

THRASYMENNUS' WANTON WEDDING: ETYMOLOGY, GENRE, AND *VIRTUS* IN SILIUS ITALICUS, *PUNICA*

To set the scene for the battle of Lake Trasimene, Silius presents a unique aetiology for the lake's name, which he gives as Thrasymentus.¹ The beautiful son of Tyrrhenus, the Lydian colonist and eponymous king of Etruria, catches the eye of the local nymph Agylle, who, inflamed with passion, carries him down to the depths of the lake. The nymphs comfort him and, in the capping aetiological couplet, the lake is named Thrasymentus. This story, almost certainly invented by Silius, is one of several aetiologies in the poem with a markedly Ovidian character, most closely resembling the (likewise invented) story of the maiden Pyrene, raped and abandoned by Hercules, who gave her name to the mountain range.² As the story of a nympholept, it demands to be read against the abductions of Hylas by the nymphs and the rape of Hermaphroditus by Salmacis, but it also has points of comparison with Anna Perenna's union with the river Numicius, of which Silius himself offers a version in *Punica* 8.³ Silius regularly adopts and plays with the role of the *doctus poeta*, both in the way he manipulates his genuine *doctrina* and as he wittily invents aetiologies (and other learned details) in the manner of Callimachus, Propertius and especially Ovid.⁴ This inventiveness includes a passion for etymologizing, and I shall argue that, in the case of Thrasymentus, a further etymology lies behind both the name of the lake and of the beautiful youth. Moreover, this etymology is part of the way in which the story

¹ Sil. 5.7–23. The episode is discussed by P. Asso, 'Passione eziologica nei *Punica* di Silio Italico: Trasimeno, Sagunto, Ercole e i Fabii', *Vichiana* 2 (1999), 75–87, at 75–8; S. Batino, 'Stagnis Thrasymentum opacis: archeologia e miti nella storia di un lago', *ArchClass* 4 (2003), 411–22. I have not been able to locate a copy of M.A. Vinchesi, 'La vicenda di Trasimeno (Silio Italico 5, 7–23) e la fortuna del mito di Ila in età imperiale', in M.P. Pieri (ed.), *Percorsi della memoria* 2 (Florence, 2004), 103–11. The lake is called *Trasumennus* at Liv. 22.4.1 (and on 24 other occasions), *Τρασύμηννη* at Polyb. 3.82.10, and *Θρασύνη* at Plu. *Fab.* 3.1.

² Ovidian nature of story: R.T. Bruère, 'Color Ovidianus in Silius' *Punica* 1–7', in N.I. Herescu (ed.), *Ovidiana: recherches sur Ovide* (Paris, 1958), 475–99, at 484–5; M. Wilson, 'Ovidian Silius', *Arethusa* 37 (2004), 225–49, at 229. Pyrene: 3.420–41, with A.M. Keith, *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic* (Cambridge, 2000), 56–7; P. Asso, 'Passione eziologica nei *Punica* di Silio Italico: la morte di Pyrene', *AION(filol)* 23 (2001), 215–32; A. Augoustakis, 'Lugendam Formae Sine Virginitate Reliquit: reading Pyrene and the transformation of landscape in Silius' *Punica* 3', *AJPh* 124 (2003), 235–57.

³ Hylas: Theoc. 13; Ap.Rhod. 1.1207–39; Prop. 1.20; V.Fl. 3.549–4.57. Hermaphroditus: Ov. *Met.* 4.285–388. Statius has a similar story about the rape of the youth Lapithaon by the nymph Dercetis (*Theb.* 7.297–300), which J.J.L. Smolenaars, *Statius Thebaid VII: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1994), 145, thinks the poet probably invented. The direction of allusion between Statius and Silius is notoriously difficult to establish. Anna Perenna: Ov. *F.* 3.545–656; Sil. 8.50–201.

⁴ On Silian *doctrina*, see esp. A.J. Pomeroy, 'Silius Italicus as *doctus poeta*', *Ramus* 18 (1990), 119–39; R. Cowan, 'Absurdly Scythian Spaniards: Silius, Horace and the Concani', *Mnemosyne* 59 (2006), 260–7. Until recently Silian scholarship was dominated by *Quellenforschung*, but among the numerous works devoted to it, see esp. J. Nicol, *The Historical and Geographical Sources Used by Silius Italicus* (Blackwell, 1936), and, for a defence of Silius' inventiveness, H.-G. Nesselrath, 'Zu den Quellen des Silius Italicus', *Hermes* 114 (1986), 203–30. The seminal work on etymologizing as *doctrina* is F. Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge, 1979), esp. 87–110.

of Thrasymentus contributes to the wider, and interconnected, themes of generic propriety and military and moral *uirtus* in the *Punica*.

NAMED AND SHAMED: A WANTON WEDDING

The story is full of 'signposts' or 'markers', which indicate that it is not only aetiological but specifically etymological: *nomina seruant* (7), *dederatque uocabula* (11), *nomen* (22), *dicitur* (23).⁵ Primarily, this establishes the connection between the eponymous figures, Tyrrhenus and Thrasymentus, and, respectively, the land and lake explicitly named after them. This form of explicit etymology is widely paralleled in Virgil, Ovid and others, and might be exemplified by Caieta in *Aeneid* 7 or Croton in *Metamorphoses* 15.⁶ Silius himself provides various instances, especially in the heavily aetiological catalogue of Roman allies in *Punica* 8, including Marrus, eponymous founder of Marruvium, and King Asus, who gives his name to the river Asus and to the Asili.⁷ However, with Thrasymentus, the final, etymologizing couplet seems to overdetermine the derivation (Sil. 5.22-3):

hinc dotale lacus nomen, lateque Hymenaeos
conscia lasciuo Thrasymentus dicitur unda.

From him/this came the lake's dowered name, and, conscious far and wide of the wanton wedding, the waters are called Thrasymentus.

Silius appears to tell us the same thing twice, that the lake was named after the youth.⁸ Yet on both occasions he stresses that the naming was inextricably connected with the wedding of nymph and mortal – it was a dowry and it was, in some unspecified way, associated with knowledge of the wedding – a connection which leads us to question whether this is a simple boy-names-lake etymology. In addition, there is an ambiguity about *hinc*. Primarily, the youth's dowry is the honour that the lake's name should come 'from him', but *hinc* also suggests that it takes its name 'from this', that is from his rape by Agylle.⁹ If the lake's name is to be derived not only from that of the youth,

⁵ Asso (n. 1), 77, n. 15. On such etymological 'markers' or 'signposts', see R. Maltby, 'The limits of etymologizing', *Aevum (ant)* 6 (1993), 257–75, at 268–70; J.J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 75–9; A. Michalopoulos, *Ancient Etymologies in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Leeds, 2001), 4–5.

