university of groningen

University Medical Center Groningen

University of Groningen

The Many Faces of Capua

Keur, van der, Michiel; Pyy, Elina

Published in:
Campania in the Flavian Poetic Imagination

DOI:
10.1093/oso/9780198807742.003.0017

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
2019

Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database

Citation for published version (APA):
Keur, van der, M., & Pyy, E. (2019). The Many Faces of Capua: Its Narrative and Programmatic Roles in Punica 11-13. In *Campania in the Flavian Poetic Imagination* (pp. 249-268). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198807742.003.0017

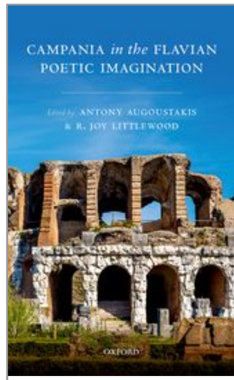
Copyright
Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the “Taverne” license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment.

Take-down policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): http://www.rug.nl/research/portal. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

Download date: 19-11-2022



Campania in the Flavian Poetic Imagination
Antony Augoustakis and R. Joy Littlewood

Print publication date: 2019
Print ISBN-13: 9780198807742
Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: December 2018
DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198807742.001.0001

The Many Faces of Capua

Its Narrative and Programmatic Roles in *Punica* 11–13

Elina Pyy
Michiel van der Keur

DOI:10.1093/oso/9780198807742.003.0017

Abstract and Keywords

This chapter focuses on the complex identity of Capua through its past and present associations with Troy, Rome, and Carthage. Whilst Capua's defection to Hannibal provides the conqueror with the comforts and loyalty of home, the definition *altera Carthago* speaks primarily of perfidy but also of *luxuria* to his Roman enemies. This dichotomy is explored through a multiplicity of images and intertexts designed to evoke the banquets of Dido and Virrius. Capua's past, her Trojan inheritance, raises the ambiguity of *altera Troia*, evoking the fall of Troy and, through Virgilian allusion, its renascence as Rome, whereas Capua's *perfidia* sets her in contrast with another Trojan foundation, the city of Saguntum, which fell rather than betray her loyalty to Rome. Silius' description of Capua's decadent luxury is an admonition, grimly associating Rome's imperial grandeur with the undercurrents of civil war, which are underlined by the kinship of Rome and Capua.

Keywords: Capua, Troy, Rome, Carthage, Silius Italicus, Punica, Hannibal, Virrius, Dido

The region of Campania is an important locale in Silius Italicus' *Punica*, serving as the setting of the narrative in much of Book 7 and 11–13. In Book 11, its main city, Capua, sides with Hannibal after the battle of Cannae and is punished for its defection by the Romans in Book 13. Among the various cities featuring in the *Punica*, Capua has a particularly complex identity, with several faces to show to the reader. Three such faces will be explored in this chapter: Capua as the

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

mirror image of Carthage, as the heir of Troy, and as a parallel for Rome.[1] Through studying the intra- and intertextual connections, we will analyse Capua's narratological and programmatic functions in the epic. As a small-scale representation of the Hannibalic war, Capua's narrative may be considered a microcosm for the entire epic, shedding light on the ideological content of the poem as a whole.

Mirror of the Present: Capua as *altera Carthago*

The starting point for this discussion will be the phrase used by both friend and foe for Capua: *altera Carthago*, a second Carthage. In Book 11, Hannibal, enjoying the sumptuous Capuan banquets, calls the city his second home.[2] **(p. 250)** The phrase is used again in Book 13, but now in a negative sense, when the Roman commander Fulvius exhorts his men to besiege the city:

> 'dedecus hoc defende manu. cur perfida et urbi
> altera Carthago nostrae post foedera rupta
> et missum ad portas Poenum, post iura petita
> consulis alterni stat adhuc et turribus altis
> Hannibalem ac Libycas expectat lenta cohortes?'

(Sil. 13.99–103)

> 'Repel this disgrace with might. Why does this treacherous town, a second Carthage to our city, still remain standing after having broken our treaties and having sent the Punic to our gates, after having demanded the right of alternating consulship, and is now waiting at leisure on the ramparts for Hannibal and the Libyan cohorts?'

Both times we are invited to draw parallels: Capua *is* a Carthage, in various ways. The most obvious one is made explicit by Fulvius: Capua is *altera Carthago* in its perfidious behaviour towards Rome. Its defection from Rome after Cannae is phrased in the same terms as Hannibal's assault on Saguntum which started the war, namely as the breaking of pacts.[3] Capua also shares Carthage's hostility by having 'sent the Punic' to Rome, a rhetorical claim which is later proudly repeated by the Capuans themselves (13.267).

Capua and Carthage are thus both characterized by perfidy, just as the opposite virtue of *fides* binds the city of Saguntum to Rome in the first books of the *Punica*. Scholars have identified the significance of Saguntum and its fall in Silius' epic, both as the starting point of Hannibal's campaign towards Rome and as the substitute for Rome—for Hannibal, the fall of Saguntum should anticipate the fall of Rome, but it turns out that Saguntum is all that he will get.[4]

Capua is the counterpart to Saguntum in what might be labelled the second half of the *Punica*, with a very similar role as representative of Carthage.[5] The Roman conquest of the city is their first step towards their ultimate victory at

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

Zama. Capua's fall and the punishment of its crimes anticipate Carthage's similar fate, and also acts as a surrogate on the narrative level (since the capitulation of Carthage is told in a mere seven words in 17.618–19). Just as Saguntum represents Rome not merely in its adherence to *fides*, so, too, the connection between Capua and Carthage goes beyond their shared 'ideology' of perfidy; Capua is presented as the double of Carthage also in other, less obvious ways, which reinforce its prefigurative role.

(p.251) First, the Capuan forces are described in terms reminiscent of Punic might, as a single example will illustrate.[6] At 13.191–212, three brothers, triplets, defend the gates. Their likeness to Hannibal's forces is already suggested by their very weaponry, as the use of poison by one of them, Laurens, is a tactic used also by the Numidians, as described earlier in much the same wording (*nec fidens nudo sine fraudibus ensi*, 1.219; *nudo non credere ferro*, 13.198). Moreover, the three brothers each wield a different weapon, a variety of weapons which recalls Hannibal's versatility in armaments during the siege of Saguntum (1.319–23). But the most prominent connection is the simile which enhances the portrayal of the triplets, featuring the three-bodied giant Geryon (13.200–5).[7] This monster figured as the Spanish opponent in Hercules' tenth labour, and is first mentioned in the foundation legend of Saguntum (1.273–87). David Vessey has well formulated the monster's significance: 'Geryon with his three lives and triform body may be interpreted as a figure of Carthage, the city that waged war three times against Rome before its final destruction.'[8] Having featured at the beginning of Hannibal's campaign towards Rome, the same myth is evoked again here in Book 13, at the beginning of the Roman campaign towards Spain and Africa. With Fulvius' (Herculean) defeat of the (Geryon-like) triplets in Capua, the future Roman victory over Carthage is anticipated.[9]

It is presumably also in this light that we should read the lines which follow the simile. The scene ends abruptly when, in 13.206–12, the Roman commander Fulvius kills the first of the three brothers, Numitor, with no further mention of his brothers. Various scholars have commented upon this abrupt end, which they feel is anticlimactic and unfinished (François Spaltenstein even supposes a lacuna).[10] Yet this end ties in very well with the significance of the Geryon simile. If Geryon represents Carthage, then the death of one of the bodies (i.e. Numitor) reflects Carthage's weakened position after the loss of Capua. Indeed, beautiful Numitor (*forma ex his Numitor … / praestabat*, 13.194–5) is a perfect representative of luxurious Capua.[11] The narrative is not so much unfinished as *not yet* finished; the Punic monster will continue to lose its 'members' until all that is left in Book 17 is the trunk of Carthage: *stabat Carthago, truncatis undique membris* (17.149).

