets of) words remain valuable for our analysis. The very first one, introducing the mourning scene, *erupit* (283), which is here employed to describe the breaking out of the river's bellowing and the deep waters' murmur, was once used to characterize the *halitus* coming out of the grove (148) and once again for the *turbo-spiritus* at the entrance of the grove (176). The appreciable effect brought about is the intimate connection between the odor produced by the grove and the wailing that burst from the river's depths, combining the implicit ideas of violence (*erumpens*, 148; *insano saeuior Euro/ spiritus erumpit*, 175-176; *erupit*, 283) and of thick, hellish, gross exhalations (*crassusque.../ halitus... taetrus exspirabat odorem*, 147-148; *tartareus turbo*, 175). A second set of words is to be assigned precisely to the field of exhalations: *exhausimus* (287), in quite an unusual collocation, probably meaning "éprouver (jusqu'au bout)" (Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 410, *ad* 6.287, and p. 437, *ad* 6.656), suggests a reading connected to the near *exhalauit* (281)—as a consequence of making the monster exhaling its last livid vapor in the air, the Romans will have to "exhaust", to "drain" the punishment that will be their due. Later in the Book, the same two verbs (*exhalare* and *exhaurire*) will be employed by Silius in another context of nonobservance and foreshadowing of failure. As we learn that Hannibal is directed to Umbria, his hunger for plundering is mentioned (649-650) right after a sort of lament (*Tantus tunc, Poene, fuisti!*, 640); retracing Hannibal's route, Silius names Mevania, a plain town in which the waters of Clitumnus was supposed to turn bulls white: *latis/ proiecta in campis nebulas exhalat inertes, et sedet ingentem pascens Meuania taurum, / dona Ioui* (645-648). Going forth, Hannibal gets to Campania, stops at Liternum, and sees the mural he decides to destroy, *uaria splendentia cernit/ pictura belli patribus monumenta prioris/ exhausti* (654-656). In the case of the serpent, the whole misty and mysterious atmosphere, its connection to the sacred beings of the landscape, destruction for control over the territory; in the case of the murals, their location in a temple, a previous mention to exhalations connected to Jupiter (who had just asserted his veto to Hannibal's invading Rome, 600-605), destruction for control over memory and ultimately also over territory. The third and last word assigned to the field of exhalations: three occurrences of the verb *exspirare* point to the three main episodes in the battle against the Bagrada monster. In line 148 (*crassus halitus luci taetrum exspirat odorem*), the air is dominated by the horrible breath, it is the first *status quo*; in line 232 (*crebros exspirat naribus ignes*), the horses snort, it's the battle; in line 276 (*exspirat saniem*), the snake exhales its dying breath.

6. Au montant: what we learn from the isotopy of control in Book 6

Fides has frequently been identified as a fundamental theme in Book 6—the isotopy studied in this Chapter shows us another one, *control*, which is depicted in terms of power and the absence of it, self-control and the absence of it (as well as Roman valors such as *pietas* and *patientia* as its products), the opposition between winners and the vanquished.

Starting with Hannibal at Liternum (653-716), choosing the end of the Book as the point of departure for my inquiry, I submit that the use of the verb *inscribere* (700), when applied to Hannibal's wish to memorialize his deeds, goes against the flow, emphasizing the irony both of the poet's giving voice to the winner of the moment, whilst dedicating the whole Book to singing the exploits of a Roman hero in *pietas* and *patientia* from the First Punic War, Regulus, and of Hannibal's insistence on producing *monumenta*, whilst Silius shows throughout the poem that *documenta* are of greater importance. Hannibal's view of victory is intimately related to destruction, especially through fire and the ruins left (as words like *flamma*, *flagrare*, and *ruere* emphasize), a view that can also be (curiously enough) seen in both Jupiter's and Marus' speeches. *Ruere* and the ruins it represents turns out to be a subtheme in the whole of the Book, depicting the fall of territories (frequently connected to fire) and, later in the Book, the fall of a Roman general, Flaminius. Silius' delicate irony goes on in opposing a counterfactual of Marus' (310-315) to a presumption of Hannibal's (700-713), since what will actually happen is what seemed impossible (the counterfactual); in showing Hannibal's getting astray by an incorrectly interpreting gaze—blinded by his *hubris* and lack of *pietas*, the character is represented as a bad learner who fails to be the link between the burned past, his winning present, and a dreamed victorious future; in making significant equivalences between the *monumenta* in the temple's murals and Hannibal's imagined ornament—which will never come to be. Another subtlety of Silius' irony can be read in the words *honores*, *rector,* and *ductor*, as well as *uictor*, when in reference to the Carthaginians, in the ekphrasis proper, since they can *a priori* describe winning settings but are employed in situations in which the supposed winner is not really in a good position.

Dux and *ductor* are two words that appear related to different commanders in Book 6. Mostly, they refer to Regulus; as they are also designations used for Evander, Hannibal, Xanthippus, and Fabius, the comparison of these commanders is fitting. Regulus is represented as Hannibal's *Gegenstück* both in terms of his *fides* and of his way of leading, their configurations being depicted as a battle between good vs. evil/titan-like. Xanthippus is in direct opposition to Regulus as *ductor*, and the Spartan leader as *ductor* is ironically shown as an envoy (303 and 504), and his pretending to run away is taken to be a cheating tactic (*fraudem nectens*, 326). Interestingly enough, as Regulus turns his back to the serpent (256-260), his skilled riding is highlighted (*Regulus arte regendi*, 257), no perfidy is mentioned—this will only come to be later, in Marcia's words (*perfide*, 248). In fact, by the end of the Book, in the ekphrasis, Regulus will be represented as the one to whom the serpent turns its back (*terga premebat/ Regulus*, 674-675), being left for posterity the opposite of what the previous narrative had described. As for Fabius, Regulus shares his preeminence, his *patientia*, his *fides* to the motherland, and the image of being a savior in the crisis.

Marcia is a strong counterpart to Regulus' image of faithfulness, self-control, and sobriety. She is initially presented as having no self-control and no control over her wishes. In various oppositions as *placido ore* (457 and 536) in reference to Regulus, and *turbata* (578) in reference to Marcia, we see how this incongruence is also shaped in terms of words and expressions employed by

Silius. One isotopy of steps and ways marked especially by words such as *gressus*, *uestigia*, and *fugere*, allows us to see how their ways go in opposite directions, not unlike their notion of *fides* and *pietas*: whereas for Marcia *fides* prioritizes family and Regulus himself or companionship, for Regulus, it is connected to the obligations to the State and to keeping the word given. In the end, if any control is to be found in relation to Marcia, her seclusion to limited spaces and over her chaste body can be observed.

In what is the main symbol of the fight over control in the Book, the battle against the Bagrada monster is introduced in scenery that both reflects lake Trasimene in Book 5 and foreshadows the gloomy consequences of man's efforts to dominate the landscape. Mythical creatures are brought about both—as in the case of Eurus and Cerberus—to image the fear caused by the unknown and—as in the case of the three-fold simile comparing the serpent to the Giants and their serpent-like legs, the Lernaean Hydra, and the Hesperides' guardian—to gradually and prefiguratively describe what is to be faced, both in terms of its control over the environment and the magnitude it takes. The battle itself is depicted as an episodic sequence of comings and goings in which the serpent's violence and the Romans' fleeing both receive their share, and words related to body parts such as *tergum/terga*, *caput*, and *uenter* and *aluus* are representative. Regulus' ability as a leader and warrior is highlighted in a speech and in his assimilation to Jupiter, as opposed to the dominion of the territory exerted by the snake, whose bulky body occupies horizontal and vertical dimensions, as its venomous slaver and hissing occupy the aerial space. With regard to that matter, verbs of exhalations such as *erumpere*, *exhaurire*, *exhalare*, and especially *exspirare* make up a structuring pattern all along the episode.

Shifts in controlling and in the perspectives of controlling arise in Silius' text. Regulus' killing the serpent, striving to gain control over the landscape ultimately equals doom (283-290), exactly as the outcome will be for Hannibal, which is prefigured in the ekphrasis at the end of the Book. We close the Chapter with the Romans' victory over a *monstrum* that predicts later losses; we begin the Chapter at the end of the Book, with a Carthaginian dominion over a *monumentum* that predicts later losses—*circularity* is the keyword. As Lord, 1967, p. 241, clearly and beautifully puts it, in her study of recurring themes in the *Homeric hymn to Demeter* and both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, "For the sake of emphasis, and because the forces of association are so strong, repetitions and reduplications of some elements in the pattern frequently occur." Not only in the pattern of representation of the winner and the vanquished parties in the poem, but also in the themes and structures in the sequenced Books—as, for instance, the recurring scenes in which a fear raid is undertaken by a rumor (or *Fama*)— is the circularity, the repetition, the reduplication to be found.

Chapter 3 – On Book 8: *Mora*

Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

Ennius, *Annales* 363 Sk

Whereas in the last Chapter we explored the isotopic possibilities created around the thematic *Leitmotiv* of *control*, this Chapter focuses on Book 8 and discusses the isotopy of *mora* and its opposed lexical items, which have to do with rapidness, lack of planning, and sometimes violence, too. Attention will also be attributed to overarching returning themes and procedures in Silius' *modus poetandi,* in pursuit of the circularity (repetition, reduplication, patterns) we identified as forces of association that facilitate rich interpretative effects.

Book 8 is rich in episodes; from the anxiety experienced by Hannibal (1-24), we jump to Juno's appearance and her orders to Anna (25-43), whose legend is then narrated (44-201), before we go on to her encounter with Hannibal (202-225), who then harangues his troops and restores their morale (226-241). From Carthage to Rome, the design of the two consuls is the first center of attention in Silius' narrative, as Varro's (242-283) and Paulus' (284-297) portraits are followed by Fabius' and Paulus' discussion of the *status quo* (298-348). A catalog of the Roman allies (349-621), as extensive as almost half of the Book, bad omens in the Roman quarters (622-655), and the dark prophecy of a dying soldier (656-676) accomplish the background presentation to Cannae's *Vorbereitungsphase*.[1]

The battle of Cannae is a central turning point in the poem.[2] One of the procedures summoned up by Silius in this middle ground moment, I argue, is the construction of tension around the idea of *mora* and its opposing possibilities, a theme that returns from Book 7, in which it runs through Fabius' continued presence as the *Cunctator.* The words in which *mora* and its opposites are sung are echoed and reechoed in the Book, and to these words, we turn our attention in this Chapter. As the repetition of terms and the reduplication of motifs and patterns are found, *circularity* is again the keyword because "the forces of association are so strong." Just to give one example of circularity in images, present in Book 8, external to what we have discussed in previous Chapters, is the demagogue. The type is represented in Book 8 by Varro, and by Hanno in Books 2 and 11, an intratextual returning character mold that is intertextually generated, as these personages are Silius'

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[1] See Niemann, 1975, p. 164-184, who delimitates the Cannae's *Vorbereitungsphase* between 8.622 and 9.277.

[2] Fucecchi, 1999, p. 323: "la seconda guerra punica è, a sua volta, modello per antonomasia di guerra contro il nemico esterno e la sconfita di Canne ne costituisce il momento di più alta drammaticità," and p. 330, n. 65: "è innegabile che nella struttura dei *Punica* i tre libri (VIII, IX e X) que costituiscono il nucleo tematico di Canne occupano il posto centrale". Ariemma, 2010b, p. 252: "In the authoritative, objective voice, the narrator underlines the centrality of the Cannae episode, the heart of the *Punica*". Littlewood, 2017b, p. 253: "Silius' epic narrative of Cannae, broadly regarded as the centre of the *Punica*", see also p. 254, n. 7, for further bibliography on "Cannae as the turning point in the epic."

reworking of Virgil's Drances, which Bruère, 1971, p. 31-32, briefly observed. It appears again and again and ends up a *locus classicus:* Varro is also somewhat a reappearance of Flaminius in Book 5, a general who "diviene antonomasia dela guerra mal condotta" (Ariemma, 2006, p. 224). Again Ariemma, 2010b, p. 262, n. 37, draws attention to the connection between Minucius in Book 7 and Varro, detecting the poem's holistic composition methods and further exploiting the intratextuality in the *Punica*: "[...] an example of Silius' technique of well-balanced, not episodic composition (*composizione compensativa*) in the *Punica*, in which the *popularis* Minucius becomes a source for the *popularis* Varro." To this effect, the "impressione di circolarità è avvalorata dall'effetto d'eco", as Ariemma, 2006, p. 223, puts it, comparing Juno's convocation of Anna (8.25-38) to Hannibal's convocation of the troops (8.232-241).[3]

In terms of poetical procedures, the catalog and the aetiological excursus in Book 8 are also recurring ones. The whole narrative of Anna's coming to be as a divinity in Italy (44-201) and a brief ekphrasis in the catalogue, Scaevola's shield (385-389), are two examples of how *mora* and the opposite of it insert themselves in different sections of the poem, in two quick bristly paintbrush strokes that allow us to glance at the importance of time references in Book 8.

1. Images and mora: *in the excursus, in the catalog*

One of the main excursus in Book 8 is the narrative of Anna's legend,[4] which extends from line 44 to 201. It is introduced as an explanation to why a Phoenician deity should be worshipped in Roman soil (44-47), a brief one, according to Silius, who says he will narrate it from the very beginning (*ab origine*, 48), but limited to his tale (*Sed pressis.../ narrandi metis*, 48-49). Mimetically, *stringam reuocatam ab origine famam* (48) comes in the enveloping ablative absolute. The image, taken from chariot race, *pressis... metis*;[5] is worth noticing because, while speeding down the narrative with a digression, Silius introduces it embedded in the picture of fast-moving elements—paradoxical: seemingly contradictory, but the slowdown, suggested in the image of the chariots slowing down when they get to the *meta*, may actually help the reader understand better the following scenes related to Anna's presence.[6] The paradox of moving and speeding down,[7] the effects of (the lack of) *mora* in the story

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[3] See also Ariemma, 2010b, p. 241-242.
[4] On Anna's legend and its importance in the intertextual fabric, see Santini, 1991, p. 5-61, a very good introduction which considers that "The myth of Anna and Hannibal, that is, the myth which determines history, may justifiably be considered one of the most significant points of the *Punica*, not least because we can glean from it how Silius conceived a 'modern' epic poem, one suited to his own age" (p. 61).
[5] Volpilhac, Miniconi and Devallet, 1981, p. 165-166 (n. 10 ad p. 99), explain *pressis… narrandi metis*: "Littéralement « en serrant les bornes de mon récit » : image empruntée à la langue des courses de chars, où les concurrents s'efforcent de tourner aux deux bouts de la piste en serrant au plus près les bornes (*metae*) qui marquent les extrémités de la *spina* centrale."
[6] And hers is an unstable and difficult to understand, complex identity; see Augoustakis, 2010, p. 136-144. Anna is always limited and cut short in different aspects (similarly to what we observed in relation to Marcia in Book 6; see p. 44): her stay with Battus; her stay with Aeneas; her being an Italian divinity.
[7] See also Ernesti, 1791, p. 393, *ad* 48-49: "Haec una sententia, vide, quam operose, et contra ipsam, quam describit, brevitatem, elata sit," which further detects Silius' construct of time conflicts.

itself and (the lack of) *mora* as returning aspect reflect in two images in the Book, namely the description of the time spent by Anna under Battus' protection and the ekphrasis describing Scaevola's shield.

As Anna, fleeing from Carthage, is first sheltered by king Battus of Cyrene (55-60), we learn that her stay lasts but two years: *dum flauas bis tondet messor aristas* (61). Her *mora* is described in terms (*arista* and *messor*) that present a very low occurrence in the poem, and the image chosen by Silius is itself significant. First, the choice of *arista* to represent the passing of the years is quite telling, provided we do not overlook two important aspects: (1) the meaning of the word itself—from "a harvest (as a means of counting years)" (*OLD*, s.v. 2a), probably related to the color (here emphasized: *flauas*), *arista* comes to mean *summer* (Lewis and Short, s.v. II.a.2); (2) it is a rare word in the *Punica*, with only three occurrences (here at 8.61; again at 8.507, where *Alba Fucens* is said to compensate for its lack of barley with its orchard, and at 9.359, where Mars rouses the warriors like the wind does to the unripe barley). In these three, only in 8.61 is the meaning to be understood as "summer", drawing a bright image, only to have it torn down by the *messor*. This is not unlike the effect reached in 9.359, with the "association du mouvent et de l'éclat : sa douceur paisible fait ressortir vigoureusement la sauvagerie du combat" (Volpilhac-Lenthéric, Martin, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1984, p. 182, at n. 5 on 9.359). In both occurrences (8.61 and 9.359), the picture turns out to be dark and negative, ultimately representing the fall, the end of the life expected to be found in the yellow summertime barley, *arista*. Second, the scene in which the *aristas* are represented, i.e., being brought down by the *messor*—a word that has only one single occurrence in the whole of the *Punica*. Let us note in addition to that that *bis* also highlight the short duration (only twice did Anna see the summer under Battus' protection), which is then reiterated by *nec longius* (62); in opposition, Anna's long stay with Aeneas will be later criticized by Dido: *his, soror, in tectis longae indulgere quieti, / heu nimium secura, potes?* (168-169). The whole of the picture in Anna's staying with Battus, with its reaping and cutting, falling, and the abruptness in which a golden field becomes clean of what was growing, the tension between slow motion and fast time speeding, is a nutshell-representation of Anna's cyclic *status quo* in the poem. That is reinforced by the fact that *tondere* (quite an unusual verb in Silius' verses)[8] comes up again in Book 8, as Silius describes the Vestini between lines 515 and 518. Their flocks are said to eat off (*tondet,* 518) the hights of Fiscellus, green Pinna, which reminds us of bucolic scenes of slow motion, and the meadows of Aveia *haud tarde redeuntia* (518), i.e., rapidly responding to their cutting down—the tension between slowness and fast time speeding again.

The second image that creates a paradoxical tension is the ekphrasis between lines 385 and 389, in which Scaevola's shield is described. Besides the fact that the ekphrasis itself is "a moment of

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[8] Worthy considering is Ovid's Anna in *Fasti* 3 and the representation of time there. In line 557, *tertia nudandas acceperat area messis*, with the same harvest image, but the scene dwells on the space covered by the barley, already harvested and ready "'to be threshed', lit. 'stripped' of their husks" (Bailey, 1961, p. 123, n. on v. 557). The focus is noteworthily different (see Murgia, 1987, p. 153, for an interpretation of the sequence 557-558 + 575-576 in Ovid), for Silius focuses on the rashness and violence of the harvest.

respite [...] in epic action, a digression, and at times even a relief from the story line" (Putnam, 1998, p. 2), causing a pause in the narrative, Scaevola's shield is a description inserted in the catalog of Roman forces at the end of Book 8, and catalogs also speed down the narrative with digressive considerations.[9] This is the *mora,* one of the main themes in Books 7 and 8, put into action in the narrative proper; what's more, Scaevola's shield is a microcosmic representation of Silius' *Punica*— themes and discussions that are returning ones in the whole can be observed in it. Silius' view of the whole account, the describer's view, orienting what we readers should consider and how to do it is marked in words such as *dirae* (384)*, honora* (384), *in semet uersa* (387), and *saeuitque uirtus* (387), as well as *ardentem dextram* (389). First of all, *dirae* and *honora* are evaluative words that direct our attention to what comes next—Mucius' deed is both dreadful and honorable. The *animadversor*[10] is further developed in the image of a hand that is capable of hurting the body it is a part of—Lucan's classical opening in the *Bellum ciuile* (1.3), *in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra* is rendered by Silius in terms of the *ira*/ *in semet uersa* (386-387), reflecting the idea of self-attack and, more broadly interpreted, of civil war as a necessary evil. It corrects a mistake previously made and solves the immediate problem at hand.[11] *Saeuitque in imagine uirtus* (387) is an interesting collocation.

Firstly, for the combination of *uirtus* and *saeuire*, somehow mingling together *ira* and *uirtus*. Among the four occurrences of *uirtus* in Book 8 (371, 387, 555, and 610), Mucius' *uirtus* invites immediate cross-reference with its nearest, Scaurus', which is said to be a young sign of what was to be famous in centuries to come (*sed iam signa dabat nascens in saecula uirtus*, 371). Scipio's *uirtus* is similarly remarkable, described as a great show displayed in front of his armies (*spectacula tanta*/ *ante acies uirtutis erant*, 554-555, a sequence so rich in its alliterations on [k] and *tt*, that the emphasis given to the future hero of the *Punica* can in no way be missed). In opposition to both, Mucius' (and consequently Scaevola's) *uirtus* is gloomy and ominous: besides being wrathful and self-directed, its rashness and sequence (mistake made out of a false presumption, failure in the proposed task, return) function as a miniature prolepsis of Varro's cycle in the Cannae episode. Lastly and connectedly, we may wish to give some attention to Brutus, whose *uirtus* is *sine tristitia* (610) and whose description echoes Fabius', as Jupiter presents him in Book 6 (*maxima... fiducia*, 8.607, *laeta uiro grauitas*, 8.609, *mentis amabile pondus*, 8.609, and *non ille...*/ *nubem frontis amabat*, 8.609-610 ~ *non astus fallax ...*/ *Bellandi uetus ac laudum cladumque quieta*/ *mente capax*, 6.615-617; *non ille rigoris*/ *ingratas laudes... amabat*/ *nec famam laeuo quaerebat*

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[9] Marks, 2017, p. 462: "While troop catalogues are a standard feature of martial epic poetry, they are also a way for a poet to step away from the military action and to retard its narrative pace." Littlewood, 2017b, p. 258-259: "At the same time it [=the catalogue] provides an antiquarian *mora belli* serving a similar purpose to Virgil's Evander guiding Aeneas around the site of Rome." On catalogs in general, see Gaßner, 1972, and Kühlmann, 1973, especially p. 309-313 on Silius' catalogues; for a listing of some characteristics of Flavian catalogs, see Reitz, 2013; for a study on Silius' Italian catalog in 8.356-616, see Venini, 1978.

[10] I employ Becker's term from his four-level paradigm that "separates the different levels of response" (1995, p. 41). The *animadversor* is "a focus on the effect or reaction to the work of visual art... [which] calls attention to the interpreter between the audience and the work... as the describer's experience and response are described."

[11] The recurring theme of civil war comes up in a long development in the next Book, 9.66-180. Still part of the *Vorbereitungsphase*, the sequence explains how, in a tragic and ominous quid pro quo, Solimus ends up killing his own father, Satricus; a developed commentary is given by Fucecchi, 1999, especially at p. 305-315.

limite uitae, 8.610-612 ~ *non hunc... superauerit unquam/ inuidia aut blando popularis fuco*, 6.613-614). The pictures of Scaurus', Scipio's, and Brutus' *uirtus* contrast sharply with Mucius'.[12]

Secondly, for the verb *saeuire*, which is not that common in the *Punica*, it occurs a total of thirteen times, three times in Book 8, the Book in which it appears the most. In fact, *saeuit*, a verb commonly related to animals (*OLD*, s.v. 2), refers to Dido (*incustodito saeuire... amori*, 113), Varro (*saeuit iam rostris*, 244), and Mucius (*sauitque in imagine uirtus*, 387), consistently reporting images of excess. The specular threefold sequence encases Varro between Dido and Mucius—not two of the best characters in the Book.[13]

Ardentem dextram (389) is Mucius' hand, doubly in fire and burning, but also eager and passionate about the fight. *Ardens* (307) is also Varro, according to Fabius' characterization of him: Varro's eagerness is fatal, if Hannibal learns of his menacing words pronounced in front of the people (264-277). In keeping with the ideas of civil war as a necessary evil and a risky undertaking bound to fail, the two other occurrences of *ardens* in Book 8 come related to the giants—and perhaps not at all irrelevant, in the catalog. In lines 538-539, the seat of the Ithacan Baius is said to be ardent in the mouth of a giant (*ardens/ ore giganteo sedes Ithacesia Bai*); in lines 540-541, it is Inarime, who is not absent from the contingent of troops and is ardent for having been chosen to imprison Typhoeus (*non ardentem sortita Typhoea/ Inarime [aberat]*).[14] Back to the ekphrasis, the images of fire interspersed among the five verses is quite noticeable: *flagrant* (385), *ignes* (385), *ictus* (387), and *ardentem* (389); it provides us with an interesting refinement in the previously discussed connection between fire and ruins.[15]

The full dramatization[16] unfolded in the four-moment vignette—*altaribus, ira in semet uersa/ saeuit, finire bella, effugiens Porsenna*—establishes a narrative organization that is, on the one hand,

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[12] Also worth noticing is the parallel in *uirtutis sacram rabiem* (6.42), referring to Laevinus, a Roman soldier who, using his mouth as a weapon, tears the nose, eyes, ears, and forehead of his enemy, the Nasamonian Tyres. On *uirtus* in general, see Eisenhut, 1973; on a negative *uirtus*, notably recognizable in the Flavian epics, see Reichetanz, 2017, especially p. 260-263. An interesting parallel can be observed in Lucan's Caesar's *temeraria uitrus*: see Tola, 2018, p. 198-204, in which another Scaevola is also discussed. On *ira* in the *Punica*, see Antoniadis, 2018.

[13] On *saeuire* in reference to Varro, "indice di una eloquenza torrenziale i rozza", see also Ariemma, 2006, p. 228, and 2010b, p. 253; on the representation of Varro as an animal, consider *Hinc auctus opes largusque rapinae, / infima dum uulgi fouet oblatratque senatum* (248-249). *Oblatrare* is especially striking, since we also find another derivative of *latrare*, *allatrauerat*, in Book 8, marking the effects of envy on Paulus: *Nam cum perdomita est armis iuuenilibus olim/ Illyris ora uiri, nigro allatrauerat ore/ uictorem inuidia et uentis iactarat iniquis* (289-291).

[14] Review our previous discussions on the Gigantomachy in the *Punica*: p. 2, n. 9; p. 12, n. 45; p. 16, n. 61; p. 48 with n. 68.

[15] See p. 28-32. Varro is again connected with ruins—and *uerbatim*—in 244-245 (*Varro, ingentique ruinae/ festinans aperire locum*), 303-304 (Fabius: *piget heu taedetque senectae, / si, quas prospicio, restat passura ruinas!*); the word appears again in line 624-625, where it offers the description of the catastrophe to come (*Nec, tanta miseris iamiam impendente ruina, / cessarunt superi uicinas prodere clades*). Its importance in Book 8 is clearly highlighted in line 676, in which it ends up being the last word in the Book, besides designing a prolepsis of the aftermath of the Cannae episode, with victorious Carthage in the middle of the Roman ruins (*Latias uictrix Carthago ruinas*). Complementary are the shipwrecking and sinking images in 284-286 (*Cernebat Paulus — namque huic communia Campus/ iura atque arma tulit — labi, mergente sinistro/ consule, res pessumque dari*)—see p. 29, n. 12.

[16] Becker, 1995, p. 42, n. 76: "... some later ekphrases use a work of visual art as a springboard, which the narrative leaves behind and dramatizes without further attention to the visual medium." The ekphrasis here is a case in point.

linear and chronological;[17] on the other, it is a narrative-delaying passage that conducts us (back) to themes and aspects that are relevant—and therefore *cyclically returning*—in the poem. This ekphrasis is the story of a general who, lacking dexterity,[18] makes a mistake that would harm his army but then hurts himself (in an image generally linked to civil war) and gets back what was deemed lost. Even though it relates to other parts in the poem through words and themes, the ekphrasis is self-contained: once we go into it, there is no coming back to Scaevola, the general in the catalog whose mention generated the description. There is no "wasting time" in this brief breathing break, but a display that allows the reader to better understand the *Gestalt*.[19] Scaevola's shield is in no way hackneyed.[20]

These two instances—Anna's time in king Battus' reign and the ekphrasis of Scaevola's shield—are two "paintings" that come to show that, even in digressive episodes, both in the action depicted and in the structuring of the text, special attention is being given to the representation of time—*mora* and its opposites—in Book 8. We now turn to how it is to be seen in the main episodes.

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[17] Fowler, 1996, p. 65: "This is what history in a sense was for the Roman: a series of panels, *longus ordo*." Not unlike this conclusion is Rippoll's (1998, p. 53-56); although my conception is different, my approach is comparable to his. See also Schindler, 2019, p. 184, on the *Troiae Halosis* in Petronius' *Satyricon* 89, whose observation could well be applied here: "Dadurch wirkt die Handlung in der literarischen Gestaltung abgehackt und in einigen Punkten redundant. Bisweilen erscheint sie sprunghaft, denn es bleiben Leerstellen in der Erzählung, die der Rezipient, ähnlich wie bei einem Gemälde mit mehreren Episoden, aus seiner Kenntnis des Mythos heraus füllen muss. Dies nimmt der Dichter aber bewusst in Kauf [...]."

[18] Not unlike Varro; note the general's name under which the vignette is introduced (*Scaeuola*) and *sinistro consule* (285) in reference to Varro. In addition to the fact that this is the one and only occurrence of *sinister* in Book 8, not little can be interpreted from the word *laeuus*. Except for line 419 (in which it indicates but the side in which Sabine contingent wears the greaves), *laeuus* indicates something unfavorable: *laeuus Hannon* (22), against Hannibal; *laeuo... limite* (612), the way in which Brutus does not search his fame; *congesto, laeuae quodcumque auellitur, auro* (675), how the Romans are to hand over their riches to Carthage, in the soldier's view, at the end of the Book (exactly before the image discussed in n. 15). Even *dexter*, when in reference to Varro, comes in an unfavorable comment: *lingua sperabat adire/ ad dextrae decus atque e rostris bella ciebat* (261-262). On the other hand, *dexter* is, as related to Scaevola, quite interesting—it marks, in a short distance of six verses, the connection between him and his famous forefather: his right hand is not unworthy of his ancestors (*nec dextra indignus auorum*, 383), and on his shield Porsenna runs away from Mucius' ardent right hand (*ardentem... dextram*, 389). In Scaevola's aristeia in Book 9, the word *dextra* is employed three times, neither of them in reference to Scaevola's: 378, Hannibal's; 387 and 391, Gabar's—it is in the sequence, lines 9.392-400, that Scaevola is killed. Although the image on Scaevola's shield somehow reflects Varro's "cycle," Scaevola (*grauis... Scaeuola bello*, 10.404) himself is differentiated from Varro and from his ancestor, Mucius, in their lack of dexterity.

[19] Discussing perception-passages, de Jong, 2004, p. 105-108, remarks that their importance "seems to lie not so much in making clear *what* a character sees, but in signaling *that* a character perceives something" (p. 105). Taking Silius as the "narrator-focalizer" (using de Jong's terminology) and considering his meddling (to be noted, as we mentioned before, in the opinion-inducing words and expressions *dirae*, 384; *honora*, 384; *in semet uersa*, 387; and *saeuitque uirtus*, 387; as well as *ardentem dextram*, 389), it is important that we notice that the ekphrasis is his perceiving of something seen; in this sense, the relationship between this description and de Jong's perception-passages is easily identified (consider *caelatur*, 384, which stands for *uidetur*, and *cernitur*, 389). De Jong, 2004, p. 106-107, goes on to establish the functions of perception-passages, one of them being "to indicate what induces a character to come into action" (p. 106), which seems to be the case here—Scaevola's worthiness is measured in terms of his ancestors', and the character introduced in Book 8 will have a thirty-line aristeia in Book 9 (370-400). See the considerations in the three previous notes again.

[20] We could reproduce here, considering Silius' art, the conclusion Jubier-Galinier and Laurens, 2003, p. 120, draw from their commentary on different shield representations on Greek vases, referring to the artists' work: "ils ont traité les armes comme une « parure » du guerrier, un prolongement de l'homme, le commentaire de son destin, voire parfois une sorte de double. Ils ont surtout su parfaitementt explorer les possibilités iconiques que leur offrait le bouclier, objet épisème, porteur de signes par nature." On Anna's episode as important for the time structuring in the poem, see Marks, 2013, p. 296-297, especially p. 296: "Anna's appearance in *Punica* 8, therefore, serves as a date-marker in the text."

Book 8 begins with a review of what was developed in Book 7: Fabius saves the Roman army from defeat, and the soldiers call him father; Fabius prevents new losses on the Romans, and Hannibal calls him enemy (8.1-4):

> *Primus Aegenoridum cedentia terga uidere*
> *Aeneadis dederat Fabius. Romana parentem*
> *solum castra uocant, solum uocat Hannibal hostem*
> *impatiensque morae fremit*

Whereas Fabius is *primus, solum parentem,* and *solum hostem* to the Carthaginian, Hannibal is *impatiens morae.* He can hardly wait to see new battles (*ut sit copia Martis,* 4), which he will only be able to do after Fabius dies (*hac spirante senecta*, 6). These opening verses delineate a significant opposition that is to be observed in other instances in Book 8: Fabius is old and, because he is connected to the idea of *mora*, *mora* will also be configured as a characteristic of the old, or the experienced;[21] he is *cautus*, and his footsteps are followed by the new consul Paulus and mirrored in Scipio's future virtue—these are the topics we turn to in section 2.1 below, besides observing the coherent use of words (namely *perstare* and *aura*) in characters' speeches. In opposition to Fabius, Varro is incompetent and rushes to battle without concrete strategies; his characterization, his imperatives, and his ambiguities, in addition to his connection with Hannibal is what we turn to in section 2.2 below. Also, in the divine interference in Book 8, as Juno and Anna intervene, is the preoccupation with aspects of *mora* (and preventing it) to be found, to which we turn in section 2.3 below.

2.1. Fabius' mora: *the old delayer, player*

Fabius is the main Roman character in Book 7, in which the general's tactics of delaying field battle is exploited by Silius; his *mora* is to be observed again in his speech in Book 8. As Fabius addresses Paulus, the new elected consul, the latter is already leaving on his mission, and the former is, consequently, even though this is discreetely noted, delaying: *Huic Fabius iam castra petenti* (297)— Fabius is again the one who imposes *mora* when, in opposition to *iam* (as if Paulus were already leaving with the armies), Fabius makes him stop and listen to his admonishing words. The identification of Fabius as an old(er) man comes six lines later, as he laments the possibility of ruin to which Rome may be directed: *piget heu taedetque senectae, si, quas prospicio, restat passura ruinas!* (303-304). In the sequence (306-310), Fabius stresses the dangers of a too immediate action:

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[21] On the "opposition convenue entre la jeunesse et la vieillesse", see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 518, *ad* 8.289, and p. 71, *ad* 1.430. On Fabius' old age, see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 481, *ad* 7.517.

> *Quantum nunc, Paule, supremo*
> *absumus exitio, uocem hanc si consulis ardens*
> *audiuit Poenus! Iam latis obuia credo*
> *stat campis acies, expectaturque sub ictu*
> *alter Flaminius.*

In closing his speech to Paulus, Fabius reasserts his admonition—which had been expressed with lapidary precision in *Fer, Paule, indeuia recti/pectora* (316-317), associating the tactics of delaying with the very correctness of ways—with *Persta et cauti medicamina belli/lentus ama* (324-325), suggesting persistence and slowness as the best remedies for a well-conducted war.[22] *Perstare* from Fabius' speech is again in Paulus' in Book 9: *sanguine nec Graio posthac Diomede ferentur, / sed te, si perstas, insignes consule campi* (9.63-64). Paulus advises Varro of the consequences of his disastrous decision, imagining the fame of the Aetolian fields going from the legend of Greek Diomedes' establishing there after the Trojan war to the blood spilled during the Cannae episode.[23] The remedies of war are called *medicamina* (324), associating the positive result with cautiousness and slowness, the opposite of the associations with *errores* (100) and *numina noctis* (100) that hem the *nouis medicamina curis* (101) offered to Dido in her love pains. The adjective *cautus*, here (324) in connection with *bellum*, appears but in this line in Book 8. In Book 7, however, it is once used in reference to Fabius (7.65, *cauta sollertia*) and once to his actions (7.386, *cauta*, which should have been taught to Minucius by Fortuna).[24] Fabius' is again the *postremus in armis/ ductoris titulus cauti* (15.322-323), as he recaptures Tarentum in Book 15, in which the only other occurrence of the adjective is related to Scipio, whose cautious virtue (*cauta uirtute*, 15.186) is expected to subdue the Carthaginian generals.[25] This assimilation of Fabius (for the last time *cautious*) and Scipio (to win through his *cautious* virtue) is somehow altered in Book 16, in which the old senators (including Fabius; note *turba/ ... senior*, 16.597-598, and *seniorque manus*, 16.644, right before and after Fabius' speech) are afraid of giving Scipio the lead (*cauta formidine*, 16.599), and Scipio somehow rejects cautiousness in Fabius' terms (*Sat gloria cauto/ non uinci pulchra est Fabio*, 16.672-673) in favor of his own proposed attacking plan.

However, it is worth noticing that Fabius himself had previously acknowledged (back in Book 8) that his tactics might be no longer needed if a favorable situation showed itself: *Si qua interea irritauerit aura/ annueritque deus, uelox accede secundis* (325-326). *Aura* is cohesively employed twice in

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[22] *Persta et... lentus ama*: whereas being slow and persisting in the previous strategy is pointed by Fabius as the best resource, the same situation is designated by Hannibal as *tormenta lenta sedendi* (233). See also Ariemma, 2000, p. 112-113, *ad* 323-326.

[23] Paulus' speech in 9.38-65 is itself a jewel of intricacies in intratextualities and intertextualities. Besides the latter, noted, e.g., by Volpillhac-Lenthéric, Martin, Miniconi, and Devallet (1984, p. 169, n. 7, and p. 170, n. 5), echoing both Lucan 2.21-28 (and indirectly 1.674-695) and Livy 25.22.5-6, Silius' construction of Paulus as an *alter... uates* (9.60-61), mirrors in intratextuality the prophetess' predictions in 1.125-126; Fabius' admonitions in 8.310-316; and the soldier's omen in 8.659-676.