⁶ Caieta: *tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix, | aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti; | et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen | Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.* Virg. *A.* 7.1–4, with O'Hara (n. 5), 183; Croton: *nomen tumulati traxit in urbem.* Ov. *Met.* 15.57, with Michalopoulos (n. 5), 61. On explicit etymologies in the *Aeneid*, see O'Hara (n. 5), 73–5.

⁷ Catalogue: 8.349–621. Marrus: *Marruium ueteris celebratum nomine Marri* (8.505; E.M. Ariemma, *Alla vigilia di Canne: commentario al libro VIII dei Punica di Silio Italico* [Naples, 2000], 127, compares Serv. ad Virg. *A.* 7.750: *alii Marrubios a rege dictos uelint*); Asus: *ante, ut fama docet, tellus possessa Pelasgis, | quis Asus regnator erat fluuioque reliquit | nomen et a sese populos tum dixit Asilos* (8.443–5); Delz's emendation *Asus* for the MSS' *aesis* is marginally preferable to Alfieri's *Asis*, though both are otherwise unknown.

⁸ Alternatively, as *CQ*'s anonymous reader notes, the conjoining *–que* could be taken as introducing not a repetition but an exegetical expansion in parataxis. This would indeed mean that the explanation is not given twice, but does not alter the fact that it is a double explanation, deriving (in both the succinct and the expanded versions) the lake's name from the youth *and* from the fact of his abduction and wedding.

⁹ Both definitions of *hinc* are covered by *OLD* s.v. 7b ('indicating ... the origin of a word or name'), but an example, from Glare's own selection, of the sense 'from him' is ... *et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi* (Virg. *A.* 10.145); for 'from this (event)': *redduntur merito debita uina Ioui. | dicta dies hinc est Vinalia* (Ov. *F.* 4.898–9). F. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Punica de*

but also from the story itself, this would be an instance of a less common form of etymology, which O'Hara calls a 'double etymology', whereby a place is (explicitly) named after a person, whose name is itself (implicitly) etymologized. His examples include the Porta Carmentalis in *Aeneid* 8, named explicitly after the nymph Carmentis, whose name is in turn implicitly etymologized from *carmen*, 'prophecy', by the use of the words *fatidicae* and *cecinit*.¹⁰ With Thrasymennus the additional detail of the lake's being conscious of, or complicit in, the wanton wedding, apparently extraneous to the etymological punch-line which the couplet provides, might lead the reader to wonder whether it is in fact part of the etymology, or rather of a double etymology; the lake is explicitly named after the youth, but is his name also implicitly etymologized? The description of the wedding as *lasciuus*, wanton, is almost oxymoronic, since *Hymenaeus* tends to be reserved for proper, ritually correct weddings.¹¹ This oddity of expression further provokes the reader to look for a reason for its formulation, and that reason is an etymological one. *lasciuus Hymenaeus* glosses the Greek *θρασύς ὑμέναιος*, the true words behind Thrasymennus.¹²

It might be objected that *lasciuus* is not the closest equivalent of *θρασύς*. Agylle's abduction of Thrasymennus is undeniably bold, and this is made almost explicit when she casts off one of the commonest antonyms of *audacia*, her *casta pudor*.¹³ But is it her *audacia*, her *θράσος*, which makes the wedding *lasciuus*? *θρασύς* is, of course, most easily rendered into Latin by *audax*, as in Pliny's capping of Thucydides, or *temerarius*, as in Apuleius' etymologizing of Thrasyllus' name.¹⁴ However, *θρασύς* and its cognates are also used to describe those who are 'forward' and lacking in sexual restraint, such as Menander's Thais, Lycophron's Aegiale, and even, in one of Plutarch's alternative readings, Nausicaa.¹⁵ The personified *'Eρω*s is regularly described

Silius Italicus: Livres 1 à 8 (Geneva, 1986), 335, is surely right that, *pace* Volpilhac (in J. Volpilhac, P. Miniconi and G. Devallet [edd.], *Silius Italicus, La Guerre Punique* tome 2, livres V–VIII [Paris, 1981], 2), *lacus* is genitive, rather than nominative: 'the lake [takes] its dowered name from him' makes little sense, since the dowry ought to go to the groom rather than the lake.

¹⁰ Virg. *A.* 8.337–41, with O'Hara (n. 5), 209. At 224, he likewise shows how 10.198–200 explicitly derives Mantua from Manto, and implicitly derives her name from *μαντεύεσθαι* with the gloss *fatidicae*. Double etymologies of this kind, where both are authorized by the text, should not be confused with the use of the same term for alternative, mutually exclusive etymologies, although I shall argue below that Silius also hints at an alternative derivation for Thrasymennus.

¹¹ E.g. Catull. 66.11; Ov. *Ep.* 2.33; V.Fl. 8.149. R. Pichon, *De sermone amatorio apud latinos elegiarum scriptores* (Paris, 1902), 165: '*Hymenaeus semper ad ueras iustasque nuptias refertur*'. Cf. the similarly jarring oxymoron of Helen's *inconcossos hymenaeos* at Virg. *A.* 1.651.

¹² Ovid may hint at the first half of this etymology at *F.* 6.765–8, when he warns Augustus not to repeat Flaminius' rashness, calling it *temeraria tempora*, though his orthography *Trasimenus* does not facilitate the derivation. Neither Bömer nor Littlewood comment on this.

¹³ *castumque exuta pudorem* (5.15). *audacia* and *pudor* opposed: Ter. *Phorm.* 233; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.34, 39, *Quinct.* 79; Sall. *Cat.* 3.3.21; Tib. 1.4.13–14; Ov. *Met.* 9.527. See also R. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 2005), 55–6. Cf. D.L. Cairns, *Aidōs* (Oxford, 1993), 151: '*Tharsos* ... can be a positive antonym to misplaced *aidōs*, but it can also be taken too far, and thus lead to *anaideiē*, the negative antonym of *aidōs*'. *θρασύς* and *ἀναίδης* are paired at Cratin. fr. 377 K–A, Dem. *Chers.* 68.3, *Meid.* 201.5, *Andr.* 47.3, *Ep.* 4.4.8; they very often appear in scholia as more or less synonyms glossing the same word, e.g. ΣΤ ad Il. 21.394c.

¹⁴ *sicut ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, ita recta ingenia debilitat verecundia, perversa confirmat audacia* (Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.3, quoting Thuc. 2.40.3); *Thrasyllus, praiceps alioquin et de ipso nomine temerarius* (Apul. *Met.* 8.8). In the other direction, Planudes, in his translation of the *Met.*, uses *θρασύς* to render *ferox* (1.758, 9.31), *ferus* (9.85), *fortis* (4.652, 6.221), *proteruius* (12.234), *temerarius* (10.545), and *uiolentus* (8.106).

