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## Reception of the Ancient Symbolism of Hannibal's Dream Based on the Example of Jan Miel's Painting 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi'

*Recepcja antycznej symboliki snu Hannibala na przykładzie dzieła malarskiego  
 Jana Miela 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi'*

### ABSTRACT

The submitted work is an attempt to interpret the combination of Hannibal's dream symbolism derived from ancient literary sources with the image depicted in the painting 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi' by Jan Miel, placed in Sala del Consiglio of the Turin Palazzo Reale. These considerations are consistent with the problems of the reception of the ancient motif, creatively used by Christian tradition. The author of the article points out that the individual elements of the painting consist in a coherent entirety and aim at communicating a specific message to the recipient. The motto of the work, 'Genius quo ducit eundum', aimed at communicating the work of the divine will, serves this purpose

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in particular. The author of the article points out that an important role in distributing the story of Hannibal's dream must have been played by the poem by Silius Italicus, depicting a mature composition of the motifs of ancient literature. The author also wonders for what reason Hannibal became the hero of the work, coming to the conclusion that the Carthaginian included in the Baroque painting is a clear symbol – an opponent of pagan Rome. A hero who opposed the corruption of Rome. Although Livy referred to Hannibal as an unfaithful man, he had never broken his oath to high gods – for he had never become a friend of the Romans. Thus Hannibal becomes a symbol of the lack of consent to acceptance of evil. His determination expressed in Jan Miel's work appears as an inspiring and necessary component for Europe.

**Key words:** Reception of Antiquity, paintings, Jan Miel, Hannibal's dream, Silius Italicus, ancient literature

## INTRODUCTION

The numerous museum collections are a tangible example of how often the modern decorative art referred to historical or historical-literary motifs derived from antiquity. The scientific literature of this problem confirms the continuously intense research on the reception of ancient threads. This applies to both the characters and events, derived from antiquity and giving power to associations with modern times<sup>1</sup>. A kind of illustration of these principles is the work of Jan Miel (1599–1664)<sup>2</sup>, entitled 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi'. It is a decorative element of the ceiling painting in the 'Sala del Consiglio' of the Turin Palazzo Reale<sup>3</sup>. The separate components of this work, i.e. the characters presented, the colors used, as well as smaller details, apart from the obvious aesthetic purpose, are intended to convey a specific message to the audience, while forming a coherent whole. The location of the work planned as a decorative element of the meeting room does not seem to be accidental either. The main subject of the work is the Punic commander Hannibal, depicted in a resting pose. The Carthaginian man lies on his military coat, while a winged youth above him, grasping the hem of the garment with one hand, shows the awakening commander numerous ships with his other hand. Roused from his sleep, Hannibal rests on the palm of his left hand, the elbow of which is supported on platform of the bed, which causes his body to assume a distinctive pose. The commander's right hand remains open in a distinctive gesture, which

<sup>1</sup> G. Kauffmann, *Sprache und bildende Kunst in der Renaissance*, in: *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck, Hamburg 1981, pp. 237–265.

<sup>2</sup> T. Kren, *Jan Miel (1599–1664), and Flemish Painter in Rome*, Yale 1978.

<sup>3</sup> C. Rovere, *Descrizione del Reale Palazzo di Torino*, Torino 1858.

gives the impression of a confrontation with an ethereal specter. The Carthaginian commander is dressed. He is wearing military boots, which clearly suggests vigilance and constant readiness to take action. The only sign of the commander's rest is the helmet, which has been taken off and rests at the foot of the bed. The further scenery of the work in question is also interesting and meaningful. The Carthaginian commander rests among the soldiers who lie around him. Everyone is still in deep sleep. The military equipment between them, as well as the figure of a helmeted guard having a nap in sitting position, suggest that the army is ready to rise on orders and take action. Among the numerous details of the work, it is characteristic that above the winged figure of the messenger, there is a motto: 'Genius quo ducit eundum'. These words set the direction for the interpretation of the entire depiction, because they are primarily to communicate the action of God's will<sup>4</sup>.

Presenting the story of Hannibal's dream through the imagery of a painting was an extraordinary challenge, which, regardless of the depicted motif, would have to assume the viewer specific knowledge about the complex symbolism of elements that were merely indicated in narrative sources. Investigating the relationship between the symbolism of Hannibal's dream conveyed by ancient literary sources and the image of Jan Miel seems to be a challenge. So far, one such attempt has been made in the extensive literature dealing with the subject of the reception of ancient motifs. Friso Lammertse's research work, limited to a short dissertation, discusses the image of Hannibal's dream. This problem was raised mainly from the perspective of formal relations between Miel's work and the symbolic concepts shown in Andrea Alciati's prints<sup>5</sup>. And although Lammertse sees other threads as well, he makes his comparisons with minimal knowledge of ancient history. Moreover, the interest in Roman poetry as a literary genre in the Baroque era seems to be a truism, gaining appropriate support in the reception of Virgil, but also of other authors of this genre. The fact that the poem of Silius Italicus had to play an important role in distributing the thread of Hannibal's dream remains only a side issue for the author of the mentioned work. In addition, the author's references to ancient sources, although erudite in nature, result from a rather random reconnaissance. Above all, however, his work does not pose any significant research questions that arise in connection with

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<sup>4</sup> M. Wolny, *Dzieje Hannibala – literatura antyczna a malarskie wyobrażenia*, 'Studia Europea Gnesnensia' 2019, 20, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> F. Lammertse, *Hannibal's Dream. A Painting by Jan Miel after an Idea by Emanule Tesaurò*, 'Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes' 1989, 52, pp. 253–266.

the clear conceptualization of the discussed artistic idea. The question of reflecting the state of knowledge about symbolic motifs provided by ancient sources could be considered inappropriate for the era in which the painting was created. As everybody knows, scientific syntheses based on scientific methodology, sometimes ultra-critical research on the basis of the *Quellenforschung*, are an achievement of the 19th century, which reveals a typically aesthetic approach to ancient writing in Miel's time. At this point, however, Lammertse does not consider the reasons for the exposition of only certain motifs selected from the literary *dossier* on Hannibal's dream. Moreover, the main issue was not addressed, i.e. the question: why was it Hannibal who was selected as the hero of the work? Of course, it would not be about strictly political and propaganda factors. It is known, after all, that literary and artistic hermeneutics indicate various interpretations of ancient motifs in the artistic European circles of Italy, France and the Netherlands. Meanwhile, Turin and all of Piedmont, which was politically under the rule of the Savoys, maintained an affinity with France, which to some extent explains why the enemy of Rome was chosen. This thread, perhaps considered too obvious by Lammertse, was not taken up. However, this deliberation does not conclude the matter, which in the context of the work's symbolism appears to be much more universal. Hannibal, as a controversial character<sup>6</sup>, but still very clear in terms of his aspirations, therefore implies questions about the role of this hero in the main theme of Miel's work.

