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"I still retain the Empire of my Minde"

Thomas Ross's *Continuation* of Silius Italicus (1661, 1672)

EVA VON CONTZEN

Abstract

In the 1650s, Thomas Ross, royal librarian to the exiled King Charles II, translated Silius Italicus's epic poem *Punica* into English and added a continuation in three books dedicated to the king, published in 1661 and 1672 in a second edition. While the subject matter of the Second Punic War was worthy of the royal dedicatee and can be situated within the thriving context of translations from the classics in the seventeenth century, the *Continuation* has been neglected so far. This article considers Ross's creative addition to the *Punica* as a literary achievement in its own right that demonstrates not only Ross's skills as a writer but also his astute commenting on the political situation in England. The contents and narrative style of the *Continuation* are scrutinized before one central episode, the tragic death of Sophonisba, is analyzed as a prime example of Ross's narrative technique of interpreting the present through the past and encoding Royalist ideas.

In the 1650s, in the midst of the political upheaval in England, while Charles II was exiled in the Netherlands, the man who would later become his majesty's librarian, Thomas Ross, translated the epic poem *Punica* by Silius Italicus. To the translation of the seventeen books of Silius's epic of the Silver Age he added a *Continuation* in three books that end with the death of Hannibal. The combined work, written in heroic couplets, was published for the first time in 1661 and saw a second edition in 1672 under the title *The Second Punick War Between Hannibal, and the Romanes: The whole Seventeen Books, Englished from the Latine of Silius Italicus: With A Continuation from the Triumph of Scipio To the Death of*

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Hannibal.[1] Ross's contribution to English literature in the seventeenth century may be rather small in comparison to the influence of Dryden's or Milton's epics, yet I believe he has been neglected unjustifiably. His continuation of the *Punica* in particular is a remarkable instance of engagement with the classics in seventeenth-century England and deserves to be appreciated not only for its polished and elevated style and careful choice and arrangement of scenes, but also for its subtle reinterpretation of the classical material for a contemporary audience.

Thomas Ross: Life and Work(s)

Thomas Ross, who was baptized in 1620 and died in 1675, is remembered primarily for his loyalty to Charles II: after having obtained a BA from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1642, Ross aligned himself with the heir apparent. He accompanied Charles to his exile on the continent, where he was actively engaged in politics and acted as Charles's messenger. At one point he even proposed action to assassinate Oliver Cromwell.[2] In 1661, after the Restoration, Ross was appointed keeper of the king's library.[3] He remained in the king's service and was sent on diplomatic missions, the longest stay being three years (1671 to 1674) in Sweden with the English ambassador, Henry Coventry. From 1658 onward Ross tutored James Scott, the later duke of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate child from his affair with Lucy Walter. Ross traveled with the duke when the latter served in the royal navy during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1665. Ross's influence on his protégé was quite substantial, climaxing in the so-called black box affair: Ross advanced the issuing of a marriage certificate between Charles II and James's mother in order to make James the legitimate heir to the throne. The relevant documents were said to be hidden in a black box in the possession of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, son-in-law of Lucy Walter's confessor, John Cosin, bishop of Durham. However, Ross's plans were revealed, and he was banned from tutoring James for some time.

Ross's literary endeavors reflect his close relationship with the king. *The Second Punick War* is dedicated to Charles II and contains, apart from the dedicatory "Epistle at Bruges. To His Sacred Majestie" (dated November 18, 1657), also a poem of ninety-eight lines "To the King" in which Charles II is praised and a glorious future under his reign envisaged. The *Continuation* is preceded by its own dedication, to the second earl of Strafford, William Wentworth. William was the son of Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, who actively supported

Charles I in parliament during the civil war and was executed for his Royalist commitment in 1641. William was also one of the patrons of the work: his name appears on two of the engravings (plates 11 and 20) that introduce each new book. Next to a frontispiece, *The Second Punick War* and the *Continuation* contain twenty engravings (nineteen in the first edition), all but two of which bear the signature of Jozef Lamorlet. Lamorlet (1626–c. 1681) was a prominent Antwerp engraver, and Ross appears to have commissioned the plates in the 1650s already, deliberately choosing a qualified artist from Antwerp rather than Bruges, where he was staying. Also, as has been shown, Ross is likely to have worked together with Larmolet on some of the motifs.[4] In spite of intrigues and dissent, the court's exile to the continent offered a prolific environment for intellectual life. Scientific and philosophical engagement with European thinkers was fostered and doubtlessly also created an atmosphere in which Ross could compose his translation and the *Continuation* of the *Punica*.[5] As his collaboration with Lamorlet demonstrates, Ross himself directly benefited from the exchange between the English expatriates and their hosts in Europe.

The choice of Silius Italicus as his subject matter shows Ross's careful consideration of both political and literary reasons. For one, Silius was held in high regard by English poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[6] yet his work never received as much attention as the *Aeneid* or *Pharsalia*. This allowed Ross to break fresh ground and establish himself as a poet and at the same time express his admiration for the exiled king whose literary taste was flattered by the rare and heroic work in Virgilian emulation. With respect to the *Continuation*, Ross may have found a model in Thomas May, the English translator of the *Pharsalia*: May had added a *Continuation till the death of Iulius Caesar* to his translation, which was very popular and printed five times in the seventeenth century before 1661.[7] The *Punica*'s content marks a return to more traditional values, befitting the newly restored monarchy: "By translating the poet who had attempted to turn Roman epic back from the radicalism of the *Pharsalia* to the traditionalism of the *Aeneid*, Ross signaled his intention to shift the focus of English versions of Latin poetry back from Republicanism to Royalism."[8] During the time of composing *The Second Punick War*, Ross could of course not know whether the English monarchy would indeed be reestablished—although there may be hints of that in the *Continuation*—but the work clearly reflects his hopes and retrospectively becomes a herald of Royalist and imperial ideas.

A further reason for Ross's choice of the *Punica* may have been the prominent theme of filial piety: both Scipio and Hannibal draw their

motivation for war from their fathers, like Charles II who was fighting to restore the monarchy after Charles I's execution for high treason.[9] In 211 B.C. Scipio's father Publius Cornelius Scipio was killed in battle against the Carthaginians in Hispania, for which his son sought revenge, and Hannibal was driven by his oath sworn to his father Hamilcar never to befriend the Romans. At the same time, the focus of the *Punica* on two protagonists allowed for a broad application of the work to Charles's situation and hence for drawing parallels with both Hannibal and Scipio: "Charles would have found the countless vignettes of martial prowess, heroic fortitude, and admirable statesmanship, Carthaginian as well as Roman, with which the *Punica* abounded, truly inspiring and highly relevant to his own condition."[10] Overall, the Second Punic War is a demonstration of the unstableness of fate, which can change quickly and turn the seemingly certain victor into the defeated after all.