(p.252) Capua thus mimics Carthage in its perfidy and in the way its warriors fight; but it is a 'second Carthage' in a metapoetical sense as well. For when Hannibal is seen banqueting in Capua, the sense of déjà vu is strong: we have

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

seen this ‘Carthage’ before. As Erich Burck has shown, the scene clearly evokes Dido’s hospitality towards Aeneas in Virgil’s *Aeneid* 1.[12] A passage particularly rich in verbal echoes, including exact parallels but also redistributed phrases and synonyms, is the opening of the banquet (11.270–9, corresponding with *A*. 1.637–42 and 1.699–708), with the servants each performing their various tasks. There is a metapoetic reference to Silius’ literary source in *instituunt de more epulas* (‘they organize a banquet in the traditional manner’, 11.270). More correspondences soon follow; it also emerges, however, that Silius is playing with nationalities and literary roles. Hannibal is entertained by the singer Teuthras (as Aeneas was by Iopas), whose song calls attention to the Trojan descent of the Capuans.[13] It is thus made clear that this banquet, like the one in *Aeneid* 1, is another friendly gathering of Carthaginians and Trojans; these roles are confirmed when here, too, the participants of both nationalities applaud the bard and the order in which they are named corresponds to the order used by Virgil.[14] This time, however, the Trojans are the hosts. As in *Aeneid* 1, Venus appears with her cupids to influence the course of the epic by weakening a Carthaginian leader—but now the guest, Hannibal, rather than the host Dido. Leaving aside for now the correspondences between the Punic general and Punic queen, in the remainder of this first section we will explore instead the connections between the host Dido and the host Capua.

The structure and plot of *Punica* 11–13 arguably mirror those in *Aeneid* 1–4;[15] for the present purpose, it is enough to draw attention to the parallelism of Capua in *Punica* 11 and 13 and Carthage/Dido in *Aeneid* 1 and 4, episodes which frame the narratives of the misguided defence of Troy by Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2 and Hannibal’s misguided attack on Rome (new Troy) in *Punica* 12. The fate of Silius’ Capua and its collective populace closely resembles Dido’s fate in the *Aeneid*: both host a foreign leader in the opening episode, a show of hospitality which leads in both cases to the host’s doom in the closural episode.[16] Just as Aeneas abandons Dido, so is Capua abandoned by the anti-Aeneas Hannibal.[17] **(p.253)** This parallelism suggests that we should look for other reminiscences of *Aeneid* 4 in *Punica* 13.

An important image in the opening scenes of *Aeneid* 4 is the simile with which lovesick Dido is compared to a hind, lethally shot by an unwitting Cretan archer (4.68–73). The simile reflects Dido’s love, but naturally also anticipates her doom at the end of the book. Similarly in Silius’ episode of the fall of Capua, a deer features in the opening scene: the white hind (*cerva*) of Capua, a totemic animal which, significantly, represents its city. The animal’s capture and sacrifice by the Romans (13.135–7) adumbrates the imminent fall of Capua. Some fifty lines later, when the assault commences, the poet describes the missiles with which the besiegers attack Capua, and ends this description with a suggestive image: ‘a Cretan arrow travels through the sky and lands in the middle of the city’ (*Dictaea per auras / tranat et in medium perlabitur urbis harundo*, 13.184–5). Whilst, naturally, *all* epic arrows are Cretan, both the words *Dictaeus* and

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

harundo are found in the final line of Virgil's hind simile (*A*. 4.73), which strongly suggests Capua's likeness to Dido: both have been fatally shot through the heart.

These evocative images prepare the reader for the clearest echoes of Dido's tragic fate, in the central scene of the Capuan episode (13.256–8). Nightfall has ended the fighting, and the defenders desperately cry for an end to their suffering, echoing Dido's desperation after Aeneas' departure.[18] The main part of the scene is taken up by two opposing speeches: one by the leading senator Virrius, who calls on his colleagues to join him in suicide, one by the goddess Fides, whose words echo through the streets: Capua should have kept faith to Rome; for pact-breakers will be haunted day and night. As we will argue, these two speeches reflect the mental turmoil experienced by Dido in *Aeneid* 4.

The speech by Virrius is meant to lend dignity to his suicide. Delivering his own eulogy, he first sums up his hopes and aspirations for dominion over Italy (13.264–70). These opening lines strongly evoke Dido's similar proud words just before her suicide, with several verbal echoes or marked adaptations.[19] In the remainder of his speech (13.270–5), Virrius presents suicide as the preferred way to retain *libertas* in the face of capture and trial by the Romans. Like Dido, the Capuan leader has a pyre erected in the centre of his house, which he **(p. 254)** ascends whilst embracing his friends (13.278–9, 296–8), just as the dying queen was embraced by her sister Anna on her pyre.[20]

Whereas Virrius' words form the resigned, rational counterpart to Dido's proud but tragic last words, Fides' recriminating speech (13.284–91), on the other hand, reuses elements from the queen's more frantic speeches in *Aeneid* 4. Dido found that she deserved to die for her faithlessness to the memory of her deceased husband Sychaeus (*non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo, A*. 4.552); this is politicized by Silius' Fides when she rebukes the Capuans for their faithlessness to Rome (*castam servate fidem*, 'honour chaste loyalty', 13.285). In the second part of her speech, Fides warns that pact-breakers will be haunted for the rest of their lives—an echo of Dido's curse of the Trojans and her call for a future avenger.[21]

Since Capua as the 'second Carthage' reflects upon the presentation of the 'real' Carthage in the *Punica*, it is important to analyse how the city fares in contrast to the 'original' Carthage of Virgil's Dido. In *Aeneid* 4, we follow Dido in her desperation, her feelings of guilt, her passionate fury; but the most memorable image is her tragic yet majestic suicide and her speech at the end of the book, through which we are once more reminded of her achievements and grandeur. Silius has, notably, reversed the order. At the beginning of the scene, Virrius' speech is meant as a display of Capua's potential greatness and of a noble Stoic resignation in the face of imminent death. His efforts are undermined, however, by Fides, who reminds the Capuans (and the reader) of their perfidy (*foedera,*

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

mortales, ne saevo rumpite ferro, 'do not, mortals, break pacts with the cruel sword', 13.284); she unmasks the suicide for what it is: an attempt to escape just punishment. Fury and madness attend the Capuans as they have their last banquet (13.279, 291–5). Dido dies with dignity, the Capuans less so. Furthermore, Dido's feeling of guilt for betraying the memory of Sychaeus is entirely her own, for which she is pitied by Juno; in the *Punica* the Capuans' guilt is established by divine authority. Dido dies undeservedly, before her time and not according to the *fatum* (*nec fato … peribat, A.* 4.696); Virrius, on the other hand, attempts to 'disarm fate' by his suicide (*exarmet fata*, 275).

Despite Virrius' efforts to the contrary, Silius' scene thus serves as a strong condemnation of Capua and, given its role as doppelgänger, of Carthage as well. Virgil's Dido had once called for an avenger, an *ultor*. Silius' Hannibal, however, in fulfilling this role of vindicator is guilty of the same perfidious behaviour of which Dido had accused Aeneas. Between the two epics, the **(p.255)** moral positions have been reversed, and any sympathy we might feel for Dido is not transferred to her *ultor*. Instead, already in Book 2, Hannibal's misdeeds towards Saguntum prompt Fides to promise a different, divinely sanctioned kind of vengeance (*statque dies ausis olim tam tristibus ultor*, 'the day that avenges such dire ambitions stands fixed long since', 2.495). At the end of Book 2, the narrator's epilogue foretells Hannibal's end: with a warning not to break the treaties of peace, it is narrated how Hannibal shall be banished from his ancestral home and wander over the whole world, until he will commit suicide, not by the sword but with poison (2.699–707). It is here at Capua that these words are repeated by Fides herself;[22] it is implied that the hour of vengeance that she once foretold has now begun.