¹⁵ Men. fr. 163 K–A, Lyc. 612, Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 27B.

as *θρασύς*, and it is worth noting that the Roman *Amor*, though he can make his victims *audax*, is never so described himself; on the other hand, he is not infrequently *lascivus*.¹⁶ *lascivus* itself ranges from the neutral 'playful' (*OLD* s.v. 1) to 'free from restraint in sexual matters' (*OLD* s.v. 3), but always retains a sense of going beyond the acceptable limits, be it of seriousness or sexual propriety.¹⁷ That *lascivus* has a semantic range which encompasses boldness is most clearly shown by the author of the *HA* life of Hadrian who, in a list of the *princeps'* contradictory qualities, sets the *lascivus* facet of his character in antithesis with his propensity to be a *cunctator*.¹⁸ Pichon even goes so far as to gloss *lasciua*, as used by the elegists, as signifying 'simul uoluptatem et inpudentem liberamque audaciam', and *lasciui* as those 'qui in amore omnia audent'.¹⁹ There is, therefore, quite sufficient equivalence between the meanings of *lascivus* and *θρασύς* for the etymology to be recognized in such a heavily signposted couplet, even if the former is not the most obvious translation. Indeed the choice of *lascivus* to calque *θρασύς*, instead of the more obvious *audax*, is a calculated one, designed to underline that the boldness, *θράσος*, of these hymenaeals was of the wanton, erotic kind and emphatically not of the courageous, martial kind.

NOT BRAVING BUT CLOWNING: THE ETYMOLOGICAL PATH NOT TAKEN

In privileging *lascivus* over *audax* to render the Greek *θρασύς*, Silius does not only point the reader towards his preferred, erotic etymology; he indicates the rejected, martial etymology, whose trace is still present, almost under erasure, as in the phenomenon which Christopher Ricks has called an 'anti-pun'.²⁰ Critics have noted that the story is not only Ovidian, but elegiac, bucolic, anything but epic.²¹ This incongruity with the surrounding narrative, and especially the great battle which will dominate the rest of the book, is played out within the story itself.²² Thrasymentus'

¹⁶ *Ἔρως* as *θρασύς*: Aristophon fr. 11. K–A; Ap. Rhod. 3.687; AP 5.274.1, 7.421.3–4 (where he is called simply *ὁ θρασύς*); Nonn. 2.223, 33.103, 42.206, 47.267. Love makes people bold: Ov. *Met.* 4.96, cf. Lib. *Ep.* 147.3.5. *Amor* as *lascivus*: Tib. 1.10.57; Ov. *Am.* 3.1.43; *Ars* 2.497; cf. the less clearly personified *amores* at Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.7; Ov. *Ars* 3.27; Mart. *Apoph.* 187.1. *audax* only qualifies *amor* at Stat. *Theb.* 4.260, where Parthenopaeus is struck by a paradoxical passion for metonymous war: *audaci Martis percussus amore*.

¹⁷ TLL VII.2.983.48ff.: *modum excedens, imprimis gravitatem, moderationem, continentiam sim. vel pudicitiam*. The sole instance of forms of *audax* and *lascivus* together is unfortunately unhelpful, Tac. *Germ.* 24.1 (*quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est uoluptas spectantium*), since the boldness is in the danger which the sword-dancing entails, and *lasciua* is used in its most neutral sense of 'sport': A.A. Lund, *P. Cornelius Tacitus, Germania* (Heidelberg, 1988), 177, compares Liv. 1.5.2.

¹⁸ *idem seuerus laetus, comis grauis, lascivus cunctator, tenax liberalis, simulator <dissimulator>, saeuus clemens et semper in omnibus uarius* SHA *Hadr.* 14.11.

¹⁹ Pichon (n. 11), 184.

²⁰ 'Whereas in a pun there are two senses which either get along or quarrel, in an anti-pun there is only one sense admitted but there is another sense denied admission. So the response is not "this means x" (with the possibility even of its meaning y being no part of your response), but "this-means-x-and-doesn't-mean-y", all hyphenated.' C. Ricks, *The Force of Poetry* (Oxford, 1984), 265–6. So, in this *aition*, 'Thrasymentus-means-wanton-wedding-and-doesn't-mean-bold-spirited'. I am grateful to Seamus Perry and Carl Schmidt for introducing me to the anti-pun.

²¹ Elegiac: Asso (n. 1), 77; bucolic: Volpilhac (n. 9), 133.

²² At a late stage of revision, I discovered that A. Augoustakis, 'Two Greek Names in Silius Italicus' *Punica*, *RhM* 148 (2005), 222–4, at 223–4, also notes the derivation of Thrasymentus' name from *θρασύς*. However, he connects the *θράσος*, not with the boy himself, but with the 'arrogant and immodest' Tyrrenus.

father, Tyrrhenus, is depicted as a culture-hero, who not only gives his name to the land in which he settles his Lydians, but introduces the trumpet to the locals and thus ushers in Iron Age civilization²³ (5.9–13):

Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus; aequore longo
Maeoniam quondam in Latias aduexerat oras
Tyrrhenus pubem dederatque uocabula terris.
isque insueta tubae monstrauiit murmura primus
gentibus et bellis ignaua silentia rupit.

His father was Lydian, the glory of Tmolus; Tyrrhenus had once brought the Maeonian people by a long sea-journey to Latian shores and given his name to the land. And he was the first to reveal the unfamiliar sound of the trumpet to the people and to burst the idle silence for war.

Tyrrhenus is thus a sort of militaristic Saturn, or perhaps more aptly an Iron Age Jupiter from *Georgics* 1, toughening mankind up, not by the rigours of agriculture, but by war.²⁴ For the silence which Tyrrhenus' trumpet bursts is not peaceful but *ignauus* – sluggish, lazy, even cowardly.²⁵ His positive and beneficial invention or introduction of war as a means of improving Italy's moral fibre is entirely in keeping with the Jupiter of the *Punica*, who, in his own combination of the *Georgics* 1 theodicy and *Aeneid* 1 prophecy, explains that he has brought about the Second Punic War in order to reinvigorate the decadent Romans and spur them to greater glory.²⁶ In this he parallels the Jupiter of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, who likewise ushers in an Iron Age of war (there coupled with sea-faring) in order to raise mankind to the stars, and, like his Silian counterpart, combines this theodicy with a prophecy of empire.²⁷ Yet the emphasis on the musical instrument and on the *sound* of war adds a

²³ On Tyrrhenus' invention of the trumpet, see Hyg. *Fab.* 274; D. Briquel, *L'origine lydienne des Étrusques* (Rome, 1991), 319–44.