The background of Thomas Ross's literary career would not be complete if we were not to consider another work also devoted to the wars between Rome and Carthage. Published in 1671, one year before the second edition of *The Second Punick War*, a tripartite publication was issued under the title *An Essay Upon the Third Punique War. Lib. I and II. To which are added Theodosius's Advice to his Son. And The Phenix, Out of Claudian.*[11] Neither the title page nor the preface identifies the author other than through the initials, "T. R." It is tempting and indeed likely to identify the anonymous "T. R." with Thomas Ross.[12] The subject of the *Essay* constitutes the logical resumption of Ross's previous work, covering the period from 149 to 146 B.C. and ending with the destruction of Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus.[13] What is more, the preface is dedicated "To the Illustrious Prince James Duke of Monmouth," Ross's student. As the very first sentence makes unequivocally clear, the work is meant to be an exercise in the art of war. Addressed to the duke, the author states that the *Essay* "hath the Honour to be Born in Your Service," which may be a reference not only to his tutorship but also to Ross having accompanied James to his military service in the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1665. Like the *Continuation*, the *Essay* is composed in heroic couplets, and its style too is remarkably similar. There are fewer similes, but also elaborated passages of direct discourse, a focus on virtue and honor, and an eye for the key points of the narrative. In contrast to the relatively sparsely used marginal comments of *The Second Punick War* and the *Continuation* (see below in more detail), the *Essay* contains sixty-three footnotes, which often contain lengthy commentaries and explain in more detail the historical background of the poetic descriptions as well as names or cultural practices. Frequently, sources are provided too. For

instance, in the second book Ross recounts the *Somnium Scipionis* and adds footnotes such as the following: the line "That Immortality to Souls assigns" (29) is footnoted "Plato *in his* Phædo," and the line "*Whose Souls from hence descending, while they are / Confin'd to Bodies, which, on Earth, they wear*" is explicated in the note "*The praexistence of Souls asserted by* Plato *in his* Phædo *and* Timæus, *and* Cicero *in* Somn. Scip." (32). That the purpose of the *Essay* is a didactic one is visible from these rich notes and explanations, which aptly link poetic enjoyment of the narrative with an educational agenda. A more detailed treatment and critical appreciation of the *Essay* is clearly called for, which, however, goes beyond the scope and focus of this article.

The *Continuation*

So far, Ross's addition to his translation of the *Punica* has only been noted in passing by scholars as an interesting contribution by an author primarily known for his engagement in politics and his position at Charles II's court. Yet the three books are worth considering in more detail as a literary achievement in their own right. They provide a striking example of reading, writing, and interpreting epic poetry in the seventeenth century from an English perspective.

The two editions of the *Continuation* are identical; they even contain the same mistakes in the pagination: in both the 1661 edition and the 1672 one, page 33 is erroneously numbered 35, and what should be page 40 bears the number 38. The longest of the three books is book II, which runs to 938 lines. It is framed by the shorter books I and III, which are of roughly the same scope (786 and 728 lines respectively). The three books relate the events following the Battle of Zama in which the Romans were victorious (ca. 202 B.C.) up to Hannibal's death in the 180s B.C. Thus the *Continuation* picks up the storyline exactly where Silius's epos breaks off, after Scipio's triumphal return to Rome. Each of the three books is headed by a summary of the "argument." I provide these summaries and then a more detailed overview of the contents of each book.[14]

Book I

The Argument
The Romane *Piety, and Zeal to pay*
(*At* Scipio'*s Return*) *the Vows, which they*

In War had made. King Syphax *Captive dies*
By voluntary Famine. The sad Cries
Of Carthaginian *Dames. Their Citie's quite*
Disarm'd. Imilce'*s parting Tears. By Night,*
Great Hannibal *his Treach'rous Country flies;*
Sails to Cercinna: *and, in Sacrifice,*
A Day consumes. Fearing to be betray'd;
Those, whom he doubts, by Wine asleep are lay'd.

ll. 1–30	Scipio's return to Rome and celebrations of the Roman victory; offerings are made to Piety
ll. 31–68	Praise of the people to Juno; the Flamen's prayer to Jove and sacrifice of one hundred bulls
ll. 69–183	Syphax captive; recalls the past; laments his unhappy situation before he dies from starving
ll. 184–346	In Carthage: people suffer from their defeat; recollections of past greatness; laments of Carthaginian mothers for their sons being sent to Rome
ll. 347–414	Revenge takes on Amilcar's shape and incites Hannibal to war
ll. 415–64	Hannibal in Stygian temple: talk with old priestess who asks him to return the following night
ll. 465–578	Hannibal is received by Imilce who expresses her love and fears of losing him; Hannibal's loving reply and good-bye
ll. 579–642	Hannibal's second visit to the temple; the priestess's oracle and Hannibal's (misguided) interpretation: he is ready to attack Rome again
ll. 643–708	Hannibal sets out to prepare his attack; speech of the Genius of the place
ll. 709–86	Hannibal's arrival in Cercinna; meets with the Carthaginians and persuades them to follow him by making them drunk

Book II

The Argument
To Hannibal Isalces *doth relate*
King Masanissa'*s Love, and the sad Fate*
Of Sophonisba. Rome *dreads the Report*
Of a new War. In the Ephesian *Court*
Scipio, *and* Hannibal *are entertain'd,*
And meet, as Friends. The City, Temple, and
Its Wealth describ'd. Great Alexander'*s Deeds*
Eumolpus *sings. Whence a Discourse proceeds,*

Who the best Captains were. Past Actions are
Revolv'd. The King resolves upon a War.

ll. 1–322	On the way to gathering forces: Isalces tells the story of Syphax, Masanissa and Sophonisba's unhappy ending
ll. 323–404	Arrival at the court of Ephesus; celebration of Hannibal; forces gather from Asia and Europe
ll. 405–62	Rome becomes aware of the Carthaginian preparations for war; laments of Roman women in the temple
ll. 463–606	Scipio's arrival in Ephesus; digression: founding of the city and description of its present splendor, Diana's temple in particular
ll. 607–90	Conversation between Scipio and Hannibal at the Ephesian banquet
ll. 691–740	Eumolpus sings of Alexander's greatness
ll. 741–900	Conversation between Scipio and Hannibal continued: who is the greatest general in war?
ll. 901–38	Ephesian king promises all his armies to Hannibal

