

BOOK REVIEW

Carthage in Virgil's 'Aeneid': Staging the Enemy under Augustus. By ELENA GIUSTI. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge, UK and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018, Pp. xiv + 334. Hardback, £75.00. ISBN: 978-1-108-41680-1.

Giusti has written a diligent study of the presentation of Carthage in the *Aeneid* that stands out for the industrious labor that went into it, its broad grasp of sources on the Roman understanding of what Carthage meant for Rome itself and its command of philological technique and methods. A study like hers on the view of Vergil on other nations aside from the Romans themselves is a great contribution from a slightly different viewpoint to the study of migration and identity in the *Aeneid* in the past few years.¹ She makes absolutely clear that we should not read the *Aeneid* just by itself, but need to look at the broader literary, political, social and historical context in which this epic poem was written. Vergil once more emerges as a very well educated man of his time who brought together many aspects on the history, the present and the future of Rome. Tracing Vergil's art of *Kreuzung der Gattungen* and *der Medien*, Giusti demonstrates how the *Aeneid* was both "creation and creator" (283) of the fabric of its time also in regard to Carthage and the Carthaginians.

After a brief introduction, Giusti starts in Chapter 1 with an overview of what is left from Roman discussions from the middle Republic onwards about Carthage, the Carthaginians and what also amounted to Roman stereotypes about the character of foreign nationals. She then talks about how the Carthaginians fit into the broader picture of Roman thinking about other nations like the Persians or the Greeks and ultimately about themselves (Chapter 2). Giusti examines the Roman tradition of talking about Carthage as a nation that is not the barbaric "other" it could have been. Her third chapter compares Vergil's depiction of Carthage with how Livy dealt with that city and its inhabitants in his portrayal of the Second Punic War. She stresses that Livy as well as Vergil point their readers to the fact that

¹ Cf., e.g., K.F.B. Fletcher: *Finding Italy. Travel, Colonization, and Nation in Vergil's Aeneid*. Ann Arbor 2016. W. Suerbaum: "Die *Aeneis* als Flüchtlings-Epos. Der Dichter Vergil behandelt politische Fragen" in: *A&A* 63 (2017): 78-104.

history is constructed by people or groups of people with their own needs, not just by objective truth. Her fourth chapter evaluates the portrait of Carthage as a mirror of Rome. Sallust and Polybius' pessimistic views of history are contrasted with the depiction of Rome as the eternal city by Livy and Vergil. The Roman sympathy for the defeated enemy in North Africa can be recognized from Livy's Scipio to the actual attempt to found Carthage again under Augustus. At the same time, Carthage serves as background against which the dangers and horrors of the civil war, especially between Augustus and Marc Antony, are discussed in Vergil's *Aeneid*. A brief conclusion wraps up Giusti's study and its results: In keeping with Roman views of Carthage since the middle Republic, Vergil sees Carthage in a sympathetic way and presents his audience with a warning of what Rome should not and will not become, both in terms of internal and external war.

There are two points I would like to raise. First, it should be doubted whether Giusti's findings really need to be seen in the light of only two voices. *Inter alios*, Nicholas Horsfall has made it more than clear that there are more voices than the rather simple dichotomy between pro- and anti-Augustanism.² Second, Giusti talks extensively about the analogies made in Vergil between the relationships between Rome and Carthage on the one hand and the Greeks and Persians on the other. Judging from the discussion between Fabius and Scipio in Livy's Book 28 about learning from Thucydides, Athens and Sparta, for example, we can infer that the Romans still had a sense of being incomparable. This self-confidence we also find in Vergil's *Aeneid*. In spite of similarities between their fate and the fate of other nations, the Roman willingness to claim to be different also was a very important part of the discourse in Rome on their national identity. Thus, Rome could aspire to break the cycle of the rise and fall of empires in spite of Polybius' *anakyklōsis* theory. If both Livy and Vergil shared in this contemporary discourse (Foucault) on national identity, it is not that important any more whether we can find out when Livy wrote exactly in relation to the time when Vergil was writing the *Aeneid* (176; Giusti assumes the existence of "some kind of dialogue" between Livy and Vergil on page 196).

This well-produced and well-edited book is rounded out by an extensive bibliography, a general index and an *index locorum*, although I could not find "Sparta, Spartans" in the text of page 129. The abbreviation "mother = earth" on page 183 seems to be an inadvertency. On page 155, line 3 there seems to be a "the" missing

² N. Horsfall: *The Epic Distilled. Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*. Oxford 2016, Chapter 10.

from the sentence. Finally, on some minor points Giusti could have cited more up-to-date literature like Sailor on the Cossus digression.³

WOLFGANG POLLEICHTNER

Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, wolfgang.polleichtner@philologie.uni-tuebingen.de

³ D. Sailor: "Dirty Linen, Fabrication, and the Authorities of Livy and Augustus." in: *TAPhA* 136.2 (2006): 329–388.