²⁴ Saturn as culture-hero: Virg. *A.* 8.314–27; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.7.21–3; A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), 57. Jupiter's Iron Age theodicy: Virg. *G.* 1.118–59. According to Plin. *HN* 7.201, Tyrrhenus also invented *hastaes uelutares* and, though the text is uncertain at this point, perhaps the *pilum*. See Briquel (n. 23), 345–68. In the alternative, Capuan *Weltanschauung* of Teuthras' song, the golden age is *casta ... Saturni ... saecula patris* (Sil. 11.458).

²⁵ Cf. Don Fowler's provocative reading of the arming of the Italians in *Aeneid* 7: 'Italy is recalled from its Saturnian slumber to a Jovian sense of struggle and cultural progress ... Juno as culture-hero in her opening of the gates is not simply a matter of parody: there is a sense in which this is the way progress really is made in human societies'. 'Opening the Gates of War', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (Swansea, 1998), 155–74, at 168 = *Roman Constructions* (Oxford, 2000), 173–92, at 188.

²⁶ 3.571–629; on greatness through adversity, 571–90, esp. 584–5: *iamque tibi ueniet tempus quo maxima rerum | nobilior sit Roma malis*. On the motif: H. Hommel, 'Per aspera ad astra', *WJA* 4 (1949–50), 157–65. On this speech: M. von Albrecht, *Silius Italicus. Freiheit und Gebundenheit römischer Epik* (Amsterdam), 17–18; W. Kißel, *Das Geschichtsbild des Silius Italicus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 42–6; W. Schubert, *Jupiter in den Epen der Flaviozeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 45–8, 55–80; F. Ahl, M.A. Davis and A. Pomeroy, 'Silius Italicus', *ANRW* II.32.4 (1986), 2492–561, at 2504; D.C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford, 1991), 305–6; R. Marks, *From Republic to Empire* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 14–15. This idea, and the corollary that Rome's post-Hannibalic success and prosperity inevitably lead to decline, is central to the *Punica*.

²⁷ V. Fl. 1.531–67, esp. 565–6: *durum uobis iter et graue caeli | institui*. See Schubert (n. 26), 23–4, 31–42; Feeney (n. 26), 318–9, 330–4; M. Wacht, *Jupiters Weltenplan im Epos des Valerius Flaccus* (Stuttgart, 1991); A. Zissos, 'Sailing and sea-storm in Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica* 1.574–642): the rhetoric of inundation', in R. Nauta, H.-J. van Dam and J.J.L. Smolenaars (edd.), *Flavian Poetry* (Leiden, 2006), 79–95.

metapoetic dimension to Tyrrhenus' revolution: he is not merely introducing war to a peaceful land; he is an epic poet giving sound to war in place of bucolic silence.

There is a metapoetic aspect to the next line also, as Silius describes the proud father's ambitions for his son (5.14): *nec modicus uoti natum ad maiora fouebat*, 'And, immoderate in his prayers, he nurtured his son for greater things'. *maiora* is rather compressed and even enigmatic, and it is only the connective *nec* which guides the reader to understand that these 'greater things' are successes in the wars of the previous sentence. Well, perhaps not only the *nec*, for once the connection with military matters is made, she might think of other contexts where the comparative of *magnus* has such a connotation: *paulo maiora canemus, nescioquid maius Iliade nascitur, maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, | maius opus moueo, certe maiora canebas*;²⁸ Tyrrhenus, the ambitious patriarch of a distinguished military family, might well want his son to follow him into the army, but Tyrrhenus, the martial epic poet, wants his son to be a martial epic hero. He wants his name to be etymologically connected with *θρασυμένων*, bold-spirited,²⁹ epithet of the Homeric Heracles.³⁰ Perhaps he even wants him to be a Hercules-figure, as would be appropriate in an epic *aition* in the tradition of Evander's narrative of Cacus, and indeed Hercules features in several other *aitia* in the *Punica*.³¹ He is doomed to be disappointed.

Agyllē is bucolic, elegiac, Ovidian, entirely unepic. Indeed, her elegiac quality is almost overdetermined, as her passion is described in a bewildering mix of erotic metaphors (5.15, 18–19):

uerum ardens puero castumque exuta pudorem...
flore capi iuuenum prima uo lubrica mentem
nympha nec Idalia lenta incaluisse sagitta.

²⁸ Virg. *E.* 4.1; Prop. 2.34.66; Virg. *A.* 7.44–5; Ov. *F.* 4.3; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.63. The first and last strictly refer to panegyric and aetiology, rather than martial epic, but there is considerable slippage between these higher genres set in antithesis with the lower genres of pastoral and erotic elegy. On forms of *maior* as generic markers for epic, and especially martial epic, see F. Bessone (ed.), *Heroidum Epistula XII* (Florence, 1997), 35–6. For examples in Silius, see D.P. Fowler, 'Even better than the real thing: a tale of two cities', in J. Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), 57–74, at 72–3 = *Roman Constructions* (Oxford, 2000), 86–107, at 104–6, on 6.711, and below on 4.476.

²⁹ So Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. and Hsch. θ 697 (*θρασὺν κατὰ τὸ μένος*) and, less precisely, Σ *A ad. Il.* 5.639 (*τολμηρόν*); Σ *bT ad. Il.* 5.639 (*τοὺς θρασεῖς ὑπομένοντα*) seems improbable in context, though more plausible etymologically; perhaps best of all would be the D scholia's mildly paradoxical *θρασὺν ἐν τῷ μένειν, ἢ θρασέως ὑπομένοντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ*. That there was confusion about the word's meaning and etymology contributes to the potential for competing interpretations here.

³⁰ It occurs only twice, on both occasions in the formula *θρασυμένονα θυμολέοντα*, in Tlepolemus' vaunt to Sarpedon (*Il.* 5.639) and Odysseus' description of Alcmena in the parade of women (*Od.* 11.267); Heubeck (in A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey vol. II, books IX–XVI* [Oxford, 1989], 93) thinks the formula might derive from an earlier poem about Heracles. One might note that both contexts concern parent-child relationships; the only other extant occurrence, except for quotations and glosses of Homer, is at Bacchyl. 5.69–70, where Meleager is the bold-hearted grandson of Porthmaon, and is being met in the underworld by none other than Heracles, all three elements linking back to the Homeric contexts.