Book III

The Argument
The Syrian Rome *defies, both* Scipio*s are,*
By choice, appointed to pursue the War.
Contagion wafts the Roman *Navy, while*
The Syrian *Fleet's detain'd near* Venus *Isle,*
By adverse Winds. The Syrian *Lords, a Shore*
With Hannibal, *the* Cyprian *Rites explore.*
The Winds again invite both Fleets to Sea.
They meet, and fight. The Syrians *lose the Day.*
The Libyan *Captain to* Bethynia *flies,*
Where, to shun Treason, He by Poison Dies.

ll. 1–29	Minio, the Ephesian king's favorite, is ready to fight; on the way to Italy
ll. 30–202	In Rome: preparations for war; decision in the Senate to send both Scipios and Laelius; gathering of the Roman army and navy
ll. 203–56	Envy guides Syrian counsels; Juno infects the Roman troops with a contagious illness; navy has to retreat to the open sea
ll. 257–306	Venus calls Aeolus for help; the Syrian fleet is stuck in a calm and forced to land in Cyprus

ll. 307–424	Hannibal and his men disembark in Cyprus; digression: description of Cyprus; story of Pygmalion, told by a young priest
ll. 425–72	Hannibal's men are summoned to their ships to prepare for war
ll. 473–558	The naval battle
ll. 559–602	Hannibal's valor and stratagem
ll. 603–50	Juno intervenes: thunderstorm turns day into night; Hannibal's troops have to leave their ships and flee; refuge at Ephesian king's court is no longer safe; Hannibal continues flight to king of Bithynia
ll. 651–72	All of Asia submit themselves to Rome; Hannibal is declared enemy
ll. 673–728	Hannibal is surrounded by armed forces; makes final speech before he commits suicide by poison

The broad outline of the three books follows the main events toward the end of the Second Punic War and partly overlaps with the events of the Macedonian war and, in particular, the Syrian war against Antiochus the Great, whom Hannibal subsequently sought as an ally. Ross's marginalia grant insight into the sources he used. Overall, sixty-three marginal notes and comments accompany the *Continuation*.[15] These notes are not primarily intended to name the sources but rather to provide additional information—that is, to explain allusions, rites, names, and contexts. For instance, the phrase "Janus Gates" (B. I, l. 63, p. 3) contains a note on the Roman custom of closing the temple doors in times of war (note c). Other marginalia explain the practice of displaying captives after a victory (note p; B. I, l. 543, p. 17), the reference to the Lotus in an episode about Ulysses' travels (note s; B. I, l. 714, p. 22), and specify the Syrian king's name, Antiochus, which is not given in the text (note c; B. II, l. 346, p. 35). In the last two cases, Ross adds the sources from which he took his information: Homer's *Odyssee*, Book 9, and Strabo, Book 17, for the Lotus reference, and Appian, *Syriaca*, for Antiochus's name. The marginal notes thus function both as a guide for the readers to facilitate their understanding of the epic's contents and at the same time as signposts for the author's erudition. Ross stages himself as teacher and poet at the same time, thus epitomizing the ideal combination of writing in a pleasurable and yet instructive manner. The Horatian paradigm behind this double purpose of literary activity is programmatically put on the title page of *The Second Punick War. Aut prodesse solent, aut Delectare Poetæ.*

The specification of the sources Ross consulted in the process of writing hence is a side effect of his self-fashioning in the marginalia. The following sources are provided:

Poetic authors:	Homer, *Odyssey*; Silius Italicus; Ovid, *Tristia* and *Metamorphoses*; Virgil, *Georgica*
Expert writers:	Pliny the Elder; Strabo, *Geographica*
Historians:	Appian, *Syriaca* and *Libya* (on the Syrian and Libyan wars respectively); Justinus; Livy; Polybios; Quintus Curtius (Rufus), *Historiae*; Tacitus
Biographers:	Plutarch, *Lives* (the Lives of Scipio, Alexander, and Pyrrhus are named)
Oratory:	Cicero, *In Verrem*
Philosophical works:	Cicero, *De natura deorum* and *De amicitia*
Others:	St. Paul, *Acts*

Clearly Ross was well-read and could draw on a broad range of texts, comprising poets, expert writers, and historians as well as philosophers. That Ross knew his sources and studied them thoroughly can be seen by two cases in particular. In book I, after the episode of Syphax's death, note h (l. 184, p. 7) explains:

> That [*Syphax*] dyed by Abstinence, is consonant to the Opinion of *Appian*: his great Heart not brooking the Shame of being lead in Triumph. That he was a Spectacle in this Triumph *Mariana* denies, though *Polyb.* (lib. 16) and *Livy* (whom *Silius* follows) consent.

The explanation is very specific and not only compares the three historians' accounts but also names Silius's main source. Similarly, note k in the same book (l. 314, p. 10) calls attention to a difference between Livy and Appian in the number of Carthaginian youths who are handed over to the Romans. In both these examples, the information provided does not change the reception of the poem; it is not even necessary to understand the passages in question. Rather, Ross shows off his profound knowledge of the classical sources. Thereby he gives weight to the credibility of his *Continuation* and implicitly demonstrates that his depiction of the events, even though composed in poetic form, can withstand claims of historical accuracy.

In the seventeenth century, classical historiography, that of Livy in particular, enjoyed wide popularity. Machiavelli's *Discourses* were translated into English in 1636, and in 1544 Anthony Cope translated Livy's account of Hannibal and Scipio, entitled *Historye of the Two Most Noble Captaynes of the World, Anniball and Scipio*, which was published three

years later. Philemon Holland's translation *The Romane Historie written by T. Livius of Padua*, which additionally contained Johannes Freinsheim's supplement on the second decade, was published in 1600, 1659, and 1686. Walter Raleigh too devoted much of book 5 of his *History of the World* (1614) to the Punic Wars.[16] The notes in the edition of Livy owned by scholar Gabriel Harvey (1550–1630) are a perfect example of how the work was held in high esteem and read as a commentary for contemporary events.[17] From Harvey's notes we learn that he found Hannibal and the war against Rome a stimulating and exemplary story, and that he expressed admiration for Hannibal's valor.[18]

Despite the historical grounding of the *Continuation*, Ross's interest is not only in the historically correct representation of the aftermath of the Second Punic War. His skillful rendering of the material into epic form reflects his long and deep engagement with Silius and also with other epic poems of the classical period. The overall treatment of the events is creative: Ross adds digressions and descriptions, inserts elaborate passages of direct speech, and makes use of the full range of the epic inventory—heroic characters (Hannibal and Scipio), interventions and dialogues of the gods (Juno, Venus, Aeolus), reversed order of events (the retrospective account of Sophonisba's tragic death), narratorial omniscience and commentary on the events (e.g., the commentary to Hannibal having misunderstood the oracle in book I), battle scenes (the naval battle in book III), heterodiegetic narrators and embedded narratives (Isalces, the nameless priest in Cyprus), topographical digressions (Ephesus, Cyprus), elaborate descriptions in which the reality of the narrator merges with the reality of the description on the story level (the temple of Diana in Ephesus), and epic similes.[19]

For the remainder of this article I concentrate in more detail on one aspect of Ross's *Continuation*, the tragic narrative of Sophonisba's death, to emphasize that the work can justifiably be read both as a creative poem in its own right and as a commentary to the political situation in England.

