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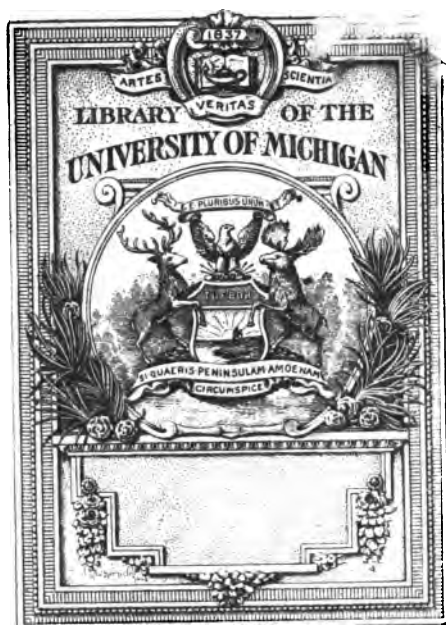


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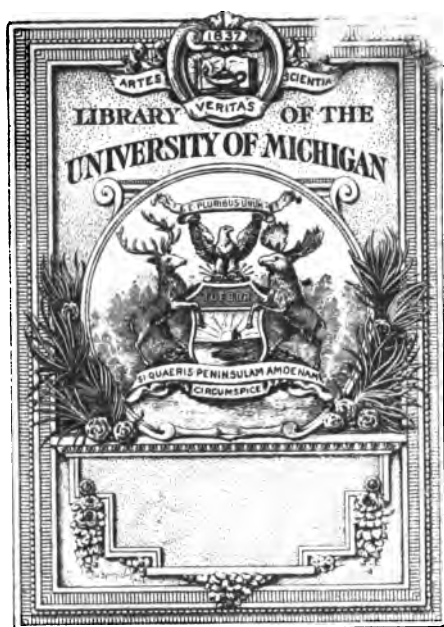
REMINISCENCES OF ENNIUS
IN SILIUS ITALICUS

LOUIS HAYNE WOODBURY

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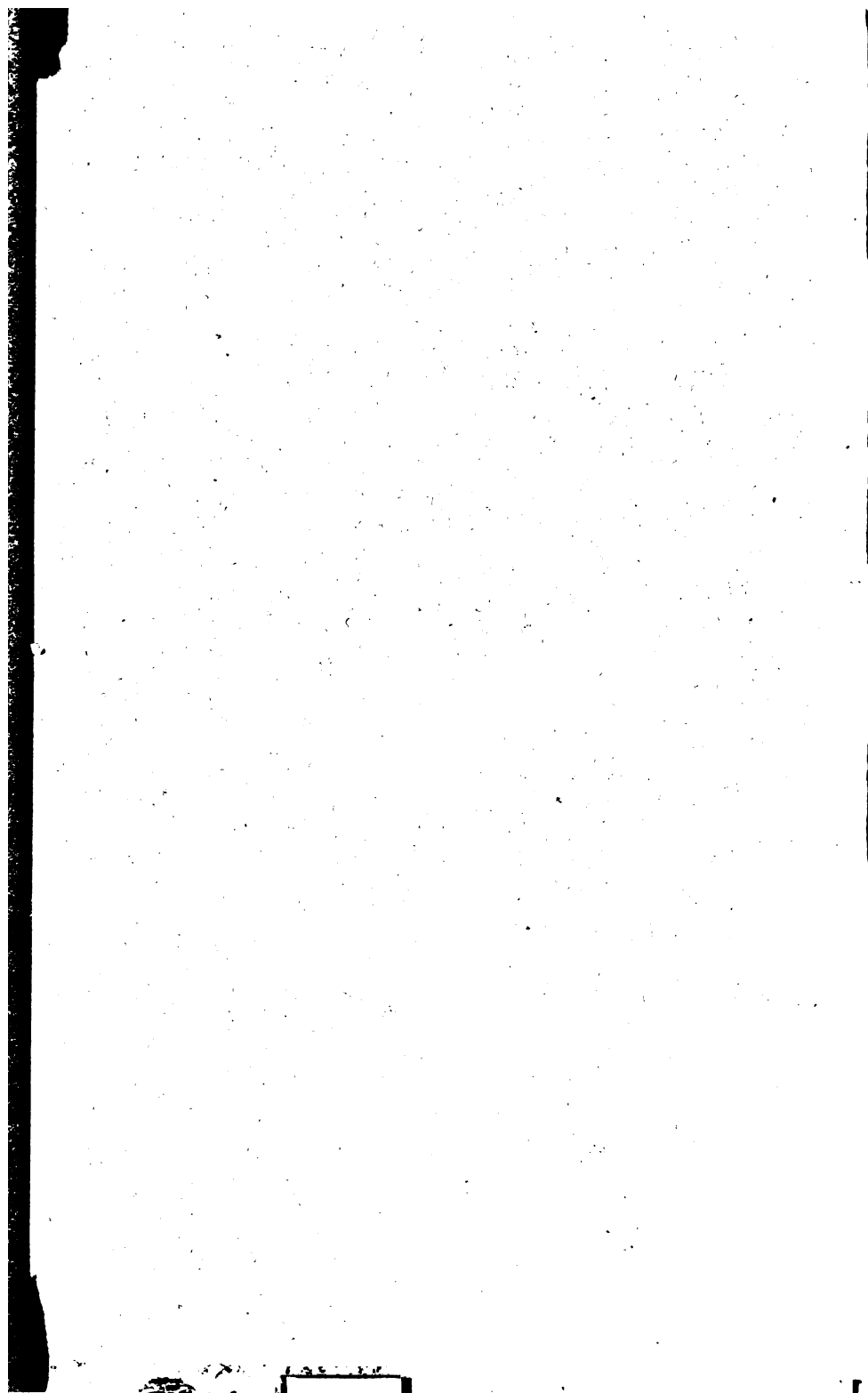
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REMINISCENCES OF ENNIUS IN SILIUS ITALICUS

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REMINISCENCES OF ENNIUS IN SILIUS ITALICUS

I. PREVIOUS THEORIES CONCERNING THE PUNICA

C. Silius Italicus and his description of the Second Punic War have received comparatively little recognition either in ancient or in modern times. He was praised by Martial¹ and was mentioned by Pliny² and a few of his other contemporaries;³ then, with but one or two exceptions, no further reference to his name and no allusion to his poem can be found until the fifteenth century, when the discovery of a manuscript⁴ of the *Punica* awakened a slight interest, but led to very few systematic and critical investigations. Another manuscript,⁵ discovered in the following century, brought no greater results. In the latter part of the nineteenth century sufficient interest was shown to question the sources and the historical credibility of the poem, but since then little more has been said concerning it, and the text of the latest edition⁶ is still far from well established.

¹ Epigr. 4, 14; 6, 64; 7, 63; 8, 66; 9, 86; 11, 48; 11, 49.

² Epist. 3, 7.

³ Tac. Hist. 3, 65; Epictet. Diss. 3, 8, 7; cf. also Charisius, Instit. gram. (Keil, Gram. Lat. 1, 125, 16).

⁴ Cf. H. Blass, *Die Textesquellen des Silius Italicus*, *Jahr. class. Phil.*, sup. 8 (1875-1876), pp. 161-250.

⁵ From this edition by L. Bauer (Leipsic, 1890-92) all quotations in the following pages are taken.

With regard to the sources of the *Punica*, two general theories were promulgated. One was that Livy was the writer from whom Silius had gained most of his information and that such variations as appeared were traceable either to another account or to the poet's own imagination; the other was that the predecessor to whom Silius was indebted was not Livy, but one of the early annalists, possibly Fabius Pictor, transmitted through the *Annals* of Ennius.

The latter theory, proposed and vigorously maintained by Max Heynacher,¹ has met with but little favor. His position was approved, according to the testimony of Ludwig Bauer,² by Sieglin and Vollmer, and when his second treatise³ appeared in 1877, it received the following commendation from E. Baehrens:⁴ "in welcher ebenso umsichtigen wie fleissigen Arbeit der genaue Beweis geführt wird, dass Livius nicht die Hauptquelle des Silius war, sondern dass auch ein älterer Annalist, vielleicht Fabius Pictor, von ihm benutzt ist, somit also den *Punica* des Silius eine höhere Bedeutung als Geschichtsquelle zukommt, als bisher angenommen wurde." But with the exception of these three scholars, no others appear to have sanctioned this view.

On the other hand, Joannes Schlichteisen,⁵ Ludwig Bauer,⁶ J. S. van Veen,⁷ and Anton Arendt⁸ strongly op-

¹ Ueber die Quellen des Silius Italicus, Ilfeld, 1874.

² Das Verhältniss der *Punica* des C. Silius Italicus zur dritten Dekade des T. Livius, Erlangen, 1883, p. 4, n. 2; p. 59.

³ Ueber die Stellung des Silius Italicus unter den Quellen zum zweiten punischen Kriege, Nordhausen, 1877.

⁴ Jahresbericht über die römischen Epiker, Bursian's, Jahresber. 10 (1877), p. 52.

⁵ De fide historica Silii Italici quaestiones historicae et philologicae, Königsberg, 1881, p. 128.

⁶ Op. cit.

⁷ Quaestiones Silianae, Leyden, 1884, pp. 60, 78.

⁸ Syrakus im zweiten punischen Kriege, Königsberg, 1899, pp. 110, 113, 114.

posed this belief in an annalistic source and advocated the former theory. Editors and investigators prior to Heynacher all maintained that the influence of Livy upon Silius was pre-eminent; even E. Wezel,¹ who considered that this phase of the matter had been treated sufficiently and sought rather, by means of many selected passages, to prove the additional influence of several other earlier authors, only proceeded to this course after first devoting a few pages to the primary claims of Livy. In fact the majority have held the position noted by Arendt (p. 114): "dass Livius Hauptquelle für Silius ist, dass dieser aber daneben noch andere Quellen eingesehen hat."

Among these other sources, Ennius is expressly mentioned by Wezel (chap. II), Bauer (p. 59), and van Veen (p. 7). The two latter make the general statement that Ennius exerted no small influence upon the work of Silius, but they do not discuss the question in detail. Wezel, however, devotes an entire chapter to an enumeration of passages from the *Punica*, which he thinks were suggested by lines from the *Annals* of the early poet. He has, I believe, detected some genuine similarities, but he has been justly criticised² for an over-zealous selection of fancied resemblances, many of which are, in truth, more imaginary than real.

Quite different from this theory of manifest indebtedness to Ennius are the opinions of G. Cosack, of Schlichteisen, and of Blass. Cosack's³ view of the matter is thus stated

¹ De C. Sillii Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis, Leipsic, 1873, pp. 3, 4.

² Cf. Schlichteisen, p. 9; van Veen, p. 7; H. Blass, *Anz.* v. E. Wezel de Sillii Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis, *Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, vol. 109 (1874), p. 510.

³ Cosack's *Quaestiones Sillianae* (Halle, 1844), p. 1. He is unable to consult, but his opinion has been cleared up by later scholars.

by van Veen (p. 10): "Quod ad fontes attinet, pro certo ponit, eum saepissime Livium esse secutum, Ennium contra, etiamsi fortasse Annales cognoverit, in carmine elaborando non adhibuisse." Schlichteisen, after a careful discussion of those parts of the third, fourth, and fifth books of the poem that are traceable to the poetical invention of the author and those that are traceable to other historical accounts, sums up his decision (p. 128) in favor of Cosack's view, attributing to Livy the greatest influence and adding: "Annalium scriptores vetustos eum quasi duces narrationis secutum esse minime apparet vel, si nonnumquam inspexit, certe demonstrari non potest." Blass says (p. 506): "Dass Ennius von Silius gekannt und gelesen worden sei, glaube ich gern. Etwas anderes ist es aber, ob nach dem Stande unserer Kenntnis sich das beweisen lasse. Ich mag es nicht absolut verneinen, halte aber doch die Beweise für sehr problematisch."

Anton Kerer,¹ while not explicitly denying the influence of Ennius, shows by his ardent effort to prove indebtedness to Livy in the first four books of the *Punica* that he leaves no room for the claims of Ennius. In fact he and Heynacher, though arriving at entirely different results, were evidently led to their conclusions by similar fallacious reasoning, due to the influence of the so-called single source theory, which was at one time maintained so persistently in regard to writers of Roman history and was not successfully refuted until the last decade.

Wezel, too, shows the effect of this theory in yet another way. He does not claim for the *Punica*, as a whole, dependence upon any one previous writer, but recognizes its debt to many; yet he usually detects the influence of these predecessors only in separate passages, one apart from the

¹ Ueber die Abhängigkeit des C. Silius Italicus von Livius, Bozen, 1880-81.

other, and thus fails to see that in almost all cases there is a simultaneous blending of reminiscences from several sources. The general tenor may be very suggestive of one author and yet certain distinctive touches give strong evidence of the additional influence of others.

To discover all of the sources of the *Punica* would be, as Blass says,¹ impossible; to attempt to reach any final conclusion as to the exact amount of influence exercised by the early annalists, and especially by Ennius, would likewise be useless, when so little of their work is left to us. But I hope to be able to show that, with the material we have, some such influence is traceable not, as Heynacher maintains, to the exclusion of all other sources, but combined with them; nor as Wezel would seem to indicate, in separate, distinct pictures, but in slight descriptive touches blending almost imperceptibly into the varied background formed by the use of several sources intermingled one with the other.

But before proceeding to an investigation of this internal evidence, it may be well to discuss briefly the possibilities of such influence from considerations of a more general nature, although Johannes Vahlen,² in the excellent introduction to his latest edition of Ennius (Leipsic, 1903, pp. XXI-CXXX), has given such a complete review of the proof of Ennian influence upon contemporary and succeeding writers, as to leave little need to say more. That which follows here in this connection is practically all quoted from his account, but with emphasis upon that phase of the

¹ Anz. v. E. Wezel de *Sili Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis*, Neue Jahrb. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 109 (1874), p. 471: "wenn das auch möglich bei den so trümmerhaft uns verbliebenen Resten der Litteratur?"