³¹ Parallels with Hercules and Cacus: Asso (n. 1), 75; Hercules also appears in the *aitia* of Saguntum (1.273–87), Pyrene (3.420–41) and the Fabii (6.627–36), as well as being a central figure in the *Punica*. On Hercules in the *Punica*, see esp. E.L. Bassett, 'Hercules and the hero of the *Punica*', in L. Wallach (ed.), *Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Cornell, 1966), 258–73; F. Ripoll, *La morale héroïque dans les épopées latines d'époque flavienne* (Louvain, 1998), 112–32; Augoustakis (n. 2). He is also, according to Hyginus, Tyrrhenus' father.

She burns, casts off her modesty like a cloak (and we are perhaps meant to imagine that that is not *all* she casts off), is captured by the flower of the youth's beauty, because she is slippery in her mind, and then she is swift to grow hot (again) as the result of Cupid's arrow.³² A more elegiac figure it is hard to imagine. As such, she not only steals Tyrrhenus' son away, but freezes him forever at the point where he is a *puer*, a desired, feminized, objectified figure, who will never grow into an epic *uir*.³³ Like her Ovidian predecessor, Salmacis, she simultaneously feminizes and elegizes her victim.³⁴ Thrasymennus will never achieve the *maiora* which his father hopes for; the echo of *Eclogue* 4 highlights his failure to match the achievements of that poem's precocious *puer*, instead sliding back into being a figure like Hylas in *Eclogue* 6, a neoteric, bucolic negation of epic (as in Apollonius).³⁵ He will never have the *nomen*, the glorious reputation, which all Silian heroes crave.³⁶ Even the name he has will be given a new meaning, not 'bold of spirit', but 'wanton in his marriage'. Although the martial etymology is rejected by omission, rather than being registered and then

³² To give one example each from many, *ardeo*: Ov. *Am.* 1.9.33; *castus pudor*: Ov. *Ars* 1.100; casting off restraining emotions, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.57: *deposito pariter cum ueste timore; capio*: Prop. 1.1.1; flower of youth: Tib. 1.8.47; *incaluisse*: Ov. *Ep.* 18.42; *sagitta*: Tib. 2.1.81. See Pichon (n. 11) for further examples. *lubricus* is not a markedly elegiac word, but Varro connects it, and specifically the collocation *lubrica mens*, with *lubet* and *lubido* (L. 6.6.47). R. Ash, *Tacitus, Histories Book II* (Cambridge, 2007), 381, commenting on Tacitus' use of *lubrica* to describe Vitellius' fickle fleet at *H.* 2.101.2, suggests that he might have been 'struck' by Silius' description of Agylle.

³³ On the *puer* as the antithesis of the epic *uir*, as much as the *femina*, see Ll. Morgan, 'Child's play. Ovid and his critics', *JRS* 93 (2003), 66–91. In Valerius' Hylas episode, Juno, though the protectress of Jason, because of her overriding hostility to Hercules, similarly threatens to derail the epic mission of the Argonauts and thus the generic status of the poem, as Jupiter ironically reminds her (4.7–8): *sic Iuno ducem fouet anxia curis | Aesonium, sic arma uiro sociosque ministrat?* (on which see Feeney [n. 26], 324). The deified Hylas urges Hercules to cease his elegiac lament (*quid, pater, in uanos absumis tempora questus?* 4.25) and to return to his epic ways (*in duris haut umquam defice*, 35). On the generic connotations of allusions to *arma uirumque*, see also E.L. Bassett, 'Silius *Punica* 6.1–53', *CPh* 54 (1959), 10–34, at 13–14; A. Bloch, 'Arma uirumque als heroisches Leitmotiv', *MH* 27 (1970), 206–11; D. Hershkowitz, 'Patterns of madness in Statius' *Thebaid*', *JRS* 85 (1995), 52–64, at 63; B.W. Boyd, 'Arms and the man: wordplay and the catasterism of Chiron in Ovid *Fasti* 5', *AJPh* 122 (2001), 67–80; for *questus* and *queror* as markers for elegy (erotic and funereal), see J. Ingleheart, 'Ovid *Tristia* 1.2: high drama on the high seas', *G&R* 53 (2006), 73–91, at 84, with further references, ancient and modern; for epic *duritia* and elegiac *molliitia*, see S.E. Hinds, *The Metamorphoses of Persephone* (Cambridge, 1987), 21–4; D.F. Kennedy, *The Arts of Love* (Cambridge, 1993), 31–4.

³⁴ On the Salmacis episode as a conflict of epic and elegy, see I. Jouteur, *Jeux de genre dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* (Louvain, 2001), 272–80. On the feminization of Hermaphroditus, see M. Robinson, 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus: when two become one', *CQ* 42 (1999), 212–23; P.B. Salzman-Mitchell, *A Web of Fantasies: Gaze, Image, and Gender in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Columbus, 2005), 32–5, 160–3. On Valerius Flaccus' allusion to this episode to suggest Medea's threat to Jason's manliness and epic status, see T. Stover, 'Confronting Medea. Genre, gender, and allusion in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', *CPh* 98 (2003), 123–47, at 127–33.

³⁵ *puer*: Virg. *E.* 4.8, 18, 60, 62; Hylas: *E.* 6.43–3. I am grateful to Denis Feeney for suggesting the further implications of the passage's intertextuality with the *Eclogues*. For an argument that Valerius Flaccus reclaims Hylas for epic in polemical response to Propertius' elegizing of him, see M.A.J. Heerink, 'Going a step further: Valerius Flaccus' metapoetical reading of Propertius' Hylas', *CQ* 57 (2007), 606–20.

³⁶ *nomen* as glory: *OLD* s.v. 11, Sil. 2.699, 3.595, 4.37, 6.462, 7.600, 10.71, 13.98. There is frequent slippage between this sense and *OLD* 10 'The name (of a person) as famed' and *OLD* 2 'The name (of a people ... considered to have individual existence)', as at 10.501–2: *sed iuueni, ne sim tibi longior, hinc est l et genus et clara memorandum uirgine nomen*. Cloelia's fame, her gentile name and the fame *of* that name are all won by her courageous deeds. The contrast with Thrasymennus is the more pointed, since his *nomen* (name) is immortalized, but, as the passive figure of an erotic escapade rather than an active military hero, he has no *nomen* (glory).

dismissed, the adjudication between competing etymologies is typical of such *aitia*, and especially of Ovid's technique in the *Fasti*.³⁷ Tyrrhenus tried to nurture (*fouebat*) his son for greater things, but now the Naiads stroke (*fouere*) him to comfort him.³⁸ Even the glossing of *θρασύς* as *lascivus* associates it, not with epic *audacia*, but with the playful, childish Ovidian poetics which Llewelyn Morgan has shown to be so disruptive of the grown-up decorum of epic.³⁹ Elegy, forever railing against the *πρώτος εὐρετής* of war, has its revenge on epic Tyrrhenus.⁴⁰