Rewriting a Tragic Heroine: Sophonisba

The story of Sophonisba is told at the beginning of book II. While Hannibal and his men rest at night on their way to Ephesus, where they want to make King Antiochus their ally against Rome, Isalces tells them about Sophonisba. Isalces is introduced as Hannibal's "sure Numidian Guide / Who once attended on great Syphax Bride" (ll. 11–12, p. 26).

In book 5 of the *Punica* another Isalces makes his appearance: the prospective son-in-law of Hannibal's youngest brother Mago, who is killed in the battle of Trasimene by Appius.[20] Like Silius's Isalces, Ross's character of the same name is also of African descent and connected with a story of love and death, even though Isalces is not the protagonist but merely the teller of the story. As Queen Sophonisba's former servant, Isalces knows about her death in detail, and Hannibal encourages him to tell the story that he and his men only heard "by Common Fame" (l. 28, p. 26). Isalces's narrative covers 291 lines (ll. 31–322) and contains substantial embedded narratives. Isalces's words frame the story, while he has both Masanissa and Sophonisba but also Scipio speak in direct discourse extensively.

The *Continuation* presents the story as follows: Sophonisba, daughter of the Carthaginian king Hasdrubal, is married to the Numidian king Syphax. When Syphax is defeated by the Romans and taken captive, another Numidian named Masanissa, who has taken sides with Rome, seeks to gain both the Numidian Empire and Syphax's wife. Sophonisba is waiting to be brought to Rome when Masanissa approaches her and declares his love: "nothing I / Have gain'd . . . , unless your Love / This Happiness confirm" (ll. 48–50, p. 27). He praises her as being worthy only to a king and asks for her hand: "Accept my Love, by which, You can alone / Shun *Romane* Chains, and still possess a Throne" (ll. 65–66, p. 27). Despite his deferential tone, Masanissa makes it unequivocally clear that he has absolute power over her, stressing that Syphax has lost everything and that only his newly acquired status and might can save her. Sophonisba reacts unwillingly ("an extream Disdain / Of what He offer'd in Her Soul did Reign"; l. 68, p. 27), but her fear of being "a Spectacle at *Rome*" (l. 69, p. 27) is so great, greater than dying even, that she considers Masanissa's offer. She tells him that his victory does not mean as much to her as he presumes, that her love will always be for her husband Syphax, and that she needs some time to accept her new fate (cf. ll. 75–84, p. 28). Masanissa agrees but urges her to not delay her decision since the captives are soon due to be sent to Rome. Sophonisba's subsequent fight with herself is phrased in typical images of mourning and despair: she tears her hair, scratches her face, and cries for Syphax. This is when Isalces enters the room and is addressed by the queen. She expresses her fears and laments her dilemma: she is trapped between having to marry Masanissa, hence betraying Syphax, or being exposed as a trophy to Rome, hence betraying her roots and deepest beliefs (cf. ll. 115–35, p. 29). Isalces advises her to remain true to her country because this would have been in accordance with Syphax's wishes (cf.

ll. 144–58, p. 30). Dismissively, Sophonisba then accepts Masanissa's proposal and makes him agree to one condition: to assist her in dying lest she should be handed over to the Romans.[21] Isalces draws the sad conclusion: "asham'd to have it said, / One Day a Captive her, and Bride had made" (ll. 207–8, p. 31). The marriage oracle is doomed, but Masanissa ignores the fatal signs before they consummate the marriage. This is when "Fame" carries the news to Scipio who immediately tells Masanissa that Sophonisba as a conquered king's wife belongs to Rome as part of the war spoils. Masanissa is urged to "shake this lewd Passion off" (l. 272, p. 35 [33]). He is ashamed and knows that he has to obey. Yet he remains true to his word and grants his newly wed wife her wish by sending her poison to kill herself. Sophonisba accepts her fate "with a Look / Moor Chearful, then when She a Bride was made" (ll. 304–5, p. 34). Her last words express her loyalty to Carthage and also her regret of having married Masanissa:

> . . . *Sophonisba* would more pleas'd have Dy'd,
> If, at her Death, She had not been his Bride:
> For then my Country might upon my Tomb
> Have writ, that, thus, I Triumph'd over *Rome*. (ll. 311–14, pp. 34–35)

Sophonisba's story is told in the histories of Livy, Appian, Cassius Dio, Zonaras, and Diodorus Siculus.[22] According to Appian, Cassius Dio (Zonaras), and Diodorus, Sophonisba was first betrothed to Masanissa before her father decided to marry her to Syphax for political reasons since Hasdrubal was against Masanissa joining forces with Rome. Hence in these accounts Sophonisba and Masanissa know each other already when they meet again after Syphax's defeat, which further complicates the love triangle. A comparison of the *Continuation* with Livy's depiction reveals that Ross's main source is clearly the Roman historian, whom he follows closely in the overall outline of the episode:[23] Masanissa meets Sophonisba shortly after the victory in her palace; Sophonisba expresses her wish of dying rather than being handed over to the Romans; the marriage is arranged quickly to ensure Sophonisba is Masanissa's wife before the Romans can claim her as a captive; Scipio disapproves of the marriage and orders his ally to let her go; Masanissa sends a slave with a poisoned cup to his wife, which Sophonisba accepts; she then commits suicide.

