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## **TIME PATTERNS IN LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME BOOKS XXIX-XXX**

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## 1. Hermeneutical premiss

Since its inception, Literary Theory has offered assorted definitions of what we may deem *duration* to be, varying according to the underlying narrative, or the development of a story, occurrence or event as they are shared by the narrator. However, given such multiple and possibly conflicting views, as far as our elucidation is concerned (i.e. the duration *of* and *in* the Livy's third decade books 29 and 30) we are compelled to outline, at least in broad strokes, our definition of the concept of *duration*.

We find the most valuable support in *Figures III* of Gérard Genette who to ventures provide a rather expedient such definition; the author addresses the endless variables affecting *duration*, in a devoted chapter of his treatise. Genette ascribes the irresolvability of the definition problem to a central issue: we are incapable of tangibly measuring duration (save for cinematographic and musical performances) because the duration of a story is inextricably tied to the reader's unpredictable habits and perceptions<sup>1</sup>:

En revanche, confronter la « durée » d'un récit à celle de l'histoire qu'il raconte est une opération plus scabreuse, pour cette simple raison que nul ne peut mesurer la durée d'un récit. Ce que l'on nomme spontanément ainsi ne peut être, nous l'avons dit, que le temps qu'il faut pour le lire, mais il est trop évident que les temps de lecture varient selon les

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<sup>1</sup> Genette, 1972: 122.

occurrences singulières, et que, contrairement à ce qui se passe au cinéma, ou même en musique, rien ne permet ici de fixer une vitesse « normale » à l'exécution.

Given this limitation, in his effort to devise an exact measuring methodology, Genette introduces the concept of *constant of speed*<sup>2</sup>, which he employs not to reduce the concept to a set of data which could parallel the story itself but, rather, as an *absolute* and *autonomous* value on which we may safely rely in order to identify the isochrony in the narrative.

In fact, while on the one hand it is possible to recognise an hypothetical *zero rate*<sup>3</sup> in a dialogical scene (where both narrative and fiction segments are equal), on the other hand, we are incapable of knowing the material time required to read such a story, whether it be measurable or not. Thus, we must inevitably ask how, by relying on Genette's advice, we may define *speed* in terms of narration<sup>4</sup>:

On entend par vitesse le rapport entre une mesure temporelle et une mesure spatiale (tant de mètres à la seconde, tant de secondes par mètre) : la vitesse du récit se définira par le rapport entre une durée, celle de l'histoire, mesurée en secondes, minutes, heures, jours, mois et année, et une longueur : celle du texte, mesurée en lignes et en pages. Le récit isochrone, notre hypothétique degré zéro de référence, serait donc ici un récit à

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<sup>2</sup> *Constance de vitesse*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*: 122. According to Chapter 1, that addresses the issue of the narrative order, Genette recognises the *degré zéro* in *la coïncidence entre succession diégetique et succession narrative*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*: 123.

vitesse égale, sans accélérations ni ralentissements, où le rapport durée d'histoire/longueur de récit resterait toujours constant.

Genette himself warns us against relying blindly on his theoretical gauge.

In fact, he dismisses the possibility that such a level of balanced isochrony could ever exist at all because, he acknowledges, we could scarcely conceive any narration that excludes anisochronies as it unfolds. Thus, we accept that the notion of anisochrony is absolutely fundamental and indispensable in order to address the duration of any narrative. And we emphasise that it is, in fact, essential also and particularly to our elucidation, since it will focus on time variations and their significance in Livy's two final books of the third decade. A useful shortcut, in order to become acquainted with the notion of anisochrony, is to effortlessly define it for what it is, the antonym of isochrony, i.e. the uneven flowing of the events that characterise and form the whole of a narration.

However, we must caution against relying exclusively on Genette's work: it would be scarcely useful, and perhaps even counter-productive, to entirely employ his taxonomy in matter of duration, due to two essential reasons. Firstly, the fundamental reference of this French literary theorist's treatise is Marcel Proust's masterpiece *la reserche du temps perdu*. And this is a novel we should not use – nor should we allow this example to govern the entirety of literature – in order to derive notions of narrative literary devices suitable to literature of any time period. Secondly, as Genette says, it is fairly difficult, if

not impossible, to examine all the effects produced by the stock of anisochronies that permeate any narration, specifically because, among other reasons, the diegetic time is almost never clearly articulated or expressed in the text<sup>5</sup>.

However yet, we can nonetheless and safely avail ourselves of some general distinctions shed by Genette. The French literary theorist differentiates and identifies, in terms of increasing *speed*, four fundamental narrative *movements* that here – for simplicity’s sake – we will translate as *stasis*, *scene*, (narrative) *summary* and *ellipsis*<sup>6</sup>. While Genette dedicates a section of his aforementioned devoted chapter to each of these notions, also providing examples drawn from Proust’s novel, for our purposes it will suffice to present a general definition of both their reciprocal relationship and absolute value of each<sup>7</sup>:

Ces quatre formes fondamentales du mouvement narratif, que nous appellerons désormais les quatre *mouvements* narratifs, sont les deux extrêmes que je viens d’évoquer (ellipse et pause descriptive), et deux intermédiaires : la scène, le plus souvent «dialoguée», dont nous avons déjà vu qu’elle réalise conventionnellement l’égalité de temps entre récit et histoire, et ce que la critique de langue anglaise appelle le «*summary*», terme qui n’a pas d’équivalent en français et que nous traduirons par *récit sommaire* ou, par abréviation, *sommaire* : forme a mouvement variable (alors que les trois autres ont un

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem: 123

<sup>6</sup> In French: *pause*, *scène*, (*récit*) *sommaire* and *ellipse* respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem: 129



mouvement déterminé, du moins en principe), qui couvre avec une grande souplesse de régime tout le champ compris entre la scène et l'ellipse. On pourrait assez bien schématiser les valeurs temporelles de ces quatre mouvements par les formules suivantes, où TH désigne le temps d'histoire et TR le pseudotemps, ou temps conventionnel, de récit :

Pause :  $TR = n, TH = 0$ . Donc :  $TR \infty > TH$

Scène :  $TR = TH$

Sommaire :  $TR < TH$

Ellipse :  $TR = 0, TH = n$ . Donc :  $TR < \infty TH$ .

These categories will assist us into the more in depth examination of any text, without indulging anachronistic interpretations or self-imposed restraints, which would be undoubtedly inapplicable to ancient historiography.

The scope of each *movement* may be succinctly defined as follows: *stasis* refers to a pause in the narration, which is employed in the description or (by somehow exceeding the definitional boundaries set by Genette) in any interruption caused by a segment of narrative that could be also external. A *scene* is any dialogical segment or, as far as the ancient historiography is concerned (as we shall later see), any speech occupying a vast portion of the text. A *summary* is a record of events that is used to accelerate the rhythm of the story, which usually comprises short portions of the main narration. Finally, an *ellipsis* refers to any *time jump* by omitting parts of the story; this last category is

almost absolutely absent in the work of the ancient historiographers, due to the theoretical foundation of the very genre.

Our next step is to set aside the aforementioned notions so that we may introduce general concepts regarding the narrative order. These will be very beneficial to our examination, particularly on the subject of different categories of the digression. Borrowing again from Genette's work, these are *analepsis* and *prolepsis*<sup>8</sup> or flashback and flash-forward, respectively. Both can be either *external* or *internal* depending on whether the digression exceeds either in the past or in the future the beginning or the end of the main sequence of events.

These initial points require that we pose to a pivotal query: can these categories and notions apply to the structure of works – and more precisely, history works – which have been conceived and written at least one thousand five hundred years before the invention of the modern and contemporary novel? And, perhaps even more importantly, is such an effort – to use or impose these categories – at all valuable when examining ancient texts? We should postpone answering the latter question to later chapters, where we will study the effects of time manipulation in two books of Livy. The first query, on the other hand, may be addressed satisfactorily – albeit certainly not thoroughly – by resorting to a selection of passages.

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<sup>8</sup> *ibidem*: 90, 105

Focusing on ancient literature in general, and setting aside historiographical concerns, we find that certain passages are perfectly suitable for Genette's categories, as are these two paragraphs of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*<sup>9</sup>:

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μηθυμναίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων πόλεμος ἀδόκητον λαβὼν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οὕτω διελύθη· γίνεται δὲ χειμῶν Δάφνιδι καὶ χλόῃ τοῦ πολέμου πικρότερος. ἐξαίφνης γὰρ πεσοῦσα χιῶν πολλὴ πᾶσας μὲν ἀπέκλεισε τὰς ὁδοὺς, πάντας δὲ κατέκλεισε τοὺς γεωργοὺς. λάβροι μὲν οἱ χεῖμαρροι κατέρρευον, ἐπεπήγει δὲ κρύσταλλος· τὰ δένδρα ἐώκει κατακλωμένοις· ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀφανὴς ἦν ὅτι μὴ περὶ πηγὰς ποῦ καὶ ρεύματα. οὔτε οὖν ἀγέλην τις εἰς νομὴν ἤγεν οὔτε αὐτὸς προῆει τῶν θυρῶν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καύσαντες μέγα περὶ ὠδὰς ἀλεκτρονίων οἱ μὲν λίνον ἔστρεφον, οἱ δὲ αἰγῶν τρίχας ἔπεκον, οἱ δὲ πάγας ὀρνίθων ἐσοφίζοντο. τότε βοῶν ἐπὶ φάτναις φροντίς ἦν ἄχυρον ἐσθιόντων, αἰγῶν καὶ προβάτων ἐν τοῖς σηκοῖς φυλλάδας, ὑῶν ἐν τοῖς συφείοις ἄκυλον καὶ βαλάνους. ἀναγκαίως οὖν οἰκουρίας ἐπεχούσης ἅπαντας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γεωργοὶ καὶ νομεῖς ἔχαιρον πόνων τε ἀπηλλαγμένοι πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ τροφὰς ἐωθινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰς ἐσθιόντες καὶ καθεύδοντες μακρὸν ὕπνον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς τὸν χειμῶνα δοκεῖν καὶ θέρους καὶ μετοπώρου καὶ ἦρος αὐτοῦ γλυκύτερον· Χλόη δὲ καὶ Δάφνις ἐν μνήμῃ γενόμενοι τῶν καταλεοφθέντων τερπνῶν, ὡς ἐφίλουν, ὡς περιέβαλλον, ὡς ἅμα τὴν τροφήν προσεφέροντο, νύκτας τε ἀγρύπνους διῆγον καὶ λυπηρὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν ἡρινὴν ὥραν ἀνέμενον, ἐκ θανάτου παλιγγενεσίαν. ἐλύπει δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ πῆρα τις ἐλθοῦσα εἰς χεῖρας ἐξ ἧς ἦσθιον ἡ γαυλὸς ὀφθεις ἐξ οὗ συνέπινον ἡ σῦριγξ ἀμελῶς ἐρριμμένη, δῶρον ἐρωτικὸν γεγεννημένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ τῷ Πανί καὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐκλύσασθαι τῶν κακῶν καὶ δεῖξαι ποτε αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἥλιον, ἅμα τε εὐχόμενοι τέχνην ἐξήτουν δι' ἧς ἀλλήλους θεάσονται. ἡ μὲν δὲ Χλόη δεινῶς ἄπορος ἦν καὶ ἀμηχανος· ἀεὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ συνῆν ἡ δοκοῦσα μήτηρ ἔριά τε ξαίνειν διδάσκουσα καὶ

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<sup>9</sup> Longus, III, 3-4.

ἀτράκτους στρέφειν καὶ γάμου μνημονεύουσα· ὁ δὲ Δάφνις οἷα σχολὴν ἄγων καὶ  
συνετώτερος κόρης τοιόνδε σόφισμα εὔρεν ἐς θεάν τῆς Χλόης.

The ancient novels abound of similarly structured paragraphs. The above-cited passage relays two remarkable elements appurtenant to the main narration of the novel. First, the war mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph had taken place during the autumn season and, second, we are denied knowledge of many details concerning the events that took place in the winter because they are manifestly unnecessary to the narration of the erotic vicissitudes of Daphnis and Chloe. If we apply Genette's categories, we can identify an *ellipsis* and a *summary*, and, more generally, an acceleration of the story in Longus' text. Furthermore, we could safely surmise, regarding this passage, that the ancient novelists, especially the *Ancient Greek*, were well acquainted with these writing tools and techniques, obviously not in the same terms as current literary theory has them, but certainly in the way they fashioned the threads of a complex and multifaceted tapestry. We could further dwell on these novelists, but the exercise would prove futile for our purposes<sup>10</sup>; more importantly, instead, we will examine passages – set forth below – which allow us to briefly address the issue of literary time categories in ancient historiography.

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<sup>10</sup> For further information, we recommend the reading of Barchiesi, Graverini and Keulen (2006).

The first issue we need to treat, while examining historiographical narrations, is that the events they report took place in reality. As Momigliano<sup>11</sup> puts it, in a short but fundamental essay addressing the methodology of his contemporary history scholars:

La differenza tra un romanziere e uno storico è che il romanziere è libero di inventare i fatti (anche se può mescolarli con fatti reali in un romanzo storico), mentre lo storico non inventa i fatti. Poiché il mestiere dello storico consiste nel raccogliere e interpretare documenti per ricostruire e comprendere gli avvenimenti del passato, se non ci sono i documenti, non c'è storia.

Obviously, the timeline we are considering can be reasonably measured by conventional systems in decades, pentads, years, months, weeks, days, hours etc. At this point, however, one may legitimately object that also a novel, fictional as it may be, avails itself of traditional time values and that the relationship between the *Erzählte Zeit* and the *Erzählzeit* (i.e. the *time of history* and the *time of the story*<sup>12</sup>) is the sole aspect worth examining. In fact, as far as methodology is concerned, neither historiography nor novel is, in terms of narrative time analysis, contingent on whether an event has or has not taken place in reality.

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<sup>11</sup> Momigliano, 1974.

<sup>12</sup> See Müller, 1948.

Unlike a novel, an historical sequence of events may be recounted and patterned in very different manners, by discrete historiographers, according to each author's style and inclination. From this we can infer that, while the *Erzählte Zeit* is a constant on which we can safely rely as real time, the *time of the story* varies not only according to each narrator's inclination but also both to the legacy of his predecessors (regarding the same vicissitudes) and to the contemporary literary and historical view he reflects.

If we view the narrated time in mathematical terms, in a novel we could simply find the variable of the author's will; on the other hand, in the function representing the historical narration, we could find three variables which are consistent with (1) the writer's need – which affects the order or the duration due to several and disparate factors, such as political thought, aesthetics etc. –, (2) previous authors' legacy, and (3) the literature of his time.

Therefore, the goals of manipulation in ancient historiography, in terms both of narrative order and literary time, must not be attributed merely to the writer's creative mind. This is the very difference between applying modern literary theory rules to today's novel and to ancient literature, especially historiography. For instance (and we shall see this in further detail), when Livy utilised Polybius as a source for his *Ab Vrbe Condita*, he hosted in his work not only the information regarding the events he reported, but also some features strictly connected to Polybius text. For instance – as it is the case for book 29 – there is a gap in the events as reported by Polybius, which Livy filled thus

producing a slowing down effect in the main narration along with an evenemential tendency<sup>13</sup>.

Additionally, the questions we posed at the outset are also the reasons why Genette's categories are insufficient for our purposes and, sometimes, even unreliable; but we shall discuss this below.