To face a series of questions and doubts resulting from studying the motifs of the work, and finally to try to provide a satisfactory answer to them, it is necessary to establish an adequate methodological toolset, which must first refer to the analysis of ancient source texts, taking into account the way of receiving the content of Hannibal's dream. In addition, it seems necessary to involve knowledge of the symbolism of dream in ancient times, because here lie the important connotations, which concern communicating the divine will. Moreover, an analysis of modern iconography is necessary, referring both to the schematic representations of A. Alciati, as well as to the formally complex paintings of the Baroque, which include the work of Jan Miel.

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<sup>6</sup> An attempt to interpret Hannibal's actions, which may appear as an allegorical symbol of resistance to the current order, could be based on the observation of the cultural foundations of the modern era, especially when the existing ideological principles were questioned due to the Reformation in Europe. A broader picture of this theme could be reflected in the thought of S. Freud, who draws a conflict between the persistence of the Jews and the organization of the Catholic Church, see: S. Freud, *Człowiek imieniem Mojżesz*, transl. A. Ochocki, J. Prokopiuk, Warszawa 1994.

## DREAMS IN THE WORLD OF GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY. HISTORICAL AND LITERARY HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HANNIBAL'S DREAM

Dreams and the art of their explanation were of great significance in the cultural reality of the ancient world, which was reflected in the literature of that time. In the works of ancient writers, the dream became a narrative element occurring quite frequently<sup>7</sup>. Usually it contained a prophecy that allowed for the introduction into the narrative of the justifications necessary for understanding the course of events<sup>8</sup>. From this point of view, embedding the dream in the concept of the work played a role similar to the oratorical performances of individual characters. Due to the narrative ideas of the work both speeches and dreams played almost the identical roles, in the sense that they released the writer from author's commentary<sup>9</sup>. The possibility of commenting on the situation was transmitted to the described or intentionally introduced character who speaks or is given a dream vision<sup>10</sup>. Thanks to such devices, the events reported in the work gain the desired support in a different interpretive viewpoint, or are supported by the action of the deity. Man speaks through speeches in ancient works, and generally deity speaks through dreams, even if this is done through a series of indirect actions. The dream visions presented in the literature are generally characterized by a relative situational logic, or are rendered using a code that allows symbols to be arranged into an ordered whole – usually of a prophetic nature<sup>11</sup>. In ancient literature, a dream vision appears usually as a harbinger of important, and especially ground-breaking, events<sup>12</sup>.

An early example of such a function of dreams may be the story of a pregnant eagle on a rock, noted by Herodotus, which was to give birth to a tyrant who would later destroy the Corinthian Bakchiads<sup>13</sup>. In this

<sup>7</sup> See: G. Weber, *Kaiser, Träume und Visionen in Prinzip at und Spätantike*, Stuttgart 2000; Ch. Schubert, *Der Traum des Hipparch. Fiktionalität und Ereignis bei Herodot*, 'Museum Helveticum' 2011, 68, pp. 1–20.

<sup>8</sup> W.V. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 2009, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> H. Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum*, Leipzig–Berlin 1911, p. 255; C. Wooten, *The Speeches in Polybius: An Insight into the Nature of Hellenistic Oratory*, 'American Journal of Philology' 1974, 95, pp. 235–251; L. Pearson, *The Virtuoso Passages in Demosthenes' Speeches*, 'Phoenix' 1975, 29, pp. 214–230.

<sup>10</sup> M. Wolny, *Dzieje*, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> T. Vitek, *Allegorical Dreams in Antiquity. Their Character and Interpretation*, 'Wiener Studien' 2017, 130, pp. 127–152.

<sup>12</sup> Th. Hopfner, *Traumdeutung*, in: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 12, 1937, col. 2233; B. Näf, *Antyczna interpretacja snów*, Poznań 2000, p. 5; M.A. Holowchak, *Ancient Science and Dreams. Oneirology in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, Oxford 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, ed. H.B. Rosen (Bibliotheca Taubneriana), vols. 1–2, Leipzig

case, the dream was to herald a certain reality change, in fact inevitable. The dream is also a motivation to act, for example in the vision dreamt by the Egyptian ruler Nectanebo. In this dream, the gods appeared, gathered on a boat around Isis, which was to persuade the hero of the story to make efforts to ward off the anger of the gods<sup>14</sup>. Another exemplification is the famous dream of Demetrios Poliorcetes, which he was supposed to dream in the midst of the night before the Battle of Ipsos (301 BC). In this dream, the apparition of Alexander the Great was to appear, before which Demetrios was to ostentatiously demonstrate his pride (ὕβρις) – suggesting in his meaningful slogan (Δία κα Νίκη) that he would not find a place for the Macedonian at his side. As a result, he alienated Alexander, who turned to the coalition partners<sup>15</sup>, predicting the imminent defeat of Demetrios. These distant episodes, but nevertheless anchored in the Hellenic and Hellenistic model of explaining natural phenomena, reveal considerable possibilities of interpreting, defining and redefining political goals expressed with the help of oneiric symbols. Already on this basis, it can be indicated that dreams have various functions; however, treating the matter most generally, they usually herald some events or warn against something. In any case, they constitute some kind of directive for an individual experiencing the vision.

With regard to historical events, a breakthrough situation befell the Carthaginian leader Hannibal, who in 218 BC decided to go to Italy using the most difficult road possible – the route through the Alps. The road full of dangers lurking in mountain passes was depicted in ancient literary texts<sup>16</sup>. Hannibal's famous Alpine expedition became legendary<sup>17</sup>, making the Carthaginian leader a symbol of steadfastness. He was promoted in European culture also through his pictorial imaginations<sup>18</sup>. What is

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1987–1997 [hereinafter: Hdt.], 5.92; J. Hart, *Herodotus and Greek History*, New York 1982, pp. 49–52.

<sup>14</sup> K. Nawotka, *Logos egipski w Romansie o Aleksandrze*, 'Res Historica' 2018, 46, pp. 19–20.

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, vols. 1–2, ed. C. Lindskog, K. Ziegler, Leipzig 1964 [hereinafter: Plutarch], *Demetrios*, 29.1.

<sup>16</sup> The most dramatic basis of the reported events is found in Livy (21.30.1–38.9) and Silius Italicus (3.466–646) as well as others: Polibius, *Historiae*, books 1–2, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, Stuttgart 1964, 3.44.5–56.5; Appian, *Histoire Romaine*, vol. 3, ed. D. Gillard, Paris 1998 [hereinafter: Appian], *Hannibalica*. 4.15–17. For a list of further sources and discussion, see: U. Händl-Sagawe, *Der Beginn des 2. punischen Krieges. Ein historisch-kritischer Kommentar zu Livius Buch 21*, München 1995, pp. 193–199.