However, Ross introduces changes to the Livian episode that considerably alter the overall meaning. The most substantial change concerns the depiction of Sophonisba. In Livy, Masanissa is the actual protagonist of the episode. His dilemma between his political role as ally to Rome and his personal desires toward Sophonisba ultimately show him as a

man misguided by love and yet faithful in granting Sophonisba's wish. Crucially, Livy recounts that it is Sophonisba who approaches Masanissa first and who asks for his help in freeing her from the Romans: ". . . quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit uides. si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut uindices ab Romanorum arbitrio oro obtestorque."[24] Masanissa is struck by her words and beauty and, as is typical of the Numidian character, Livy notes, he falls in love: ". . . sed, ut est genus Numidarum in uenerem praeceps, amore captiuae uictor captus. data dextra in id quod petebatur obligandae fidei, in regiam concedit."[25] What is more, in Livy Masanissa does not utter a single word in direct discourse. His actions and reactions are described, his feelings summarized, and his addresses to Sophonisba and his slave provided in reported speech. In contrast, Ross not only embellishes Sophonisba's words, he also introduces additional scenes that further define her character as a thoughtful, considerate, and faithful wife and queen. Her immediate reply to Masanissa's offer, in which she asks to postpone her decision, her conversations with Isalces, and her acceptance speech to Masanissa are additions to the original story. Her outspokenness and consideration come especially to the fore when she explains herself to Isalces: "Tis not, because Uncrown'd, / (*Isalces*) that I grieve; a deeper Wound / My Soul afflicts, and I am wrack'd between / Two dire Extreams" (ll. 115–17, p. 29). In Livy, by contrast, Sophonisba is a femme fatale, driven by a radical patriotism. She seduces Masanissa and almost succeeds in driving Scipio and Masanissa apart.[26]

Sophonisba's faithfulness to both her husband and the Carthaginians (rather than the latter only, as in Livy) also affects the depiction of Syphax. Ross recounts his death in book I of the *Continuation* (see above), and he does not play any active role in Sophonisba's death. Livy, in sharp contrast, has the captive Syphax talk to Scipio and induce him with suspicion of his wife's intentions. According to Syphax, madness entered his house after his marriage to Sophonisba, which he claims is ultimately responsible also for his defeat by the Romans. The only consolation he has is that Masanissa has now also fallen into the queen's scheming and dangerous hands.[27] Here Syphax takes on the role of the jealous husband in blaming his wife and taking revenge on Masanissa while clearly demonstrating powerless fury about his present situation.

The story of Sophonisba has obvious parallels to both Dido and Cleopatra and can also be set in relation to other Livian heroines such as Lucretia and Virginia, who equally prefer death to shame and dishonor. Poetic accounts of the story in English literature with which Ross may have been familiar are John Marston's play *The Wonder of Women, or the*

Tragedie of Sophonisba, staged for the first time in 1606, and Sir David Murray's poem "The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba" (1611).[28] Murray follows Livy too; that is, Masanissa sees Syphax's wife for the first time after the Romans and their allies have defeated Hasdrubal and his men, while in Marston's play Sophonisba has been married to Masanissa before she is given to Syphax by a decree of the Senate. Their meeting after the defeat is hence a reunion. Of the two texts *The Wonder of Women* bears the least similarity to Ross's depiction. Apart from the reliance on a source other than Livy (possibly Appian), the story is heavily romanticized and focuses on the tragic love story between Syphax, Masanissa, and Sophonisba. The question of honor is still central and problematized,[29] but that is not so much due to Marston's deliberate changes as it is to the implications of the story itself.

Murray's poem on Sophonisba's tragic death has a bipartite structure: roughly the first half of the text consists of a letter Masanissa sends with the poison to Sophonisba. The second half is devoted to Sophonisba's final speech after she has received and read the letter. She then takes the poison and dies. What is remarkable about Murray's version is his choice of a very exclusive and inward perspective. Both Masanissa and Sophonisba present their motives, emotions, fears, and reasoning in direct speech and in first-person narration, which gives unusual depth to their characters. Also, the fact that they do not converse directly further highlights the difficult position in which they find themselves. Overall, the poem is reminiscent of Ovid's *Heroides*, not least because of Masanissa's letter and the fact that Sophonisba's reply can be read like a response letter. I could not find any verbatim correspondences between the *Continuation* and Murray's poem, but there are a number of more general similarities: like Ross, Murray depicts Masanissa and Sophonisba as complex and sympathetic characters with whom the reader is invited to identify. Sophonisba in particular is shown as a considerate woman who is deeply attached to her home country. For instance, she expresses her patriotism as follows: "My freedomes lease till death doth not expire, / Which I to forfeit never shall desire." If anything, Murray's poem may have given Ross a model for a positive depiction of the tragic heroine. Sophonisba is not reduced to the femme fatale who deliberately schemes against Rome and seduces Masanissa for her purposes.

Other European adaptations of the subject matter may also have been available to Ross, especially while he was on the continent and in close contact with European intellectuals. The entire fifth book of Petrarch's *Africa* is devoted to the tragic story of Sophonisba and Masanissa.[30] Petrarch also attempts a more positive portrayal of Sophonisba,

even though, following Livy, he retains her consciously scheming against Rome.[31] Petrarch emphasizes the motif of love to such a degree that the political motivations behind the episode are backgrounded. Rather than romanticizing the relationship, the *Africa* seeks to psychologize both Masanissa and Sophonisba's actions. Masanissa's decision to marry Sophonisba is thought through, and his promise to save her from the Romans if need be is by no means a rash one.[32] What is more, Petrarch's unfinished poem *Trionfi* about Amor's triumphal procession also features Masanissa and Sophonisba. Here, Sophonisba is presented as the loving wife who became the tragic victim of political scheming.[33] Another Italian humanist, Boccaccio, used the story in his work *De claris mulieribus*. Following Livy, his account stresses the political background of the events and emphasizes Sophonisba's role. Long passages of direct discourse, which underline her proud and self-determined character, are put into her mouth.[34]

However, apart from the emphasis on Sophonisba as the main character of the episode, which contradicts Livy's and the other classical historians' accounts, these and other European adaptations of the topic are only very loosely connected to the *Continuation*.[35] It seems as if Ross, if not entirely ignorant of the existing adaptations and versions of the story, chose to rely predominantly on classical sources, Livy in particular, and changed the account considerably in Sophonisba's favor. In what follows I turn to the questions of why he made these changes and how they can be placed within the broader framework of the historical and political context of the English Civil War, the Interregnum, Royalist hopes, and Charles II's exile.