This approach and methodology could be challenged as excessively simplistic. In fact, one could contend that also a fictional narration could be influenced by several rewritings, as it is the case for the more complex relationship (vastly discussed by an abundance of papers and books) between mythology and Greek tragedy<sup>14</sup>. We could dwell on unending debates discussing how, given the feature of time unity in the Ancient Theatre, the events are differently ordered and the vicissitudes are manipulated, from the myth contained in the Agamemnon's *Nόστος* and to the *Oresteia*, the *Electra* and the *Orestes*. But would this exercise ultimately yield any benefit to our purpose? Probably not, and it would most likely prove to be an utterly unfruitful waste of time, given the fact that we are focusing on historiography and that all features related to the other genres pursued by ancient authors are of neither any practical use nor relevant to our work. Thus, such objections are inexorably bound to fail.

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<sup>13</sup> Pianezzola, 1969.

<sup>14</sup> The debate is more than well known and popular among classical scholars, but it is definitely not worth focusing on it, here. However, for further information, if required, we may find an unparalleled and valiant contribution in Vernant's and Vidal-Naquet's *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1972.

However, now we must reconsider our claim that, when not applicable, we should endeavour to exceed the definitions provided by Genette in order to adjust his work (in matters of order and duration) to make it suitable, wherever possible, to ancient narrative technique.

Below is a first example, a passage from Sallust<sup>15</sup>:

Sed ipse paucos dies conmoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum uicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae conperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostit iudicat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile uisum est. Quoi quom ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque diuitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen ciues qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta uis morbi atque uti tabes plerosque ciuium animos inuaserat. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat qui conscii coniurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes nouarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo uidebatur facere. Nam semper in ciuitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis inuidet, malos extollunt, uetera odere, noua exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno.

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<sup>15</sup> *Cons. Cat.* XXXVI-XXXVII.



Sed urbana plebes ea uero praeceps erat de multis causis. Primum omnium qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, in Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae uictoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores uidebant, alios ita diuites ut regio uictu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex uictoria talia sperabat. Praeterea iuuentus quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam tolerauerat, priuatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea quorum uictoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis inminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli euentum expectabant. Ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant conturbari rem publicam quam minus ualere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in ciuitatem reuorterat.

This is undoubtedly a case of *summary* that accelerates the main narration deliberately overlooking a large amount of events, which supposedly occurred in Rome. Primarily, Sallust describes the hostility between the rebels who supported Catiline and the establishment led by the Senate, in Italy; more precisely, Sallust apprises us of an important historical event – that we also encounter in other sources – the Senate sanctioning Catilina *Enemy of the People*. Then, the situation spirals for the worst, and Sallust, before moving back to the pivotal thread, describes in broad strokes a number of vicissitudes that portray the image of Rome of the time.

We are made aware of this fact by Sallust himself, when he says “*ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile uisum est*”: thus, the author summarises the record of the events that aroused in him such disdain, and after sharing a brief moral thought about the situation we are acquainted with the actions carried out by the rebels; then, when chapter XXXVII ends, the narration returns to its previous rhythm.

This is a case that perfectly fits Genette’s literary time category. Remaining with Sallust, the scope of his opus occupied by speeches, like the famous Catiline’s speech to rebel soldiers, must be considered as a dialogical time, where we could reach a hypothetical isochrony. Passages that memorialise speeches are rather frequent in ancient historiography. This practice is common to both Greek and Roman authors, making the claim of such isochrony undoubtedly necessary in order to examine the Livian text.

As far as the *stasis* is concerned, two very frequent cases that are worth analysing more thoroughly are the mythological and descriptive digressions. Regarding the former, it is quite difficult to fit this literary form into a modern frame: in fact, in terms of time, it is a *stasis*. However, we may not rely on Genette’s theories since he claims there is no *stasis* in Proust’s novel. We should bear in mind that such digressions could include by analogy also tales or stories apparently not connected to the narrated time. This is also because the borders

between myth and history, especially relying on historiographers who focus on ancient times, are often blurry. Below is an example found in Thucydides<sup>16</sup>:

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο αὐθις μείζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχητος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι, εἰ δύναιντο, ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πολλῶ τινι ὑποδεεστερον πόλεμον ἀνηροῦντο ἢ τὸν πρὸς Πελοποννησίους. Σικελίας γὰρ περίπλους μὲν ἐστὶν ὀκλάδι οὐ πολλῶ τινι ἔλασσον ἢ ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ τσαύτη οὖσα ἐν εἰκοσισταδίῳ μάλιστα μέτρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἥτιρος εἶναι.

᾿Οικίσθη δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ τσαάδε ἔθνη ἔσχε τὰ ξύμπαντα. παλαιῖτατοι μὲν λέγονται ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες οἰκῆσαι, ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε γένος ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὁπόθεν ἐσηλθον ἢ ὅποι ἀπεχώρησαν· ἀρκείτω δὲ ὡς ποιηταῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός περὶ γινώσκει περὶ αὐτῶν. [...]

Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ᾿ῶκισαν καὶ Απόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμόν, ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν, ἰδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσιν. [...]

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λάμις ἐκ Μεγαίρων ἀποικίαν ἄγων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὑπὲρ Παντακίου τε ποταμοῦ Τρώτιλόν τι ὄνομα χωρίον οἰκίσας καὶ ὕστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίνους ὀλίγον χρόνον ξυμπολιτεύσας καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσῶν καὶ Θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀναστάντες, Ὑβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ παραδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένου, Μεγαρέας ᾿ῶκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους κληθέντας. [...]

Καὶ Ἰμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ᾿ῶκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκωνος, καὶ Χαλκιδῆς μὲν οἱ πλειῖστοι ἦλθον ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν, ξυν᾿ῶκισαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ

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<sup>16</sup> Thuc. VI, 1-6.

Συρακουσῶν φυγάδες στάσει νικηθέντες, οἱ Μυλητίδαι καλούμενοι· καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησεν. [...]

Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων Σικελίαν ᾤκει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσὴνδε οὔσαν αὐτήν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύειν ᾤρημντο, ἐφιέμενοι μὲν τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἅμα εὐπρεπῶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς προγεγεννημένοις ξυμμάχοις. [...]

In the next chapter, Thucydides continues to recount the vicissitudes of the expedition to Sicily. From this passage (which for the simplicity's sake we have shortened in order to give an overview of the topic the author focuses on during his narration) we can infer that Thucydides dwells on some necessary geographical and historical features of Sicily.

In fact, the material presented by the historiographer provides the reader with information about Sicily and its wealthy past, intimately tied to Greek history. This elucidation on the history of Sicily comprises a vast section of book VI, five chapters, in which the main narration is definitely static. We can consider the passage a *stasis* in the main narration: the events narrated by Thucydides cannot be driven into a time space perfectly defined, nor eventually connected to the pivotal narrative thread, they just float through an ahistorical limbo, suspended and not collocated by the writer. These events halt the sequence in the narrative and bring time to a pause.

Remaining on the issue of decreasing the pace of narrative time, we observe that the technique offers a palette of gradually different effects: in fact, a description could not just halt the sequence of events, bringing the rhythm into stillness, but can also be a way to decelerate a constant flowing of facts told by the historiographer. This is the case, for instance, of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. We must not forget that this work is a collection of biographies, and that, despite its foundation as a monograph – as it could be said for Sallust – the fact that they are focused on single lives leads the writer to dwell upon more or less particular details of the protagonist's life, especially naturally slowing down when some precise episodes need to be told and reported. we can quote two paragraphs from *Life of Alexander*<sup>17</sup>, with some highlights that we will explain after the passage:

[...]. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἰταλίαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων, τὴν Φαῦλλον τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὃς περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἰδιόστολον ἔχων ναῦν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοῦ κινδύνου τι μεθέξω. οὕτω τις εὐμενὴς ἦν πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ οἰκεῖος.

Ἐπιὼν δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἅπασαν εὐθύς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τό τε χάσμα τοῦ πυρός ὡσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα λιμνάζοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος, ὃς τᾶλλα μὲν ἀσφάλτω προσέοικεν, οὕτω δὲ εὐπαθὴς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὥστε, πρὶν ἢ θιγεῖν τὴν φλόγα, δι' αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξαπτόμενος ἀνῆλθῆναι τὸν μεταξὺν πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν.

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<sup>17</sup> Plut., *Alex.* XXXIV-XXXV.

ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄγοντα πρὸς τὴν  
κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν· εἶτα στάντες  
ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτήρας τοῖς βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκαν· ἤδη γὰρ συννεσκόταζε. τῶν  
δὲ πρώτων εὐθὺς ἀψαμένων οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ νομὴ χρόνον αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ’ ἅμα νοήματι  
διῆκτο πρὸς θάτερον πέρασ καὶ πῦρ ἐγγεγόνει συνεχὲς ὁ στενωπός. ἦν δέ τις  
Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν περὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν εἰωθότων τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν  
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμμελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ράθυμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι  
τότε παιδαρίον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρεστῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοῖον τὴν ὄψιν.  
ἄδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, «Βούλει,» φησὶν, «ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάπειραν ἐν  
Στεφάνῳ τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἂν γὰρ ἀψηται τούτου καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῆ,  
παντάπασιν ἂν φαίην ἄμαχον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι.»

I presented an example of quite a common practice in Plutarch’s narrative, which perfectly fits our research: the author decelerates and accelerates narrative time. He starts with a normal rhythm (but moving as fast as a summary), regarding the sequence of events that had taken place in the main character’s life, passing through a description, which we can safely deem to be a pause. The description serves as prelude to an episode the historiographer will be recounting at a slower speed, reaching the isochrony with a dialogue or, in the case of the biographer’s practice, a *sententia*. The summary rhythm, as used by the biographer, serves as a *iunctura* between two episodes. Obviously, we should not expect such a complex time composition by an historiographer – this could be the case of Livy, Thucydides, Xenophon, Tacitus, etc. – who handles an enormous period of history, and for whom it would be undoubtedly

unnecessary to address in punctilious detail a precise ἀνέκδοτος in order to build a time system aimed at intensifying the literary effect on the reader. We underlined in three different ways three parts of the passage, to address *summary*, *stasis* and *scene*, respectively. In order to illustrate clearly how the aforementioned categories work in this passage, we used three discrete types of emphasis. The continuous underlining highlights the stillness of the *stasis* (in this case, Plutarch's focusing on a single episode); the shortest strokes emphasise the *summary*, the fastest category; finally, when the episode reaches the *isochrony* in the speeches, there will be longer strokes, in order to highlight a time deceleration.

Incidentally, as we had mentioned earlier, although the category of *ellipse* suits perfectly the needs a modern writer to produce a time jump from one age to the other, it is absolutely absent in historiography. In fact, we can scarcely imagine a historical narration afflicted by such lacunas. From this claim we could safely assume that no historiographer, especially the ancient authors, would deliberately delete a part of their opus affecting the final result of the work.

Finally, to summarise the salient points addressed in this first section, we can say that the three categories suitable for ancient history (without engaging in debates on the fundamental theory of historiography), are *summary*, *stasis* and *scene*. With regard to the *scene*, we observed how it may also concern speeches, which are very common in this ancient genre; with regard to the *stasis*

we can say, by distancing ourselves from Genette's theory, that proper descriptions undoubtedly represent a halt in the flowing of time.

However, there is a brief corollary to the aforementioned questions, which we should not ignore. All of them, in fact, imply a hypothetical narration in which events are told in a linear order. But this, as one may easily surmise, is impossible for both the novelist and the historiographer. Inserting an episode temporally antecedent to the main story can stop its time flowing regardless of the scope of the episode and the time rhythm in which it is divided. For instance, focusing on history writing, if an author needs to add a digression in the main narration – which follows the rhythm of a summary or a scene – in any case he will halt the main narration and its time bringing its stream of events to a pause. A valuable example of this exception is the category of the descriptive digressions provided by the passage of Thucydides shown above. The historiographer in his digression (addressing the historical settlement of Sicily) provides also the description of events that are not intentionally still, but nevertheless halt, as we have already said in that paragraph, the main narration. Accordingly, we may claim that the digression, or any addition to the normal sequence of the events of the same time value, pertain to the descriptive stasis, regardless of the events reported and their rhythm.

Now we turn our attention to Livy, beginning with the definition of annalistic history in order to define the normal flow of time in his work.



A characteristic trait of annalistic writing is that the main narration, beyond the peculiarities we may encounter examining disparate authors in Latin literature, is speed of *summary*. In fact, according to the theoretical foundations of the very genre, the sequence of events comprising a given year must be reported in its entirety, thus producing a summary trend. Furthermore, this feature is never affected by the author's thought. In fact, even if an author may have selected some events to be reported in his work instead of others, this fact does not produce any variation on the summarisation or on the style. As a result, consequently, we would have a summary with lesser amount of vicissitudes, but a summary, nonetheless.

We could reasonably claim that a novel is primarily structured as a sequence of episodes, each focusing on a particular action or occurrence, involving the characters, that have in fact the prevalent rhythm suitable to be considered an accumulation of scenes connected with summaries and, sometimes, stasis and ellipses, moving swiftly from a fairly normal time to a faster one. However, we could also claim that ancient annalistic historiography is organised to flow at the speed of a summary, halted in some passages with descriptive pauses, and, sometimes scenes, (we shall see this in the next chapter), approaching a crucial event which may be represented, for instance, by an important speech, as it is reflected in several of Livy's passages, and in Tacitus, as in the passage reported below<sup>18</sup>:

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<sup>18</sup> Tac. *Ann.* XI, 23-25.

A. Vitellio L. Vipstano consulibus cum de supplendo senatu agitaretur primoresque Galliae, quae Comata appellatur, foedera et ciuitatem Romanam pridem adsecuti ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent, multus ea super re variusque rumor. Et studiis diuersis apud principem certabatur, adseuerantium non adeo aegram Italiam, ut senatum suppeditare urbi suae nequiret. Suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis. Nec paenitere ueteris rei publicae. Quin adhuc memorari exempla, quae priscis moribus ad uirtutem et gloriam Romana indoles prodiderit. An parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruperint, nisi coetu alienigenarum uelut captiuitas inferatur? Quem ultra honorem residuis nobilium, aut si quis pauper e Latio senator foret? Opleturos omnia diuites illos, quorum aui proauisque hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro uique cederint, qui Capitolio et arce Romana manibus deorum deripere conati sint? Fruerentur sane uocabulo ciuitatis: insignia patrum, decora magistratum ne uulgarent.