[24] Line 7.91, *iam Fabius, tacito procedens agmine*, has an alternative reading (followed, e.g., by Delz), *iam Fabius, cauto procedens agmine*, in which Fabius' cautiousness is transferred to the army (the sequence is *et arte/ bellandi lento similis*, 7.91-92, once again highlighting Fabius' strategic slowness).

[25] Another young general, Piso, cited in the catalog in Book 8, is impressive in the combination of his youthful aspect and the *sollertia* typical of the old: *Piso... / ora puer pulcherque habitum, sed corde sagaci/ aequabat senium atque astu superauerat annos* (463-465).

Fabius' speeches: here (325) in this sense, "the favor of fortune" (*OLD*, s.v. 3b); and in 7.242, also somewhat expressing fortune's favor, but metaphorically referring to the winds in Hannibal's sails.[26] The idea of respecting Fortune's whims is expressed by Fabius in 241-242, 244-245, and 16.615-616. That Fabius should suggest velocity is also not incoherent; the word *uelox*, that appears only here in Book 8, can be found twice in Book 7, once to describe the vigor Fabius' members (*uelocibus ingens/ per subitum membris uenit uigor*, 7.593-594) are infused with, when he interferes in the battle and saves the Romans from Minucius' foolishness; again to describe his dexterity in controlling a horse, better and faster than Hannibal,[27] even though the latter is very young—once again marking Fabius' older age, right after the *cauta sollertia* (7.65) we discussed above: *Nec uero, calidi, nunc tu, cui sanguinis aetas, / foderis in pugna uelocius ilia planta/ bellatoris equi frenisque momorderis ora* (7.66-68). Fucecchi, 2010, p. 229, observes that "his 'energetic' côté is now epitomized by industry, quickness, and readiness to seize opportunities. In the aftermath of Cannae, for example, the old Fabius works hard to increase the people's self-confidence and is the most active promoter of Rome's reaction (10.592–604): his first words (a new political slogan) are "no longer delaying" (*non ulla relicta est,/ . . . cunctandi ratio*, 10.594-95)."[28]

Paulus identifies with Fabius, and that is made even more explicit when he also considers that *mora* may be the best strategy: *Mecum erit haec prorsus pietas, mentemque feremus/ in Poenos, inuicte, tuam* (328-329). The association is further strengthened by *prorsus*, marking Paulus' intention to follow in and lead forward in Fabius' politics, and *pietas*, which refers back to Fabius' counsel on respecting the divine signs (*[si] annueritque deus*, 326). In declaring his decision to maintain Fabius' *mentem*, in associating his mind with Fabius', Paulus wishes to be the next to be called *inuicte*. In this sense, Paulus' speech, introduced by *breuiter* (327), might serve to highlight the ease with which he chooses his way of action and declares it, emphasizing Varro's suffering whenever any delay is imposed on his plans (*tardent*, 338; *retardet*, 339; *mora*, 340). Paulus' last assertion, *haud ego... morabor* (346), shows

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[26] Ruperti, 1795, p. 566, on 8.325: "Formula loquendi petita est a vento secundo, qui ad nauigandum inuitat, et nauis cursui *adspirat*, vnde *aura honoris, voluntatis, favoris* cet." Ernesti, 1791, p. 352-353: "Ea sententia mox tropice effertur, ducta e re navali metaphora." See also the following note.

[27] For Fabius as *rector*, see p. 35, with n. 39 and 40. For Fabius' combination of old age qualities and this infusion of youthfulness, see Littlewood, 2011, p. 219, *ad* 7.593-594. Consider also Fernandelli, 2005-2006, p. 111-115, an interpretation of similes of Fabius as *rector* in Book 7, examining the intertextualities in Ennius, Virgil, and Lucan.

[28] Note the interesting construction of a "fast virtue" attributed to both Scipio *pater* and Hannibal in 4.98-99: *dux instat uterque. / Ambobus uelox uirtus*. Besides presenting speed as a virtue, this passage (as so many others), associates Roman and Carthaginian alike, something considered by Stocks, 2010, p. 155, n. 17, as she observes warriors that are likened to Mars in the *Punica*: "The significance of associating both a Carthaginian and Roman with a Roman warrior god illustrates the interchangeability of Carthaginians and Romans within the *Punica*" (to this effect, see also p. 6-7 with n. 22 and 25. Taking the sequence into account (4.99-100: *Ambobus uelox uirtus geminusque cupido/ laudis et ad pugnas Martemque insania cohors*), Ripoll, 1998, p. 240, adds a nuance to the reflection: "Cette mise en parallèle [la *cupido laudis* est une motivation héroïque de premier ordre dans les *Punica*, au même titre que chez Homère] souligne la parenté entre les vertus proprement guerrières d'Hannibal et des Romains, la distinction se fondant sur les valeurs morales." Marks' excellent text "Reconcilable differences" should be added to the discussion: "This is precisely the message Silius conveys to us through Anna's appearance in Book 8: that differences between Carthaginian and Italian/Roman or friend and foe can be reconciled" (Marks, 2013, p. 300).

his decision to change tactics if fate changes in the face of his decisions—not unlike what Fabius had suggested (325-326).[29]

2.2. Varro's (and Hannibal's) representation as the haud mora *half of the Book*

While *mora* is, for Fabius, a synonym for tactics, the correctness of ways, the best remedy for a well-conducted war, another relationship is established in Varro's interpretation of the concept. In Silius' first introduction of the character, in Juno's speech to Anna, Varro is the substitute for Fabius, and the latter is then deprived of his arms: *Iam discingitur armis; / cum Varrone manus et cum Varrone serenda/ proelia* (34-36). As Varro's characterization is later resumed between lines 243-264, animalization and rapidness, in addition to a point made in lack of senses, goes on shaping our view of the *turbarum sator* (258) *prauusque togae* (259) consul. The purple has been snatched (*rapto*, 243), and Varro's wealth is the fruit of plundering (*rapinae*, 248).[30] As soon as the purple has been snatched, he rages already on the rostrum (*saeuit iam*, 244), eager to make way for the pending disaster (*festinans aperire locum*, 245), quick at criticizing Fabius' *mora* (*alacer*, 263), and behaving as if he had already won the war (*ut ouans iam*, 264). In addition to all this, guiding senses lack, as Varro's lineage is *sine luce* (246), his parents' name is *surdum* (246), and the votes that elected him are *caeca* (255).[31] This puts Varro in diametrical opposition with Fabius, who, as pointed out by Silius already in Book 6, is *stirpe genus clarum caeloque affinis origo* (6.627), a descendant of Hercules (6.628-636), and the best among all the Fabii (6.637-640). As a *homo nouus*, Varro is at a clear disadvantage compared to Fabius and his time in the *cursus honorum*, or to Paulus Aemilius and his previous experience as a consul in 219 B.C.

Verses 265-277 provide us with a speech of Varro's, addressed both to Fabius and to his soldiers, in which he is presented by himself. His speech is marked by rhetorical questions (266-268 and 271-272), imperatives (*exaudi*, 269; *ite, capite*, 273; *ite*, 276), and a brief description of an imagined triumph that Varro desires to parade under Fabius' eyes. Besides the certainty both the rhetorical questions[32] and the imaginary triumph (ironically) exhibit, Varro's eagerness to start the battle is displayed in the imperatives that both adopt a condescending tone towards Fabius (note the ironical

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[29] Paulus' promise is, as noted by Volpilhac, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1981, p. 111, n. 2, prophetic, as verses 666-667 make clear: *Quo, Varro, fugis? Pro Iupiter! ictu/ procumbit saxi, fessis spes ultima, Paulus*. In those lines *fugis* reminds us both of Varro's consistently choosing speed over pondering and Paulus' decision to not delay if the circumstances were unfavorable to his politics. See p. 73 with n. 56 below.

[30] On Varro's animalization, see n. 13.

[31] *Caecus* is a noteworthy adjective: in *suffragia caeca* (255), its meaning is *inconsulta, imprudentia* (Drakenboch, 1775, s. v.), whereas in *Praecipitat metus attonitos, caecique feruntur* (2.222) it means *praecipites* (again Drakenboch, 1775, s. v.). It is not difficult to see the connection and understand how *caeca suffragia* are *inconsulta* and *imprudentia* because they are *praecipites*—meanings that could easily be attributed to *surdum* in *surda... castra* (345); see further the discussion that follows in the main text.

[32] The first rhetorical question (*Sedeone an montibus erro, / ... an ferro, quo cingitis, utor?*, 266-268) brings up a theme that had already been clearly expressed by Silius at the very beginning of the battle at the Trebia, in 4.512-513: *Nec latius uallo miles debere salutem / fas putat, aut clausas pulsari cuspide portas*. In his second rhetorical question (*Num festinant, quos plurima passos/ tertius exurit lacrimosis casibus annus?*, 271-272), Varro challenges Silius' own presentation of the consul as *festinans aperire locum* (245). Circularity is the key word.

bone dictator, 269) and, especially, that speak to the soldiers and bring back a series of issues that are circularly reemergent in the *Punica*. *Ite igitur, capite arma, uiri!* (273) reminds us equally of 4.98 (*"Arma, uiri, rapite arma, uiri", dux instat uterque*, of which the verse in question is a kind of echo, and whose following lines accentuate the rhythm: *Haud mora*, 4.101), as both Hannibal and Scipio *pater* order battle at the Ticinus, and of 6.210-211 (*ocius arma rapi et spectatum Marte sub omni/ ire iubet campis equitem*), as Regulus orders battle against the serpent. Both cases "foreshadow violence"[33] and, what is more, precede sad losses.

The sequence to the *ite igitur* is a smart and ambiguous assertive that sounds like a maxim: *Mora sola triumpho/ paruum iter est* (273-274). Interpreted by most translators as "a short march is all that divides you from victory,"[34] which is to say delaying is not to be recommended (Ruperti, 1795, p. 560, interprets, "paruum iter ad hostem sola res est, quae victoriam et triumphum nostrum moratur"); however, another interpretation could be attributed to these words, namely "only delaying is the short way to victory." In this second reading, grammatically possible but not congruent with the speaker's *modus operandi*, Silius may be pointing to the fact that even Varro's way of expressing himself turns us to the road not taken; the maxim is oracular and suggests how (bad) interpretation can be the cause of catastrophic consequences.[35] After all this, Varro's speech still establishes a sort of correspondence between the senate and the Carthaginian war (*Quae prima dies ostenderit hostem, / et patrum regna et Poenorum bella resoluet*, 274-275), right before suggesting that the soldiers behave like him (*Ite alacres*, 276), running for war, just as he ran (*alacer*, 263, an adjective that is only in these two circumstances to be seen in Book 8) to criticize Fabius' delaying tactics.

Last but not least, Varro is also depicted by his colleague in command, Paulus Aemilius, who sees him as a *consul datus... Poenis* (332-333), who is in haste to face the enemy on the battlefield (336-340):

> *Nullus, qui portet in hostem,*
> *sufficit insano sonipes; incedere noctis*
> *quae tardent cursum, tenebras dolet; itque superbus*
> *tantum non strictibus mucronibus, ulla retardet*
> *ne pugnas mora, dum uagina ducitur ensis.*

Varro's aversion to *mora* is again emphasized, and his haste is the opposite of what Paulus plans, whose only intention to not delay (*haud ego... morabor*, 346) is related to the soldiers' eventual inability to listen, i.e. if the *castra* turns out to be, as Varro's lineage, *surda* (345), another adjective that is only twice to be seen in Book 8. Paulus' hostility to his comrade in arms is the last topic in the speech,

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[33] Landrey, 2014, p. 616-622.

[34] This is Duff's (1961, p. 413) translation; in the same line go, *e.g.*, Volpilhac, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1981, p. 108; Villalba Álvarez, 2005, p. 349; Rupprecht, 1991, p. 257.

[35] Quinn, 1968, p. 408: "[...] the Romans knew you could be tricked by oracular pronouncements, for instance, through failing to observe an ambiguity. [...] Fewer words are needed usually in Latin to express a given idea, and in poetry they may all be bulky words; the manipulation of the meaning of a phrase made up of such large units locked in a metrical pattern must have provided an aesthetical satisfaction for which we have no equivalent."

[haud] similemue uidebit/ Varroni Paulum redeuntem saucia Roma (347-348), which highlights Paulus' affinity with Fabius' ideology and opinions.

The great opposition between Varro and Fabius is triply expressed in the text: (1) explicitly declared in irony (269) and in making Fabius a mere spectator (277) in Varro's speech; (2) in the ambiguous maxim explored above (273-274); (3) in images, as the simile 279-283 of the charioteer who cannot control the reins and loses balance, while the horses speed and the car goes forward unstably, is to be collated with Fabius' being described as the one to whom the Romans give the *salutis habenas* (6.611) inspired by Jupiter, whose uppermost preoccupation was *rectorem ponere castris, / cui Latium et moles rerum quassata recumbat* (6.593-594).[36] Consider also the images collected by Williams, 2004, p. 74:

> Amidst the fight at Cannae Varro's horse swiftly carries him off in the face of Carthaginian attack, his abandoned leadership symbolized in the loosened reins (9.657 'sonipes rapuit [sc. Varronem] laxatus habenas'); for the dying Paulus, order can only be restored after Cannae if the reins are passed once more to Fabius (10.282 'rerum Fabio tradantur habenae'). Likened to a veteran pilot at 1.687-9, Fabius returns (10.593-604) to steady the ship, while Varro is pictured at 10.608-12 as an abject captain who alone survives the wreck of his vessel; in contrast to Fabius, Varro joins Flaminius (cf. 4.713-17) as an irresponsible commander, both all at sea.

These contrasting depictions of Fabius and Varro, of *Fabius* vs. *Varro*, are even more important once we consider the assimilation of Varro to Hannibal. Ariemma, 2006, p. 236, n. 36, remarks:

> [...] è ancora Annibale il referente intratestuale che acresce il significato della movenza varroniana. Nel libro III, congendandosi dalla moglie Imilce, giustifica l'impresa erculea che lo attende tramite un bivio argomentativo implicito. I due corni della disgiuntiva sono in realtà appiattiti sulla stessa statica, passiva mortificazione delle velleità belligeranti di Annibale (*perpetiar... sedeam*): nel mezzo, nel riconoscere la coattività delle esortazioni notturne dei mani paterni, Annibale adopera un lessico dinamicamente insofferente (*stimulant*, soprattutto *increpitant*) che stabilisce una sorta di inconscia affinità psicologica com il Varrone del libro VIII (Sil. III 138-143): *An Romana iuga et famulas Carthaginis arces || perpetiar? stimulant manes noctique per umbras || increpitans genitor, stant arae atque horrida sacra || ante oculos, breuitasque uetat mutabilis horae || prolatare diem. sedeamne, ut nouerit una || me tanto Carthago?.*

Some textual indices of Hannibal's accelerated rhythm and thirst for action can easily be collected. He is *ardens/ ... Poenus* (307-308) according to Fabius' impression that he is already (*iam*, 308) in formation on the battlefield. The same *iam* from the impression is retaken by Silius (*At praedictis iam sederat aruis/ Aetolos Poenus seruans ad proelia campos*, 350-351), as Fabius' prediction come true.[37] In addition, the *mora* imposed on Hannibal and his soldiers also has consequences on his allied troops: *belli feruore retuso, / laxa fides socium est* (319-20). This eagerness for rapidness and incessant action could be seen in Hannibal since his confrontation with Fabius in Book 7, but also before, since

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[36] See p. 63-64 and, again, on Fabius as *rector*, see p. 36 with n. 39 and 40.

[37] Note the same anxiety in *sedere* amplified by the gazing of stillness in 83-85, as Dido, left by Aeneas, stares at the sea. See also Ariemma, 2000, p. 115, *ad* 337-340, on the word *mora*: on the one hand, "l'affermazione di Varrone, ancora una volta sarcasticamente sferzante e paradossale, attiva un richiamo immediato con il forte addensarsi del termine *mora* [...] nei vv. 263-278", and, on the other, the "omologia strutturale nei caratteri di Annibale e di Varrone, quasi una trasversale concordia di vedute a scapito dell'unità del fronte interno romano."

the very first battle.[38] Hannibal is *impatiens morae* (4), and the word *mora*, in all of its eight occurrences in Book 8 (4, 34, 215, 222, 263, 273, 279, and 340), is always—either directly or indirectly—related to either Hannibal or Varro: the *mora* they should avoid (34, 215, and 222), the *mora* they can't stand (4, 273, 279, and 340), and the *mora* they criticize (263).[39] This is corroborated by the divine interventions in Book 8, that is to say, both by Juno and Anna.

2.3. Mora *in the divine*

Even though the divine intervention in Book 8 is another instance in which "the transformation of the hero from a protagonist who decides upon and directs the action to a passive tool of external events is enough to halt the action of an epic poem, whose plot is modelled on the hero's deeds" (Santini, 1991, p. 19), the narrative comes to no stillness, and the participation of Juno and Anna add swiftness to the sequences, in which the chain of events is continuous.

Imperatives like the ones that mark Varro's speech and his aversion to *mora* are also characteristic of Juno's orders to Anna (32-36):

> *Perge, age et insanos curarum comprime fluctus.*
> *Excute sollicito Fabium; sola illa Latinos*
> *sub iuga mettendi mora. Iam discingitur armis;*
> *cum Varrone manus et cum Varrone serenda*
> *proelia, nec desit fatis ad signa mouenda.*

The same urgency we find later at 273-274 are here in Juno's words, an announcement of Varro's. *Sola...* (33) will end up being echoed in Varro's *mora sola* (273), and the "atto 'antiepico' (la svestizione, *discingitur armis*)" (Ariemma, 2006, p. 224) inflicted on Fabius will be the beginning of a repetition of the double fate at the Trebia and at Trasimene (38); the two battles are mirrored in Cannae, in which *cum Varrone manus et cum Varrone serenda/ proelia* (35-36)—the emphasis denoted by the repetition points to how simple conducting this operation will be ("Varronis nomen repetit contemtus causa," notes Ruperti, 1795, p. 540).[40] In her efforts to take Hannibal away from his *mora*, Juno *reconducts* him to hoping and planning (*ad spes armorum et furialia uota reducit/... Iuno*, 26-27), just as she had done in 4.722-740. Repetition can also be heard in the homeoteleuton *serenda - mouenda* (35 - 36), future participles inciting immediate action, reinforced by *iamdudum* (37), and the jussive subjunctive in *tendat* (37). Whereas in Varro's speech the rhetorical questions (that maybe express real doubt somewhat camouflaged in them) and the imperatives are striking, here imperatives and repetition are the highlights.

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[38] See 4.98-99 commented above, n. 28.
[39] For more on lexical intratextualities "di inconscia affinità psicologica" between Hannibal and Varro, see Ariemma, 2010b, p. 236, n. 36.
[40] See also Maree Lee, 2017, p. 47, for intratextual effects of reading 35-36 with 7.34-35 and 7.745.

Juno's orders are rendered to Hannibal in echo: *Perge, age* (32) ~ *Eia, age* (214).[41] Anna's *Eia, age* (214) is followed by a *segnis* at the end of the line, which, before we go on to the enjambement *rumpe moras* (215), might as well be heard as a vocative reproach to Hannibal's moroseness. This light ambiguity is in accordance with the use of words denoting leadership and related ones: Hannibal is *rex o fortissime gentis/ Sidoniae* (212-213) at the very beginning of Anna's speech, *Libyssae/ ductorem gentis* (205-206) in Silius' presentation of the scene, and *dux... reuirescens* (226) after Anna's visit, but what he "leads" is not so complimenting: *anxia ducebat uigili suspiria uoce* (209; see Maree Lee, 2017, p. 126, and her considerations—"Latin epic heroes do not sigh with anxiety") and *ducis cura aegrescente dolorem* (212).[42] In addition, he is still haunted by the *Tirynthius hero* (217; "Anna Perenna's allusion to Fabius in these terms when she addresses the Carthaginian general is hardly tactful since Hannibal also identifies himself with Hercules," Maree Lee, 2017, p. 132), who, he now learns, has been deposed (a deposition ingeniously described as *ex inconsulto*). This somewhat subliminally suggested inefficacy of Hannibal's leadership is an ambiguity we may also detect in the representation of the feminine here. When referring to Juno, instead of using her name or something as powerful as *regina deum*, Anna describes herself as an envoy from *summi matrona Tonantis* (219), naming "the queen" as dependent to the king. Anna herself is a dubious divinity coming from Carthage but a refugee in Italy, *Ego Oenotris aeternum numen in oris/ concelebror* (220-221), as she explains to Hannibal.[43] Anna's fluidity in her dual "otherness" is an important idea to take on board when considering *humentia... ora* (225), which I see as another implicit disqualification of Anna's words. *Humens* is a derivative from *(h)umor*, humidity, but also related to *humus*, according to the popular etymology (Ernout and Meillet, 1951, p. 1318). Given this concinnity, I do not think it takes a great leap of imagination to make the requisite connection between both things, and see Anna as marshy and, therefore, unstable—and her words as well.[44] In addition, Forcellini, 1828, p. 887, s. v. *humens, entis*, gives *humidus* as a synonym, and under the entry *humidus* on the same page, we find the following explanation for *humida uerba* (from Gell. 1.15): "Qui sunt leves, et futiles, et importuni locutores, quique nullo rerum pondere innixi, verbis humidis et lapsantibus difluunt. h. e. fluidis, et facile ore excidentibus." If my interpretation is correct, appreciation of the elegance and subtely of the metaphor reveals the full import of the omen.

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[41] Note also Dido's words to Anna at line 176: *Surge, age...* The fact that this echo repeats itself in Dido's, Juno's, and Anna's words makes it even clearer that moving fast is a desire and a necessity connected to the enemy—and Varro is construed as a notorious part of the list.

[42] The echo is also noted by Ariemma, 2000, p. 85, *ad* 210-212: "Silio tende a creare perfetta corrispondenza fra le voce del narratore e quella intradiegetica della dea: in questo senso, *ducis… dolorem* è interpretazione, per così dire, 'interiorizzata', data dalla dea-ninfa, del *ducebat… suspiria* del v. 209; allo stesso modo, *curas solatur* è inmediatamente doppiato dall'ardito *cura aegrescente*." On Hannibal as a "deviant" *dux/ductor*, see also p. 83 and n. 19 there.

[43] On Anna's confusing status as an Italian divinity of Carthaginian origin and inclinations, see, again, Augoustakis, 2010, p. 136-144, and Maree Lee, 2017, p. 130, with the bibliography cited there. On more on *regina deum* and uses of *dea* vs *diua*, see Maree Lee, 2017, p. 123. See also Marks, 2013, p. 299, for another reading for *summi matrona Tonantis*.

[44] See, on marshy grounds and 6.653-654, p. 35 with n. 34. On another interpretation on *humentia... ora*, emphasizing the "wetness" aspect, see Marks, 2013, p. 292, n. 18; Fucecchi, 2013b, p. 26 (the latter interpretation, however, I read with an emphasis on the author's cautionary remark: "This could naturally be a simple coincidence").

Repetitions, as in Juno's speech, are easily noted in Anna's words, as *omnis... omnis...* (213-214), at the head of their lines, and the inciting <u>*haud mora sit*</u> (222) with <u>*haud longe tellus*</u> (224), this last one being part of an alliteration on the aspirated *h*, *haud longe tellus; huc dirige signa* (224). Repetitions come also as echoes, as in *tibi Flaminio sunt bella gerenda* (218), in which we see both the insistence on the news that Fabius has been deposed (compare with 35, *cum Varrone... et cum Varrone...*) and the previously noticed homeoteleuton *serenda/mouenda* (35-36), here delivered by *gerenda* (218).

In opposition to Fabius' *mora* in Book 7, speed, eagerness, and irreflection are in order in Book 8; not unlike in other Books, repetition is used in various forms to conduct the reader to identify these main themes. As we have seen, echo is one of Silius' explored resources in this Book; verbs indicating fast and violent movement, *rumpere* and *rapere*, as well as their derivatives and cognates keep on coming throughout the text. Anna's speech has <u>*rumpe moras, rape Marmaricas in proelia uires*</u> (215) and, seven lines later, *rapido belli rape fulmina cursu* (222).[45] *Rumpere* occurs twice in the past participle, displaying things already come to be, once before the mind's eyes, in Varro's comparison to a bad charioteer (*ueluti cum carcere <u>rupto</u>/auriga indocilis totas effudit habenas*, 279-280), and once before the soldiers' eyes, as meteors hit the camp (<u>*ruptusque fragore*</u>/ *horrisono polus*, 651-652)—here connected to the image of fire and precipitation; *rumpam*, in the future tense, expresses Fabius' regret to inform Paulus about what seems to be at hand (*inuitus uocem de pectore <u>rumpam</u>*, 299)—once again marking Fabius' dislike for all things hasty and uncalculated. *Rapere* is even more frequent (eight occurrences: 181, 197, 215, 222, 243, 510, 513, and 639), and the uses are especially striking: In lines 181, 197, 215, and 222, there are some underlying significations, "take control" and "make use." Besides, the idea of going with the flow and hurrying up is played with in verses 197 and 222: according to the *OLD*, s.v., 8b, "*cursum*, *iter*, or sim. *rapere*, to make a rapid journey" can be understood to be a fixed expression, which is interesting to consider since in 197 (*amnis aquas cursumque rapit*) the meaning is exactly the opposite, as Anna stops the course of the river to answer the Rutulians' questionings, and in 222 (*rapido belli rape fulmina cursu*) she suggests Hannibal take control of the war's fast course of actions—in both cases, rapidness is (to be) controlled, and stillness is (to be) used in the benefit of the involved. The uses in lines 215 (*rape Marmaricas in proelia uires*) and 510 (*[Coniungitur acer] Pelignus, gelidoque rapit Sulmone cohortes*) are also related not only in the very sense but also by the complements meaning "soldiers", "warriors," and this in instances as different and differently located as Anna's speech and the Roman catalog (also note *Tullius aeratas raptabat in agmina turmas*, 404). Revealing is the effect caused by interpreting the three past participles of *rapere* in 639 (*Castra quoque et uallum rabidae sub nocte silentium/ irrupere ferae <u>rapti</u>que ante ora pauentum/ adiunctos uigilis sparserunt membra per agros*, 638-640), 513 (*Calais, Boreae quem <u>rapta</u> per auras/ Orithyia uago Geticis nutriuit in antris*, 512-513), and 243 (*subnixus <u>rapto</u> plebei muneris ostro*). In the narrative of the omens, a sentinel is snatched away and devoured by a beast (639); in an excursus, Orithyia's rape by Boreas is described *en passant*, in the

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[45] *Rapidus* itself is repeated six times all along the Book: 111, 130, 173, 222, 413, and 448.

middle of the catalog, as the soldiers from Sidicinum and Cales are named (513);[46] and after these two scenes of abduction, snatching away, violation, Varro's seizing of the *ostrum* (243),[47] read retrospectively, acquires new meaning—and a quite pictorial one at that. Once again, the uses of the same verb as observed throughout the Book is a coherent construction of explicit and implicit meanings, and closer observation reveals unique shades of meaning in the effects produced.[48]

3. Haud mora sit

As Anna incites Hannibal to restart action, in her *Haud mora sit; rapido belli rape fulmina cursu* (222), a derivative of *currere*, i.e. *cursu*, is interestingly and metaphorically employed to denote the course of war. The word counts six occurrences in Book 8, and also the other five take us mainly back to scenes we already saw as permeated by other of the previously analyzed words: Dido runs back to her rooms (88-90, *Mox turbida anhelum/ rettulit in thalamos cursum subitoque tremore /substitit et sacrum timuit tetigisse cubile*)[49]; Dido runs to the pyre (130-132, *Tum rapido praeceps cursu resolutaque crinem/*

[46] See Volpilhac, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1981, p. 180, n. 2 on p. 118.

[47] Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 515, *ad* 8.243, notes that *ostrum* means here "'consulat' (par allusion au laticlave de la toge consulaire)"; this seems to be a rare use, which reinforces the emphasis in the sonorous image of the compound *rapto... ostro/ saeuit... rostris*.

[48] Santini, 1991, p. 93: "Silius does not say so, determined as he is that events should suggest their own interpretation, the reader being left to make the necessary connections between them". To the list of words indicating fast and violent movement we should still add *ereptum* (84), *rapina* (248, already commented on in n. 13 and on p. 65), *erumpere* (642), and *irrupere* (639), the last two also in the catalog. Without the idea of violence, but still denoting fast movement, is *festinare*: 271 (in Varro's speech, discussing whether his actions are hasty or not), 245 (on Varro's opening way to disaster), and 52 (on Dido's preparing her funeral pyre). Dido has an interesting status in Book 8. Between human and divine, she is the suffering abandoned woman in Anna's narrative (79-103; 114-156), but also a divinity (as in 1.81-84) in Hannibal's promise (226-231), even though pushed back to second place after Anna. Also in Dido's appearance is the opposition *mora* vs. irreflection echoed: observe *spes abrupta e medio, in penetralibus atram/festinat furibunda pyram* (51-52) with a derivative from *rumpere* and *festinare*. The alliteration in *festinat furibunda* reinforces the link between the action and the state of the performer; the same alliteration is to be heard in the whole passage (50-70)—*fugit* (55), *ferret* (56), *forte fouebat* (57), *facilis* (59), *flauas* (61, see p. 58), *fuit... ferre* (63), *fatalis* (68). From the narrated (Dido's suicide, Anna's desperation and first fly to Battus' protection, her sencond fly and arriving in Italy), a very fast sequence of events summarized in 21 verses, to the alliteration in a collection of words that have, directly or indirectly a connection to the idea of rapidness, speed, or going forth, the procedure brings phonic coherence to the image of fleeing and desperation we learn of. Another alliteration on *f* seems to denote a sort of specular cross-reference of too much in too little time: *effert* (278), *effudit* (280), *fertur; fumat* (282), *frena... fluitant* (283). The passage in question (278-283) is namely the simile comparing Varro to an incompetent charioteer, in which we also find *impellitque moras* (279) and *cum carcere rupto* (also 279; see p. 70), expressions we have already mentioned and discussed. Marouzeau, 1946, p. 17-18, goes over the values attributed to the alliteration on *f* by Cicero and Quintilian and cites *Inst.* 12.10.29 (*paene non humana uoce uel omnino non uoce potius inter dentium discrimina efflanda est*), whose characterization he summarizes as "un bruit mécanique plutôt qu'humain"; an alliteration on *f* seems a good textual formalization for the mechanical sequence of uncalculated actions in 50-70 and in 278-283. See also p. 96, n. 48. Somewhat different but not totally different is the alliteration on *t* (most impressively: *Ora uidere/ postquam est ereptum miserae tua, litore sedit/ interdum, stetit interdum*, 83-85) in Anna's narrative of Dido's final moments (81-103), an alliteration that permeates all of the verses in the excerpt, very well marking "une agitation tumultueuse, le mouvement des pas" (Marouzeau, 1946, p. 29) of Dido's anguished agitation without leaving the same place or state of mind. Once again, the sound patterns—echoes—are a strong element in giving shape to what is beneath the surface meaning.

[49] Another passage in which Dido's agitation is marked by an alliteration on *t*; see the previous note and Ariemma, 2000, p. 53, *ad* 88-90: "[...]scaltrita fonicamente (accumulo di sibilante e dentale tenue, con cui Anna tenta di trasmettere al suo interlocutore la tesa sacralità del momento)."

euasit propere in celsam, quam struxerat ante/ magna mole, pyram);[50] Anna runs to Dido's rooms when she learns of her sister's suicide (153-155, *Accepi infelix dirisque exterrita fatis, / ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu / tecta peto celsosque gradus euadere nitor*); the river stops its course for Anna's epiphany (196-197, *dumque inter se mirantur, ab alto/ amnis aquas cursumque rapit*); Paulus describes Varro's impatience (337-338, *incedere noctis, / quae tardent cursum, tenebras dolet*). Noteworthy is the fact that all these occurrences are related to either a Carthaginian character or to Varro. The verb *currere* itself appears only in Anna's fleeing: *Tunc, ut erat tenui corpus uelamine tecta, / prosiluit stratis humilique egressa fenestra/ per patulos currit plantis pernicibus agros* (187-189). The sequence is also marked by an alliteration on *p*, a strong element, such as the ones we saw in other sequences in this Book;[51] in this case, the alliteration extends to the level of an "harmonie imitative", since the plosive consonant accumulation translates well the beating of the running feet.[52] *Currit* is highlighted by its position right before the caesura, and its setting between *per patulos... plantis pernicibus* confirms its meaning, the very core of the alliteration—Anna's desperate running in flight could not be more emphasized.

Another derivative of *currere* we should turn our attention to is *currus*. There are three occurrences, all of them reinforcing the connection between speed and bad outcome: Juno drives back to Olympus (203-204, *celeri superum petit aethera curru, / optatum Latii tandem potura cruorem*); Varro is like an incompetent charioteer (283, *ac frena incerto fluitant discordia curru*); and the tranced soldier announces, at the very end of the Book and before Cannae, Hannibal's coming in his chariot, driving over arms, bodies, and standards (661, *agmina ductorem Libyae currusque citatos/ arma uirum super atque artus et signa trahentem*).

This closing, an eighteen-verse prediction (659-676) of the disasters to come, brings up some of the themes, words, and procedures we have looked at before from other angles. The imperatives in Juno's, Anna's, and Varro's speech, a rhetorical procedure inciting action, opens here the premonitions in a prayer: *Parcite, crudeles superi* (659). In his presaging views, heaps of dead (*stragis aceruis*, 659) overburden the fields, and the images related to that will also overburden the text: *uirum... atque artus* (662), *cadit.../ Seruilius.../ subductus* (664-666), *procumbit... Paulus* (667), *exitio* (668), *pons ecce cadentum/ corporibus* (668-669), *cadauera* (669), *sanguine* (672), and *ruinas* (676). The idea of fast movement, sometimes with violence added, seen before in *rapere, rumpere, festinare, currere*, comes up here in verbs of falling or bringing down: *cadit* (664), *subductus* (666), *procumbit* (667), and *cadentum* (668). The wind that attacks the Romans' eyes comes in *turbinibus... insanis* (663), an image connected, firstly, by means of *turbinibus*, with the *fatalis turbo* (68) responsible for throwing Anna on Laurentum's shores;[53] secondly, by means of *insanis*, with Varro (310, *insane*, in Fabius' addressing of him; 337,

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[50] Ariemma, 2000a, p. 63, *ad* 130-133: "L'altrettanto repentino slanciarvisi dentro viene intensivamente rimarcato (*rapido praeceps cursu... propere:* altra allitterazione)." See also Maree Lee, 2017, p. 86-87, *ad* 130-132, on the rapidness in Dido's scene and Silius' "eagerness" for repetition.
[51] See p. 59 and 71, with the last three notes.
[52] Marouzeau, 1946, p. 26: "Les sons recherchés pour leur valeur expressive ont parfois pour effet de reproduire aussi exactement que possible le bruit qu'il faut signifier; c'est le principe de l'onomatopée."
[53] There are curious parallels between Anna's destinies and Aeneas', which we can also observe in Silius' version of the myths: she comes through the waters, is received at first, and then ends up distancing the first contacts

insano, to whom no horse is enough to send against the enemy), and with Hannibal's flow of preoccupations (32, *insanos curarum fluctus*).[54] The wind, later identified as the Vulturnus (9.491ff.), has its enmity multiply marked: besides its coming in *turbinibus... insanis*, *furit* describes the wind's action, a verb that occurs only once in Book 8; but it has derivatives: *furibunda* (52 and 96) refer to Dido, and *furialia* (26) are the *uota* Juno has for the upcoming battle at Cannae.[55] *Ventus* (663) itself is seen other three times (85 and 97, in reference to the winds that take Aeneas away from Dido; and 291, of the *uentis... iniquis* that followed the plebeian accusations against the consuls in 219 B.C.), never with a positive setting. In the sequence, with *Quo, Varro, fugis?* (666), the rhetorical question is back, and the image of Varro as one of the enemies is further related to Anna, as she is, like Varro, the one who, in Book 8, flees[56] and is ambiguously identified with both Romans and Carthaginians (cf. lines 332-333 about Varro: *consul datus ... /... alter Poenis*). The following rhetorical question in 674 (*O dolor! Hoc etiam, superi, uidisse iubetis?*) is an echo of Fabius' in 303-304 (*piget heu taedetque senectae, / si, quas prospicio, restat passura ruinas!*).

The circularity we have been pursuing is also in the transference from sufferings: from Dido to Anna's narrative (79, *largis cum fletibus*) to Quirinus' face in the omens at the end of the Book (645-646, *lacrimaeque uetusta / effigie patris large fluxere Quirini*). From Hannibal's sufferings in the stillness caused by Fabius' command, *Primus... Fabius* (1-2), we end Book 8 in the proleptic *uictrix Carthago ruinas* (676). As Labbé, 1997, p. 8, poetically points, also in the ruins is circularity to be found: "C'est donc à une multiple lecture du sens de la ruine que nous invitent les poèmes épiques... la gloire du passé, les sombres feux du présent, l'incertitude de l'avenir, voire la radicale et morbide négation."