The fall of Capua is thus strongly marked as a turning point, as the first step in the defeat and punishment of Carthage. The allusion to Dido's death adumbrates the fall of her city. Just as the Capuan episode serves as a narrative substitute for the fall of Carthage, so Virrius' suicide serves both as prefiguration and substitute for Hannibal's suicide; both men die not by the sword, as Dido did, but through unheroic poison. On the moral level, the subtle alterations in Silius' reworking of Dido's death suggest his transformation of Hannibal from rightful avenger to punishable villain.

Mirror of the Past: Capua as *altera Troia*

As we have seen in the first section, the banqueting scene in *Punica* 11 draws attention to the Trojan roots of Capua; the bard Teuthras sings of its origins, from Jupiter and his paramour Electra via the Trojan kings—Tros, Ilus, and Assaracus—to their descendant Capys, the eponym of Capua (11.291–7).[23] A Roman reader would recognize how this song marks Capua's rivalry to his own city, as in Virgil's *Aeneid* a similar teleological narrative originating in Jupiter and Troy is employed, but there to show the greatness of *Rome*.[24] Elsewhere, too, the Trojan roots of the Capuans are emphasized, and always to suggest its

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

rivalry to Rome. When Capua's defection from Rome is first mentioned, the narrator expresses his horror that a city originating in Troy (*Dardana ab ortu* ***(p.256)*** *moenia*, 11.30–1) would join the barbarous tyrant Hannibal. In the opening scene of Capua's fall in Book 13, the appearance of the white hind prompts the narrator to recall the city's foundation by Capys, who nurtured the animal (13.117–19). The hind forms a direct connection between Capua's Trojan origin and its present situation (*saeclorum numero Troianis condita tecta / aequabat*, 13.128–9); the animal's capture and sacrifice by the Romans foreshadows its doom.[25]

Capua thus shares with Rome its Trojan origin. Since this fact is given prominence especially in relation to the hostility between the two cities, with their 'sibling rivalry' the theme of fraternal strife is woven into the narrative, foreshadowing and illuminating the nature of the conflict between these 'sister cities' as a 'civil war'.[26] This internecine nature of the war between Roman Trojans and Capuan Trojans will be addressed in the last section; here, we will rather look into the literary role of the 'Trojan'.[27]

In the epic tradition in which Silius is working, Trojans had basically had two opposite roles. Their original role, in the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle, is that of the erstwhile rich and prosperous, but doomed and ultimately defeated people. In his Roman response to the Homeric tradition, Virgil turns this role upside down, playing with (and thematizing) the expectations raised by the literary past of the Trojans and transforming them from vanquished to victors, from Trojans to proto-Romans. The Trojan 'image' is informed both by laudatory depictions of *pius Aeneas* and by more hostile views which refer to the Virgilian hero in terms reminiscent of less commendable figures in the Trojan past, such as effeminate Paris, stealer of women, or perfidious Laomedon.[28]

The ambiguity of roles—the conflict between, on the one hand, the glorious and fated future of the refugees from Troy and, on the other, their status as a conquered and thus conquerable people—is brilliantly explored in *Aeneid* 9 and 10. Halfway in what has been dubbed Virgil's 'second *Iliad*', the characters' actions and the use of clashing Homeric intertexts raise the question how the familiar Iliadic roles have been distributed. Turnus arrogates the part of the **(p. 257)** 'Greeks', viewing himself as epic successor to (or even emulator of) the victors in the Trojan War, although his actions seem to align him rather with the Homeric Hector.[29] The Rutulian siege of the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9 is also a battle for its literary status, to decide whether this settlement will re-enact the part of Troy and fall, or instead that of the Greek camp and serve as the base from which victory will be obtained.[30] Only in the next book, when Aeneas returns and Juno removes Turnus from the battlefield, does it become clear how the Iliadic parts have been recast.

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

In the *Punica*, Turnus' dream to replay the destruction of Troy is shared by Hannibal. His wish to avenge Dido is coupled with his reading of the conflict with Rome as another Trojan War.[31] In seeking to destroy 'new Troy', he too identifies himself with the Greeks. And for quite some time, his perception seems not to be mistaken; at Cannae, where Hannibal fights on the 'plains of Diomedes' as an impersonation of that Homeric Greek hero, the stinging defeat inflicted upon the neo-Trojans reads as a reprise of the *Iliad*. And yet, as we have seen in the first section, Silius' epic appears to start anew in Book 11 by mirroring *Aeneid* 1. The sequence from *Iliad* to *Aeneid*, from Homer to Virgil, was characterized by the altering role of the Trojans, from vanquished to victors, a shift which can also be discerned in the *Punica*. Hannibal's attack on Rome (new Troy) in Book 12 is the inverse of the fall of the old Troy as narrated in *Aeneid* 2.[32] Book 12 is framed by the two Capuan episodes, in which the change in fortunes is illustrated; the Punic strength is sapped by Capuan luxury, whereas the Roman capture of Capua two books later constitutes their first decisive step towards victory over Carthage. This framing is important not only because of the parallel with Virgil's Carthage, as we have seen in the previous section, but also precisely because of the fact that Capua is, like Rome, of Trojan descent. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil had juxtaposed two interpretations of 'new Troy': either a reiteration of the old Troy, doomed to replay its fall (Turnus' view), or a reinvigorated city with a glorious, victorious future (the fate of Aeneas and his descendants). In the second half of the *Punica*, there are actually two cities that may be labelled 'new Troy', and Silius has distributed the aforementioned options among them.

(p.258) In Book 13, Capua thus replays the part of the old Troy and is conquered.[33] But we do not reach that point immediately; initially, much like Virgil's Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9 and 10, Capua's literary role is ambiguous. In fact, Silius has multiplied the ambiguity already inherent to Virgil's second *Iliad*. For genealogically, both Romans and Capuans can rightfully lay claim to the roles of 'Trojans' *and* 'Italians' in the *Aeneid*.[34]

This overlap of roles can be observed best in the duel between the Capuan champion Taurea and the Roman Claudius (13.142–78). As Taurea comes riding out of the gate of Capua and challenges his foe, he evokes Turnus at the beginning of *Aeneid* 9 when he arrives at the Trojan camp (similarly high on horseback and with a *crista*) and taunts the defenders.[35] He thus adopts from Turnus the same self-confident pose against the Roman Trojans that Hannibal had shown. It turns out, however, that Claudius is victorious; he chases Taurea through the streets of Capua, before escaping through another gate to his cheering comrades. On the intertextual level, Silius' scene here develops in an interesting way. In the first place, Claudius takes over the Turnus role of *Aeneid* 9. Entering the fray, he raises a dust cloud similar to that of the approaching Rutulian army (Sil. 13.158 ~ *A*. 9.33); fittingly identified as *Rutulus* at 13.163 and 171, he closely scans his enemy's body for an entrance, just as Turnus looks

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

for ways into the Trojan camp.[36] He re-enacts Turnus' penetration of the Trojan camp on the heels of a routed foe, and similarly escapes on the other side.[37] Yet at the same time, Claudius is introduced as *Aeneades* (153); as epic descendant of Aeneas, his duel with Taurea is a replay of the duel with Turnus in *Aeneid* 12. Claudius' acceptance of the duel mirrors Aeneas' joy when he is informed that Turnus wants to fight him in single combat;[38] in the fight itself, the sequence of javelin cast, drawing of swords, and chase of the fleeing foe evokes the final duel in the *Aeneid*.[39]