His atque talibus haud permotus princeps et statim contra disseruit et uocato senatu ita exorsus est: «Maiores mei, quorum antiquissimus Clausus origine Sabina simul in ciuitatem Romanam et in familias patriciorum adscitus est, hortantur uti paribus consiliis in re publica capessenda, transferendo huc quod usquam egregium fuerit. Neque enim ignoro Iulios Alba, Coruncanios Camerio, Porcios Tusculo, et ne uetera scrutemur, Etruria Lucaniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos, postremo ipsam ad Alpem promotam ut non modo singuli uiritim, sed terrae, gentes in nomen nostrum coalescerent. tunc solida domi quies et aduersos externa floruimus, cum Transpadani in ciuitatem recepti, cum specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis prouincialium ualidissimis fesso imperio subuentum est. Num paenitet Balbos ex Hispania nec minus insignis uiros e Gallia Narbonensi transiisse? Manent posterum eorum nec amore in hanc patriam nobis concedunt. Quid aliud exitio Lacedaemoniis et

Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod uictos pro alienigenis arcebant?  
At conditor nostri Romulus tantum sapientia ualuit ut plerosque populos eodem die  
hostis, dein ciuis habuerit. aduenae in nos regnauerunt: libertinorum filiis magistratus  
mandare non, ut plerique falluntur, repens, sed priori populo factitatum est. at cum  
Senonibus pugnauimus: scilicet Vulcsi et Aequi numquam aduersam nobis aciem  
instruxere. Capti a Gallis sumus: sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus et Samnitium iugum  
subiimus. ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas nullum breuiore spatio quam aduersus  
Gallos confectum: continua inde ac fida pax. Iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus nostris  
mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separati habeant. Omnia, patres  
conscripti, quae nunc uetustissima creduntur, noua fuere: plebei magistratus post  
patricos, Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. inueterascet hoc  
quoque, et quod hodie exemplis tuemur, inter exempla erit».

Orationem principis secuto patrum consulto primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius  
adepti sunt. Datum id foederi antiquo et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum  
populo Romano usurpant.

As we can see, Tacitus summarises at the end of chapter 23 the major theses regarding the possibility that Gauls may hold positions of responsibility in Rome. With this, the author maintains the original rhythm of his work, choosing a fast speed to later decelerate to focus on Claudius' speech.

Now, as far as Livy is concerned, we can focus on his narrative technique in terms of rhythm. In fact, while Livy's general style is definitely annalistic, we have to focus on some particular feature that renders book 29 quite different from others of that decade, which we will address in the next chapter.



## 2. The Climax of Book 29

About the structure of the penultimate book of the third decade, as Hoffmann puts it<sup>19</sup>: “XXIX aber endigt als einziges Buch der dritten Dekade ohne bedeutsames Ereignis”. The statement is reiterated by Levene in his *Livy on the Hannibalic War*, who adds<sup>20</sup>, “this is the shortest book in the decade”.

We should underline how the issue every scholar faces when reading such a book is the ostensible absence of a dramatic climax which, as we shall see, appears, relying on Levene, to be substituted by two long digressions, one addressing the question of Locri and the other the story of Masinissa’s life. The climax is the ever-present element in all books of the third decade and always represented by an important military event. Levene suggests<sup>21</sup> that this occurs because of the insufficiency of material “out of which to form a significant climax”. In this regard, it is our position that, notwithstanding such a lack of material, Livy managed to imbue this book with quite a climactic narration, although it may not be as dramatic as it would be in books which present a climax represented by an event of military nature. And this will serve as the subject of our work in this chapter.

The book narrates the events that took place in the years 205-204. More specifically, the narration does not start from the beginning of the year 205; the

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<sup>19</sup> Hoffmann, 1942: 9.

<sup>20</sup> Levene, 2010: 30.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

earlier events – such as the appointment of Scipio as consul, the Senate’s request of permission to launch the Africa campaign or Mago’s military operations in Liguria – are reported in the last eight chapters of book 28. It is interesting to observe how, compared with other books of the decade, which encompass three years of war, this book solely narrates one whole year out of the two, in thirty-eight chapters. This characteristic is not unusual in Livy’s narration. We should emphasise, for instance, the long matter of book 21 that covers exclusively the year 218, in sixty-three chapters. Here, however, the principal narration of the Second Punic War benefits from a devoted elucidation on the events, without any digression or decrease in the pace of the narrative. On the other hand, the narration of book 29 – as we shall discuss – is astonishingly static, due especially to the fact that the main sequence of the events is choked between the two ample digressions<sup>22</sup>.

In order to clarify this, we should draw a comparison between the structures of books 29 and book 22 of the third Decade. More precisely, book 22 represents the most exemplary section of Livy’s decade in terms of climax development and employment of literary devices devoted to heightening the sense of expectation<sup>23</sup> – but we shall discuss such a feature more in depth below, after a brief summary of the events taking place in books 22 and 29. The following table, that relies on Levene’s analysis in discussing the sequence of

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<sup>22</sup> About the aims of Livy’s historical narration in terms of book division, see Lipovsky (1981) and Soltau (1897).

<sup>23</sup> On the structure of Livy’s books, fundamental and unparalleled contributions have been provided in the last eighty years by Levene (2010), Luce (1977), Wille (1973), Burk (1962), Hoffmann (1942).

the events, and their related order<sup>24</sup>, is useful to introduce the issues regarding the composition of the decade and the distribution of the Livian matter:

Book	Date	Paragraph	Event(s)
<b>XXII</b>	<b>217 BC</b>	<b>1.1-7.5</b>	New year. Hannibal traps Flaminius Lake Trasimenus, kills him and destroys his army.
		<b>7.6-11.9</b>	Fabius Maximus chosen as dictator, with Marcus Minucius as his deputy.
		<b>12-18</b>	Fabius, despite the opposition of Minucius, campaigns against Hannibal by refusing to engage him in battle while

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<sup>24</sup> Levene, 2010: 6.

			circumscribing his movements.
		<b>19-22</b>	Further campaigns in Spain.
		<b>23-30</b>	Minucius gets the better of Hannibal in Fabius' absence; as a result the Romans give him equal command with Fabius. Hannibal then traps Minucius, who is only rescued by Fabius' last-minute intervention.
		<b>31</b>	Servilius raids Africa.
	<b>216 BC</b>	<b>32-39</b>	End of the year and new year. Terentius Varro is chosen as consul in a



			contentious election, despite Fabius' fears.
		<b>40<sup>25</sup>-54.6</b>	Hannibal traps Varro and massacres the Roman armies at Cannae, killing the other consul, Aemilius Paullus.
		<b>54.7-61</b>	A state of emergency is declared at Rome. Hannibal offers to return Roman prisoners for a ransom: after a debate the Senate refuses.
<b>XXIX</b>	<b>205 BC</b>	<b>1-5</b>	Scipio in Sicily prepares to invade Africa, and sends a

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<sup>25</sup> Contradicting what Levene presents in his division of the episodes (2010: 6), we prefer to include chapter 40 in the narration of the battle of Cannae, telling, in fact, the arrival of the consuls at the encampment and the first conflicts, prior events of the great battle.

			<p>preliminary raiding party under Laelius.</p> <p>Meanwhile a revolt in Spain is swiftly repressed by Rome.</p>
		<b>6-9</b>	<p>The Romans retake Locri; Hannibal retreats before Scipio. In Locri Scipio leaves his lieutenant Pleminius in charge, who treats the inhabitants brutally.</p>
		<b>10-11</b>	<p>End of year.</p>
		<b>12</b>	<p>A peace treaty is agreed with Philip, ending the Macedonian War.</p>
	<b>204 BC</b>	<b>13-22</b>	<p>New year. Locrian envoys appeal to the</p>

			Senate who send a commission which deposes Pleminius from his command, but clears Scipio of wrongdoing.
		<b>23-27</b>	Syphax betrays Rome to the Carthaginians. Scipio launches his invasion of Africa.
		<b>28-35</b>	Scipio in Africa is joined by Masinissa <sup>26</sup> .
		<b>26</b>	Sempronius defeats Hannibal in Italy.
		<b>37-38</b>	Censorship of Livius and Claudius. End of year.

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<sup>26</sup> Chapters 29-33 are occupied by the digression regarding the story of Masinissa's life.

As we briefly discussed above, the need to compare book 29 with book 22 derives from the structure of the latter which we can deem to serve as an exemplary section of Livian decade for both writing practices and literary rhythm. In fact, while Livy employs the figure of climax in every book of the third decade, except for apparently in the 29, book 22 represents, due to its dramatic spirit (who could imagine a more tragic episode than the Roman defeat at Cannae?<sup>27</sup>) the most valuable part of Livy's decade, where we can identify the climactic structure and, consequently, the most appropriate to augment our research<sup>28</sup>.

Thus, beginning with book 22, we can outline the main features of rhythm and speed employed by Livy to reach gradatim the climax – in this case represented by the battle of Cannae – analysing some passages thereof<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, henceforth, for simplicity's sake, all the passages quoted in the footnotes will be reported entirely in the appendix.

The episode of the battle of Cannae is ushered by an ample sequence of events, which anticipate a grandiose and crucial occurrence. The summary does not serve solely as a normal listing of the vicissitudes, as we have already appreciated in the introductory chapter, but it also assumes the role of an inauspicious *enumeratio* of events, which exacerbate the situation<sup>30</sup>. If we

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Daly, 2002.

<sup>28</sup> There is a large amount of scholarship in matter of book structure, especially addressing the composition of poetry, for the meaning of the structure in Republican poetic contexts cf. Conte (1992).

<sup>29</sup> Liv. XXII 32-34.

<sup>30</sup> With regard to style and tone of dramatic events in Livy, we recommend Oakley (1997) and Walsh (1961), which always represent unparalleled introductions to Livy's work.

consider, for instance, what Livy says in the first chapter – the fact that Hannibal, stressed by the lack of victuals, would have been compelled to flee to Gaul, if the war strategy carried out by the Romans would have continued in terms of *guerrilla* – we are led to expect the book to reach a turning point, shortly thereafter. Paragraph 33, which we omitted, reports the punishment of a Carthaginian spy and some issues of foreign policy. These events are bound to portray an utterly unstable situation. The harsh contest, already started at 22.33, is then thoroughly reported in the following chapters, relating to the elections for the consulship won by Varro and Aemilius Paullus. Narrative time begins to slow down at chapter 36-37, where Livy describes the enhancement of the Roman army and the arrival of an embassy sent by Hiero of Syracuse, offering donations and the suggestion to move the war from Italy to Africa, in order to hinder the Carthaginians procurements.

Paragraphs 38 and 39 are devoted to the description of the consuls' speeches and the proper exhortation of Fabius Maximus<sup>31</sup>.

As we can see from the passage in the appendix, two different rhythms are employed in these two chapters; the same matter, in fact, is manipulated in order to slow down and, consequently, dwell upon the most important speech, i.e. Fabius Maximus' exhortation. In fact, his speech foreshadows, in a desperate plea, the bloody and hard defeat the Romans will suffer in a few chapters. Additionally, given the reader's awareness of the forthcoming events, it

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<sup>31</sup> Liv. XXII 38-39.

contributes to the spiralling drama, which is maintained steadily and breathtakingly through the bitter end, of the battle of Cannae.

With regard to rhythm, the following chapters, focusing on the preparation of the battle and the battle itself, present a list of events that took place in a very short time interval, of a few days, regarding the military operations by both the Roman army led by consuls Varro and Paullus, and the Carthaginians. The description of the actions is efficaciously meticulous and Livy dwells upon every detail that may captivate the reader. In fact, the battle is impending, and the historiographer lists a huge quantity of events, thus *stressing* time. We are not dealing with a normal summary dedicated to recounting the ordinary vicissitudes of the main narration; this is the prelude to the climax which is represented unquestionably by the battle of Cannae, due to both its military nature and the large number of chapters devoted to the nucleus of this narrative in Livy's book 22<sup>32</sup>.

To summarise the large amount of notions provided in the last chapters and paragraph we should focus more in depth on the concept of *time stress* and provide a brief elucidation<sup>33</sup>. In fact, we can find two completely different types of time manipulation: one devoted either to accelerating or decelerating the rhythm of each episode, affecting consequently the *Erzählzeit*<sup>34</sup>, the other,

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<sup>32</sup> Levene, 2010: 2-81, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> In fact, if Genette (1972) results undoubtedly valiant in terms of rhythm manipulation, as already broadly discussed in the premiss, it is noticeable that his arguments are not sufficient in order to investigate the effects of manipulation in the historical works if we need to examine the relationship between story time (*Erzählzeit*) and time of history (*Erzählte Zeit*).

<sup>34</sup> Müller, 1948.

influencing the whole of the narration, aimed to manage the general matter of the Punic War. We could say, to be more precise, that the latter is strictly connected with the *Erzählte Zeit*, by leading the author to either enlarge or shorten the sections of his work in accordance with the importance of what he is recounting. Thus, certain groups of paragraphs may appear solely devoted to narrating a precise event, which might encompass a large part of the narration contained in a book, as it is the case for book 22. Henceforth, we shall call the process of manipulating the length of History time according to author's literary need *time stress*.

Returning to book 22, the description starts at chapter 40, with the arrival of the consuls at the military encampment, and continues until chapter 43 narrating the first war action and conflicts which took place between the Roman army and the Carthaginians <sup>35</sup>.

As we can observe, the fast rhythm notwithstanding, Livy draws our attention on the war actions. We could safely infer that, comparing this summary with the summary of chapter 38, beyond the similarity in terms of speed, the list of the events presented in chapters 40-41 contributes to create, as it focuses on a precise and short time interval, an overall deceleration of the narration. We shall outline this feature in the forthcoming paragraphs.

However, it is important to observe how Livy continues to slow down the rhythm of his discourse.

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<sup>35</sup> Liv. XXII 40-41.

Once the two consuls arrive in Cannae, a harsh contention arises <sup>36</sup>.

The arrival at Cannae predicts the imminent massacre, and the employment of the *oratio obliqua* – to report the contention between the consuls – represents an attempt to recount the speeches without compromising the overall swift speed of narration<sup>37</sup>. In fact, time is decelerated by dwelling on a dispute that conveys the two commanders' inability to collaborate. However, by utilising a direct speech, Livy would have excessively slowed down the rhythm for his purpose, distracting the reader into giving greater importance to this episode than to the battle itself. This would have upset the equilibrium of narration. The rhythm is bound to slow down further until reaching a pause in the next chapter, in which the description solely concerns the Carthaginian army without reporting any event <sup>38</sup>.

The climax reaches its peak in chapters 47 and 49. In fact, the description of the battle assumes a frenetic rhythm. It begins with the ablative absolute *clamore sublato*, that iconically represents the starting signal of the fight<sup>39</sup>, and ends with Paullus' death, the most dramatic event of the book<sup>40</sup> deserving a special finale, thus slowing down in order to overdramatise the episode in its conclusion:

Now we should outline the characteristics of Livy's climax based on the elements that we have discussed. The pivotal trait of this figure is that it is

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<sup>36</sup> Liv. XXII 44-45.

<sup>37</sup> Luce (1993), Gries (1949).

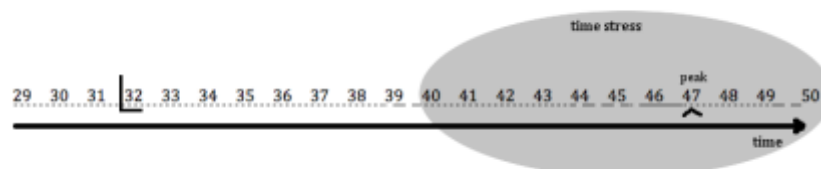
<sup>38</sup> Liv. XXII 46.

<sup>39</sup> Erdkamp, 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Liv. XXII 47-49.



always shaped by one, single episode, which is generally and – we must say – ostensibly characterised by military nature; Says Levene<sup>41</sup>: “the existence of a climax as a conclusion to a central narrative movement in the book is one of the main things that identifies a central narrative movement in the first place. It may well be partly for this reason that, although Livy allows a significant variety of devices to provide balance and symmetry in his Hannibalic War books, the creation of a final climax is common to (almost) all of them: in this way books receive a distinct narrative identity.” However, if for our purpose we rely on Levene’s statement, the question would rise spontaneously, how is time employed in this narrative process? As we anticipated in the preceding few paragraphs, there are two utterly different summaries that act with differing times maintaining the same rhythm value. Therefore, we must assume in this regard that time is stressed into a short lapse, measured as a few days in relation to the entirety of the narration; it is helpful to draw a diagram in order to plot these data, and we could illustrate the narration, for simplicity’s sake, as follows <sup>42</sup>:



<sup>41</sup> Levene, 2010: 30.