<sup>17</sup> R. Miles, *Carthage Must be Destroyed. The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Mediterranean Civilization*, Allen Lane 2010, pp. 265–266.

<sup>18</sup> Some important paintings depicting these events can be mentioned as an example. They include the painting 'Aníbal vencedor contempo por primera vez Italia desde los Alpes', from Goya's early period (cf. R. Hughes, *Goya. The Artist and His Time*, transl. H.

particularly significant is that this heroic act, as was the expedition to Italy regarded, was preceded by the famous dream of Hannibal, fitting into the standard convention of ancient literary presentations.

On the basis of the version of Silenus reported by Cicero<sup>19</sup>, as well as the reports of Livy<sup>20</sup>, Valerius Maximus<sup>21</sup>, Silius Italicus<sup>22</sup> and Zonaras<sup>23</sup>, it is possible to attempt a preliminary, simplified recapitulation of the dream. When Hannibal falls asleep, a divine guide descends to him from the heavens, who invites the Carthaginian commander to a gathering of the gods (*concilium deorum*), where the Carthaginian receives orders. According to the given directives, the he is to follow his tutor, but he cannot look back. However, Hannibal breaks this prohibition. Turning around, he sees behind him the cruel image of destruction being perpetrated in the enormous roar by a monstrous beast breaking trees and destroying houses. Asking the guide about the meaning of this prophecy, he learns that it is the destruction of Italy<sup>24</sup>.

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Jankowska, Warszawa 2006), which is a carefully prepared (F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *La estancia de Goya en Italia*, 'Archivo Espanol de Arte' 1931, 7, pp. 182–184) competition entry, cf. A.H. Mayor, *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*, 'The Burlington Magazine' 1955, 97, p. 296. Until 1993, this work was considered lost, see: J. Urrea, *Goya en Italia. A propósito del Aníbal*, 'Boletín del Museo del Prado' 1993, 14/32, pp. 59–63. Currently, it belongs to the collection of the Selgas-Fagalde Foundation. Another image considered important is the painting *Snow Storm: Hannibal and His Army Crossing The Alps*, created by Joseph Mallord William Turner in 1812, see: A. Finberg, *Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest*, London 1909; J. Gage, *Colour in Turner: Poetry and Truth*, London 1969; A. Finberg, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner*, London 1961; M. Butlin, E. Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner*, New Haven–London 1977. The apocalyptic atmosphere of the expedition was undoubtedly intended to increase admiration for Hannibal, see: K. Clark, *The Romantic Rebellion*, New York 1973. A reference to the motif of Hannibal's crossing over the Alps was presented by Jacques-Louis David, who entitled his frequently reproduces work directly *Bonaparte franchissant le Grand-Saint-Bernard*, see: P. Bordes, *Jacques-Louis David: Empire to Exile*, London 2007. The intention of the work was to suggest that Napoleon was repeating the famous heroic deed of Hannibal. Works of minor importance were created, among others, by Alfred Rethel (1816–1859). On other images of Hannibal in painting, see: H. Siebenmorgen, C. Hattler, B. Krause, *Karthago – eine Erinnerung*, in: *Hannibal ad portas. Macht und Reichtum Karthagos*, Karlsruhe 2005, pp. 362–379.

<sup>19</sup> Cicero, *De Divinatione. De fato. Timaeus*, ed. W. Ax, Stuttgart 1965 [hereinafter: Cic., *De Div.*], 1.49 (Silenos, *Silenos von Kaleakte*, (Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum 2), ed. F. Jacoby, Berlin 1930, fr. 175).

<sup>20</sup> Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, books 21–23, eds. G. Weissenborn, M. Müller, Leipzig 1912 [hereinafter: Liv.], 21.22.5–9.

<sup>21</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, ed. C. Kempf, Leipzig 1888 [hereinafter: Val. Max.], 1.7 ext. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Silius Italicus, *Punica*, vol. 1, ed. J. Duff, London 1961 [hereinafter: Sil.], 3.163–221.

<sup>23</sup> Zonaras, books 8–9, in: Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, vol. 2, *Fragments of books 12–25*, ed. E. Cary, (Loeb Classical Librery 37), London 1989, 8.22.9.

<sup>24</sup> M. Wolny, *Hannibal w Italii (218–217 p.n.e.)*. *Studia nad uwarunkowaniami początkowych sukcesów kartagińskich*, Olsztyn 2007, pp. 254–264; M. Wolny, *Dzieje*, pp. 34–35.

## 'GENIUS QUO DUCIT EUNDUM'

The painting created by J. Miel does not rank among his most famous works. The author, as a representative of the Bamboccianti group and a representative of Flemish painting, typically decorative, could not be suspected of conceptualizing the idea<sup>25</sup>. Jan Miel performed decorating works according to theoretical guidelines. In the discussed case, their real originator was Emmanuele Tesauro – the author of a textbook on theoretical foundations relating to the concept of monumental transmission of ancient narrative in Baroque painting. According to the decorative concept promoted there, the meaning of a successful work (*impresa*) could only be grasped by an educated audience<sup>26</sup>. In reference to Hannibal's dream depicted by Miel, the emblem was used as the basis for the concept of a further idea. In accordance with the theoretical guidelines for creating this type of work, the optimal place for their implementation was the surface placed in the outline of the shield, while the panels, friezes, arches and special occasional decorations were the best place to integrate such an emblem. E. Tesauro indicates over thirty conditions that must be met by a perfect work<sup>27</sup>. Quite an important issue that he draws attention to is the text of the epigram – an integral part of the work. This text should be ambiguous, preferably if it is rendered in Latin as a motto or a quote, taken from the work of an ancient writer or poet<sup>28</sup>.

According to the teachings of E. Tesauro, a classic example of such a work was supposed to be the emblem of the King of France, Louis XII, depicting a porcupine with the inscription 'Cominus et eminus'. E. Tesauro also emphasized that the emblem is a popular symbol that sheds light on some aspect of human life and means a positive impact on people. Tesauro was also supposed to underscore that the hall would not be fully decorated if the frieze did not contain any painted cartouches with epigrams. Such decorations emerged so that the viewer could find a story illustrated with an interesting and inventive explanation, which, however, should not be interpreted as a manifestation of pedantic behavior<sup>29</sup>. For this reason, in his work E. Tesauro recommended a certain moderation in composition, which was aimed at emphasizing the essential elements in such a way as

<sup>25</sup> T. Kren, *op. cit.*; M. Wolny, *Dzieje*, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 254, clarifies this concept, stressing that it is not, of course, about 'an ignorant riff-raff', but educated people who are able to read the inscriptions on the emblems. Language skills, especially in Latin, were the foundation of education.