4. Tout compte fait: *what we learn from the isotopy of* (haud) mora *in Book 8*

This Chapter inspects how the idea of *mora* and its opposites (rapidness, uncalculating, and the consequent violence) echoes in Book 8. Circularity can be observed both in terms of images, procedures, words, and sounds. An image that can be taken as an example is the demagogue: Hanno in Books 1 and 12, Flaminius in Book 5, Minucius in Book 7, Varro in Book 8, and Drances in the *Aeneid*, if we want to go further and find one of the intertextual origins of the character-type. *Mora* had been introduced as a strong theme in the narrative in Book 7, with Fabius' protagonism on the Roman side. Playing with the same notion and mirroring it against its opposites, Silius presents the

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and founding something new (a city, in Aeneas' case, a cult, in Anna's). Also, just as Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2 and 3, Anna (79ff.) turns into the narrator of her own past. On another wind considered *insanus*, the Eurus, see p. 46-47 with n. 63.

[54] Significant for the turning wave that directs us from the stillness in Books 7 and 8 to the catastrophic action in 9 and 10, Hannibal regains here his status as an imposing *dux* in the final presage, running over dead bodies, arms, and standards with his chariot (660-662), as opposed to the before discussed (see p. 69-70) discreet association of his leadership with failing objects.

[55] *Furere* is, we might add, a synonym to *saeuire*, a verb whose connection to a polemic character, Mucius, we have previously analyzed (see p. 59-61 with n. 13).

[56] On Varro's flight in Book 9, the *FVGE PROELIA VARRO* at 9.175, and the irony inscribed between both, see Fucecchi, 1999, p. 334-335.

prelude to the battle of Cannae; he opposes Romans vs. Carthaginians, *mora* vs. rapidness, uncalculating, violence, and identities that seem to oscillate between the enemy sides.

The importance of time references and their picturesque expressivity as well as the effects of (the lack of) *mora* as returning aspect are reflected in both the description of the time spent by Anna under Battus' protection and the ekphrasis describing Scaevola's shield. In the first, *aristas* and *messor*, two rare words in the *Punica*, help design the fast and violent cycle to which Anna is connected (a reading corroborated by the connection with the passage in 9.357-361, where at 359 *aristas* reappears). In the latter, an ekphrasis that stems from the historical try of Minucius and its consequences is inserted in the catalog and, besides materializing the concept of *mora* itself in the execution of the text (both an ekphrasis and a catalog are retarding elements in the narrative proper— and the "digressions' unepic program" (Marks, 2017, p. 463) come combined here), forms a microcosm in which many themes and developments from the poem are mirrored: civil war, the relation between characters that solidify their *mise en scène* (as the one noted amongst Varro, Mucius, and Dido, through the word *saeuire*; or the one amongst Scaurus, Scipio, and Varro or among Brutus and Fabius, through the word *uirtus*; or, still, the one among Scaevola, Mucius, and Varro through the words *sinister*, *laeuus*, and *dexter*), a somewhat subliminal connection between Varro (or the demagogue, more generally) and ruins, and a look at how he is animalized. Besides, a paradoxical swiftness can be observed in the *mora* of the interluding, digressive narratives (see Anna's narrative 50-70 and 81-103 or the simile 278-283).

Considering *mora* in the main narrative, we begin by establishing its connection with both Fabius' tactics and his old(er) age; his tactics are to be adopted by Paulus, whose configuration is coherent with the *Cunctator*'s, for example, in that both consider a change of speed as a necessity, if the gods allow it, and also by the word *perstare*, employed by Fabius in his speech in Book 8, by Paulus in his in Book 9. Also coherent is Fabius' use of *aura*, in his speeches both in Book 8 and in Book 7, in both cases connected to the idea of fortune's favor. *Medicamina* in Book 8 marks some kind of opposition between Romans and Carthaginians: *mora* can be the best remedy of war, and Dido's despair guides her to accepting false remedies for her love pains; different searches, different ways of looking at *medicamina*. A consequence of Fabius' delaying tactic is his being qualified as *cautus*, an adjective that will later be used to designate Scipio's virtues and oppose his actions to the senators *cauta formido*—Fabius included. Nevertheless, Fabius is still represented as a strategist: *uelox* is what he suggests Paulus be, in case the gods grant him an opportunity, just as *uelox* were, in Book 7, used both in reference to Fabius' members and to his horse riding.

Varro's depiction makes, in Book 8, the opposition to the ideas of Fabius-Paulus. The idea of lack of senses in the adjectives *surdus* and *caecus* are used for this purpose, to characterize Varro's lineage, the votes that elected him, and the soldiers that follow him. Also relating him to his soldiers is the adjective *alacer*, only twice repeated in the Book. Besides the explicit content of Varro's speech (265-277), the opposition is also stressed in the ambiguity of a maxim put in Varro's mouth (*Mora sola triumpho/ paruum iter est*, 273-274) and in the recurring image of Fabius as a good *rector* vs. Varro's

inability as a charioteer. The association between Varro and Hannibal becomes easily identified, and the word *mora*, representing what is abhorred or avoided by both, is related to either one in each of its eight occurrences in Book 8.

The divine intervention performed by Juno and Anna incites quick action from Hannibal, and the sense of urgency and imperatives are a point of connection between the three speeches of Juno's, Anna's, and Varro's. The echo *Perge, age* (32, Juno) ~ *Surge, age* (176, Dido) ~ *Eia, age* (214, Anna) connects the three appearances further; *Ite igitur* (273) and *Ite alacres* (276), Varro's words, should be added to the list—and Varro is then clearly linked to the enemies' ideas, plans, *modus operandi*, and *modus loquendi*. An ambiguity in the representation of power in the enemy side can be read in the verb *ducere* and its complements (*suspiria*, 209; *dolorem*, 212), when referring to Hannibal; in Anna's *humentia... ora* (225), her "marshy," unstable words; in Juno's being named *summi matrona Tonantis* (219). In the goddesses' imperatives, verbs like *rumpere* and *rapere* draw the reader's attention, and their repetition in the Book suggest interesting interpretative effects, as is the case with *raptus*, used to describe a sentinel snatched and devoured by a beast (639), a young woman raped by a wind (513), and Varro's seizing of the *ostrum* (243).

In *Haud mora sit*, the last section in this Chapter, we go through *cursus*, *currere*, and *currus*, words that once again reinforce the connection between rapidness and the enemies and his allies. Wrapping up, a closer look at the soldier's prediction at the end of the Book proves to be a rich chest of repetitions in recurring themes, words, and procedures, and especially the description of the wind that attacks the Romans' eyes in *turbinibus... insanis* (663) is a strong knot of words that are laden with interpretative possibilities generated by the intratextual links.

Chapter 4 – On Book 12: Defeat

Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes
diversas obitumque ducum...
expediat? tanton placuit concurrere motu,
Iuppiter?

Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.500-501, 503-504; 1.11

After the very pivotal center of the poem, the battle of Cannae, which, its preparation phase also considered, takes the extension of three Books (8, 9, and 10), we are led through the developments in Capua and Mago's embassy in Carthage (Book 11) to come to the turning point represented by Book 12. Reading the introductory summary provided by Michel Martin (Volpilhac-Lenthéric, Martin, Miniconi, and Devallet, 1984, p. 93), this turning point, accentuating new unhappy outcomes for the Carthaginians, is well marked in "ses troupes affaiblies subissent des échecs devant Naples," "Marcellus le met en échec devant Nola," "ses tentatives devant Rome sont arrêtées," "les dieux protecteurs de Rome s'opposent à son entreprise," and "il renonce". *Defeat* is a keyword, and this is the isotopy we explore in this Chapter by observing a set of lexical items expressing enclosure and setback, defense, attack, and surrender.[1]

1. Ebb: looking and seeing the beginning of Hannibal's amphidromic point

Book 12 opens with a change of atmosphere: the winter is over, and the spring is brought about by zephyrs. The metaphor presented in terms of the seasons' changing at the very beginning is reshaped in Rome's celebration of Hannibal's going away at the end of the Book (731-752), in a circularity typical of ring composition. Speaking of which, right after naming the new season, Silius shifts the focus onto Hannibal's leaving Capua; here, two previously discussed images are brought back. The *Poenus* (5) is again compared to a snake in a simile,[2] this time one that comes out of its cave at the beginning of a new day, raising its head and spitting its poison. In addition to that, as Hannibal's

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[1] The importance of defeat in the *Punica*, brought to the center of its reading and richly interpreted from the perspective of the Roman losses, is the kernel of Niemann, 1975. See his introductory chapter, "Die Grosskomposition der Punica und die römischen Niederlagen von 218-216", p. 3-36, for the fundamental ideas, and especially p. 29-36. See also Littlewood, 2017a, p. xxiv-xxxi, "The Poetics of Defeat: L. Aemilius Paulus," a brilliant description of the theme in Book 10. On Book 12 as a turning point, see also Gärtner, 2010, p. 90-91.

[2] On Hannibal as a snake, see p. 28, n. 7, and the bibliography cited there. See also Marks, 2005, p. 86-87, with the bibliography added in his n. 66 (p. 87).

approaching the neighboring cities is described, fear strikes again:[3] *uicinaque late/ praemisso terrore quatit* (5-6), *desolata metu cuncta, et suadente pauore* (11), *trepidique salutis/ exspectant ipsis metuentes moenibus hostem* (13-14).

Even though still a snake and still able to impose fear, Hannibal is not the same: *Sed non ille uigor... / tunc inerat* (15 and 18). Besides the winter images that used to accompany the snake (*imbriferamque hiemem permixta grandine*, 3.197), now turned into spring, what flowed before (*Maeonios Italo scelerauit sanguine fluctus*, 17) into the devastation of the Trebia, is now turned into luxury, sleep, and wine (*molli luxu madefacta meroque, / illecebris somni torpentia membra fluebat*, 18-19; Drakenborch, 1775, s.v. *fluere*: "membra fluebant 12, 19. i.e. *debilitata, laxata erant*"). Lines 17 and 19 connect the previous flow with the present by associating *fluctus* (17) and *fluebant* (19), related words, both at the end of their respective lines, slowing down from a two-syllable spondee to a three-syllable bacchius. Also sign-posting the change are strong alliterations on plosives, especially *m* and *t* (*fluctus-tunc-inerat-molli-madefacta-meroque-somni-torpentia-membra-fluebant*), as to mimetize the barriers in the way, and alliteration on the liquid *l* (*fluctus-molli-luxu-illecebris-fluebant*), as to mimetize the continuity of the changing flow. *Fluebant* (53), the same form and same metrical position, will later be used to describe the shower of lit arrows coming down from the walls of Parthenope onto the Carthaginian soldiers. Still related is the word *flumen*, employed as the warriors under Marcellus leave the gates at Nola and surprise the enemy: *effusaeque ruunt inopino flumine turmae* (185). Also flowing is Jupiter's army of waters (*fluit agmen aquarum*, 619), as the thunder god prevents Hannibal from attacking Rome,[4] a scene finished with Hannibal's melting sword: *et fluxit, ceu correptus fornacibus, ensis* (626).[5] This idea of fluidity (as we have seen here with *fluere* and the kindred words *fluctus* and *flumen* denoting the weakening or undermining of Hannibal's previous strength) can also be seen in the recurring image of the winds, quite a frequent one in Book 12.

The Book itself opens with the gentle zephyrs (*Zephyris*, 4) bringing a new season, the spring, whose symbolisms we have already mentioned. Three lines later, the wet and stormy North wind (*Aquilonis*, 7) is part of the simile constructed around Hannibal as a serpent that remains

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[3] On fear as a motif, see Chapter 1, especially p. 1-6 for the way it strikes (on *quatit*, p. 2-3) and swiftly takes over.

[4] Note the origin of what oppresses Hannibal in 53 and 619, in which, just as observed by Roosjen, 1996, p. 266, *ad* 14.595, *fluxit* means actually *defluxit*; see also Lemaire, 1823b, p. 59: "*Fluit* ex alto, e caelo." Observing the "regards divins," Morzadec, 2009, p. 61-63, demonstrates how the superior look is significant in the *Punica*, emphasizing the circularity in a somewhat repeated scene: in 1.50-54, Juno presents Hannibal with the series of future Roman defeats; in 17.597-603, the same goddess shows Hannibal the aftermath of Zama, and the description overlaps with the previous victories over the Romans—"L'ensemble des XVII livres des *Punica* s'inscrit dans ce chiasme" (p. 63). Specifically on the battle between Hannibal and Jupiter in Book 12, n. 62 on p. 64-65 is also illuminating. By the same token, consider, intertextually, with the kickoff discussion in Purves, 2010, p. 346, the implications of Silius' implementing Jupiter as the god who launches the tempest that chases Hannibal away in Book 12 instead of the customary tempest-launching Juno, "goddess of the *aer*", ready to "blow to nothing an established epic plot" as in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*. Consider also Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 209, for a commentary on the "häufige Technik bei Unwetterbeschreibungen" that mixes military and weather vocabulary. See also our considerations below in Section 4, p. 96-98.

[5] For the connection between *fluxit* and *fornacibus* in 626, see Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 223-224. See also Manolaraki, 2010, p. 314, n. 75, on *fluere* and *fluitare* in Books 2, 6, and 12.

concealed in its layer until the new day has come. On the place of this economy, both winds are, in different metaphorical ways, against Hannibal. Almost two hundred lines later, the personified North wind, Boreas (*Borea*, 187), as he forces the sea against the rocks, is allied with the images of an overflowing river (*flumine*, 185, and *amnis*, 186, both commented above) and of winds (*uenti*, 188) broken loose and invading the earth, in a triple simile that depicts Marcellus and his soldiers going upon the battlefield through the gates of Nola—against Hannibal. Again almost two hundred lines later, as Silius pays hommage to Ennius, the darts thrown against him by his immediate contender, Hostus, is put away into the winds by no one less than Apollo (*et telum procul in uentos dimisit Apollo*, 406). Once again around two hundred lines later, in a thread that runs through some fifty verses, Jupiter looms on the horizon, armed with winds against Hannibal (*et uentos simul et nubes et grandinis iras*, 610)—the South wind, the North wind, and the Southwest wind (the *Africus*, maybe with a hint of irony on Silius' part): *Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuscis Africus alis/ bella mouent* (617-618). The flowing waters of Jupiter's onslaught (*Fluit agmen aquarum*, 619, mentioned above) make Hannibal's soldiers distraught, and they must be addressed with a new harangue, in which the Carthaginian tries to convince them that the winds were but vain murmuring (*murmuraque a uentis misceri uana docebat*, 629). He abandons the site nonetheless, only partially recognizing his impotence against the winds, still menacing and declaring his unbroken intent: *Ventis debebis nimirum hiemisque procellis/ unum, Roma, diem* (633-634). The following day, Hannibal is back, and so is Jupiter; the winds are back into action (*Incumbunt uenti*, 656), and the South wind brings heavy clouds with it (*crassusque rotante/ Austro nimborum feruet globus*, 656-657). Jupiter's display of might is wrapped up in a cloud of pitch-black hail:[6]

Inuadit Notus ac, piceam cum grandine multa/ intorquens nubem, cunctantem et uana minantem/ circumagit castrisque ducem succedere cogit (661-663).[7] From the announcement of a new season to the very expelling

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[6] Also in this tempest caused by Jupiter is a circularity in a somewhat repeated scene to be spotted. In Book 5, twice is Hannibal represented as a/in the midst of a cloud of dust, and in 5.535-539 some verbal echoes can even be noticed:

> *It globus intorquens nigranti turbine nubem*
> *pulueris, et surgit sublatis campus harenis;*
> *quaque ferens gressum flectit uestigia ductor*
> *undanti circum tempestas acta procella*
> *uoluitur atque altos operit caligine montis.*

In 5.377-379 (*ex agmine Poenum/ cedentem.../ atque atram belli castris se condere nubem*), Hannibal is the black war cloud (see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 365, *ad* 5.376), an image we could easily compare with Jupiter's *piceam... nubem* here (12.661-662). If our reading is correct, then there is all the more reason to subscribe to Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy, 1986, p. 2508: "Silius creates for his epic a pattern of symmetrical construction which is probably more exactly measured and balanced than that of any other epic." Besides this inversion of who causes the tempest and against whom it is directed, connecting scenes in Books 5 and 12, consider also this inversed equivalence between characters remarked by the same authors (p. 2555): "When the senators, appropriately inflamed—*accensi* (16.698)—by his words, vote in favor of Scipio's proposal, they reverse irrevocably the whole drift of the war and indeed of Roman history. It was Hannibal against Rome, now it is Scipio against Carthage." To all that, add the example given with Morzadec in n. 4.

[7] In lines 633-634, Hannibal "decides to allow" Rome to have an extra surviving day; in line 662, the Southwind's invasion makes the *cunctantem [ducem]* go away. This use of the verb *cunctari* is all the more significant in this context of inversions (see again n. 4 and 6): before Book 12, amidst twelve occurrences, six are (as to be expected) related to Fabius (6.639, 7.10, 7.126, 7.244, 8.330, and 10.595), whereas only two are related to Hannibal, once in 3.176, as Mercury scolds him for his spending time in Iberian lands; and once in 7.337, as he is said to not delay and put his new ruse immediately to action. It must come as no surprise that, for the second

of Hannibal from the battlefield before Rome's walls, the winds act on behalf of Apollo and above all Jupiter all along Book 12, both in general (*uenti*) as in specific manifestations (*Zephyri, Aquilo, Boreas, Notus*, and *Africus*).

Parthenope (i.e. Naples)—*non diues opum, non spreta uigoris* (28)—is the first city to be attacked. It is not irrelevant that the city be introduced through the Siren it has taken its name from: *cum dulce per undas/ exitium miseris caneret non prospera nautis* (35-36)—just as the sailors in the face of a Siren, Hannibal too will be bound in front of Parthenope, and his strength won't be able to open a way through the walls (*non ullas ualuit perfringere Poenus/ tota mole uias*, 38-39). And here we find Hannibal's first defeat after Cannae, one that is represented by unsurmountable walls, a theme we develop further in the next Section. *Perfringere* is not a common verb in Silius' *Punica*. It counts fourteen occurrences, two of which are interesting to complement our reading here: 5.160 and 13.255. In the first, Flaminius' words determine reasons why the soldiers should hate Hannibal and fight valiantly, citing both Saguntum's fall and *perfractas Alpes*; according to Flaminius, Hannibal is at his strongest, and his next step will be touching the Tiber. In the second, the narrator points that Capua's gates are not down, not thanks to the Capuans, but to the dark night: had it not arrived, *perfractae rapido patuissent milite portae*. Standing between Hannibal's mighty past and the Romans' strong attack, the Carthaginian is now unable to *perfringere uias* in Parthenope's walls, and he must now remain *inglorius* (39).

Besides *Poenus... inglorius* (38-39), *inglorius* refers to people in three instances: in Book 2, in the introduction of Mopsus, the foreigner (*inglorius hospes*, 2.104) who is destined to die in Saguntum, in a war that is not his;[8] in Book 9, in reference to second-line warriors (*inglorius ordo*, 9.331), who strain themselves in order to attain the dignity of the first line; in Book 3, as Jupiter explains to Venus the necessity of the war: not unlike Hannibal now, in our Book at hand, the Romans had let the poison of idleness turn them into an *inglorius populus* (3.579). Whereas the Romans are led to war to become again thirsty for glory, Hannibal was led to the middle of the war, through Capua, to become *inglorius*, a state he will not turn back from. In the following Book 13, after he understands that his taking Rome is not possible, he sets his barracks close to Tucia, an *inglorius* (13.6) river (*tenuem sine nomine riuum*, 13.5) that silently lets its waters flow into the Tiber—space mirroring the character's lack of glory. Later, in Book 17, Juno approaches her protégé and, before saving his life for the third time, talks to him, *uersantem ingloria fata* (17.569).

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time in the poem, then, Hannibal is the delaying one, right at the end of Book 12, in which the inversion of roles as to who the winning party is starts to change.

[8] See Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy, 1986, p. 2517-2518, on Hannibal's somehow fighting the war for a city of which he is an exile: "Yet Hannibal is, in a way, an exile. Ironically, he has spent more of his life in Italy than in Carthage, which he left at the age of nine and to which he does not return in thirty-six years, as he declares in Livy 30.37. It is little wonder that he has established a paradoxical relationship to the country he has ravaged for sixteen years. [...] Indeed, what they [sc. Lucan's Pompey and Silius' Hannibal] are fighting against is clearer in their minds than what they are fighting for. [...] Similarly in the 'Punica', it is strangely appropriate that Rome's antagonist, Hannibal, should think it better that Carthage be destroyed than that he should have to leave Italy. Rome, not Carthage, defines the extent of his greatness [...]".

Hannibal's inability to find a way through Parthenope's walls meets Silius' irony in lines 41-42: *Stabat Cannarum Graia ad munimina uictor/ nequiquam. Munimina* (41) means "walls" in only two of the occurrences in the *Punica.* The other one (*munimina sera*, 13.252) appears in the following Book, as the Capuans barricade themselves behind their walls, a late defense. Considering the shame involved in not being able to fight in the battlefield and having to hide behind the walls, it is still greater the shame involving Hannibal, as he stands in front of Parthenope's *munimina.* In almost half of the occurrences (7.528, 9.217, and 16.41) *munimina* is connected to the word *uallum,* and means no more than a "trench."[9] In a very subtle manner, the suggestion here is that what is actually barring Hannibal's way is but an entrenchment. Added to that is the reminder that we are dealing with the one general capable of winning the glorious battle at Cannae (*Cannarum... uictor,* 41):[10] the irony goes on with *nequiquam,* first word in the following line (42), and with the phrase *Graia ad munimina* separating the words in *Cannarum... uictor,* mimetically drawing the picture of a winner deprived of his title by the Greek walls. The adjective *Graius* (41, 49, 69, and 358) is related to defense in three of its occurrences in the Book (41, 49, and 69) and to an idea of antiquity through colonization in one of them (*Grais... colonis,* 358). In lines 49 (*Graia manus*) and 69 (*urbes... Graias*), the gentilic is employed by Hannibal in his speeches to the troops and denotes scorn (Ruperti, 1798, p. 172: "Sed h. l. contemtim ita dicitur, vt *Graia manus* et *Graiae vrbes* v. 49. et 69.") as the general assesses his own (until then unconceivable) impotent *status quo.*[11]

Altered flux, impenetrability, and consequent lack of glory, a frustrated winner barred by entrenched Greeks—Hannibal's ebb has begun, and the words in Book 12 gather around this meaningful event. Hannibal's frustration takes shape both in a speech (*iactabat,* 50) to his soldiers in front of Parthenope and in his bewailing (*ingemit aduersis,* 106) in front of Cumae, in which cases Silius marks the invalidity of his efforts with the adjective *irritus.* In line 51, Hannibal fears for his fame, should his first attempt fail, and Silius uses the phrase *irritus incepti,* the same one that refers to Hannibal in 7.131, as he tries to bring Fabius and his men to the battlefield—in vain. Line 106 presents us with a hypallage in *irrita tecta,* in which *irrita* are the houses in the besieged Cumae—whereas what is actually to no use is Hannibal's attack.[12]

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[9] Observe also 9.238, *et [fluuius] nullo cuneos munimine uallat,* with *uallat* instead of the customary *uallum,* but indicating the same idea: the river leaves the soldiers unprotected, without even trenches.

[10] Rupperti, 1798, p. 172: "*Cannarum victor,* tantus vir, qui proelio Romanos ad Cannas vicerat; quo rei indignitas augetur." Ernesti, 1792, p. 49: "Illud auget etiam indignitatem rei, quod *Cannarum uictor* tale oppidulum vincere non valuit."

[11] See Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 197, *ad* 3.178, "les Romains tenaient les Grecs pour de piètres soldats et Annibal a eu la partie facile avec Sagonte." See Fucecchi, 1990b, p. 152, for more analytic reflections on verses 41ff.

[12] Dorfbauer, 2008, p. 85, n. 4: "Die punischen Misserfolge bilden einen Klimax, was die Ausführlichkeit der jeweiligen Schilderung betrifft (Neapel 27-59: 33 Verse; Cumae 60-157: 98 Verse; Nola 158-267: 108 Verse). Jedes Mal folgt dem Rückschlag eine Rede Hannibals an die Seinen (45-49; 66-82; 204-209 und 281-294), deren Tonfall immer dramatischer wird."

2. Circum moenia murosque: *enclosure and setback*

Among the reasons why Hannibal's efforts are frustrated is that many a scenery he sets foot on are protected, surrounded, walled around, a theme first detected by Michael von Albrecht in his cornerstone work from 1964, *Silius Italicus – Freiheit und Gebundenheit römischer Epik*. This theme is a unifying one in the narrative ("Einheit der Situation," p. 24), and its first expression is the assault on Saguntum, which is itself a *prefigurarion* (a keyword throughout Albrecht's analysis) of the later assault on Rome (p. 25; "Das Geschehen der drei Tage vor Rom hatte sich vom ersten Buch an immer wieder angekündigt," p. 38). The theme is also reflected in the natural barriers transposed, the Pyrenees and the Alps ("Italiens Mauern", p. 26; "so setzt er den Alpenübergang nicht nur mit der Ersteigung der Mauern Roms (Liv. 21, 35, 9), sondern der des Kapitols gleich; das Mauermotiv wird bei dem Dichter transparent für die Deutung des Alpenübergangs als Angriff auf Iupiter," p. 42). Some developments of the theme include: the theomachy, once Hannibal is before the walls of Rome (p. 31; on Book 12: "Wir stehen unmittelbar vor der Begegnung Hannibals mit Iupiter, die für das ganze Werk zentrale Bedeutung hat," p. 35); Juno's repeatead coming to Hannibal's aid (p. 27); inversions in the motive itself, like Capua as a prefiguration of Carthage and its fall, *e.g.* (p. 32); moral, philosophical, and theological issues brought to the foreground (p. 28, n. 15; "Wenn Silius auch den Kampf um die Mauer nicht plump im moralischen Sinne allegorisiert, so wendet er ihn doch im zweiten Teil (Buch 13 – 17) ganz ins Innere," p. 45).[13] The *moenia Romae* are also to be seen beyond Book 12, up to the end of the poem (p. 28): in Scipio's *Scheideweg* (in Book 15, since Scipio's choice grants the victory of *uirtus,* which is, ultimately, what Rome's walls are supposed to protect, p. 46, "das Geheimnis Scipios": "gewinnt der Kampf um die Mauern Roms, bei dem es um die Bewährung der *uirtus* geht, bei dem stoischen Epiker Silius zentrale Bedeutung," p. 45)[14] and later in the walls of Carthage.

2.1. Murus *and* moenia

Book 12 brings the *moenia Romae* theme to the foreground, and that can also be numerically observed: both the words *murus* and *moenia* have in Book 12 the most occurrences in the whole poem, counting up to 18 and 13, respectively.[15] With the word *murus*, we follow Hannibal from city to city,

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[13] On this "Wende ganz ins Innere" proposed by Albrecht, see a critical completion by Niemann, 1975, p. 35-36. And complementarily Marks, 2005, p. 63-66, with both the discussion and the bibliography presented there.
[14] The transference of the *moenia Romae* "ins Innere" as with Scipio, the idea of the protection transferred to the *pectus* and to the *uirtus* of the battling soldiers or generals is further developed by Albrecht, 1964, p. 30, n. 18, on *murique urbis stant pectore in uno* (7.743), said about Fabius; again on p. 35, in which he discusses the "letzte Steigerung des Mauermotivs: *ire volunt et pro muris opponere densi pectora* (593f. [in Book 12])", pointing to the Romans before Hannibal's attack, the only occurrence (out of eight) in Book 12 in which *pectus* has this very value.
[15] *Murus*: 34, 53, 64, 76, 108, 159, 168, 180, 194, 453, 495, 514, 535, 557, 593, 598, 691, 733; *moenia*: 14, 38, 47, 165, 293, 425, 479, 487, 545, 564, 674, 688, 752. Only in the interval between lines 293 and 425 do we find a lacuna, which happens in the presentation of the Romans' reaction to the positive oracle from Delphi, and in

as he is defeated in his trying to break in at Parthenope (34 and 53), then at Cumae (64 and 76), then at Nola (108, 159, 168, 180, and 194), then at Capua (453), and then at Rome (495, 514, 535, 557, 593, 598, 691, and 733); with the word *moenia*, not only do we follow Hannibal's movements from city to city, as he is defeated in his trying to break in at Parthenope (38 and 47), at Nola (165 and 293), and then at Rome (479, 487, 545, 564, 674, 688, and 752), but also as he inspires fear (14) in the neighboring cities when he decides to first leave Capua after the winter, and as he inserts himself in Nuceria (425). These two words—and the theme they convey—are a thread that runs through the most significant part of Book 12, and they come to the fore with a solid subjacent idea of *protection*. Two impressive instances may suffice as a representative example of the whole: in line 545, we see the matrons in their despair *as if the walls had already fallen,* a counterfactual that points to the common sense of how important a role the walls play in protecting the city (*At matres Latiae, ceu moenia nulla supersint*); in line 557, the same idea is put into more precise words, as merely defending Rome's walls seems to be enough (*huc uentum sub corde uolutat, / ut iam Roma satis credat defendere muros*, 556-557).

In this selection of thirty-one occurrences, some poetical resources of Silius' are worth considering—one of them is metonymy, which is extensively used and rich in its surrounding effects. The city walls are metonymically named in place of the city itself in at least eight verses (34,[16] 159, 194, 293, 479, 487, 674, 688, and maybe also 168). Hannibal's persistent theomachy against Jupiter is voiced again in line 674 (*Pugnat pro moenibus, inquit*), as Hannibal questions Jupiter's fighting for the Roman walls and challenges his soldiers' superstitious fears, asking in the sequence why the god had not attacked him, who bears arms against the city. Hannibal's wrath (*fremens*, 689; *uiolentior instat*, 690) is aroused when Roman troops, despite the siege, go out of the walls at night (*et noctu progressum moenibus agmen*, 688). Two of these metonymical uses may also contain insinuations that, since their "predictions" come true later, end up functioning as proleptical images in the text. In the brief etiology of Parthenope (33-37), we learn that the city's walls have been named after a siren, a sweet singing feminine creature (*Sirenum dedit una suum memorabile nomen/ Parthenope muris Acheloïas*, 33-34). Like the siren, though, the city's attractions are balanced against its defensiveness (*mitis/ Parthenope, non diues opum, non spreta uigoris*, 27-28), and just as succumbing to a siren's charms may be the prelude to a known story, the ruin of the sailors who listen—Hannibal's try to approach the city will result in his first defeat. Another such instance is the mention of the Nysaean heights as Hannibal goes back to the Pheretiades walls, i.e., Puteoli, and then tries to invade Nola (*regressus ad altos/ inde Pheretyadum muros, frondentia laeto/ palmite deuastat Nysaea cacumina Gauri*, 158-160). As Nysa is Bacchus' place of birth, the place is taken to be protected by the god, and Hannibal's devastating it may be the prelude to repeating a known story, the ruin of Pentheus who disregarded Bacchus' divine claim for his

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the Sardinian excursus and Ennius' *louange*. The connection between this last episode and the rest of the Book is persuasively shown by Dorfbauer, 2008, especially p. 92ff. See also Section 4 below and especially n. 47. Add to the theme's limits the rare word *munimina* (41), already discussed at length on p. 80.

[16] Note Rupperti's (1798, p. 172) simplicity: "*muris*, vrbi, Neapoli."

territory—Hannibal's following endeavors will result in defeat.[17] One step further in these metonymical plays is the personification of the walls of Nola (*Hic quoque nunc pelagus, nunc muri saxea moles/ officit audenti defensantumque labores*, 107-108). Nola is a very important location because of Marcellus, the general leading its defense, whose aristeia is manifold in the *Punica*.[18] It is not surprising that even the walls of Nola gain life in barricading its territory against the enemy whose authority is previously undermined by the uses of *ductor* (83 and 87) and *ducere* (101)—in reference to him or to his surroundings—that are not good examples of leadership or of conducting—a procedure we have appreciated before.[19] This personification, in which the *muri saxea moles* come as the subject of the sentence,[20] is even more striking when we consider that, in sixteen of the occurrences, *murus* or *moenia* come in the accusative, an indicator of the frequency in which they are taken as objects of an action (*pone adgressus*, 37; *scandere*, 46; *protegeret*, 166; *rumpere*, 180; *aequauit... terrae*, 425; *adsessos*, 453; *resoluere*, 495; *pulsatos*, 535; *defendere*, 557) or the target of a march (mostly with *ad*: 159, 168, 194, 598, 293, 479; and with *circum* in 564).[21]

In lines 563-564, as Hannibal goes around the factual walls of Rome, the concrete meaning receives some figurative nuance since they are somewhat personified by the *pauitantia* that characterizes them: *Inde, leuis frenis, circum pauitantia fertur/ quadrupedante sono perculsae moenia Romae*. These are curiously constructed lines: besides being taken (*fertur*, note also *leuis frenis*) around the walls, Hannibal's movement and horse are enveloped by the fearing Rome: *circum pauitantia [fertur/ quadrupedante sono] perculsae moenia Romae*—a verse design in which the content is syntactically denied. There is more on mimetical syntax below. The only occurrence in which *moenia* could be considered on the very opposite side of figurative appears in line 752, the last in the Book, when the Romans walk around the city in celebration of Hannibal's leaving: *Tum festam repetunt, lustratis moenibus, urbem*. It is not irrelevant for the case in point that the Book ends with the significant words *moenibus urbem*, and neither is it that the Romans are said to celebrate having purified the walls—*lustrare* is a keyword here.[22]

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[17] Further in the Book, lines 526-528, Hannibal, in his raged way towards Rome, devastates Allifae, which is again said to be loved by Bacchus (*Hinc Allifanus Iaccho/ haud inamatus ager nymphisque habitata Casinis/ rura euastantur*), in a path that will cross an imprisoned Giant (*mox et uicinus Aquinas/ et, quae fumantem texere Giganta, Fregellae/ agmine carpuntur uolucri*, 528-530), and a city blessed by Ceres (*et surgit suspensa tumenti/ dorso frugiferis Cerealis anagnia glebis*, 532-533). Hannibal's war against the gods trudges through the whole Book to come to its climax in the end. See Section 4, p. 93ff.

[18] See Fucecchi, 2010, p. 230-238; Stocks, 2010, especially n. 17 on p. 155; and Ariemma, 2010a.

[19] In line 83, Hannibal is the *ductor* who tries to regain the soldiers' spirits, now used to inactivity and luxury; in line 87, Virrius is the *immitis ductor* of the *altae Capuae*, a city under siege; in line 101, *ducere* is said of Daedalus' conducting his rhythmic flight after losing Icarus. The procedure has been analyzed in Chapter 2, p. 32-37; see also p. 68-69.

[20] The unusualness of the phrase is noted by Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 156: "'Muri saxea moles' paraît redondant si l'on considère que 'moles' à lui seul vaut parfois "mur" (TLL 8,134,77) et que 'saxea', au lieu de 'saxei', renforce cette impression (la commodité métrique l'aura aussi imposé, pour tourner 'saxei')."

[21] Another personification: Gracchus' protection of Cumae is mixed and confused with the walls' in Hannibal's speech (75-76), in which both *Gracchus* and *murus*, connected also by means of a repeated enclitic *-que*, are the nominative: *Tene heu Cumanus hiantem/ agger adhuc murusque tenet Gracchusque?*

[22] See Section 3 below, p. 89ff., for a full discussion of *lustrare* in Book 12. See Section 4, p. 99, on *lustratis moenibus* (752) in the final scene. And consider Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 75: "Die letzten beiden Worte

An interesting repetition in the verse syntax is the placing of *muros* in the final metrical position (180, 495, 535, and 557; once *muris*: 514), and *moenia/moenibus* in the fifth foot (*moenia*: 47, 165, 293, 425, 479, and 564; *moenibus*: 14, 487, 674, 688, and 752), which ends up creating a sound pattern in the Book. Another pattern is the use of mimetical syntax to express the enclosure figured by the walls, as we showed in our earlier reading of line 564. The other examples are numerous. In line 63-64, Gracchus is said to be a safer protection than the walls of Cumae, and his name comes indeed first, followed by *tutela* and *muris*, both words encapsulating the phrase *certior arcebat* (*Gracchus, tutela uel ipsis/ [certior arcebat] muris*).[23] Other simple examples are to be found in lines 37-38 (*Haec [pone adgressus (nam frontem clauserat aequor)]/ moenia*, in which *Haec... moenia* encapsulates Hannibal's attacking from behind the walls), 167-168 (*Agenoream [procul aduentare per aequor/ et ferri ad muros] nubem uidet*, in which Marcellus sees the Carthaginian army, *Agenoream... nubem*, arrive through the plains and target the walls as an all-encompassing cloud), 293 (*at Latiae [sese Nolana ad moenia] turmae*, in which the Roman armies, *Latiae... turmae*, once they have made Hannibal go away, go back to Nola's walls, *Nolana ad moenia*, which they encircle), 453 (*adsessos [Capuae] muros*, in which the city's name in encapsulated in its besieged walls), 597-598 (*per altos/ [ad caelum] muros*, in which the walls through which the Romans' moanings and prayers go up envelope the sky), and 752 (*Tum festam repetunt, [lustratis moenibus,] urbem*, in which the delivered city in celebration, *festam... urbem*, wall in the purified walls, *lustratis moenibus*).