² All the fragments of Ennius quoted in the following are taken from this edition.

matter which is of special interest in regard to Silius Italicus.

Previous to the beginning of our era, the power exerted by Ennius was so unmistakably disclosed in the writings of such men as Lucretius, Varro, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace as to leave no doubt with regard to the knowledge of his works possessed, not only by them, but also by those for whom they wrote. The following lines from Horace alone would be sufficient to prove this, *Epis. 2, 1, 50-62*:

Ennius, et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
paene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
spectat Roma potens, habet hos numeratque poetas
ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.

Nor was Ennius known only to be commended. The crudities of his work were also recognized, as is shown by such critical phrases as the following:

Horace, *Sat. 1, 10, 54*:

versus Enni gravitate minores,

Ovid, *Amor. 1, 15, 19*:

Ennius arte carens,

Ovid, *Trist. 2, 424*:

Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis.

A little later we find some more radical expressions of disapproval. In fact Vahlen (p. LXXIII) says that the favor in which Ennius had been held gradually decreased until, in the time of Nero, Seneca looked upon him with contempt and Persius with scorn. But even this attitude shows that Ennius was still known and read. Seneca

would surely not have hinted at his dislike of this poet,¹ if he had been unacquainted with his writings, nor would he have known how the words of Ennius and Accius had suffered from disuse,² if he had not been familiar with them as originally employed. Persius likewise wrote as one who possessed personal knowledge of the poems of Ennius and, moreover, who felt assured that his allusions to his predecessor would be understood and appreciated by his contemporaries. Thus a sneer at the boast of Ennius (Ann. 15), *memini me fieri pavum*, appears in the opening lines of his Prologue:

nec fonte labra prolui caballino,
nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.

In another passage (Sat. 6, 9-11) he again refers to Ennius and quotes a line evidently well-known to him in its original connection:

'Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, cives':
cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Maeonides, Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo.

Furthermore, if there was occasion for him to express his disapproval of the current desire to read Ennius's contemporary, Pacuvius, and his immediate successor, Accius,³ there is little doubt that, had he given more than a sugges-

¹ Seneca, De ira, 3, 37, 5: Non aequis quendam oculis vidisti, quia de ingenio tuo male locutus est: recipis hanc legem? ergo te Ennius, quo non delectaris, odisset.

² Seneca, Epis. 58, 5: Non id ago nunc hac diligentia, ut ostendam, quantum tempus apud grammaticum perdiderim, sed ut hoc intellegas, quantum apud Ennium et Accium verborum situs occupaverit; cum apud hunc quoque, qui cotidie excipitur aliqua nobis subducta sint.

³ Persius, Sat. 1, 76-78:

est nunc, Brisaei quem venosus liber Atti,
sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur
Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta?

tion of the names of those who at that time satisfied the popular taste for antiquarian literature, Ennius also would have appeared among those early writers who still claimed attention.

As Vahlen states (p. LXXVIII), Martial shows that in his time there were readers of the *Annals*, for he says (Epigr. 11, 90, 5) *attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai.'* Quintilian also, by his quotations from Ennius and the final judgment that he passes upon him,¹ reveals the fact that he had at some period in his life followed his own advice and read the ancient writers whom he recommended to all *firmis autem iudiciis iamque extra periculum positis* (Inst. or. 2, 5, 23). Pliny, the Elder, in his *Natural History* quotes from the *Annals* passages not found elsewhere² and Pliny, the Younger, speaks of Accius and Ennius as if they were well-known.³ Statius also seems to imply, in the *Silvae*, 2, 7, 75, *cedet Musa rudis ferocis Enni*, that the Muse of Ennius had not yet given up her ascendancy.

In the light of so much evidence of the continued knowledge of Ennius both before and during the time of Silius, it would be most natural to suppose that the latter also knew the works of the early poet. This seems all the more probable from the statement made concerning Silius by Pliny, Epis. 3, 7, 8: *multum ubique librorum, multum*

¹ Quint. Inst. or. 10, 1, 88: Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem. Propiores alii atque ad hoc, de quo loquimur, magis utiles.

² Cf. Vahlen, pp. LXXV, LXXVI.

³ Pliny, Epis. 5, 3, 6: Neronem enim transeo, quamvis sciam non corrumpi in deterius quae aliquando etiam a malis, sed honesta manere quae saepius a bonis fiunt, inter quos vel praecipue numerandus est P. Vergilius, Cornelius Nepos et prius Accius Enniusque. non quidem hi senatores, sed sanctitas morum non distat ordinibus.

statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo verum etiam venerabatur. Among these large collections of books with which the several villas of Silius were furnished, Ennius doubtless had his place. In truth it seems very probable that Silius may have been trained in reading the verses of Ennius during his school-days. If Horace remembered the dictation exercises he had received from the writings of Livius, he doubtless also remembered similar ones from Ennius, of whom he says: *ediscit Roma potens.*

Quintilian (Inst. or. 2, 5, 21) utters this warning to any master: *ne quis eos (i. e. pueros) antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit.*

Likewise in the next century Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. 18, 5, 2-7) refers definitely to the use of Ennius for purposes of instruction. He says that on one occasion he heard a public reading from the seventh book of the Annals of Ennius, given by a so-called *Ennianista*, who performed services similar to those of Quintus Vargunteius, mentioned by Suetonius (De illustr. gramm. 2). After the reading, a question arose as to whether the phrase *quadrupes equus* used by the speaker was the original form or whether he should have said *quadrupes eques*. Hereupon, Gellius adds:

aliquot eorum, qui aderant, 'quadrupes equus' apud suum quisque grammaticum legisse se dicerent et mirarentur, quidnam esset 'quadrupes eques.'

It seems reasonable, then, to suppose that Silius knew Ennius well, and this supposition is strengthened by the very natural and, at times, apparently unconscious way in which Ennian touches appear to have crept into his poem.

As has been previously stated, Wezel devotes an entire chapter of his thesis to the citation of passages from the Punica, with a parallel passage in each case taken from the fragments of the poetry of Ennius. By thus bringing together quotations from the two authors, he seeks not only

to prove that Ennius served as one of the sources and models for Silius, but also to ascertain with greater certainty the meaning and connection of the fragments of the *Annals* which relate to the Second Punic War, a task of which he says (p. 47): "*reliquias Ennianas quae ad bellum Punicum alterum spectant melius inter se coniungi posse, si Silii narrationem sequimur, quam si Livium aliumve scriptorem sequimur.*"

Of this attempt Heynacher (*Ueber die Quellen des Silius Italicus*, p. 1) says: "*Weder Cosack noch Wezel hat eine rationelle Quellenanalyse angestellt. . . . Beide knüpfen ihre Untersuchungen an wenige Stellen und haben deshalb in dieser Frage kein bestimmtes Resultat gewonnen*"; for Heynacher, while maintaining the theory of the annalistic source, quotes very few parallel passages, but seeks to find this influence rather in the general tenor of the whole poem and in its variations from the account of the same period as given by Livy.

Yet notwithstanding this criticism, I have thought best to begin with a consideration of separate passages, partly because this seems the most natural means of approaching a study of similarities between two authors, one of whom we possess only in such fragmentary portions, and partly because from such a study of the isolated parts, we may perhaps be able to arrive at some conclusion as to the whole.

In discussing these separate passages, I have chosen first some that show evidence of the direct influence of Ennius, though this may be discernible only in a slight touch, and second, some that reveal traces of an indirect use of Ennius through the works of Virgil and Livy. Then I shall try to find a possible explanation in Ennius for some of the essential points in Silius that are not traceable to any other source and that might very naturally have found their origin in the lines of the earlier poet.

II. PASSAGES SHOWING DIRECT INFLUENCE

1) In his short discussion of Wezel's parallel passages, Blass (p. 506) selects no. 20 as first in importance, although even here he thinks that the evidence of Ennian influence is not very strong. The lines quoted from the *Punica* are descriptive of the burial honors shown by Hannibal to the Roman leader, Paulus, who was slain in the battle of Cannae, and are found in the tenth book, ll. 527-534:

. . . . tum munera iussa,
defessi quamquam, accelerant sparsoque propinquos
agmine prosternunt lucos; sonat acta bipenni
frondosis silva alta iugis. hinc ornus et altae
populus alba comae, validis accisa lacertis,
scinditur, hinc ilex, proavorum condita saeclo.
devolvunt quercus et amantem litora pinum
ac, fere decus, maestas ad busta cupressos.

The passage recalls at once, as Wezel points out, ll. 176-182 in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas is represented as causing similar honors to be shown to the body of Misenus, when found upon the shore:

. . . . tum iussa Sibyllae,
haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri
congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum,
procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex
fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.

Showing marked likeness to both passages are a few lines quoted by Macrobius (*Sat.* 6, 2, 27), as originally found in the sixth book of the *Annals* of Ennius:¹

incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt,
percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,

¹ *Enn. Ann.* 187-191.

fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,
pinus proceras pervortunt; omne sonabat
arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai.

That Wezel considered these a part of the description of the burial of Paulus is not distinctly stated, though Blass (p. 507) thinks that such was his opinion and that he thereby ignored the statement of Macrobius referring them to the sixth book of Ennius, which told of the war with Pyrrhus, while the eighth told of the war with Hannibal.²

But granting that they were not used in the same connection as the lines in the *Punica*, or even that they were written as part of the description of the construction of a fleet, as Blass suggests may have been the case, yet this would not prevent them from exerting an influence upon the work of Silius, for the latter is not always at pains to preserve the relation of his borrowed thoughts as they stood in the original, and has in several cases transferred descriptions and incidents from one scene to another. Such a fact, when added to the consideration that he takes very little in the exact words of his creditor, might lead one to suppose that he sought to disguise his plagiarisms, if his imitations, particularly of Virgil, were not so slavish as to defy all thought that the author was seeking to avoid detection therein. Nay, his poem seems rather to present a mingling of thoughts and phrases from various sources, so well known to the author that there was no need of an exact correspondence of circumstances to call them to mind. That the present passage of Silius clearly shows Virgilian influence has been universally acknowledged, and that Virgil was here, as in many other cases, indebted to Ennius, I think we may grant is equally true. Thus there must have been at least an indirect influence of the elder poet on Silius through the medium of the Augustan writer. But Wezel

² Cf. Vahlen, ed. 1903, pp. 31 and 46.

thinks that Silius was directly dependent upon Ennius, and Blass is inclined to assent to this because of the use of the phrases *frondosis silva alta iugis* in the *Punica* and *omne sonabat arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai* in the *Annals*, while the word *frondosus* is not found in the quotation cited from Virgil. Now this in itself is not sufficient evidence to prove that Virgilian influence is not to be found here, for this word occurs in other passages of the *Aeneid* and also in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as *Ec.* 2, 70, *frondosa in ulmo*; *Geor.* 3, 296, *frondosa aestas*; 4, 543, *frondoso luo*; 1, 282, *frondosum Olympum*; *Aen.* 5, 252, *frondosa Ida*; 7, 387, *frondosis montibus*; 8, 351, *frondoso vertice*, and any of the last four phrases might easily have suggested the *frondosis iugis* of the *Punica*. But the proximity of the word *silva*, especially when taken with its peculiar setting, is suggestive of the *silvai frondosai* of Ennius, for in both cases the thought expressed is that from all parts of the leafy forest came reverberating echoes due to the simultaneous felling of many trees, a thought that is found in none of the Virgilian passages noted above, not even the one which seems to have served as the model for Silius. The vigorous power of the words of Ennius, which create so vivid an impression of a forest full of sound, is lacking in Virgil's *sonat icta securibus ilex*, which attracts attention rather to the individual trees as they fall. It is the scene of the larger activity which Silius strives to present in the lines quoted above, and in so doing he shows that even while he followed a later writer as the real source of the passage, he was influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by the thought of the annalistic poet.

2) *Sil.* 7, 219-252 gives an address by which Fabius calmed the seditious feelings of his followers when they grew impatient because of his dilatory conduct to

Hannibal. From this passage Wezel (no. 21) chooses the following lines as showing traces of Ennian influence:

7, 233:

una, ut debellet, satis est victoria Poeno.

237-238:

. . . . una reclusis

omnes iam portis in campum effuderit hora.

241:

fortunae Libys incumbit flatuque secundo

fidit agens puppim.

244-245:

. . . . non ulla perenni

amplexu Fortuna fovet.

The fragment with which he connects these belonged, according to Macrobius (Sat. 6, 2, 16), to the eighth book of the *Annals* and is thus given by Vahlen (ll. 287-289):

. . . . multa dies in bello conficit unus:

et rursus multae fortunae forte recumbunt:

haudquaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est.

This comparison Blass (p. 508) thinks is based upon a false foundation, for the words of Silius's '*fortunae incumbit*' are equivalent to '*fortunam urget*,' while in Ennius '*fortunae recumbunt*' means '*fortunae recedunt*.' But it is not in these phrases that the similarity lies. Both passages speak, in general, of the shifting changes of fortune, as does also Aen. 11, 425-427:

multa dies variique labor mutabilis aevi

rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens

lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit.

Ennius suggests possible failure for some one in place of present success, Virgil possible victory for Turnus and his party in place of their present defeat, and Silius possible reverses for the Carthaginians in place of their present good fortune. According to Macrobius, the Virgilian lines were written in imitation of those of Ennius. If then Silius had the former in mind when he wrote the speech of Fabius, at least an indirect reminiscence of Ennius could

be traced. But there is stronger evidence of direct influence seen not only in the greater similarity of the central thought, but also in those delicate touches that suggest rather than reveal the dependence. Thus *haudquaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est* of the earlier writer is certainly reechoed in *non ulla perenni amplexu Fortuna fovet* of the later and *dies unus* of Ennius, with its great possibilities in war, is suggestive of *una victoria* and *una hora* of Silius. There is, as Wezel says, no such speech of Fabius in the historical account of Livy, and as the three lines preserved from Ennius are quite in accord with the words that Silius says were uttered by this famous leader, the supposition that both occurred in the same connection seems not without justification.