<sup>27</sup> E. Tesauro, *Il Cannochiale Aristotelico*, Venezia 1682, p. 400.

<sup>28</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>29</sup> E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, p. 400; F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

to minimize the necessity for referring to all details – which could blur the main idea. From this conceptual idea a form was to evolve, which was in a way a combination of an emblem and a larger painting. The exposition of the epigram, at the expense of the figurative part of the emblem, was intended to allow attention to be focused on the character of the motto.

J. Miel's depiction of Hannibal's dream is based on showing the protagonist who is awoken from sleep in the midst of the night by the descending divine messenger. In the moments, when it happens, Carthaginian leader is sleeping among the soldiers. It is a reference to the description known from Livy's work, in which attempts were made to suggest that Hannibal, as a commander close to his subordinates, used to lie down among them to have a rest. The Roman author mentioned it briefly. According to him, many saw the commander more than once, when he was lying on the ground, covered with a military mantle (*sagum*), among the guards and posts<sup>30</sup>. This motif was creatively developed in the poem of Silius Italicus<sup>31</sup>. It seems obvious that this intelligent combination of the moment when divine providence descends on Hannibal with the situation in which the Carthaginian was, was not accidental. The intention of the painterly work shows that Hannibal himself did not strive for any distinction, as he compared himself to the simple soldiers he led in scope of warfare. Despite, or maybe precisely because, he did not create an extraordinary aura around him, he was favored by the descent of the divine messenger. Adopting such an interpretation would indicate Hannibal as a kind of antithesis of the Roman method of self-presentation, in which, for example, Hannibal's opponent – Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus – excelled. As a vain representative of the Roman world, the Roman himself strove to create an aura of uniqueness around him. This is probably the first premise with which one can try to answer the question about the choice of the hero depicted in J. Miel's work. For a better understanding of the symbolic content of the work, it was necessary to add a quote to the painting that, going beyond the ancient world, would foster further conceptualization of the idea.

The words of the motto 'Genius quo ducit eundum', which were incorporated into the work, come from the emblem presented in the work of 'Emblemata' by A. Alciati<sup>32</sup>. The author of the original print depicted

<sup>30</sup> Liv., 21.4.7, 'multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt'.

<sup>31</sup> Sil., 1.248; cf. Frontinus, *The Stratagems. The Aqueducts of Rome*, transl. Ch.C. Bennet, ed. M. McElwain, Cambridge 1925, 4.3.8.

<sup>32</sup> The quote is not literal, because some kind of correction was used, see: A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, Lugduni 1548, p. 11, pl. 'QUA DII VOCANT EUNDUM'.

Mercury at a crossroads on his emblem, where he rejects the path of life<sup>33</sup>. The content of this original epigram is interesting and probably not insignificant for the painting presentation of Hannibal's dream. As F. Lamertse rightly emphasizes, in the epigram placed by Alciati the plural form 'Dii' was replaced with the singular 'Deus' in the last line, which of course redefines the meaning of the entire emblem – it is not pagan gods, but the Christian God who determines human fate. On the emblem of Mercury there is a messenger of gods/God – fulfilling their/His will. The winged young man who appears in Miel's painting becomes a signpost for Hannibal, marking the direction in which the Carthaginian is to follow<sup>34</sup>. It also seems that the symbolism of the rejected path of life corresponds with the morally fallen Roman world, which ultimately leads towards destruction. One of the first factors in this regression of Roman civilization was the loss of moral principles that began in the declining Roman republic. Although Hannibal's activity in the historical sense was in the period well before the crisis described by Sallustius<sup>35</sup>, as far as symbols are concerned, the Carthaginian's deeds could be interpreted as the actions of the enemy of Roman civilization, especially its negative dimension.

This interpretation seems to be in line with the decorating concepts. Hannibal's face stylized in the image of Christ is not a special departure from the convention of this type of presentation. A clear reference to the Christian symbolism was also made through the use of appropriate colors and internal logic of individual representations. E. Tesauro prepared a decorative concept for the hall, choosing strikingly beautiful motifs and famous emblems from the work of Alciati. He placed his epigrams together with brief mottos in painted, small cartouches. It is significant, of course, that the mottos gave the works a new interpretation, because they presented known motifs in a new light<sup>36</sup>. For example, to Alciati's emblem depicting Actaeon being attacked by his own dogs he adds the motto 'quos pavit, pavet' – referring to those who make others their subjects<sup>37</sup>. To the portrait Niobe despairing over her children Tesauro

<sup>33</sup> B.C. Bowen, *Mercury at the Crossroads in Renaissance Emblems*, 'Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes' 1985, 48, pp. 222–229.

<sup>34</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 255; M. Wolny, *Dzieje*, p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> K. Büchner, *Sallust*, Heidelberg 1960; G. Bonamente, *Il metus punicus e la decadenza di Roma in Sallustio, Agostino ed Orosio*, 'Giornale italiano di filologia: rivista trimestrale di cultura' 1975, 7, pp. 137–169; A. Astin, *Cato the Censor*, Oxford 1978, pp. 91–95; D.F. Conley, *The Stages of Rome's Decline in Sallust's Historical Theory*, 'Hermes' 1981, 109, pp. 379–382.

<sup>36</sup> As F. Lammertse emphasises, *idem, op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>37</sup> A. Alciati, *op. cit.*, p. 52; on Actaeon see: Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*, Oxford 1988 [hereinafter: Haes., *Theog.*], 977; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca*, books 21–32, vol. 11, ed. F. Walton, London 1980, 4.81; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, transl. Ch. Martin, New York 2004

adds the motto 'ubi crimen, ibi discrimen'<sup>38</sup>. Thus, the use of the phrase 'Genius quo ducit eundum' is an example of a similar model. In the case of depicting Hannibal's dream, we are dealing with a more difficult pattern. As F. Lammertse rightly notices in this case, E. Tesauro in fact departed from the developed convention – instead of adding a new motto to the story adopted from Alciati, he included a slightly reworked motto from Alciati, adding a completely new story<sup>39</sup>. The coloring of the picture also seems to be important, the selection of which was probably supposed to enhance the aesthetic impression. The use of blue is symptomatic here, as well as the composition of this color with star-shaped decorations of some of the winged youth's robes. As Cesare Ripa points out, this type of composition fits into the convention of heavenly symbolism. According to this interpretation, blue symbolizes the sky which is gracious<sup>40</sup>.