Encoding Political Commentary: Sophonisba as Royalist Symbol

As we have seen, Ross sets Sophonisba in a much more positive light than Livy does, where the Carthaginian queen uses men to her own purposes and is depicted as being seductive, selfish, and arrogant. The alteration introduced by Ross as well as the considerable amount of space devoted to the story emphasize its significance. In fact, the *Continuation* presents Sophonisba's story as a prefiguration for the death of Hannibal. Like Hannibal, Sophonisba hates nothing more than subjecting herself to the Romans, and like Hannibal she chooses death before living in a relationship in order to avoid becoming the Romans' spoils of war. Implicitly, strong-hearted and strong-headed Sophonisba becomes

a model for Hannibal in the stoic acceptance of her fate, an acceptance guided by her strong principles. She is a both a compatriot and kindred spirit to Hannibal in her steadfastness and rejection of the Romans, from which she draws all her self-respect and confidence.

One may want to note that Syphax too is depicted favorably by Ross: his death by starving equally presupposes a strong-mindedness and will not be treated by the Roman victors in any despicable way:

> . . . yet is my Will
> Free, as the Conquerour's: and *Rome* shall finde,
> I still retain the Empire of my Minde,
> That stands above her reach, where I alone
> Will rule, and scorn to live, but on a Throne. (B. I, ll. 150–54, p. 6)

His lament too contains hints toward Hannibal's subsequent fall. Syphax bemoans the fickleness of fate and the meaninglessness of making vows and believing to hold fate in one's own hands. Sophonisba in effect continues her former husband's decision and thereby shows how closely she is connected and acts in accordance with his principles and beliefs. Both Syphax and Sophonisba stress their freedom of thought and their ability to not allow their situation to take hold of them. The same is true of Hannibal at his death. His final words go beyond both Syphax's and Sophonisba's and verbalize the theme of the *Punica*: Rome may be victorious now but it cannot control and rule everything, and ultimately Hannibal too retains his honor and virtue as a hero in war. His final words are an apostrophe to Rome, not to Scipio or any other Roman general. Thus at the very end Hannibal and the *Continuation* at large leave behind individuals and elevate the theme of the *Punica*—the fight for honor, virtue, and victory between two equally honorable and virtuous forces—to a more general level.

Ross, as was discussed above, lived and worked in an environment of intellectual stimulation and at the same time was actively engaged in Royalist campaigns in support of Charles II. Of the literary forms available, epic poetry in particular was one of the preferred genres of the Royalists to transmit political commentary in disguise. Thus "Royalist writers turned to the translation of Latin poetry as a way of making coded statements of their loyalty to the defeated cause."[36] Of course, the writing of epic poetry on contemporary events was too dangerous a topic. The politically fragile circumstances not only fostered the composition of epics on noncontemporary, historical subject matters but also led to an "inward turn" of epic poetry in general, which resulted in a focus on consciousness and psychologizing.[37] Classical topics allowed for exploring current political events by means of comparison, symbolism, and allegory. Since these strategies can be evoked in parallel, even

simultaneously within one episode of a poem, potential ambiguities can remain unresolved and at the same time protect the author. Examples of these epics also include biblical subjects, such as Abraham Cowley's *Davideis* (1656), and folk legends, as in William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1649–50).[38]

As a consequence, one can assume that Ross was well aware that his work could and would be read as a commentary to contemporary events, most certainly the civil war, and possibly also the Restoration, depending on when exactly the *Continuation* was written and completed. Hannibal uses the metaphor of the stain in his last speech: "But this vile Stain (O *Rome*) / More lasting, then thy Trophies, shall become" (ll. 719–20, p. 76). Is Hannibal to be identified with the Republicans and Cromwell in particular, who, after 1660, could from a Royalist perspective be a "stain" on history's vest of the monarchy in England? Yet one does not have to go that far: clearly the episode of Sophonisba's tragic death is suggestive of the expression of the Royalist agenda.

Indeed, it may not be a coincidence that Ross also embellishes another "royal" episode in the *Continuation*: Hannibal and Scipio's peaceful meeting at the court of King Antiochus. The meeting is set in the context of a feast day:

> It was a Day, when to commemorate
> The King's Nativity, th' *Ephesian* State
> With annual Rites their Loyal Joys exprest.
> The King (as Custom was) a Stately Feast
> Prepares: the Nobles all, invited, come,
> And there the Fates of *Carthage*, and of *Rome*
> (*Scipio*, and *Hannibal*) the Banquet grace,
> And now meet, not to Fight, but to Embrace. (ll. 623–30, p. 44)

None of the sources I consulted contains any specification of this kind, not even another kind of festivity. It seems one can assume that Ross added this small but potentially significant detail. When Charles II returned to England in 1660, he arrived in London on his birthday (May 29); this day was later announced a public holiday. Did Ross compose these lines after the event in 1660 and deliberately add a "royal" reference to contemporary events? Indeed, the potential parallels go beyond the king's birthday: just as Scipio and Hannibal meet in peace, so was Charles received peacefully and did not have to fear any attack on his life. The line "not to Fight, but to Embrace" is the closest the *Continuation* comes to suggesting a reconciliation between royal and republican representatives. If these specifics of time can be true, it is but small wonder that Ross remains careful and cryptic about drawing too obvious a parallel since the Restoration could only have been accomplished

very recently, and the future was still highly questionable. Both the depiction of Sophonisba and the possible commentary on political developments—whether being written prior to or after the actual arrival of Charles in England—reflect typical features of seventeenth-century literature and yet go beyond them in their creative use of the classical story.

In the episode of Sophonisba's death, the tragic heroine is used as a prefiguration of Hannibal's death on the level of the story. At the same time, the narrative functions as a symbol of the Royalist cause. In line with the practice of disguising political commentary, Ross adds an additional layer of meaning to the story in subtly changing its details, the depiction of Sophonisba in particular. Her royal attributes are stressed, as well as her patriotic love. Her death is not the result of a love triangle in which she is objectified, but follows from her consequent love for Carthage to which she subordinates everything else. Hence Sophonisba's suicide is both a heroic and a "royal" one. She dies a queen and has not forsaken her country, thereby repeating Syphax's steadfastness, which is equally "royal" in its consequence. Rome and its republican leader Scipio cannot subdue the couple. Perhaps this royal rewriting of Sophonisba as well as Syphax transmits a message of solace: the Royalists may have lost England and the monarchy, but they can still be true to themselves and do not have to give in to the republican powers. Implicitly, Ross provides his readers with a strategy for upholding their faith in the monarchy, which contains a Stoic incentive: their thoughts are still free and no one and nothing can prescribe or influence their opinions and beliefs. Syphax's final words can therefore be read as the hidden agenda of Ross's *Continuation*. These words prefigure, and summarize, Sophonisba's death and also Hannibal's suicide and yet may also be read as an imperative to action—namely, that the Royalists will never give up the hope of restoring the monarchy: "I still retain the Empire of my Minde, / . . . where I alone / Will rule, and scorn to live, but on a Throne" (B. I, ll. 152–54, p. 6).