(p.259) The beginning of *Aeneid* 9 and the duel in *Aeneid* 12 share a common intertext that also underlies Silius' scene: the Homeric fight between Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22. Both Turnus' search for an entrance into the Trojan camp and Claudius' scrutiny of Taurea's body allude to Achilles as he scans Hector's armour for weaknesses. Virgil's transference of the defences of a man (Hector) to a stronghold (the Trojan camp) indicates his recognition that the defeat of Hector symbolizes the capture of Troy. In the *Punica*, Taurea similarly represents his own city. The climax of the scene, when Claudius penetrates not Taurea's armour but Capua itself, is thus the logical development of the equation of man and city in Silius' models.[40]

There are some important differences between Taurea and Claudius, on the one hand, and their Homeric and Virgilian counterparts, on the other. Whereas Turnus' moment of glory is hollow, since he fails to capitalize on his entry by opening the gates of the Trojan camp to his men, Claudius' penetration of Capua instead serves as a symbolic anticipation of the future fall of Capua. The Romans burn with desire to follow his example (*ignescunt animi*, 13.180), in imitation of Turnus' ardent desire to enter the camp (*ignescunt irae, A*. 9.66). The Romans thus turn into an army of Turnuses, eager to penetrate the defences of hapless and doomed Capuan Trojans.

Taurea, on the other hand, fails to live up to the model of Hector, since he does not stand and fight, but flees the field of battle. At the very end of the Capuan episode, he commits suicide in defiance of the Roman executions; but he is rebuked for his deed by Fulvius, for if Taurea had wanted to escape being submitted to foreign rule, he should have sought death in battle (13.379–80). Fulvius' opening words *patriam moriens comitare cadentem* recalls Achilles' reply to the dying Hector (τέθναθι, Hom. *Il*. 22.365), but also connects his fate to that of Capua, confirming Taurea's Hectorean role as embodiment of his city.

Taurea's narrative thus illustrates how both Capuans and Romans assume the roles of Trojans *and* Rutulians in the *Aeneid*; but whilst the Romans take on the victorious roles of both Turnus and Aeneas, the Capuans are defined as the losing party—Rutulians whose champion is routed, and Trojans in a hopeless

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

defensive position. Whereas in the *Aeneid*, the ambiguity of the Trojan camp was resolved into victory, Silius' Capua goes the opposite, downward route.

The opposite denouement of the Capua narrative is subtly anticipated by other marked inversions of the plot of *Aeneid* 9–10. Virgil's Trojans are doomed in the absence of Aeneas, but are then rescued when their leader returns with his army. Initially, Silius' Capuans are in the same position; their ally Hannibal (unable to relieve the city in Book 12) has gone away to lay siege to Rome. In **(p. 260)** Book 13, however, it turns out that unlike Aeneas, Hannibal will not save his 'Trojans'. Let us briefly return to his speech which was quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The Roman commander Fulvius admonishes his men that it is a disgrace that Capua 'is now waiting at leisure on the ramparts for Hannibal and the Libyan cohorts' (*turribus altis / Hannibalem ac Libycas expectat lenta cohortis*, 13.102–3); but as the narrator notes, Fulvius' arrival means bad news for the 'wretches' (*miseris*, 13.97). These words explicitly establish a connection with the situation of Virgil's Trojans as they are about to be saved by Aeneas:

> interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant
> sternere caede viros et moenia cingere flammis.
> at legio Aeneadum vallis obsessa tenetur
> nec spes ulla fugae. miseri stant turribus altis
> nequiquam et rara muros cinxere corona.

(Virg. *A*. 10.118–22)[41]

> Meanwhile, around every gate the Rutulians press on, to slaughter the foe with the sword and to gird the ramparts with flame. But the army of the Aeneadae is held pent up inside the palisades, and there is no hope of escape. Forlorn and helpless they stand on the high towers, and girdle the wall with a scanty ring.

The epic position of Capua is the complete inverse, as Silius has transposed the direness of the Trojan plight to the *beginning* of the siege episode; there will be no Aeneas figure this time to save them. The same intertext is used at the beginning of the Roman assault at 13.140–1: *moenia … spissa vallata corona alligat* ('[Fulvius] envelops the walls fenced with a thick ring of soldiers'),[42] and again at the end of the long day of fighting, when the Capuans have made a disastrous sortie and are forced to retreat into the city. Then, there is no hope for the Capuans left to defend their city (*nec spes*, 13.249; cf. *A*. 10.121) and the Romans press their attack (*instant Itali*, 13.253; cf. *A*. 10.118); only nightfall defers the inevitable. The total victory of 'Italians' over 'Trojans' is confirmed when Silius refers to the victorious Romans as Ausonians (*at legio Ausonidum*, 13.348), with a significant alteration of Virgil's phrase for the doomed Trojans (*at legio Aeneadum, A*. 10.120).

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

Capua, then, becomes the ‘new Troy’ as Turnus would have envisaged it, suffering the same fate as the old Troy. In this corrupted, completely inverted version of the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9, an Ascanius dies, decapitated in imitation of the headless trunk of Priam to signify that this Troy has also lost its future.[43] Virrius exhorts his fellow senators to commit suicide, since there is no hope of rescue by Hannibal (*a Poeno nullam docet esse salutem*, 13.262). His admonition not only expresses that the Capuans’ epic position is truly different **(p.261)** from that of Virgil’s Trojans (who were eventually saved by Aeneas), but also reiterates the sentiment of Aeneas himself during the fall of the original Troy: *una salus cictis nullam sperare salutem* (‘one refuge the vanquished have, to have no hope of refuge’, *A*. 2.354).

Finally, Capua is plundered, as a reprise of the sack of Troy. In *Punica* 13.351–60, we find a list of spoils partially echoing that in *Aeneid* 2.763–7; both authors include garments (*vestes*), tables (*mensae*), golden bowls (*caelata pondera facti auri*, cf. Virgil’s *crateres auro solidi*), and a long row of captives (*corpora longo ordine captiva*). But whereas Virgil’s Aeneas focuses on the impiety of the victors plundering Troy’s temples, Silius’ narrator emphasizes the decadence of the vanquished. Not temples, but opulent private houses are the source of all the riches; effeminate, oriental luxury abounds, priceless cups and endless servants used only to sustain the Capuan way of living, and there is ‘no limit’ to the wealth—with also a moralizing overtone. These aspects will be covered in the next section.

Hannibal correctly viewed his war as a replay of the Trojan War, and a Troy does indeed fall. His mistake was in misreading the redistribution of literary roles. Ultimately, it is Capua, not Rome, which falls; Trojan Capua serves as a substitute and its conquest by the Romans counterbalances Hannibal’s failure to take Rome itself in the previous book. Since, as we have seen, Capua also represents Carthage, its fall foreshadows how Carthage, too, will eventually suffer the fate of the old Troy.

As regards Capua itself, Silius’ summary at the end is telling: *Capua infaustam luit haud sine sanguine culpam* (‘Capua paid not without blood for its ill-starred crime’, 13.381). This line alludes to Virgil: *sanguine nostro / Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae* (‘we have paid with our lifeblood for the perjury of Laomedon’s Troy’, *G*. 1.501–2). The allusion tells us two things. First, it symbolizes how Capua represents the ‘bad’ kind of Troy: in its defection from Rome, it displayed the same treachery of which Laomedon had been guilty—a broken pledge.[44] Second, Virgil identifies the ancient Trojan perjury as one of the root causes for the Roman civil wars; the Roman siege of Capua, as a conflict between two heirs of Troy, also serves as a foreshadowing of these civil wars. Capua is guilty not only of Laomedon’s crime, but also of the other Trojan vice: Paris’ choice for Venus/*voluptas*. In the next section, we will investigate how the

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

Capuan luxury and its connection to civil war inform our reading of the other 'Troy': Rome itself.