IN THE NAME OF THE SON: THRASYMENNUS AND THE *PUNICA*

Silius' aetiologies have often been seen merely as decoration, demonstrations of his *doctrina* to satisfy the tastes of Flavian readers. Asso concludes that the story of Thrasymentus 'dà un colore e una vivacità sorprendenti e spezza la monotonia della narrazione', while Wilson vividly argues that the *Punica*'s Ovidian elements as a whole invite readers 'to look at the view through the window and not at their digital watches'.⁴¹ However, they are able to produce more subtle, serious and wide-ranging effects. Keith and Augoustakis, respectively, have shown how the aetiological story of Pyrene 'exposes the violence that underwrites the assimilation of the female to the topography of epic', and dramatizes Hannibal's failure to follow the positive aspects of his Herculean model successfully.⁴² Batino suggestively explores the mythical implications of the Thrasymentus narrative, with its parallels in Etruscan myth, and its allegorical interpretation as a transition either into another phase of life or from life to death.⁴³ We have seen that there is a generic resonance to the story, fore-

³⁷ Ov. *F.* 1.319–36, 2.449–50, 475–80, 3.839–46, 4.61–2, 85–90, 5.1–110, 6.1–100, a subset of the list of all alternative aetiologies in J.F. Miller, 'The *Fasti* and Hellenistic didactic: Ovid's variant aetiologies', *Arethusa* 25 (1992), 11–31, at 12, n. 6. In 5.1–110, as in our case, the choice between etymologies has a generic resonance: 'It is not only a question of an aetiological choice, for each Muse brings a different type of poetic discourse to bear on the argument, and each has a bent towards the tradition of a different literary genre.' (A. Barchiesi, 'Discordant Muses', *PCPhS* 37 [1991], 1–21, at 14).

³⁸ *solatae uiridi penitus fouere sub antro | Naides amplexus undosaque regna tremementem*, 5.20–1. The detail recalls Theoc. 13.53–4, except that there the same nymphs both snatch and comfort Hylas. The erotic overtones of *fouere* (cf. Tib. 1.6.6, with J. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* [Baltimore, 1983], 208) are further in contrast with Tyrrhenus' paternal nurturing. If the scene also reminds the reader of Aristaeus' being comforted and entertained by the water-nymphs at Virg. *G.* 4.359–85, she might note Thrasymentus' failure to become a comparable culture hero.

³⁹ Morgan (n. 33), *passim* and esp. 69–75.

⁴⁰ Schetliasmus of *πρώτος εὐρετής* of war: Tib. 1.3.47–8, 1.10.1; Prop. 4.3.19–20 (*occidat, immerita qui carpsit ab arbore uallum | et struxit querulas rauca per ossa tubas*) is particularly pertinent to Tyrrhenus. On curses of inventors more generally, see F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1895), 151–4, and in love elegy, R. Müller, *Motivkatalog der römischen Elegie* (Zürich, 1952), 21.

⁴¹ Asso (n. 1), 78; Wilson (n. 2), 238. I agree with Wilson that 'Virgilian source material is always co-opted into a process of generic transgression' (247), but would argue that there is an ideological dimension to such generic transgression.

⁴² Keith (n. 2), 57; Augoustakis (n. 2), 254. 'Despite the constant effort of the Carthaginian general to imitate Hercules, Hannibal is portrayed as a follower of an erroneous model, whose darkest traits Silius has carefully underscored'.

⁴³ '[S]i può facilmente intuire come il mito del rapimento di Trasimeno, con la transizione spaziale dal dominio terrestre a quello acquatico, possa aver assunto già in fasi molto antiche il significato di una perfetta metafora per indicare il passaggio ad un'altra dimensione, che sia quella del regno di Ade o il passaggio ad una nuova fase della vita.' (Batino [n. 1], 416). Hylas' rape in Theoc. 13 has likewise been interpreted as a sort of death by C. Segal, *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (Princeton, 1981), 54–61.

grounded by the conflict of etymologies, which dramatizes the tension within the poem between its epic nature and elements which try to draw it towards lower genres. I would like to conclude by arguing that, as I have already intimated, this generic conflict is, on a symbolic level, a microcosm of the poem's wider concerns about moral revival and decline. Tyrrhenus' success in epicizing and militarizing the Etruscans, and his failure to continue that level of generic and moral integrity into the next generation, are played out on a larger scale throughout the *Punica*.

The positive transition from slothful peace to active, glorious, Iron Age war, which we have seen Jupiter give as his reason for starting the conflict, is initiated when Fama, emphatically placed as the incipit of *Punica* 4, spreads the news that Hannibal has crossed the Alps. It is hard not to think of the Virgilian Fama, whose appearance in another book 4 led (albeit at three removes) to Aeneas' abandonment of the slothful life of the elegiac lover in favour of resuming his epic mission. Generic propriety and divinely ordained duty go hand in hand.⁴⁴ So it is in *Punica* 4, where the polishing of rusty spears in the manner of Virgil's Latins not only marks their return to the militarism which made Rome great, but restores the epic propriety of the poem, as Mars *ciet arma uirosque*, summons 'arms and men' at the same time as he summons 'epic'.⁴⁵ As with Aeneas, the generic conflict is not mere literary cleverness but a means of expressing the conflict between the value systems which epic and its antitheses represent. Fama, Mars and even the unwitting Hannibal here serve the will of Jupiter to make Rome great through war and through epic, and in this they are a precise parallel for Tyrrhenus.

Yet the *Punica* is not only a poem of cultural progress and renovation; it is also a poem of moral and political degeneration and decline. Elegiac elements are always threatening to defeat the epic, and simultaneously the forces of decadence threaten to demoralize those whose martial valour would otherwise win them glory. Disturbingly, a distinctly elegiac Venus and her Cupidines save Rome by corrupting Hannibal and his Carthaginians during their sojourn in Capua, simultaneously a contrast to the hardness of third-century B.C. Rome and a prolepsis of the decadence of Domitianic Rome.⁴⁶ Scipio, replaying the Prodician Hercules, rejects the personified Voluptas in favour of Virtus, but the former, bearing an uncanny resemblance to the Silian Venus, flounces off with the chilling prophecy that her day will come, which, in Silius' moral pessimism, it of course already has.⁴⁷ The echoes of Ovid's similar encounter with

⁴⁴ 'Love between Dido and Aeneas runs counter to the will of fate, but also contradicts the generic canons of epic since it represents, on more levels than one, an intrusion of materials outside and not provided for in the epic code (e.g., erotic-elegiac, erotic-tragic). The dialectical overcoming of the deviant Carthaginian episode ends up being therefore victory for epic no less than for Fate.' (A. Barchiesi, *Speaking Volumes. Narrative and Intertext in Ovid and Other Latin poets* [London, 2001], 131).