<sup>42</sup> Numbers refer to chapters.

The diagram attempts to offer an overall view of the managing of time in book 22. As we can see, the time-stress area encompasses a vast extent of year 216, which begins with chapter 32. Relying on the table above, we can see that the narration involving the events of Cannae (40-54), excluding preceding circumstances and consequences, occupies fourteen chapters out of twenty-nine. These fourteen chapters represent the *time-stress area*. The time of the story is stressed and therefore it is possible to narrate more extensively the events regarding Cannae; Livy creates another story inside the story, covering only a few days with a large number of chapters and a thorough description. The aim of this Livian narration practice (relying especially on Levene's view, we quoted above) is to characterise every book so to shape the substance of his history into a well-modelled architecture. Without stressing time, maintaining the same rhythm and the same amount of literary product in relation to history matter, the books of Livy would have been just the result of a bare annalistic creation, a simple and unadorned report. We can safely claim that time manipulation, as it goes for style and rhetoric, is another dominant element through which Livy responds to the literary requirements of the ancient genre history<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> See Oakley (1997) and Walsh (1961).

Hence, Climax is characterisation, a peculiar identity obtained by stressing time and by creating a moment in which time has a superior binding value, devoted to enhancing the dramatic traits of the events leading to a peak.

With regard to climax, or the absence thereof, in book 29, is it possible to identify any episode that acts as such? The principal thread of Livy's historical narration is developed in chapters 1, 6-7, 13-15, 23-28, 34-38. The remaining chapters are employed to tell the events of the sedition in Spain (2-3), the dialogue of Masinissa with Laelius (4), military actions of Mago in Italy (5), the episodes concerning Locri and the lieutenant in charge, Pleminius (8-10; 16-22), affairs in Greece and the end of Macedonian War (11-12) and an external analepsis concerning the story of Masinissa's life (29-33). As this list proves, the subject matter indulges a wide detailed account of secondary plots. One may legitimately doubt that from such an unbalanced (and anomalous) structure either the book has sufficient room to accommodate a climax or the main narration has the potential to be emotionally charged or noteworthy.

Levene suggests<sup>44</sup> that in lieu of a climactic peak, in book 29 we find the episode of Masinissa's story, which Livy uses to attribute less importance to the two roman victories against Hanno, brother of Hannibal (29.34) and Hannibal himself, whom had been defeated by Sempronius Tuditanus (29.36.8-9). In fact, highlighting these two episodes in this book "would have meant magnifying a victory by Scipio over a minor and anonymous commander (this is Hanno's

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<sup>44</sup> Levene, 2010: 30 and 32.

first and last appearance in the war) or else a success by the otherwise unimportant Tuditanus". Relying on the critical literature one might assume that there is no climax in this book, but the absence of such a feature does not mean that this section of the Livy's history is not built in a different climactic fashion. If it is definitely true that we cannot find any remarkable military episode, the climax can also be represented by any other pivotal event in the narrative, and it seems, in this regard, quite odd that the episode of the crossing of the Mediterranean Sea has been so overlooked.

This episode covers an ample portion of the text (chapters 24-27); the first three chapters recount the preparation of the departure; in 26-27 we can find the great and epic preamble to the departure of the troops and the powerful and Scipio's impressive invocation of gods that precedes a proper description of the crossing itself. In fact, if we assume that the subject of book 29 is the invasion of Africa, which is anticipated by a lengthy list of events that occurred in the South of Italy, the departure must undoubtedly be deemed to serve as the engine moving the narration or, as we surmise, its climax.

We should now analyse in depth the elements that turn the chapter concerning the departure into a *culmen* of the whole narration, starting from the preparation of the departure<sup>45</sup>.

As we can see, the chapters developing the climactic growth of the events in book 22, restore to the main theme of the narration. With regard to chapter 24,

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<sup>45</sup> Liv. XXIX 24.

we should observe how this section is preceded by a critical event, the betrayal of Syphax, a fact that will kindle in Scipio a profound concern, which is emphasised at the beginning of the chapter. This incident ushers the narration into the time stress area and focuses meticulously on the details of the departure, breaking the narrative stasis which had dwelled on the image of Scipio's army as viewed by the Senate's commission (22). At the same time, Scipio's preoccupation and determination weigh heavily on chapter 24 and shape his quick decision to leave. Except for a brief description of the situation, the rhythm is a steadily summary of the events regarding the preparation of the expedition. Scipio's concern touches the reader and arouses expectations. We should now read the relevant passages in the appendix<sup>46</sup>.

In order to illustrate the great departure as a dramatic peak Livy employs (contrary to what he had utilised to achieve the climax in book 22) the description of an interval to create a pause in the sequence of events<sup>47</sup>, devoting more attention to emphasise human emotions and actions in a military manoeuvre. As briefly anticipated above, we cannot deny the existence of time stressing, that is used in order to reaching a climax (to be precise, book 29 presents more than one such time stress, but we will further address this in the forthcoming chapters). In fact, this stress is likely due to the absence of historical material<sup>48</sup> and dwells instead upon the grand and legendary

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<sup>46</sup> Liv. XXIX 25-27.

<sup>47</sup> This technique is accounted by Genette (1972), while discussing the effects of the digressions.

<sup>48</sup> Levene, 2010: 30.

description of the Roman fleet and Scipio's activities that lead to his plea to the gods. However, it follows, as it had been the case for the time stress in book 22, the attention given to a specific event, the departure from Sicily.

Furthermore, it is remarkable how beginning with chapter 25 the writing becomes suddenly epic in terms of style, and it highlights the magnificence and greatness of the departure. This is, after all, the end of the war, or to be more precise, the beginning of its end. We can pinpoint several traits of the epic speech<sup>49</sup>: the employment of literary devices such as the polyptoton *bellum bello secundum priori* which portrays the Romans' sense of insecurity about their future. In his unparalleled challenge, Scipio assumes a heroic stature; he is charged with the responsibility of ending the war.

We can safely assume that these events represent the very climax of the book. It begins with Scipio's preparation in Sicily, and the vicissitudes connected with it, and leads to the great departure of the Roman fleet, which is a grand and poetic agent precipitating the subsequent events.

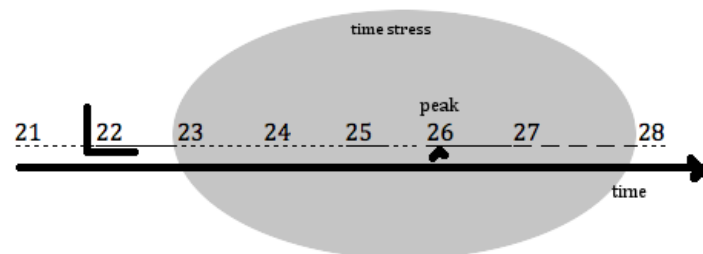
The most dramatic and emotional (if we may so describe it) part of this episode lies undoubtedly in the invocation of Scipio, which concludes the climax (29.27), easily comparable with Paullus' last words (22.49). The invocation carries on the same epic tone we found in the preceding chapter, revealing an accumulation of figures of speech. We can find, beyond the employment of the alliterations (e.g. *Diui Diuaeque*), a strong usage of the *figura*

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<sup>49</sup> With regard to epic speech in Livy, it is appropriate to acknowledge a large debt to Oackley (1997: 5-12) and Walsh (1961: 219-244).

*etymologica*, which persistently infuses the dramatic power of this speech (*gesta sunt, geruntur, postque gerentur; uictis perduellibus, uictores, spoliis decoratos*) culminating in a great chiasmic figure that permeates the last sentence of the invocation: *quaeque populus carthaginensis (A) in ciuitatem nostram (B) *facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque romano (B) in ciuitatem Carthaginensium (A) *exempla edendi facultatem detis*. After the grand departure, we find the story of Masinissa and the report of the Roman successes in Africa, which effortlessly lead to the new *scaena* of the narration, the last one that will find its realisation in book 30.**

As for book 22, we offer another diagram aimed to recognise the time stress in book 29:



Finally, we should anticipate another question; the answer, even if quite summarised here, will be more adequately provided in the forthcoming chapters: given the anomalous structure of book 29, and its strong thematic and narrative affinity with book 30, can we combine them into a sole, great and long narrative of the end of the third decade? In fact, while all will agree that the

invasion of Africa is the final act of the Hannibalic war, is the strong relation between books 29 and 30 sufficient to allow us to treat and read them jointly? Probably not yet, but we can find many a compelling reason to refute certain positions held by previous literature.

Since the early critical literature<sup>50</sup>, it seemed reasonable to group the last two books together. This view was later supported by Burk<sup>51</sup> and Wille<sup>52</sup>. The former particularly suggests that the invasion of Africa is comparable to the successes of Carthage that we can find in books 21-22. However, as Levene masterfully rebuts<sup>53</sup>, this coupling “appears superficially more attractive [...] and once again its themes might appear to link it as much to its predecessor as to its successor, since Scipio does not invade Africa until more than halfway through the book”. Furthermore, Levene claims<sup>54</sup> that, “perhaps there are no patterns to be discovered at all, except within the fantasies of overinterpreting scholars. Is there any reason to suggest that some apparent parallels should count for more than others?”

On the one hand, it is clearly proven that the patterns that all scholars or literary theorists believed to have recognised are mostly unreliable; however, on the other hand, we cannot be equally negative regarding the grouping of 29 and 30. For now we will only provide evidence concerning the affinity of

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<sup>50</sup> Hoffmann, 1942: *passim*.

<sup>51</sup> Burk, 1962: 12.

<sup>52</sup> Wille, 1973: 49-50.

<sup>53</sup> Levene, 2010: 21.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*.



matter, while in the forthcoming chapters we will address issues relating to literary time.

It is definitely helpful to consider the invasion of Africa as the story arc (to utilise a modern storytelling expression), which concludes Livy's narration of the Second Punic War. This is not a negligible element at all, because it highlights a unity in terms of affinity of subject matter that most of the past scholars seem to have overlooked. Concurring with Levene's rebuttal, it is incontrovertibly true that the proper act of invasion takes place in the second half of the book. However, it is also important to bear in mind that the invasion starts from the arrival of Scipio in Sicily and the preparation of the troops. *A fortiori*, we must add that the decision to start the campaign, and turn around the trend of the war, is the element that clearly separates the end of book 28 from the beginning of 29. Livy wants us to look beyond the general structure of the decade and elects the penultimate book – regarding the Hannibalic War – to be the prelude to the great roman victory. Finally, we should not ignore that, although the pages by Levene on this topic are absolutely reliable and outstanding, there can be a lot of hidden patterns that are yet to be discovered. The unity of the subject matter may solely apply to the first of such patterns, but there are definitely many more connecting ones. We shall see, for example, how the narrative duration of these two books is coherent with a wide narration that encompasses both.



### 3. Unifying elements between books 29-30

Now we should turn our attention to those literary traits that contribute to rendering book 29 and book 30 a unique narration of the end of the Second Punic War, by identifying which elements characterise the final section of Livy's third decade.

In this regard, we recognised two pivotal features that define a clear break between the unity of the last two books of the decade and the previous ones, i.e. the significance of the *incipit* along with general structure, and the role assigned to Scipio and Hannibal in said last two books, which leads the narration to an elementary but efficacious scheme of dialectical hero-antagonist. On the one hand this dialectic diminishes the complexity of the Livian narration<sup>55</sup>, on the other hand, it facilitates a deeper emphasis on the vicissitudes related to the end of the war, which affect even the literary time flowing.

We shall start by examining the importance of Livy's *incipit*. Unlike the rather broad scholarly work on the subject, we focus on how the *incipit* becomes an unrenounceable device in order to justify the grouping of the last two books, which is employed by Livy to mark a break between the antecedent narration and the report of the African expedition.

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<sup>55</sup> Levene, 2010: chapter 3: *passim*.

In fact, while the end of book 28 – after the report of the war actions conducted by Mago – recounts new military and political commissions, the subsequent book (29.1.1) begins by introducing the place where the majority of the events described in this section of the decade took place, namely Sicily, and more generally the South of Italy. We report the whole chapter in the appendix<sup>56</sup>.

This first sentence denotes more than simple geographic information: Livy opens the penultimate section of the decade, as one would draw curtains, to show a *scaena*. This theatrical element becomes increasingly pervasive when we appreciate that, from this point onward, the events told in the book (save for chapters 11-12, regarding affairs in Greece, and four chapters dedicated to the new assignments decided in Rome) follow the movements of Scipio, now the main character in the narration. The focus on Scipio, as we shall see, also affects the digressions – until the end of the war after the Roman victory at Zama in book 30. In fact, at this juncture, the war will be viewed as the conflict between Scipio and Hannibal.

As we can observe, Scipio is the only emerging character of this chapter, all the actions belong to him and are devoted to preparing the Roman army to the invasion of Africa. Furthermore, the passage finds room for a brief speech<sup>57</sup> in which Scipio, addressing a hesitant prospective soldier, displays his

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<sup>56</sup> Liv. XXIX 1.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Luce, 1993.

magnanimity and leniency<sup>58</sup> indulging him by providing a substitute in the army. We think that we may conjecture that this passage aims to remind the reader of the good virtues that characterise Scipio. It is important to remark that, if on the one hand it would have been superfluous for Livy to treat Scipio as an unknown person providing an in-depth description, the author, dwelling upon his description in book 26<sup>59</sup>, and recounting this episode, is concerned on the other hand with providing the reader with a literary profile of the Roman commander. Scipio ought to be described since he is the protagonist of the end of the war in terms of literary speech; Livy is not preoccupied with his readers' knowledge in matter of commanders' biographies, whether they be popular or not, as it is the case of many less famous generals from both the Roman and the Carthaginian armies, for whom no description at all is given. In fact, it is important to add that the characters are in general stereotypes of overall features related to the art of war. In this regard, Catin highlighted and outlined the chief antithesis that affects Livian commanders, dividing them into two fundamental categories, i.e. the cautious and the rushed commanders<sup>60</sup>. This deficiency in Livy's narration leaves his characters undeveloped and flat in terms of psychological and emotional depth<sup>61</sup>. Accordingly, given these features, "the number of individuals who are clearly *sui generis* is small"<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> In matter of Roman virtues in Livy, see Moore, 1986: *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Liv. XXVI 19.

<sup>60</sup> Catin, 1944: 42.53.

<sup>61</sup> Levene, 2010: 165.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*.

This is very interesting in terms of characterisation of people in Livy's history. The commanders evoked in the narration that precedes books 29 and 30 were portrayed as plain and often belonging to either of the aforementioned categories of rushed and cautious – save for some exception, as it is the case for Fabius Maximus, who has, after all, a leading role in the development of the Livian narration thread, or other exceptional characters. However, if we examined more in depth all the Livy's characters, comparing them with either Scipio, as far as the Roman commanders are concerned, or Hannibal, as regards the Carthaginian, we are cajoled to deem them to be unparalleled in terms of profoundness and psychological development.