Notes

1. Why Christopher Bond maintains that the 1661 edition promised the *Continuation* but in fact did not include it is unclear. Cf. "The Phoenix and the Prince: The Poetry of Thomas Ross and Literary Culture in the Court of Charles II," *Review of English Studies*, New Series 60, no. 246 (2009): 588–604, here 590. All three of Ross's texts mentioned in the article are available at *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

2. Cf. Philip Lewin, "Ross, Thomas (bap. 1620, d. 1675)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, online edition), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24134. See also Bond, "The Phoenix and the Prince," 598.
3. The title pages of the two editions of his translation from Silius specify his position as follows: "Tho. Ross, Esq., Keeper of his Majesties Libraries, and Groom of His most Honourable, Privy-Chamber."
4. See in more detail on the engravings Katrien Daemen-de Gelder and Jean-Pierre Vander Motten, "Thomas Ross's *Second Punick War* (London 1661 and 1672): Royalist Panegyric and Artistic Collaboration in the Southern Netherlands," *Quærendo* 38 (2008): 32–48. See also by the same authors "A 'Copy as Immortal as Its Original': Thomas Ross's *Second Punick War*," in *Living in Posterity: Essays in Honour of Bart Westerweel*, eds. Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and Paul Smith (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 185–90.
5. Cf. P. H. Hardacre, "The Royalists in Exile During the Puritan Revolution, 1642–1660," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16 (1952): 353–70; Geoffrey Smith, "'Long, Dangerous and Expensive Journeys': The Grooms of the Bedchamber at Charles II's Court in Exile," special issue, *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15 (2007): 1–26, http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-15/smitjour.htm.
6. Edward L. Bassett, "Silius Italicus in England," *Classical Philology* 48, no. 3 (1953): 155–68. Thomas May's translation of the *Pharsalia* was published in 1627 (books 1–3 in 1626 already) and subsequently printed five more times in the seventeenth century (1631, 1635, 1650, 1659, 1679). See Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie, "Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography," *Translation and Literature* 18 (2009): 1–42, here 23. The *Aeneid* was translated by John Ogilby and printed three times before Ross's publication (1649, 1650, 1654); further editions followed after 1660.
7. In 1630, 1633, and 1657 on its own, and in 1650 and 1659 as a supplement to May's translation of the *Pharsalia*. Cf. Birger Backhaus, *Das* Supplementum Lucani *von Thomas May. Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, BAC 65 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2005).
8. Bond, "The Phoenix and the Prince," 592.
9. Cf. Bond, "The Phoenix and the Prince," 592.
10. Daemen-de Gelder and Vander Motten, "Thomas Ross's *Second Punick War*," 35.
11. Bond argues that Ross uses the story of the phoenix as an image for his hopes of the duke of Monmouth becoming heir to the throne. The phoenix is mentioned briefly already in the dedicatory poem to the 1661 edition of *The Second Punick War*. Cf. "The Phoenix and the Prince," 596–603.
12. Cf. also Bond, "The Phoenix and the Prince," 590.
13. Curt Zimansky mixes up the *Continuation* with the *Essay*; cf. "The Literary Career of Thomas Ross," *Philological Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1942): 443–44, here 444. In the dedication to the earl of Strafford, which precedes the *Continuation*, Ross mentions that he thought about writing about the Third Punic War at first but then decided against it because "Conscious of the Weakness of what I have already built, I feared, that, by raising, too many Stories, It might fall under its own Bulk, and my self under the Censure of Ambition, in aspiring to so great a Work" ("The Epistle Dedicatory," unnumbered page). This fear may have led to the decision to publish the *Essay* anonymously, and may also come to the fore in the motto inscribed on the title page of the *Essay*, "Scribimus indocti doctique poemata" ("learned and

unlearned, we write poems"), which clearly plays down the author's literary achievement.

14. The line numbering is mine.
15. The distribution is as follows: eighteen notes each in book I and book II and twenty-six notes in book III.
16. Cf. on historiography in the period David Norbrook, "The English Revolution and English Historiography," in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 233–50. See also Peter Burke, "A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians 1450–1700," *History and Theory* 5 (1966): 135–52; Peter Culhane, "Philemon Holland's Livy: Peritexts and Contexts," *Translation and Literature* 13 (2004): 268–86; and Charles G. Salas, "Ralegh and the Punic Wars," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 2 (1996): 195–215. For a bibliographic overview cf. Robert Cummings, "Recent Studies in English Translation, c. 1590–1600. Part I: General Studies and Translations from Greek and Latin," *English Literary Renaissance* 39, no. 1 (2009): 197–227.
17. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past and Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78, here 72.
18. See Jardine and Grafton, "How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," 40–42, 58–59.
19. This is a preliminary list of the similes used in the *Continuation*: gigantomachy (B. I, ll. 69–86), earthquake (B. I, ll. 109–12), rivers that run into the sea (B. I, ll. 156–57), lion in the Libyan woods (B. I, ll. 163–76), oil put into flames (B. I, ll. 405–7), tiger (B. I, ll. 644–45), tigress (B. II, ll. 91–98), sailor (B. II, ll. 159–64), Aurora (B. II, ll. 169–72), Alecto and sulphur (B. II, ll. 219–20), flame (B. II, ll. 277–78), Aeneas (B. II, ll. 631–38), nuptials which hold lover awake (B. II, ll. 935–38), and tiger (B. III, ll. 574–78). Overall, the similes are varied and work well in the context in which they are used. A comparison with Silius's similes and Ross's translation thereof would be a further interesting project.
20. Cf. *Pun.* 5,289–96, in particular ll. 289ff.: "stabat fulgentem portans in bella bipennem / Cinyphius socerique miser Magonis inire / optabat pugnam ante oculos spe laudis Isalces . . . ." In Ross's translation the lines read as follows: "For arm'd with a bright Ax, and, in the Sight / Of's Father Mago, to engage in Fight / Ambitious: big with Hopes of Praise, there stood / Cinyphian Isalces" (*The Second Punick War*, p. 134). The Cinyps is a small river in Libya.
21. "I here beseech you still, / By Death to free Me from the *Romans* Will" (ll. 191–92, p. 31). For the whole passage, see ll. 173–200. pp. 30–31.
22. Cf. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 30,12–15; Appian, *Libyca* 27,111–28,119; Cassius Dio 17,57; Zonaras 9,11–13; Diodorus Siculus 27,7. Polybios refers to Sophonisba in 14,4, but the relevant passages of the story are lacking.
23. In the marginal note b on page 27 Ross glosses the reference to "My Rival's Arms" in Masanissa's address to Sophonisba with an explanation of the speaker's background and his relationship to Syphax. Here Ross mixes Livy's and Appian's accounts—both sources are explicitly named—and explains that Sophonisba was first promised to Masanissa by her father, but then given to Syphax. The note leaves open whether Sophonisba and Masanissa were ever in direct contact or whether Hasdrubal made his plans without any meeting between the potential couple.
24. Liv. 30,12,16. ". . . you see what a Carthaginian, what Hasdrubal's daughter has to fear from the Romans. If you are not able to use any other means, I

beg and beseech you to save me from the judgment of the Romans by my death."