3) While describing the siege of Syracuse, Silius tells of the destruction of one of the towers as follows, 14, 305-315:

huic procul ardentem iaculatus lampada Cimper
conicit et lateri telum exitiabile figit.
pascitur adiutus Vulcanus turbine venti,
gliscentemque trahens turris per viscera labem
perque altam molem et totiens crescentia tecta,
scandit ovans rapidusque vorat crepitantia flammis
robora et, ingenti simul exundante vapore
ad caelum, victor nutantia culmina lambit.
implentur fumo et nebula caliginis atrae,
nec cuiquam evasisse datur; ceu fulminis ictu
correptae rapido in cineres abiire ruinae.

With the first four lines of this Wezel (no. 18) compares Ennius, Ann. 487:

cum magno strepitu Vulcanum ventus vegebat.

In the same connection he also gives the following similar quotations from Silius:

4, 680-681:

uritum omne nemus, lucosque effusus in altos
immissis crepitat victor Vulcanus habenis;

5, 513-514:

. . . . torquet Vulcanus anhelos
cum fervore globos flammaram et culmina torret;

9, 603-608:

. . . . pastusque sonoro
ignis edax vento per propugnacula fertur.
non aliter, Pindo Rhodopeve incendia pastor
cum iacit, et silvis spatatur fervida pestis,
frondosi ignescunt scopuli; subitoque per alta
collucet iuga dissultans Vulcanius ardor;

17, 96-98:

it totis inimica lues cum turbine castris,
atque alimenta vorat strepitu Vulcanus anhelos
arida.

That all of these passages from the *Punica* are chiefly suggestive of Virgilian expressions may be seen from the following phrases, all of which are employed by the Augustan poet in descriptions of fire:

Aen. 2, 276: Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis;

Geor. 2, 432: pascunturque ignes nocturni;

Aen. 10, 409: flammam ovantis;

Geor. 1, 85: crepitantibus urere flammis;

Aen. 7, 74: flamma crepitante cremari;

Geor. 2, 307: victor perque alta cacumina regnat;

Aen. 2, 684: lambere flamma comas;

Aen. 3, 574: attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit;

Geor. 1, 473: flammaramque globos;

Geor. 2, 308-309:

et totum involvit flammis nemus et ruit atram
ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem;

Aen. 2, 758: ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
volvitur;

Aen. 5, 662: furit immissis Vulcanus habenis;

Aen. 8, 421: fornacibus ignis anhelat.

In addition to these verbal similarities, there are at least two of the passages quoted from the *Punica* in which the suggestion of the picture as a whole seems to have been taken from Virgil. Thus the description of the burning

oak (5, 510-514) recalls the following lines from the Georgics (2, 303-307) :

nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,
 qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus
 robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas
 ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus
 per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat.

Likewise the simile of the rapidly spreading fire started by a shepherd in the forest (9, 605-608) shows marked resemblance to a parallel rhetorical figure employed by Virgil (Aen. 10, 405-409) where we meet the same *silvis incendia pastor*.

But with all this similarity, the one indisputable likeness between the Ennian fragment and Silius is not found in any of the Virgilian writings. I refer to the words *strepitu Vulcanum* of Ennius and the *strepitu Vulcanus* of Silius (17, 97). Whether the Ennian line was used in the same connection as that of the later poet cannot be decided nor is a definite knowledge of this fact necessary to prove that this verbal echo of thought and phrase may be detected here. The word *strepitus* occurs several times in the works of Virgil, but though used of the sound of the seething waters of Acheron (Geor. 2, 492); of the babble of voices in Dido's hall (Aen. 1, 725); of the confusion of sounds upon the paved streets of Carthage (Aen. 1, 422); of the terrifying din caused by the groans, lashes, and clanking chains in the realm of Hades (Aen. 6, 559); and of other similar noises, it nowhere appears as descriptive of the sound of crackling fire. Neither does it occur in this connection, as far as I can discover, in the works of any other poet from whom Silius might be supposed to have copied it. Evidently we have in this forcible, picturesque expression a reminiscence, unconscious perhaps to the author, of the Ennian thought, conveying to the mind of the

startling auditory image of a raging fire as the wind forces it to surge on with increasing frenzy.

4) Another passage containing a similar slight reminiscence of Ennius, distinguishable in the midst of manifest Virgilian influence, is the following, taken from the description of Mago's passage to Africa after the battle of Cannae, Sil. 11, 488-490:

nauticus implebat resonantia litora clamor,
et, simul adductis percussa ad pectora tonsis,
centeno fractus spumabat verbere pontus.

These lines with their *nauticus clamor*, *adductis tonsis*, *centeno verbere*, and *spumabat pontus* recall at once, as is noted by Lemaire,¹ Aen. 3, 128:

nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor;
10, 207-208:

it gravis Aulestes centenaque arbore fluctum
verberat adsurgens, spumant vada marmore verso.

Yet not in either of these passages nor in Aen. 5, 140-141:

. . . . ferit aethera clamor

nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis,
nor in the following line from Valerius Flaccus, 1, 363:

hic patrium frangit Neptunius aequor,

which, as Lemaire says, may have suggested to Silius the words *fractus pontus*, is there any suggestion of the Silian phrase *percussa ad pectora*. It is true that *adductis lacertis* (Aen. 5, 141), which is equivalent to *adductis tonsis* (Sil. 11, 489), implies this and the supposition that Silius used the additional strengthening phrase independent of precedent would seem most natural, if we did not find a corresponding thought and expression in the following fragments from Ennius, Ann. 230 and 231:

poste recumbite vestraque pectora pellite tonsis;
pone petunt: exim referunt ad pectora tonsas.

¹ N. E. Lemaire, *Gaius Silius Italicus. Punicorum libri septemdecim*, Paris, 1823.

In the first of these, with its similar metrical effect at the close and its similar form of the noun *tonsa*, there is the same thought that we meet in Silius, namely of striking the breast with the oars; in the second, while this emphatic idea of striking is moderated in the milder verb *referunt*, the general effect is much the same, and the phrasing of the three closing words *ad pectora tonsas* certainly leaves no doubt as to the origin of *ad pectora tonsis* in Silius.

5) Wezel's no. 1 compares the description of the death of the trumpeter Tyrrhenus in the battle at the Ticinus, Sil. 4, 171-174:

haesit barbaricum sub anhelō gutture telum
et clausit raucum letali vulnere murmur.
at sonus, extremo morientis fusus ab ore,
flexa pererravit mutis iam cornua labris;

and Enn. Ann. 519-520:

cumque caput caderet, carmen tuba sola peregit
et pereunte viro raucum sonus aere cucurrit.

Here Blass (p. 502) thinks we find merely a military commonplace preserved in the tales of the soldiers narrated about the camp-fire, and therefore he attaches to it but little value. This may easily be true, but that the words of Ennius were not forgotten in the transmission of this commonplace may be seen from the fact that, while narrating a similar incident, Statius (Theb. 11, 53-56) repeats verbatim the last hemistich of one of the Ennian lines:

cum subitum obliquo descendit ab aere vulnus,
urgentisque sonum laeva manus aure retenta est,
sicut erat: fugit in vacuas iam spiritus auras,
iam gelida ora tacent; carmen tuba sola peregit.

Noteworthy too is the use of *sonus* in each passage, when compared with *sonitus* of Enn. Ann. 140:

at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit;

and of the Virgilian lines in which the note of the *tuba* is mentioned. For here we find *fractos sonitus* (Geor. 4, 72); *clara dedit sonitum tuba* (A

sonitusque audire tubarum (Aen. 7, 628); *at tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro increpuit* (Aen. 9: 503).

In consideration of these similarities and the additional fact that the quality of the sound also as described by Ennius seems to be echoed in *raucum murmur*, found in the lines of Silius, there seems to be no doubt that the commonplace, if such it was, retained the form of expression in which it was first so impressively cast.

6) The comparison¹ made by Wezel in no. 39 seems to me to be one of those verbal reminiscences apparently due to so intimate a knowledge of the original wording as to creep in spontaneously. The two phrases under consideration are Enn. Ann. 311, *perculsi pectora Poeni*, and Sil. 8, 242, *instincti pectora Poeni*. The latter is used in the description of the eager advance of the Carthaginians toward Arpi, after Hannibal had related to them his vision in which the nymph Anna had prophesied to him his future success at Cannae and had directed him to advance into Iapygian fields. Whether *instincti*, as employed by Silius, bore the same meaning as the *perculsi* of Ennius and whether both participles were used in similar connections cannot be proved without more of the context in which the words of Ennius stood. Be that as it may, however, the likeness of construction and phrasing and the similarity of metrical effect gives to the phrase of Silius the unmistakable stamp of Ennian influence.

7) Another fragment whose resemblance to Silian expressions is noted by Vahlen and Skutsch² as well as Wezel (no. 2) is Enn. Ann. 572:

pes premitur pede et armis arma teruntur.

¹ Cf. Vahlen (ed. 1903), note to Enn. Ann. 311; Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altert.*, vol. 5 (1905), p. 2617.

² Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, vol. 5, p. 2617.

With this are compared Sil. 4, 352-353:

. . . . teritur iunctis umbonibus umbo,
pesque pedem premit;

Sil. 9, 325: pes pede, virque viro teritur.

That this poetical form of expression, originated by Homer and copied by Tyrtaeus and the Roman imitators, as shown by Gustav Landgraf,¹ was a favorite one, may be seen from its frequent use in the works of different authors. Macrobius (Sat. 6, 3, 5) quotes the three following:

Il. 13, 130:

ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔπειδε, κόρυς κόρυιν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνὴρ ·

Furius in *quarto annali*:

pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, viro vir;

Aen. 10, 361:

haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.

Besides these Sanders² gives also Tyrtaeus, Frg. 11, 31 (Bergk):

καὶ πόδα παρ' ποδὶ θεῖς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας ·

Enn. Ann. 570:

pila retunduntur venientibus obvia pilis;

Aen. 10, 734: seque viro vir contulit;

Sil. 9, 322-324: .

. . . . galea horrida flictu
adversae ardescit galeae, clipeusque fatiscit
impulsu clipei, atque ensis contunditur ense;

Stat. Theb. 8, 398-399:

iam clipeus clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo,
ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspide cuspis;

Poet. aevi Car. 2, 122, 71:

cum ferro ferrum, cum scutis scuta repugnant,
cum plumbo plumbum, cumque sudes sudibus.

¹ Substantivische Parataxen. Archiv lat. Lex. u. Gramm., vol. 5 (1888), pp. 168-169.

² Die Quellencontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius, Berlin, 1898, p. 63.

A similar passage is found also, as stated by Lemaire (note to Sil. 4, 352-353), in Ovid, Met. 9, 44-45:

. . . . eratque
cum pede pes iunctus, totoque ego pectore pronus
et digitos digitis, et frontem fronte premebam.

Livy also employs like phrases, as in 7, 10, 10, *cum scuto scutum inum perculisset*, and 33, 8, 14, *simul et densari ordines iussit, ut vir viro, arma armis iungerentur*. Also in Lucan 1, 6-7 (cf. Vahlen, note to Ann. 570) we find:

. . . . infestisque obvia signis
signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.

But while the similarity of expression is very noticeable in all these quotations, whether they are descriptive of the close proximity of opposing foes in battle or of the densely crowded lines on either side, yet none of them have the same verbs, if we except Ovid's *premebam* with its different nouns, save those of Ennius and Silius. Under such circumstances, it cannot have been an accident that the *pes premitur pede* of Ennius reappears in the *pesque pedem premit* of Silius and also, as Skutch says, the use of *terere* by Silius in the passages quoted above comes without doubt from Ennius. Likewise the latter's *pila.retunduntur pilis* of Ann. 570 receives a suggestive echo in the *ensis contunditur ense* of Sil. 9, 324.

8) Nos. 31 and 32 of Wezel's list compare the following familiar eulogy of Quintus Fabius Maximus, found in the Annals of Ennius, 370-371:

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem;

and Sil. 16, 672-674:

. . . . sat gloria cauto
non vinci pulchra est Fabio, peperitque sedendo
omnia Cunctator;

7, 269-271:

. . . . sed non vacat aegram
invidiam gladios inter lituosque timere
et dubia morsus famae depellere pugna.

Both of these quotations from Silius refer to Fabius and the thought they contain is practically the same as that of Ennius, although it is expressed in a different way. Blass (p. 509) acknowledges the influence of Ennius upon Silius, but thinks it was felt only indirectly through quotations given by Cicero.¹ Such dependence need not, however, be assumed. This characterization of Fabius was a very familiar one and the words and thought of Ennius were used by some of his other successors² who are known to have possessed a personal acquaintance with his writings and not to have been dependent upon the Ciceronian transmission, although they may have read the latter also. The same was probably true of Silius. We have found evidence in other passages of the direct influence of Ennius upon him, and in this case the imitation, which is one of thought not of word, shows as close a parallel to the original version as to any of the later ones. The quotations and variations of intermediate authors do not remove the possibility of a direct reminiscence of the description given by Ennius.

9) In the fifteenth book of the *Punica*, Silius represents the younger Scipio as debating (ll. 18-19) whether or not to ask the troubled senate to grant him the command in Spain, where his father and uncle had recently been killed. At this point *Virtus* and *Voluptas* appear before him. The latter, as a scorned exponent of Epicureanism, entreats him to forbear, the former urges him in true Stoic form to seek the trust. Reproving *Voluptas* for striving to mislead the youth (ll. 71-72):

cui ratio et magnae caelestia semina mentis
munere sunt concessa deum,

¹ *De off.* 1, 24, 84; *Cat. Mai.* 4, 10; *Ad Atticum* 2, 19, 2.

² Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 845-846; Livy, 30, 26, 9; 44, 22, 10; Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 240-242.

Virtus continues (ll. 75-78) :

. . . . sed foedere certo
degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernīs.
at, quis aetherii servatur seminis ortus,
caeli porta patet.

The last three words are the same as were once used by Ennius,¹ as quoted by Seneca and by Lactantius. Seneca (Epis. 108, 33-34) says of a certain unknown grammarian :

Deinde Ennianos colligit versus et in primis illos de Africano scriptos: Felicem deinde se putat, quod invenerit, unde visum sit Vergilio dicere :

. . . . quem super ingens
porta tonat caeli.

Ennium hoc ait Homero subripuisse, Ennio Vergilium, esse enim apud Ciceronem in his ipsis de re publica libris hoc epigramma Ennii :

si fas endo plagas caelestium ascendere cuiquam,
mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.

Lactantius (Divin. inst. 1, 18, 11-13) quotes from Ennius these last two lines as the words of Africanus.

In the traditional way Silius associates the thought with the name Scipio, though it is the younger and not the elder hero to whom he refers. Wezel (p. 66) says that Drachemborch compared this with Cicero, Tusc. disp. 1, 30, 72, where Socrates is quoted as saying :

duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excedentium. nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminavissent et se totos libidinibus dedidissent, quibus caecati vel domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinavissent vel re publica violanda fraudes inextinguibiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum; qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper sevocassent essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, iis ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere.

Lemaire remarks (note to l. 78) that Seneca (Hercules

¹ Cf. Wezel, no. 5, and Lemaire's note to l. 78.

Oetaeus 1983-1988) and Horace (Od. 3, 3, 9-10) also express a thought similar to that of Silius. The lines of the former are as follows:

Numquam Stygias fertur ad umbras
inclita virtus: vivunt fortes
nec Lethaeos saeva per amnes
vos fata trahent, sed cum summas
exiget horas consumpta dies,
iter ad superos gloria pandet.

Those of the latter are:

hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
enisus arces attigit igneas.

Thus here again we find in the *Punica* a blending of later sources with earlier, a mere touch of the latter in the midst of more prominent evidence of the former. The statement of Blass (p. 509) that Silius was indebted to Virgil for the reminiscence of Ennius here recorded lacks proof. The quotation from the *Georgics* (3, 260-261) given above in the passage from Seneca (Epis. 108), may have been inspired by the Ennian lines there cited, but in its changed form could surely not have suggested to Silius the exact wording of the original and its association with Scipio. In the *Eclogues* (3, 105) the somewhat similar clause *pateat caeli spatium* is found, but with an altogether different meaning, and in the *Georgics* (1, 24-25; 503-504) lines prophetic of the deification of Caesar are recorded, but with no suggestion of the verbal phrasing employed by Ennius and Silius.

10) The passage discussed by Wezel in no. 13 is, according to Blass (p. 509), derived from Livy's copy of Ennius rather than from the original. The lines of the *Punica* in question are these (9, 209-211):

qui vero externo socius mihi sanguine Byrsae
signa moves, dextram Ausonia si caede cruentam
attolles, hinc iam civis Carthaginis esto.

The fragment of Ennius, preserved by Cicero (Pro Balbo 22, 51), is the following, Ann. 280-281:

hostem qui feriet mihi erit Carthaginiensis
quisquis erat; cuiatis siet.

A similar statement, as Wezel acknowledges, is found in Livy, 21, 45, 4-6:

equitibus . . . vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia Africa Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum malisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum.

Though this promise is said to have been given before the battle of Ticinus, while Silius pictures Hannibal as thus addressing his soldiers before the battle of Cannae, there can be no doubt that the author of the *Punica* was here greatly indebted to Livy. Yet, with all their similarity, there is an Ennian touch in the lines of Silius that Livy has not preserved. I refer to the suggestion of the actual contest, the *hostem feriet* of Ennius expressed by Silius in the words, *dextram Ausonia si caede cruentam attolles*.

Evidently Livy received his inspiration for this passage, perhaps indirectly,¹ from Ennius, but expressed the thought in his own way, and Silius, writing later of a similar incident, was influenced by both of his predecessors.

11) At the close of the poem (17, 651-652) Silius addresses Scipio thus:

Salve, invicte parens, non concessure Quirino
laudibus ac meritis non concessure Camillo.

From the similarity of the opening words to a phrase of Ennius, *Scipio invicte* (Varia 3), preserved by Cicero

¹The immediate source was probably Coellus, cf. Sanders, op. cit., p. 111; Gilbert, *Die Fragmente des Coelius Antipater*, p. 428.

(Orat. 45, 152), Wezel (no. 33) thinks that like praise was rendered to Scipio by his contemporary friend also, but Blass (p. 508) strongly contests the theory that Silius was indebted to this source. It is true that from an isolated fragment as short as this, to whose connection Cicero gives no clue, conclusive evidence cannot be gained concerning the exact conditions under which the words were spoken. Furthermore the adjective *invictus* is not an uncommon one. Silius himself uses it in speaking of Vulcan (4, 677), and other writers employ it with such names as Cato (Lucan, Phar. 9, 18), Caesar (Statius, Silv. 4, 7, 49; 4, 8, 61; Ovid, Trist. 5, 1, 41), and Quirinus (Ovid, Met. 15, 863), while Virgil, besides using other forms of the word, employs the vocative *invicte* twice, once in an address of Palinurus to Aeneas (Aen. 6, 365) and once in recounting the victories of Hercules (Aen. 8, 293). Yet the presence of the same form applied to the same person by both Ennius and Silius, and by no one else, as far as I can discover, is a strong argument in favor of the belief that the later poet, while writing his greeting to Scipio, was reminded of a similar term of address used by the earlier writer, of whom Cicero says (Pro Archia 9, 22):

Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore; cuius laudibus certe non solum ipse, qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur.

12) In the dream of Hannibal as given by Silius (3, 172-213), Mercury chides the Carthaginian commander for tarrying in Spain and says that Jupiter has sent him as a guide to lead Hannibal into Italy, where mighty battles and great destruction will follow. As a result, the author continues (l. 214):

his aegrum stimulis liquere deusque soporque.

A similar effect produced by a dream, as recorded by Cicero (De div. 1, 20, 40), is described by Ennius

51) where the Vestal, Ilia, after recounting her prophetic dream, adds:

vix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit.

The weakened condition in which the dreamer is left, thrilled by a feeling half of hope and half of fear, is described by both poets as *aeger*. Whether Ennius analyzed the feeling further, as Silius does (ll. 215-216), or whether he caused the one word *aeger* to convey the whole impression, cannot now be determined. But however this may have been, it is evident that Silius had in mind the picture given by Ennius and sought to portray in a similar way the enervating effect of a realistic dream.

13) In the course of the argument by which Virtus (Sil. 15, 69-120) seeks to inspire Scipio with confidence in his power to surpass the Carthaginians in Spain (cf. also no. 9), she utters a prophecy closely resembling a statement of Ennius quoted by Cicero (De re pub. 3, 3, 6) as referring to M'. Curius. The two lines are as follows:

Sil. 15, 115:

nec ferro mentem vincere nec auro;

Enn. Ann. 373:

quem nemo ferro potuit superare nec auro.

Here neither author makes the usual distinction between liberty won by the sword and liberty bought with gold, but each portrays a character so valiant and powerful, so strong and noble that sword and gold alike are powerless to affect him. This parallelism of thought, when added to the marked similarity of verbal expression and metrical effect at the close of the line, shows clearly that Ennian influence is present in the words of Silius.

Before closing this enumeration of passages in which evidence of the direct influence of Ennius is found, I wish to add five (Wezel, nos. 3, 7, 35, 36, 44) whose dependence upon the annalistic poet is possible but cannot be definitely proved.

14) Enn. Ann. 221:

Poeni suos soliti dis sacrificare puellōs;

Sil. 4, 765-769:

mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
poscere caede deos veniam ac flagrantibus aris,
infandum dictu! parvos imponere natos.
urna reducebat miserandos annua casus,
sacra Thoanteae ritusque imitata Dianae.

Wezel (no. 3) and Heynacher (p. 25) hold that Silius was indebted to Ennius for this statement of the barbarous custom of child sacrifice among the Carthaginians and perhaps also for the narration of the special circumstances in connection with which this custom is related, namely the demand instigated by Hanno that Hannibal's son be the victim. This view is severely attacked by Blass (p. 508) and by Schlichteisen (pp. 34-35), on the ground that the practice was well-known and often mentioned, and that it is impossible to tell whether Ennius employed the quoted line in a connection similar to that found in the *Punica* or not. The references to other writers prior to or contemporary with Silius that Schlichteisen gives are Diodorus, 20, 14, 4 sqq.; 13, 86; 20, 65; Pompeius Trogus, *Philippica*; ¹ Curtius, 4, 3, 23; Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 5, 39. But though each of the authors mentions the dread custom, no two give exactly the same particulars. Diodorus ² tells of the expiatory sacrifice of two hundred children of noble birth offered by the Carthaginians because they thought their defeat at the hands of Agathocles was proof of divine wrath incurred as

¹ Cf. Justinus, 18, 6, 12; 19, 1, 10; Orosius, 4, 6, 3; 4, 21, 8.

² Cf. Lactantius, *Divin. inst.* 1, 21, 13: Pescennius Festus in *libris historiarum per saturam refert Karthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare et cum victi essent a Agathocle rege Siculorum, iratum sibi deum putavisse diligentius piaculum soluerent, ducentos nobis immolasse.*

a consequence of their secret substitution of other children for the required victims. He also describes (20, 14, 6) the practice of immolation by means of a bronze statue of Kronos and a chasm filled with fire. The other passages from this author are of a more general nature and contribute no further information in regard to the custom. Pompeius Trogus, if we may judge from the words of Justinus and Orosius, simply stated that the Carthaginians, when afflicted by a pestilence as well as other calamities, brought young children to the altars *pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes*. Curtius states that the Carthaginians derived from their founders this practice of offering a free-born male child to Saturn and that they continued this form of sacrifice until their city was destroyed. Pliny makes but brief mention of the custom, for he merely says, *Hercules, ad quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima*.

A comparison of these references with the short account given in the *Punica* does not reveal sufficient similarity to warrant the assumption that Silius derived his information from any one of them. To be sure, he speaks of the sacrificial altars, as does also Pompeius Trogus, but with the descriptive adjective *flagrantibus* and no suggestion of the *sanguine* mentioned in the lines of Justinus; he also speaks of the sacrifice as an annual one, which is likewise the meaning of Pliny's *omnibus annis*, but the latter merely gives the time thus briefly, while Silius gives it in connection with the method of choosing the victims. In fact the strongest resemblance to the statements of these other writers is found in another passage¹ of the *Punica*, where, as in the description given by Diodorus, reference is made

¹ Sil. 15, 464-465:

. sacris Carthaginis illum
supposito mater partu subduxerat olim.

to the practice of secretly offering substitutes for the destined victims.

But as this is the only similarity between the accounts of these two writers, proof of the indebtedness of Silius to this source cannot be established. However, some of the sources used by the author of the *Punica* must have mentioned the custom, for though still practiced by certain of the African tribes during at least a part of Silius's lifetime,¹ he can only have known of the Carthaginians' adherence to it from the accounts of earlier writers. The two predecessors to whom Silius was most deeply indebted, Virgil and Livy, do not mention such sacrifices, but that they were offered at the time of the Second Punic War is evident from the words of Curtius noted above, and that Hanno's hatred of Hannibal was strong enough to prompt such a demand is clear from Livy's statement (21, 10, 11): *et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor*.

The fragment from Ennius proves that the *Annals* contained a reference to this custom, and though this fact is not alone a definite proof, Ennius must remain as the probable source, inasmuch as we have no hint that any other writer on the Second Punic War spoke of this subject.

15) In the twelfth book of the *Punica*, where the retreat of the Carthaginians before Marcellus is described and the subsequent lamentation of Hannibal and the joy of the Romans is recorded, Silius inserts about eighty lines (342-419) relating to Sardinia and the contest there. As remarked by Heynacher (p. 41), the historical statements with reference to the engagements themselves occupy less than half of the passage, the remainder being devoted to an account of the geography and ancient history of the island and to the praise of Ennius, whom the author presents in the capacity of centurion.

¹ Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 9: *Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberis*, . . .

By means of such mythological and imaginary tales as appealed to his fancy, Silius built a structure in true poetic style upon a small historical foundation, the details of which, though few, agree in general with those given by Livy (23, 32; 23, 34; 23, 40-41). Both mention the same instigator¹ of the renewed hostilities in this region, name the same Roman and Sardinian leaders, speak of the same reinforcements summoned and sent from Carthage for the latter, and relate the same awful carnage and the same disastrous results of the conflict overwhelming the Sardinians. But with this the similarity between the historian and the poet practically ends. Livy's *gravitate caeli* (23, 34, 11) is suggestive of Silius's *tristis caelo* (l. 371), but here we meet a traditional reference, for the baneful climate of the island, as also its fertility, were proverbial. Thus we find such statements as the following:²

Polybius, 1, 79, 6-7: 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν Σαρδῶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπηλλοτριώθη Καρχηδονίων, νῆσος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοῖς γεννήμασι διαφέρουσα. τῷ δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πεποιθῆσθαι λόγον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμεθ' εἶναι ταυτολογεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων.

Strabo, 5, 2, 7: ἔστι δ' αὐτῆς τὸ πολὺ μέρος τραχὺ καὶ οὐκ εἰρηναῖον, πολὺ δὲ καὶ χώραν ἔχον εὐδαίμονα τοῖς πᾶσι, σίτῳ δὲ καὶ διαφερόντως νοσερὰ γὰρ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ θέρους καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐνκαρποῦσι χωρίοις.