Not so simple examples, in the model of what we proposed in reading lines 563-564, are the ones in which the content goes somewhat against what the syntax draws: in line 535 (*pulsatos [ariete] muros*), it is the walls that encircle the battering-ram by which they had been attacked; verse 688 (*progressum [moenibus] agmen*) suggest that the army still encloses (protects?) the walls, even though they left them at night.[24] In addition to these encirclements, chiasms are another resource that makes the verse construction and its meaning effects even richer. In line 180 (*et scalis spretos tentabant rumpere muros*), the confusion caused by the ladders and men and walls is mimetized in the mixing up of *scalis... tentabant rumpere* with *spretos... muros*; and in verses 514-515 (*incute muris/ umbonem Iliacis*) the chiasm that unite the phrase *incute... umbonem* with *muris... Iliacis* sets the tone for the tangle of the Carthaginian shields trying to attack the Roman walls (that the shield, *umbo*, is enveloped by the *muris... Iliacis* goes to show but that the latter are bigger and more efficient, not unlike what we saw in line 535 with the battering-ram). In lines 494-495 (*portis/ abstrahere artatis cinctosque resoluere muros*), the two previously analyzed artifices are brought into use. The chiasm noun-adjective-adjective-noun (*portis... artatis...*

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von Buch 12 illustrieren die Bedeutung der Fusion der Mauern — *moenibus* — und Roms — *urbem* — (752): Hiermit wird die römische Defensive im Kriegsverlauf mittels ihres tragenden Symbols beendet und die Episode ‚unterschrieben'."

[23] See n. 21 above.

[24] In this scene, the walls, that were previously the only protection left (*huc uentum sub corde uolutat, / ut iam Roma satis credat defendere muros*, 556-557), are not necessary anymore: "Der Fokus liegt auf der wegen des Götterschutzes nich mehr benötigten Verteidigungsfunktion: Die Hilfstruppe zieht von dem Ort weg, der sie und den sie schützen sollte" (Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 277, *ad* v. 688).

cinctos... muros) envelopes the actions, which are trying to evade the narrow doors (*portis/ abstrahere artatis*) and destroy the enclosed walls (*cinctosque resoluere muros*).

In closing my observations on the use of *murus* and *moenia*, I'd like to point again how impressive these two words are in Book 12. They are numerously employed (thirty-one occurrences, the most in one single Book throughout the poem); their meaning reinforce the idea of protection in the first defeats in the sequence of Hannibal's decline; they come metonymically representing the city they stand for, and, in some instances, even acting as a personified entity; even though in sixteen of the occurrences both *murus* and *moenia* come in the accusative case, i.e., in the position of the object of an action, their appearance is emphatically marked by the recurring metrical position in which they are sung, by mimetical syntax—in which they enclose or are enclosed as/by the surrounding phenomena—and by chiasms that express the turmoil in which the walls take part. One of the expected corollaries to the *moenia murique* isotopy is the description of the enclosure or the enclosed, which may well be observed, to start with, in the use of the verb *claudere*.

2.2. Enclosure and encirclement

Right at the beginning of the Book, *clausere* describes the reaction to Hannibal's coming back into action: *desolata metu cuncta, et suadente pauore/ uallo se clausere simul trepidique salutis/ expectante ipsis metuentes moenibus hostem* (12-14). Hidden in trenches, the neighboring peoples are persuaded by *pauor*, everything is deserted because of fear (*metu*, 12), and, afraid (*trepidi*, 14) for their salvation, fearing (*metuentes*, 14) the enemy, they expect what is to come. Imbued with fear and its lexical expression, the scene is not far from the one at the beginning of Book 4 (1-38), which we discussed in Chapter 1. Not far from this opening, in line 37, we will find another protective movement against Hannibal's attacks, as the geography constrains him to go behind (*pone*, 37) the walls of Parthenope, because its front is protected by the sea (*nam frontem clauserat aequor*, 37). This is relative; the entrance to the city may be considered either from the perspective of the sailor or from the perspective of the land traveler—it seems to me that what makes a substantive difference here is the fact that Silius chooses to describe Hannibal's land attack with the adverb *pone*, suggesting a devious approach from the back, which is not surprising in terms of the ever-repeated Carthaginian *perfidia*. Silius seems to make his case in the following lines, in which the *Poenus* is *inglorius* (38 and 39) and *non ullas ualuit perfringere... / ... obstructas... portas* (38-40). The following occurrence is somewhat different from all the others, in which it is part of a speech of Hannibal's (to himself: *Sic igitur secum curasque ita corde fatigat*, 496) and goes back to one of his victories. He remembers how he got trapped on top of a mountain by Fabius and his soldiers (7.282-380) and the way out he found through a ruse (*Hesperio cum clausos milite collis/ euasi uictor*, 502-503, brought up again later in this section). The three next occurrences all refer to Rome: the havoc wreaked on the streets by Hannibal's approaching (*Clausit turba uias*, 551); the walls of Rome and its closed gates (*... perculsae moenia Romae./ Nunc aditus lustrat, clausas nunc cuspide pulsat/ infesta portas fruiturque timore pauentum*, 564-566); Jupiter's first display of power (*Concussi tremuere*

poli, caelumque tenebris/ clauditur, et terras caeco nox condit amictu, 611-612). The references to fear that are spread all over have us thinking of the reactions discussed in Chapter 1 and the parallel lexical choices made there; in striking contrast to the first context is the fact that here, in Book 12, Hannibal's endeavors will fail—it is as though Silius were conducting our reading in the direction of an expectation that will not be fulfilled, all in all, an interesting play for the effect. Such is also the impression one gets when observing the occurrences of another related term, *porta*.

The total of fifteen occurrences of the word *porta* draws a miniature narrative of Hannibal's tries, Roman reactions, and aftermath, as we shall see. We follow Hannibal in the first three occurrences (40, 65, and 77), as his entrance is barred from Parthenope, Cumae, and Nola, respectively. In line 40, *obstructas ariete portas* mimetically describes the battering-ram enveloped by the unyielding barricaded gates, an impediment emphasized before its description by the *non... ualuit perfringere Poenus/... inglorius* (38-39) and after it by the *stabat... ad munimina uictor* (41). From his incapacity to break the walls to the "prohibition" of even hoping (*uetabat sperare*, 65),[25] lines 64-65 mark the repeated failure (*iterumque.../ iterum*), the consequent subsiding in front of the gates (*sedere/ portis*), and his helpless galloping around (*Lustrat inops animi rimaturque omnia circum/ alite uectus equo*, 66-67). The soldiers do not even dare—this is Hannibal's questioning complaint in his speech (68-82), in which the barring might of the gates is echoed in a curious sound repetition (*tene... tenet... moueri/ non ausus portis?*, 75-77), and with *agger, murus* (76), and *portae* (77), in the opposing image of an enclosed Cumae standing strong in front of the gaping Carthaginians (*hiantem*, 75). Some one hundred verses later, at Nola, the focus is different, and we are taken from Hannibal's frustration to Marcellus' powerful action: Nero is to guard the right-hand gates (*Tu limine dextrae/ seruabis portae, Nero*, 172-173); once the gates break open, missiles are to be hurled over the plain (*ruptis subita ui fundite portis/ telorum in campos nimbum*, 176-177); Marcellus will attack with the cavalry (*Ferar ipse reuulsa/ in medios equitumque traham certamina porta*, 177-178); and the troops coming out of the gates are triply compared to a river flowing out of its borders, the sea impelled by Boreas against the rocks, and the winds freed from their prison and ravaging the land, once the gates are thrown apart (*disiectis... portis*, 184). The next time we see the word *porta*, Hannibal is in Tarentum, where he has succeeded in entering the city (*Verterat et mentem Tyria ad conata Tarentus, / portisque intrarant Poeni*, 434-435), where he will find himself again in a situation not so different from the one he remembers in 501-504—this time his fleet is trapped in the bay. A new stratagem (conducting the boats through the land) will prove again successful. While Hannibal conducts his maneuver, Capua is taken by the Romans (*adsessos Capuae muros: claustra ipsa reuelli/ portarum,* 453-454). Not long after is Hannibal back in Capua, where he meets again with blockaded (*uallatas... portas*, 490) and entrenched (*portis/... artatis*, 494-495) gates. Let us also here heed the circularity of the plot: from Tarentum, where he had been able to get in, Hannibal flies

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[25] There might be an attempt at an echo of the *Graia* (in *Stabat Cannarum ad Graia munimina uictor*, 41) describing Hannibal's failed attempt before the walls of Parthenope and *Gracchus* (in *Gracchus.../ certior arcebat muris*, 63-64).

back to Capua, only to go back where he was before—facing closed walls and entrenched enemies.[26] The following occurrences (566 and 595) are part of a reenactment of what is already gone. *Nunc aditus lustrat, clausas nunc cuspide pulsat/ infesta portas fruiturque timore pauentum* (565-566) reviews the inaccessibility imposed by the walls, echoing Hannibal's impotence at Parthenope and at Cumae (note the repeated words bzw. images: *pulsauit*, 39 ~ *pulsat*, 565; *obstructas... portas*, 40 ~ *clausas.../... portas*, 565-566; *iterumque.../ ... iterum*, 64-65 ~ *nunc... nunc*, 565; *lustrat*, 66 and 565). As the Roman soldiers come out of the gates for battle (*Vt uero impulso patefactae cardine portae*, 595), we are reminded of the Romans going out of Nola's gates under Marcellus (161ff.), a scene in which the opened gates are insistently mentioned (*ruptis... portis*, 176; *reuulsa/ ... porta*, 178-179; *disiectis... portis*, 184). As it is, this is "also wieder ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel silianischer Präfigurationstechnik" (Albrecht, 1964, p. 35). Last but not least, the two remaining occurrences of the word *porta* (602 and 744) draw our attention to Rome. Through Fulvius' words, we are led to see the interpretation of those who stay after Hannibal has left (*A portis fugit Capuae*, 602): he does in Rome what he had done before in Capua, abandoning battle in front of the gates. In line 744 (*Iamque omnis pandunt portas*), the ceremonious gravity of the gates being open before the celebrations is reflected in the first hemistich, made out of three spondees and the first long syllable from the fourth foot.[27]

Here, a good *sequitur* is the word *circum*, seen only thrice in the Book. Its first occurrence in line 66 shows us a Hannibal who is in the middle of what will turn out to be his first defeat: Cumae. Encircling (*lustrat... omnia circum*, 66) the city that Gracchus protects, he is helpless as to how to approach the gates. In his going around and reviewing the situation, Hannibal is carried by his swift horse (*alite uectus equo*, 67), mounted on which he gets a superior view. Another noteworthy view he gets is the one from the mountains in Baiae, which brings up again the theme of the Gigantomachy

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[26] Hannibal *flies* to Capua: in lines 455-457 (*Linquit coepta ferox, pennasque addente pudore/ atque ira simul, immani per proxima motu/ euolat et minitans auide ad certamina fertur*), Hannibal receives wings brought by both his shame and his rage, resulting from Capua's having been taken by the Romans. Two things seem to me noteworthy here. Firstly, *linquit coepta*, *immani... motu euolat*, and *fertur* indicate a less than calculated, not at all pondered, desperate movement that goes hand in hand with the inversion we have been observing (see n. 4 and 6)—when Hannibal is not delaying, he is running without the customary tactical planning. Secondly, whereas anger and embarrassment make Hannibal a bird, the same flying is summoned again some twenty verses later, as the Romans come to face Hannibal. However, this time the image is connected to coordination (the consuls, Fabius *filius*, and Nero and Silanus come together for the counteroffensive) and youth: *iam consul uterque/ praecipites aderant.../ aeui floridior Fabius rapida arma ferebat; / hinc Nero et hinc uolucris Silanus...* (480-483). On *ferox* in line 455, see Albrecht, 1964, p. 33; in verse 541, the adjective refers to Hannibal's horse, an in 694 it is again Hannibal whom Jupiter calls *ferox* (*Nullane Sidonio iuueni, coniux sororque/ cara mihi, non ulla umquam sine fine feroci/ addes frena uiro?*, 693-695)—and these are the three occurrences in Book 12.

[27] To the purpose of observing Hannibal's decline and how it is also figured through the representation of gates all over Book 12, the adjectives associated with *porta* are a cautious support. Nine out of the fifteen occurrences come with an adjective, and the gates are, in general, characterized as either closed or open. They are closed in 40 (*obstructas*), 490 (*uallatas*), 494 (*artatis*), and 566 (*clausas*); note also *claustra... portarum* in 454. They are open in 176 (*ruptis*), 178 (*reuulsa*), 184 (*disiectis*), and 595 (*patefactae*), in which cases they are presented with warriors coming out to battle or, in the last instance, to celebrate the enemy's leaving. See Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 75-76, for a discussion of the value and special meanings of the gates in the context of the *moenia Romae* motive.

(143-151),[28] and the Mount Vesuvius competing with the Etna (*Monstrantur Vesuuina iuga atque in uertice summo/ depasti flammis scopuli stratusque ruina/ mons circum atque Aetnae fatis certantia saxa,* 152-154), both causing innumerous deaths. In both cases, Hannibal is led to see devastating competition; in the first, the consequences of facing the gods and losing the battle.[29] It must come as no surprise that this superior view that, even though favored by its position, brings no pleasant images, should be resumed by Silius, who deliberately shows this repetitive circularity in his own text and depicts Hannibal approaching the end of the Book (563-568) in the same position he was some five hundred verses before: around a walled city.

> *Inde, leuis frenis, <u>circum</u> pauitantia fertur*
> *quadrupedante sono perculsae moenia Romae.*
> *Nunc aditus lustrat, clausasque nunc cuspide pulsat*
> *infesta portas fruiturque timore pauentum.*
> *Nunc, lentus celsis adstans in collibus, intrat*
> *urbem oculis discitque locos causasque locorum.*

Around the fearing walls of Rome (*circum pauitantia... moenia Romae,* 563-564), Hannibal gallops (*lustrat,* 565 ~ 66) on his horse (*quadrupedante sono,* 564 ~ 67, *alite equo*), beating on the closed gates (*clausasque... portas,* 565-566 ~ 65, *portis*).[30] Besides the parallels between this scene in the last third of the Book and its very beginning, other cues and sign-posts of how connected this is to other moments in the poem are the always so impressive fear that comes with Hannibal's approaching a city (*pauitantia,* 563; *timore pauentum,* 566), and his ability to look without seeing (*celsis adstans in collibus, intrat/ urbem oculis discitque locos causasque locorum,* 568)—it is, after all, only in some hundred and fifty verses that the *Sidonius iuuenis* (693, as Jupiter calls him) will be able to see what he is actually facing when Juno shows him the gods protecting Rome (701-732).[31]

From *circum* as a word to verbs with *circum-*, most examples combine more levels of meaning related to impediments and, ultimately, the defeat they inflict or help lead to. Clear instances can be seen in *circumfundere* (489) and *circumstare* (170), the first describing the organized troops

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[28] On the importance of the Gigantomachy/Theomachy in the *Punica*, see the bibliography in Chapter 1, p. 2, n. 9, and p. 16, n. 61. For comments on the motive in Book 12, see Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 29-39; 201-204; 219-221; 224-226; and 253, *ad* 12.659ff., on Hannibal's relation to Typhoeus.

[29] Morzadec, 2009, p. 359: "Cette visite guidée que fait Hannibal est celle des hauts lieux de la violence campanienne, violence du volcanisme et de ses différentes manifestations dans la région. Ce n'est pas la région *amoena* que parcourt le chef carthaginois, celle de la proche Capoue, mais l'autre versant d'un lieu déchiré entre une image positive, la douceur de la Campanie site de villégiature privilégié, et une image négative, qui présente toutes les manifestations d'une «géographie infernale»." See Behm, 2019, on the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horridus* in the epic, especially p. 325-327 and 347-349.

[30] Note also *circa* in *atque omnis circa campos spumantibus undis/ inuoluit* (621-622), as Jupiter makes the tempest cover the fields all around.

[31] On how *discitque locos causasque locorum* (568) expresses Hannibal's perspective, compare 701-732, in which his eyes are opened, and he gets to see the divine protection surrounding Rome, about which we could easily say that Silius "pins Hannibal's cognitive blindness onto the specific historical moment of the (future) Second Punic War and conflates cosmic laws with historical necessity" (Manolaraki, 2010, p. 305), an assertion made in an intelligent reading of Hannibal's limitation in 3.45-61, as he watches the tides at Gades. On more on some of these verses (565-570) and Hannibal's watching Rome, see Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 165-166, and the bibliography cited there; p. 170-171, *ad v.* 568.

(*circumfundentibus armis*) that prevent Hannibal (who observes all atop Mount Trifata) from attacking Capua; the latter, the young soldiers under Marcellus, protecting Nola. Nola is a city guarded by towers around it (*crebris circumdata*.../ *turribus*, 162-163). Hannibal dreams of defeating Rome since defending Capua was not a possibility: *defendere nobis/ si Capuam ereptum est, dabitur circumdare Romam* (505-506). Interestingly, his dream is expressed after a typical questioning of his own faculties (*Quo, mens aegra, uocas?*, 497) and the memory of his being trapped and troubled on top of mountains (*Hesperio cum clausos milite collis/ euasi*, 502-503). In line 477, Gracchus is ambushed and killed (*Gracchus caeco circumdatus astu/ occiderat*, 477-478). *Circumdare* may then express the perils of being ambushed (477 and 506), but also the protection of being surrounded by ramparts (162);[32] at any rate, it speaks of defense and/or defeat. One last occurrence, the first in the Book and certainly the most significative of all, is *circumuolare* in line 59. In the simile presented, Jupiter's eagle tries to protect its nest from a serpent, flying around in circles (*nidi circumuolat orbem*). Hannibal's being represented as a serpent is a recurring image in the *Punica*; that the bird selected here be the eagle, *ales fulua Iouis* (56), is also no surprise: the simile's temporary lull in the narrative rivets our attention on the greater battle depicted in Book 12, Jupiter vs. Hannibal and vice-versa, which is later fully developed (605ff.), in a circularity that is so very typical.[33]

3. Other forms of defense and attack, and surrender

Hannibal's newly-found inability to put down the walls that stand in front of him in Cumae results in his searching for strategies by reviewing the surroundings; he then goes around (*lustrat*, 66) and explores (*rimaturque*, 66) everything (*omnia circum*, 66). His state of mind is interestingly described as *inops animi* (66), as he is carried around in a passive ride (*uectus*, 67) by his fast horse (*alite... equo*, 67).[34] He is still "à bout d'idées"—this is Budé's translation for *inops animi*—as he reaches, five hundred verses later, the walls of Rome; the lack of ideas or plan of action is then reflected in the many alternatives he seems to test in trial and error, unfolded in the repetition of *nunc... nunc... nunc...*

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[32] See also 355-356 (*insula fluctisono circumuallata profundo/ fatigatur aquis*) about Sardinia. The island's defensive surroundings are further explored in lines 370-374 and 376.

[33] See n. 4.

[34] Line 66 (*Lustrat inops animi rimaturque omnia circum*) is echoed in 17.517-518 (*Illum igitur lustrans circumfert lumina campo/ rimaturque ducem*), when Scipio realizes, in Zama, that taking care of Hannibal is more important than wasting his energy in *dispersa proelia*. Nevertheless, he is just as baffled and left without a possible action as Hannibal in Book 12, since Juno has made Hannibal disappear, going after an image of Scipio's. After the considerations in 17.511-516, the suggested conclusion here is that Scipio's victory in Zama is as useless as Hannibal's in Capua (12.420-478; see n. 36 below). The idea that victory is useless is one of the inferences of Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy, 1986 (p. 2503: "defeat is morally better than victory"), as they consider Rome's approaching decline as one of the consequences of their winning the Punic wars. In addition, as Hannibal's actions turn out to be better for Rome than Scipio's, "There is, then, a sense in which Hannibal represents what is best for Rome, and the young Scipio Africanus what is worst" (p. 2510). See also Ariemma, 2010a, p. 148-149, on (dis)similarities between Marcellus, Nero, Fabius, and Hannibal and Scipio. Back to *lustrare*, the same way Scipio searches for Hannibal in Book 17, so does Paulus in Book 10, the only other occurrence of the verb with a person as complement: *Per medios agitur, proiecto lucis amore/ Hannibalem lustrans, Paulus: sors una uidetur/ aspera, si occumbat ductore superstite Poeno*. His reasoning is the same as Scipio's, and so is the result, no real victory, which is also declared to him by Juno in the sequence (10.45-58).

(565 and 567). Not unlike before Cumae, he is carried around (*circum... fertur*, 563) by his horse (*leuis frenis*, 563; *quadrupedante sono*, 564), as he reviews (again: *lustrat*, 565) the entrances (*aditus*, 565).

In two other instances is the verb *lustrare* used in reference to Hannibal. In line 112, Hannibal observes the wonders nearby (*propinqua/ stagnorum terrae simul miracula lustrat*, 111-112) in Capua, which he (*ipse*, 111, emphatic) does whereas his soldiers keep on trying to force a way through the difficult landscape of Puteoli (*Dumque tenet socios dura atque obsaepta uiarum/ rumpere nitentis lentus labor*, 110-111). The separation between soldiers and general is clear: the activity of the former is presented in terms of obligation (*tenet*, 110) and effort (*nitentis*, 111) in a verse and a half; the caesura marked in an unusual diaeresis after the fourth foot in line 111 precedes the verse and a half that describe Hannibal's activities in terms of marvelling (*miracula lustrat*, 112) and still-standing landscapes (*stagnorum terraeque*, 112), which may well mirror Hannibal in his lack of action—the same inactivity (*inertis/ atque actos sine Marte dies*, 104-105) mentioned by Silius less than ten lines before. The general's image created here is in discordance with the second portrait of Hannibal in Book 1.242-251, but entirely in accordance with the new reality introduced in this Book, lines 15-19 (*Sed non ille uigor*, 15). In line 459, we see Hannibal in the opposite expression of his strength, in a curious (and repeated) simile. In the comparison, Hannibal is again a tigress,[35] and her lost youngs are Capua; she wanders around (*lustratur*) the Caucasus, and the words that depict her movements pace the verses in a gradation that ends up in the attack: *concita* (458), *paucis in horis lustratur* (459), *saltu tramittitur alite* (460), *fulmineo... cursu* (461), *rabiem... consumat* (462). Peculiar here is that Hannibal applies a great deal of strength for a victory over a territory in the enemy's country, an attitude belittled by the narrator (*sed paruum decus Hannibal*, 465).[36] What is more, the simile does not reflect the outcome in the narrative proper: Hannibal is not able to "consume" the enemy and is forced away from Capua. *Lustrare* is again seen in line 752, this time in reference to the Romans, and creating an effect of opposition that strikes the eye: whereas Hannibal is the warrior *inops animi* who can't decide on a plan (*nunc... nunc... nunc...*) and finally wins a useless battle, the Romans celebrate the great victory of sending the enemy away. This is the only occurrence in which *lustrare* takes its religious meaning of *purifying*, and the only

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[35] We have already found and analyzed Hannibal's comparison with a tigress in Book 4; see Chapter 1, p. 6-7 (with n. 23) and 19. See also Littlewood, 2017a, p. xxvii-xxviii, for Paulus in Book 10, first described as a lion and later as a tigress "in her death throes. Paulus' weakness is now accentuated by a change of gender." As for the case in point, the simile is *psychologisch-physiognomisch* (Albrecht, 1964, p. 95 and 116), in which the *tertium comparationis* is the speed and the wrath (*fulmineo... cursu*, 461; *rabiem*, 462), both elements coming as an even more pictorial expression of Hannibal's animality: he had been previously described as *ferox* (455), and a mixture of shame (*pudore*, 455) and wrath (*ira*, 456) gave him the ability of an *immani... motu* (456), because of which he seems to fly (*euolat*, 457; *pennasque addente*, 455) menacingly and hungrily into battle (*minitans auide ad certamina fertur*, 457). See Cowan, 2007, p. 2-3, for intertextual readings of the simile.
[36] This victory is also the only one: "Then, in book 12, we see Hannibal victorious only from lines 420-478; otherwise the book is a catalogue of his failures. He is beaten back from Naples, Cumae, Puteoli, and Nola not only by force of arms, but by strange, supernatural phenomena" (Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy, 1986, p. 2509). See n. 34. For a more "holistic" approach on these "strange, supernatural phenomena," consider Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 37, on Jupiter's storms and Hannibal's reaction: "Hannibal diagnostiziert falsch: Sein Versuch einer Demythologisierung wird im epischen Konzept einer (Re-)Mythologisierung annulliert", and further in n. 126: "Eine literarische Remythologisierung trifft bei Silius schon insofern zu, als man bedenkt, dass er Götter in ein historisches Epos aufnimmt."

instance in the Book in which the action is taken as already accomplished, which is expressed with the past participle (*lustratis moenibus*).

From circling around the defense, let us now turn to attack and moving forward. When the Romans leave the city's ramparts, *pectora* serve as a substitute for the walls: *ire uolunt et pro muris opponere densi/ pectora* (593-594)—an instance in which the ideas of defense and attack coincide. This combined idea can also be observed in some of the occurrences of the word *agmen*. Firstly, in line 172, in which the soldiers are being quickly organized by Marcellus at Nola (*sonat inde citato/ agmina disponens passu*, 171-172); in the sequence, Marcellus orders Nero to protect the *limina... portae* (172-173) and Tullus to take cohorts and standards to the left, positioning the defense crew for attack (173-175). Secondly, in line 381, in which the Carthaginian and Spanish armies expected by Hostus arrive at Sardinia and are deployed against the Roman soldiers commanded by Torquatus (*aduersa late/ agmina inhorrescunt, longumque coire uidetur/ et conferre gradum*, 380-382), both parties preparing for the attack. Thirdly in line 468, in which the Carthaginian army, making its way to Rome, is said to go forth (*nec substitit agmen*), even though it had already massacred more than fourteen thousand men under Centenius and Fulvius. Examples of the opposite, i.e., scenes in which the *agmen* does not stand its ground or seems to be a mere object in the hands of the general can also be found. The enemies are dispersed after Hostus' death (*perculsa.../ agmina*, 415-416), and so are the Romans under Centenius (*sparso... agmine*, 463); after visiting Baiae, Hannibal transfers the armies to Nola (*transfert... agmina*, 161), he transposes them to Daunia (*transfundens agmina*, 429), he makes them march against Rome (*impellit in agmen/ uoce manuque uiros*, 509-510), and commands them in the first attack (*effundit... agmina*, 576).[37] Now the very idea of *agmen* ("*Agmen* (de *ago*) est l'armée en marche et en bon ordre," Barrault, 1853, p. 719) is seen on the way to Rome, as the Carthaginians pass by Fregellae (*agmine... uolucri*, 530); in Jupiter's "water army" (*Fluit agmen aquarum*, 619); as the Romans leave the walls during Hannibal's siege (*et noctu progressum moenibs agmen*, 688); and—maybe with a slight irony—as the Carthaginians leave the battlefield after Jupiter's repeated displays of might (*donec procedens oculis sese abstulit agmen*, 739). Book 12 is the one that registers the most occurrences of the word *agmen*, which is relevant as part of the isotopy of defeat we are tracing, as we mentioned before, since the meaning it carries is both related to defense and attack. Again according to Barrault, 1853, p. 719, "*exercitus* (substantif concret de *exerceo*), présente l'armée comme un ensemble de troupes disciplinées et exercées," a word that we find in two occurrences in Book 12, in movement, which the word *agmen* initially suggests. We see *exercitus* at line 269, as the Carthaginian army runs away after Hannibal is touched by Marcellus' spear (*praecipitem uersis Poenorum exercitus armis*); the second one, at line 596 (*et simul erupit motis exercitus armis*), shows again the Roman army going out of the city's walls for the first confrontation. In these

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[37] Note that in all instances of *agmen* as the object of an action exemplified (416, 429, 509, and 576), the *agmen* is Carthaginian. The only other occurrence in which an *agmen* is the obeying party under its leader's movements is at 363-364 (*nec paruum decus auecto cum classe paterna/ agmine Thespiadum terris, Iolae, dedisti*), an *agmen* of exiled women, the Thespiadae, being taken to Sardinia by their uncle, Iolaus. The passivity of the two *agmina* is perhaps a curious coincidence, but the similar depiction is, at any rate, significant.

instances, the word *exercitus* is connected with arms, and each occurrence comes enveloped in an ablative absolute, *motis... armis* (596) and *uersis... armis* (269): the Roman arms are in movement, the Carthaginian arms are turned around.[38]

The opposition moving against the enemy and into the fight vs. turning around and away from the battle is also significant in the two last words we want to consider in this section: *sistere* and *stare*. As for *sistere*, it expresses, firstly, the very importance of Hannibal's being stopped, after Marcellus sends him away from Nola—this one event closes the first third of the Book: *Ille die primus docuit, quod credere nemo/ auderet superis, Martis certamine sisti/ posse ducem Libyae* (273-275). Consequently, Rome reacts and stands her ground, both personified (295-298 and again 318-319) and also represented in its composing parts (299-316). Besides being the reason for this new beginning, stopping Hannibal is also a worry in the celestial kingdom (*etiamne parabit/ nostras ille domos, nostras perrumpere in arces?*, asks Jupiter at 697-698), and it entails Juno's new task, expressed in Jupiter's lapidary two-word concision: *Siste uirum* (699). Secondly, *sistere* shows the importance of making the soldiers stop, in this case, seen from Hannibal's perspective. Early in the Book, at Cumae, and later at Nola, in two verses that reflect each other and invite the reader to compare the similarities in both occasions. At Cumae (*Sic ductor fessas luxu attritasque secundis/ erigere et uerbis tentabat sistere mentes*, 83-84), Hannibal (as I see it, again ironically called *ductor*) tried to boost the morale (*erigere... tentabat... mentes*) already worn out by luxury (*fessas luxu*) and weakened by favorable fortune (*attritasque secundis*), he tried to make the soldiers' spirits steady (*sistere*). At Nola (*Sistere perculsos ille et reuocare laborat*, 203), he strives (*laborat ~ tentabat*, 84)[39] to make steady and to recall (*sistere* and *reuocare ~ sistere* and *erigere,* 84) his already beaten men (*perculsos ~ fessas... attritasque... mentes,* 84). A curious change is observable in the verse construction, though: whereas in lines 83-84 the *ductor*'s actions are enveloped, as if dominated, by the worn out and weakend spirits of the soldiers

> **fessas** luxuque **attritas**que secundis
>
> erigere et uerbis tentabat sistere | **mentes**,

in line 203, the *ductor*'s actions (*ille*), on the other hand, envelope the beaten men:

> **Sistere** | *perculsos* | *ille et* **reuocare laborat**.

It is as though Hannibal had managed to win back his leadership over the soldiers' previously lost morale with the passing of time and the sung verses.

Trying to make the Carthaginian soldiers stop and stand their ground is an effort furthermore also identifiable in the occurrences of *stare*, in no less than three out of seven. Those are

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[38] A word we do not consider here is *arma*, which could well merit a study for itself, since it has no less than twenty-nine occurrences in Book 12. See Landrey, 2014, and p. 1-2, n. 6.

[39] This is the only occurrence of *laborare* in Book 12; as for *labor*, in three of the eleven occurrences, it refers to Hannibal's and his allies' toils, expressed by the Carthaginian general himself in his speeches (78, 111, and 511). In one fourth occurrence, *Miratur pelagique minas terraeque labores* (157), we see Hannibal again in leisure time, observing "tourist attractions," just as he does in 3.45-61, where *labor* accounts "for Hannibal's self-perception and imitation of Hercules" (Manolaraki, 2010, p. 307 with n. 50 and the bibliography cited there; p. 315 for an interesting interpretation of the contrast between *labores* in line 109 and *labor* in line 111).

clear-cut imperatives in lines 195 and 196 (*Sta. Quo raperis? Non terga tuorum/ te, ductor Libyae, increpito. Sta.*), and 205 (*State, o miseri*). Noteworthy is the fact that this great concentration of examples is part of the episode at Nola, against Marcellus, the two first ones part of his speech, trying to convince the Carthaginians not to run, the third one part of Hannibal's frustrated speech with the same objective.[40] To them can be added three other examples that express the shame related to simply being inactive: lines 41 (*Stabat Cannarum Graia ad munimina uictor*)[41], 69 (*Pro dis, quis terminus, inquit, / ante urbes standi Graias*, 68-69, Hannibal's harangue at Parthenope; note the grave spondees that make up the four initial feet), and 105 (*ductor numerabat inertis/ atque actos sine Marte dies ac stare pudebat*, 104-105). These six instances display the Carthaginian side: *stare* as a shaming thing to do or *stare* as a war necessity that is not being carried out; opposed is the Roman side, and utterly so at that: it shows, as Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 143, names it, an "äußerlich gefasste Selbstkontrolle" that is personified both in the Senate (*Stat celsus et asper ab ira/ ingentemque metum toruo domat ore senatus*, 551-552) and in the youth (*Pubes dispersa per altas/ stat turris*, 556-557). The construction of verse 551 is also very careful: "Das Monosyllabon **stat** steht als Signalwort stoischer Haltung betont am Satz- und Versanfang. Der Senat müht sich, nach außen hin standfeste Entschlossenheit zu demonstrieren" (Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 151).[42]

4. Reviewing the topics: Hannibal vs. Jupiter

This last section addresses the end of Book 12 (605-752) as a returning point: themes, images, verses, and evidently words that we have observed throughout the Chapter come back here, reaffirming circularity as a *modus poetandi*. Besides the image of the winds—which we discussed as a recurring one in the Book at the very beginning of the Chapter—[43] that here come back as Jupiter's army (617-619; 656-657; 661-663), the word *agmen* (Jupiter's water army, 619; the Roman army going out of the walls at night, 688; Hannibal's leaving army, 739), or the theme of the spent Carthaginians after their victory at Cannae and the pleasures at Capua (*Sed non ille uigor*, 15 ~ *Remeet, quaeso, mens illa uigorque*, 678, in Hannibal's words), many an aspect can be seen as intermittent in these last scenes, a Gigantomachy well described by Fucecchi, 1990b, p. 150:

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[40] See Ariemma, 2010a, p. 134-135.

[41] A closer examination of the verse constituents was presented on p. 80.

[42] On the same page, n. 98, Telg genannt Kortmann also notes the *stetit illacrimante senatu/... inter tot gemitus immobilis* about Regulus' stoic immobility, which we discussed in Chapter 2, p. 38 (with n. 44 there for an intertextual connection with the *Aeneid*); p. 39-41 with n. 48 there, for a comparison between Regulus' restraint and the behavior of the *turba* and the *pubes* (note the difference in Book 12 with Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 155, *ad v.* 155: "in diesem Kontext [*pubes dispersa.../ stat*, 555ff.] trägt *stat* die Idee von Kampfbereitschaft in sich, vgl. u. a. Sil. 1,330 *stat dura iuuentus*; 13, 308; 16, 107f."); and p. 41-45, for a comparison between Regulus and Marcia.

[43] See p. 76-79.

> Il susseguirsi di circostanze favorevoli ad Annibale, giustificato dal fatto che la sua azione era risultata funzionale al compimento del disegno divino, adesso si interrompe bruscamente. Da questo momento in poi la componente titanistica, benché già affiorata in precedenza, prende il sopravvento quale esclusivo elemento informatore dele sue gesta.

In fact, the sequence begins with Jupiter's coming back from Ethiopia and seeing (*uidit*, 606)[44] Hannibal's menace in front of Rome's walls. This very seeing, Jupiter's looking down, is an important mark of the opposing powers; in lines 567-568 (*intrat/ urbem oculis discitque locos causasque locorum*), Hannibal is the first to look down on Rome, but Jupiter's view is obviously higher and bound to be more encompassing, as Morzadec, 2009, p. 65, n. 62, puts it: "Le conflit de domination et la démesure d'Hannibal qui se mesure à Jupiter transparaissent aussi dans la position géographique de chacun."

As Jupiter decides to become the Roman defender against Hannibal (note *defendere tecta/ Dardana*, 607-608), another opposition arises: Jupiter's resources are united (*cuncta*, 609; *simul*, 610; *conciet*, 611; *in turmas*, 615; *agmen*, 619), whereas Hannibal's, as we shall see, are frightened and easily disassembled, in a word returned to their initial *status quo* at the very beginning of Book 12, which is also made clear in Hannibal's repeated harangues to his troops (627-636; 668-681). The winds fight to live up to Jupiter's expectations (*bella mouent, quantis animos et pectora possint/ irati satiare Iouis*, 618-619)—*animos et pectora*, translated by Duff as "the anger in the breast". The circularity here takes us back to the *moenia Romae* theme, easily observed with the aid of Telg genannt Kortmann, p. 265, *ad* 674f.: "Dass Jupiter **pro moenibus** vor den oder für die (oder anstelle der) Mauern Roms kämpft, ruft das Verteidigungsvorhaben der Römer in 12,593f. in Erinnerung: *pro muris opportet densi / pectora*. Tatsächlich ist nun Jupiter die ‚Mauer' Roms." The winds' cooperation makes the enemy's ability to see even harder (*Instat tempestas oculis, hostique propinquo/ Roma latet*, 614-615), and bring back words that remind us of the previous blocking enclosures that Hannibal had to face: *caelumque tenebris/ clauditur* (612-613); *atque omnis circa campos spumantibus undis/ inuoluit* (621-622).[45] Opposed to Hannibal's undermined view is Jupiter's priviledged position, again emphasized (*Celsus summo de culmine montis/ regnator superum*, 622-623) before he annihilates the Carthaginian's shield, spear, and sword, a moment in which the *Poenus* is again ironically called *dux* (*ducis*, 624).

Hannibal's reaction to this first direct attack is circular in which he is again obliged to make his soldiers stay (*sistebat socios*, 628; Lemaire, 1823b, p. 60: "*Sistebat*, a fuga retinebat"), in which he is unable to see what was evidenced by the burnt weapons (*non hoste in nimbis uiso*, 631), and in which he declares his titanism over again (*sed non te crastina nobis/ lux umquam eripiet, descendat Iuppiter ipse/ in terras licet*, 634-636). That even in face of the complete discombobulated state of affairs (marked in the chiasm *clades socium caelique ruinam*, 630), both on earth and in heaven, Hannibal is unable to see his inferiority is made even clearer by the fact that, whereas he cannot see what is in front of his eyes,

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[44] See n. 4.