25. Liv. 30,12,18. ". . . but, as the Numidian people falls head over heels in love, the victor was captivated by love of his captive. Giving her his right hand as a pledge for granting her the request, he withdrew into the palace."
26. On the depiction of Sophonisba in Livy, see in more detail, for example, Johannes Christes, "Massinissa und Sophoniba und die moralischen Prinzipien des P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus," in *Vergil und das antike Epos: Festschrift Hans Jürgen Tschiedel*, eds. Stefan Freund and Meinolf Vielberg, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 20 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 507–24; Linda-Maria Günther, "Sophoniba—eine Patriotin?," in *Punica, Libyca, Ptolemaica: Festschrift für Werner Huss zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Klaus Geus and Klaus Zimmermann (Peeters: Leuven, 2001), 289–309; Shelley P. Haley, "Livy's Sophoniba," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 40 (1989): 171–81; and Barbara Kowalewski, *Frauengestalten im Geschichtswerk des T. Livius* (München and Leipzip: Saur, 2002), esp. 219–39. Romance elements are discussed by J. M. K. Martin, "Livy and Romance," *Greece and Rome* 11 (1941–42): 124–29.
27. Cf. Liv. 30,13,10–14,1:

> exitum sui furoris eum fuisse, non principium; tum se insanisse, tum hospitia priuata et publica foedera omnia ex animo eiecisse, cum Carthaginiensem matronam domum acceperit. illis nuptialibus facibus regiam conflagrasse suam; illam furiam pestem que omnibus delenimentis animum suum auertisse atque alienasse, nec conquiesse donec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma aduersus hospitem atque amicum induerit. perdito tamen atque adflicto sibi hoc in miseriis solatii esse, quod in omnium hominum inimicissimi sibi domum ac penates eandem pestem ac furiam transisse uideat. neque prudentiorem neque constantiorem Masinissam quam Syphacem esse, etiam iuuenta incautiorem; certe stultius illum atque intemperantius eam quam se duxisse. Haec non hostili modo odio, sed amoris etiam stimulis amatam apud aemulum cernens cum dixisset, non mediocri cura Scipionis animum pepulit . . . .

   Ross also alludes to this story and inserts hints that suggest that Syphax's marriage to Sophonisba and his defeat may be linked (cf. I, ll. 105–6, 131–32, 182; see pp. 4, 5 and 7). Yet these links are not made explicit and are played down in order to serve the overall positive depiction of the Numidian king in the *Continuation*.
28. Cf. *The Wonder of Women Or* The Tragedie of Sophonisba*, as it hath beene sundry times Acted at the* Black Friers. *Written by Iohn Marston. London. Printed by* Iohn Windet *and are to be sold neere* Ludgate, 1606. See the edition by William Kemp (London and New York: Garland, 1979). For the poem by Murray, see *The tragicall death of Sophinisba. Written by Dauid Murray. Scoto-Brittaine.* At London: Printed [by George Eld] for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstans Church-yard in Fleetstreet, vnder the Diall, 1611. Reprinted by the Ballantyne Club in *Poems by Sir David Murray of Gorthy*, ed. Thomas Kinnear (Edinburgh, 1823). Murray (1567–1629) worked for James VI's son Henry in Edinburgh at the time of composition; the poem is dedicated to Henry.
29. Cf. Peter Culhane, "Livy in Early Jacobean Drama," *Translation and Literature* 14 (2005): 21–44, here 42. See also Rebecca Yearling, "John Marston, Stoic?

Sophonisba and the Early Modern Stoic Ideal," *Ben Jonson Journal* 18, no. 1 (2011): 85–100.

30. For the *Africa*, cf. Thomas G. Bergin and Alice S. Wilson, trans., *Petrarch's* Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); and Bernhard Huss, ed., *Francesco Petrarca*, Africa. Excerpta classica 24, 2 vols., text with German translation and commentary (Mainz: Dieterich, 2007). Sophonisba is paralleled with Dido throughout the story. See in more detail James Simpson, "Subjects of Triumph and Literary History: Dido and Petrarch in Petrarch's *Trionfi* and *Africa*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 3 (2005): 489–508.
31. Cf. Tamara Visser, *Antike und Christentum in Petrarcas* Africa. NeoLatina 7 (Tübingen: Narr, 2005), 177.
32. Cf. 5,80–151 and 202–42 in particular. Visser argues that in the episode Petrarca seeks to reconcile the "pagan" context of the Second Punic War with Christian values and morals. From a Christian perspective, Sophonisba's marriage to Masanissa is illegitimate because she is still legally married to Syphax. Cf. Visser, *Antike und Christentum in Petrarcas* Africa, 173–75.
33. Cf. II,1–87.
34. Cf. chapter LXX.
35. This is especially true for the French tradition and Gian Giorgio Trissino's tragedy *Sofonisba* (1515), which had a considerable influence on French drama. See in more detail Albert José Axelrad, *Le Thème de Sophonisbe dans les Principales Tragédies de la Littérature Occidentale (France, Angleterre, Allemagne)* (Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1956); and Karl Maurer, *Goethe und die romanische Welt. Studien zur Goethezeit und ihrer europäischen Vorgeschichte* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), 223–41.
36. Paul Hammond, "Classical Texts: Translations and Transformations," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1650–1740*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 143–61, here 146. See also Paul Salzmann, who states that epic offered opportunities of "oblique political commentary for Royalist writers" ("Royalist Epic and Romance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N. H. Keeble [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], 215–30, here 215), and more generally David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
37. Cf. Anthony Welch, "Epic Romance, Royalist Retreat, and the English Civil War," *Modern Philology* 105, no. 3 (2008): 570–602; and Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640–1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), esp. 203–30. See also Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).
38. See Thomas N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

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