The emblem as a popular form was therefore quite comprehensible. Additionally when supplied with an epigram, it became a presentation that could be assimilated by a slightly wider circle of educated audience<sup>41</sup>. It is not without significance that in the decorations of the Palazzo Reale in Turin, Tesauro decided to combine emblematic elements with the actual work (*impresa*). In the case of presenting Hannibal's dream, it was decided to keep the original decorative pattern consisting of a painted story or a story with a motto. The aforementioned A. Alciati was of course only one of the sources of inspiration for Miel's painting depicting Hannibal. Moreover, the poetic work of Silius Italicus seems to play a special role in the entire presentation, not only due to the motif of ships shown in Miel's painting. This remark is so important that it should be discussed further.

#### WAYS OF COMMUNICATING GOD'S WILL. ON THE MODERN INTERPRETATION OF SILIUS ITALICUS

In 'Il Cannochiale Aristotelico' E. Tesauro reconstructs the story of Hannibal's dream on the basis of ancient sources<sup>42</sup>. F. Lammertse recapitulates this story stressing its most important threads. Soon after

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[hereinafter: Ovid., *Met.*], 3.131; P. Grimal *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*, Wrocław 1987, p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> W. Schadewaldt, *Die Niobe des Aisychylos*, Heidelberg 1934; E. Wiemann, *Die Mythos von Niobe und ihren Kindern. Studien zur Darstellung und Rezeption*, Worms 1986.

<sup>39</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>40</sup> C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome 1603, p. 43 (s.v. Benignità); cf. F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>41</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>42</sup> E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

securing the provisions – presumably on the Iberian Peninsula, and after and embarking the soldiers, the Carthaginian commander falls asleep. Then he is haunted by a dream vision, in which ‘a handsome youth’ appears, pointing ‘a dreadful dragon’ to the commander, turning the previously picturesque landscape into ashes in the blink of an eye. The young man, when asked by a Carthaginian about the meaning of this prophecy, explains that it heralds the destruction of Italy that is actually taking place: ‘The youth expounded the meaning as ‘la rovina dell’Italia’ which indeed came about’<sup>43</sup>. Apart from the obvious, which is the already mentioned recapitulation of ancient sources, the motifs taken from Silius Italicus are clearly dominant.

The explanation of this state of affairs should be based on the interest of the elites in ancient literature, known from the history of the Renaissance and Baroque, especially in its refined form, constituted by poems<sup>44</sup>. Undoubtedly, this kind of literary form was a source of specific linguistic ornamentation and rich metaphors, thus becoming a reservoir of oblique statements valuable for artists, the creative development of which made the field for the audience’s own, creative interpretation. At the same time, from the point of view of the meaning of the work, it was important to capture the substance and to place the motif in a certain historical context, so that the interpretation would run in the direction intended by the artist. This demand was met by editions of Silius’s work, among which one should mention, for example, the work published by D. Heinsius<sup>45</sup>, which initiated at least the direction of thinking about the professionalization of editorial activities. The interest in Silius was proved by the edition prepared by A. Drakenborch<sup>46</sup>, which was an important starting point for further development of publishing activities. It is impossible not to refer to the relevant information taken from Silius by E. Tesauro. These motifs have been creatively developed and imagined as elements of J. Miel’s work, which justifies a certain reflection on the Roman poem.

Silius Italicus’ *Punica* has a long tradition of research and an extensive literature<sup>47</sup>, which shows that the interpretation of the poet’s text should be

<sup>43</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>44</sup> See: F. Muecke, *Silius Italicus in the Italian Renaissance*, in: *Brills Companion to Silius Italicus*, ed. A. Augoustakis, Leiden 2010, pp. 401–424.

<sup>45</sup> D. Heinsius, *Edition des Punica*, Leyden 1600.

<sup>46</sup> A. Drakenborch, *C. Siliii Italici Punicorum libri septendecim*, Utrecht 1717.

<sup>47</sup> For a summary of major studies, see: E.M. Ariemma, *Tendenze degli studi su Sillio Italico. Una panoramica sugli ultimi quindici anni (1984–1999)*, ‘Bolletino di Studi Latini’ 2000, 30, pp. 577–640; see: E. Menolaraki, *Silius’ Natural History: Tides in the Punica*, in: *Brills Companion to Silius Italicus*, ed. A. Augoustakis, Leiden 2010, pp. 293–321.

placed in the broad context of historical and literary research<sup>48</sup>. The apex of cultural changes in Roman Empire had a significant impact on the re-flourishing of the epic as a genre<sup>49</sup>. Looking at the example of Virgil, Silius Italicus created the monumental poem *Punica* consisting of 17 books and a total of 12,202 lines. Although in terms of form, Silius was significantly inferior to his master, nevertheless in terms of content, he became a valuable supplement to the source knowledge of the Roman-Carthaginian struggles. The quality of data in Silius's work is, in fact, quite a complex issue<sup>50</sup>, which makes it difficult to formulate general conclusions. The fact is that Silius has a peculiar attitude to Hannibal as the hero of events. Claire Stocks points to an epic depiction of this hero in Silius. She emphasizes that the image of the Punic leader was subject to some kind of schematization, which initially took heroic epics into account<sup>51</sup>. The separation of certain elements of the overall portrait of Hannibal, also in Silius, may facilitate referring to the most pejorative traits of the Carthaginian<sup>52</sup>. For the Romans, Hannibal was an enemy, but still the personification of an opponent who, to some extent, determined their own greatness<sup>53</sup>. This motif seems to be the most visible from the perspective of the comprehensive view of Silius' work. Hannibal is an enemy of the Romans, whose strength appears to rely on his determination, and whose actions challenge the vital strength of the Roman people. Such a situation is illustrated, among others things, by the story of Hannibal's dream.

In the opening lines of the poem, dealing with Hannibal's dream, Silius describes Cyllenian Hermes descending onto earth through the darkness of night, carrying his father's message on his wings<sup>54</sup>. This description highlights Silius' unique intention, which emphasizes that Hannibal was visited by a divine messenger. The role of the messenger is played by Hermes (Ἑρμῆς), which is expressed by Silius through a clear allusion encapsulated

<sup>48</sup> Cf. M.A. Vinchesi, *Introduzione*, in: Silio Italico, *Le Guerre Puniche*, introd., trad. e note di M.A. Vinchesi, Milano 2004, pp. 5–17; see: J. Seibert, *Forschungen zu Hannibal*, Darmstadt 1993, p. 39.

<sup>49</sup> F. Ripoll, *La morale héroïque dans les épopées latines d'époque flavienne: tradition et innovation*, Louvain 1998.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. E. Burck, *Historische und epische Tradition bei Silius Italicus*, München 1984; C. Santini, *La cognizione del passato in Silio Italico*, Roma 1983.