[45] See also Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 212, on the difference between 612-615 and the mist in Trasimene (5.34-37) and Vulturnus' storm at Cannae (9.501): "Vor Rom also hat sich dieses Blatt gegen die Punier gewendet." Adding to the configuration of Hannibal's defeat is his inability to make use of the darkness, which, as Telg genannt Kortmann also points, "war zuvor noch Hannibals Handlungsraum."

the enemies can feel it: *Aeneadae sensere deum* (639). In their prayer, three features that contrast the Romans and the Carthaginian are worth noticing. Firstly, their composure at 640 (*summissas tendunt alta ad Capitolia dextras*) reminds us of the Romans' (mothers, sons, and parents) at 589-590 (*Sat matres stimulant natique et cara supinas/ tendentum palmas lacrimantiaque ora parentum*); the situation, however, is slightly changed, since before the *supinas palmas* stood for despair and pain, and now the *summissas dextras* stand for hope and happiness (*laetos*, 643), in the recognition of the god's active hand. Secondly and thirdly, the Romans' ability to see their ineptitude in front of the enemy (*haud alia potis est occumbere dextra*, 645) and their piousness (*orantes pressere silentia*, 646) is a sharp antithesis of all that Hannibal's titanism typifies.

The second day comes in no different fashion. Again the Romans are ready for battle (*nec se castris Oenotria pubes/ continet*, 650-651), just as they were before the first attack before Jupiter came to the rescue (*sed contra Oenotria pubes/ non ullas uoces ducis aut praecepta requirit*, 587-588). Again Jupiter counts on the winds (*Incumbunt uenti*, 656; *Austro*, 657; *Notus*, 661), again Hannibal—the *dux*—is sent away (*cunctantem et uana minantem/ circumagit castrisque ducem succedere cogit*, 662-663), and again the skies open up as if nothing had just happened. Before the third day breaks, Hannibal has to harangue his troops again; the scene is important not only as it emphasizes the difference between the parties (Hannibal's soldiers need repeated harangues, whereas the Romans are always ready for battle, and Jupiter and his winds are always prompt), but also in which it delineates an important state of mind that comes as a preparation for what is inevitably to come. Hannibal's speech, started indirectly (668-674), goes on in the character's own words (674-680) and tries to convince of its thesis (*non ultra spondet in ipsos/ uenturam caeli rabiem*, 668-669) by means of questions (*ubi*, 671 and 673; *cur*, 676), the beginning of which is always stressed by a preceding caesura. Fernandelli, 2005-2006, p. 79, n. 15, observes that "Questo tipo di domande in serie, che insistono su una richiesta sfaccettandone il tema, equivale a un proemio invocativo drammatizzato," and that is well appliable here since his questions will be answered shortly (where is Jupiter? why doesn't he attack me directly?). Hannibal's speech is also important in which it brings back, once again, the assertion of a Gigantomachy that is seen as such by the very speaking Carthaginian (*inter tot motus cur me contra arma ferentem/ afflixisse piget?*, 676-677), for the second time (first time: 517). In this speech, he also asks the soldiers to go back to the previous vigor, using the same word Silius presents us with, at the beginning of the Book, when describing the Carthaginians' *status quo* (*uigor*, 678 and 15).

Before the third day comes, a narrative interlude (682-690) introduces a new opposition: fear vs. bravery. Hannibal's men are *trepidos* (684), and his striking his shield is fearsome (*tremendum*, 684). Hannibal is agitated (*frementem*, 682; *fremens*, 689), he is in fury (*redeunt cum luce furores*, 683), and he seems to feel like a god behind his weaponry (*armis imitatur murmura caeli*, 685). The reason for this renewed state of mind is the Romans' reacquired confidence and their going out of the walls during the night (*noctu progressum moenibus agmen*, 688). With the approaching menace to the walls (*Iamque propinquabat muro*, 691), Jupiter's intervention takes on Juno as his new weapon. She is to stop the

warrior (*Siste uirum*, 699), here called *uir* (*uiro*, 695, and *uirum*, 699),[46] as though to denote Jupiter's respect for his opponent, whose actions he summarizes in one verse and two halves: *Fuerit delere Saguntum, / exaequare Alpes, imponere uincula sacro/ Eridano, foedare lacus* (695-697).[47] Jupiter's speech is marked by an alliteration on *f* (*fine feroci – frena... fuerit – foedare – flagitat – fulmina flammis*),[48] which emphasizes Hannibal's subsequent actions against Rome, wrapped up with the latest threat (*et parat accensis imitari fulmina flammis*, 700), the consummation of the Gigantomachy that has now been developing for almost one hundred verses. The fact that Juno is here turned into the weapon or the messenger of a god, whose orders she is to obey, is an interesting inversion of the goddess's usual *modus operandi* in the epic. She is "Hera, the goddess of the *aer*, [who] might "blow to nothing" an established epic plot" (Purves, 2010, p. 346),[49] in the *Punica* an establishment that was hers, to begin with (1.35-39)—she is the divine alpha and omega of the main plot, the Carthaginian attack on Rome.[50] She is Hannibal's guide throughout this whole endeavor, and she decides at the beginning

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[46] Ripoll, 1998, p. 344, interprets the zenith and nadir of Hannibal as *uir*: "La mise en valeur de la *uirtus* d'Hannibal dans les *Punica* vise essentiellement à souligner par contrecoup celle des Romains [...] Hannibal survit physiquement au naufrage de sa *uirtus* titanesque et est promis à un *deforme letum* (cf. *Pun.* II, 705-707) [...] La prépondérance du parti-pris moral et patriotique chez Silius" is, according to this, the philosophical pith of the character's construction.

[47] See Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 286, on intratextual readings for the *siste uirum* compared to *siste gradum* (10.367) and *siste ducem Libyae* (4.423); p. 283, on other listings of Hannibal's successes in the war and their narrative relevance. As a counterpoint to Hannibal's summary of actions in 695-697, see Fucecchi, 2005, p. 2, §3 (in the pdf downloadable version), for a summary of Jupiter's actions in the poem. As for a god establishing the human limits, see Dorfbauer's (2008, p. 107-108) great interpretation of the connection between the Ennius episode (387-419) and the final fight between Jupiter and Hannibal (605-752): "Warum bringt Silius überhaupt diese Kampfepisode – abgesehen von seinem Wunsch, dem Ennius ein literarisches Denkmal zu setzen? Die Annahme ist naheliegend, dass die Ennius-Episode – die ja die zentrale Position im 12. Buch der *Punica* einnimmt und durch die Anrufung der Muse Kalliope besonders hervorgehoben erscheint – anhand des Siegs, den der römische Soldat und Dichter mit göttlicher Hilfe über seinen Gegner davonträgt, im Kleinen die generelle Thematik dieses Buches wiederspiegeln soll: Den Umschwung des Kriegsglücks (die Römer gewinnen im Folgenden mehr und mehr die Oberhand) sowie die bereits feststehende Niederlage der Karthager (in der erfolgreichen Verteidigung Roms am Ende des Buches eindrucksvoll symbolisiert). Ist es bei der Enttäuschung Hannibals vor Rom die höchste römische Staatsgottheit Jupiter, die zugunsten seiner Stadt und seines Volkes eingreift (von *nostras domos, nostras arces* spricht Jupiter in 12,698), so ist es bei den Kämpfen auf Sardinien der Dichtergott Apollo, der seinem besonderen Schützling, dem *vates* Ennius (*magna sororum / Aonidum cura est et dignus Apolline* 12,408f.), als Helfer zur Seite steht und so den Sieg des Römers garantiert. [...] Dies geschieht im Zentrum eines Buches, das mit dem erfolglosen Angriff Hannibals gegen Rom eine Schlussszene bietet, die stellvertretend für das ganze sinnlose Vorhaben der Karthager steht, das Imperium Romanum niederringen zu wollen."

[48] On the value of the sound itself, see Marouzeau, 1946, p. 17-18, already cited in the previous Chapter, p. 71, n. 48, when we analyzed another "mechanical sequence of uncalculated actions." Add to that Cicero's consideration that the word *frugifera* is a cacophony because of the repeated f's, and Nonius Marcellus' explanation of how the Romans avoid the sound by pronouncing *sibilare* instead of the provincial *sifilare* (Marouzeau, 1946, p. 92 and 7, respectively). See also Thoma, 1949, p. 56-57, in which she explains and richly exemplifies the Virgilian tendency to use the alliteration on f "to describe the threatening rumbles of the thunderbolt, and the flashes of lightning and fire, as well as for furious blasts of wind and storm," an interpretation that corroborates the Silian Jupiter's worries in this Gigantomachy.

[49] See also n. 4.

[50] Note the intertextual circularity going counterclockwise: "Silius has not simply reversed some Vergilian motifs; he has reversed the movement and mood of the second book of the 'Aeneid.'"—observe Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy, 1986, p. 2501, after demonstrating how the jubilation in *Punica* 12 (744-749) is the end of what starts with the jubilation in *Aeneid* 2 (26-30)— "Punica 12 thus ends where Aeneid 2 begins." As for the intratextual circularity, see the "Gleichartigkeit der [drei] Tage [vor Rom] in einer innovativen und kreativen Methode der Handlungsdarstellung" in the visually illuminating comparative chart presented by Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 84.

what he is not allowed to see (1.138-139), as well as now, as we shall see, she decides what to show him in order to put an end to his enterprise.

Juno's action and speech are introduced with *turbata per auras/ deuolat et prensa iuuenis Saturnia dextra* (701-702),[51] which brings up two topics already seen in Book 12: both the importance of what descends, not always clearly marked, but here expressed in the prefix *de-*;[52] and Juno's power of control over Hannibal discussed above. The question *Quo ruis, o uecors?*—Juno's opening line—reminds us of similar ones in the Book. *Quo raperis?* (195), asks Marcellus in the same speech in which he orders Hannibal to stay (*Sta*, 195; *sta*, 196), and after which we learn that Hannibal's staying is not in Juno's plans: *Sed non haec placido cernebat pectore Iuno/ coeptoque auertit suprema in fata ruentem* (201-202). Not later does Hannibal ask his soldiers, *Talesne e gremio Capuae tectisque sinistris/ egredimur?* (204-5), trying in vain to persuade them to stay on the battlefield. *Mea terga uidere/ contigit Ausoniae?* (283-284), asks Hannibal again, after being beaten by Marcellus. *Quo, mens aegra, uocas? Rursusne pericula sumam, / non aequus regione loci? Capuaque uidente/ terga dabo? An residens uicini uertice montis, / exscindi ante oculos patiar socialia tecta?* (497-500) are the questions that race through Hannibal's mind as he tries to break the Roman siege at Capua. The shame of turning one's back on a battle—and in so doing declaring defeat—is one we also see repeatedly. This is mostly expressed by *terga dare*, as in Hannibal explaining he turned his back on the soldiers not to go away from the fight (*uobis terga dedi*, 289), and as he subsequently asks what is left for those who run away (*Quid reliquum prisci Martis tibi, qui dare terga/ me reuocante potes?*, 291); it is again the question he asks, as he tries to convince his men that the tempests they face are not coming from Jupiter (*Ventis hiemique fugaces terga damus?*, 678).[53] These questions intertwine the different efforts and defeats of Hannibal's, giving us a sense, all along the Book, as to the doubts and unanswered worries he goes through, until Juno says he has to stop.

Juno's change of position is here tripartite: from mandant, she is turned into an obeying messenger; from the one who blocked view and knowledge, she is turned into the eye-opener; from firebrand, she is turned into the one who must contain the fire. Significant as to this last change are the words *en, age* that open line 708. In Book 8, as we showed before, *age*, accompanied by other imperatives or interjection (*surge, perge, eia*) connect Juno, Anna, Dido, and Varro in a sense of urgency that requires quick action and moving fast;[54] so does Marcellus' *Perge, age* (193) and Hannibal's *Perge, age* (511), as they incite their soldiers in Book 12. Nevertheless, Juno's *en, age* (708) is a complement to *Quo ruis, o uecors?* (703) and is intended not to incite, but to dissuade action. It seems that a

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[51] For a discussion of *turbata* referring to Juno, see Natividade, 2010, p. 105-106. See Chapter 1, p. 19, on the occurrences of the adjective in Book 4; for Marcia as *turbata* in Book 6, see Chapter 2, p. 43 and 54; in Book 12, besides Juno, only Hannibal is *turbatus* (267), as he runs away from Marcellus' spear.

[52] See p. 94 above, on Jupiter's position, and n. 4.

[53] *Dare terga* appears also in the voice of the priestess, as she sends Apollo's message forth (*Neu date terga malis*, 329), teaching the Romans to fight on, and again in Ennius' victory against Hostus, as the latter's soldiers flee from the fields after their commander falls dead (*et effusae pariter dant terga cateruae*, 416). Expressing the shame of defeat by turning one's back on battle can also be seen in some other constructions with *terga* all along the Book: 191-192 (*tergisque ruentum/ incumbens*), 206-207 (*terga/ uertentis*), 277 (*sub cuspide terga/ contenti uidisse ducis*) and 283 (*Mea terga uidere contigit Ausoniae?*, also cited above), 195 (*Non terga tuorum, / te, ductor Libyae, increpito*).

[54] See p. 68-70 (with n. 41 there) and 75. See also Cowan, 2007, p. 3, n. 19, on *eia*.

construction that repeatedly calls forth action and urgence has its general meaning subverted, which is fitting here, as the *status quo* is about to be overturned.

Hannibal's epiphany is in many different ways emphasized and reaffirmed: *atram dimouit nubem* (704-705); *cernere cuncta dabo* (708); *aspice, montis apex* (709, with both a kind of echo in the sounds and a note as for where the eyes should gaze: upwards); *sed enim aspice* (719); *Huc uultus flecte atque aude spectare* (722); *cernis* (724). Putting forward her resolution to make her protégé *see* the dangers of going on in his tenacity, Juno unveils Jupiter in seven verses (719-725) of her twenty-two-line speech and expresses her own astonishment in exclamations (723-724), from which the last one is especially revealing: *Oculis qui fulgurat ignis!* (724). The word *oculis*, here emphasized through its position after the penthemimeral caesura, was used some verses before, in line 707 (emphasized—curiously—*before* the penthemimeral caesura), by the very same Juno, then referring to Hannibal's eyes: *en, age (namque oculis amota nube parumper/ cernere cuncta dabo)*. As opposed to the Carthaginian's eyes, yet to be opened, Jupiter's are lighted with fire, here both a symbol for his ravaging power and, corollary, of the clarity in his eyes/view of facts. This opposition is previously prepared for by three other occurrences of *oculis*: in line 519, the Carthaginian soldiers are impelled towards Rome (*Roma auribus haeret/ Roma oculis*, 518-519); in line 568, Hannibal penetrates Rome with his eyes (*intrat/ urbem oculis discitque locos causasque locorum*, 567-568); in line 614, Jupiter's first display of power prevents the enemy's eyes from seeing Rome (*Instat tempestas oculis, hostique propinquo/ Roma latet*, 614-615). Just as in 707 and 724, *oculis* appear in all these instances in the ablative; and just as in line 707, emphasized by its position *before* the penthemimeral caesura. Note that, in all three, the Carthaginians' vision is somewhat negatively seen or shown to be far from enough. In addition, in line 739, *oculis*, again in the ablative, describes the Romans' eyes following the Carthaginian army, as they go away (*donec procedens oculis sese abstulit agmen*), only this time *oculis* is emphasized in its position *after* the penthemimeral caesura, coincidentally(?) just as in line 724, the one in which Jupiter's eyes are described in Juno's speech.

With his eyes able to see clearly now (704-709), Hannibal can identify the gods against him: *Apollo* (711); Diana, the *Latonia uirgo* (713); Mars *Gradiuus* (716); the observant protector in times of war, *Ianus* (718); the founder *Quirinus* (718); and the almighty *Iuppiter* (721).[55] Adding to this plural list Juno's order (*cede deis tandem et Titania desine bella*, 725), the Gigantomachy gains a new reassertion as an intentional mythological background for the whole end scene in Book 12. To that effect, we also have the fiery images that help compose the whole battle: besides Jupiter's burning eyes[56] we just mentioned (*Oculis qui fulgurat ignis!*, 724), the following excerpt (726-732), in which Hannibal leaves the battlefield, is also marked by fire: Hannibal's *flammea membra* (727), the return of the *flagrantior*

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[55] See Cowan, 2007, p. 30, with n. 204, for an interesting connection between the hidden gods here and both their negative actions towards men and their connection with the Erynis in the Capuan suicide (13.256-298). See Hübner, 1970, p. 42-47, for an intertextual reading of "Hannibals Göttervision" here.

[56] Before this: *fulminaque et tonitrus* (611), *flammae* (615), *ignis* (616), *fulmina* (623), *fornacibus* (626), *Ambustis* (627), *ignem* (628), *iubar* (637, in which fire and light mix together, as in many of these examples), *nitet* (638), *rutilantem lampada* (648), *fulgor* (653), *feruet* (657), *fulmina... tonitrua* (667), *fulmina* (671), *flammat* (680), *luce* (683), *ignes* (699), *accensis... fulmina flammis* (700), *accensas... taedas* (714), *flammasque* (720), and *ignibus* (721).

aethere lampas (731), and in the final verse *et tremula infuso resplendet caerula Phoebo* (732). In lines 731 and 732, fire and light mix again in the last two occurrences. Another prominent feature of this section (726-732), is the marked repetition of the prefix *re-*:[57] <u>re</u>spectans (729), <u>re</u>meaturumque (730), <u>re</u>dditur (731), and <u>re</u>splendet (732). It marks both Hannibal's resistance to go by looking back and promising a future return and the opposed new beginning with a sunshiny day.

The last act in the last scene in this Book (733-752) begins with the reemergence of a theme we discussed extensively in this Chapter: the *moenia Romae*. The Romans observe everything from the walls (*e muris*, 733) and celebrate Hannibal's departure after purifying them (*lustratis moenibus*, 752).[58] This celebration is first accompanied by incredulity, and silence (*tacita ora*, 734; *nutuque docent*, 735; *tacitae... matres*, 738) is the best expression of what they still can't believe (*quod credere magno/ non audent haerente metu*, 735-736). The lacking courage here receives the same expression as before (*Ille primus dies docuit, quod credere nemo/ auderet superis, Martis certamine sisti/ posse ducem Libyae*, 273-275), when Marcellus drove Hannibal away from Nola. The expression *credere audere* is the intratextual marker that connects these two instances of first victories. The fear is finally put away (*dempto terrore*, 740), and they celebrate Jupiter's triumph (*triumphum/ Tarpei... Iouis*, 742-743); Jupiter is then the Tarpeian god, just as he was in Hannibal's promises of dethroning him (*cernas/ et demigrantem Tarpeia sede Tonantem*, 516-517) and as he is later seen calling the gods to Rome's defense (*Ipse e Tarpeio sublimis uertice cuncta*, 609)—it is as though the Romans had identified the very godly manifestation in action, for whom they prayed and whom they invoked. Now with noisy festivities (*permixta uoce*, 742; *clamant*, 743; *ruit*, 744) they happily (*laetum*, 744; *sperata... gaudia*, 745) inspect (*spectant*, 746) what was there and is now but clear space (746-749)—the importance of seeing and admiring with the eyes again emphasized with the verb in the present, opposed to the expression of what is not anymore. The final celebration (750-752) gains an even more religious color: they wash themselves (*Corpora nunc uiua sparguntur gurgitis unda*, 750) and build altars to the river nymphs that live in the Anio (*nunc Anienicolis statuunt altaria nymphis*, 751), the same ones that feared (*Ilia prima uadis sacro se coniugis antro/ condidit et cunctae fugerunt gurgite nymphae*, 543-544), as Hannibal first set foot in Rome. In the very last verse, the city in celebration envelopes the purified walls—before the protection, they are now protected by the loudly celebrating citizens:

Tum **festam** *repetunt,* *lustratis moenibus,* **urbem***.*

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5. Tenants et aboutissants: *what we learn from the isotopy of defeat in Book 12*

       Book 12 starts with winter giving room to spring, the seasons' change metaphorically mirroring the great overturn of winning powers that is made definitive by Jupiter's sending Hannibal away from Rome's walls at the end of the Book. This circularity is also seen in the recurring image of Hannibal as a snake, which occurs twice in Book 12 and in the motive of fear striking.

       As we learn that the Carthaginians' vigor is not the same after leaving Capua, words related to fluidity (*fluere*, *fluctus*, and *flumen*) serve to denote the growing weakening of Hannibal's strength, words that in some instances come directly linked to the image of the winds (in general, or the Zephyrs, Aquilo, Boreas, Notus, and Africus) that are repeatedly brought into scenes of the enemy's disadvantage (Ennius/Apollo against Hostus, Marcellus and Jupiter against Hannibal). When Hannibal reaches Parthenope, his first defeat after Cannae, his inability to find a way through the walls is described by the verb *perfringere* (38); Hannibal's failure gains new significance when read side by side with the previously *perfractas Alpes* (5.160), when the general was on a winning strike, and another use of the verb, referring to the *Romans'* night attack at Nola (13.255)—it is as though this moment in Hannibal's career stood between his previous ability to break through and the Romans', newly reacquired. The same subtle suggestions aligned with other uses of a word happens with *inglorius* (39), used about Hannibal and a foreign warrior in Saguntum, second-line warriors, and the Romans—whose glory they are bound to get back at the end of the war. *Inglorius* is also the river Tucia, by which Hannibal stops in Book 13, and *ingloria* are Hannibal's *fata* described by Juno in Book 17. Line 41 and the enjambement *nequiquam* in line 42 attest to Silius' irony: Hannibal, the former *Cannarum uictor*, is barred from Parthenope's *munimina*, a word associated to shame and feeble entrenchment; ten lines later (51), Hannibal is *irritus incepti*, and *irritus* is an adjective used in other contexts to depict the Carthaginian's failed attempts.

       In section 2, we go on to the discussion of the *moenia Romae* motive and its developments, building on some of Albrecht's main ideas and going on to the observation of the subisotopies brought about by the theme. The use of *murus* and *moenia*, adding up to thirty-one occurrences, the most for each of the two words in one single Book throughout the poem, reinforce the idea of protection in the sequence of Hannibal's frustrated attempts from city to city. Observing the instances more closely, Silius' recognized *ingenium* comes to fore: six resources are carefully exploited in designing the effectiveness of the *muri* and *moenia*. The metonimy of the walls represents the city they stand for; proleptical images in which mythological figures can help the reader preview what is to come in the narrative; personification of the walls, that come infrequently and hence draw more attention; recurring metrical position creating a sound pattern throughout the Book; chiasms that reflect the turmoil in which the walls take part; and mimetical syntax in the verse, in which an element encloses or is enclosed, creating neat interpretative possibilities.

       As an expected follow-on from the *murus* and *moenia* motive, we come to the ideas of enclosure and encirclement. Besides the closed cities that block Hannibal's way and Jupiter's closing

the skies described by the verb *claudere,* a picture of fear comes up with *Hannibal ad portas*; should the reader compare this to the fear in Book 4, though, the expectations will be frustrated: whereas there the fear turns out to be a prediction of the Roman defeat, here in Book 12 Hannibal still imposes fear, but he is the one defeated. This circularly connects us to the very beginning of the Book, to the simile of the snake (5-14; see p. 76-77) and to verse 15—*sed non ille uigor*. From *claudere* to *porta*, we observe that most gates remain closed; when they open, it is generally for warriors to come out, either for battle or, at the end of the Book, for the Romans in celebration. Observing the occurrences of *porta* we go through Hannibal's frustrated tries, Rome's reaction, and the aftermath, accompanying the gist of the plot whenever the word surfaces. *Circum* is another word we analyzed: it appears in the scenes in which we see elements being repeated, as Hannibal stands before Capua, before the competing Vesuvius and Etna, and before the walls of Rome. With the verbs that have the prefix *circum-* (*circumfundere, circumstare, circumdare, circumuolare*) we found descriptions of the perils of being ambushed and the protection of being surrounded by ramparts, i. e., situations related to either defense or defeat.

In section 3, we begin by noticing the cyclic repetition of Hannibal's failed endeavors: he starts Book 12 circling Cumae and ends it circling Rome. The first word we examine is *lustrare*, which appears in contexts in which Hannibal's actions of visiting Baiae come as a detachment from the actions of his troops, that are trying to force a way through Puteoli; in Hannibal's being compared to an attacking tigress and conquering a useless victory; in Rome's *lustratis moenibus*, sacred and freed from the enemy. Moving from the idea of defense to attack and moving forward, we observed the uses of *agmen,* a word that combines both concepts and represents the army in action, in situations in which it does not stand its ground, and in movement—which is actually the first meaning it bears. In addition to that, the two single occurrences of the word *exercitus* represent, on the one side, the Romans in movent (596), and on the other side, the Carthaginians being turned around from battle (269). The last two words commented on in the section are *sistere* and *stare*, the former appearing in scenes in which the importance of detaining Hannibal and the Carthaginian soldiers are discussed, the latter marking the importance of not moving either as a war necessity not being carried out (by the Carthaginians) or as the noble thing being done (by the Romans—the Senate and the youth).

In the last section, we observe how Jupiter defends Rome and makes Hannibal go away (as he had already done in 6.641-644), as previewed, for instance in Book 10, by Juno (10.348-350) and Jupiter's speech in a dream (10.351-371). We take the last section as an opportunity to review previously observed circularities in themes (*e.g.*, Hannibal's inability to see/understand, Hannibal as an incompetent *dux*, the Gigantomachy) and images (*e.g.*, the spent Carthaginians after Capua, the privileged superior position of the gods, the distinction between Jupiter's united resources and Hannibal's easily frightened and disassembled allies), besides observing the word *oculis* in different contexts and the significant recurring prefixes *de-* and *re-*.

The *Hannibal ad portas* episode (507-752) is the *coup de grâce*, as Ripoll, 1998, p. 344, well observes:

Remarquons enfin qu'après s'être heurtée à l'opposition divine au cours de cet épisode définitif, cette *uirtus* démesurée et dévoyée semble comme anéantie: on ne relève pratiquement plus aucune occurrence de *uirtus* rapportée à Hannibal après l'épisode de l'attaque contre les *moenia Urbis*. Le chef Punique se survit à lui-même après la deuxième hexade, mais sa *uirtus* titanesque a été foudroyée sous les murs de Rome.

In the following Chapter, in Book 15, Hannibal's presence is, as expected, "rarefied," and the emergence of a new hero, one that will unify Rome's forces and conduct it to final victory, is emphasized in a curious *isotopy of the double*.

Chapter 5 – On Book 15: The double

> *tantane, omnipotens, caligine mersa latere*
> *fata placet?*
>
> Silius Italicus, *Punica* 11.122-123

In this last Chapter I analyze what I call the *isotopy of the double* in Book 15, which is as much a turning point in the *Punica* as Book 12.[1] Whereas in Book 12 we see the day that *primus docuit, quod credere nemo/ auderet superis, Martis certamine sisti/ posse ducem Libyae* (12.273-275), the beginning of the fall for Hannibal, in Book 15 we are presented with the beginning of the "rise" of the poem's final hero. Scipio's participation in Book 15 is divided into four main episodes that sum up to a little less than 500 verses, i.e., roughly half of the Book: Scipio's choice between *Virtus* and *Voluptas* (18-128); Scipio's asking for command in Spain and Jupiter's omen in his favor (129-151); Scipio's siege of New Carthage and Laelius' praise of him (152-285); and Scipio's victory over Hasdrubal and the latter's fleeing (399-514). When we consider the numbers, the other important episode in Book 15 is the battle of the Metaurus with its preliminary (Nero being summoned by Italy to join the other consul, 515-600) and final (Hannibal's receiving his brother's head on a pike, 807-823) scenes. Both Scipio's awakening and the battle of the Metaurus are fundamental to the whole of the Second Punic War, and their importance is consequently made clear in the poem. Divided between these two main episodes, Book 15 is so designed as to show differences between what was and what is, what is and what could be or could have been, what is not but looks as though it were, and what was and comes back to being, all ideas of a double between reality and possibility or impossibility. Following this lead, I will take into consideration contexts in which a double possibility is presented and check upon Silius' lexical choice in them. These contexts consist of Scipio's *Scheideweg* at the beginning of the Book, the two ways (*Voluptas'* and *Virtus'*) between which he has to choose; counterfactuals as the representation of a virtual reality that never came to be; Hasdrubal's representation as a mirrored Hannibal; Hasdrubal's beheading as the materializing of a whole divided into two parts; and the revisiting of places as the repetition of paths previously trodden.

1. Scipio's Scheideweg

Book 12 starts with the word *at* and "with a dramatic turn of phrase Silius moves his narrative to Rome" (Littlewood, 2011, p. 62, *ad* 7.74). This is telling, as it connects what is to be narrated, the internal episodes relating to who is to be next in the commanding line for Rome, with the previous Chapter, that is

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[1] See Marks, 2005, p. 72 with particular attention to n. 27 and the bibliography cited there. See Chapter 4, p. 76, n. 1, and p. 80-81, with n. 12, 13, and 14.

to say, Marcellus' successes in Italy, in terms of a "change of subject" (*OLD*, s.v. 2). This change of subject is presented in the double internal affairs/external affairs: Sicily (Book 14)–Rome's senate and the choice of a new commander–Tarraco, New Carthage, Greece, Tarentum, Apulia, the Alps, Metaurus, Lucania. Another expressive word used to introduce a Book is *iam*, once seen at the beginning of Book 6 and once at the head of 12. In both cases, it introduces "a change of subject" with a "dramatic turn of phrase": in Book 6, we leave the battle at Trasimene to the eulogy of control and self-control in the Regulus' excursus, an important milestone in the poem; in Book 12, another important milestone, we are presented with a new season, the beginning of spring, and we leave Cannae and its subsequent events to accompany Hannibal's first cycle of failures. The same resource is noted by Marks, 2005, p. 71, in the proem: "At verse 12 we reach a turning point. Whereas the first verses move fluidly along with one enjambement after another, in verse 11 the poet gives us our first end-stopped line. After this heavy pause, he emphatically introduces the next part of the proem (1.12-16) with the thud of a monosyllabic *sed*, prominently placed at the beginning of verse 12."

It is worth noting that, in this introduction to the Book or *Vorbereitungsphase* to the visit of Virtue and Pleasure, the two fallen Scipios are named *Geminus... / Scipio* (3-4) and that even before the two divinities make their appearance. It is feared that Scipio's fate be put between the two *busta* of his fallen father and uncle: *Si gentem petat infaustam, inter busta suorum/ decertandum hosti* (13-14). Some thirty verses later (44), it is *Voluptas* who uses the image of *busta* as an undignified reward, consequence of a life path down *Virtus'* ways. In its first occurrence, the word seems to be chosen (again, as in 14.513; see Roosjen, 1996, p. 235) to draw attention to the fact that when in Spain, Scipio would be between his relatives' funeral pyres (*OLD*, s.v. 1a) but also between their tombs (*OLD*, s.v. 2a), or place of death. Their defeat, represented in the place it happened, the past; the funeral pyre is the future that awaits every warrior—in between, Scipio, the present, whose choice between either *Voluptas* or *Virtus* will determine what kind of man he shall become.[2] In its second occurrence, in the words of *Voluptas*, the same emphasis make a comeback, and she mentions both father and uncle again (*patrem patruumque tuos*, 42), besides Paulus (42) and the Decii (43), of which no more than a nice epitaph for their ashes (*cineri titulum*, 44) and the celebrated names for the funeral pyre (*memorandaque nomina bustis*, 44) remain. What is initially a preoccupation of Scipio's kinsmen (10-15) is later brought to Scipio's own attention (42-45). The images are repeatedly constructed in doubles: go to Spain, fight in the very place of the relatives' defeat, *or not*; stand between the *two* funeral pyres of father and uncle, the *geminus Scipio*; pick a present *between known past and future*; and the ultimate decision at the crossroads: *Voluptas* or *Virtus*.

Another aspect that is often represented with emphasis on its duplicity is Mars, sometimes taken for the war itself. Already in line 4, the belligerent brotherly unit *geminus Scipio* is *belligeri, Mauortia pectora, fratres*.[3] Mars' faces, or the battles themselves, are also double, uncertain: *dubia certamina Martis* (823), *grauia*

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[2] Consider Marks, 2005, p. 9, about Scipio: "he is the critical link between the past described in the epic and the present in which it was composed."

[3] On the rare place of the apposition *Mauortia pectora*, another element in the mentioned emphasis, see Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 339, *ad* 15.1 (*ad finem*), and Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 7, *ad* 1.27, on this disposition "encadrée" and "artificielle" in comparison with Virgil's use of it in the *Aeneid*. See also van der Keur, 2015, p. 210-211, *ad* 13.382-384. The enemy is also "martial," *Martius ille Hannibal* (407).

ancipitis... munera Martis (132). As Hasdrubal's army makes its way towards Rome, the news reaches the Romans, and they fear that the Carthaginian unit becomes double, which is emphasized at 516-519:

> *nunc* <u>*geminum*</u> *Hannibalem, nunc iactant* <u>*bina*</u> *coire*
> *hinc atque hinc castra, et pastos per prospera bella*
> *sanguine ductores Italo* <u>*coniungere Martem*</u>
> <u>*et duplicare acies*</u>

This fear of a double army uniting in a stronger body is also felt by Hasdrubal, who later notices that he has the two consuls (*gemino... magistro*, 606) to face, the two combined armies (*iuncta.../ castra*, 606-607), as he hears the two (*bis*, 605) trumpet-calls and wonders how this could be explained: *Verum, fratrii si uita supersit, / qui tandem licitum socias coniungere uires/ consulibus?* (607-609). An opposition in war tactics will have to be introduced, and Hasdrubal's only resource will be delaying and putting off battle (*solum.../ cunctandi restare dolum Martemque trahendi*, 609-610). In contrast, on the Roman side, Livius aids and abets velocity: *Quod ni* <u>*ueloci*</u> *prosternimus agmina Marte, / et fulmen subitum Carthaginis Hannibal adsit, qui deus infernis quamquam nostrum eximat umbris?* (663-665).[4] The whole idea of uniting or making whole again is present in his speech, as he tells the soldiers that they should use their swords to close the way through the Alps, way too open for the Carthaginians' march (*et tandem praecludite ferro/ iam nimium patulas Poenis grassantibus Alpis*, 661-662).[5] Hasdrubal will be killed and decapitated (778-808), which will make the reunion of both Carthaginian armies an impossibility. The episode is noted by Littlewood, 2017a, p. xxv-xxvi:

> Throughout the *Punica* military defeat is explored through accumulated images of fragmentation — decapitation, dismemberment, and division — all of which Lucan had used to describe the impact of civil war. This image is reiterated in the first half of *Punica* 10. Warning Paulus not to approach Hannibal, Juno-Metellus describes Rome's fortunes with the ominous image of a headless trunk: *et caput hoc abscidere rebus | turbatis, o Paule, paras?* The image is recreated more grotesquely to describe the Roman army after the death of Paulus. In the Crista episode, Silius' microcosmic image of Cannae, Hannibal decapitates Crista's son Vesulus and uses the head as a weapon. Conversely in Book 15, the decapitation of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus signals the collapse of Carthaginian resistance.

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[4] The double of swiftness vs. delay, also to be noticed throughout Book 15, is emphasized as a marking characteristic of the "Scipionic era" by Marks, 2005, p. 47: "We can now see just how much the war has changed for both sides and how central a role Scipio plays in this development. From the Roman perspective, swiftness and daring, formerly destructive qualities, are now, in Scipio's charge, positively marked and assure success whereas delay and caution, once employed by Fabius to good effect, are obsolete, if not regressive. From the Carthaginian perspective, swiftness and daring once guaranteed victory for Hannibal earlier in the war, but now that he has slowed down, guarantee victory for his adversary Scipio. [...] The Scipionic leadership paradigm is becoming the defining standard by which leaders on both sides of the conflict, Roman and Carthaginian, are now measured." See also Marks, 2005, p. 48-50, on Nero and Livius at the Metaurus.

[5] It doesn't seem irrelevant to note that there is a *continuum* of taking off and putting back on of the helmet. Before speaking to the troops, Livius takes the helmet off, which is an opportunity to show the dignity of his years: *insignis nudatis casside canis* (658); after his speech, he sets the helmet back on (*galea capite accepta*, 666) and hides his age before joining battle (*obtectus senium, fera proelia miscet*, 667). His age is thus shown by Silius as doubly interpreted: as remarkable before his words and as not perceivable as he is in combat, and that is done through the concentrated cinematic attention on the consul's head—the head, as we shall see, is a recurring focal point in Book 15. The fact that Hasdrubal scorns Livius' age (*infracto Liuius aeuo*, 648; *et turpi finem donate senectae*, 651) gets him off on the same footing as Hannibal against Fabius in Book 7, and old age will again have the advantage. See Marks, 2005, p. 24-25.

This "collapse of Carthaginian resistance" is first marked in the "dismemberment" of Hasdrubal's army, described in terms of their losing faith in Mars and/or not daring to do battle: *Agmina fuso/ sternuntur duce, non ultra fidentia Marti* (807-808). On the one side, at the end of the Book, the Carthaginian enemy, before divided into two armies, will now remain divided and have a headless half, besides an intranquil head over the second half: *Tum, castris procul amotis, aduersa quiete/ dissimulans, dubia exclusit certamina Martis* (822-823). On the other side, at the beginning of the Book, Scipio's choice will undo the double of a headless Rome in its Spanish affairs—a choice that is part of the uprising of the general who will lead Rome to her victory at the war. Let us return to his *Scheideweg*.