Other physical characteristics of the island and also certain parts of the mythological history similar to those mentioned by Silius are found in some of these writers, but the one author who shows the greatest likeness is Pausanias. The close resemblance between his account and that of Silius will be seen from the following quotations:

¹ Yet the spelling of the name is different, Hampsicora in Livy, Hampsagoras in Silius.

² Cf. also Val. Max. 7, 6, 1; Mart. 4, 60, 5-6; Pomp. Mela, 2, 7, 19; Tac. Ann. 2, 85, 5.

Sil. 12,

355-357:

Insula terras
enormis cohibet nudae sub
imagine plantae.
inde Ichnusa prius Grais
memorata colonis;

359-360:

mox Libyci Sardus generoso
sanguine fidens
Herculis, ex sese mutavit
nomina terrae.

365-369:

fama est, cum laceris Actae-
on flebile membris
supplicium lueret spectatae
in fonte Dianae,
attonitum novitate mali fu-
gissee parentem
per freta Aristaeum et Sar-
doos isse recessus;
Cyrenen monstrasse ferunt
nova litora matrem.

361-362:

affluxere etiam et sedes posu-
ere coactas
dispersi pelago post eruta
Pergama Teucris.

363-364:

nec parvum decus, advecto
cum classe paterna
agmine Thespiadum, terris,
Iolae, dedisti.

372-373:

qua videt Italiam, saxoso
torrida dorso
exercet scopulis late freta.

26

Pausanias, 10, 17,

1.

Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐμπορίαν
ἐσπλέοντες Ἰχθυόσαν ἐκάλεισαν, ὅτι
τὸ σχῆμα τῇ νήσῳ κατ' ἰχθυὸς μάλιστα
ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.

2.

Πρῶτοι δὲ διαβῆναι λέγονται να-
σιν ἐς τὴν νῆσον Δίβυες · ἡγεμῶν δὲ
τοῖς Δίβυσιν ἦν Σάρδος ὁ Μακρήριος,
Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐπονομασθέντος ὑπὸ
Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Διβύων.

3.

παῖδα δὲ λέγουσιν Ἀρισταῖον
Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Κυρήνην .
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος περισσῶς
ἀλγήσαντα τῇ συμφορῇ καὶ Βοιωτῖα
τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ ταῦτα
ἀχθόμενον, οὕτως ἐς τὴν Σαρδῶ
μετοικῆσαι φασὶν αὐτόν.

6.

Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλικομένης ἄλλοι τε
ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Τρώων καὶ οἱ ἀπο-
σώθεντες μετὰ Αἰνείου · τούτων μοῖρα
ἀπενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς Σαρδῶ
ἀνεμίχθησαν τοῖς προενοικοῦσιν
Ἑλλήσι.

5.

Τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα Ἰολάου θεσπιέων
τεκαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς στρατιὰ κατή-
ρεν ἐς Σαρδῶ.

10.

τῆς δὲ νήσου τὰ πλεονεχέα ἄρκτον
καὶ ἡπείρου τῆς Ἰσθμίου
δὲ δὲ δόσβατα τὰ ἰσθμίου
ἀλλήλοισι.

SIL. 12,

Pausanias, 10, 17,

373-374:

. pallidaque intus
arva coquit nimium, Cancro
fumantibus Austris.

11.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα διὰ μέσης αὐτῆς
ὄρη χαμαλῶτερα· ὁ δὲ ἄηρ ὁ ἐν-
ταῖθα θολερός τε ὥς ἐπίπαν ἐστὶ κα-
νοσώδης· αἵτιοι δὲ οἱ τε ἄλεις οἱ
πηγνύμενοι καὶ ὁ νότος βαρὺς καὶ
βίαιος ἐγκείμενος.

Such similarities as these must have at least some remote connection and, as it is not reasonable to assume that the detailed geographical account of Pausanias was directly indebted to the incidental description of Silius, we must conclude that a common source influenced both authors.

For Silius, Wezel (p. 22) thinks that this source was Ennius, of whom Cornelius Nepos (Cato 1, 4) says: *Praetor (Cato) provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat.* Hence Wezel says, "Cognosse igitur cum in Sardinia fuerit eius insulae situm, formam, naturam, incolas, eorum originem credibile est." As confirmation of such a theory, he quotes the following fragment of Ennius (Ann. 568):

silvarum saltus latebras lamasque lutosas,
with which he compares these lines from Silius:
352: fraude loci nota, latebrosa per avia saltus;
354: virgulta tegitur valle ac frondentibus umbris;
371: sed tristis caelo et multa vitiata palude;
376: hoc habitu terrae nemorosa per invia crebro;
380: haud mora: prorumpit latebris.

Blass suggests (p. 482) that Silius, of whose life very little is known, may have visited Sardinia himself. But this would not explain the similarities between the description found in the *Punica* and that given by Pausanias, especially as the larger number of these resemblances are in the mythological portions of the account. For these each writer must have been indebted to earlier records, not such

as would be preserved in historical sources, for in that case we should see some trace of their influence upon Livy, but such as might be expected to be given in a poetical version, where mythology performs a more important part. It seems very probable, then, that the predecessor to whom both Silius and Pausanias were indebted was Ennius, the annalistic poet, whose personal acquaintance with the island would naturally lead to a description of it. Furthermore the fact that Ennius is mentioned by Silius as a centurion in Sardinia shows that the latter knew of the former's connection with the island, and the fact that the following high tribute is paid to the elder man as a poet adds favor to the assumption that Silius was familiar with his writings and echoed them here as elsewhere, Sil. 12, 405-413:

risit nube sedens vani conamina coepti
et telum procul in ventos dimisit Apollo
ac super his: 'Nimium, iuvenis, nimiumque superbi
sperata hausisti. sacer hic ac magna sororum
Aonidum cura est et dignus Apolline vates.
hic canet illustri primus bella Itala versu
attolletque duces caelo; resonare docebit
hic Latiis Helicon a modis nec cedit honore
Ascraeo famave seni.'

16) Wezel (no. 35) compares Enn. Ann. 220: *Poenos Sarra oriundos*, and Sil. 1, 72: *Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente*. As the latter quotation is descriptive of the lineage of Hamilcar, father of Hannibal, both authors are speaking of the Carthaginian line of descent from the mother city, commonly known as Tyre. The earlier name of this city, however, was Sarra and with this also the Romans were familiar, as is shown by such statements as follow:

Gell. 14, 6, 4: quod Tyros 'Sarra' ante dicta sit;
Probus in Geor. 2, 506:¹ Ut gemma bibat et Sarrano

¹ Cf. Servii Grammatici comment. rec. Thilo et Hagen, III, 2, p. 374.

dormiat ostro. Tyriam purpuram vult intellegi Sarranum ostrum. Tyron enim Sarram appellatam Homerus docet, quem etiam Ennius sequitur auctorem, cum dicit Poenos Sarra oriundos;

Serv. ad Geor. 2, 506: Sarrano ostro Tyria purpura: quae enim nunc Tyros dicitur, olim Sarra vocabatur a pisce quodam, qui illic abundat, quem lingua sua sar appellant.

Moreover the frequent use of the adjective *Sarranus* in the sense of *Tyrius* is proof of the same fact. But though both the noun and the adjective are often found, no other writers, except Ennius and Silius, are known to have associated them explicitly with the Carthaginians and for this reason Wezel thinks that the statement¹ in the *Punica* was suggested by Ennius. This may be true, but in the absence of more definite similarity, the connection cannot be conclusively established.

17) Wezel (no. 36) discusses the use of the patronymic *Aeacides* as applied to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in the following passages:

Enn. Ann. 179:

aiio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse,

Enn. Ann. 180-181:

. . . . stolidum genus Aeacidarum:

bellipotentibus sunt magis quam sapientipotentibus,

Sil. 1, 627:

hic spolia Aeacidarum, hic Epirotica signa,

Sil. 14, 93-95:

. . . . tam praecipiti materna furori

Pyrrhus origo dabat stimulos proavique superbum

Aeacidarum genus atque aeternus carmine Achilles.

Cicero, who is the earliest writer known to have quoted the Ennian lines, tells us that they were used of king Pyrrhus.² Whether Silius refers to the same ruler when he

¹ Wezel (p. 41) compares also Sil. 6, 468; 6, 662; 7, 432; 8, 46; 9, 319.

² Cicero, *De div.* 2, 56, 116.

employs the patronymic cannot be so definitely stated. Wezel himself acknowledges that the word, as it occurs in the first quotation, may designate the Macedonian Perseus, who claimed descent from the same stock.¹ In the fourteenth book, where Silius is giving the ancestry of Hieronymus of Sicily, the name is clearly connected with the family of Pyrrhus, who was the maternal grandfather² of Hieronymus, although it designates not the king himself, but his father³ or some earlier descendant of Aeacus.

That the association with this mythological ancestor was an honor that Pyrrhus claimed as an hereditary right is evident from such references as Eutrop. Breviar. 2, 11, 1: *Hi (Tarentini) Pyrrhum, Epiri regem, contra Romanos auxilium poposcerunt, qui ex genere Achillis originem trahabat*; and Paus. 1, 13, 3:

¹ Cf. Sil. 15, 291-292:

hic (Perseus), gente egregius veterisque ab origine regni,
Aeacidum sceptris proavoque tumebat Achille.

Virg. Aen. 6, 838-839:

eruet ille (Paulus) Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae
ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotens Achilli.

Propert. 4, 11, 39-40:

et Persen, proavi simulantem pectus Achilli,
quique tuas proavo fregit, Achille, domos.

² Cf. Polyb. 7, 4, 5: *πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν Πύρρον θυγατρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι Νηρηίδος.*

Livy, 24, 6, 8: *aliam deinde inflatus adsentationibus eorum, qui eum non Hieronis tantum sed Pyrrhi etiam regis, materni avi, iuebant meminisse, legationem misit.*

³ Cf. Diod. Sic. 16, 72, 1: *Ἀρίμβας . . . ἐτελεύτησεν . . . ἀπολιπὼν υἱὸν τὸν Πύρρον πατέρα Λιακίδην.*

Paus. 1, 9, 7: *Ἀνσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Λιακίδου.*

Paus. 1, 11, 1: *Λιακίδου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρίμβου Πύρρος ἦν.*

Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 1: *Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φθίας τῷ Λιακίδῃ γίνονται θυγατέρες Δηιδάμεια καὶ Τρωάς, υἱὸς δὲ Πύρρος.*

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολισσὸς Ἰωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθήνα
 Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν.
 πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατὸν ὃ μέγα θαῦμα
 αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πῖρος Αἰακίδαι.

This inscription, attributed by conjecture to Leonidas of Tarentum,¹ is quoted also by Plutarch (Pyrrhus 26).

From these statements it is clear that Wezel was mistaken when he said, "Pyrrhus autem Epiri rex qui contra Romanos pugnavit nusquam Aeacides appellatur nisi a Silio illis locis et ab Ennio." Doubtless there were also other references to Pyrrhus as Aeacides in the literature no longer extant, as Blass suggests (p. 509). But notwithstanding later uses of the name, Ennius was the first Roman author to employ it and Silius may have learned the traditional association of Pyrrhus with the line of Achilles from this source.

18) In the eighth book of the *Punica*, ll. 356-621, the author gives a catalogue of the Roman allies who were present at the battle of Cannae. In this enumeration he mentions the Marsi, Peligni, and Vestini in the same order, though not consecutively, in which they are found in the following fragment of Ennius, *Ann.* 276:

Marsa manus, Peligna cohors, Vestina virum vis.

For this reason and because Livy and other writers do not name the allies but merely give an estimate of their number, Wezel thinks that Silius must have followed Ennius. Whether the latter also gave an extended list similar to that of Silius or whether he wrote the line in the same connection as Silius, it is impossible to say. The mere use of the names of these neighboring peoples can prove nothing. They were well-known in antiquity, as is shown by the fact that they are mentioned in the writings of many ancient

¹ Cf. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.*, vol. 3, p. 204, note 1. Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.*, vol. 3, p. 503.

authors, and their very close proximity geographically naturally caused them to be associated with one another. Though Livy does not mention them in this particular place, he speaks of them frequently in other connections, sometimes individually and sometimes together. The order in which their names occur varies and the only case in which it is similar to that of Ennius and Silius is descriptive of an entirely different situation, Livy, 8, 29, 4: *Marsi Paelignique et Marrucini, quos, si Vestinus attingeretur, omnes habendos hostes*. Here, too, just as in the *Punica*, the sequence of the Ennian arrangement is broken by the insertion of another name not found in the fragment from the annalistic poet. Between the Peligni and the Vestini, Livy places the Marrucini, whom Silius does not mention until a few lines later, and in the same position the latter places the Sidicini, whom Livy in his account of the Second Punic War no longer mentions as a people, though he still speaks of their territory (*in agrum Sidicinum*, 26, 9, 2), which Hannibal ravaged on his march from Capua to Rome. This name, as well as the others, may have come from Ennius, and Silius may simply have changed the order from its original form; or it is possible that the later poet borrowed the arrangement of the three names as now found in the Ennian fragment and then took the liberty of inserting an extra one without the sanction of precedent. But there seems to be no means of securing a basis of positive proof for either assumption.

III. PASSAGES SHOWING INDIRECT INFLUENCE

Another form of Ennian influence discernible in the *Punica* came indirectly through the works of intervening writers, especially Virgil and Livy. Of these there are such examples as follow:

1) Enn. Ann. 284-285:

hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber
densantur campis horrentia tela virorum;

Virgil, Aen. 12, 283-284:

. . . . it toto turbida caelo
tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber;

Sil. 13, 181-182:

tela simul flammaeque micant. tunc saxeus imber
ingruit, et summis ascendunt turribus hastae.

The first line of this fragment from Ennius is quoted by Macrobius (Sat. 6, 1, 52) as the source of Virgil's inspiration to express the similar thought here noted and from the latter the *saxeus imber ingruit* used by Silius was clearly derived, as is shown by the use of the same verb *ingruit* which Virgil introduced in place of the Ennian verb *fit*.