<sup>51</sup> C. Stocks, *The Roman Hannibal. Remembering the Enemy in Silius Italicus' Punica*, Liverpool 2014, pp. 53–79.

<sup>52</sup> Sil., 1.56–60; M. Wolny, *Inhumana crudelitas wodza Hannibala, 'Echa Przeszłości'* 2014, 15, p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> M.A. Vinchesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–47.

<sup>54</sup> Sil., 3.168, 'imaque per umentem noctis Cyllenius umbram aligero lapsu portabat iussa parentis'.

in the word *Cyllenius*. Hermes, the son of Zeus and the youngest of the Pleiades, Maia, was born in a cave at the foot of Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. Zeus begot him in the night, secretly, when gods and men were fast asleep<sup>55</sup>. The choice of Hermes as Hannibal's tutor does not seem accidental, because the deity combines the symbolism of the night, mystery, but also a certain cunning<sup>56</sup>. In the context of the following discussion, it seems particularly important that Hermes often acts as the messenger of the gods<sup>57</sup>. In Silius Italicus' poem this god visits Hannibal and admonishes him in the moment of his deepest sleep<sup>58</sup>, which leaves no doubt as for the divinatory qualities of the story created by the Roman poet.

One of the values of Silius' account, which could turn out to be particularly important from perspective of the principles of baroque decorative arts, was also a visible differentiation that distances the Roman poet's message from other ancient accounts. Cicero's account is an example here, in which the entire episode of Hannibal's dream vision begins with the Carthaginian being called to the gathering of the gods<sup>59</sup>. This situation has a fundamental impact on the significance of a commander who gained the favor with gods, because he has the right to sit among them<sup>60</sup>. Hannibal's summoning is initiated by Jupiter, who also appears in Livy's account. This god appeared in the historian's work probably due to the modification of the original text by Coelius Antipater. Presumably, the annalist removed the Carthaginian deity found in the source text by Silenus. It was an interference consistent with the Roman practice in similar cases. The sequence of further events is preserved, with the difference that the will of the gods is fulfilled by a young man who, contrary to Silius' account, is not mentioned by name. He is merely a young man with a divine appearance (*iuvenem divina specie*)<sup>61</sup>. This literary device allows the reader to independently interpret the deity in this role. Let us emphasize that it is precisely about the deity, because sitting in the *concilium deorum*, of which he is the messenger, in principle

<sup>55</sup> Haes., *Theog.*, 938; Ovid., *Met.*, 2.679 and next.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. P. Reingard, *Hermès psychagogue*, Paris 1935; K. Kerényi, *Hermes der Seelenführer*, Zürich 1945; M. Bettini, *The Ears of Hermes. Communication, Images, and Identity in the Classical World*, Columbus 2000, pp. 200–224.

<sup>57</sup> P. Grimal, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>58</sup> Sil., 3.170–17, 'mulcentem securo membra sopore adgreditur iuvenem ac monitis incessit Amaris'; cf. J.G. Harrison, *Cultural Memory and Imagination: Dreams and Dreaming in the Roman Empire 31 BC – AD 200*, Birmingham 2009, p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> Cic., *De div.*, 1.49, 'visum esse in somnis a Iove in deorum concilium vocari'.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. M. Wolny, *Hannibal*, pp. 253–263.

<sup>61</sup> Liv., 21.22.6.

does not allow for any other possibility<sup>62</sup>. The description of the descent of the god presented in Silius thus differs from the version of Cicero<sup>63</sup>, because Silius makes a significant simplification by omitting Hannibal's participation in the gathering of the gods (*concilium deorum*). Thus, the version proposed in his work concerning the descent of the deity that admonishes Hannibal on the one hand becomes convergent with the accounts of Livy and Valerius Maximus<sup>64</sup>, and on the other hand, it is a version that seems particularly attractive from the perspective of the culture of the modern era and Christian principles which play a certain role in it. The ancient poem of Silius Italicus announces at the very beginning of Hannibal's vision that the Punic commander, fast asleep, experiences the grace of the descent of the divine messenger who communicates to him the divine will. Hannibal thus becomes a kind of chosen one, experiencing the vision he supposedly deserves. On the one hand, as a determined enemy of Rome, on the other hand, as a hero endowed with certain qualities, especially a sharp mind.

It seems that the baroque art of decoration was consistent with the forms of communicating the divine will, derived from ancient literature. F. Lammertse, referring to the work of E. Tesauro, notes that among the numerous qualities raised in antiquity, the exemplification of divine mental acuity (an example of divine '*argutezza*') is a quality that Tesauro, as a rhetorician, valued particularly highly. He saw in it an element emphasized by God, through his messengers, i.e. angels. This angelic statement, presented in a metaphorical and unnaturally exaggerated way, is a summary of the messages of ancient writers. It is essential to point out that God's will communicates its messages to mortals in three ways: through oracles, dreams and revelations<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> The divine assembly (*concilium deorum*), due to its character, gave Hannibal the greatest splendor, because it positioned him on an equal footing with the gods. It should be noted that the omission of the *concilium deorum* in Livy and Silius Italicus is symptomatic, given the situational context and the political purpose of these literary presentations. Hannibal sitting among the gods, raised to their rank, gains a kind of divine attribute.

<sup>63</sup> Cic., *De div.*, 1.49.

<sup>64</sup> Both these versions are similar at this point, see: Val. Max., 1.7 ext 1, 'ab Iove mortali specie excelsiorem iuvenem invadendae Italiae ducem' ≈ Liv., 21.22.6, 'iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum'.

<sup>65</sup> E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, p. 400; F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

### 'SALA DEL CONSIGLIO' – BROADER CONTEXT OF THE DECORATIVE CONCEPT

Interpretation of the message of the work 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi' is impossible without proper recognition of the decorative context. As it follows from the description of 'Palazzo Reale' compiled by Cesare Rovere, the ceiling composition in 'Sala del Consiglio' had two more presentations, serving as overdoors, conceptually referring to the main work created on the ceiling. The subject of these works concerns the history of other heroes of antiquity – Julius Caesar and Themistocles<sup>66</sup>. Both of these paintings were available during the inventory and description process of 'Palazzo Reale' in 1858, later they disappeared from the room they served to adorn<sup>67</sup>.

The first of the paintings, entitled 'Cesare al Rubicone', was supposed to depict a Roman leader who, being in a state between sleep and night vigil, notices his guide, showing him the direction in which to follow in order to achieve victory. The moment of Caesar crossing the Rubicon became the historical background of the painting theme. Importantly, this story is also described in 'Il Cannochiale Aristotelico' in the same chapter as the story of Hannibal. The common motive here is the appearance of an angelic guide. As described, the giant in the shepherd's garb takes the trumpet from the hands of one of those who follow Caesar and plays, signaling to cross the Rubicon. Caesar knew what to do – he followed the giant and directed his army to Rome<sup>68</sup>.