Lauri residens iuuenis uiridante sub umbra (18)—so starts the visit scene of *Virtus* and *Voluptas*. Significant in the bucolic setting is the *laurus*, a tree whose branches and foliage are associated with victory in the *Punica*.[6] In 12.641, it had been used as a thanksgiving ornament at the temple on the Capitoline, as the Romans perceived Jupiter's acting in their favor; Mago adorns the prow of his boat in 11.484, as he visits Carthage—and tells of Hannibal's previous victories; in 6.661, the *laurus* appears on the head of Appius Claudius Caudex in the pictures at Liternum—Appius had won the battle over the possession of Messana in 264-263. In the present case, the *laurus* hangs over Scipio's head as he is *residens* under the tree.[7] At line 100 (*Me cinctus lauro producit ad astra Triumphus*), *Virtus* draws a picture of a laurel-crowned Triumph that projects her *ad astra*. To get to have a triumph, some sacrifices are to be made, and learning to spend sleepless nights *sub astris* (109) is one of them. According to her thesis, though, men are created for this, *ut celsos ad sidera uultus/ sustulerit* (84-85). Attaining the stars (or the divine for that matter) is the final objective. In closing her speech, *Virtus* promises to grant Scipio with the possibility of *laurumque superbam/ in gremio Iouis excisis deponere Poenis* (119-120). A promise that addresses the key issue at hand, winning the Carthaginians (very strongly put by *Virtus*: *excisis Poenis*). Under the laurel-tree, Scipio must make his choice (Martin and Devallet, 1992, p. 137, n. 2 on p. 35: "Scipion a reçu aux enfers la révélation de son avenir (*Pun.* 13, 507-515) ; cette révélation ne lui dicte pas un choix qui demeure encore à faire par lui")[8]; should the challenge be accepted, he will be the one to conduct the laurel-crowned Triumph that raises (his) *Virtus* to the stars; as a closing act, she will allow him to lay his laurel of victory on Jupiter's lap, which Jupiter had already predicted in his speech to Minerva and Juno (9.545-546, *contundet Tyrios iuuenis ac nomina gentis/ induet et Libycam feret in Capitolia laurum*). Book 15 is the one with the more occurrences of the word; the different positions occupied by the *laurus* is not at all trivial: they form an ascending line from Scipio's preoccupations (18) to his triumph over the destroyed Carthaginians (100) to his victory offerings in Jupiter's temple (119). If we consider that *Virtus*' promise leaves Scipio where Jupiter predicted he would be three Books before, the ascending line of Jupiter's son goes back to the father, and the text in the poem closes in circularity. The interest of the whole is manifold in our purpose: firstly and in general, for the circularity it presents and the intertextual connections we infer; secondly, for the isotopic theme we have under analysis, the double,

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[6] For an intertextual reading of the *laurus* and its meaning as Scipio's future victory, see Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 340, *ad* 15.18.

[7] For an intertextual reading of the setting, see Schultheiβ, 2012, p. 264: "Im vergleichbaren Ambiente (nemoralibus umbris) trifft Ovid, *Am.* 3, 1, 5 der Dichter seine Wahl der poetischen Gattung."

[8] On how much of personal choice there is at the Crossroads and the philosophy behind it, see Schultheiβ, 2012.

because the *laurus* figures as a symbol for the two life periods or possibilities: before *Virtus* and with her (triumph and victory offering).

As the two goddesses appear, their opposite position already establishes the way the relation between both is to be understood (*dextra laeuaque per auras/ allapsae*, 20-21, later reinforced by *hinc... illinc*, 22).[9] The double expressed in terms of a two-way choice and materialized in two figures is lexically marked in many other points: frequently by emphasizing repetitions of words or ideas (e.g. *medias acies mediosque per ignis*, 41; *nunc... nunc...*, 62, as *Voluptas* explains how she made Jupiter turn into different forms; *ad laudes genitum... / ad laudes hominum genus*, 88-89; *celsus ab alto*, 106); in citing opposites (*celsus ab alto/ infra te cernes*, 106-107);[10] in adjectives (*ancipiti*, 27; *dispar*, 28; *composita* and *mutata*, 29). Above all, the multiple possibilities are marked in both goddesses' speeches in listings that offer various alternatives, a resource frequently repeated: with pronouns *haec... haec... haec...* (42-43, *Voluptas* emphasizes that *Virtus* caused the death of Scipio's father and uncle, of Paulus and of the Decii); with negatives *non... haud... non... non... nec...* (46-51, *Voluptas* lists the sufferings Scipio will not be exposed to, should he decide to come with her; see also 115, *nec... nec...*; 116-117, *non... nec...*); in verses 51-54, with a sequence of positive coordinates (*aberunt sitis aspera et haustus/ sub galea puluis partique timore labores*, 51-52) that is connected to a second sequence (*current albusque dies horaeque serenae/ et molli dabitur uictu sperare senectam*), with *sed* joining the contrary alternatives (Scipio will not have the sufferings of war, *but* will enjoy a future in which time goes by rhythmically till he gets to old age; another multiple positive listing is to be found in *Virtus'* speech, 84-87, *et passim* for two possibilities, e.g. 68, 70, 71, 79...).

Especially in *Virtus'* speech, a marked opposition is established in terms of first and second persons: *Ebrietas tibi... tibi Luxus.../ circa te... Infamia* (96-97) vs. *mecum Honor... /Me cinctus lauro... Triumphus. / Casta mihi domus* (98-101). The entourage is also fitting: whereas *Voluptas* is followed by Drunkenness (*Ebrietas*, 96), Luxury (*Luxus*, 96),[11] and Ill-Fame (*Infamia*, 97; Duff: Disgrace), *Virtus* has a more numerous and dignified company, Honor (*Honor*, 98), Praise (*Laudes*, 98), Glory (*Gloria*, 98), Dignity (*Decus*, 99), and Victory (*Victoria*, 99). These trains, both described by *Virtus*, express and emphasize the difference between

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[9] Note how *Voluptas* is presented: *Altera Achaemenium spirabat uertice odorem, / ambrosias diffusa comas* (23-24), *fronte decor quaesitus acu, lasciuaque crebras/ ancipiti motu iaciebant lumina flammas* (26-27). On the other side, *Virtus* is austere, but also envisaged first through her head: *frons hirta nec umquam/ composita mutata coma; stans uultus, et ore/ incessuque uiro propior laetique pudores* (28-30). Again the head is an important part of the description, just as it is in Livius' old age representation (see n. 5). On Scipio's head, face and hairdo, see Fucecchi, 1993, p. 31-32.

[10] As *Virtus* describes her entourage, she opposes *Victoria* to *Infamia* (see below in the main text) by comparing colorfulness and darkness, respectively, in both deities' wings; note also that *Gloria* is *laeto... uultu* (98), whereas *Ebrietas* is *foeda* (96).

[11] *Luxus* appears twice here and in Book 12 (in which it refers, in both cases, to the Carthaginians' weakening in Capua: in the sonorous *molli luxu madefacta meroque* at line 12.18—right after the emphatic *Sed non ille uigor* (12.15)—and again in *fessas luxu attritasque... /... mentes* at 12.83-84). Here, in Book 15, it refers to *Voluptas'* attendant (96) right after describing its effect upon previously thriving cities (*idem aspice, late/ florentis quondam luxus quas uerterit urbis*, 92-93). This delineation of *Luxus'* role is illustrated by the Carthaginians' fall in Book 11 (where we find the most occurrences: five instances—11.33, 282, 387, 400, and 427), in which the word is used (1) in reference to the Capuans' luxury (11.33, 400, and 427), criticizing their excesses; (2) to name Venus' instrument against the Carthaginians' valor (11.387); and (3) somewhat personalized, as it mesmerizes the Carthaginian soldier facing the Capuan opulence at the table (*faciemque superbi/ ignotam luxus oculis mirantibus haurit*, 281-282). These references draw a clear picture of the devastating results *Luxus* (and therefore *Voluptas*) can cause and make Scipio's final decision even greater for the reading/listening audience. On another entourage (Mars') in Book 4 and the significance of its components, see Chapter 1, p. 6-7, n. 22. On a Stoic reading of *luxus* in Silius, considering Seneca's *De Ira* as intertext, see Antoniadis, 2018, p. 391-392.

a life in ill-fame (*Infamia* on the *Voluptas'* side) and one in good reputation (which is summoned up by *Honor*, *Laudes*, *Gloria*, and *Decus* on *Virtus'* side), a disparity that is imagetically highlighted in the colors of the flying elements in each train, *uolitans Infamia* with her *atris... pennis* (96-97) and *niueis Victoria concolor alis* (99).[12] That *Virtus* accentuates her connection to good reputation and victory can also be seen in the echo of *ad/ac laudes*, which is repeated in 88 and 89, side by side with *genus* and *genitum*, defining humankind as predestined to glory (*ad laudes genitum*, 88, and *ad laudes hominum genus*, 89); at line 98 we hear *ac Laudes*, the humankind destiny personified as an attendant of *Virtus*. The occurrences of *laus* in the Book all connect to this very first assertion made by *Virtus*.[13] In fact, in both sides of the war, soldiers and generals aspire to *laus*: those who want to take part in Scipio's expedition in Spain (*laudumque loco est isdem esse sub armis*, 151); as the Romans pray men and gods after capturing New Carthage (*Postquam perfectae laudes hominumque deumque*, 263), and as Laelius celebrates Scipio (*Cedat tibi gloria lausque/ magnorum heroum celebrataque carmine uirtus*, 275-276); as Fabius strives to make Rome greater by subjugating Tarentum (*Tunc et Tyndarei Latias fortuna Tarenti/ auxit opes laudemque simul*, 320-321); as Hannibal makes a speech before Marcellus' funeral pyre (*Ipse facem subdens: "Laus", inquit, "parta perennis"*, 392); as Laelius' aristeia is sung (*nihil uitae peragi sine laude placebat*, 462); as Hasdrubal harangues his soldiers before battle (*Per fratris laudes oro, uenisse probemus/ germanum Hannibalis*, 639-640); as Nero celebrates the Roman victory (*ni factum absoluit uictoria. Praecipe laudem: / aduentu cecidisse tuo memorabitur hostis*, 656-657). Also corroborating the idea that *laus* is connected to *uirtus* and that one thing leads to the other, in all of the previous passages are lexical echoes (mostly important keywords) of *Virtus'* speech. Take Scipio's eulogy in 274-282, for instance: the *uirtus* (276) of sung heroes must make way to Scipio's *gloria* and *laus* (275), and Laelius' praise centers on this idea, the six remaining verses (277-282) being an explanation of why Scipio's deeds are superior to the Greek generals' Agamemnon and Achilles—and that is due to his again denying *uoluptas* (*tibi barbara soli/ sanctius Iliaca seruata est Phoebade uirgo*, 281-282). In addition to that, because he shows *clementia* towards the *seruata uirgo*, his image reminds us of Marcellus' (and the emperor's) *clementia*, sung at the end of the previous Book (14.679-683).[14]

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[12] *Victoria's* with her *niueis alis* (99) harmonizes with *Virtus' niueae... stamine pallae* (31), as noted by Lemaire, 1823b, p. 229.

[13] Her assertion is only made stronger by what I showed on the occurrences of *laurus* and *astra*, p. 106.

[14] For a comparison between Scipio and Marcellus, see Marks, 2005, p. 95-96 and especially n. 85 and the bibliography cited there. On *Virtus'* view of glory being consistent with Silius' in the epic, see Marks, 2005, p. 157, n. 124 and the bibliography cited there. As for Book 15, in the other passages around *laus*, further examples of echoes (lexical and thematic) can always be found: As candidates swarm around Scipio to join him in his Spanish campaign and the sailing begins with Scipio's prayer to Neptune: *laudum* (151); *acris... labores* (150), *nostros... labores* (161) against *asper... labor* (103-104) in *Virtus'* speech—note also *positusque labor* (179) at the arrival in Spain; *Virtus* is *celsa* (31), and she uses the word three times—*celsos* (84), *celso* (101), and *celsus* (106), promising, in the last instance, that Scipio will be *celsus*—not much later Scipio is *celsus* (156) on the stern of the ship. Before Laelius starts his eulogy, the Romans laud gods and men (*Postquam perfectae laudes hominumque deumque*, 263), and in the whole introducing passage (and Laelius' speech as well) doubles are engraved in repetitions and enumerations: *pariter pariterque* (253); *donis... praemia* (254), *hic... hic... ille* (255-257), *tunc... tunc* (260), *hoc... haec... hoc... hoc* (265-266), *sponsa et sponsae* (269), *macte... macte* (274-275). Just as *celsus* at line 156, Laelius' words are also one later confirmation of what *Virtus* had promised Scipio in her speech. In Fabius' eulogy (320-333), *laudem* (321), *decus* (324), and *uirtuti* (327) echo. When Hannibal pays Marcellus' funeral honors, we hear *saeua... proelia* (381) echo *Virtus' saeuo... Marte* (118), *uirtus* (387), *fortuna laborum* (397), and *"Laus", inquit, "parta perennis"* (392), words that will resonate in Nero's at the Metaurus: *Quid cessas clusisse labores/ ingentis belli? Pedibus tibi gloria, miles, / parta ingens* (652-654). At the Metaurus (601-807), both Hasdrubal and Nero harangue their troops, and their words respond to *Virtus'*: note *laudes* (639) and *rerum dura* (635), *decora* (638), *Fortuna laborat/ aduersis* (640-641), *digna... digna* (645) around it, in Hasdrubal's address, and then again at 656 *laudem* and *labores* (652), *gloria* (653), *abducto... robore* (655), *uictoria* (656), in Nero's. Last, but certainly not least, let us go back to Laelius, whose aristeia (451-470) not only echo

108

Virtus emphasizes another disparity between her and *Voluptas* at line 103: *neque enim mihi fallere mos est. Voluptas* had also tried to define herself as both the one that was responsible for creating the foundations of the Roman race (*Illa ego sum, Anchisae Venerem Simoentos ad undas/ quae iunxi, generis uobis unde editus auctor*, 59-60) and one who is even able to control Jupiter (*Illa ego sum, uerti superum quae saepe parentem/ nunc auis in formam, nunc torui in cornua tauri*, 61-62). *Voluptas* may be pointing to her *fallacitas* in citing two occasions in which she transformed Jupiter in animals for his (her?) deception acts. At any rate, if she is not, *Virtus* is certainly denouncing her in *pellicis in fraudes... uitaeque tenebras* (70) and *sola noces animis illapsa, Voluptas* (95), whereas Silius says that *Virtus* is *sacrato pectore* (121).

Since the Crossroads is Scipio's and his is the choice whom to follow, it is meaningful that *Virtus* addresses him as *te* (114) and *tibi* (116), enticing him directly in terms of what he may accomplish under her guidance. His ambition for personal glory is tackled in the change from singular to the plural *uestrum* (118), denoting both that his glory will be a collective victory and that his glory will be collectively appreciated: *sed dabo, qui uestrum saeuo nunc Marte fatigat/ imperium, superare manu laurumque superbam / in gremio Iouis excisis deponere Poenis* (118-120). *Virtus'* rhetorical ability to recognize Scipio's individual needs breasted in the collective goes hand in hand with her seeing in him a *iuuenis* (*iuuenem*, 69), which again opposes her views to *Voluptas'*, who calls Scipio *puer* and considers him to be undignified (*non digne puer*, 33).[15] After the Crossroads scene itself, we are reminded of two other doubles Scipio is made of, namely (1) his father and his uncle, a double seen by the people, when they look at his eyes and his face: *pars lumina patris/ pars credunt toruos patrui reuirescere uultus* (133-134); (2) his human inheritance (133-134) and his immortal conception, of which we are made aware again at lines 147-148, and as *patrio* echoes *patris* (133): *hac iret, qua ducere diuos/ perspicuum, et patrio monstraret semita signo*.[16]

2. Marcellus and Scipio: the double in counterfactuals

To this point, I have been focusing on the double expressed in terms of a two-way choice and materialized in two figures, pointing out the lexical expression that such a double image unfolds. In this section, I'd like to turn back to Scipio, to another facet of his doubleness in Book 15, namely how his image is connected to Marcellus' and how this connection is unraveled.

Virtus' words (*decus*, 453; *nullo renuente deorum*, 454; compare also 459-462 with 113-115) around *nihil uitae pelagi sine laude placebat* (462), but also establish him as a representative of *Virtus*, whereas his enemies are connected to themes previously linked to *Voluptas*. Gala's life is *furtiua... luce* (463), since it could be saved thanks to *deceptis... diuis* (466)—compare *Voluptas'* boasting about her (deceiving, see Fucecchi, 1993, p. 43, "la capziosità del sue argomentatizioni") power over both Venus and Jupiter (59-62). Draces is said to be killed despite his *femineo clamore* (468), which lasts even after his head is cut off (*absciso durabant murmura collo*, 470)—compare *Virtus' incessu uiro propior* (30) and her promise not to offer Scipio *donum deforme uiro fragrantis amomi* (117).

[15] On the implications of the goddesses' different take on Scipio's age, see Marks, 2005, p. 39-40; for Scipio's individual image and its collective consequences, see again Marks, 2005, p. 101-110.
[16] On Scipio's double paternity and its expression throughout the poem, see Marks, 2005, p. 187-194.

When Silius celebrates Marcellus' victory in Sicily, he lays special stress on the winner's *clementia*.[17] Marcellus hurries to control his soldiers' wrath (*propere reuocata militis ira*, 14.671), he allows the temples to be maintained (*indulgens templa uetustis/ incolere atque habitare deis*, 14.672-673), sparing the subjugated Sicilians is his booty (*Sic parcere uictis/ pro praeda fuit*, 14.673-674), *Victoria* is able to flap her wings without polluting them in blood (*et sese contenta nec ullo/ sanguine pollutis plausit Victoria pennis*, 14.674-675), and the rest of the people experience such joy, that it is difficult to tell them apart from the winners (*Ast reliquum uulgus, resoluta in gaudia mente, / certarunt uicti uictoribus,* 14.679-680). Marcellus' eulogy ends with a Fabian note (*Aemulus ipse/ ingenii superum, seruando condidit urbem,* 14.680-681), in which the *seruando condidit urbem* echoes Ennius' *cunctando restituit rem* (363 Sk; see Chapter 3, p. 55) and Silius' own *cunctando Fabius superauit facta ducemque/ Hannibalem aequando* (6.639-640), which creates an aura of perpetuity around Marcellus—this is openly expressed in lines 14.682-683: *Ergo exstat saeclis stabitque insigne tropaeum/ et dabit antiquos ductorum noscere mores.*

When Silius sings of Scipio's victory in Spain (15.263-282, significant part presented in Laelius' voice), parallels with Marcellus' celebration can be drawn. Scipio also controls his soldiers by giving them their share of the booty (*cetera bellantum dextrae pulchroque labori*, 267), he also recognizes the place of the gods (*diuum hoc ante omnia templis*, 266), his booty is taken and shared among his men (*captiuae spectantur opes digestaque praeda*, 264), festivities close the scene just as well—but only among the winners (*Tum uacui curis uicino litore mensas/ instituunt festoque agitant conuiuia ludo*, 272-273). Whereas Marcellus was terrified by the power invested in him (*ingemuit nimio iuris, tantumque licere/ horruit*, 14.670-671), no expression of such hesitations or fears are to be found in Scipio's actions. The difference in focus makes it clear that the new leader has his eyes not on *clementia*, but on a demonstration of *pietas*.[18] In contrast, Marcellus' *clementia* is illustrated in *Victoria's* unpolluted wings, Scipio's *pietas* is reflected in his sparing a captured virgin (268-271):

> *Quin etiam accitus populi regnator Hiberi,*
> *Cui sponsa et sponsae defixus in ossibus ardor;*
> *Hanc notam formae concessit laetus ouansque*
> *indelibata gaudenti uirgine donum.*

Marcellus spared a city (14.680-681) and reminded us of the former Roman *modus operandi* represented by Fabius; Scipio spares a virgin and is, in Laelius' words, greater in *gloria*, in *laus,* and in *uirtus* as the Greek warriors (*Cedat tibi gloria lausque/ magnorum heroum celebrataque carmine uirtus*, 275-276; *tibi barbara soli/ sanctius Iliaca seruata est Phoebade uirgo*, 281-283). The stress is laid in both Silius' narrative and Laelius' encomium, and the emphasis on the maintenance of purity is called upon by the image of the virgin (twice mentioned: *uirgine*, 271, and *uirgo*, 282). Note also the words *sponsa et sponsae* (269) drawing attention to the betrothal honored by Scipio in a polyptoton—a figure also found in Marcellus' encomium, in *uicti uictoribus* (14.680), there drawing attention to the euphoria dominating both on the side of the winner and of the vanquished. Laelius addresses Scipio calling him *pudici* (274), a rare adjective in the *Punica*, found otherwise only in reference to Ulisses' Penelope (2.180) and to the pure woman who could touch the ropes and draw Cybele's

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[17] See Burck, 1984, p. 50-60, for a detailed analysis of the passage (14.618-688).
[18] See p. 14-15. On the connection between Scipio's *pietas* or "continence" in the episode and its relation to Domitian's moralizing movement, see Marks, 2005, p. 237-239.

ship in the Claudia episode (17.30). Laelius also tells us of the shame of the Greeks in Troy, who broke their treaty because of a girl, even though their tents were filled with enslaved ones: *femineo socium uiolarunt foedus amore* (279) and *nulla tum Phrygio steterunt tentoria campo/ captiuis non plena toris* (280-281).[19] Adding to the image of Scipio's *pietas* is his preoccupation with distributing *dona* after his mission is accomplished, and the word *donum* comes up twice, once in the listing of presents, mentioning those due to the allied kings (*hoc regum donis*, 266), and once in reference to the virgin given back to her Spanish betrothed (*hanc notam formae concessit laetus ouansque/ indelibata gaudenti uirgine donum,* 270-271). They been mentionedless than twenty lines before, in a clear description of what they represent: *Tum merita aequantur donis, ac praemia uirtus/ sanguine parta capit* (254-255).[20]

The *uirtus* emphasized in Marcellus' encomium is different from the one sung mainly from Laelius about Scipio: whereas the first is notoriously *clemens*, the latter is *pius*. The differences between these two generals are marked not only in the interval between the end of Book 14 and the beginning of Book 15, but also in two counterfactuals in the middle of Book 15, in the description of Marcellus' death (340-342 and 375-376).[21]

Marcellus, the one that drove Hannibal away from Nola and was hence able to show to the Romans that the Carthaginian could be forced to leave the war (*Ille primus dies docuit, quod credere nemo/ auderet superis, Martis certamine sisti/ posse ducem Libyae*, 12.273-275), could have been the winner to put an end to the Second Punic War: *iacet campis Carthaginis horror, / forsan Scipiadae confecti nomina belli/ rapturus, si quis paulum deus adderet aeuo* (340-342). This is part of the description of Marcellus' death, of which we learn in Book 15 (334-398), in an insertion between the narrative of Fabius' victory over Philip V and Tarentum, and Scipio's over Hasdrubal in Spain. It is curious that Silius expresses that counterfactual here not only in terms of "Marcellus would have won," but makes a point of phrasing it in terms of "Marcellus would have taken Scipio's name," had a god given him a little more time. And why didn't any god do it? What makes Scipio better than Marcellus? At lines 375-376, we learn that Marcellus might have come out of the battle alive if it were not for the fact that he saw his son's members transfixed by an enemy's spear (*Forsan et enassset rapidi freta saeua pericli, / ni telum aduersos nati uenisset in artus*), and this may be one explanation of why Marcellus cannot be Scipio: he did not go through the same education[22] process Scipio had to undergo since his very

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[19] *Captiuis* (281) in reference to the captured girls in the Greeks' tents also opposes to *captiuae... opes* (264), the only time we see anything "captured" by Scipio and his men—note that there is no reference to captured warriors or people in general. The word is not once to be found in the context of Marcellus' victory.

[20] In Book 15, *donum* is always connected to the idea of *uirtus*, either because it shows the *uirtus* of the giver (266, 270-271) or because it represents *uirtus* itself (254-255). Besides the three discussed, there are two other occurrences in the Book, whose parallel reading sets again Romans and Carthaginians in bold contrasting relief. At lines 116-120, we hear *Virtus* declare that her gift to Scipio will not be clothes or perfumes, disgraceful things for a man, but victory over the Carthaginians (*nec donum deforme uiro fragrantis amomi*, 117); at lines 410-432, we are told how Hasdrubal, performing religious rituals, is dressed up in a mantle, a gift formerly received by his brother, that attracts everyone's eyes (*Fraternum laena nitebat/ demissa ex humeris donum*, 421-422).

[21] For other connections between Marcellus and Scipio, comparing Books 14 and 17, see Burck, 1984, p. 173, n. 204, and Ripoll, 1998, p. 460; both references have been noted by Marks, 2005, p. 96, n. 85.

[22] On Scipio's "education," see Marks, 2005, p. 113-161; Marks sees Scipio as a king figure and adds, "The king, furthermore, should exercise self-control and moderation, and this is precisely what Scipio learns to do throughout his education" (p. 282). On control and self-control, its importance, consequences, and expression exemplified in the *Punica*, see Chapter 2.

first appearance in the poem. Having been guided by Mars away from suicidal tries (4.454-471),[23] Scipio has liberated himself from the incapacity of dealing with the death of a beloved one and can now be moved by revenge/a search of reparation for the *manes* of his father and uncle. The fear that Scipio's grieving could be a weakness is what motivated his relatives to try to prevent him from going to Spain (*Absterret iuuenem, patrios patruique piare/ optantem manis, triste conterrita luctu/ et reputans annos cognato sanguine turba*, 10-12). It is, however, this grieving and the search for reparation/revenge that will guide Scipio in his following actions: "Nei due casi [=here in Book 15 and in Book 4.445-479, when he saves his father from being killed] che abbiamo visto la *pietas*, dapprima rivelatasi nel generoso slancio in aiuto del padre, quindi nella bramosia di vendicarne l'uccisione, è il vero fattore propulsivo delle gesta di Scipione" (Fucecchi, 1993, p. 25). Marcellus' son needed to go with his father in order to learn (355-60); this unfortunate idea of his father's is ultimately the cause of death for both. If we were to compare the two young men, Scipio is the one whose bravery and *pietas* saved his father's life at the Ticinus, even though he was too young for such great deeds,[24] whereas Marcellus' son is but an apprentice who dies in battle—and ends up carrying his father with him. Scipio, on the contrary, wins over his suicidal urges and saves his father's life. The two storylines are almost chiastic.

A last note on two words in these counterfactuals (340-342 and 375-376) is of heuristic-interpretative value. *Forsan*, the very definition-word in the counterfactual, is found only three times in Book 15. In the first occurrence (*forsan Scipiadae confecti nomina belli/ rapturus, si quis paulum deus adderet aeuo*, 341-342), *forsan* invites a parallel reading with 10.307, in which Paulus is compared to Fabius (*Hic finis Paulo: iacet altum pectus et ingens/ dextera, quem, soli si bella agitanda darentur, / aequares forsan Fabio*, 10.305-307).[25] This comparing of generals is telling, as it shows a change in focus: should Paulus' success have been granted, he would have equaled his predecessor, Fabius; should Marcellus' success have been granted, he would have equaled his *successor*. Whereas in the first case, the younger could have been as good as the old, in the latter the older could have been as good as the younger. In other words, the role model for excellence in the war-making is switched from an old one (*Fabius Cunctator*)[26] to a new one (*Scipio Africanus* to be).[27] *Scipiadae* (341)

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[23] See my observations on the episode in Chapter 1, p. 14-15, with n. 58 there. Marks, 2005, p. 126: "Scipio, it seems, has since learned how and where to direct his anger: whereas before his first reaction to danger was to turn on himself (con**uersa in semet** *dextra*, 4.458), at Cannae he accepts sole matial responsibility and turns the enemy's charge against himself (**in sese** *discrimina* **uertit**, 9.429)."

[24] 4.470-471: *pietas insignis et aetas/ belligeris facit miranda silentia campis*, with Fucecchi, 1993, p. 27: "La giovanissima età accresce l'ammirazione per l'impresa." See Marks, 2005, on Scipio's youth as a virtue, p. 37-41; on Scipio's models of virtue in his youth (Achilles, Aeneas, and Ascanius), p. 123-125; on the intratextual connections between Scipio's youth and the emperor Domitian's, p. 219-222.

[25] The parallel is noted by Burck, 1984, p. 63, n. 260.

[26] Review the connection established by Silius between Marcellus and Fabius, p. 110.

[27] On Scipio's virtues (swiftness and youth) and on the emergence of a new Rome in accordance to them, see Marks, 2005, p. 31-55. *Forsan* is not a common word in the *Punica*, counting a total of nine occurrences. In Book 15, besides these two in Marcellus' episode (341 and 375), it appears again in Hannibal's supposition that, once Marcellus has been taken out of the way, maybe the Romans will want to depose their arms (*Deponere forsan/ gens Italum tandem arma uelit*, 393-394)—on the importance of the latter of these occurrences, see Burck, 1984, p. 68. The other six occurrences in the poem also pertain to counterfactuals: 10.307 (commented on above in the main text) and 500; 6.507; 12.261; and 16.433 and 517. For a better understanding of counterfactuals in Silius, see Cowan, 2010. For a better understanding of the idea and purpose of the counterfactuals analyzed in the main text (if-not-situations: "passages of the type: 'and now x would have happened, if somebody had done y'", De Jong, 2004, p. 68), see De Jong, 2004, p. 68-79, with special attention to this last page. For another good example of how an attentive reading of a counterfactual can change the interpretation of a passage, see Marks, 2005, p. 255 with n. 42.

appears in Book 15 only one second time, as Silius mentions that Scipio's spear was received by a bold Sabura (*Audax Scipiadae stridentem Sabura cornum/ excepit*, 441-442), and the two armies (*geminaeque acies*, 442) start the battle, as if orchestrated by the omen, right after Hasdrubal's religious celebration gets interrupted.[28] All along the poem, *Scipiades* counts twelve occurrences, out of which seven refer to Scipio;[29] common to all these seven occurrences is the connection of Scipio to a war context or to his force and competence as a leader or a warrior: Scipio goes against the flying Numidians at Cannae (9.276); Scipio posts himself between Hannibal and Varro, avoiding the latter's death (9.439); Pacuvius' son is prevented from murdering Hannibal, and the latter's life is saved for Scipio's arms (11.362); in Capua, Marius falls, he who used to accompany Scipio in horse-riding trainings (*equestris/ Scipiadae pugnas*, 13.230-231); 15.341 and 441 are Marcellus' counterfactual and Sabura's killing; and last but not least, 16.33, in which Hanno is said to be a good general, if not faced with Scipio—these two verses could well summarize the idea that the word *Scipiades* seem to build around the character: *Non ars aut astus belli uel dextera deerat, / si non Scipiadae concurreret* (16.32-33).[30]

      I interpret these counterfactuals in Marks' reading key. They suggest that if Marcellus (or Livius, for that matter), two selected heroes among many others we see in the first Books, had been what Scipio is preparing to be in his education process, there would have been no/less from Hannibal in Rome, and the sufferings in the Second Punic War would have either never existed or been lessened. Instead of a Rome of many great men that rise up to battle in different difficult moments (Fabius, Marcellus, Nero, and Livius, for instance) or of a Rome whose protecting parties part in different opinions of how to conduct the forces (Flaminius, Minucius, Varro), instead of a multiple or double Rome, these counterfactuals assert that Scipio, the one hero-to-be, the reunion of forces and abilities seen in most of the previously presented characters, is to be seen as the ultimate better, faster, simpler solution.

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[28] On the religious rites in Book 15, answered and unanswered prayers, see n. 70.

[29] 9.276 and 439; 11.362; 13.231; 15.341 and 441; 16.33. In reference to Scipio *pater*, 16.193 and 17.315; in reference to the Scipio brothers, 13.384, 7.107, and 8.254.

[30] In the very same Book 15, another counterfactual declares the possibility of stopping the war to have also been Livius' (731-734):

> *"Si, primas", inquit, "bello cum amisimus Alpis,*
> *hic iuueni oppositus Tyrio foret, hei mihi quanta*
> *cessauit Latio dextra, et quot funera Poenis*
> *donarunt praui suffragia tristia Campi!"*

The difference is that Marcellus could have taken Scipio's place in Silius' declared words; Livius could have made it go away at the beginning, which also implies that he could have done this years ago when he was younger. On Livius' temporary youth at the Metaurus, see the previous discussions, n. 4 and 5, and also Marks, 2005, p. 49-50. In the passage above, note *donare* (with n. 20), here as in all the other five occurrences in the Book (260, 395, 600, 651, and 721) related to contexts of *uirtus*.

3. Hasdrubal as a mirrored Hannibal: geminus Hannibal

Apart from a speech in honor of Marcellus (381-396)[31] and his promising he would revenge his brother's death (819-823), Hannibal's presence in Book 15 is reduced to Hasdrubal's mentioning him repeatedly. In fact, it may well be observed that Hasdrubal is an interesting substitute for Hannibal, since he is the embodiment of the Carthaginian enemy both in Spain (399-514) and at the Metaurus (601-807). That Hasdrubal is Hannibal's substitute is expressly declared on many an occasion. He is introduced in Book 15 as aspiring to his brother's deeds (*fratris spirans ingentia facta, / Hasdrubal*, 411-412) and his greatness in Spain is equivalent to the terror imposed by Hannibal in Rome (*tantaque maiestas terra rectoris Hibera, / Hannibalis quantus Laurenti terror in ora*, 414-415). In a seven-line speech (745-751) directed at his soldiers at the Metaurus, Hasdrubal considers his lineage and provides us with a self-definition that depends on Hannibal (748-751):

> *mihi, cui cedunt montesque lacusque*
> *et campi atque amnes, frater; me magna secundum*
> *Carthago putat Hannibali; me Baetis in oris*
> *aequant germano passae mea proelia gentes.*

In another speech before this one (638-651), Hasdrubal had already tried to cheer his warriors on, and in order to do so, mentioned his brother not less than seven times:

> *Per decora, extremo uobis quaesita sub axe,*
> *per fratris laudes oro, uenisse probemus*
> *germanum Hannibalis. Latio Fortuna laborat*
> *aduersis documenta dare atque ostendere, quantus*
> *uerterit in Rutulos domitor telluris Hiberae,*
> *suetus ad Herculeas miles bellare columnas.*
> *Forsitan et pugnas ueniat germanus in ipsas.*
> *Digna uiro, digna, obtestor, spectacula pleno*
> *corporibus properate solo. Quicumque timeri*
> *dux bello poterat, fratri iacet; unica nunc spes,*
> *et poena et latebris infracto Liuius aeuo*
> *damnatum offertur uobis caput. Ite, agite, oro,*
> *sternite ductorem, cum quo concurrere fratri*
> *sit pudor, et turpi finem donate senectae.*

The very nature of Hasdrubal's configuration as a double of his brother is present in both speeches. *Secundum* (749) is the only occurrence of the term in Book 15 with the meaning of "next to the first, following," which also means that Hasdrubal is the only character so described. The word *duo*, on the other hand, appears twice in the Book and refers to the Scipios (14) and to both Crispinus and Marcellus, in the latter's maxim *Numquam desunt consulta duobus* (351). The use of the ordinal (by Hasdrubal, the "second" himself) indicates subordination; when naming a pair of Roman generals, though, the cardinal indicates their collaboration and no more. *Aequat* (751), at the head of the line, compares Hasdrubal to his brother according to the viewpoint of the vanquished in Baetis—he is on the same level as his brother according to the defeated, but

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[31] On Hannibal's burying Roman enemies, see Burck, 1984, p. 66-67, and McClellan, 2019, p. 245-248.

only second to Hannibal according to Carthage.[32] The only other occurrence in which *aequare* introduces a line is *aequabat Pyliae Neleia mella senectae* (456), in which Laelius is compared to Nestor, the old king of Pylos and son of Neleus, a man of mellifluous persuading voice. The comparison as competition is again only on the Carthaginian side, with clear disadvantage to the representing enemy of the Book, Hannibal's substitute as it is.[33]

Germanus (751) has seven occurrences in the Book, four of which are in Hasdrubal's words (640, 644, 751) or thoughts (506) referring to Hannibal, one in Nero's offer (*"si qua sub extremo casu mandata referri/ germano uis forte tuo, portabimus" inquit*, 798-799).[34] *Frater* (749) nods to *germanus* in meaning and in its uses in the Book; in fact, from the twelve occurrences,[35] eight refer to Hannibal,[36] all of them in Hasdrubal's words or thoughts.[37] *Fraternus* is a curious case. There are only two occurrences in the Book, both of them made sinister by the context. The first one (*fraternum... donum*, 421-422), in the middle of the Book, describes the gift Hasdrubal had received from his brother, an ornamented cloak he uses to try to celebrate the rites that recall Carthage's beginnings;[38] the second one (*fraterno capite*, 816), closing the Book, describes Hasdrubal's head, which is the payment for all the Romans' previous battle sufferings, in Nero's words to Hannibal. As we can see, these three terms relating the two brothers Hannibal and Hasdrubal also serve to reinforce the double in which the latter functions as a substitute of the first, a character almost absent in Book 15, were it not for his constant mentioning and mirroring in Hasdrubal.

When Hasdrubal crosses the Alps, by playing the repetition of Hannibal's crossing, their identification with each other is made once again clear in its ranking. Besides the difference pointed by Burck, 1984, p. 81, that the crossing begins with the stressing of the difficulties faced by Hannibal and his

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[32] It is interesting to consider that Hasdrubal's being seen as equal to his brother in Spain makes him still a second— or maybe even a third after Hannibal, since Scipio takes the first position after Hasdrubal's fly (400-402; 407-9):

> *Carthaginis omnis*
> *per subitum raptae pernix uictoria late*
> *terruerat gentis.*
> *[...]*
> *non toto rapuisse die, qua Martius ille*
> *Hannibal in terra consumpto uerterit anno*
> *nec pube aequandam nec opum ubertate Saguntum.*

Hasdrubal's self-assessment of his own image is, Silius shows it textually, wrong. That the Romans see Hasdrubal as inferior to Hannibal is unmistakingly asserted by Nero: *Quis enim, quid deinde relictum est/ Italiae fatis? Hunc si non uincitis hostem, Hannibalem uincetis?* (780-782).