However, we should now move back to the value of the *incipit*; in the appendix, we present the beginning of each book of the third decade. We excluded from this list the openings of book 21 (which provides a general preamble to the second Punic war) and book 30 (which is strictly connected to the end of book 29), but we will discuss this in a few chapters<sup>63</sup>.

The first remarkable element is that none of these *incipit* shares the traits presented by the beginning of chapter 29. In fact, even if a starting chapter appears to focus on a particular character, as it is the case for the *incipit* of book 22, it immediately changes its attention. We can safely assume that this is done in order to render the narration fluency more dynamic, thus attempting to offer a steady synoptic view of the conflicting sides.

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<sup>63</sup> The chapters reported in the appendix are the *incipit* of books XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII and XXVIII, respectively.

We can quite clearly trace this by examining the beginning of book 22, as discussed above.

In fact, the focus of this opening chapter lies essentially in the celebration of the New Year<sup>64</sup>, recounting the appointment of the new consuls along with several prodigies<sup>65</sup>. However, the entirety of this narration is reported in the second paragraph, while the chapter makes room in the first paragraph to accommodate Hannibal's attempt to cross the Appennine Mountains. Accordingly, the result is a balanced narration of the events regarding both the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Yet, there is also a not so inconsequential feature in terms of content in this first chapter as well as in the other seven – as we shall see-, that isolates the incipit of book 29. The entirety of the narration is focused exclusively on the war actions led in Continental Europe. More precisely, save for some events that take sporadically place either in Africa or Asia, the Livy's interest lies elsewhere, in the Northern part of the world.

Consequently, this fact closely connects Livy's narration with Hannibal's exploits, who appears as the undefeated and undefeatable adversary in eight out of the ten books of the decade, and finds his rival first in the Roman people and later in Scipio, who finally assumes his proper role at the beginning of book 29.

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<sup>64</sup> A thorough exam of the relationship between books structure and the years is provided by Stadter, 1972: 304-306.

<sup>65</sup> For a compelling investigation of the meaning of the prodigies in the Republican Rome, see Corbeill, 2010.

Therefore, we can reasonably claim that the balanced content of the books until the 28<sup>th</sup> consists mainly of Hannibal's movements and Roman countermeasures and endeavours. Fabius Maximus is perfectly suitable for this narrative situation<sup>66</sup>; his passive strategy of *guerrilla*<sup>67</sup> represents the Roman reaction *par excellence*.

We should now examine the other *incipit* of the third decade, in order to substantiate our claims and offer justification for our positions.

Book 23 begins without any digression, from the events immediately following the battle of Cannae. Invited by Statius Trebius, a nobleman from Compsa, to move to Irpinia and then to Sannio, Hannibal, attempts to accomplish an incursion on Naples, but fails. This *incipit* consists essentially in a short summary of the problems Hannibal found in his descent across Italy. Here, the Romans do not play any role, and the chapter dwells instead upon the reasons that led Hannibal to undertake this measure, along with an assortment of Italian matters, such as the Trebius' invitation and the situation in Compsa, with the inner opposition to him posed by the family of Mopsi, that escapes from the city as Hannibal arrives. The ostensible absence of Romans in this chapter is justified simply by the fact that after the battle of Cannae, and the severe defeat they suffered, Livy focuses more in depth on the cities of Italy and their conduct in reaction to Hannibal's arrival. His stay in Capua, and the

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<sup>66</sup> We already mentioned Fabius Maximus' strategy and his role in the Punic war in chapter 2. However, for a further investigation of these elements, we suggest the reading of Klotz, 1940.

<sup>67</sup> As we mention this again, for a second time, we defer any deeper examination in matters of Roman war techniques to Goldsworthy, 1996.



related questions and issues, represents a peculiar moment in which the Romans can excogitate further attempts to counterattack the Carthaginian army<sup>68</sup>. This instance restores the balance between the character of Hannibal and the protagonists, the Romans, who still yearn for a leader who can end the Punic war.

Similarly to book 23, book 24 continues to dwell on the Carthaginians, and we find Hanno<sup>69</sup> in the region of Bruttius, seeking to strike allegiances with the promise of Hannibal's favor. Thus, the narration is still focused on Italy, and the situation follows the Hanno's exploits along with the vicissitudes that take place in this part of the Italian peninsula.

To the contrary, any mention of events occurring in Africa is quite sporadic and essentially regarding questions of dynastic struggles that destabilise the situation in that territory<sup>70</sup>. These references are buried in the main narration, which remains devoted to Italy as the place in which the Punic war is taking place. Departing from this narrative, Book 25 begins with Hannibal in Salento who attempts to conquer the city of Taranto, exploiting its citizens' betrayal. The narration later resumes the matters addressed in book 24, focusing on the South of Italy<sup>71</sup>. This *incipit* also describes the battle between Hanno and Titus Pomponius Veietanus, which ends with the defeat of the latter, and reports several instances of reciprocal defections. In fact, the beginning of book 25

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<sup>68</sup> Rawlings, 2011.

<sup>69</sup> The name Hanno is found twelve times in Livy's text referring to five different Carthaginian commanders.

<sup>70</sup> A material for a deeper exam of the situation of Africa may be found in Hoyos, 2011: 204-222.

<sup>71</sup> To this regard, it may be interesting to read Ñaco de Hoyo, Arrayás-Morales, 2005.

displays a general situation without concentrating on a particular character or personality of the war.

On the other hand, book 26 shows a different characteristic; the narration opens with the New Year celebration and the resulting republican appointments in Rome, meticulously reported by Livy along with the developing war strategies.

In the incipit of book 27 we find extremely dynamic narrative, which illustrates the state of affairs with a brief summary of the events regarding Macellus, who occupies Salapia, and Cnaeus Fulvius, who is defeated by Hannibal in a bloody battle nearby Herdonia – a very important event that went down in Roman history as the second battle of Herdonia, 210 BC<sup>72</sup>. Notably, in this first chapter of book 27, Livy's narrative technique succeeds in recounting all relevant vicissitudes, albeit briefly solely in a chapter, with an utterly fast pace that encompasses the entirety of such occurrences.

In book 28, the reported circumstances are essentially similar, save for the fact that the events recounted here take place in Spain. Such geographic focus affords Livy the opportunity to offer brief elucidation on the situation in that region, after Hasdrubal's crossing. However, the main characters in this section are now Silanus and the population of the Celtiberians.

As mentioned above, all of these *incipit* have one pivotal element in common, a steady narrative thread encompassing the developing story of the

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<sup>72</sup> For a further examination of the battle scenes in the annalistic historical works, see the outstanding paper by Erdkamp, 2006.

war focused on Italy or, more generally, in continental Europe<sup>73</sup>, and of Hannibal's commander's endeavours – and of Hannibal himself – against the Romans and their allies<sup>74</sup>.

In order to preemptively anticipate any unfavorable rushed criticism that, by reducing the management of historical matters to the analysis of the *incipit*, we offer too simplistic a view, we must reiterate that we are investigating the unifying elements of books 29 and 30. It is in this light that we appreciate how the first relevant trait is the difference between these two books and the rest of the decade<sup>75</sup>. While we may agree with the argument that the first chapters of each book represent only a peripheral portion of Livy's otherwise enormous and multifaceted narration, on the other hand, however, the stated and punctilious scope of our work is solely to recognise specific and defining traits of books 29 and 30.

More precisely, in this very regard, we notice how the *incipit* of book 29 serves as a sharp break from the previous books<sup>76</sup>.

As we diffusely discussed above, the theatrical features of the passage and the fact that it is so projected towards the forthcoming departure of the Roman fleet, are just the first two elements emerging from a superficial reading.

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<sup>73</sup> Tangentially, the territorial element is chiefly tied to the relationship between space and ethnicity, as observed by Laurence (1998: *passim*)

<sup>74</sup> In this respect, we recall the contribution by Witte (1922) about the value of the scenes in Livy, which shall result more useful below.

<sup>75</sup> This argument to view books 29-30 as coupled regardless of the others books, had already been presented by Hoffmann (1942).

<sup>76</sup> We could add to this claim the support provided by the investigation of the closural effects in Aly (1936: 10) and Jaeger (2006: 391-393).

Hereon, we must mention the increasing importance of the character of Scipio, who is appointed not solely as the commander of the Roman army, but henceforth as the hero who is going to put an end to a bloody and fierce war.

Scipio appears concerned and yet resolute and unwavering<sup>77</sup>; he is not defined by the dialectic ever-present characters of the either rushed or cautious commanders, which describes his Roman counterparts for the majority of the decade. Furthermore, and perhaps more remarkably we should not ignore that the Roman invasion of Africa is a massive attack<sup>78</sup> carried out by an army that for almost the entirety of the story had fought with the Carthaginian enemy in its territory, cities and quarters.

Book 29, since its beginning, and perhaps its inception, represents a perspective inversion, due to the fact that the invaders end up being invaded themselves and the invaded people, in turn, become invaders. Viewed from the Roman perspective, we could almost claim that while the largest part of the third decade has been devoted to the defense they opposed against a dangerous and powerful enemy, the remaining *one fifth* of the section describes a grandiose, and yet perilous, attack.

After all, this is a climax. A climax that goes beyond the structure of each book, and that encompasses the whole of the decade regardless of the specific content of the books. In fact, the aforementioned unbalanced structure forces us to expand our views in order to recognise that the climax peaks at the end of

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<sup>77</sup> For a further investigation in matter of martial Roman virtues, see Harris, 1979: 9-53.

<sup>78</sup> Naco de Hoyo, 2011: 376-392.

the war, consisting of books 29-30. A climax, we must say, in which the territorial element plays a fundamental role, since the battle of Zama, recounted in book 30, takes place in Africa. Furthermore, as we explained in chapter 2<sup>79</sup>, beyond the aforementioned elements, the affinity between these two books would be enhanced if we were allowed to consider them as part of the final story arc.

We conclude this section of the work by summarising the issues we discussed above: the pivotal unifying element is the narration of the end of the war, this narration starts exactly at the beginning of book 29, in which Scipio prepares to leave Sicily for Africa.

As far as other issues are concerned, such as the absence of a relevant military event in book 29, we investigate the connection with time management and book 30, below.

First of all, we must underline the most important feature of the couple 29-30 that time is nearly paused for greater part of book 29. After the Roman army's departure and its first fights in Africa, narration resumes at its normal rhythm.

This unusual deceleration in book 29 is explained by both, the lack of historical material available to Livy (as we have already and diffusely discussed

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<sup>79</sup> See chapter 2.

in the previous chapters, and that apparently affected Polybius,<sup>80</sup> as well), and – and, if we may, as a consequence- the vast scope of the digression embedded in this book. The origin of this want of historical matter is still debated<sup>81</sup>. What poses the principal concern for us, on the other hand, is the remarkable effect that the extent of these interruptions has on the flow of the main narration, which – in turn – arouses a measure of curiosity regarding what other reasons may have led Livy to fill book 29 with such abundance of unrelated material.

In fact, given the brevity of the book, the addition of digressions causes the narration to slow down even more.

If, in the first chapters, we are accustomed to following Scipio's exploits in Sicily<sup>82</sup>, Livy suddenly draws us into an enormous narrative pause encompassing chapters 8 to 10 and 16 to 22 (almost one fourth of the entirety of the book). Then, after the description of Scipio's departure, which is slowed down as we previously described<sup>83</sup>, Livy leads us into Masinissa's story that occupies four more chapters (29-33). Finally, the narration reaches book 30 which, save for reporting certain affairs in Greece with king Philip<sup>84</sup>, is entirely devoted to the end of the war, and thus resuming to the ordinary rhythm.

As we said, Scipio is the leading character in book 29, and the narration is focused on the Roman attack. In this regard, we can safely claim that the

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<sup>80</sup> For the sources related to the Punic wars, and other historical issues see the outstanding companion edited by Hoyos (2011) and for a further examination of the relationship between Livy and Polybius see Briscoe (1993) and Pianezzola (1969).

<sup>81</sup> Levene, 2010: 30.

<sup>82</sup> For a more historical point of view regarding the movements of Scipio, we suggest Scullard, 1930.

<sup>83</sup> see chapter 2.

<sup>84</sup> On the relationship between Rome and king Philip, See Gruen (1973), Barré (1986) and Barcelò (2011).

shifting perspective of the war, from Carthaginian to Italic, and therefore from Hannibal to Scipio, conjures this anomalous deceleration.

The war is now drawing to a close; the most important and probably dramatic moment of the Hannibalic war has arrived. However, as Levene stated,<sup>85</sup> when addressing the ostensible absence of a climax in book 29, Livy might have decided to deprive book 29 of an important military event in order to avoid obscuring the grandiose Roman victory at Zama, as reported in book 30. By unveiling this claim, Levene implicitly concedes that there must be a crucial link between these two sections of Livy's work, which is certainly worth of further examination. The want of the description of any battle, or other military conflict, in book 29 represents the interpretive key that allows us to view book 29 as a prelude to book 30. Livy, being perfectly aware of the importance of the structure of his work, conceives and writes these last two books in order to elude the possibility of a banal ending<sup>86</sup>. He must build the final arc of his narration as the great account of the end of the war, and to do so, he must eschew the customary structure that he had already employed in the rest of his History, particularly in terms of time. Therefore, he decelerates the pace, indulging in ample digressions that hinder the narrative flow, as discussed above.

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<sup>85</sup> Levene, 2010: 30.

<sup>86</sup> Luce (1977) may help in the attempt to understand the multifaceted and mostly unknown history of the composition of Livy's work. However, about Livy's purposes we should not overlook the contribution of Levene (2010).

Books 29 and 30 are different from the others; the time of the narration is slow and dramatic. To this regard, book 30 is not unlike the preceding book 29. Before we examine the incipit and the first chapter, it would be helpful in order to justify our claims, to analyse the structure of the final climax regarding the battle of Zama, and its time value: in the appendix, we present the relevant chapters<sup>87</sup> highlighting sections with discrete underlining so to mark the time differences<sup>88</sup>.

The account of this battle opens with a *summary*,<sup>89</sup> exactly at the beginning of the New Year. As we can observe, the overall rhythm of the section, save for the proper description of the battle, is rather slow. Here, Livy indulges an abundance of descriptions and leaves plenty of room to accommodate his thought<sup>90</sup>. In doing so, and by dwelling on the army's respective worries and concerns, Livy halts time in order to generate the reader's anticipation for the forthcoming great event.

Additionally, Hannibal and Scipio's speeches<sup>91</sup> heighten the dramatic nature of the episode, and introduce the chapter on the eve of the battle, where time is completely still but bound to suddenly accelerate, at the beginning of the battle.

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<sup>87</sup> Liv. XXX 27-35.

<sup>88</sup> This method of underlying is already detailed in the hermeneutical premiss.

<sup>89</sup> See the hermeneutical premiss for the term *summary*.

<sup>90</sup> For a further elucidation on Roman political thought and its context in the history works, see Lendon, 2002.

<sup>91</sup> See Luce, 1993: *passim*.



The time structure of book 30 is extraordinarily well formulated. In fact, we can appreciate how such time stress has essentially never occurred in the decade, save for that sleeve of time adjacent to the imminence of a battle, of which structure the already examined book 22 is most illustrative<sup>92</sup>.

Such a time stress becomes more meaningful if we consider books 29 and 30 together. After Scipio's departure and the first fights in Africa, with all related issues, time seems to get even slower than at the end of book 29. The *summary* we find in 29.37, about the Censors' activity in Rome, draws the reader's attention back to the *Urbs*, thus producing a break in the main narration<sup>93</sup>. Furthermore, and absolutely more remarkable, the account of the elections that took place in Rome, with the related assignments of provinces, which forms a *summary* as well, is apportioned between book 29 and 30 – sharing the same rhythm – almost to suggest that the end of book 29 is strictly connected with the *incipit* of book 30<sup>94</sup>.