(p.262) Mirror of the Future: Capua as *altera Roma*

In the previous sections, we have discussed the ways in which Capua functions as a surrogate city for Carthage, whilst also being an *altera Troia* in relation to Virgil's epic. With these roles, the city plays a programmatic role in the *Punica*, explaining Carthage's perfidy and downfall. This last section turns attention to the 'third face' of Capua, suggesting that the city works as an *alter ego* for Rome as well as for Carthage. With its role as an *altera Roma*, Capua indicates the fine line that distinguishes virtue from vice, friend from foe, and glory from ruin in Silius' epic.

In the *Punica*, Capua appears as a textbook example of a community ruined by its prosperity.[45] In his introduction of the Capuan people, the poet states:

> non largior ulli
> Ausoniae populo (sic tum Fortuna fovebat)
> aurique argentique modus; madefacta veneno
> Assyrio maribus vestis medioque dierum
> regales epulae atque ortu convivia solis
> deprensa et nulla macula non illita vita.

(Sil. 11.38–43)

> No other people in Italy possessed a greater amount of gold and silver—so much did Fortune favour the Capuans then. Even men's clothes were dyed with Assyrian purple; their regal banquets began in the middle of the day and, when the sun rose, it found them revelling still; their life was tarnished by every stain.

Thus, wealth and immorality are represented as inseparable phenomena, and the Capuans give an outstanding example of both.[46] Furthermore, Capuans have lost their military strength by giving way to oriental pleasures—compared to the Romans, they are a feeble and womanish people.[47] More aggravating still, they have also lost their loyalty and integrity, the crucial elements of Roman manliness. This can be observed in the way in which they turn their backs to their ally in Rome's hour of need. On this occasion, Marcellus expressly scorns the Capuans as *semiviri*—no other term would as efficiently evoke the literary tradition concerning effeminate, oriental barbarism.[48] This is evident in the Virgilian echoes which clearly mark the Capuans as 'Trojans' of the Paris type. The passage in *Punica* 11 recalls three episodes in the *Aeneid*: 1) Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter, where he compares Aeneas to 'Paris with his pack of half-men' **(p. 263)** (4.215–17); 2) Numanus' speech, where he scorns the Trojans as effeminate orientals (9.599–622); and 3) Turnus' use of the similar sort of rhetoric when he prepares for battle (12.97–100).[49] Thus, with his careful choice

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

of words, Silius again casts the Capuans as the weak Trojans, an opposite to the victorious Trojans that the Romans stand for.

The juxtaposition of ‘Roman Trojans’ and ‘Capuan Trojans’ as outlined in the second section is not as clear-cut as it seems, however. For whilst the depraved and doomed Capuans play the polar opposite to the Romans of the Second Punic War, they simultaneously reflect the future fate of Rome. It has become somewhat of a commonplace in the Silian scholarship that under the virtual celebration of Roman glory, the *Punica* contains voices that are critical towards Roman society.[50] It is often explained that by juxtaposing the past with the present, and by depicting the Second Punic War as the moral zenith of Rome, the poet discusses the pitfalls of the ‘Roman character’ and the historical development of the state.[51] In the Capua narrative, Silius engages with a distancing technique popular among the Roman authors who had a critical eye for their own day—by observing the traits of the Other, the author is able to discuss Rome.[52] In Books 11–13, Capua works like a mirror where the Roman audience can observe the defining elements of their cultural identity, as well as the weaknesses that haunt their past.

In Book 11, the poet lists among the many vices of the Capuan lifestyle the following:[53]

> quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia caede
> mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira
> certantum ferro, saepe et super ipsa cadentum
> pocula respersis non parco sanguine mensis.

(Sil. 11.51–4)[54]

> Also, it was their age-old tradition to enliven their banquets with bloodshed, and to combine their feasting with the dire spectacles of armed combats; often the fighters fell dead above the very drinking cups of the feasting people, and much blood was spattered over the tables.

Excessive banqueting and pleasure taken in bloodshed—these are elements that, thanks to the scandalous depictions of the imperial historiographers, we have become accustomed to associate with the Roman principate. In the **(p.264)** accounts of Tacitus and Suetonius, the state has barely survived the civil war when, after the Augustan moral revival, it plunges back into decay under the Julio-Claudians.[55] In their works, the licentiousness and cruelty pave the way for another strife, which was finally realized in the chaos of year 69 CE.

Although the Roman authors’ stories about the wanton cruelty and instability of the Julio-Claudian dynasty should not be taken at face value, it is undeniable that the hereditary monarchy that was launched as a solution to a civil war collapsed into a new civil struggle in a mere five decades. It is crucial to take notice of this

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

background when reading Silius' moral discourse in the *Punica*. In his long life, the poet had witnessed the fall of Nero, the year of the four emperors, and the establishment of the Flavian dynasty.[56] This first-hand experience of political chaos and its appeasement is what gives Silius' epic its characteristic 'dual' tone. On the one hand, he is a Lucanian poet, who does not recoil from the story of Rome's self-destruction; on the other, he is a Virgilian one, who believes in the resolution of the crisis. In the *Punica*, the Hannibalic war works as an analogy for both of these aspects of the past. And in particular, so does the story of Capua.

The connections between Silius' Capua and the chaos of Roman history are made evident in many details. In Book 11, the poet describes Capua as a 'lawless city' (*resolutam legibus urbem*, 36) revealing its corrupted political system:

> tum populo saevi patres, plebesque senatus
> invidia laeta, et collidens dissona corda
> seditio. sed enim interea temeraria pubis
> delicta augebat, pollutior ipsa, senectus.
> nec, quos vile genus despectaque lucis origo
> foedabat, sperare sibi et deposcere primi
> derant imperia ac patriae pereuntis habenas.

(Sil. 11.44–50)[57]

> At the time, the senators oppressed the people, the plebs rejoiced in the unpopularity of the senate, and the minds were clashing in discord. But meanwhile, the old men outdid the reckless failings of the youngsters, as they were more depraved themselves. Those who were known for their worthless family line and obscure origin made claims, hoping and demanding to be first to hold office, and to rein their perishing country.

Notably, by calling attention to the causal link between luxury, moral decay, and political corruption, Silius engages with a popular literary topos that can be observed in the works of Sallust, Horace, Virgil, and Livy, in particular. According to this teleological idea of the past, the victory over Carthage that made Rome the master of the Mediterranean was harmful to the domestic peace of the state. The lack of rivals accelerated the influx of wealth from the provinces. Luxury, in turn, led to an unprecedented wealth gap, to friction **(p. 265)** between the classes, to the rise of populist leaders and, finally, to a full-blown civil conflict.[58] Therefore, when Silius associates luxury not only with weakness and effeminacy but also with political instability, he exploits these intertextual allusions, representing Capua as the mirror image of a *futura Roma*. On the one hand, it is the dying Republic before the Augustan moral revival; on the other, it is the Rome of the Neronian period, a state that once again finds itself in the abyss of moral decay and on the brink of civil war.

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

The causal link between wealth and political decay is particularly strong in Book 15, where the poet revisits the themes discussed in the Capua episode. When the young Scipio is courted by Virtus and Voluptas, Virtus defends her case stating:

> idem aspice, late
> florentes quondam luxus quas verterit urbes.
> quippe nec ira deum tantum nec tela nec hostes,
> quantum sola noces animis illapsa, Voluptas.
> Ebrietas tibi foeda comes, tibi Luxus et atris

circa te semper volitans Infamia pennis…   (Sil. 15.92–7)

> Consider also the cities which once spread and flourished but which luxury has overthrown. Indeed, neither the anger of the gods nor the enemy missiles harm as much as you alone do, Pleasure, when you penetrate the mind. Drunkenness is your loathsome companion, and Luxury, and black-winged Disgrace which always hovers around you.