[33] That Hasdrubal is a substitute for Hannibal in Book 15 is also noted by Burck, 1982, p. 266: "Der vierte Abschnitt [i.e. in Book 15] bringt die Entscheidung der Schlacht (778—808) und die ihr unmittelbar folgenden Ereignisse (809—823). Ihm kommt deswegen eine besondere Bedeutung zu, weil der hier geschilderte Zweikampf zwischen Nero und Hasdrubal gewissermaßen stellvertretend anstelle eines Zweikampfes zwischen Scipio und Hannibal steht, d. h. anstelle der Entscheidung zwischen den beiden Hauptgestalten, denen nach homerisch-vergilischer Tradition mit dem Tode des einen von beiden die Schlußrolle des Kampfes zufallen müßte. Das war aus historischen Gründen nicht möglich."

[34] Whereas in five of the seven occurrences *germanus* = Hannibal, the two remaining ones (328 and 449) refer (suggestively?) to brothers who use their relationship to their sisters somewhat improperly.

[35] Lines 4, 83, 411, 509, 586, 607, 639, 647, 650, 749, 803, and 821.

[36] Lines 509, 586, 607, 639, 647, 650, 749, and 803.

[37] Line 607 is part of a sort of stream of consciousness.

[38] The construction of the apposition *fraternum... donum* framing *laena nitebat/ demissa ex humeris* (421-422), Greek in origin and not so usual in Latin, lends a special color to the object that draws everyone's attention (*Conspicuus Siculi Tyrius subtemine arte*, 433); see Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 370, *ad* 15.421, and 1986, p. 7, *ad* 1.27. See n. 20 on *donum* and n. 70, on Hasdrubal's frustrated religious rites.

soldiers in Book 3,[39] but of the double sign of Hasdrubal's wealth and free-spending against the backdrop of the Gallic tribes' purchasability in Book 15 (493-501), also worth noticing is the length of both descriptions (3.476-556 almost four times longer than 15.493-514) and the fact that each crossing occurs in a different season: Hannibal's in winter (stressed: *gelu canaque... grandine.../... glacie... rigent*, 3.479-480, *et passim*), whereas Hasdrubal's right after the winter (also marked: *Iamque, hieme affecta, mitescere coeperat annus,* 502). The difficulties faced by Hannibal in Book 3 are emphasized through words like *labor*, *fessus*, and *arduus*. *Labor* occurs no less than four times in reference to the Carthaginians, describing their previous sufferings before the Alps (*praeteritos... labores*, 3.477), describing the task of the crossing in Hannibal's speech (*hic labor*, 3.511), describing the overwhelming hardship of the crossing (*crescit labor*, 3.529), and describing how the exertion makes them not want to look down on the conquered path, as they reach the summit (*unde nec edomitos exudatosque labores/ respexisse libet*, 3.531-532). In Book 15, though, there is no occurrence of *labor* in the description of Hasdrubal's crossing. *Fessus* comes up in three places in Book 3: in Hannibal's speech, as he asks if the soldiers aren't ashamed of being tired of successes and favoring gods (*obsequio superum fessosque secundis*, 3.506), in the view of new summits every time one summit is reached (*Ardua supra/ sese aperit fessis*, 3.530),[40] and in the simile that compares the Carthaginians to the sailor who, once he reaches the middle of the ocean, can only look at the sky, his eyes tired of the never-ending waters (*nauita.../... fessus renouat sua lumina caelo*, 3.535-539). In Book 15, *fessus* appear only once (717), and not in reference to Hasdrubal, his soldiers, or their crossing, but at the Metaurus, as the tired Gauls get stricken with panic. *Arduus* is very telling. There are six occurrences in Book 3, five of which are in the description of Hannibal's crossing. *Ardua* is the face of the mountain, covered with so much ice that not even Phoebus can make it melt (*riget ardua montis/ aetherii facies*, 3.480-481); Hercules was the first to break through the steep mountains (*frangentemque ardua montis*, 3.497); Hannibal goes up first and sets the example, rising above the summits (*ardua primus/ exuperat*, 3.516-517); the tired soldiers face one summit after another (*Ardua supra/ sese aperit fessis et nascitur altera moles*, 3.529-530); having reached the top, they set their tents (*castraque praeruptis suspendunt ardua saxis*, 3.556).[41] Whereas five out of the six occurrences in Book 3 repeatedly design the arduousness of Hannibal's way, *arduus* occurs only two times in Book 15 in reference to Hasdrubal's crossing. The first one of them applies to the crossing of the Pyrenees, laconically summarized in one verse: *Terrore interea posito trans ardua montis* (493); the expression of the difficulties faced, so briefly mentioned, are not only demerited but also suggest that the efforts were not so great. The second one refers to what Hasdrubal observes, a tamed landscape in which he looks for Hercules' footprints and compares them to his brother's: *miratur domitas Alpis ac peruia montis/ ardua et Herculeae quaerit uestigia plantae/ germanique uias diuinis comparat ausis* (504-

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[39] "Diese Charakterisierung bildet einen starken Gegensatz zu der Schilderung, die Silius vor dem Durchmarsch Hannibals im 3. Buch gegeben hat. Dort geht er von den *inhospita rura* und den *minaces ripae Rhodani* aus, schildert in Einzelheiten den gefahrvollen Übergang über die Rhone und läßt in den reißenden Fluten der Druentia zahlreiche Soldaten ertrinken (3, 442-76)."

[40] In Book 3, after Jupiter and Venus discuss the future, Silius takes us back to Hannibal's expedition and describes his attaining Italy in a verse that echoes 3.530: *atque aperit fessis antiqui regna Latini* (3.644). Tiredness is an important (and verbally emphasized) characteristic of this march.

[41] The only other occurrence of *arduus* in Book 3 comes up as Hannibal asks Mercury about the monstrous serpent he sees in the dream conducted by the god (*ardua quae sit/ scitatur*, 3.200). This approximation might suggest that the Alps are as monstrous and annihilatig as Hannibal's destiny, represented by the snake in the dream.

506). By noting that the paths are already marked and emphasizing Hasdrubal's gaze, Silius stresses the ease with which Hasdrubal crosses the mountains.[42] The combination *ardua montis* (twice in Book 3, twice in Book 15) confirms the difference in the emphasis we have been showing. In Book 3, it delineates the face of the lofty mountain (*ardua montis*) that stands stiff (*riget*) at 3.480 and the steep ascent of the mountain (*ardua montis*) that Hercules first mastered (*frangentem*), while at the same time splitting (*scindentem*) clouds at 3.497. These two instances also put the spot on the difficulties faced at the crossing, either through the fear caused by the mountain's stiffness or by depicting the necessary violence (one that had impressed the gods, 3.488-499). This is the opposite of what the contexts in Book 15 accentuate. At line 493, as we have seen, the speed at which Hasdrubal crosses the Pyrenees highlights a lightness that only a previously known way could offer (also note *iter ingrediens rapidum*, 503; *domitas Alpis*, 504; and *quaerit uestigia plantae/ germani*, 504-505). At lines 504-505, *peruia montis/ ardua*, with the expression divided between two lines and *ardua* combined with the adjective *peruia*, Silius emphasizes the notion of an already trodden path—which is hence made (more) accessible (*peruia*)—and on Hasdrubal admiration (*miratur,* 504), his delight—a notion hardly ever matched with that of difficulty. The repetition of *iter* with no more than ten interceding lines (503 and 514) also reinforces the notion of a fast and easy, previously marked trail—Hasdrubal enters the Celtic fields (*iter ingrediens rapidum per Celtica rura*, 503) and observes the already twice trodden paths (*uias*, 506) as he marches forth, conducting his armies (*properatis deuolat armis*, 514) in a hurry, and goes down the Alps through a protected way (*munitum.../ ... iter*, 513-514).[43]

Another word that needs special attention when we consider Hasdrubal as Hannibal's double in Book 15 is *geminus*. The expression *geminum Hannibalem* (516) appears in the context of Hasdrubal's arrival in Italy and the description of Rome's fear, which becomes greater than it was at the beginning of the war (*Non tanto strepuere metu primordia belli*, 515).[44] The expression comes accompanied by other twinnings: the repeated *nunc* (516) and *hinc* (517), the alliteration at *p* (**p**astos **p**er **p**ros**p**era bella, 517), and accumulated lexical items reinforcing the idea (*bina* and *coire*, 516; *coniungere*, 518; *duplicare*, 519). These resources help draw the reader's attention to the use of *geminus* with a singular name, suggesting that Hannibal and Hasdrubal can be seen as one.[45] The effect can also be seen in *geminus Scipio* (3), the brotherly unit;[46] the only other occurrence of *geminus* combined with one singular name in the *Punica* is *gemino Lacone* (14.207), in reference to Castor

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[42] In Book 3, *arduus* is mostly connected to the Alps and the crossing—Hannibal's contexts; in Book 15, on the other hand, four other occurrences (twice as much as the ones in reference to the Alps and Hasdrubal's crossing) can be found, three of them related to Roman efforts (131, 252, and 654) and one of them in *Virtus'* description of the difficult ways guiding to her abode. Scipio's contexts in Book 15 are more related to arduousness than Hasdrubal's crossing of the Alps: the way he is to follow is *arduus* (*ardua saxoso perducit semita cliuo*, 102), the *rostrum* that he faces is *arduus* (*Ardua rostra petit*, 131), and *ardua* is the victim he offers Neptune before sailing to Spain (*cadit ardua taurus/ uictima Neptuno*, 252-253).

[43] In opposition to this, the crossing of the Alps in Book 3 has just one occurrence of *iter* (3.469), in which Hannibal's *laetum iter* is interrupted by the Druentia with its rocks and tree trunks.

[44] Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 377, *ad loc.*, notes the uniqueness of Silius' phrasing: "'Strepuere primordia' etc. condense de façon arbitraire la tournure attendue 'strepuere urbes (in) primordiis' etc. (Verg. Aen. 4,229 'bello frementem/Italiam'."

[45] Consider also a clear image of twins in Book 2, Eurymedon and Lycormas (*gemini.../ ... fratrem et fratrem... / cuncta pares; dulcisque labor sua nomina natis reddere et in uultu genetrici stare suorum*, 2.636-639), one so similar to the other, that even their mother had difficulty telling them apart.

[46] See p. 103. Van der Keur, 2015, p. 210-211, *ad* 13.382-384, explains the expression *geminos... Scipiadas* (13.382) in intertextual terms and notes that *geminus* is again applied to the Scipios in 16.87.

and Pollux, twin divinities. Again at 606 (*gemino magistro*), now not with a name, are the designated consuls, Livius and Nero, as they unite to face Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. Apart from that very specific use, the other occurrences of *geminus* in the Book offer some interesting insights into the whole. Twice is *geminus* applied to palms (*geminas palmas,* 561;[47] *geminis palmis,* 696), which is a common use, as Bernstein, 2017, p. 167, *ad* 2.340, notes: the adjective *geminas* is "a natural attribute of *palmas* (15.561, 15.696, Luc. *BC* 8.583, etc.)." Twice is *geminus* applied to *acies*, and both occurrences demonstrate the Roman superiority. In the first case (442), through naming *geminas acies* Romans and Carthaginians, even though the Roman contingent (eventually the winner) is in no way in the same position as the Carthaginian already settled in Spain, with previous knowledge of the terrain and the possibility of uniting local armies to the one under attack; in the second case (*geminas acies,* 817), Hannibal may try and send for a second army (as he did), he may have two armies under his command, the result will be a dismembered body. The Book closes with Nero's boastful description of the present scene: *Haec praemia restant, / qui tua tramissis optarint Alpibus arma* (817-818).

The contexts that surround *geminus* bring up some other words in which the idea of the double should be considered. *Duplicare* (519 and 816) appears but three times in the whole of the *Punica*, two of which here in Book 15. At 519, three verses after *geminum Hannibalem* (516), *duplicare* expresses the Romans' preoccupations that the enemy might double its forces (*acies*) by uniting both Hasdrubal's coming army and Hannibal's men already in Italy. The passage offers an accumulation of doubles, as cited before (*nunc... nunc...,* 516; an alliteration at *p* in **p**astos **p**er **p**ros**p**era bella, 517; *hinc... hinc...,* 517; *coniungere,* 518), reinforcing the idea of a double Hannibal (*geminum Hannibalem,* 516) that unites his armies (*coniungere Martem,* 518) and doubles his forces (*duplicare acies,* 519). This Roman worry is later proven groundless, as Nero will boastingly assert at the end of the Book, showing Hannibal his brother's head on a spear: *I, duplica nunc perfida bella/ et geminas accerse acies. Haec praemia restant, / qui tua tramissis optarint Alpibus arma* (816-818). This is a central theme in the Book, one that, as we discussed elsewhere, shows Hannibal again going in the opposite direction:[48] whereas Scipio's efforts are aimed at unifying one single way, illustrated by his *Scheideweg* and the dispute between *Virtus* and *Voluptas*, Hannibal's (or his substitute's, Hasdrubal's) efforts are set on uniting two units (*bina... castra,* 516-517) and making them become a stronger one. *Bina* (516—again: in the same context of the expression *geminum Hannibalem*) is a pretty uncommon word in the *Punica*, seen not more than six times in the whole poem. It is three times combined with *castra*, and the comparison of these instances in sequence suggests a micronarrative: from the Roman conquering the antagonist forces of two armies to the enemy's trying to unite his two units, and from there to the final annihilation of the enemy. In Book 7, *bina... castra* (7.217-218) are the two armies Fabius has to win, his own and the Carthaginian; in Book 15, *bina... castra* (516-517) designate Hasdrubal's and Hannibal's armies, that try to get together (*coire,* 516); in Book 17, *bina... castra* (17.177-178) are the two armies that are set on fire in Carthage, as the city is taken by Scipio.[49] Another

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[47] On the context in which this expression comes up, see n. 70.
[48] On Hannibal going in the opposite direction on another occasion, see p. 26-32.
[49] *Bis* (64, 143, and 605) is relevant to the expression of the double in this Book's isotopy in two of its occurrences: as *Voluptas* tries to convince Scipio by using the argument that no one is born twice (64), one way has to be chosen; and as Hasdrubal notices that two armies have joined (*gemino magistro*, 606) and that he will have to face both, since he hears the trumpet-call twice (605). On other numerical expressions of the double, namely *secundus* and *duo*, see p. 114-115. On another destruction through fire, see p. 28-32, in which symbolical destruction of Rome's glorious past before the

micronarrative can be found in Book 15: the beginning with *trinis... castris* (187) on the Carthaginian side in Spain, as described by Scipio *pater* in Scipio's dream, that continues into Hasdrubal's and Hannibal's armies trying to join forces (*bina... castra*, 516-517) and ends up being one army (Hannibal's), the one that has been in Italy for already so many Books, and a severed head. In Scipio's dream, Scipio *pater* warns of the potential danger that three armies offer: *Si conferre manum libeat coeantque uocatae/ hinc atque hinc acies, ualeat quis ferre ruentis/ tergemina cum mole uiros?* (188-190). Scipio *pater*'s apprehensions come back in the rumors that later cross Rome: *nunc geminum Hannibalem, nunc iactant bina coire/ hinc atque hinc castra* (516-517). In both cases, the idea of getting together is expressed by *coire*, followed by the combination *hinc atque hinc*, which is, in all of its six occurrences in the poem, used to indicate the hostile encounter of armies (with *acies* at 15.189, 1.375; with *alae* at 4.274, with *animae* at 9.313, and with *castra* at 15.517) or of weapons (with *iaculo* at 4.566). The concerns in *coire hinc atque hinc castra/acies* is also found in *coniungere Martem* (518) and inverted in *socias coniungere uires consulibus* (608), when the Romans' worries become Hasdrubal's, as he asks himself how it could be possible that the two consuls be able to unite their forces. Religious and military attempts are also doubly represented, and the stifling antinomy between Romans and Carthaginians: whereas Scipio's prayer is heard and his endeavors are crowned with success (157-167; 202-207 and the summary of his successes at 248-250; see also Nero's prayer at 560-563), Hasdrubal's religious rites are interrupted (410-438);[50] whereas the Carthaginians possibility of uniting armies is Spain and the intent of doing so later in Italy fails, Nero is guided to audaciously join Livius' army, and the Romans, under both consuls, win Hasdrubal's newly arrived forces.

In other words, except for Scipio, whose choice has to be of one single way, the salvation is the union between armies, the *ducibus spes una salutis* (402) for the Carthaginians and, on the Roman side, the enterprise undertaken by the *maxima Romae/ spes Nero* (547-548). This concept is reinforced by all the instances in which *socius* comes up: exposing the lack of *uirtus* in breaking a *socium... foedus* (279); naming the one *comes* in *Marcello socius* (346—Crispinus);[51] explaining the only hope for the Carthaginians, *si socias iungant uires* (403); praising Nero's selected warriors, the *sociis Frentanus in armis* (567); and fearing the observed advantage conquered by the enemy that was able to *socias coniungere uires* (608). Also, the verb *sociare* builds upon this idea in its two occurrences in Book 15, as the *comites* search Scipio, willing to associate their forces and fight with him in Spain (*acris sociare labores/ exposcunt*, 150-151), and as we learn that Philip V had joined the Carthaginians against Rome (*Causa noui motus Poenis regique Philippo/ in bellum Ausonium sociatae foedere uires*, 289-290). That the salvation is in the union of armies is also clear in Hasdrubal's thoughts and actions, and two passages are the illustration of that in unmistakable terms: from the top of the Alps, Hasdrubal intends to join his brother and prays for success (*Sit gloria dextrae/ felix tanta precor; neue usque ad sidera adisse/ inuideat laeuus nobis deus*, 510-512); later, at the Metaurus, as he understands that he would have to face two united armies, he is not ashamed to flee (*Nec consulta fugae segni formidine differt*, 611).

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beginning of the war in Italian soil may be read as the mirroring of a real destruction of present and future through fire in Carthage in Book 17, the end of the war.

[50] See p. 115 with n. 38, and n. 70.

[51] Note the tautology in *socium... foedus* (see Spaltenstein, 1990, p. 359, *ad* 15.279) and *sociatae foedere uires* (290); also noteworthy is the accumulation in the passage at 343-351, Marcellus' invitation to Crispinus: *comes* (345), *communia* (346), *propinquas* (347), *cordi* and *participem* (350), *duobus* (351).

Also in other instances is an approximation between Hasdrubal and Hannibal possible and goes to show that Hasdrubal is constructed as Hannibal's substitute all through Book 15. An example is the use of *Libycus* and *Tyrius*, each with five occurrences and each with four of them in reference either to Hannibal (*Libycus*: 362 and 423; *Tyrius*: 381, 732, and 783) or to Hasdrubal (*Libycus*: 471 and 484; *Tyrius*: 433). In line 423, Hannibal is cited (*Libyco*) to explain the origin of the mantle Hasdrubal wears during the religious ceremony, a gift his brother had received from Hieronymus; at line 471, Hasdrubal (*ductori Libyco*) is said to have no equal *ardor in armis*, when compared to the Romans, not unlike Hannibal in Book 12, *Sed non ille vigor.../ tunc inerat* (12.15-18),[52] whose vigor went on fading after Cannae. Hasdrubal's running away in the concealed shadows (*occultis... umbris*, 488) is just as concealed as Hannibal's running away (*occultamque fugam*, 7.331; *dum caeca silentia dumque/ maiores umbrae*, 7.350-351) from Fabius in Book 7.[53] They also share an idea verbally expressed in two speeches, as in Book 3 (69-96) Hannibal speaks to his unborn son and asks him for a grave on the Capitoline hill (3.85-86), the same wish being later expressed by Hasdrubal to Hannibal *in absentia* (15.803-805)—and "So entsteht durch Rückverweis eine kompositionelle Bindung zum Werkanfang" (Burck, 1984, p. 104, n. 87).[54] Besides, Nero himself names the victory in Book 15 (Metaurus) as a compensation for the previously lost battles: *"Cannas pensauimus", inquit, / "Hannibal, et Trebiam et Thrasymenni litora tecum/ fraterno capite"* (814-816). As Burck, 1984, p. 98, puts it, "Beide Konsuln sind gleichwertig und tilgen gemeinsam durch ihre Überlegenheit über Hasdrubal und ihre vorbildliche Zusammenarbeit die den Römern zugefügte Schmach der Niederlage von Cannae (814ff.)," a deed the Carthaginians failed to perpetrate.

4. Beheaded: the separated double

Union is the main objective in most of the paths that are represented in Book 15 as we already observed. Scipio's choice at the beginning of the Book undoes the uncertainties at Rome and is the first step towards the final victory, and a social pact of solidarity between the old and the young is formed (Fucecchi, 1993, p. 48); furthermore, Scipio is also the one holder of two types of virtue, one that strives after heavenly recognition (preconized by *Virtus*, 69-120), and another one that is cautious (admonished by Scipio *pater*, 180-199).[55] Union is also illustrated in the equality and the cooperative work of both consuls at the end of the Book, at the Metaurus, where "im Unterschied zu Cannae die beiden Konsuln einmütigen Sinnes sind, die gleiche Sprache reden und in dem folgenden Kampf den gleichen Anteil am Siege haben" (Burck, 1984, p. 93). Diametrically opposite is Carthage's fate in Book 15.

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[52] See Chapter 4, p. 77, 90, 93, and 95.

[53] In both cases, a selection of words drawing attention to the highs and rocky ways is also emphasized (Book 15: *frondosi collis latebras ac saxa capessit/ auia*, 472-473; *collis, summam, culmen, montis*, 476-480, *e.g.*; Book 7: *per colles*, 356; *per altos/ saxosi scopulos montis*, 356-357; *per iuga*, 360; *montibus altis*, 367, *e.g.*).

[54] The parallel is also noted by Telg genannt Kortmann, 2018, p. 80, n. 316. For a summary of the main parallels in the construction of Hasdrubal that make him a clear double of Hannibal, see Marks, 2005, p. 98, n. 91, and the bibliography cited there.

[55] See Marks, 2005, p. 37, n. 64 and 65, and the bibliography cited there.

In Spain, the three armies do not get to unite, thanks to Scipio's storming attack and victory, followed by Hasdrubal's fly; in Italy, Hasdrubal's and Hannibal's armies never get to unite, as the first is stopped at the Metaurus. This military defeat is wrapped up symbolically with the decapitation of Hasdrubal, which "signals the collapse of Carthaginian resistance" (Littlewood, 2017a, p. xxv-xxvi; see full citation on p. 104). This is fitting, since Silius likes to "exploit this sort of graphic scenery as focal points of narrative action," as McClellan, 2019, p. 99, notes.[56] Furthermore, through the equivalence established between Hannibal and his double[57] and considering the synecdochic relation between Hannibal and Carthage, Hasdrubal's decapitation foreshadows Carthage's final fall in Book 17.[58]

Caput is, in Book 15, except for Scipio's (*desine et armisonae caput obiectare procellae*, 39) and *Voluptas'* (*sic quassans caput in nubes se sustulit atras*, 128), directly or indirectly related to decapitation or at least to the military scene, mostly added to an idea of dismemberment, with a clear advantage to the Roman side: as we learn from Scipio *pater* that New Carthage is the head of the Carthaginian operations in Spain (*haec caput est*, 195) and, as such, must be invaded and as Carthage's surrogate, devastated (*inuade*, 198; *euastanda tibi tellus*, 185); later, as we see Livius' head being condemned by Hasdrubal (*et poena et latebris infracto Liuius aeuo/ damnatum, offertur uobis, caput. Ite, agite, oro*, 648-649) or being protected by the helmet (*hinc galea capite accepta*, 666). Damned and fallen is actually Mosa's head (*percussit pondere terram/ cum galea ex alto lapsum caput*, 727-728), cut off by Livius, in an ironic reversal in which the Roman general's *damnatum... caput* (649) survives, protected under his helmet (*galea capite accepta*, 666), whereas the Carthaginian's head is the one that falls (*lapsum caput*, 728), even though wearing its protective helmet (*cum galea*, 728). The other two instances refer to Hasdrubal's head, either as the severed unfaithful head (*et rapit infidum uictor caput*, 807) or as Hannibal's brother's head, taken as payback for Cannae, the Trebia, and Trasimene (*Cannas pensauimus [...] et Trebiam et Thrasymennni litora tecum/ fraterno capite*, 814-816).[59] *Os*, on the contrary, presents a wider range of uses and meanings, even though referring to Hasdrubal's head in only one instance: Nero brings Hannibal the *ora*

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[56] Examples of decapitation in the *Punica* (mostly collected by Littlewood, Marks and McClellan): 4.213-215, 445-447; 5.151-153, 284-286, 652-653; 7.702-704; 10. 52-53, 146-148, 309-311; 13.246-248, 368; 15.725-729, 813-814; 17.306-308. The practice is common in Silius, and it has been variously studied: by McClellan (2019), from the perspective of the abused corpse; by Augoustakis (2003), through the lens of gender; by Marpicati (1999) in its intertextual weaving; and by McGuire (1997), through a moral approach, connecting it to the decadence of the Roman costumes. For a brief summary of this bibliography, see Marks (2008), who studies decapitation as a political metaphor.

[57] McClellan, 2019, p. 110: "Particularly piquant (and gruesome) in the decapitation of Hannibal's brother and 'double' Hasdrubal, whose murder and corpse abuse function as a surrogate slaying of Hannibal himself."

[58] Hasdrubal's decapitation functions imagistically as a double: (1) It is the substitute for Hannibal's head. As Bernstein, 2017, p. 56-57, *ad* 26-27, notes, "As the "head" of the Carthaginian forces, Hannibal's *exitiale caput* [...] becomes a particular object of pursuit for the Romans and their allies," which is announced by Hannibal himself (*nostrum ferre caput parat illa per aequora puppis*, 2.27). Contrived by history, Silius cannot behead Hannibal in his poem, but his surrogate. Hasdrubal's head is then a (literary) scapegoat, since his head is "an atonement for all the defeats and havoc wrought against the Romans by the Carthaginians during the war so far" (Augoustakis, 2003, p. 119). (2) It is the foreshadowing of Carthage's fall, since the body without the head cannot exist. Also in Book 2, Silius presents us "with the image of Hannibal's deformed corpse", which is "symbolic of his failure and the destruction of his city" (McClellan, 2019, p. 112): *ferroque negato, / inuictus quondam Stygias bellator ad undas/ deformata feret liuenti membra ueneno* (2.705-707). "Concomitant with Hannibal's fall climaxing in book 17 is the dismemberment of Carthage itself, described as being held together by the one man alone, one name alone, even (17.149-51)" (McClellan, 2019, p. 108).

[59] Curiously enough, Hasdrubal's remaining *corpus* is not even once mentioned. The word occurs ten times in Book 15, among which only three instances can be counted as neuter (284, 757 and 761, the first one in reference to the Night and the two last ones about Livius). The seven remaining examples refer to mangled or debilitated bodies (236, 429, 605, and 669), when not to bodies already made corpses (530, 646, and 767). Not surprisingly, six out of the ten occurrences are situated in the Metaurus episode and its aftermath (605, 646, 669, 757, 761, and 767).

ducis caesi (814).[60] It is interesting that Hasdrubal's head is *infidum... caput* (807) as it is cut off, and *fraterno capite* (816) as it is declared as ransom for the previous Roman defeats, but as a severed and impaled object, it is no more than *ora* (814); in the specific context and instances, a difference between *caput* and *os* is established, *caput* being "the symbol of political power" (Marks, 2008, p. 68), and *os* being the term used for the eventually worthless remaining part of Hasdrubal's corpse.[61] Less than ten lines after Hasdrubal's perched head is described as *ora ducis caesi*, Hannibal's lamentations are said to be done *clauso... ore* (821), in a set of verses (819-823) strongly marked by an alliteration at *m*, expressing the mourning with tones of a "bruit sourd"[62] that well serves, in its repetition, to an expressive closure of the Book, emphasizing Hannibal's loss and dissatisfaction:

> *Co*m*pressit lacri*m*as Poenus* m*inuitque ferendo*
> *constanter* m*ala et inferias in te*m*pore dignas*
> m*issuru*m *fratri clauso co*mm*ur*m*urat ore.*
> *Tu*m*, castris procul a*m*otis, aduersa quiete*
> *Dissi*m*ulans, dubia exclusit certa*m*ina* M*artis.*

As for the actions surrounding the beheading itself, Silius chooses to pictorialize them in two different verbs: *transuerberare* and *rapere*. Nero transfixes Hasdrubal with his sword, and the latter, cut off in his death speech, is described as *cupientem annectere plura/ feruentemque ira mortis* (805-806). *Transuerberare* appears in six contexts in the poem, mostly accompanied by an instrumental (*ictu*, 2.125 and 14.406; *ense*, 9.593 and here, 15.806; *hasta*, 7.673), with either a body part (*humerum*, 2.125; *lumen*, 9.593; *ora*, 14.443) or a

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[60] Among the other uses of *os* in Book 15, an opposition between positive and negative contexts can be observed. *Os* describes *Virtus*' posture at *et ore/ incessuque uiro propior laetique pudores* (29-30), and man's countenance at *Nonne uides, hominum ut celsos ad sidera uultus/ sustulerit deus ac sublimia finxerit ora* (84-85), as *Virtus* emphasizingly arguments in favor of her ways (note the semantic echoes in *celsos-sidera-sustulerit-sublimia*, pointing to a vertically superior position, and *uultus-ora*). Negative contexts surround the occurrences at 432 and 675, the first one (*permiscetque mero ructatos/ ore cruores*, 431-432) in reference to Polyphemus' sordid banquet and the second one (*fixurum uano tumidus promiserat ore*, 675) in Silius' narrative of Nabis' sad fate: having come from Hammon's sands, he had promised to take Italian spoils back home to his temples, but he gets killed by the consul. An interesting opposition can be detected between 675 and 455, in which Nabis' unfulfilled promises, made by a *uano... ore* (675), finds its counterpart in Laelius' *dulcia... ora* (455) that enchants his audience with sweet eloquence. The only neutral occurrence of *os* that we encounter in Book 15 is at line 181, where it describes no more than Scipio *pater*'s face (*uisa uiro stare effigies ante ora parentis*).

[61] With Marks, 2008, p. 70, we learn that "The most prevalent way in which success is achieved, however, is by attacking the head of one's enemy and decapitating him. This act plays such a central role in Silius' conception of the war that decapitations, whether they are real or symbolic, become ways of measuring the different trajectories of the two sides in the war and, ultimately, their different outcomes." This goes hand in hand with Voisin, 1984, p. 283-284, "La signification de la tête coupée dépasse l'individu dont elle provient : elle est l'emblème d'une victoire sur une cité, une armée, un peuple"—which is exactly what we observe in Book 15: once Hasdrubal has been decapitated by Nero, the battle at the Metaurus ends in one verse and a half: *Agmina fuso/ sternuntur duce, non ultra fidentia Marti* (807-808). When Hannibal receives his brother's head the following day, he moves the quarters further away and *aduersa quiete/ dissimulans, dubia exclusit certamina Martis* (822-823). Since after Book 15, all we see on the Carthaginian side is but defeat, Hasdrubal's severed head is the ultimate announcement of Carthage's fall: "Enfin, transmettre à un ennemi la tête de l'un de ses familiers lui annonce une défaite et l'avertit du sort qui lui est réservé" (Voisin, 1984, p. 270). At the end of Voisin's text (1984, p. 293), we find Jean-Michel David's intervention, in which he proposes that decapitations be seen as a form of *damnatio memoriae (uitae/uiui)*; the proposition is interesting for our circular reading of the *Punica,* if we look back at the burnt murals in Book 6 (see Chapter 2, p. 25-33), maybe a symbolic and frustrated try at a *damnatio memoriae* of the Romans' success in the previous war, and compare it to this final *damnatio memoriae*, real, concrete, effectuated through Hasdrubal's decapitation. In this sense, Hasdrubal's head becomes expiatory both for Hannibal's burning of the murals in Book 6 and for Hannibal's desired head, his "*exitiale caput* [...] a particular object of pursuit for the Romans and their allies" (Bernstein, 2017, p. 57, *ad* 2.26-27; see n. 58).

[62] See Marouzeau, 1946, p. 29, and Thoma, 1949, p. 52-54.

person (*multa orantem... et altos mutantem saltu ramos*, 7.672-673; *orba gubernaculi subeuntem munera Taurum*, 14.407; *cupientem annectere plura/ feruentemque ira mortis,* 15.805-806) as a complement, always in the same form (*transuerberat*) and mostly in the same metrical position (second foot in a fourth foot spondee, *trans-* + fifth foot dactyl, *-uerberat*; exception at 14.443). To retain from these occurrences is the use of "a verb appropriate to spearing hunted animals" and the "image of predator and prey" (Littlewood, 2011, p. 232) or the imaging of a "contesto venatorio" (Zaia, 2016, p. 378). The tension at the moment is mimetized in the spondees that form the verse in which *transuerberat* appears, adding *grauitas* to the first four feet.[63] At the following line (807), this same tension is expressed in the sequence of spondees *infidum ui[ctor]*, separated by the penthemimeral caesura, marking mimetically in the syntax (*uictor* between *infidum... caput*) and in the meter (through the caesura) the separation between head and body, Nero's final violent act, described by *rapit*. *Rapit* comes as an addition (*et*, head of line 807) to the previous transfixing of Hasdrubal's body, the beheading being materialized in a quick momentum of four words (*rapit infidum uictor caput*), as to be expected, since "Seuls, les héros – Turnus, Enée – ont le privilège de faire, d'un seul coup d'épée, rouler au loin la tête de leur adversaire" (Voisin, 1984, p. 259).[64] The only other occurrence of *rapit* in the same form, present active, is at line 64, where the destructive force of the Tartarus is the topic: *fugit hora, rapitque/ Tartareus torrens ac secum ferre sub umbras, / si qua animo placuere, negat* (64-66).[65] Nero's accurate blow turns into two very important consequences: (1) it causes the end of the Metaurus efforts on the Carthaginian side: *Agmina fuso/ sternuntur duce, non ultra fidentia Marti* (807-808); (2) later, as Hannibal sees his brother's head (*ora ducis caesi*, 814), he too retreats: *Tum, castris procul amotis, aduersa quiete/ dissimulans, dubia exclusit certamina Martis* (822-823)—and this is the end of Book 15. Before we too come to the closing of this Chapter, let us examine a last picture of the double in Book 15: changed roads.

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[63] The stylistic importance of the metrical features surrounding *transuerberat* is also analyzed by Bernstein, 2017, p. 93, *ad* 2.125, and by Zaia, 2016, p. 378, *ad* 9.592-593. Even rarer than *transuerberare* is its primitive *uerberare*, with one single occurrence in the whole poem, in Book 7, in a simile that describes Hannibal's strategy movements in comparison to "the twists and loops of the River Meander, or a sunbeam reflected in water, as it flickers across a vaulted ceiling" (Littlewood, 2011, p. 82), emphasizing the fluctuating emotions and the rapidness of the fleeting (*Sicut aquae splendor, radiatus lampade solis, / dissultat per tecta, uaga sub imagine uibrans/ luminis, et tremula laquearia uerberat umbra*, 7.143-145). For another hunting scene between warriors, see p. 17 with n. 63 there.

[64] The same can be observed in the other beheadings in Book 15, as Livius attacks Mosa (725-729):
> *Liuius acer equo et turmis abeuntibus infert*
> *cornipedem. Tunc auersi turgentia colla*
> *disicit ense Mosae. Percussit pondere terram*
> *cum galea ex alto lapsum caput, at residentem*
> *turbatus rapuit sonipes in proelia truncum.*

or as Laelius beheads Draces (468-470):
> *Tunc Alabim, Murrum atque Dracen demisit ad umbras,*
> *femineo clamorem Dracen extrema rogantem:*
> *huius ceruicem gladio inter uerba precesque*
> *amputat: absciso durabant murmura collo.*

See p. 121 on verses 725-729. On Livius' aristeia around this beheading and its circular meaning, see Burck, 1984, p. 98. On the vocabulary used to describe beheadings in Roman Literature in general, see Voisin, 1984, p. 245-247. On Hasdrubal's beheading and other related contexts in Silius, Virgil, and the Roman history, see Burck, 1984, p. 105-106.

[65] See also Augustakis, 2003, p. 114, and the connection he establishes between *rapit* (807) and *rapiebat* (425), reading Ganymede's abduction and the violence of the eagle as an allusion to "the brutality of capital punishment inflicted on Hasdrubal by Nero at the end of the book."