This is the only section of the decade where two contiguous books are linked by the same event, from the end of the first and to the beginning of the second, which event takes place in Rome, thus moving the focus from the central theatre of the actions. However, one may object that the insertion of this sidestep across two books is not a unique peculiarity to books 29 and 30. In fact, the end of book 25 objectively reports the elections for the New Year, and book

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<sup>92</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>93</sup> For a deep and unparalleled elucidation about time and calendar, see Fenney, 2007.

<sup>94</sup> Liv. XXIX 38; XXX 1.

26, in its *incipit* (as we discussed above), begins by recounting new political assignments in Rome<sup>95</sup>. In this regard, we can reply that if, on the one hand, it is true that book 26 starts in such a fashion, on the other hand, book 25 does not end entirely in Rome but, more precisely, shifts its focus to Marcellus' victory in Sicily, subsequently leaving sufficient room for a brief account of the Roman celebrations for the New Year, and seasonal elections. However yet, we must add that, if this continuity of narrative may in fact be viewed as a link, a more in depth examination is definitely required, but it exceeds the scope of this work<sup>96</sup>.

The relevant fact is that in books 29 and 30 there lies a connection that has been certainly conceived and intended to be so by Livy, and that encompasses not only time and content - such as the focus of the narration- but also the formal structure of his historical work about the Second Punic war.

With regard to chapters that anticipate the narration of the battle of Zama, the rhythm is steady and the war continues in Africa until the arrival of Hannibal to his homeland, at Leptis (25). However, the ordinary fluency of the narration is hindered by another interesting episode regarding the Syphax's capture, Masinissa's wedding with Sophonisba,<sup>97</sup> and her suicide, finally leading to the Masinissa's just proclamation as king (12-15). This uncommon direction of the focus, containing moral features exquisitely linked to the

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<sup>95</sup> for an exam of the value of the elections in Livy, see Levene, 2010: 1.3.1.

<sup>96</sup> A further investigation might exploit the outstanding work by Witte (1910), which represents an important starting point in matter of the relationship between the Livian scenes and the narration.

<sup>97</sup> This character deserves a devoted exam, in this regard, we suggest Haley (1989).

foreign ethnicity<sup>98</sup>, stresses time as well, heightening the sense of suspense and blocking the rhythm of the main narration. In the appendix we can read the passages<sup>99</sup>.

This narration focuses on a precise episode that takes place exclusively in the Roman encampment, and even if its rhythm might appear to be in accordance with the rest of the narration, Livy makes a sort of short digression about these vicissitudes. The overall time of the narration of the war stops in order to report these events, a fact that we infer to be a literary device utilized by Livy not only to present the nature of his characters – as Levene masterfully demonstrated<sup>100</sup> – but also to enhance the feeling of expectation.<sup>101</sup> Regardless of the fact that this brief digression may seem to be part of the main narration (e.g. Syphax is captured after a battle), inevitably becomes a rhythm-decelerating element that ultimately hinders the principal account of the war. This may be easily inferred from the rhythm of the story that remains a *summary*, which is not proposed to slowing the narrative time itself but the overall flowing of the events.

Additionally, in book 30 we find mention of the end of certain affairs in Greece, regarding Philip, which we had previously found also in book 29. These events occupy just one chapter and are inserted between the arrival of Hannibal

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<sup>98</sup> In order to further investigate the relationship between ethnicity and morality, valiant contributions are provided by Dench (1995), Webster and Cooper (1996), Farney (2007) and Levene (2010: chapter 3).

<sup>99</sup> Liv. XXX 12-15.

<sup>100</sup> Levene, 2010: chapter 3, *passim*.

<sup>101</sup> With regard to *suspense* and *surprise* as literary devices, we are not able to furnish any valuable contribution concerning Livy. However, a really valiant essay about perceptions is provided by Nikos Miltsios (2009) while addressing narrative issues in Polybius.

at Leptis and the elections in Rome that serve as prelude to the battle of Zama.

In the appendix we present the passage<sup>102</sup>:

It will not be necessary to invest any further effort to emphasising the narrative rhythm, as this would result in exercise in futility. In fact, the most interesting element to be pinpointed about this passage is its location<sup>103</sup>. Livy was perfectly aware of the power of shifting the focus of the narration suddenly, without notice. In doing so, he creates (as it is the case for other similar passages) a relevant pause in the narration, halting time completely and enhancing, as we mentioned above, the expectation of the reader<sup>104</sup>.

To summarise, we observed how books 29 and 30 are connected. This relation lies in different reasons. First, the content of the books is focused exclusively on the end of the war and shifts the overall perspective of the narration into the Roman attack in Africa. Secondly, the structure is generally unusual, if not anomalous, which affects both book 29 and book 30, especially regarding the abundant time pauses and stresses, which we encounter while reading these sections. Third, as it is the case for issues regarding narrative structure, the examination of the *incipit* is also decisive to appreciate a structural anomaly as illustrated by the break between books 29 and 30. Finally, and perhaps more

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<sup>102</sup>Liv. XXX 26.

<sup>103</sup> Some compelling sparks, even if quite old, are provided by Luce, 1977.

<sup>104</sup> For the employment of the narrative techniques in the ancient world, we provided a further elucidation in the premiss.

importantly, the time flowing in this section appears to be fashioned in order to emphasize the significance of the battle of Zama.



#### 4. Conclusions

A summation of our efforts, in the hope to offer a reasonable conclusion for the enlightenment of Livy's readers in matters of time manipulation and related issues, may prove rather difficult. However, we may have accomplished our intents by providing future scholars with a map of essential time patterns embedded in Livy's historical structure. We emphasised how Livy is lucidly aware of, and well versed in exploiting all literary tools available to a narrator, particularly with regard to the time interruption during the main thread of a narration. The author deliberately employed these techniques to either accelerate or decelerate time, in order to both render his story-telling effective and to highlight the most important and dramatic sections. To achieve these effects, Livy changed the structure of book 29, but did not deprive it of its climax – as some scholars, such as Levene, had claimed he did. He simply constructed it in a different fashion. We observed therefore that book 29 and book 30 are inextricably intertwined to one another so to give rise to a grandiose and extraordinarily complex report of the end of the Punic war. Narrative time is essential for this purpose, and it is even more important than the structure itself. It suggests a connection between the books, but also traces the development of the characters who emerge to transform the war between two ancient peoples, into the heroic trials of Scipio and Hannibal. To this end, we observed that as the perspective of the war shifted, from the Roman defense

and counterattack to invading Africa, also the time pattern of the Livian narration was transformed; it became slower and longer, and more than ever susceptible to narrative interruptions. About the digressions and the deeper focuses which Livy employed in the crucial moments of his History, we observed that time is subject to a stress devoted to expanding the room available for details and events, thus slowing the ordinary rhythm and rendering the narration extremely dramatic.



## APPENDIX: LIVY'S PASSAGES

All the following passages are taken from the critical edition prepared by François (1994).

### CHAPTER 2

#### Liv. XXII 32-34

Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Seruilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, [quod reliquum autumnus erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diuersis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum uniuersae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non ueniebant, adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla spe relicta alendi exercitus in eis locis si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent. Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediante constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam uenire. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita uerba facta ut dicerent: scire sese populi [Romani] aerarium bello exhauriri et, cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae urbe Romana atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuuare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicauerint ab quibus donum animo ac uoluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

[...]

Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena inuidia splendentem uolgens extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per inuidiam eorum fauorem candidato suo conciliabat; ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor legionibus uniuersis pugnari posse apparuisset eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius uincere prohibuisset Romanos quam uinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem uere plebeium, id est, hominem nouum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia inuitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui [magis] uere uincere quam diu imperare malit. [...]

#### Liv. XII 38-39

Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies dum ab socijs ac nomine Latino uenirent milites. Tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat iussu consulum conuenturos neque iniussu abituros; et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum conuenissent, sua uoluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis ferendi aut ciuis seruandi causa. Id ex uoluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum. Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa mouerentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobiles mansurumque in uisceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se quo die hostem uidisset perfecturum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, uerior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo mirari se quidni qui dux priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum locorum situm naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda armato forent. [et] diem quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus: se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum; optare ut quae caute ac consulte gesta essent satis prospere euenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseueraret. Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

"Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, superuacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide uestra faceretis, et mali nec mea uerba auribus uestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem uirum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem uideo nequiquam et uirum bonum et ciuem fore, si altera parte

claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic aduersarius quam ille hostis maneat; cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; aduersus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est. Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in prouincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra uideat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuuentutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res uerba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnauerit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus aduersus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi aduersus Hannibalem est qua ego gessi. Nec euentus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est — sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena ciuium ac sociorum sunt; armis, uiris, equis, commeatibus iuant iuuabuntque, — id iam fidei documentum in aduersis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui uidet, in diem rapto uiuit; partem uix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absorpti; nec his paucis iam uictus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis

moenibus sedet? Ne aduersus te quidem de me gloriabor: Seruilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, uide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est uia, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque ciues tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites uolent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae uana gloria neque tua falsa infamia mouerit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui nunquam. Gloriam qui spreuerit, ueram habebit. Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli uocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti ciues laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur. [hortor] sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improuida est et caeca."

#### **Liv. XXII 40-41**

Aduersus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea quae diceret uera quam facilia factu esse; dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli aduersus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium uirium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere euenirent; sed si quid aduersi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum ciuium caput obiecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior cum dignitates deessent. Vt in castra uenerunt, permixto nouo exercitu ac uetere, castris bifariam factis, ut noua minora essent propius Hannibalem, in ueteribus maior pars et omne robur uirium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem, Romam miserunt,

Geminum Seruilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen aduentu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem com meatibus superabat sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas conuecto, ut uix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procurso magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum uictoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac uociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique ni cessatum foret potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere uelut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac nouorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae priuataeque relinquit, transque proximos montes laeua pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per conuallem mediam traducit, ut diripiendis uelut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictis in castris ignes, ut fides fieret dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules uoluisse.

[...]

## Liv. XXII 44-45

Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut uentum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme interuallo quo ad Gereonium sicut ante copiis diuisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris adfluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte uirium inuictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret testareturque deos hominesque hic nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam uel[ut] usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improuidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpa exsortem, omnis euentus participem fore diceret; uideret ut quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna uigerent manus.

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad inuadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum uixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro uallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas euecti sunt. Id uero indignum uisum ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem tenuerit Romanos quod summa

imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo quia magis non probare quam non adiuuare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant copias suis adiungunt atque ita instructa acie in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: laeuum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt: iaculatores ex ceteris leuium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laeuum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Seruilio media pugna tuenda data.

#### **Liv. XXII 46**

Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus leuique alia armatura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laeuo in cornu aduersus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum media acie peditibus firmata ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani, Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, breuitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetero in acie milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita



stetere peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem uersis; uentus—Voluturnum regionis incolae uocant—aduersus Romanis coortus multo puluere in ipsa ora uoluendo prospectum ademit.

#### Liv. XXII 47-49

Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna leuibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laeuum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim aduersis concurrentum erat, quia nullo circa ad euagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis uir uirum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est pulsique Romani equites terga uertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et uiribus et animis par dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum ualidum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore uno per praeceps pauore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum peruenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequauit frontem primum, deinde cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam [de] proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, [et] aduersus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum [in] eo iniquam quod inclusi aduersus circumfusos sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac uegetis pugnabant.

[...]

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda grauius ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: "quam malle, uinctos mihi traderet". Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium uictoria, fuit, cum uicti mori in uestigio mallent quam fugere, uictores morantibus uictoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac uulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praeteruehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore opletum consulem uidisset, "L. Aemili" inquit, "quem unum insontem culpa cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi uirium aliquid superest [et] comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est". Ad ea consul: "tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte uirtute esto; sed caue, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium euadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus urbem Romanam muniant ac priusquam uictor hostis adueniat praesidiis firment; priuatim Q. Fabio L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et uixisse [et] adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim [aut] accusator collegae existam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium ciuium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes quis esset obruere telis, Lentulum in tumultu abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in uicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente uicum circumuenti sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere

equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tantadem prope ciuium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii—inter eos Cn. Seruilius Geminus et M. Minucius numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, [consul] aliquot annis ante fuerat—octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent cum sua uoluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

#### Liv. XXIX 24

Cum his mandatis ab rege legati ad Scipionem missi Syracusis eum conuenerunt. Scipio quamquam magno momento rerum in Africa gerendarum magnaue spe destitutus erat, legatis prope priusquam res uolgaretur remissis in Africam litteras dat ad regem quibus etiam atque etiam monet eum ne iura hospitii secum neu cum populo Romano initalae societatis neu fas fidem dexteras deos testes atque arbitros conuentorum fallat. ceterum quando neque celari aduentus Numidarum poterat—uagati enim in urbe obuersatique praetorio erant—et, si sileretur quid petentes uenissent, periculum erat ne uera eo ipso quod celarentur sua sponte magis emanarent, timorque in exercitum incederet ne simul cum rege et Carthaginensibus foret bellandum, auertit a uero falsis praeoccupando mentes hominum, et uocatis ad contionem militibus non ultra esse cunctandum ait; instare ut in Africam quam primum traiciat socios reges. Masinissam prius ipsum ad C. Laelium uenisse querentem quod cunctando tempus tereretur: nunc Syphacem mittere legatos idem admirantem quae tam diuturnae morae sit causa postulanteque ut aut traiciatur tandem in Africam exercitus aut, si mutata consilia sint, certior fiat ut et ipse sibi ac regno suo possit consulere. itaque satis iam omnibus instructis apparatusque et re iam non ultra recipiente cunctationem, in animo sibi esse

Lilybaeum classe traducta eodemque omnibus peditum equitumque copiis contractis quae prima dies cursum nauibus daret dis bene iuuantibus in Africam traicere. litteras ad M. Pomponium mittit ut, si ei uideretur, Lilybaeum ueniret ut communiter consulerent quas potissimum legiones et quantum militum numerum in Africam traiceret. item circum oram omnem maritimam misit ut naues onerariae comprehensae Lilybaeum omnes contraherentur. Quicquid militum nauiumque in Sicilia erat cum Lilybaeum conuenisset et nec urbs multitudinem hominum neque portus naues caperet, tantus omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad bellum duci uiderentur sed ad certa uictoriae praemia. praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu milites illo non alio duce credebant nauata rei publicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse. et Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut qui neque ad Cannas ignauia eorum cladem acceptam sciret neque ullos aequae ueteres milites in exercitu Romano esse expertosque non uariis proeliis modo sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. quinta et sexta Cannenses erant legiones. eas se traiecturum in Africam cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque quos non idoneos credebat in locum eorum subiecit quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, suppleuitque ita eas legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducenos pedites, trecenos haberent equites. sociorum item Latini nominis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit.