This story comes from Suetonius, who tells about a man of extraordinary height and beauty (*quidam eximia magnitudine et forma*) who suddenly appeared near the commander, sitting and playing on a reed pipe (*harundine canens*). When, apart from the shepherds, a crowd of soldiers came running from the posts, the man, grabbing a trumpet from one, jumped into the river and blowing vigorously played the battle signal. Then he went to the other bank. Next, Caesar supposedly pronounced significant words, ordering to go 'where the omens of the Gods and the iniquity of our enemies call us. The die is now cast' (trans. A. Thomson)<sup>69</sup>.

The description by C. Rovere indicates that in the painting by J. Miel one could not find a giant, but another winged genius, probably created in order to make a parallel with the painting depicting the situation in

<sup>66</sup> C. Rovere, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>67</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, pp. 255–256.

<sup>68</sup> C. Rovere, *op. cit.*, p. 198; E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, p. 44; F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>69</sup> Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, ed. M. Ihm, (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), Leipzig 1907, *Divus Iulius*. 32, 'quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocant. lacta alea est'.

which Hannibal found himself<sup>70</sup>. Making a description of the decoration of the Royal Palace in Turin, C. Rovere left a valuable source related to the decorative concept of 'Sala del Consiglio'. Unfortunately, this description is not always completely satisfactory. Certain deficiencies are particularly noticeable in the case of the second overdoor. This work was supposed to depict Themistocles, who in a dream vision listens to the spirit of the warrior, praising the triumph at Marathon (490 BC)<sup>71</sup>. This type of exhibition of the motif seems to be at least puzzling, the more so as the discussed episode does not find an appropriate parallel in ancient literature.

As it was rightly pointed out, Themistocles was still a rank-and-file soldier during the Battle of Marathon<sup>72</sup>. Obviously, the more influential commander at that time was Miltiades<sup>73</sup>. It is hard to define their relations as equal, but it is nevertheless said that Themistocles did not sleep out of jealousy for Miltiades' fame<sup>74</sup>. Besides, the summarized presentation of the story leaves the most significant shortage of knowledge when it comes to the symbolism of the paintings placed in the 'Sala del Consiglio'. The juxtaposition of Themistocles with the events of the Battle of Marathon is surprising, the more so as his heroism in the Greco-Persian wars could be successfully exposed in connection with the theme of the Battle of Salamis, i.e. at the time when Themistocles was already the commander-in-chief. F. Lammertse tried to solve this problem by assuming the possibility of a prophecy. The necessity to interpret the oracle would be a response to the complex symbolism of the described image. According to F. Lammertse, the genius predicts Themistocles' future victory in the later battle<sup>75</sup>. Following this lead, the subject of this overdoor indicates the fulfilment of the prophecy, which once again reveals a prophetic statement, defined in the artistic concept.

Of course, it would be appropriate to ask why Themistocles was placed in this role and not some other commander. According to the information we obtain from work of Herodotus, Themistocles argued that the interpreters of the oracles did not quite correctly explain the words of the prophecies<sup>76</sup>, and therefore, questioning a certain accepted convention, proposed his

<sup>70</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>71</sup> C. Rovere, *op. cit.*, p. 198: 'Il sonno di Temistocle, a qui il genio queriero addita i trionfi di Maratona'; cf. F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>72</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256, 'Themistocles was still an ordinary soldier'.

<sup>73</sup> N.G.L. Hammond, *The Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes*, 'The Cambridge Ancient History' 2008, 4, pp. 511–516.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 3.4.

<sup>75</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>76</sup> Hdt., 7.143.

own interpretation<sup>77</sup>. Perhaps it was this interpretative ambiguity that made the painting motif related to Themistocles so attractive. It is worth noting that both presentations described by C. Rovere, together with J. Miel's 'Hannibal's Dream', represent military commanders who did not die of natural causes. Perhaps a moralizing theme concerning the transience of human life and the uncertainty of human fate was incorporated into the vast symbolism of the divine mission. In addition, it is worth noting that it was also important that the hero of the second overdoor, Themistocles, committed suicide<sup>78</sup>.

Admittedly, on the basis of C. Rovere's description, it is impossible to express a satisfactory opinion on presentation being a subject of the second overdoor. It seems inevitable, however, that it had to fit exactly into the division indicated by E. Tesauro into three main ways through which divine messengers communicate their will to mortals – these are the dreams (story of Hannibal), revelations (story of Caesar), and oracles (story of Themistocles). This is reflected in his work, which compares Mercury and the dragon with Hannibal, the giant with Caesar, and the Pythian prophecy with Themistocles. According to F. Lammertse, in the presented painting vision the winged genius was the final motif binding the whole composition. Each time it was used to reflect the character of the 'heavenly emissary', which was to help emphasize the main theme, constituting the message of the entire composition and proclaiming that God determines the fate of mankind<sup>79</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

The above attempt to interpret the combination of the symbolism of Hannibal's dream, derived from ancient literary sources, with the image shown in the painting 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi' by Jan Miel, placed in the 'Sala del Consiglio' of the Palazzo Reale in Turin, leads to several conclusions. A dream in which the dreamer may receive a hint about the

<sup>77</sup> Themistocles interpreted the Pythian prophecy about wooden walls that protected Athens from the Persians – the Athenians built the ships thanks to which they won the Battle of Salamis, cf. Nepos, *Vitae*, ed. A. Fleckeisen, Leipzig 1941, *Themistocles*, 2.6; Hdt., 7.143; Plutarch makes no mention of the prophecy.

<sup>78</sup> Thucydides claims that Themistocles died of a disease, pointing out that in antiquity there was a rumor of his suicide by taking poison, see: Thucydides, *La Guerre du Péloponnèse*, ed. and transl. J. de Romilly, R. Weil, L. Bodin, Paris 1955, 1.138.4. Discussion on suicide in antiquity, see: M.D. Faber, *Suicide and the Ajax of Sophocles*, 'Psychoanalytic Review' 1967, 54, pp. 441–452; Y. Grise, *La suicide dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1982.