Wezel (no. 26) mentions this fragment of the annalistic poet in comparison with a somewhat similar description of the beginning of the contest at Cannae (Sil. 9, 310), although he acknowledges that verses of this kind may form a part of the description of any battle and in confirmation of this he quotes the Silian passage given above, which is taken from the account of the storming of Capua, and also two other lines from the *Punica*:

Sil. 14, 539:

perculsi cuneo Poeni densentur in unum;

Sil. 17, 418:

Graia phalanx patrio densarat more catervas.

But neither of these has any further connection with the quotation from Ennius than the use of the common verb. The first line, taken from the account of the naval struggle between the Roman ship, Perseus, and the Carthaginian Io, is more suggestive of Ovid's similar expression in *Meta.* 13, 604-605:

. . . . glomerataque corpus in unum
densetur.

The second, from the description of the final encounter in Africa, recalls Virgil, *Aen.* 12, 264:

. . . . vos unanimi densete catervas.

2) *Enn. Ann.* 286:

is pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni;

Aen. 9, 762:

principio Phalerim et succiso poplite Gygen
excipit;

Aen. 10, 699-700:

. . . . poplite Palmum
succiso volvi segnem sinit;

Livy, 22, 51, 7: quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt;

Sil. 4, 341-342:

. . . . Ufentem collapsum poplite caeso
ensis obit, laudemque pedum cum sanguine ademit;

Sil. 5, 547-550:

. . . . quem poplite caeso
dum spoliât, gravis immiti cum turbine costas
fraxinus irrupit;

Sil. 10, 38:

fratres, hic humero, cecidere, hic poplite, caesis.

In these selections from Silius, Wezel (no. 23) seeks to trace a direct influence from the Ennian phrase, *pernas succidit*, but the ablative of Silius, *poplite caeso*, bears closer resemblance to the ablatives of Virgil, *succiso poplite*, and of *Livy*, *succisis feminibus poplitibusque* the earlier expression. Silius has only a *su* the

thought of the Ennian line, the intervening writers have the thought and the verb, while Livy preserves the idea of the noun also, though in the more usual form *feminibus*, which he joins with the Virgilian noun *poplitibus*. The construction and substantive used in the Punica are echoes of the intermediary sources, the verb is a changed form employed independently by the author.

3) Enn. Ann. 540:

effudit voces proprio cum pectore sancto;

Aen. 5, 482:

ille super talis effundit pectore voces;

Sil. 3, 696:

inde ubi mandatas effudi pectore voces.

The Virgilian phrase *effundit pectore voces*, echoing in shorter form the thought expressed by Ennius, was without doubt the model that suggested to Silius his closing words. With varied forms and arrangement, the expression *voces effundere* occurs also, as Wezel points out (no. 38), in other parts of the Punica. But these too are almost all distinctly suggestive of Virgil, and no Ennian touch can be detected in them that shows any closer relation to the earlier poet than can be traced through the Augustan writer. Thus there is a parallelism of thought in Sil. 10, 365: *tunc vox effusa per auras*; and in the Aeneid 8, 70: *ac talis effundit ad aethera voces*; there is a likeness of verbal effect gained by the use of the same closing phrase in Sil. 8, 167:

has visa in somnis germanae effundere voces;

Sil. 14, 215:

credere erat stabulis armenta effundere voces;

Aen. 5, 723:

et nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat.

visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis

Anchisae subito talis effundere voces;

and there is a marked resemblance between this last picture and the one presented by Silius, 8, 164-167:

- 6) Enn. Ann. 600:
 funduntque elatis naribus lucem;
 Virg. Aen. 12, 114-115:
 cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
 solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant;
 Sil. 12, 508-509:
 Titan dum gurgite lucem
 spirantis proferret equos,

Here again Servius (ad Aen. 12, 115) acknowledges the debt of Virgil to Ennius, although the former introduces a new verb, which is found in Lucretius, 5, 652: *sol suos efflavit languidus ignis*.

The verb in the Silian quotation is unlike either of these, but is the same that appears in the following passages:

- Lucr. 5, 30:
 et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem;
 Aen. 7, 281:

 geminosque iugalis
 semine ab aetherio, spirantis naribus ignem;
 Geor. 2, 140: tauri spirantes naribus ignem;
 Livy, 22, 17, 5: veluti flammæ spirantium miraculo.

As object of the participle, however, Silius uses neither of the nouns found in these last quotations. He describes the horses of the sun as breathing forth *lucem*, not *ignem* or *flammas*, and thus presents the same picture as that portrayed by Ennius and Virgil (Aen. 12, 115). Moreover he adds a specifically Virgilian touch in the use of the noun *gurgite*, from which the horses rise. Possibly if we possessed more than the small fragment quoted above from Ennius, we might find that this part of the picture also originated with him, but even so, Silius has not preserved in this passage so much of the early poet's phrasing as has Virgil.

Wezel (no. 12) seeks to connect the Ennian fragment under discussion and also Enn. Ann. 585: *clamore bovantes*, with Sil. 7, 356-359:

. . . . per altos
 saxosi scopulos montis lymphata feruntur
 corpora anhela boum, atque obsessis naribus igni
 luctantur frustra rabidi mugire iuveni.

But here Silius presents an entirely different picture. The cattle inhale rather than exhale fire, the burning faggots upon their heads choke them and prevent them from uttering any sound, and there is no suggestion of the inner fire breathed forth as light. Furthermore if we accept Varro's statement (L. L. 7, 103-104) that the Ennian phrase *clamore bovantes* was not used by the author in speaking of cattle, but was a transferred epithet applied to men, there would be no possibility of placing it in a connection similar to either of those described by Silius.

7) Enn. Ann. 282:¹

iamque fere pulvis ad caelum vasta videtur;

Enn. Ann. 608: stant pulvere campi;

Enn. Ann. 277:

consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula terram;

Virg. Aen. 12, 407-408:

. . . . iam pulvere caelum

stare vident; subeunt equites,

Aen. 9, 33-34:

hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem

prospiciunt Teucri ac tenebras insurgere campis;

Aen. 8, 592-596:

. . . . oculisque secuntur

pulveream nubem

. . . . it clamor, et agmine facto

quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum;

Geor. 3, 88:

. . . . cavatque

tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu;

Livy, 21, 46, 4: neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior
 deinde incessu tot hominum et equorum oriens pulvis signum
 propinquantium hostium fuit;

¹ Cf. Wezel, no. 43.

Sil. 4, 94-96:

verum ubi commoto docuerunt pulvere nubes
hostem ferre gradum, et propius propiusque sonoro
quadrupedum cornu tellus gemit,

The dependence of Virgil upon Ennius is shown by the former's use of the phrases *pulvere stare* and *sonitu quatit ungula campum*, borrowed from the second and third fragments; by his association of *pulvis* with *caelum*, as in the first fragment; and by his expression of kindred ideas in the other passages.

The dependence of Silius upon Virgil is shown by the similarity of the general thought in the lines quoted and also by the verbal echoes of *pulvere nubem*, *quadrupedante sonitu*, and *cavatque tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu*, which are found in the following expressions from the *Punica*: *pulvere nubes* and *sonoro quadrupedum cornu tellus gemit*.

The influence of Livy upon Silius is likewise very clearly evident. Both writers are describing the situation at the Ticinus river, and though no exact similarity of expression is to be found in the two passages, yet *commoto pulvere nubes* and *docuerunt hostem ferre gradum* in Silius are equivalent to Livy's *oriens pulvis* and *signum propinquantium hostium fuit*. Whether any reminiscence of Ennius is to be detected in the latter's description or not, it is difficult to say. Sanders (op. cit. p. 111) has noted the likeness between the words *oriens pulvis* and Enn. Ann. 282, which he thinks belonged to an account of the same battle, though he also mentions the resemblance of Livy's entire description to that of Polybius, 3, 65. It is possible that both Ennius and Polybius exerted an influence upon Livy, who thus furnished another indirect connection between Ennius and Silius.

Each of these forms of Ennian influence¹ could with

¹ For further comparisons made by Wezel see appendix

doubt be traced in many other lines of the *Punica*, if we but possessed more of the fragments of the earlier poet or could form a more exact idea of the connection in which the extant portions stood. The similarities noted in the first class show a familiarity with Ennius on the part of Silius that would enable the latter often to use a phrase or express a thought closely resembling one found in the former and many Ennian touches have no doubt added their effect to this later description of the Second Punic War.

Likewise the similarities of the second class could certainly be greatly multiplied. We know from Macrobius and Servius how great a debt Virgil owed to Ennius, and we can trace in the history of Livy many poetic elements due to the annalistic writer.¹ Furthermore, the influence of both these later authors appears throughout the *Punica*, so that even had Silius been entirely ignorant of the writings of Ennius, he must necessarily have felt their power in an indirect way and revealed it in his work.

There are also some further possibilities of Ennian influence in connection with the *Punica* which have not yet been discussed. I refer to those larger conceptions that underlie the structure of the poem as a whole and are not found in the works of Virgil or Livy or any other extant writer. To some of these the following section is devoted.

¹ Cf. Stacey, *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram.*, vol. 10 (1898), pp. 22-33.

IV. TREATMENT OF DIVINITIES AND OMENS.

A fundamental truth regarding the portrayal of super-human agency in the *Punica* is contained in the following statements of Heynacher,¹ "Also entlehnte Silius seinen Götterapparat dem Ennius!" . . . "Diese Stellen beweisen unzweifelhaft, dass Silius das Eingreifen der Götter nach Ennius schildert." Bauer recognizes this fact, when he says (p. 35), "Zum Schluss sei noch erwähnt die Göttermaschine, welche Silius durch seine 17 Bücher hindurch in Bewegung setzt und deren Spuren wir auch bei Ennius finden, vgl. Heynacher S. 29 und 39." But this dependence must not be regarded as exclusively Ennian, for in the delineation of the gods, as in all other features of the poem, traces of a combination of influences are to be seen. It is a well-known fact that Ennius introduced the Greek pantheon into Roman literature; furthermore we find in Virgil's *Aeneid* and in Servius's commentary on the same a few suggestions as to the method employed by the annalistic poet in his treatment of these divinities. Thus in explanation of *Aen.* 1, 281,² Servius says,³ *Consilia in melius referet quia bello Punico secundo ut ait Ennius placata Iuno coepit favere Romanis*. Again in explanation of *Aen.* 1, 20,⁴ this

¹ Ueber die Stellung des Sil. Ital. etc., pp. 29 and 39.

² *Aen.* 1, 279-282:

. quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

³ Cf. Heynacher, p. 39; Wezel, no. 9.

⁴ *Aen.* 1, 19-20:

progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;

statement is given,¹ *Audierat a Iove aut a Fatis . . . et perite 'audierat'*; in *Ennio enim inducitur Iuppiter promittens Romanis excidium Carthaginiis*. Furthermore we find in the tenth book of the *Aeneid*, ll. 6-15, the following address of Jupiter delivered in the presence of an assembled council of the gods:

'caelicolae magni, quianam sententia vobis
versa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?
abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.
quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos
aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?
adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpes immitet apertas:
tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.
nunc sinite et placitum laeti componite foedus.'

This clear prophecy of coming disasters when the Carthaginians should have made their way over the Alps, and the definite promise that then the gods might 'struggle in malice and scramble for issues' are too realistic to be entirely fanciful. Some scene presented in the writings of an earlier poet must, I think, have suggested the thought, and the only author preceding Virgil in whose work such an account of the action of the gods at this time would have been likely to occur is Ennius, who reproduced the primitive view of Homer and allowed the gods to mingle with men.

Additional proof that Virgil was thinking of Ennius in this passage may be found in the following slight verbal reminiscences traceable therein:

Enn. Ann. 127: *quianam legiones caedimus ferro*;²
259: *quianam dictis nostris sententia flexa est*;³
279: *certare abnueo: metuo legionibus labem*.

¹ Cf. Heynacher, p. 39; Wezel, no. 8.

² Cf. Servius ad Aen. 10, 6.

³ Cf. Conington, note to Aen. 10, 6.

With these general statements in mind, we may proceed to investigate how far Silius presents the same pictures as those ascribed to Ennius. In partial conformity with the conception of a change in the attitude of Juno, the author of the *Punica*, at the time of the battle of Cannae, when Roman misfortunes had reached their climax, represents the hostile queen of the gods, ironically or seriously, as bidding Jupiter overthrow the citadels of Carthage and destroy the Sidonian army, Sil. 9, 535-541:

excipit hic Iuno longique laboris ab ira:
 'immo,' ait, 'ut noscant gentes, immania quantum
 regna Iovis valeant, cunctisque potentia quantum
 antistat, coniux, superis tua, disice telo
 flagranti—nil oramus—Carthagini's arces
 Sidoniamque aciem vasto telluris hiatu
 Tartareis immerge vadis aut obrue ponto.'