#### Liv. XXIX 25-27

Quantum militum in Africam transportatum sit non paruo numero inter auctores discrepat. alibi decem milia peditum duo milia et ducentos equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum mille et sescentos equites, alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam, quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in naues imposita <inuenio>. quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget: uolucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait tantamque multitudinem conscendisse naues ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in

Sicilia relinqui uideretur. Milites ut naues ordine ac sine tumultu conscenderent ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit: nauticos C. Laelius, qui classis praefectus erat, in nauibus ante conscendere coactos continuit: commeatus imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque et quadraginta dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim dierum cocta, imposita. ut omnes iam in nauibus erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus nauibus gubernatoresque et magistri nauium et bini milites in forum conuenirent ad imperia accipienda. postquam conuenerunt, primum ab iis quaesiuit si aquam hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumentum imposuissent. ubi responderunt aquam dierum quinque et quadraginta in nauibus esse, tum edixit militibus ut silentium quieti nautis sine certamine ad ministeria exsequenda bene oboedientes praestarent. cum uiginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo totidem rostratas et C. Laelium praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone--quaestor is tum erat--onerariis futurum praesidio, lumina in nauibus singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent: in praetoria naue insigne nocturnum trium luminum fore. Emporia ut peterent gubernatoribus edixit:--fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia rerum est regio, et imbelles--quod plerumque in uberi agro euenit --barbari sunt priusque quam ab Carthagine subueniretur opprimi uidebantur posse.--iis editis imperiis redire ad naues iussi et postero die bis bene iuuantibus signo dato soluere naues.

Multae classes Romanae e Sicilia atque ipso illo portu profectae erant; ceterum non eo bello solum – nec id mirum; praedatum enim tantummodo pleraeque classes ierant - sed ne priore quidem ulla profectio tanti spectaculi fuit; quamquam, si magnitudine classis aestimares, et bini consules cum binis exercitibus ante traiecerant et prope totidem rostratae in illis classibus fuerant quot onerariis Scipio tum traiciebat; nam praeter quadraginta longas naues quadringentis ferme onerariis exercitum trauexit. sed et bellum bello secundum priore ut atrocius Romanis uideretur, cum quod in Italia bellabatur tum ingentes strages tot exercituum simul caesis ducibus effecerant, et Scipio dux partim

factis fortibus partim suapte fortuna quadam ingenti ad incrementa gloriae celebratus conuerterat animos, simul et mens ipsa traiciendi, nulli ante eo bello duci temptata, quod ad Hannibalem detrahendum ex Italia transferendumque et finiendum in Africa bellum se transire uolgauerat. concurrerat ad spectaculum in portum omnis turba non habitantium modo Lilybaei sed legationum omnium ex Sicilia quae et ad prosequendum Scipionem officii causa conuenerant et praetorem prouinciae M. Pomponium secutae fuerant; ad hoc legiones quae in Sicilia relinquebantur ad prosequendos commilitones processerant; nec classis modo prospectantibus e terra, sed terra etiam omnis circa referta turba spectaculo nauigantibus erat.

Ubi inluxit, Scipio e praetoria naue silentio per praeconem facto 'diui diuaeque' inquit 'qui maria terrasque colitis, uos precor quaesoque uti quae in meo imperio gesta sunt geruntur postque gerentur, ea mihi populo plebique Romanae sociis nominique Latino qui populi Romani quique meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnisque sequuntur bene uerruncent, eaque uos omnia bene iuuetis, bonis auctibus auxitis; saluos incolumesque uictis perduellibus uictores spoliis decoratos praeda onustos triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis; inimicorum hostiumque ulciscendorum copiam faxitis; quaeque populus Carthaginiensis in ciuitatem nostram facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque Romano in ciuitatem Carthaginiensium exempla edendi facultatem detis.' Secundum has preces cruda exta caesa uictima, uti mos est, in mare proiecit tubaque signum dedit proficiscendi. uento secundo uehementi satis prouecti celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula ocepit ita uix ut concursus nauium inter se uitarent; lenior uentus in alto factus, noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit; sole orto est discussa, et addita uis uento iam terram cernebant, haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus deos uti bono rei publicae suoque Africam uiderit, dare

uela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. uento eodem ferebantur: ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus quo pridie exorta conspectum terrae ademittit et uentus premente nebula cecidit. nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras ne aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae inferrentur iecere. ubi inluxit, uentus idem coortus nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, 'placet omen;' inquit 'huc dirigite naues.' eo classis decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt. Prosperam nauigationem sine terrore ac tumultu fuisse permultis Graecis Latinisque auctoribus credidi. Coelius unus praeterquam quod non mersas fluctibus naues ceteros omnes caelestes maritimosque terrores, postremo abreptam tempestate ab Africa classem ad insulam Aegimurum, inde aegre correctum cursum exponit, et prope obrutis nauibus iniussu imperatoris scaphis, haud secus quam naufragos, milites sine armis cum ingenti tumultu in terram euasisse.

## CHAPTER 3

### Liv. XXIX 1

Scipio postquam in Siciliam uenit, uoluntarios milites ordinauit centuriauitque. ex iis trecentos iuuenes, florentes aetate et uirium robore insignes, inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum neque centuriati neque armati seruarentur. tum ex totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. grauis ea militia, procul domo, terra marique multos labores magna pericula allatura uidebatur; neque ipsos modo sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat. ubi dies quae dicta erat aduenit, arma equosque ostenderunt. tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit quosdam equites Siculorum tamquam grauem et duram horrere eam militiam: si qui ita animati essent, malle eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo querentes segnes

atque inutiles milites rei publicae esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona uenia se auditurum. ubi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se prorsus, si sibi utrum uellet liberum esset, nolle militare, tum Scipio ei: 'quoniam igitur, adulescens, quid sentires non dissimulasti, uicarium tibi expediam cui tu arma equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae tradas et tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas exerceas docendum cures equo armisque.' laeto condicionem accipienti unum ex trecentis quos inermes habebat tradit. ubi hoc modo exauctoratum equitem cum gratia imperatoris ceteri uiderunt, se quisque excusare et uicarium accipere. ita trecentis Siculis Romani equites substituti sine publica impensa. docendorum atque exercendorum curam Siculi habuerunt, quia edictum imperatoris erat ipsum militaturum qui ita non fecisset. egregiam hanc aliam equitum euasisse ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam adiuuisse.

Legiones inde cum inspiceret, plurimorum stipendiorum ex iis milites delegit, maxime qui sub duce Marcello militauerant, quos cum optima disciplina institutos credebatur tum etiam ab longa Syracusarum obsidione peritissimos esse urbium oppugnandarum; nihil enim paruum sed Carthaginis iam excidia agitabat animo. inde exercitum per oppida dispertit; frumentum Siculorum ciuitatibus imperat, ex Italia aduecto parcat; ueteres naues reficit et cum iis C. Laelium in Africam praedatum mittit; nouas Panhormi subducit, quia ex uiridi materia raptim factae erant, ut in sicco hibernarent.

Praeparatis omnibus ad bellum Syracusas, nondum ex magnis belli motibus satis tranquillas, uenit. Graeci res a quibusdam Italici generis eadem uia qua per bellum ceperant retinentibus, concessas sibi ab senatu repetebant. omnium primum ratus tueri publicam fidem, partim edicto, partim iudiciis etiam in pertinaces ad obtinendam iniuriam redditus suas res Syracusanis restituit. non ipsis tantum ea res sed omnibus Siciliae populis grata fuit, eoque enixius ad bellum adiuuerunt.

Eadem aestate in Hispania coortum ingens bellum conciente Ilergete Indibili nulla alia de causa quam per admirationem Scipionis contemptu imperatorum aliorum orto: eum



superesse unum ducem Romanis ceteris ab Hannibale interfectis [rebantur]; eo nec in Hispaniam caesis Scipionibus alium quem mitterent habuisse, et postquam in Italia grauius bellum urgeret, aduersus Hannibalem eum arcessitum. praeterquam quod nomina tantum ducum in Hispania Romani habeant, exercitum quoque inde ueterem deductum; trepida omnia et inconditam turbam tironum esse. nunquam talem occasionem liberandae Hispaniae fore. seruitum ad eam diem aut Carthaginensibus aut Romanis, nec in uicem his aut illis sed interdum utrisque simul. pulsos ab Romanis Carthaginenses: ab Hispanis, si consentirent, pelli Romanos posse, ut ab omni externo imperio soluta in perpetuum Hispania in patrios rediret mores ritusque. haec taliaque dicendo non populares modo sed Ausetanos quoque, uicinam gentem, concitat et alios finitimos sibi atque illis populos. itaque intra paucos dies triginta milia peditum quattuor ferme equitum in Sedetanum agrum, quo edictum erat, conuenerunt.

**Liv. XXII 1; XXIII 1; XXIV 1; XXV 1; XXVI 1; XXVII 1; XXVIII 1**

[XXII 1] Iam uer appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis mouit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciuerat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis uidere, uerterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem leuitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, seruatus erat et mutando nunc uestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius mouendi ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Cn. Seruilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium inuidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum

imperium, quod auspiciū esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis priuatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, uotis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; nec priuatum auspicia sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo noua atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti uigilias equiti scipionem quem manu tenuerit arsisse et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus et solis orbem minui uisum, et Praeneste ardentis lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo uisas pugnantesque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas interdum lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et in Antiati metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi uelut magno hiatu uisum quaque patuerit ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam: "Mauors telum suum concutit", et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia uia ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese uertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lactentibus procurarentur et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia puluinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemuiri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent quemadmodum cordi esse [di sibi] diuinis carminibus praefarentur. Decemuirorum monitu decretum est Ioui primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Iunoni Mineruaeque ex argento dona darentur et Iunoni reginae in Auentino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuui maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia conlata quantum conferre cuique commodum esset donum Iunoni reginae in Auentinum ferrent lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae unde Feroniae donum daretur pecuniam pro facultatibus suis

conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum—et eum lectum senatores strauerunt—et conuiuium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac seruare in perpetuum iussus.

[XXIII 1] Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam [castraque] capta ac direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium mouerat, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio [Trebio] pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnae uolgatumque Trebi sermonibus aduentum Hannibalis cum Mopsiani urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito Magonem regionis eius urbes aut deficientes ab Romanis accipere aut detractantes cogere ad defectionem iubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppugnaturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Vbi fines Neapolitanorum intrauit, Numidas partim in insidiis—et pleraeque cauae sunt uiae sinusque occulti—quacumque apte poterat disposuit, alios prae se actam praedam ex agris ostentantes obequitare portis iussit. In quos, quia nec multi et incompositi uidebantur, cum turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta in insidias circumuenta est; nec euasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum et haud procul litore naues, piscatoriae pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen eo proelio nobiles iuuenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes secutus cecidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum absterruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppugnanti.

[XXIV 1] Vt ex Campania in Bruttios reditum est, Hanno adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttiis Graecas urbes temptauit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Carthaginiensium partis factos cernebant. Regium primum temptatum est diesque aliquot ibi nequiquam absumpti. interim Locrenses frumentum lignaque et cetera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbem rapere, etiam ne quid relictum praedae hostibus esset, et in dies maior omnibus portis multitudo effundi; postremo sescenti modo relictis in urbe erant qui reficere muros portas telaque in propugnacula congerere cogebantur. in permixtam omnium aetatium ordinumque multitudinem et uagantem in agris magna ex parte inermem Hamilcar Poenos equites emisit, qui uiolare quemquam uetiti, tantum ut ab urbe excluderent fuga dissipatos, turmas obiecere. dux ipse loco superiore capto unde agros urbemque posset conspicere, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros atque euocare principes Locrensiu ad conloquium iussit et pollicentes amicitiam Hannibalis adhortari ad urbem tradendam. Bruttiis in conloquio nullius rei primo fides est; deinde ut Poenus apparuit in collibus et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse adferebant, tum metu uicti consulturos se populum responderunt; aduocataque extemplo contione, cum et leuissimus quisque nouas res nouamque societatem mallent et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, uelut obsidibus datis pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent constantem fidem quam propalam tueri auderent, haud dubio in speciem consensu fit ad Poenos deditio. L. Atilio, praefecto praesidii, qui cum eo milites Romani erant clam in portum deductis atque impositis in naues ut Regium deueherentur Hamilcarem Poenosque ea condicione ut foedus extemplo aequis legibus fieret in urbem acceperunt; cuius rei prope non seruata fides deditis est, cum Poenus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret, Locrenses profugisse ipsum causarentur. insecuti etiam equites sunt, si quo casu in freto aestus morari aut deferre naues in terram posset. et eos quidem quos sequebantur non sunt adepti: alias a Messana traicientes freto Regium naues

conspexerunt. milites erant Romani a Claudio praetore missi ad obtinendam urbem praesidio. itaque Regio extemplo abscessum est. Locrensibus iussu Hannibalis data pax ut liberi suis legibus uiuerent, urbs pateret Poenis, portus in potestate Locrensi esset, societas eo iure staret ut Poenus Locrensem Locrensisque Poenum pace ac bello iuuaret.

[XXV 1] Dum haec in Africa atque in Hispania geruntur, Hannibal in agro Sallentino aestatem consumpsit spe per proditionem urbis Tarentinorum potiundae. ipsorum interim Sallentinorum ignobiles urbes ad eum defecerunt. eodem tempore in Bruttis ex duodecim populis, qui anno priore ad Poenos descuerant, Consentini et Tauriani in fidem populi Romani redierunt et plures redissent, ni T. Pomponius Ueientanus, praefectus socium, prosperis aliquot populationibus in agro Bruttio iusti ducis speciem nactus, tumultuario exercitu coacto cum Hannone conflisset. magna ibi uis hominum sed inconditae turbae agrestium seruorumque caesa aut capta est: minimum iacturae fuit quod praefectus inter ceteros est captus, et tum temerariae pugnae auctor et ante publicanus omnibus malis artibus et rei publicae et societatibus infidus damnosusque. Sempronius consul in Lucanis multa proelia parua, haud ullum dignum memoratu fecit et ignobilia oppida Lucanorum aliquot expugnauit. quo diutius trahebatur bellum et uariabant secundae aduersaeque res non fortunam magis quam animos hominum, tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, ciuitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei repente alii uiderentur facti. nec iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nec sacrificantium nec precantium deos patrio more. sacrificuli ac uates ceperant hominum mentes quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsam; et quaestus ex alieno errore facilis, quem uelut concessae artis usu exercebant. primo secretae bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur; deinde ad patres etiam ac publicam querimoniam excessit res. incusati grauiter ab senatu aediles

triumuirique capitales quod non prohiberent, cum emouere eam multitudinem e foro ac disicere apparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud procul afuit quin uiolarentur. ubi potentius iam esse id malum apparuit quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, M. Aemilio praetori [urb.] negotium ab senatu datum est ut eis religionibus populum liberaret. is et in contione senatus consultum recitauit et edixit ut quicumque libros uaticinos precationesue aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet eos libros omnes litterasque ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret neu quis in publico sacroue loco nouo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.