⁴⁵ 4.11. For *arma uirumque* as metonymy for epic, see under n. 33 above. Silius is particularly – perhaps excessively – fond of plays on the formula: 1.132, 241, 364, 519, 2.675, 3.526, 4.98, 253, 5.325, 6.6, 7.8, 8.272, 661, 9.100, 597, 10.505, 554, 12.168–9, 189, 17.102, 279, 442–3, 516.

⁴⁶ 11.385–431. On this scene, see E. Burck, *Silius Italicus. Hannibal in Capua und die Rückeroberung der Stadt durch die Römer* (Mainz, 1984), 22–4; G.O. Hutchinson, *Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal* (Oxford, 1993), 203–7; A. Barchiesi, 'Genealogie letterarie nell' epica imperiale', in *L'histoire littéraire immanente dans la poésie latine* (Vandœuvres-Genève, 2001), 315–54, at 336–42; R. Cowan, *Indivisible Cities: Mirrors of Rome in Silius Italicus* (Oxford, forthcoming). The enervating winter sojourn spent in love and luxury which threatens the generic purity of the epic has two key antecedents in Apollonius' Argonauts' visit to Lemnos, on which see Feeney (n. 26), 322–4, and of course Aeneas in Carthage (see n. 44 above).

⁴⁷ Scipio in *biuiis*: 15.18–129; Voluptas' parting shot: 123–7. On the scene, see esp. Ahl-Davis-

Tragoedia and Elegeia in *Amores* 3.1 re-inforce the sense that both moral and generic levels are in play, that Scipio has chosen both *uirtus* and epic, but that vice and elegy will triumph in the end. Agylle, the elegiac *puella* who turns a prospective epic hero into an eternal *puer delicatus*, the man of the bold spirit into the boy with the wanton wedding, embodies the generic and moral threat to the epic, military ideal which the *Punica* depicts as the only way to the stars, as opposed to the bottom of a lake.

This threat is, of course, to the future, to succeeding generations. The *Punica* is pre-occupied with descent – familial, ethnic and literary – and how the past shapes the present and the present the future.⁴⁸ The conflict between Rome and Carthage is based on their descent from Trojans and Dido's Tyrians, and what happens in the course of the Second Punic War will have (with the benefit of hindsight) an immense impact on the future of Rome down to Silius' own Domitianic era. We have already seen how Tyrrhenus' hopes for his son, that he will be a great warrior and (which comes to the same thing) an epic hero, are frustrated. This symbolizes, on a small scale, the poem's grander concerns about the future of Rome, whose martial, epic qualities can too easily be corrupted into elegiac decadence. However, it gains even greater resonance from being read in context, following immediately from the end of *Punica* 4, when Hannibal refuses the Carthaginian demand (fomented by his enemy Hanno) to have his son sacrificed in a tophet.⁴⁹ Hannibal, like Tyrrhenus, has great ambitions for his son, ambitions that he will be a great warrior and, of course, a great epic hero.⁵⁰ This wish is most clearly encapsulated in one lapidary line (4.814): *at puer armorum et belli seruabitur heres*. Silius' favoured collocation of *arma uirumque* is here adapted to *puer armorum*: Hannibal's *puer* will, as his father hopes, grow up to be an epic *uir*, who can be coupled with *arma* to produce the epic formula. He will be the *heres*, the heir, both literal and literary, to the *arma* and the *bellum*, the incipit of the *Aeneid* and the title of the *Bellum Ciuile*. Hardie has shown how Hannibal fails in his attempt to substitute a sacrifice of the Roman dead at Trasimene for that of his son, so that his 'hopes that his son will take his place as a great leader of his people ... will come to nothing.'⁵¹ The last time we saw him with his wife and child, he was cast as a Hector, keeping them away from battle.⁵² Like Hector, his hopes for his Astyanax, that he will be a great warrior like his father, are vain. We might add that his hopes, like Tyrrhenus', and indeed Hector's, that his son would take his place as the hero of an epic poem also come to nothing.

This contrasts sharply with the young Scipio, a *puer* who will – even in the course of the poem – develop into an epic *uir*, rather than being frozen in unfulfilled childhood. Indeed, even in Book 4, he moves from being an Ascanius, marked out for

Pomeroy (n. 26), 2553–4; M. Fucecchi, 'Lo spettacolo delle virtù nel giovane eroe predestinato: analisi della figura di Scipione in Silio Italico', *Maia* 45 (1993), 17–48, at 42–4; Marks (n. 26), 148–61.

⁴⁸ P.R. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. 88–119; Ripoll (n. 31), 48–63; Cowan (n. 4).

⁴⁹ 4.763–829, with Hannibal's speech at 809–29. On this scene, see esp. R.T. Bruère, 'Silius Italicus *Punica* 3.62–162 and 4.763–822', *CPh* 47 (1952), 219–27, at 219–22; M. Fucecchi, 'Irarum proles: un figlio di Annibale nei *Punica* di Silio Italico', *Maia* 44 (1992), 45–54.

⁵⁰ Again, I find myself partially anticipated by Augoustakis (n. 22), who notes the parallel between Tyrrhenus and Hannibal, but not the generic dimension.

⁵¹ Hardie (n. 48), 50–1.

⁵² 3.62–162, with Bruère (n. 49), 222–3; von Albrecht (n. 26), 146–7; D.W.T. Vessey, 'The dupe of destiny: Hannibal in Silius, *Punica* III', *CPh* 77 (1982), 320–5, at 324–5; Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy (n. 26), 2513–4; Ripoll (n. 31), 66–9. This scene also evokes Pompey's leave-taking of Cornelia at Luc. 5.722–815, but the latter resonance does not extend to the debate over child-sacrifice.