<sup>79</sup> F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

decisions he is making must undoubtedly be attractive from the point of view of the humanistic principles of spiritual development, for it meant that a person who was chosen by the divine factor could act, even though they did not ask for this relationship themselves. Discussions about the matter of the reception of the ancient motif, to some extent also used by the Christian tradition, reveal the arcane knowledge of the development of a painting concept as one of the important tools showing the relationship between man and Providence. The painterly interpretation of Hannibal's dream is part of a comprehensive message, resulting from a well-thought-out decorating theory, presented by E. Tesauro<sup>80</sup>. As it has been shown, the source of the story was primarily the work of Silius Italicus, from which the Hannibal thread was almost literally taken over. The only striking exception is that Hermes (Mercury) is the messenger in the Latin poem, while in 'Il Cannochiale Aristotelico' it is the handsome young man. E. Tesauro therefore combined Silius Italicus' concept with A. Alciati's *Emblemata* – turning Mercury into a winged young man. This change was probably made to avoid pagan connotations. Thanks to this modification, the meaning of the work, based on the synthesis of the emblem, depicting a story taken from a historical source and a painting by Jan Miel, has become comprehensible – God's will determines the fate of humanity<sup>81</sup>. The motto of the work emphasises this aim: 'Genius quo ducit eundum', intended to communicate the power of God's will.

F. Lammertse, whose theses were to some extent criticized in the following article, in principle does not reflect on the meaning of the dream resulting from ancient sources. Probably an important issue from the perspective of the consequences of Hannibal's behavior, who, according to ancient sources, broke the divine prohibition, is the question of possible punishment<sup>82</sup>. After all, the Carthaginian commander turned around and broke the ban, resigning from the role of a passive executor of the imposed will and becoming its creator. Was the victory at Cannae the fulfillment of God's promise? According to E. Tesauro, it was five days after this clash that Hannibal would feast on the Capitol<sup>83</sup>. The unfulfilled announcement of this is consistent with ancient sources<sup>84</sup>. So is defeat and death in exile the ultimate punishment for Hannibal? All these questions, in the context of the eschatological premises of the era in which the painting was created,

<sup>80</sup> E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, pp. 400–402.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. F. Lammertse, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>82</sup> This problem was discussed in academic literature: I. D'Arco, *Il sogno premonitore di Annibale e il pericolo delle Alpi*, 'Quaderni di Storia' 2002, pp. 145–162.

<sup>83</sup> E. Tesauro, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

<sup>84</sup> Liv., 22.51.1–2.

must be dismissed, because they all belong to the category of the course of earthly life, and therefore only to a certain trial in the entirety of eternal life. From the Christian point of view, the essence of good action on the earthly dimension was to act in accordance with the divine will, and not to oppose it. Hannibal was simply to go ahead, following the divine directives, and what will happen next is not essential at the time of receiving the vision and should not be dwelt on, as it is part of the divine plan.

The entire interpretation should finally culminate in the question why Hannibal was made the protagonist of this story. After all, ancient literature provides so many examples of characters that are not accompanied by such an expressive load of moral controversy. On the one hand, it seems that the ambiguities of Hannibal's biography define this character in the human prism. In addition, the overall story of Hannibal is, in general, the story of a hero who focuses on historical changes related to a significant conflict taking place in the Mediterranean. In the allegorical sense, it is a war for the survival of Rome, but also a conflict of two different systems of values. It is difficult to say whether such far-reaching interpretative studies were made by the audience of J. Miel's work. The Carthaginian in a Baroque work is above all a clear symbol of opposition – an inspired antagonist of the pagan Rome. A hero who allegorically opposed the moral corruption of this civilization. Despite the fact that Livy described Hannibal as a faithless man, he in fact never broke the oath given to his gods – he never became a friend of the Romans. Thus, Hannibal becomes a symbol of refusal to accept evil. The Carthaginian appears therefore as a hero with personal stubbornness and remarkable determination, which seems to be the main element of Jan Miel's work. Regardless of the sources of this determination, which was granted to Hannibal as a result of divine will's act or other causative factor, his attitude thus appears as an inspiring factor that in some sense was needed in the 17th Century Europe.

(translated by LINGUA LAB)

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#### STRESZCZENIE

Zamierzeniem autora przedłożonej pracy jest zbadanie recepcji antycznego motywu snu Hannibala, zobrazowanego przez Jana Miela w pracy malarskiej 'Il Sonno di Annibale fra gl'Iberi', umieszczonej w 'Sala del Consiglio' Turyńskiego Palazzo Reale. Wykorzystując przykład tej pracy plastycznej, autor przygląda się problemowi snów w świecie antycznym. Wskazując na ich profetyczne znaczenie, usiłuje powiązać atrakcyjność tego motywu z kulturowymi pryncypiami epoki nowożytnej. Zstąpienie boskiego posłańca, który komunikuje wolę boską budzącemu się Hannibalowi było ważnym elementem konceptualizacji dzieła malarskiego, mającego za zadanie przekazać konkretny komunikat odbiorcy. Celowi temu służyła podpowiedź w formie motta dzieła: 'Genius quo ducit eundum', mającego zakomunikować o działaniu woli boskiej. Autor artykułu zwraca uwagę, że istotną rolę w dystrybuowaniu wątku snu Hannibala musiał odegrać poemat Sylusza Italikusa, przedstawiający dojrzałą kompozycję motywów literatury antycznej. Autor zastanawia się również z jakiego powodu bohaterem pracy został Hannibal, dochodząc w efekcie do wniosku, że Kartagińczyk ujęty w barokowym dziele to pewien czytelny symbol – antagonistą pogańskiego Rzymu, z chrześcijańskiej perspektywy, będącego substytutem zła. Pomimo, że Liwiusz określał Hannibala jako człowieka wiarołomnego, ten w istocie nigdy nie złamał danej swoim bogom przysięgi – nigdy bowiem nie stał się przyjacielem Rzymian. Tym samym Hannibal staje się symbolem braku przyzwolenia na akceptację zła. Jego determinacja wyrażona poprzez dzieło Jana Miela jawi się zatem jako czynnik inspirujący i potrzebny Europie.

**Słowa kluczowe:** recepcja antyku, Jan Miel, malarstwo, sen Hannibala, Sylusz Italikus, literatura antyczna

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Miron Wolny – PhD with 'habilitation', Professor at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, graduate of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, completed his PhD in Gdańsk. His research interests include the history of the Hellenistic states, Carthage and their relations with Rome, and lately also the problem of the reception of antiquity in European culture. Among his publications, there are the monographs: *Hannibal w Italii (218–217 p.n.e.)*. *Studia nad uwarunkowaniami początkowych sukcesów kartagińskich* (Olsztyn 2007), and *Studia nad statusem i kompetencjami dowódców kartagińskich w okresie przewagi Barkidów (237–201 p.n.e.)* (Oświęcim 2016); the works he edited and co-edited: *Propaganda władzy w świecie rzymskim* (Olsztyn 2012), *Paradoksologia w starożytności i średniowieczu* (Olsztyn 2017).