In the succeeding books of the poem, a negative favor, at least, is shown to the Romans. Apparently yielding to the inevitable decrees of fate, Juno ceases her fierce efforts in behalf of the Carthaginians and seeks only to save Hannibal. Thus (10, 45-58) she assumes the guise of Metellus and bids Paulus, who is seeking the Punic leader, flee for safety, but when he refuses, she resorts to another artifice (10, 85-91) and, in the likeness of the African Gelestes, draws Hannibal to a different part of the field by telling him that Paulus is there. Later when Hannibal plans to attack Rome, Juno, realizing the futility of his effort, causes a dream to be sent to him which deters him from making the assault (10, 337-350). At Nola Marcellus seeks to provoke Hannibal to a single combat and the latter is about to accept the challenge, when Juno turns him from his determination and causes him instead to rally his fleeing men (12, 201-203). When Hannibal has encamped outside the walls of Rome and the opposing armies are preparing for an engagement, Jupiter entreats Juno to check

the mad fury of the Sidonian youth. In compliance with this request, she appears clearly before Hannibal and sharpens his vision so that he may see the gods guarding the hills of Rome and the Campus Martius (12, 701-725). When at last Carthaginians and Romans meet on African soil, Jupiter tells Juno, whom he finds gazing sadly upon the proceedings, that the time has come to end the struggle. She replies that she is not seeking to oppose fate nor to prolong the war, but she begs Jupiter to spare the life of Hannibal and not suffer him to be taken captive or allow the walls of Carthage to be razed (17, 357-369). A little later, in order to avert a personal conflict between Hannibal and Scipio, she causes a false image of the latter to appear before the former, who eagerly pursues the phantom only to behold it vanish before him and to discern the divine interference (17, 522-553). Enraged he again seeks the scene of battle, but through Juno's agency his horse falls and in despair he contemplates suicide (17, 553-566). Then, in the guise of a shepherd, Juno comes and, while pretending to show him the nearest way to Scipio, leads him farther from the field (17, 567-580) and at last conducts him to an elevation from which he can see his own men fleeing and the victorious Romans approaching his position, when with a vow never to cease hostilities against his hated foe, he flees to the mountains for safety (17, 597-617).

Thus far does the portrayal of Juno presented by Silius conform to the statement of Servius and this continued policy of defense alone, when contrasted with her former active measures of offensive warfare, as detailed by Wezel (p. 25), was probably due to suggestions gained from Ennius's treatment of the same divinity.

In like manner the statement of Servius concerning Jupiter's promise, as given by Ennius, bears a remarkable

resemblance to the action of the king of gods and men as described by Silius. Wezel (no. 8) maintains that Servius spoke thus with reference to a passage in the *Annals* similar to that found in the third book of the *Punica* where, just as Hannibal has passed the Alps and is about to invade Italy, Venus comes with anxious lamentations to Jupiter who consoles her and says, Sil. 3, 590-592:

. . . . iamque ipse creatus,
qui Poenum revocet patriae Latioque repulsum
ante suae muros Carthaginis exuat armis.

To this assumption Blass objects, saying (p. 511) "und doch verspricht er weder den Römern, noch verspricht er den Untergang Karthagos." It is true that in this prophecy given by Jupiter to Venus and likewise in that given to Minerva at Cannae,¹ Silius is speaking of the defeat of Hannibal at Zama, but later he causes Jupiter to predict to Juno the final overthrow of her favorite city. The lines are these, Sil. 17, 373-375:

. . . . non longa supersunt
fata urbi, venietque pari sub nomine ductor,
qui nunc servatas evertat funditus arces.

On what occasion Ennius mentioned Jupiter's promise cannot be determined, but the words of Servius strictly interpreted, as well as the prophecy given by Virgil, are more akin to the passage from the seventeenth book of the *Punica* than to either of the other two. Wezel acknowledges that this may be true, but he prefers to assign it to a connection similar to that found in the third book, as the most appropriate place for a promise of this nature, and for this reason he interprets the word *excidium* not as the final destruction of Carthage wrought by Scipio Aemilianus but

¹ Sil. 9, 544-546:

ille, o nata, libens cui tela inimica ferebas,
contundet Tyrios iuvenis ac nomina gentis
induet et Libycam feret in Capitolla laurum.

as the victory gained by the Romans at the close of the Second Punic War. However this may be, the general attitude of Jupiter in his relation to the Romans and the Carthaginians, as portrayed in this short reference, is in harmony with the picture given by Silius throughout his presentation. From this we may conclude that he, as well as Virgil, owed his main conception of the divine king to the annalistic poet.

The prediction quoted above from the tenth book of the *Aeneid* is fully realized in the conflict at Cannae as described by Silius (9, 438-555). But from what source did the latter draw his minute account filling out so completely this vague prophecy? Not from Virgil, for he offers no further suggestions than those previously given; not from his own imagination, for his poem affords no evidence of such power of originality; not from the extant writings of any other author, for they contain no such description. If then Ennius suggested to Virgil the lines we have noted, he must also have supplied Silius with the foundation of his detailed portrayal. Under these circumstances, we may better understand why such delineations of the gods as are found in the *Punica* came to be thus introduced into the midst of historical surroundings. To Ennius may be referred perhaps a part of the responsibility for that fault for which Silius has been so gravely censured by Tyrrell,¹ who says, "It was a great mistake when Silius Italicus, applying the supernatural machinery of the *Aeneid* to a historical narrative, made Volturnus, sent by Aeolus at the prayer of Juno, blind the eyes of the Romans at Cannae, and when he depicted Venus as plunging the Carthaginians into sloth at Capua."

But other influences, besides that of Ennius, are also to be found here. Blended with this general treatment of the

¹ *Latin Poetry*, p. 292.

deities there are many individual pictures that suggest an acquaintance with various other sources. Nor are these altogether confined to the past. Homeric and Virgilian scenes, as well as those of other predecessors, played their part, no doubt, but contemporary influences, though of less effect, are also discernible. In the description of Hannibal's visit to the temple of Hercules at Gades (3, 14-44) there are Greek, Roman, Phoenician, and Egyptian touches all combined, some evidently derived from literary sources and others probably traceable to the author's personal knowledge of the sacred rites described. Oriental ideas, however, are not very prominent. The main outline of his treatment did not enable Silius to allow much of this vague mysticism to intrude upon the conceptions of the divinities he portrayed, and the age in which he lived was violently opposed to such an intrusion. In the words of Samuel Dill,¹ "the Trinity of the Capitol—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—Hercules and Silvanus, the Nymphs, Semo Sancus and Dea Dia, Mars and Fortuna, so far from being neglected, were apparently more popular than ever." Yet the power of eastern innovations did not escape Silius, and it is not without significance that he caused Anna, Dido's sister who is confused with Anna Perenna, a distinctly Roman deity, to speak in the following disparaging way of magic, Sil. 8, 98-99:

ad magicas etiam fallax atque improba gentis
Massylae levitas descendere compulit artes.

His general method, however, was simply one of silence in regard to the present and the new, and his chief thought seems to have been to recall the traditions of the past.

Closely connected with this portrayal of superhuman agency in the action of the poem is the record of the mani-

¹ *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1904), p. 538.

festations of the will of the gods by means of various omens. The sources from which Silius drew his numerous descriptions of such divine revelations is a matter of conjecture, since the great majority of those he introduces are not found in the same connection in any other account. From this fact Bauer concludes as follows (p. 21): "Wir müssen deshalb annehmen, dass dem Silius aus seiner umfassenden gründlichen Lektüre eine Summe von solchen Geschichten zu Gebote stand, und dass er davon nach Belieben auswählte, indem er die betreffenden Prodigien teils der Hauptsache nach unverändert in sein Werk herübernahm, teils auch *mutatis mutandis* dem Zusammenhang anpasste." This opinion is held also by van Veen (p. 77) and by Schlichteisen (pp. 114, 115), though the latter places more emphasis upon the poet's own power of invention (pp. 85, 86) than is suggested by Bauer. That this decision is in part correct seems clear from a consideration of the general method which we have seen was employed by the author of the *Punica*. A blending of different sources may be traced in all parts of the poem. But the assumption that Silius took all of his omens at random from various sources and connections or that he united these only with such as he framed in his own imagination seems to me as false as the theory of Heynacher (pp. 21, 26, 34) that he found all in some earlier account of the same period. Undoubtedly here, as elsewhere, he gives us an account which is the result of a combination of influences and some omens are true to the records of the time and some are not. Evidence of the presence of the former will be given later, evidence of the use of the latter is not so easily detected, but that there were such is clear from the following example, which is the last in the list of those recorded before the battle of Cannae, Sil. 8, 653-655:

Aetnaeos quoque contorquens e cautibus ignis
 Vesbius intonuit, scopulisque in nubila iactis
 Phlegraeus tetigit trepidantia sidera vertex.

This cannot possibly be an echo of any historical work treating of the year 216 B. C., for at that time the volcanic nature of Vesuvius seems to have been unknown, save as a matter of inference from the peculiar nature of its rocky surface, and of this inference we find no mention until the time of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. The former says (4, 21, 5) :

ὠνομάσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο Φλεγραῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκφυσῶντος ἄπλιτον πῦρ παραπλησίως τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Αἴτνῃ· καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ λόφος Οὐεσσουῦνιος, ἔχων πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κεκαῦσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους.

The latter expresses the same thought as follows (5, 4, 8) :

ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν τόπων τούτων ὄρος τὸ Οὐεσσούιον, ἀγροῖς περιεικόμενον παγκύλοις πλὴν τῆς κορυφῆς· αὕτη δ' ἐπίπεδος μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἐστίν, ἄκαρπος δ' ὅλη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὄψεως τεφρώδης, καὶ κοιλάδας φαίνει σπαραγγώδεις πετρῶν αἰθιλωδῶν κατὰ τὴν χροῖαν, ὡς ἂν ἐκβεβρωμένων ὑπὸ πυρός, ὡς τεκμαίρουτ' ἂν τις τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο καίεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατῆρας πυρός, σβεσθῆναι δ' ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς ὕλης.

Undoubtedly¹ Silius records in this omen the dread phenomenon that caused such universal consternation during his own lifetime. Influenced perhaps too by such descriptions as that of the activity of Mt. Aetna (Geor. 1, 471-473) and by such phrases as *Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis* (Aen. 7, 786), which may be echoes of Ennius, he transferred them to an account of an imaginary eruption of Vesuvius.

However, to attempt to decide just where the dividing line between the false and the true should in each case be drawn would be a hopeless endeavor, since the few historians who treat of the period present no uniformity in the

¹ Cf. Cocchia, *La forma del Vesuvio* [etc.] in *Atti della R. Acc. di Arch., Lett. e Belle Arti* (Naples), vol. 21 (1900-01), pp. 1-66.

omens they recount, and we possess no other trustworthy compilations of the portents seen at that time. The truth of the matter seems to be that various stories were current during the Second Punic War and in the several accounts handed down to later generations many different forms of such divine manifestations were found. Polybius says (3, 112, 8) that before the battle of Cannae πάντα δ' ἦν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγια πᾶσι τότε διὰ στίματος, σημείων δὲ καὶ τεράτων πᾶν μὲν ἱερόν, πᾶτα δ' ἦν οἰκία πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν εὐχαὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ θεῶν ἱκετηρίαι καὶ δεήσεις ἐπέιχον τὴν πόλιν. Livy also speaks of the universal dread aroused by the omens at that time; cf. 22, 36, 6: *Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis*. Unfortunately for purposes of comparison, Polybius does not specify any of these numerous omens and Livy gives but a very few, which do not correspond with those mentioned by Silius. But the mere fact that we know there were many currently recounted at the time favors the assumption that the author of the Punica did not need to look to other sources than those dealing with the same period in order to find the majority, at least, of those he relates. Furthermore several of the portents he describes seem to have been stock examples which we find frequently given elsewhere in other connections and which appear many times in the later record of Julius Obsequens, who mentions no less than six instances of each of the following omens given in the Punica: the warning suggested by the presence of the owl (Sil. 8, 634); by swarms of bees (8, 635); by wild beasts in the camp (8, 638-640); by drops or streams of blood (5, 67-69; 8, 644-645); and by gleaming fire-brands in the heavens (8, 650-651). Probably such omens as these were frequently recorded, both in public and in private lists, during the critical period of which Silius wrote.

Other portents given by this author are concerned with certain geographical features of Italy and neighboring localities, where natural phenomena seen at the time of danger might very easily have been regarded as signs of supernatural premonitions, but would not so readily be thus associated in the minds of later writers, especially in the case of an author who possessed as little imaginative ability as Silius, of whom Pliny, *Epis.* 3, 7, 5, very justly says, *scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio*. Thus the omens relating to Mt. Garganus, the Aufidus river, the Ceraunian heights, the Alps, and the Apennines would be most natural interpretations of such storms and earthquakes as those to which we know from other sources these districts were subject. The lines of the *Punica* to which I refer are as follows:

Sil. 8, 628-631:

nutantique ruens prostravit vertice silvas
Garganus, fundoque imo mugivit anhelans
Aufidus, et magno late distantia ponto
terruerunt pavidos accensa Ceraunia nautas;

Sil. 8, 648-649:

non Alpes sedere loco, non nocte dieve
ingentis inter stetit Apenninus hiatus.

Of Mt. Garganus Horace says:

C. 2, 9, 6-8:

. . . . aut Aquilonibus
querqueta Gargani laborant
et foliis viduantur orni;

Epis. 2, 1, 202:

Garganum mugire putes nemus.

Likewise the Aufidus, which Horace knew so well, is spoken of by him in terms that quite accord with the tempestuous nature pictured by Silius; cf. *Hor. C.* 4, 9, 2:

longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum;

C. 3, 30, 10:

dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus;

S. 1, 1, 58:

cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer.