Obviously, the reader is reminded of the downfall of Capua, as well as of the degradation of Hannibal’s army that ‘neither sword nor fire could destroy’ (*quam non perfregerit ensis, / non ignes*, 13.398–9).[59] Moreover, the connection to Rome is made explicit in Voluptas’ last words: *venient, venient mea tempora quondam / cum docilis nostris magno certamine Roma / serviet imperiis et honos mihi habebitur uni* (‘one day, my time will come, when Rome will learn my lessons and be eager to obey my commands; and then I alone will be honoured’, 15.125–7). In Silius’ epic, the concepts of luxury, moral decay, and political corruption are part of the historical *continuum* and the ‘curse’ that marks Roman history.

(p.266) Because of the fragility of Roman virtue, moral choice is an all-important theme in the *Punica*. This theme can be observed already in Book 7, in a passage that foreshadows Scipio’s choice in Book 15. Prior to the catastrophe at Cannae, the poet (through the prophesying god Proteus) retells the judgement of Paris (7.437–71). As Silius’ audience would know, Paris’ choice of Venus (*voluptas*) resulted in Troy’s destruction, and was followed by the more felicitous adventures of morally upright Aeneas. On this occasion, with only four lines (7.472–5), the poet summarizes both the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, and, examining them from a moral perspective, juxtaposes the two. The phrase *pius Aeneas* (7.474) contrasts with the ominous description of his countryman Paris as *Laomedonteus pastor* (7.437), a description that implies perfidy and mendacity.[60] Once again, the two faces of the Trojans can be perceived: *voluptas* and treachery are embodied in the wife-stealer Paris, *pietas* and success in Aeneas.

This contrast between Paris and Aeneas, between the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, between doomed and triumphant Trojans as role models for their Roman descendants is reinforced by the second moral choice, *after* Cannae. As many

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

scholars have noticed, with his task of choosing between *Virtus* and *Voluptas*, Scipio represents not only himself and his contemporary Rome, but the future Romans as well.[61] By making Scipio's choice a decisive episode in his epic, the poet reminds his readers that, whilst a Roman is free to choose between these two options, he is morally responsible for the consequences of his choice. The late Republicans, as well as the Julio-Claudians after them, chose *Voluptas*, for which the state paid the heavy price, with civil war as another Cannae. The Flavians, on the other hand, represent a new opportunity to make the more tenable choice.[62] It is telling that the two differing choices reflect the patron deities of these imperial dynasties; whereas the Julio-Claudians, as descendants of Venus, were bound to follow in the train of *Voluptas*, the Flavians—so Silius seems to say—have an opportunity to choose *Virtus*, embodied by Domitian's protective deity Minerva.[63]

The way in which this message is constructed through the story of Capua shows the subtlety of Silius' narrative. The poet engages with a defamiliarization technique that employs Capua as a laboratory where the Roman audience can observe the blind spots of their past. As a Campanian city with a long-shared past with Rome, it is simultaneously familiar enough and strange enough for this purpose. Capua's story, where wealth causes self-indulgence, self-indulgence leads to slumber, and these eventually bring about political chaos, evokes Roman history in a nutshell. Ultimately, Capua's decay leads to **(p.267)** the culmination of the conflict with Rome and to a figurative representation of the civil war, as the 'Roman Trojans' are fighting the 'Capuan Trojans'.

However, it is crucial to notice that in the conflict between Rome and Capua, Silius not only depicts the fallout between allies but also the resolution of the crisis. Intriguingly, in Book 13, the conquered Capuans are aligned with future Romans through a Livian allusion. The poet emphasizes the conquerors' confusion at the face of the city's deplorable state, noting that 'there stood the Roman soldiers, leaning on their spears, and gazed upon the men who were incapable of bearing either prosperity or adversity' (*stabant innixi pilis exercitus omnis / spectabantque viros, et laeta et tristia ferre / indociles*, 13.308–10). Livy's definition of his own day as 'the time when we can stand neither our vices nor their cure' (*haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, Praef*. 9) can be clearly heard in these lines. The Capuans, therefore, appear as decadent Romans of the future, whose weakness puzzles Silius' third-century 'exemplary' Romans.

Instead of letting the Romans destroy their 'future self', however, the poet teaches them how to deal with such enemies.[64] At the behest of Jupiter, Pan intervenes, speaking for imperial *clementia* (13.314–28): instead of destroying their 'sister city', Romans should show mercy to the conquered (13.350).[65] On the other hand, the conqueror should also show strength and justice—as the Romans do, by the execution of the Capuan nobility (13.361–8). This combination

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

of *clementia* and *iustitia* stresses the undercurrent of civil war, and strongly reflects Augustan post-war politics.[66]

Notably, this rightful process serves the interests of the defeated side, too. Against their will, but for their own good, the Capuans are freed from the origin of their problems—their wealth.[67] The gems and garments that stand for the city's decadence are taken away in this rewriting of the fall of Troy. The message seems to be that under the right ruler, the future after the civil war will be better for all parties, not only for the winner (11.123–6).[68]

Thus, whilst foreshadowing the future civil struggle, the poet is simultaneously offering the Romans the tools for the resolving of such a crisis. By showing **(p. 268)** the moral way to deal with such a conflict (*clementia, iustitia,* and the removal of *luxuria*), Silius seems to assure that what Romans have done before they can do again. How they handle Capua in Book 13 is how Augustus will handle the rotten Republic, and the Flavians, again, the decayed principate. Thus, under an emperor who follows *Virtus*, Rome can change the course of its history, break the curse of civil strife, and avert its impending self-destruction.

Conclusion

Capua's programmatic and narratological functions in the *Punica* are significant, as can be observed by our analysis of the narrative's intra- and intertextual connections in Books 11–13. Capua's fall begins the gradual decline and defeat of Carthage and kicks off the winning streak for Rome; thus, Capua holds up and steers the larger narrative of Silius' epic, and functions as a narratological zenith that informs the latter part of the epic as a whole.

More importantly, Capua, the ultimate *altera urbs*, acts a as mirror for other cities, enriching the identities and narratives of those cities. It functions as a substitute for Carthage, anticipating its fall, and as a substitute for Rome, as another new Troy that *does* fall. At the same time, its status as double for Rome allows its moral downfall to serve as an analogy for the later Roman internal struggles; Silius' narrative of Roman victory over Capua thus informs our reading of the resolution of civil war. In this manner, Capua's narrative functions as a microcosm for the entire epic and its main motifs.

Notes:

([1]) For the mirroring of Rome in the other cities of the *Punica*, see Cowan (2007b) 1 and (forthcoming).

([2]) *altera iam patria atque aequo sub honore vocatur / altera Carthago Capua* ('Capua is now a second home to him, and is called, with equal esteem, a second Carthage', 11.424–5). The Latin text of Silius is taken from Delz (1987); all translations are our own, unless indicated otherwise.

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

([3]) E.g. *iuratumque Iovi foedus … Sidonii fregere duces* ('the Carthaginian leaders broke the treaty sworn by Jupiter', 1.8–9); *rumpere foedera certus* ('[Hannibal] resolved to break the treaty', 1.268).

([4]) Juhnke (1972) 184, McGuire (1989) 35 and (1997) 209–10, Dominik (2003), Cowan (2007a) 1, van der Keur (2015) 148–9.

([5]) Cf. von Albrecht (1964) 32, Burck (1984) 45 and 52, Küppers (1986) 184–5, Pomeroy (1989) 127, Cowan (2007a) 27. A full discussion of the interrelation of Saguntum and Capua goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but the Saguntum episode will be referenced where relevant to the argument.