Whereas *Virtus* wants Scipio to choose one single path—hers—and make a full way to his divine predestination,[66] Hasdrubal's voyage is marked by repetition and failure, depicted through his falling in previously marched grounds by going over his brother's well-trodden tracks and trying to follow in his footsteps; Hasdrubal's ways are also doubled by his repeatedly leaving behind a previously begun course and starting a new one. One lexical recurrence that mirrors this is *fuga*: it is in all of its five occurrences connected to the Carthaginians (or their allies, the Gauls, at 721). Hasdrubal decides to flee from Spain (*Italiam profugus spectabat et Alpis, / praemia magna fugae*, 474-475), tries to escape the two united consuls at the Metaurus (*Nec consulta fugae segni formidine differt*, 611), has his failed endeavor unveiled by the morning light (*Lux surgit panditque fugam*, 626; note also *abitus* at 633), and tries to convince his soldiers—quite ironic—to not run away (*"Cohibete fugam. Cui cedimus hosti?"*, 742).[67]

One event is particularly interesting among Hasdrubal's comings and goings in Book 15. As soon as he realizes that the two consuls united during the night, he decides to run from battle. He tries to use the night in his favor, but *Tellus* will not allow it: as soon as she notices the movements, she envelops the fugitives in a misleading way, using both the shadows and the river's meanders as her allies, and sends the Carthaginians back to the starting point, where the light of day makes their frustrated effort patent, and the adversary begins the attack (601-628). Even though the Carthaginians try to use the night as their ally in their escape (612 and 616), the personified *Nox* is mostly a contributor to the Romans' success in Book 15, sometimes actively (602 and 562), sometimes passively (180, 542, and 809). Acting with *Tellus* in order to bring Nero to Livius' aid at the Metaurus, she allows *Tellus* to approach the sleeping general (542), who later recognizes her part in his prayer (*Tellurem Noctemque et caelo sparsa precatur/ astra ducemque uiae tacito sub lumine Phoeben*, 562-563), a prayer that is heard (602).[68] *Tellus* is even the more relevant for the Roman victory, since

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[66] See Martin et Devallet, 1992, p. 138-139, n. 3 on p. 37, and their full analysis of *Virtus'* will and how Scipio's image connects with Hercules', Dionisus-Bacchus', the Dioscuri's, and Romulus-Quirinus'.

[67] Hasdrubal's allies, the Gauls, also try to flee (*Addere tergo/ hastas Ausonius teloque instare sequaci/ nec donare fugam*, 719-721); they had been mentioned before as the "long-haired warriors from the Rhone" that ran from Livius with the Macae and the Autololes (*turbati fugere Macae, fugere feroces/ Autololes Rhodanique comas intonsa iuuentus*, 670-671). See also n. 72. This is the opposite of what we saw expressed at 4.43-47; see Chapter 1, p. 11. The verb *fugere* is also applied to Hasdrubal, whose action of fleeing is emphasized by the present participle, while the Cretan arrows block his way: *Hinc, iussae Poenum fugientem sistere, pennae/ Dictaeae uolitant*, 630-631. Here the *Dictaeae pennae* that block Hannibal's flight, later *Dictynna* (770), the *Latonia* (777) herself, in a simile (769-777) that explains how the fallen bodies cover fields and connect the riverbanks, bring back the image of predator and prey, the venatory context we spotted before in the use of *rapere* for Hasdrubal's beheading (see p. 121-123 and n. 72). Hasdrubal's turning his back on battle is also a repetition between Books: see Scipio *pater's* narrative at 13.677-682.

[68] It would also be interesting, *en passant*, to observe the opposition/apposition of night and day. Scipio's conquest in Spain is the most impressive because the operations are wrapped up in less than one day: *non toto rapuisse die, qua Martius ille/ Hannibal in terra consumpto uerterit anno/ nec pube aequanda nec opum ubertate Saguntum* (407-409). It is in the dusk of dawn that the Romans meet with the Carthaginians in battle, before Hasdrubal's first fly in Book 15: *Ruptis linquunt altaria sacris; / clauduntur uallo, tenuemque ut roscida misit lucem Aurora polo, rapiunt certamina Martis* (438-440). The indefatigable soldiers under Nero make their way to the Metaurus through night and day (*atque indefessi noctemque diemque feruntur*, 576), a scenery that repeats itself on their return (809-812):

> Iamque diem solisque uias nox abstulit atra,
> cum uires parco uictu somnoque reducunt;
> ac, nondum remeante die, uictricia signa,
> qua uentum, referunt clausis formidine castris.

she is the one to incite Nero to action (522-576; *Oenotria Tellus*, 522, and *Latiae telluris imago*, 546), she is just as well invoked in Nero's prayer (562),[69] and she helps in the action, not letting herself be deceived by Hasdrubal's fleeing movements (*sed percita falli/ sub tanto motu Tellus nequit*, 617-618).[70] After succeeding in following his brother's footsteps (*Herculeae quaerit uestigia plantae/ germanique uias diuinis comparat ausis*, 504-505), Hasdrubal's silent try to escape the Metaurus (*suspensa ferens uestigia*, 614) comes to an end as his steps are blocked by *Tellus*, who makes the Carthaginians go round in a circle: *Implicat actas/ caeco errore uias umbrisque fauentibus arto/ circumagit spatio super uestigia ductos* (618-620).

Hasdrubal's circular, frustrated attempt is depicted in terms of repetitions, deceit, sinuosity and wrong ways in the darkness. Repeated is the river's (*amnis*, 621) movements, which, reflowing in a fall, goes back into itself (*refluo... lapsu/ in sese redit*, 622-623). The lexical choice here is quite unique: *redire* appears in its only occurrence in the Book, and *refluo* resonates the *refluus* at 226, a line at which we are told how the tides go up and down again (*auget ueniens refluusque reciprocat aestus*, 226) on the East side of New Carthage—another natural phenomenon that will end up collaborating with the Romans' success.[71] Hasdrubal's deceit is sung as one embedded in silence: *et muta elabi tacito iubet agmina passu* (615), a line in which his fleeing (*elabi*)

The Romans' exertion is the concrete display of their despising *Voluptas*' seducing offer (*sed current albusque dies horaeque serenae, / et molli dabitur uictu sperare senectam*, 53-54) and accepting *Vitus'* promise (*Stramine proiectus duro patiere sub astris/ insomnis noctes frigusque famemque domabis*, 109-110). With the Roman soldiers' return at 809-812, their virtue comes full circle in the Book: announced by *Virtus*, taken up by the synedochic hero Scipio, and completed by the collectivity under Livius and Nero.

[69] On *Tellus'* participation and intertextual influences received from Livius and Virgil, see Burck, 1984, p. 84-87.

[70] Along Book 15, entities manifest in different ways to the Romans (*Virtus* and *Voluptas* come to Scipio, 10-120; Jupiter to Scipio and the Romans, in the serpent omen, 138-148; Scipio *pater* to Scipio in a dream, 180-201; *Tellus* to Nero, also in a dream, 541-559). They are always favorable in their appearances and in answer to the Romans' prayers (Scipio to Neptune, 159-162—with immediate result, 162-163, and Scipio's thanks at 251-253; Scipio to Scipio *pater*, 204-207; Nero to *Tellus*, *Nox*, the sky's stars and Phoebe, 560-563—Burck, 1984, p. 86: "Daβ der Dichter Nero in dieser Lage die Götter anrufen läβt, ist zunächst daraus zu erklären, daβ er der natürlichen göttlichen Erscheinung und ihrem Befehl Rechnung tragen will. Auβerdem soll das Gebet römischer *pietas* entsprechen und den bevorstehenden Kampf als *pium bellum* charakterisieren"). Diametrically opposite is what we observe in the Carthaginians' side, on which the only ritual related movement is interrupted (416-440). In the battle that follows, Scipio dedicates his victims to the *sacrati manes* (444) and asks the soldiers to strain themselves as they did *spirantibus... ducibus* (445-446). This *pietas* is countered with Hasdrubal's mantle, *Aeoliis gestatum insigne tyrannis* (424), on which a boy is abducted by an eagle and a bloody scene describes Polyphemus' monstrous feast (425-432). Both images seem appropriate to be present at a religious celebration that is supposed to be *repetens gentis primordia* (419), motives "choisis à dessein pour illustrer la sanguinaire cruauté prêtée aux Carthaginois" (Martin and Devallet, 1992, p. 145, n. 4 on p. 50). For different views on the mantle, see Augoustakis, 2003, p. 111-116, with the bibliography cited there, an instigating reading on the intertextual and gender issues of the ekphrasis, and Burck, 1984, p. 77, who, considering the ekphrasis from the viewpoint of the "Suche nach einem typisch sizilianischen Motiv und der Hang des Silius zu manieristischen Tötungsschilderungen," comes to a negative conclusion, and calls the double artistic description a "kaum zu leugnende[n] Miβgriff."

[71] On coming/going back, the pleonastic *rursus... retro* (409) that tells the reader of Scipio's returning to the main, bigger battle after Hasdrubal's flight from Baecula is also significant—it reinforces Hasdrubal's characterization as a double, less important version of the true enemy, his brother. *Rursus* (583) appears again in the expression of Rome's fears that Hannibal might go back to her doors, once she learns that Nero has left its immediate protection to go meet Livius against Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. Another interesting word to observe, in the bigger context of repetition, is the verb *repetere*, which occurs only twice in Book 15 and opposes Roman success to Carthaginian failure: *Virtus* says she does not need to look far for an example of Rome's glory (*nec longe repetam*, 90) and mentions Rome's growth from an asylum for criminals to winner of her former great enemy, Fidena; Hasdrubal tries to celebrate his Carthaginian origins (*repetens gentis primordia*, 419), but his religious festivities are interrupted by the Roman attack. A similar reading is brought about by the two occurrences of *reuocare*: Philip V is recalled to his country (*Ac saepe ad patrios bello reuocante penatis*, 312) as is Livius by Rome in her very dangerous situation (*Sed, postquam grauior moles terrorque periclo/ poscebat propiore uirum, reuocatus ad arma/ tot caesibus ducibus*, 598-600), but, whereas Livius' nobility (*donauerat iram*, 600) is bound for victory, Philip's defeat is no more than five lines later already a concluded fact (*donec, nunc pelago, nunc terra exutus, omisit/ spem positam in Tyriis et supplex foedera sanxit/ Dardana nec legem regno accepisse refugit*, 317-319).

comes walled in *muta* (*agmina*) and *tacito* (*passu*). His tactics are the same he used in Spain in 211, as Nero later in the Book reminds us (789-793):

> *Non telo mora, non dictis. "Haud amplius", inquit,*
> *"elabere mihi. Non hic nemora auia fallent*
> *Pyrenes, nec promisis frustrabere uanis,*
> *ut quondam terra fallax deprensus Hibera*
> *euasti nostram mentito foedere dextram."*

The previous strategy in Spain is described by Nero as a very deceitful one, as emphasized by *fallent* (790), *uanis* (791), *fallax* (792), and *mentito* (793). The present one at the Metaurus is an attempt at deceit that backfires: *Implicat actas/ caeco errore uias* (618-619) is Tellus' doing, which is echoed in *inque errore uiae tenebrarum munus ademptum* (625). Remarkable here is the echo *errore uias* (619) and *errore uiae* (625) at a six-line interval.[72] Besides, consider also the reversal in the Carthaginians' *frustratis gressibus* (624), here caused by *Tellus*, and Nero's later promise (*nec promissis frustrabere uanis*, 791) that Hasdrubal would not be able to frustrate Rome's plans to win the battle with his old tricks. The sinuosity implicit in *error* is foregrounded both by the adjective *sinuosus* (*sinuosis flexibus*, 621), said about the river's meanders, and the verb *obliquare* (*curuatas... / obliquat ripas*, 621-622), which describes how the river uses its sinuous meanders to make its banks into a bendy zigzag; it bears noting that each word has, respectively, only *one* occurrence *in the poem*, this very one in Book 15.[73] In addition to that, the Carthaginians end up wrapped up in their *frustratis gressibus* (624) and *casso... labore* (623), frustrated steps (*gressus*) and vain efforts that are to be compared to the Romans' easy arrival at Spain (*admoto... gressu*, 216) and *Tellus'* incentives to Nero (*Surge, age, fer gressus*, 556),[74] both the beginning of Roman moves that come off well. Along with the steps, the Carthaginians' wrong and tangled ways are involved in an *exiguum... orbem* (624), another exclusive (*orbis* appears only this once in Book 15) depiction. The association of Hasdrubal and straying is also marked in the adjective *auius*, as he flees through rocky mounts (*At non ductori Libyco par ardor in armis./ Frondosi collis latebras ac saxa capessit/ auia*, 471-473), as he is identified with the fleeing beaver (*auulsa parte inguinibus causaque pericli, / enatat intento praedae fiber auius hoste*, 486-487),[75] and as he concealed himself in the untrodden forests of the Pyrenees (*Non hic nemora auia fallent/ Pyrenes*, 790-791). As for the darkness, the *munus* (625) it could be for Hasdrubal's fly is taken away (*ademptum*, 625)—the *tenebrae*, depictions of loss for the unvirtuous soul (70 and 76), *Nox*'s instrument (620, as she cunningly

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[72] *Errore uiarum* (717) appears later in the scene in which the tired Celts run away in fear. This echo too, even though more distant, is significant in characterizing the type of ways that Hasdrubal tries to trick, similar to the one found by the tired, panic-stricken Gauls. See also n. 67.

[73] On Silius' tendency to multiply the idea of curve, see Spaltenstein, 1986, p. 407, *ad* 6.226.

[74] On *surge, age, fer* (and related *perge, ite, en* and *eia*), words that emphasize a sense of urgency that requires quick action and moving fast, see p. 68-69, 75, and 97-98.

[75] An echo of the closing of line 487, *auius hoste*, sounds at 16.619, as Fabius attacks Scipio's proposal to depart from Rome: *Tu fessos auius hostis/ deseris ac septem denudas proditor arces* (16.619-620). Fabius' accusing words allows for a double association in Book 15: through *auius*, with Hasdrubal, the cowardly, emasculated beaver; through *hostis*, with the greedy Roman soldier who would rather let the enemy flee than lose the plundering of a captured city, a greediness Fabius' rhetoric did not fail to point: *Petitur quae gloria maior/ litore Elissaeo? Stimuli si laudis agunt nos, / hanc segetem mete* (16.613-615). On our reading of *hostis* at 16.619 and the difficulties in the manuscripts, see Martin and Devallet, 1992, p. 161, n. 4 on p. 92. See also my discussion on *montis ardua/ardua montis* on p. 116-117.

helps the Romans come in aid of Livius), nourishes dreadful silences (613), is surprisingly represented as hostile to the invaders.[76]

On revisiting places, on the Roman side, the Book offers Scipio's retaking of Spain and Fabius' retaking of Tarentum, whereas on the Carthaginian side, besides Hasdrubal's frustrated fly that we analyzed, Philip V is forced to go back into his territories (*donec, nunc pelago, nunc terra exutus, omisit/ spem positam in Tyriis et supplex foedera sanxit/ Dardana nec legem regno accepisse refugit*, 317-319) and Hasdrubal must change his routes after Hasdrubal's decapitation, closing Book 15 in a mirroring of what had been the end of Book 12: Hannibal is defeated and must leave the place where he is quartered, even though making new promises (819-823) of revenge that will also eventually be frustrated.[77]

6. Bilan: *what we learn from the isotopy of the double in Book 12*

In this Chapter, I examined the isotopy of the double that permeates the whole of Book 15, producing clear images as twofold ways—*Virtus'* against *Voluptas'* or the circular one made by the Carthaginians trying to escape the Metaurus—or as a better characterization of Scipio when compared to Marcellus, of Hasdrubal as Hannibal's substitute, or as Hasdrubal's body dismembered in two parts, after his beheading.

The Book begins with a dramatic *at* that marks a new turning point in the narrative. This turning point is initially connected to Scipio, who finds himself in the middle of many doubles: the possibility of going to Spain or not; the eventuality of standing between two funeral pyres, his father's and his uncle's; the choice between known past and future, somewhat personified in the opposed *Virtus* and *Voluptas*. Another important double in the Book is Mars, whose common representation as two-faced, uncertain war can be observed on the Carthaginian side, first decided to unite forces by bringing the two armies together, Hasdrubal's and Hannibal's, but then ending up as the two leaderless parts: Hasdrubal is dead, Hannibal is in mourning. Scipio's *Scheideweg* scene—his choice between *Voluptas* and *Virtus*—is set under the *laurus*, a tree connected to victory in the poem's contexts, and the contrary goddesses are set apart through their position (*dextra/laeua*), different lexical marks and repetitions, besides an impressive entourage on either side. *Virtus* speech emphasizes that humankind is destined for *laudes*, a desire we see on both sides in the Book; she also merges Scipio's individual aspirations with the collective needs. In the scene's closing, we are reminded of Scipio's two-fold duality: he resembles both his father and his uncle, physically; his nature is both human and divine since he is Jupiter's son.

In section two, using the counterfactuals in 340-342 and 375-376 as my motto, I compare Marcellus and Scipio, showing first how their *uirtus* is different, the first characterized by *clementia*, the second

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[76] See our comment on *Nox* on p. 124-125.

[77] On the end of Book 12, see Chapter 4, p. 93-99. Hannibal's defeat is subliminally preannounced, if we consider that, after his threats of coming back in Book 12 (*Respectans abit et castris auulsa moueri/ signa iubet ductor remeaturumque minatur*, 12.729-730), he is hardly present in Book 13 (13.1-380, out of Rome, back in the South, where he loses Capua) and practically disappeared in Books 13, 14, 15, and 16, before he resurfaces in Book 17.

by *pietas*. Scipio is *pudicus*, which leaves him on a par with Claudia (Book 17) and Ulisses' Penelope (Book 2), as well as above the Greek kings in *gloria* and *laus*. The real distinction between Marcellus and Scipio is due to the latter's education process, as pointed by Marks and corroborated by the cross-referencing of the counterfactuals (observing uses of the word *forsan*, cornerstone in the counterfactuals) in Book 15 to one in Book 10 (305-307): Paulus could have been as good as his predecessor, Fabius, but Marcellus could have been as good as his successor, Scipio, the new role model. The word *Scipiades*, mostly used to refer to Scipio and in war contexts, makes him the upcoming role model for the future leader and warrior.

In section three, we study the lexical ways in which Hasdrubal is made to be Hannibal's substitute in Book 15, a connection that is expressed in Hasdrubal's own words (especially 638-651 and 748-751). The terms *secundus* and *aequare* determine how Hasdrubal is the second in rank, whereas *germanus*, *frater*, and *fraternus* repeatedly mark the link between both characters. One important means to understand the ranking is the comparison between Hannibal's and Hasdrubal's crossing the Alps: while in Book 3, the first's is described with *labor* and the repetition of the adjectives *fessus* and *arduus*, the latter's *iter* receives an emphasis on the notion of an already trodden path. Their link, though, is also highlighted by the expression *geminum Hannibalem* (516), which is even more significant when compared with *geminus Scipio* (3) and *geminas acies* (817), at the very end of the Book. Also meaningful are the contexts in which the adjective *geminus* appears, revealing other words related to the isotopy of the double, such as *duplicare*, *bina*, *coire*, *hinc atque hinc*, *coniungere*, and *socius* and *sociare*. The use of both *Libyco* and *Tyrius* interchangeably employed to refer to Hannibal or Hasdrubal is also noted.

The following section is an observation of Hasdrubal's beheading and the central importance of this dismemberment in Book 15: Hasdrubal functions as Hannibal's substitute; Hannibal is synecdochic for Carthage—hence, Hasdrubal's beheading is a foreshadowing of Carthage's fate, later exposed in Book 17. Lexically, the words *caput* and *os* are opposed, the first being mostly found in the decapitation or in military scenes, standing for a symbol of political power, whereas the latter becomes less strongly marked, as it describes the remaining part of Hasdrubal's corpse, for instance. The beheading itself is depicted by *transuerberare* and *rapere*, in lines elaborately designed with mimetical syntax and meter details, besides the venatic nuance—artistry and emphasis that are not surprising, since Hasdrubal's beheading entails the end of the battle at the Metaurus and Hannibal's retreat at the end of Book 15.

In *Revisiting places*, I take a closer look at Hasdrubal's attempt to flee (*fuga*) from the Metaurus. *Tellus* and *Nox* are featured as Roman agents in a setting that amounts to repetitions (*refluus*, two times in the Book, both in reference to natural phenomena that facilitate Roman endeavors), deceit (silence is used by Hasdrubal as a tactic, just as in Spain in 211 B.C.), and sinuosity (expressed in the *errore uiae* and through the words *sinuosus* and *obliquare*, only in this context to be seen in the whole poem). The Carthaginians, in their *frustratis gressibus*, are compared to the Romans' firm, winning steps, and Hasdrubal is said to be *auius* in his ways. Darkness (*tenebrae*), even though ambiguous as to whether she is a positive or a bad thing, is contextually against the Carthaginians.

Conclusion

Departing from the hypothesis that words and expressions connected to a context can be detached and examined as a composing *modus operandi*, I have taken isolated books (4, 6, 8, 12, and 15) from the *Punica* as the observable object for analysis. The main working concepts are presented in the Introduction, being isotopy, the repetition of a simple linguistic unit, and intratextuality, the way different parts in the same text dialogue with each other, at the center of my methodology that rests on the ideas of microcosm, repetition in it, and circularity. This hypothesis has proven fully observable in Silius' *Punica*, in which central themes come to fore and are kaleidoscopically mirrored throughout the poem. In the following paragraphs, I revisit the main outcomes of my research and build some of the possible connections between the chapters, the themes, and other parts in the poem under the examination of circularities—already pinpointed or introduced here for the first time. In addition, I propose new prospects of how the outlined results could be turned into new starting points for new investigations, most of which could be conducted under the same methodology principles I worked with in the previous chapters.

In Chapter 1, considering the isotopy of *fear* in Book 4, the close observation of the lexical choice allowed me, for instance, to conclude that *pauor* is a reiterated mark of Silius' take on the battle of the Ticinus. On one hand, Hannibal, with his train of *Metus*, *Pauor*, and *Furor*, can be read as an allegorization of fear itself since he is the main trigger of the sentiment in the Book. On the other hand, Silius' hero-to-be, Scipio, in his first appearance, is described as someone who can go from *trementem* (4.255) to *intrepidus* (4.460) very quickly, portrayed as a hero of *pietas* who saves his father in an incident on the battlefield. It is through the observation of the word *turbatus* (4.243 and 333) that I was able to notice the opposition female vs. male or alleged violent force vs. real violent force established between Hannibal and Scipio *pater* in two different similes, in which Hannibal is compared to a tigress, Scipio *pater* to Boreas. Through the observation of the word *horrisonus* (4.278 and 612), I noted that Crixus, the Celt chieftain, Hannibal's ally, and the elephant cornered in the river, were both bound to die—and thus discreetly connected as apparently dangerous, violent beasts, whose terrible, menacing voices amounted to nothing. Besides these specificities, I also demonstrated how the words related to the isotopy of fear are almost invariably emphasized in the verses they are inserted, by alliterations (and more generally, *harmonie imitative*), rhymes, caesuras, first or last position in the line—resources that can be found just as well around the other words in the other isotopies analyzed in the other chapters.

In addition to these intratextual components within Book 4, circularity is dexterously weaved by Silius in a thematic connection between the epilogue (4.36-38) of the entry scene (4.1-36) in Book 4 and the exordium in Book 1 (especially 1.3 and 12-14), by means of a new Muse invocation and the review of the poem's main storyline—*Sed medio finem bello excidiumque uicissim/ molitae gentes, propiusque fuere periclo, quis superare datum* (1.12-14). Fear is a recurrent theme in the *Punica*, as should be expected. Besides Book 4, in which it

appears as a main isotopy, I showed connections in the sctructuring of its resurfacing in Book 12.[1] A broadened view on the topic and its different expression is a nice prospect for later research. An evaluation of how Hannibal loses his position as the main trigger for the sentiment and whether it becomes absent from the poem or is transfered to another character would certainly bring new light to the ending Books. The commonplace of female vs. male could also be explored through the lenses of alledged vs. real violence, which might shed light on different aspects of how genders are constructed in Silius' *oeuvre*. A more obvious approach would be the comparative study of each lexical element analyzed in Book 4, in order to better understand which specificities and nuances of meaning *metus*, *pauor*, *timor*, *terror* and *formido* assume under Silius' writing *ingenium*.

In Chapter 2, considering the isotopy of *control* in Book 6, I observed the fight for control over memorialization, on Hannibal's part, and over the landscape, on Regulus' part, both of them resulting in vain efforts. Fire and ruins as images of the effects caused by such efforts, and *hubris* are detected *topoi* in the Book, as well as the incapacity of connecting a victorious present to a conquering future on Hannibal's part, which leads to a discussion of winners vs. vanquished and the meaning such words acquire, when we look more closely at the ekphrasis that describe the paintings in the temple at Liternum (6.658-697) or at the constant shifts in positions of power in the Bagrada battle against the serpent (6.140-293). In my analysis of the battle scene, I demonstrated how pictorializations of verticality and horizontality make up the whole of the dominion exerted by the serpent and desired by the Romans. Regulus' self-control was also highlighted, as in opposition to Marcia's lack of control, which allowed me to show that, in their separate ways, spheres of acting, and notions of *pietas* and *fides,* the characters are differentiated—and some of the typical Roman values are questioned or at least reevaluated in Marcia's feminine voice.

In addition to these intratextual components within Book 6, circularity is again found in a thematic connection between the pervading theme in Book 6 and the exordium in Book 1 since the story that the poet sings is the fight for control over the world (*quaesitumque diu, qua tandem poneret arce/ terrarum Fortuna caput*, 1.7-8); in 6.552-573, where the opening scene in 4.1-38, Fama bringing rumors and fear into the Roman city, is reenacted; in the description of the serpent's living *locus*, 6.146-154, which mirrors the surroundings of Trasimene in 5.4-13; in the very description on the mural at Liternum, 6.658-697, which foreshadows the Carthaginian loss and the events described later in Book 17. Considering the isotopy I later unfolded in Book 15, the double, a more intensive comparison between Regulus' and Marcia's speeches might turn into revealing insights into Silius' questioning and reevaluations of some typical Roman values; in addition to that, an even closer observation of the two murals depicted in Book 6, the Roman and Hannibal's, could still propose new readings of both parties and their representation in the poem, besides new elements for our understanding of the last Book. Analyzed under the sign of the isotopy of defeat, another possibility would be to examine Jupiter's battle against Hannibal in Book 12, considering the isotopy of control— especially considering elements from the battle between the "supernatural" snake and the mortal Regulus vs. the divine and the mortal, in the case of Jupiter and Hannibal. A wider study on the concepts of *monumenta*

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[1] See p. 76-77.

and *documenta* should also be meaningful, maybe even in extratextual terms, contemplating how Silius' comprehension of these ideas are related to the memorial culture in his contemporary Rome.

In Chapter 3, considering the isotopy of *mora* and its opposites in the prelude to Cannae, Book 8, I analyzed the textual effects it brings up in the images, in the depiction of characters such as Fabius, Varro, and Hannibal, in the divine represented by Juno and Anna, and in the soldier's prediction at the end of the Book. The narrative of Anna's story (8.44-201) as well as an ekphrasis in the catalog (8.385-389), describing Scaevola's shield, allowed me to show how the matter of *mora* is rendered in the text itself and how themes such as civil war and excess, constant preoccupations in the *Punica*, are revisited. Going over *mora* in the main narrative, I pinpointed the evident connection between Paulus and Fabius, besides presenting the aspects of cautiousness expressed both in Fabius and Scipio; considering Varro and his damaging haste more carefully, I pinpointed the parallel between him and Hannibal, besides presenting how his inciting speeches echo those of Hannibal and Scipio *pater* in Book 4 and Regulus' in Book 6—a clear intratextual indicator of the disaster to come. Echoes from Juno's speech (8.25-43) resound in Anna's (8.211-224) and Varro's words (8.265-277), aligning the three characters and making the latter ones tools in Juno's hands; an ambiguity in the representation of Hannibal, Anna, and Juno herself adds to the confusion between the sides and parties, the declared ones not always being in accordance with the ones actually acted on. The closing scene in the Book, an eighteen-verse prediction rendered by a Roman soldier (8.659-676), mirrors and brings back important themes, words, and procedures from the whole of the Book.

I also note in Book 8, in different passages of my exposition, that circularity is also to be seen in many aspects, *e.g.*: (1) in the image of the demagogue, a virgilian inheritance, that kaleidoscopically mirrors characters such as Hanno in Books 1 and 12, Flaminius in Book 5, Minucius in Book 7, Varro in Book 8; (2) in the echoes in Juno's convocation of Anna (8.25-38) and Hannibal's convocation of the troops (8.232-241); (3) in the retarding and dramatizing effect attained both by the catalog (inside the macrocosm of the Book, 8.349-621) and by the ekphrasis of Scaevola's shield (in the macrocosm of the catalog, 8.385-389), as well as in the no less dramatic digression on Anna's story (8.44-201); (4) in the theme of the civil war, reiterated in Scaevola's shield (8.385-389) and the narrative of Solimus' accidentally killing his own father (9.66-180). An instigating theme that emerges from the tense relationship between the two goddesses that are at the center of Book 8, Anna and Juno, is the contrasting depiction of another such interaction, this time between a "faithful servant" and her goddess, Claudia and Cybele in Book 17. An analysis of these contacts would allow us to inspect how female exchanges and the power relations in them mirror or question male relationships in the poem, in addition to (maybe more obvious) gender biases and the way Silius sees and portrays his female characters. Juno's demanding celerity and Cybele's imposing *mora* could be observed as a resetting of the isotopy I study in Book 8 with a new outcome in Book 17. In terms of the well-known motive of the ekphrasis, Scaevola's shield may be a good starting point for a broader view of described shields and their significance in the contexts their are inserted, as well as an inquiry as to how these vignettes shed new interpretative possibilities on the whole of the text.

In Chapter 4, considering the isotopy of *defeat* in Book 12, Hannibal's ebb was observed in both the narrative proper and the lexical choice. The changing season (it is the beginning of spring), the recurrent

image of fluidity in waters and winds, as well as the Carthaginian's inability to surmount the walls of his first attacked city after Cannae, Naples (*Parthenope*), are narrated by Silius with undertones of irony that I was able to detect through close examination of the words used (*e.g., Africus, perfringere, munimina, Graius*). Two predictably recurrent words in the Book, *murus* and *moenia*, are surrounded by poetical effects (metonimy, personification, mimetical syntax, repeated metrical position, and chiasm), drawing attention to different nuances in the idea of protection during Hannibal's initial decline, on the one side, and words like *claudere*, *porta*, and *circum* (and verbs with the prefix *circum-*) draw attention to the enclosure and encirclement that appear in the text mostly as markers of Hannibal's growing impediment and eventual defeat, on the other. By examining verbs like *lustrare*, *sistere*, and *stare*, I accompanied the developments in the different relevance of being stopped or remaining active, of stopping or acting, different forms of defense and attack that culminate in Hannibal's surrender before Jupiter. The gigantomachic battle between the Carthaginian general and the king of the gods is an essential extract in which much of the repetition of words, expressions, and motives previously found in the Book and in other sections of the poem reaffirms circularity as a vital part of Silius' *modus poetandi*.

The effect of circularity is present in many instances in Book 12, as in the image of Hannibal as a snake (12.5-10 and 55-59), previously seen in Book 3 (3.158-221); in fear as a returning motive, on Book 12 with a different result as the one employed, for instance, in Book 4; in Juno as inciter through her speeches, as in 1.42-54 and 8.30-38, here with her role inverted as a dissuader of Hannibal's attempts before the walls of Rome; in the image of the tempest, more specifically of a black cloud, first attributed to Hannibal in 5.377-379, here connected to Jupiter in 12.661-662; in the more than recurrent qualification of Hannibal as *perfidus* and *inglorius*, this last one, as I have demonstrated, with special value to the construction of Hannibal's defeat; in the repeated descriptions of Hannibal's defeat before the walls of Parthenope, Cumae, Puteoli, Nola, Capua, and Rome; in Hannibal's marooning in a three-day loop of attack (attempt) and retreat. New interesting perspectives ought to be found in a study of the similes and images that describe Hannibal, especially when comparing how the same image, *e.g.* the snake, is used to represent him in different moments of his journey. New insights could also be brought to light when we compare images that are attributed to him at one point and then to another character in another, as it is the case with the black cloud. Understanding Juno's role in each step of the narrative is an important—and still untouched—research theme that shoud be addressed, maybe even in the extension of her intertextual construction against Virgil's *Aeneid.* The theme of Jupiter's authority, incited by his orders to Juno in Book 12, is a relevant departure to studies that might draw a configuration of power among gods in Silius' *Punica*, Juno's influence over Anna in Book 8 being a second narrative moment that ought to be taken as important element—such a study would offer a nice intersection between the themes of my chapters 2, control, and 5, defeat. From the opposition between *glorius* and *inglorius* and how these epic-relevant adjetives characterize people and places new interesting readings might also be made, and an analysis of Hannibal's three-day ordeal in front of Rome's walls connected to his defeats in front of the other cities in Book 12 should also be examined in detail, especially in terms of time and space.

In Chapter 5, considering the isotopy of the *double* in Book 15, I started by analyzing the distinctions between *Virtus* and *Voluptas* in Scipio's *Scheideweg* and showed the double image in the god Mars' representation, in the *laurus* before and in *Virtus'* speech, and in the trains accompanying the two goddesses. Scipio is also double: through the eyes of the goddesses, as *Virtus* sees him as a *iuuenis*, whereas *Voluptas* considers him as *indignus puer*; and in his nature, both mortal and divine in origin. Demonstrating how Scipio is made to be better than Marcellus thanks to the former's education process, I examined Scipio's *pietas* against Marcellus' *clementia*, and was then able to pinpoint the word *pudicus* as an interesting characterization of the future *Africanus* and to show how saving his father in Book 4 (4.445-479) reads as chiastic when compared to Marcellus' son death and its consequences in Book 15 (15.334-380). By inspecting the uses of the word *forsan*, especially in the counterfactuals, I identified Silius' manoeuvre to make Scipio the new, young leader who is to become the role model from Book 15 on. Double is also the representation of Hasdrubal, always seen as a second to his brother Hannibal, especially highlighted in the crossing of the Alps, since Hasdrubal's has its lightness emphasized in the previously trodden trail he follows (15.471-514), whereas Hannibal's path had been difficult and full of fear and violence (3.477-556; 630-646). The idea of the double also appears in the try that permeates the Book, from both parties, to unite their ways and armies, which is noticed by the recurrence of words such as *bina* (with *castra*), *duplicare, coire, coniungere, socius,* and *sociare*. Hasdrubal's decapitation as a surrogate for Hannibal's as well as its functioning as a textual prolepsis for Carthage's fall was shown in detail, as well as the use of *transuerberare* and *rapere* as verbs that create for Nero the image of a hero in contrast with Hasdrubal as his hunted animal, a mere prey. In the last section in the Chapter, I took a closer look at how the doubling of ways and paths, in addition to the revisiting of places, also serve to determine Rome's superiority: whereas Scipio's retaking of Spain and Fabius' of Tarentum come off well, Hasdrubal first runs away from Spain and then tries to run away from the battle at the Metaurus; Philip V is forced back into his country; and Hannibal is forced away from his quarters.

In different passages of Book 15, circularity can, as expected, be seen in many aspects, *e.g.*: (1) in the use of *at*, a "monosyllabic thud," as stressed beginning of the Book, just like *iam* (6.1 and 12.1) or *sed* in the proem (1.12); (2) in Virtue's promise that Scipio would be able to deposit the *laurus* on Juiter's lap (15.119-120), which had already been predicted by the very same god at 9.545-546; (3) in the stressing of *clementia* in Laelius' eulogy for Scipio at 15.281-282, which echoes Marcellus' at 14.679-683; (4) in the very same scene of a warrior's attention being robbed out of battle by the wound of a relative (son-parent at 4.445-479, parent-son at 15.334-380), with different outcomes; (5) in the crossing of the Alps (at 3.477-556; 630-646, and 15.471-514), repeated but not exactly reproducing the same situation; (6) in the mirroring of both Hasdrubal's and Hannibal's lack of vigor (12.15-18 and 15.471), their *fugae* (7.331; 350-351 and 15.488), and their speeches (3.69-96 and 15.803-805); (7) in the many scenes of beheading that end up constructing a motive and serving as a warfare barometer in the whole poem. The theme of the double is a very instigating one and could be considered through different perspectives in union with the isotopies from the previous chapters as, for example, in how fear divides those who have the upper hand and the oppressed, and how this *status quo* shifts from time to time; how control can create doubles in one single character, as in Regulus' fight for control over the landscape (in his battle against the snake at the Bagrada) and his later

discontinuation, as he is held captive by the Carthaginians; Anna's ambivalence as a Carthaginian in origin made a Roman divinity and the multiple developments of this double identity both in her actions and in the plot in Book 8. Mars' representation throughout the poem is still (and surprisingly so) an unattended field, and considering the very name of the god as a representation of himself or a representation of war could be a rewarding "lexical beginning" to such a study. Images of hunting, hunters, and preys ought to offer relevant insight into doubles of winners vs. vanquished, empowered vs. powerless, always a revealing space in the epic.

By way of conclusion, it will be fitting to stress that one cannot impose one single, monolithic interpretation upon a text of such willfully complex themes, structure, and composition. The approach presented here is especially functional in Silius Italicus' *Punica*, also thanks to a "a feature typical of Silius," as Michael von Albrecht, 1999, p. 313-314, notes:

> In lines 23-25 [from Book 17, Claudia Quinta's and Cybele's episode], the reader is surprised by the fullness of expression: *substitit* hardly differs in meaning from *renuens procedere* which, in its turn, is very close to *haesit*. On top of these three verbs Silius adds the adjective *immobilis*. Because of such features, Silius' style was frequently called tautological [...]. Similarly in lines 46-47 there is not a world of difference between *finem armis* and *finem periclis uenire*. [...] The idea of stopping the movement of a film in order to have the image stick in the reader's mind finds a parallel in the above-mentioned description of the ship getting stuck: in fact, the triple expression, in different aspects, gives a meditative account of the event.

The "fullness of expression" is recurrent and amounts to sets of words that form a theme, a *Leitmotiv*—or an isotopy—that underlies the text or pops up in an attentive consideration of it, and this, in turn, offers meaningful insights in the relationship between different parts of the poem.

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