greatness by the omen of the dove which lands on his helmet before the battle of Ticinus, to a blend of the maturing Ascanius who kills Numanus Remulus and the Aeneas who rescues his father from Troy, as Scipio does his at the battle of Trebia.⁵³ The augur Liger, interpreting the omen correctly, addresses the *puer* as one who will have a *maius Carthagine nomen* (4.130), on one level, of course, 'Africanus', but also a fame, for all his current childish years, appropriate to the higher genre of epic; it will certainly not be the elegiac name 'wanton wedding'.⁵⁴ He is marked out again, in Jupiter's instructions to his son Mars,⁵⁵ as a *puer*, but one who already entrusts to his tender right hand battles, *proelia*, half of that other recurrent metonymy of epic, the *reges et proelia* which Apollo prevented Virgil–Tityrus from singing; with Mars' help, he might *dare* his first-fruits of battle, to be bold, *θρασύς* even, but that he *audeat*, not *lasciuat*.⁵⁶ When Scipio, Aeneas-like, has performed the *pius* feat of rescuing his father, Mars praises him (*macte*) in the manner of the Apollo of *Aeneid* 9, marking Ascanius for a great future. He addresses him as *care puer*, but the echo of Evander's farewell to Pallas is a contrastive one: Scipio will not be a doomed youth, deflowered by death, but will live on to a fulfilled epic future. For Mars predicts that he will go on to greater things, militarily and generically, in the way that Thrasymennus will not: *adhuc maiora supersunt*.⁵⁷ In this respect Scipio resembles the boy Hannibal, whom Hamilcar (unlike Tyrrhenus with his son) successfully inspires with epic passion (1.80): *Romanum seuit puerili in pectore bellum*. Almost poignantly the epic which the great Barca hopes he has sown in his boy's breast is called *Bellum Romanum*, a title which can only be given by a Carthaginian victor, to distinguish one successful war from the others; just as the Greeks fought the Persian Wars, so Rome victorious will brand this conflict with the name of the defeated, the Second Punic War, the Hannibalic War, and its epic will be, not *Romana*, but *Punica*.

For Scipio, not Hannibal, will be the ultimate victor of this epic. His superiority to Hannibal, to Thrasymennus, and to the other youths who are among the poem's defeated, is manifested in two interlinked ways. Firstly, his destined victory means that, though he starts as a *puer*, he swiftly matures to become an epic *uir*, and is never frozen in the passive state of an *erômenos*, as the feminized, eroticized object of a desiring gaze. Building on the work of Fowler and others, Reed has shown how, in the eroticized deaths of figures like Virgil's Euryalus, Pallas and even Turnus, 'the shadow of a feminine persona figuratively registers the loss of their adult male potential; the erotic light that falls on them in a sense confirms their now permanent status as boys' and we are shown 'the failure of these fallen warriors to continue national or family lines'.⁵⁸ Thrasymennus' rape by Agylle, a sort of thanatized love rather than eroticized

⁵³ Omen: 4.101–19, with Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy (n. 26), 2544; Fucecchi (n. 47), 20–3; Marks (n. 26), 163–9.

⁵⁴ Denis Feeney suggests *per litteras* that there may be a further play on his later title of *Maiores*, to distinguish him from Scipio (Aemilianus) Africanus Minor.

⁵⁵ The generational continuity of martial and epic excellence is further marked by Jupiter addressing Mars (notably not Mercury or Apollo) as *nate* (4.420).

⁵⁶ 4.425–6. Cf. Virg. *E.* 6.3–5; for *reges et proelia* as metonymy for martial epic, see e.g. G. Williams, *Banished Voices. Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge, 1994), 29–32. On this scene: Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy (n. 26), 2544; Fucecchi (n. 47), 23–5; Marks (n. 26), 38, 218–19.

⁵⁷ Mars' speech: 4.472–7; Apollo: Virg. *A.* 9.641–4; Evander: *ibid.* 8.581. On this scene: Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy (n. 26), 2545; Fucecchi (n. 47), 27–9; Hardie (n. 48), 97; Ripoll (n. 31), 182–3; Marks (n. 26), 37; and esp. (noting the generic relevance) S. Casali, 'The poet at war: Ennius on the field in Silius's *Punica*', *Arethusa* 39 (2006), 569–93, at 589.

⁵⁸ J.D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze* (Princeton, 2007), 23, 40. Cf. D.P. Fowler, 'Vergil on killing virgins', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby (edd.), *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*

death, as Batino has shown, and his reduction from prospective epic *uir* to the object of her desiring gaze render him one of the poem's defeated: emasculated, productive of no generational continuity, leaving a name to be sure, but only one commemorating his shameful marriage.⁵⁹ Hannibal too will finally become the object of the Roman people's desiring gaze, even if it is only as an absent presence, when the *imago* of him *in defeat*, fleeing on the plain, holds everyone's eyes and minds.⁶⁰ By then, Scipio will be addressed, not as *care puer*, but as *inuicte parens* (17.651).

Secondly, Scipio's choice of *Virtus* over *Voluptas*, both personified and abstracted, of epic over elegy, sets him up as the morally and generically superior figure, who, within the epic economy of the *Punica*, can fulfil the moral and generic plan of Jupiter. Thrasymentus succumbs to Agylle, Hannibal to Venus at Capua, but Scipio resists temptations both allegorical and corporeal. For, when, after the capture of Nova Carthago, he sends back untouched the betrothed virgin offered to him as a spoil of war, Laelius praises his continence, his refusal to veer into the territory of both decadent voluptuary and elegiac lover, in terms which explicitly compare him (to his advantage) with epic heroes *qua* epic heroes (15.275-6): *cedat tibi gloria lausque | magnorum heroum celebrataque carmine uirtus*.⁶¹ Indeed, even the heroes of the *Iliad*, Agamemnon, Achilles, and all the other inhabitants of tents on the Trojan plain, succumbed to this weakness; for weakness it was – they violated their treaty of alliance *femineo amore*, primarily out of love *for* women such as Chryseis and Briseis, but also out of a feminine love, an incontinent, enervating, elegiac passion, which leads to moral ruin and disaster, as it did when Camilla conceived her feminine desire for spoils.⁶² It is Scipio's ability to resist such temptation, unlike Thrasymentus and Hannibal, which marks him as the epic hero envisaged by Jupiter and by Tyrrhenus, the *puer* who will grow into a *uir* and gain a greater name, not 'wanton wedding', but 'Africanus'.⁶³

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(Bristol, 1987), 185–98; for the motif in Silius' contemporary, Statius: C. Jamset, 'Death-loration: the eroticization of death in the *Thebaid*', *G&R* 51 (2004), 95–104.

⁵⁹ See n. 43 above.

⁶⁰ *sed non ulla magis mentesque oculosque tenebat, | quam uisa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago* (17.643–4). Hardie (n. 48), 38–9, emphasizes the triumph's substitution of *imagines* for the 'real' Hannibal and Scipio.

⁶¹ On this scene, see Ripoll (n. 31), 352–3, 463–4; Marks (n. 26), 238–9. Cf. Ahl-Davis-Pomeroy (n. 26), 2554, who see it, on the contrary, as an exception to their depiction of an already corrupted Scipio.

⁶² 15.277–32. Camilla: Virg. *A.* 11.782.

⁶³ I am very grateful to Denis Feeney and Elly Cowan for their helpful comments on drafts of this article.