([6]) For two other examples (Taurea, whose skill with the javelin surpasses that of Hannibal's Autololes, 13.144–5; Calenus, whose description recalls the barbaric Gauls in Hannibal's army, 13.219–28), see van der Keur (2015) 105 and 118.

([7]) The description of Hannibal at Saguntum is similarly followed by a simile at 1.324–6.

([8]) Vessey (1974a) 30. On monstrosity in the Campanian narrative, see Stocks in this volume.

([9]) For the intertextual parallels with Hercules' victory over another giant, Cacus, see Cowan (2007a) 16–17.

([10]) See e.g. Burck (1984) 42, Spaltenstein (1990) 220–1, Cowan (2007a) 19.

([11]) Silius' scene evokes the famous story of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, two sets of triplets that also figure as representatives or embodiments of their peoples (D. H. *Ant. Rom.* 3.13.4–22.10, Liv. 1.24–6); the story serves as a model even more clearly at 4.355–400. Cowan (2007a) 17–19 observes the overtones of civil war inherent to the motif in both Silian scenes; for these aspects, see the third section of this chapter.

([12]) Burck (1984) 15–18 and 22–3.

([13]) On Teuthras, see the discussion by Keith in this volume. For more on the 'Trojan' role of Capua, see below pp. 255–61.

([14]) *ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur, A*. 1.747 ~ *concelebrant plausu pariter Sidonia pubes / Campanaeque manus*, Sil. 11.298–9.

([15]) van der Keur (2015) xxxii–xxxiii.

([16]) Other post-Virgilian epics employ the same motif of a banquet anticipating the host's doom: (African!) Cleopatra's luxurious banquet with Caesar as guest of honour at Luc. 10.107–331 and Cyzicus hosting the Argonauts, his future

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

killers, at V. Fl. 2.636–64, both also important intertexts for the *Punica* that we cannot discuss here for reasons of space.

([17]) That Hannibal figures as an (anti-)Aeneas in the *Punica* is fairly established in modern scholarship; see e.g. Stocks (2014) 61–4 with bibliography.

([18]) *tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido / mortem orat* (‘then, indeed, frightened with her fate, unhappy Dido pleads for death’, *A*. 4.450–1) ~ *at Capua … / … exterrita … / tormentis finem metamque laboribus orat.* (‘but Capua, frightened …, pleads for an end to its torments and a limit to its suffering’, Sil. 13.258–60).

([19]) E.g. *mea moenia vidi* (‘I saw my own walls, *A*. 4.655) ~ *qui quaterent muros Tarpeia moenia misi* (‘I sent [the Carthaginians] to shake the walls of Rome and the Tarpeian citadel’, Sil. 13.267). Dido prospered whilst ‘fate and the god’ allowed it (*fata deusque, A.* 4.651), and Capua would have if ‘god and fortune’ had favoured Hannibal (*si dexter Poenis deus et Fortuna fuisset*, Sil. 13.265). The counterfactual evokes Dido’s *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae* (‘happy, too happy, had but the Dardan keels never touched our shores!’ 4.657–8). Lastly, cf. *curis* in *A*. 4.652 and Sil. 13.263, as well as *vixi* in *A*. 4.653 and *vixisse* in Sil. 13.270.

([20]) See also Cowan (2007a) 28, with further parallels in Dido’s love/Virrius’ poison pervading their marrow (*medullas* in *A*. 4.66 and 13.296).

([21]) *aget aequore semper / ac tellure premens, aget aegrum nocte dieque / despecta ac violata Fides* (‘she will drive him forever over sea and land, harassing him, she will drive the wretched fellow by night and day, despised and violated Loyalty’, 13.289–91); cf. *A*. 4.384–6: *sequar atris ignibus absens / et … / omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas* (‘Though far away, I will chase you with dark fires, and … my shade will haunt you everywhere. You will repay, you shameless man!’).

([22]) *audite, o gentes, neu rumpite foedera pacis / nec regnis postferte fidem* (‘listen, nations, and do not break the pacts of peace, nor set power above loyalty’, 2.700–1) ~ *foedera, mortales, ne saevo rumpite ferro, sed castam servate fidem. fulgentibus ostro / haec potior regnis* (‘Do not, mortals, break pacts with the cruel sword, but honour chaste loyalty. She is more powerful than kingdoms resplendent in purple’, 13.284–6); the sense of 2.701–2: *vagus exul in orbe / errabit toto patriis proiectus ab oris* (‘banished from his native land he shall wander, an exile, over the whole earth’) returns in 13.288–90 (see n. 21 above).

([23]) On the banquet and Teuthras’ songs, see also Keith in this volume.

([24]) Deremetz (1995) 416 suggests, however, that Teuthras’ song secretly reminds the Capuans of the divine law binding them to Rome.

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use. Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

([25]) The rivalry between the two cities is again suggested when the hind, Capua's *numen* (13.124) is driven from the city by an incursion of wolves—the totemic animal of Rome. Historically, Capua arguably presented itself during the Second Punic War as a worthy rival to Rome and its *lupa* by minting coins depicting this hind suckling (in a variant foundation myth) Telephus, an alternative κτίστης of Capua; see Heurgon (1942) 325 and also Cowan (2007a) 9 and van der Keur (2015) 76–7.

([26]) Here, too, the hind's death scene is instructive, as it is modelled after the hunt in which Silvia's pet stag is killed in Virg. *A*. 7.483–510; that event trigged the 'civil war' between two groups of proto-Romans (Trojans and Latins), just as this is a 'civil war' between post-Trojans. See Franchet d'Espèrey (1977), Burck (1984) 38–9, Cowan (2007a) 3–5, Bernstein (2009), van der Keur (2015) 78–81.

([27]) For a subtle discussion of Silius' use of Trojan epithets for the Romans, see Cowan (2007b), esp. 2–7.

([28]) Paris: *A*. 4.215 (spoken by Iarbas), 7.312 (Juno), and 9.136–42 (Turnus); Laomedon: 3.248 (Celaeno) and 4.542 (Dido). See also Cowan (2007b) 7.

([29]) Turnus compares his situation to that of Atreus' sons (*A*. 9.128–55) and chooses for himself an 'Achillean' role (9.742, implicitly at e.g. 10.442–3); yet his self-presentation is undermined by the dramatic irony in his boastful words (e.g. 9.148–9) and his re-enactment of Hector's deeds (attempting to set the enemy ships on fire and penetrate their camp; despoiling Pallas).

([30]) See Anderson (1957) 24–5, Knauer (1964) 270–80, Quint (1992) 67–8, Hardie (1994) 10–11, Rossi (2004) 66–7.

([31]) *Romanos … / ferro ignique sequar Rhoeteaque fata revolvam* ('I will pursue the Romans with fire and sword and re-enact the fate of Troy', 1.114–15) in which the first half alludes to Dido's call for an avenger against the Trojans (*A*. 4.626) and the second half represents Hannibal's intended replay of the *Iliad*.

([32]) See Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy (1986) 2500–1 and van der Keur (2015) xxxii–xxxiii for a more elaborate discussion of Silius' inversion of *Aeneid* 2 in *Punica* 12.

([33]) Capua's moral counterpart Saguntum is also another Troy; see von Albrecht (1964) 181–3, Dominik (2003) 476.

([34]) Cowan (2007a) 14.

([35]) Sil. 13.143 ~ *A*. 9.53. Taurea's challenge *Claudius huic / … / huic … solum, si qua est fiducia dextrae, / det sese campo* ('Let Claudius come to this field alone, if he trusts in his strength', 13.149–52) picks up Turnus' observations that his

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

Trojan foes are not willing to take up an unfair battle (*non aequo dare se campo, A*. 9.56) and rather trust in their walls (*quibus haec medii fiducia valli*, 9.142).