The nature of the Ceraunian mountains is shown by the explanation of their name, given by Servius in Aen. 3, 506: *Ceraunia sunt montes Epiri, a crebris fulminibus propter altitudinem nominati: unde Horatius¹ expressius dixit Acroceraunia propter altitudinem et fulminum iactus*. The frequency of earthquake shocks in the Alps and the Apennines is clearly expressed by Pliny, N. H. 2, 82: *Exploratum mihi est Alpes Appenninumque saepius tremuisse. Et autumno ac vere terrae crebrius moventur, sicut fulmina*. Such natural conditions as these, connected in the minds of a terror-stricken people with supernatural revelations, must have inspired those who lived during the perilous years of the Second Punic War with a superstitious dread, and many popular stories must have been current which tradition has not preserved at all or has so obscured in the works of later authors, by whom they have been transmitted; that the time of their origin and the first source from which they came can no longer be detected. Some of these current myths cannot have failed to find their way into the account of this critical period written by the poet Ennius, and from him Silius may have borrowed them. One omen, in particular, which the latter describes, thoroughly agrees with that which we should expect the earlier poet to have written. It occurred just as the opposing forces of the Romans and the Carthaginians were about to engage in battle at the river Ticinus and is recorded as follows, Sil. 4, 103-119:

cum subitum liquida, non ullis nubibus, aethra
 augurium mentes oculosque ad sidera vertit.
 accipiter, medio tendens a limite solis,
 dilectas Veneri notasque ab honore Diones
 turbabat violentus aves atque unguibus idem,
 idem nunc rostro, duris nunc ictibus alae,
 ter quinas dederat saeva inter vulnera leto;

¹ C. 1, 3, 20: *infamis scopulos, Acroceraunia*.

nec finis satiesve, novi sed sanguinis ardor
 gliscere, et urgebat trepidam iam caede priorum
 incertamque fugae, pluma labente, columbam,
 donec Phoebæo veniens Iovis ales ab ortu
 in tenuis tandem nubis dare terga coegit.
 tum victrix laetos signa ad Romana volatus
 convertit, prolesque ducis qua parte decora
 Scipio quassabat puerilibus arma lacertis,
 clangorem bis terque dedit, rostroque coruscae
 perstringens conum galeae, se reddidit astris.

Lemaire (note to l. 103) thinks that this is simply an alteration and expansion of Virgil's *Aen.* 12, 244-256:

his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto
 dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum
 turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.
 namque volans rubra fulvus Iovis ales in aethra
 litoreas agitabat avis turbamque sonantem
 agminis aligeri, subito cum lapsus ad undas
 cycnum excellentem pedibus rapit improbus uncis.
 arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque volucres
 convertunt clamore fugam (mirabile visu)
 aetheraque obscurant pennis hostemque per auras
 facta nube premunt, donec vi victus et ipso
 pondere defecit praedamque ex unguibus ales
 proiecit fluvio penitusque in nubila fugit.

But the changes introduced are so great and the adaptation to the situation described by Silius is so perfect that it seems to me less probable that he received his suggestion from the Augustan writer than that both of these later poets gained their inspiration from some common prior source.

Schlichteisen (pp. 84-86) considers that this augury was an invention of Silius and that it was substituted for the omens narrated by Livy¹ in this connection because it was of such a nature that the earlier part of it might be accepted with equal joy by either side and might serve not only as a

¹ Cf. Livy 21, 46, 2.

stimulus for the immediate future, but also as a prophecy of the final outcome of the entire war. Such a purpose the author of the *Punica* may have had in mind, but this does not prove that he himself independently devised the means of expressing the same. In fact the hawk and the eagle had been associated with augury from the time of Homer, some of whose descriptions must have been adopted by Ennius and, with such changes as were necessary, have been incorporated in his works. Evidence of this may be gained from the following lines, Il. 15, 690-695:

ἀλλ' ὥστ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἰθῶν
 ἔθνος ἐφορμάται, ποταμὸν πέρα βοσκομενίων,
 χηνῶν ἢ γεμίνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ἔθυσσε νεὸς κυνηγοπρώριον
 ἀντίος αἰέας· τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ὥσεν ὅπισθεν
 χειρὶ μίλα μεγάλῃ, ὥτρυνε δὲ λαὸν ἄμ' αὐτῷ.

Here, immediately following the simile in which Hector's swift motions are compared to the swooping of the eagle upon its prey, we find a sentence which is clearly echoed in Enn. Ann. 569:¹

atque manu magna Romanos inpulit amnis.

From this in turn Virgil derived line 241 of *Aen.* 5:²

et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
 impulit:

Moreover Virgil's *fulvus ales* and *litoreas avis* (*Aen.* 12, 247-248), phrases that Conington³ thinks were suggested by αἰετὸς αἰθῶν and ὀρνίθων ποταμὸν πέρα βοσκομενίων in the passage quoted above, are used in close connection with the expression *rubra aethra*, which as Conington shows is from Enn. Ann. 435:

. . . . interea fax
 occidit oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra.

¹ Cf. Vahlen's note to Ann. 569.

² Cf. Herrmann, *Die Veroneser Vergilscholien*, Donaueschingen, 1869-70, p. 17.

³ P. Vergili Opera. Commentary by John Conington and Henry Nettleship, Lon. 1875.

Perhaps if this Ennian fragment was longer or we possessed others which now are lost, we might find in them the origin of the other Virgilian phrases in question, which could then be referred to Homer only through the intermediary Latin source.

Moreover Silius connects this omen with the youthful Scipio, which is another consideration in favor of assuming the influence of Ennius. That many manifestations of divine power were thought by the contemporaries of Scipio to guide the various enterprises of this famous leader, we know from the following statements of Polybius and Livy: Polyb. 10, 2, 5:

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπιτυχῇ τινα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον αἰεὶ παραδόξως καὶ ταῦτομάτῳ κατορθοῦντα τὰς ἐπιβολὰς παρεισάγουσι;
Livy, 26, 19, 3-8:

fuit enim Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum compositus, pleraque apud multitudinem aut ut per nocturnas visa species aut velut divinitus mente monita agens, sive et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque velut sorte oraculi missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus in secreto ibi tempus tereret. hic mos, quem per omnem vitam servabat, seu consulto seu temere vulgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum divinae virum esse, . . . his miraculis numquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam adfirmandi.

If Scipio suffered such stories to be currently reported of himself, no one was in a better position to know these popular tales than his intimate friend, Ennius, and no one would have been more likely to relate this omen of the eagle, whose eulogistic character was unusually well adapted to the poet's purposes. Its natural interpretation as a prophecy

of coming greatness¹ would have introduced an element of divine favor quite in accord with the feeling of Ennius and to this author it may most properly be referred.

Further evidence that some truth may underlie at least a part of the portents that Silius relates may be gained from the following examples, all of which are connected with the time immediately preceding the battle at Lake Thrasymene or during the contest, Sil. 5:

- 59 tunc ales, priscum populis de more Latinis
auspiciū, cum bella parant mentesque deorum
explorant super eventu, ceu praescia luctus,
62 damnavit vesci planctuque alimenta refugit.
66 signa etiam affusa certant dum vellere mole,
taeter humo lacera nitentum erupit in ora
exultans cruor, et caedis documenta futurae
69 ipsa parens miseris gremio dedit atra cruento.
611 cum subitus per saxa fragor, motique repente,
horrendum, colles et summa cacumina totis
intremuere iugis; nutant in vertice silvae
pinifero, fractaeque ruunt super agmina rupes.
615 immugit penitus convulsis ima cavernis
dissiliens tellus nec parvos rumpit hiatus,
atque umbras late Stygias immensa vorago
faucibus ostendit patulis; manesque profundi
antiquum expavere diem. lacus ater, in altos
620 sublatus montis et sede excussus avita,
lavit Tyrrhenas ignota aspergine silvas.
iamque eadem populos magnorumque oppida regum
tempestas et dira lues stravitque tulitque.
ac super haec refluī pugnarunt montibus amnes,
et retro fluctus torsit mare. monte relicto
626 Apenninicolae fugere ad litora Fauni.

¹ Cf. Livy 1, 34, 9, where Tanaquil thus interprets a similar omen affecting her husband: excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspiciū fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet.

The first of these omens (Sil. 5, 59-62) is also related by Cicero, apparently on the authority of Coelius whom he mentions a little later; De div. 1, 35, 77:

Quid? bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius consul iterum neglexit signa rerum futurarum magna cum clade rei publicae? . . . Idem cum tripudio auspicaretur, pullarius diem proelii committendi differebat. Tum Flaminius ex eo quaesivit, si ne postea quidem pulli pascerentur, quid faciendum censeret. Cum ille quiescendum respondisset, Flaminius: 'Praeclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis res geri poterit, saturis nihil geretur!'

Furthermore, although Livy does not give this omen in his description of the divine warnings preceding the battle at Lake Thrasymentum, yet he was familiar with it in connection with Flaminius as well as in its association with the name of P. Claudius in the First Punic War, as is clear from a statement he makes in recording a similar omen before the engagement at Cannae, Livy 22, 42, 8-9:

Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit.

The second omen given by Silius (5, 66-69) is mentioned by Cicero, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Florus, and Plutarch, though with great variation in the details.

Cic. De div. 1, 35, 77: Quo tempore cum signifer primi hastati signum non posset movere loco nec quicquam proficeretur, plures cum accederent, Flaminius re nuntiata suo more neglexit.

Livy, 22, 3, 11-13: Haec simul increpans cum oculis signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine incipienda rei insuper nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. conversus ad nuntium 'Num ^{liber} quoque' inquit 'ab senatu adfers, quae me rem

tent? abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt.'

Val. Max. 1, 6, 6: C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus, cum apud lacum Trasymenum cum Hannibale conflicturus convelli signa iussisset, lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est, nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus, signiferis negantibus signa moveri sua sede posse, malum, ni ea continuo effodissent, minatus est.

Florus, 1, 22, 14: Nec de dis possumus queri: imminet temerario duci cladem praedixerant insidentia signis examina, et aquilae prodire nolentes.

These parallel accounts show that the omen as given in the *Punica* was based upon an accepted report. Whether the author found the poetical ending, which he employs, in any of his sources or whether he borrowed this from Virgil's story of Polydorus (*Aen.* 3, 28-29 and 33), it is impossible to say.

The third omen, which Silius mentions (5, 611-626), the earthquake that took place during the contest, is also recorded by several writers. Cicero (*De div.* 1, 35, 78) says that it was mentioned by Coelius:

Magnum illud etiam, quod addidit Coelius, eo tempore ipso, cum hoc calamitosum proelium fieret, tantos terrae motus in Liguribus, Gallia compluribusque insulis totaque in Italia factos esse, ut multa oppida conruerint, multis locis labes factae sint terraeque desederint fluminaque in contrarias partes fluxerint atque in amnes mare influxerit. Livy (22, 5, 8) relates the following:

tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

Pliny (*N. H.* 2, 84) says:

Maximus terrae memoria mortalium exstitit motus Tiberi Caesaris principatu, XII urbibus Asiae una nocte prostratis, creberrimus Punico bello intra eundem annum septiens ac quinquagiens nuntiatus Romam, quo quidem

anno ad Trasimenum lacum dimicantes maximum motum neque Poeni sentire nec Romani.

These and other similar accounts¹ show that Silius here states a fact and that the earthquake incident is not a poetic invention or a free adaptation borrowed from a description of another situation.

From this examination of the different kinds of omens narrated by Silius, of which some are assuredly false but a larger number are evidently true, it is clear that their origin is to be referred to various sources and among these Ennius probably exerted no small influence. We know that he related dreams² and auguries³ and that he told of eclipses,⁴ and it would be but reasonable to suppose that he also recorded some of the other traditional portents with which Rome and Italy were filled during his lifetime. Moreover such stories as these, rendered in poetic form, would naturally be easily remembered, and Silius doubtless transferred to his own work many reminiscences from these accounts of his predecessor.

Further effects of Ennian influence have been claimed to be traceable in many other phases of the *Punica*, especially in the treatment of the Roman leaders. That some important elements in the description of such men as Fabius, Scipio, and Marcellus were due to Ennius, seems clear from what has already been said in connection with Fabius (p. 376) and Scipio (pp. 378, 380, 382) and from the statement of Cicero, *Pro Archia* 9, 22: *Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur*. But that any one source can be found for any particular portion of the *Punica* is, I think, impossible.

¹ Cf. *Plut. Fab. Max.* 3; *Orosius*, 4, 15, 6; *Zonaras*, 8, 25.

² Cf. *Ann.* 35-51.

³ Cf. *Ann.* 77-96.

⁴ Cf. *Ann.* 163.

Everything seems to be the result of a combination and blending of many elements taken from many different sources. Not to Ennius or to Livy alone was Silius indebted, but to these authors combined with numerous others. Thus brief phrases and general pictures, as well as those larger conceptions that underlie the structure of the poem as a whole, are traceable now to one predecessor, now to another, and all are so interwoven and confused as to render a separation impossible.

APPENDIX

Many passages quoted by Wezel have not been mentioned in the preceding pages, as the relations he seeks to establish cannot be proved true. Thus the lines from the *Punica* given in no. 6, which refer to the overflowing Trebia (*Sil.* 4, 573-576) appear to be a poetic rendition of the historical fact related by Polybius, 3, 72, 4, and Livy, 21, 54, 9, but seem to have no connection whatever with *Enn. Ann.* 569, if we can form any idea of the meaning of this fragment from the kindred expressions in the *Iliad*, 15, 694-695, and the *Aeneid*, 5, 241.¹ Similarly *Enn. Ann.* 379: *contempsit fontes quibus exerugit aquae vis* refers, according to Vahlen (p. 68), to Hannibal's advice to Antiochus, as given in Justinus, 31, 5, 7, to contend with the Romans in Italy, the fountain-head of their resources, and not, as Wezel considers (no. 10), to the endurance of Hannibal of which Silius (1, 260) and Livy (21, 4, 6) speak.

Nos. 11 and 28 are likewise placed by Vahlen in a connection which does not accord with that of the passages of Silius with which Wezel compares them, and there is nothing in the fragments themselves to prove definitely any relation between them and the later writer.

Some of the other comparisons made by Wezel are based merely upon a general thought which each author expresses or upon a word common to both, without any further bond of union. Thus in no. 4 both Ennius and Silius speak of the devastation of fields and the storming of towns, in no. 19 of pestilence and battle, but there are no other points of

¹ Cf. p. 416.

similarity between them. In nos. 40 and 45 the only resemblance lies in the use of the words *falarica* and *Brun-disium*, which are too often found elsewhere to allow any inference of relationship to be derived from their presence here. A similar criticism might be urged against the comparisons given in nos. 14, 17, 24, 25, 27, 29, 34, 37, 42; and in nos. 16, 22, 30, and 41, I find no evidence even of this slight connection.