([36]) *at non idem animus Rutulo: speculatur et omni / corpore perlustrat, qua sit certissima ferro / in vulnus via* ('The Roman, on the other hand, has a different mindset: he watches and scans Taurea's whole body to see where his weapon would have the surest path to wounding', Sil. 13.163–5) ~ *lustrat … muros aditumque per avia quaerit* ('he goes around the walls and seeks entrance where there is no path', *A*. 9.58) with further verbal echoes of 9.65 (*haud aliter Rutulo*) and 9.67 (*quae via*); see also Cowan (2007a) 13–14.

([37]) Sil. 13.173–8 is closely modelled after *A*. 9.756–61; see also Burck (1984) 41.

([38]) Sil. 13.153 and 156 reworks *A*. 12.699–700; see van der Keur (2015) 108.

([39]) Cf. e.g. *nec Rutulus levior … instabat* ('and no less vigorously the Rutulian pressed him', Sil. 13.171–2) which alludes both to *A*. 12.746–8 (*nec minus Aeneas … insequitur*, 'and no less Aeneas … pursues') and to Turnus' chase of the phantom Aeneas at *A*. 10.657 (*nec Turnus segnior instat*, 'and no slower Turnus presses hard').

([40]) For the interplay with Hannibal's adoption of the Turnus role when he attempts to enter Saguntum and Rome, see van der Keur (2015) 101–2.

([41]) Translation by Fairclough and Goold (2000).

([42]) The use of *spissa* rather than *rara* reflects the contrast between Virgil's desperate defending Trojans and Silius' more successful Roman Trojans, now on the attack. Another intertext is *A*. 9.507–9; see van der Keur (2015) 98.

([43]) Sil. 13.244–8. See Cowan (2007a) 19–23.

([44]) For an in-depth analysis of the moral aspects of the Laomedon theme, see Littlewood (2017) 234; cf. also 8.172. As Littlewood points out, Silius subscribes to the Virgilian reading (see Virg. *G*. 1.501–2) whereby Rome's civil wars are attributed to Laomedon's perjury; see also van der Keur (2015) 210. Rome's internal divisions are due to its Trojan origin—after the Cannae episode, the Romans are purified and learn from their mistakes, whereas the Capuans start to display these same shortcomings. Whilst the Romans regain *fides*, the Capuans renounce it and play the part of the *Laomedontiades*; see van der Keur (2015) 152.

([45]) The degenerative effect of luxury is an age-old topos in the Roman tradition; see e.g. Sal. *Cat*. 10 and *Jug*. 1.4.5–8; Liv. *Praef*. 11, 34.2.1–2, and 39.6.6–9; Hor. *Carm*. 2.2, 2.18, 3.24, and *S*. 2.3.82–110. For further discussion, see Harrison (2005) 290 and 294, Levene (2007) 281 and 286.

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

([46]) See also 11.33–6.

([47]) See 13.310–13 in particular; compare with *mitis Parthenope* ('mild Parthenope', 12.27–8). The stress laid on effeminacy is one of the many similarities between the Capuans and the Carthaginians; see Keith (2009). For further discussion on the conceptual connection between pleasure, excess, and unmanliness, see Fredrick (2002) 238–9.

([48]) Sil. 11.105.

([49]) Compare with Sil. 11.400–2, where Hannibal is associated with this 'Trojan' model, as Venus is hoping to turn him into a Paris through the Capuan luxury; the 'weak Trojan-ness' that marks the Capuans is transmitted to Carthage.

([50]) For a few examples, see Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy (1986) 2501–4, McGuire (1997) 101–2, Spentzou (2008) 137 and 143–4, Tipping (2010) 35–50 and 185–92. For an overview of this discussion, see Marks (2005a) 252–6 and 267–76.

([51]) See e.g. Dominik (2003) 495, Harrison (2005) 287, and Jacobs (2010).

([52]) E.g. Tac. *Ger*. 18 and Sal. *Jug*. 6, 8. For the ideological purposes of the technique, see O'Gorman (1993).

([53]) On this passage, see also Stocks in this volume.

([54]) See also Sil. 11.427–31.

([55]) See Suet. *Tib*. 57–62 (esp. 61.2–6), *Cal*. 26.4–5 and 27.1–4, *Cl*. 34, *Nero* 12.1–2, 30.1–3, and 35.4–38.3; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20–1 and 15.37.

([56]) See Plin. *Ep*. 3.7.

([57]) Compare with Lucan's depiction of the depravity in the late Roman Republic in 1.176–82.

([58]) See e.g. Sal. *Cat*. 10, 11.4–8 and *Jug*. 41.1–5; Virg. *G*. 2.505–6; Hor. *Carm*. 1.38, 2.18, 3.1, 3.6, and *Epod*. 7; Liv. 21.1.1–3, 39.6.6–9. For later references, see Luc. 1.158–82; Sen. *Ep*. 71.15, 74.19; Vell. 1.12.2–7 and 2.1–3; V. Max. 7.2.3. In the *Punica,* the idea of the Punic wars as the starting point to the inevitable decay can be observed in the closing statement of Book 10 (657–8; note also Jupiter's speech in 3.575–81).

([59]) See also 12.286–7, where Hannibal addresses his men as *vosque, invicta diu, nunc heu sine Marte iuventus / debellata bonis Capuae* ('and you, my soldiers, for long invincible but now, alas, defeated without a battle by the goods of Capua'). Notably, Hannibal is here credited with the popular Roman interpretation of what constituted the turning point in the war; cf. Liv. 23.45.3–5: *Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem*

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019

disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri exstinctam ('Capua had been Hannibal's Cannae. It was there that warlike courage had been extinguished, there the soldierly discipline, there the reputation of times past, there the hope for the future'). Compare also with Sil. 11.415–26, 12.15–26, 12.204–6.

([60]) See Littlewood (2011) 174–5.

([61]) Fucecchi (1993), Marks (2005a), Spentzou (2008); for the connection between the judgement of Paris and Scipio's choice (with Venus/*Voluptas* and Minerva/*Virtus*), see Littlewood (2011) 165–6.

([62]) For further discussion, see e.g. Pomeroy (1989) 130–2, Marks (2005a) 148–61 and 242–4.

([63]) See van der Keur (2015) xl.

([64]) van der Keur (2015) 167–71; on the role of Pan in particular, see Cowan (2007a) 32–5.

([65]) See van der Keur (2015) 194.

([66]) For further discussion, see van der Keur (2015) xxviii–xxix, 191–2.

([67]) For a different interpretation, see Cowan (2007a) 35–6, who argues for the plunder of Capua as a foreboding of Rome's future corruption; according to his reading, 'Fulvius could transport Capuan luxuries, and hence transport Capua, to Rome.' Note, however, that Silius' emphasis is on the *removal* of wealth from Capua (*egeritur*, 13.352), and it is not explicitly stated (let alone stressed) that this wealth is appropriated to Rome. Therefore, the matter of importance in the episode is rather the purification of Capua than the transportation of their vices to Rome; see also Pomeroy (1989) 134, Marks (2005a) 259–60. Another passage heavy with Virgilian intertext in Book 17 also implies that if anything, Capua's destructive luxuries have been transposed to Hannibal, not Rome (Sil. 17.280 ~ *A*. 1.119).

([68]) These lines, alluding to Virgil's *Ecl.* 4 on the Golden Age in store for Rome, reflect upon the future harmony between Capua and Rome.

Access brought to you by:

PRINTED FROM OXFORD SCHOLARSHIP ONLINE (www.oxfordscholarship.com). (c) Copyright Oxford University Press, 2019. All Rights Reserved. An individual user may print out a PDF of a single chapter of a monograph in OSO for personal use.
Subscriber: University of Groningen; date: 23 October 2019