[XXVI 1] Cn. Fuluius Centumalus P. Sulpicius Galba consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, senatu in Capitolium uocato, de re publica, de administratione belli, de prouinciis exercitibusque patres consuluerunt. Q. Fuluius Ap. Claudio, prioris anni consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus quos habebant decreti, adiectumque ne a Capua quam obsidebant abscederent priusquam expugnassent. ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam unquam ciuitatem iustior fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot populos, ita recepta inclinatura rursus animos uidebatur ad ueteris imperii respectum. et praetoribus prioris anni M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia cum binis legionibus quas habuerant prorogatum est imperium. prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu quem haberet: si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus P. Cornelius pro praetore in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem reditumque in patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio cui Sicilia euenerat duae legiones quas P. Cornelius habuisset decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fului, qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fugatusque erat. huic generi militum senatus eundem, quem Cannensibus, finem statuerat militiae. additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est ne in

oppidis hibernarent neue hiberna propius ullam urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae quibus Q. Mucius praefuerat; supplementum si opus esset consules scribere iussi. T. Otacilio et M. Ualerio Siciliae Graeciaeque orae cum legionibus classibusque quibus praeerant decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebat naues. tribus et uiginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

[XXVII 1] Hic status rerum in Hispania erat. in Italia consul Marcellus Salapia per prodicionem recepta Marmoreas et Meles de Samnitibus ui cepit. ad tria milia militum ibi Hannibalis, quae praesidii causa relictas erant, oppressas: praeda--et aliquantum eius fuit--militi concessa. tritici quoque ducenta quadraginta milia modium et centum decem milia hordei inuenta. ceterum nequaquam inde tantum gaudium fuit quanta clades intra paucos dies accepta est haud procul Herdonea urbe. castra ibi Cn. Fuluius proconsul habebat spe recipiendae Herdoneae, quae post Cannensem cladem ab Romanis defecerat, nec loco satis tuto posita nec praesidiis firmata. negligentiam insitam ingenio ducis augebat spes ea quod labare iis aduersus Poenum fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa excessisse iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. ea omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata Hannibali simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et spem fecere incautum hostem adgrediendi. exercitu expedito ita ut famam prope praeueniret magnis itineribus ad Herdoneam contendit et, quo plus terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa accessit. par audacia Romanus, consilio et uiribus impar, copiis raptim eductis confligit. quinta legio et sinistra ala acriter pugnam inierunt; ceterum Hannibal signo equitibus dato ut, cum pedestres acies occupassent praesenti certamine oculos animosque, circumuerti pars castra hostium, pars terga trepidantium inuaderent, ipse Cn. Fului similitudinem nominis--quia Cn. Fuluium praetorem biennio ante in iisdem deuicerat locis--increpans, similem euentum pugnae fore adfirmabat. neque ea spes uana fuit. nam

cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi cecidissent Romanorum, starent tamen ordines signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris clamor hostilis auditus sextam [ante] legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa erant auertit; pars in fugam effusi, pars in medio caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fuluius cum undecim tribunis militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot caesa in eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet, cum tredecim milia alibi, alibi haud plus quam septem inueniam? castris praedaque uictor potitur. Herdoneam, quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset, multitudine omni Metapontum ac Thurios traducta, incendit: occidit principes qui cum Fuluio conloquia occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani qui ex tanta clade euaserant diuersis itineribus semermes ad Marcellum consulem in Samnium perfugerunt.

[XXVIII 1] Cum transitu Hasdrubalis quantum in Italiam declinauerat belli tantum leuatae Hispaniae uiderentur, renatum ibi subito par priori bellum est. Hispanias ea tempestate sic habebant Romani Poenique: Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius ad Oceanum penitus Gadesque concesserat: nostri maris ora omnisque ferme Hispania qua in orientem uergit Scipionis ac Romanae dicionis erat. nouus imperator Hanno in locum Barcini Hasdrubalis nouo cum exercitu ex Africa transgressus Magonique iunctus cum in Celtiberia, quae media inter duo maria est, breui magnum hominum numerum armasset, Scipio aduersus eum M. Silanum cum decem haud amplius milibus militum, equitibus quingentis misit. Silanus quantis maximis potuit itineribus--impediebant autem et asperitates uiarum et angustiae saltibus crebris, ut pleraque Hispaniae sunt, inclusae--tamen non solum nuntios sed etiam famam aduentus sui praegressus, ducibus indidem ex Celtiberia transfugis ad hostem peruenit. eisdem auctoribus compertum est cum decem circiter milia ab hoste abessent bina castra circa uiam qua irent esse; laeua



Celtiberos nouum exercitum, supra nouem milia hominum, dextra Punica tenere castra; ea stationibus uigiliis omni iusta militari custodia tuta et firma esse: illa altera soluta neglectaque, ut barbarorum et tironum et minus timentium quod in sua terra essent. Ea prius adgredienda ratus Silanus signa quam maxime ad laeuam iubebat ferri, necunde ab stationibus Punicis conspiceretur; ipse praemissis speculatoribus citato agmine ad hostem pergit.

#### LIV. XXX, 27-35

Principio insequenti anni M. Seruilius et Ti. Claudius senatu in Capitolium uocato de prouinciis rettulerunt. Italiam atque Africam in sortem conici, Africam ambo cupientes, uolebant; ceterum Q. Metello maxime adnitente neque negata neque data est Africa. consules iussi cum tribunis plebis agere ut, si iis uideretur, populum rogarent quem uellet in Africa bellum gerere. omnes tribus P. Scipionem iusserunt, nihilo minus consules prouinciam Africam--ita enim senatus decreuerat--in sortem coniecerunt. Ti. Claudio Africa euenit ut quinquaginta nauium classem, omnes quinqueremes, in Africam traiceret parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperator esset: M. Seruilius Etruriam sortitus, in eadem prouincia et C. Seruilio prorogatum imperium si consulem manere ad urbem senatui placuisset. praetores M. Sextius Galliam est sortitus ut duas legiones prouinciamque traderet ei P. Quinctilius Uarus: C. Liuius Bruttios cum duabus legionibus quibus P. Sempronius proconsul priore anno praefuerat: Cn. Tremelius Siciliam ut a P. Uillio Tappulo praetore prioris anni prouinciam et duas legiones acciperet; Uillius pro praetore uiginti nauibus longis militibus mille oram Siciliae tutaretur: M. Pomponius uiginti nauibus reliquis mille et quingentos milites Romam deportaret. C. Aurelio Cottae urbana euenit, ceteris ita uti quisque obtinebant prouincias exercitusque prorogata imperia, sedecim non amplius eo anno legionibus defensum.

imperium est. et ut placatis dis omnia inciperent agerentque. ludos quos M. Claudio Marcello T. Quinctio consulibus T. Manlius dictator quasque hostias maiores uouerat si per quinquennium res publica eodem statu fuisset. ut eos ludos consules priusquam ad bellum proficiscerentur facerent. ludi in circo per quadriduum facti hostiaeque quibus uotae erant dis caesae.

Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat utrum gaudio dignius esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem uacuum possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in Africam transisset: locum nimirum non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis uatem qui nuper decessisset Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum grauiorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem quam in aliena fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa ducere exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale fugacissimo duce rem futuram, aut <cum> tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semerum turba subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, uixdum iuue ne imperatore, qui senex uincendo factus Hispanias Gallias Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complexisset. ducere exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas uix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuuias non militum tantum sed etiam imperatorum portantem. multos occursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui imperatores, qui consules Romanos sua manu occidissent, muralibus uallibusque insignes coronis, peruagatos capta castra captas urbes Romanas. non esse hodie tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre posset Hannibal. has formidines agitando animis ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum aduessent per aliquot annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et

Hannibal uelut ad supremum certamen comparati duces. iis quoque quibus erat ingens in Scipione fiducia et uictoriae spes quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant animis eo curae intentiores erant. haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat, modo cum respicerent bis sese acie uictos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius uirtute et consilio Scipionis facta, uelut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

Iam Hadrumetum peruenerat Hannibal; unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pauidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium magnis itineribus Zama contendit.--Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest.-- inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno militum, iussosque omisso metu uisere omnia, per castra qua uellent circumduci iussit; percontatusque satim per commodum omnia explorassent, datis qui prosequerentur retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum quae nuntiabantur--nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum quattuor equitum uenisse eo ipso forte die adferebant--laeto animo audiuit, maxime hostis fiducia, quae non de nihilo profecto concepta esset, percussus. itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et aduentu suo turbauerat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen si integer quam si uictus peteret pacem aequiora impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit ut conloquendi secum potestatem faceret.--id utrum sua sponte fecerit an publico consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Ualerius Antias primo proelio uictum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem uenisse. Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnuisset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara urbe cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat consedit. Hannibal

tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. ibi in medio locus conspectus undique ne quid insidiarum esset delectus.

Summotis pari spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces sed omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumue pares. paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere; tum Hannibal prior: 'si hoc ita fato datum erat ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano, quique totiens prope in manibus uictoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam uenirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum a quo peterem, tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit Hannibalem cui tot de Romanis ducibus uictoriam di dedissent tibi cessisse, teque huic bello uestris prius quam nostris cladibus insigni finem imposuisse. hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna ut cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam ueniam. optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse ut et uos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne uobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis ducibus; sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi. ita aliena appetuimus ut de nostris dimicaremus nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, uobis in Africa esset; sed et uos in portis uestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium uidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. quod igitur nos maxime abominaremur, uos ante omnia optaretis, in meliore uestra fortuna de pace agitur. agimus ii quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus ratum ciuitates nostrae habiturae sunt; animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis.

'Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam reuertentem unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam aduersae res ita erudierunt ut rationem sequi quam fortunam malim:

tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. non temere incerta casuum reputat quem fortuna nunquam decepit. quod ego fui ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. uixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. patris et patrii persecutus mortem ex calamitate uestrae domus decus insigne uirtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsus; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti. potest uictoriam malle quam pacem animus. noui spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit. quod si in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent di, non ea solum quae euenissent sed etiam ea quae euenire possent reputaremus. ut omnium obliuiscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes casus sum quem modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem uestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana uideris, hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis uiris, clarissimis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae quibus terrui uestram urbem ea pro mea deprecantem.

'Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. in bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus magis necessaria quam honesta. melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata uictoria; haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est. ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae dederis discrimen. cum tuas uires tum uim fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo; utrimque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt; nusquam minus quam in bello euentus respondent. non tantum ad id quod data pace iam habere potes, si proelio uinces, gloriae adiecero, quantum <dempseris>, si quid aduersi eueniat, simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna

euertere potest. omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli: tunc ea habenda fortuna erit quam di dederint. inter pauca felicitatis uirtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si uictor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius corruit. 'est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus qui nobismet ipsi multam inrogemus. non recusamus quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum est uestra sint, Sicilia Sardinia Hispania quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiamque continetur mari; Carthaginienses inclusi Africae litoribus uos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique uideamus regentes imperio. haud negauerim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut expectatam nuper pacem suspectam esse uobis Punicam fidem: multum per quos petita sit ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet, Scipio--uestri quoque, ut audio, patres non nihil etiam ob hoc quia parum dignitatis in legatione erat negauerunt pacem--; Hannibal peto pacem qui neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter eandem utilitatem tuebor eam propter quam petii; et quemadmodum quia a me bellum coeptum est ne quem eius paeniteret quoad ipsi inuidere di praestiti, ita adnitar ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat.'

Aduersus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere sententiam respondit: 'non me fallebat, Hannibal, aduentus tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id sane dissimulas qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis omnia subtrahas praeter ea quae iam pridem in nostra potestate sunt. ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire ciues tuos quanto per te onere leuentur, sic mihi laborandum est ne quae tum pepigerunt hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis praemia perfidiae habeant. indigni quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit uobis fraus petitis. neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis pia ac iusta induerunt arma. uos

laccessisse et tu ipse fateris et di testes sunt qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.

'Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et uim fortunae reputo et omnia quaecumque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum quemadmodum superbe et uiolenter me faterer facere si priusquam in Africam traiecissem te tua uoluntate cedentem Italia et imposito in naues exercitu ipsum uenientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc cum prope manu conserta restitanti ac tergiuersanti in Africam attraxerim nulla sum tibi uerecundia obstrictus, proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum pax conuentura uidebatur, quasi multa nauium cum commeatu per indutias expugnataram legatorumque uiolatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium: sin illa quoque graui uidentur, bellum parate quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.' ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra uerba temptata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam di dedissent.

In castra ut est uentum, pronuntiant ambo arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, uictores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam sed orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus aduersa pugnae fortuna fuisset. nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo auxilio effuso, adesse uidebatur praesens excidium. ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut euersuri. anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam, modo hostium aciem, cum oculis magis quam ratione pensarent uires, simul laeta, simul tristia obuersabantur: quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poenus sedecim annorum in terra Italia res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et

sua cuique decora ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem uenerat referebat:  
Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium quod neque non  
petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea prae insita animis perfidia potuissent.  
ad hoc conloquium Hannibalis in secreto habitum ac liberum fingenti qua uolt flectit.  
ominatur, quibus quondam auspiciis patres eorum ad Aegates pugnauerint insulas, ea  
illis exeuntibus in aciem portendisse deos. adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse  
praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in patriam ad parentes liberos coniuges  
penatesque deos. celsus haec corpore uoltuque ita laeto ut uicisse iam crederes dicebat.  
Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes; triariis postremam aciem clausit.  
Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat sed manipulos  
aliquantum inter se distantes ut esset spatium qua elephanti hostium acti nihil ordines  
turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto  
opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidasque ab  
dextro opposuit. uias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum uelitibus--ea tunc leuis  
armatura erat--compleuit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos  
refugerent ordines aut in dextram laeuamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis uiam  
qua inruerent in ancipitia tela beluis darent.  
Hannibal ad terrorem primos elephantos--octoginta autem erant, quot nulla unquam in  
acie ante habuerat-- instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque, Baliaribus  
Maurisque admixtis: in secunda acie Carthaginenses Afrosque et Macedonum legionem:  
modico deinde interuallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum--Bruttii plerique  
erant, ui ac necessitate plures quam sua uoluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti--instruxit.  
equitatum et ipse circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginenses, sinistrum Numidae  
tenuerunt. uaria adhortatio erat in exercitu inter tot homines quibus non lingua, non mos,  
non lex, non arma, non uestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset.  
auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur: Galli proprio atque



insito in Romanos odio accenduntur: Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem uictoriae ostentantur: Mauros Numidasque Masinissae impotenti futuro dominatu terret: aliis aliae spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di penates, sepulcra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pauidae, aut excidium seruitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur.

Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos alienigenis agerent, tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephantum in suos, sinistram maxime cornu, uerterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. addidit facile Masinissa percussis terrorem nudauitque ab ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae in hostem actae inter uelutum ordines cum multis suis uulneribus ingentem stragem edebant. resilientes enim ad manipulos uelites cum uiam elephantis ne obtererentur fecissent, in ancipites ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec pila ab antesignanis cessabant donec undique incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suo dextro cornu ipsos Carthaginiensium equites in fugam uerterunt. Laelius, ut turbatos uidit hostes, addidit percussis terrorem.

Utrimque nudata equite erat Punica acies cum pedes concurrat, nec spe nec uiribus iam par. ad hoc dictu parua sed magna eadem in re gerenda momenta: congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis, uoces; pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et uelocitas illinc maior quam uis. igitur primo impetu extemplo mouere loco hostium aciem Romani. ala deinde et umbonibus pulsantes in summos gradu inlato aliquantum spatii uelut nullo resistente incessere, urgentibus et nouissimis primos ut semel motam aciem sensere, quod ipsum uim magnam ad pellendum hostem addebat. apud hostes auxiliares cedentes secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non

sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se perueniret hostis, pedem referrent. igitur auxiliares terga dant repente et in suos uersi partim refugere in secundam aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante non adiuti et tunc exclusi; et prope duo iam permixta proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum hostibus simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere, non tamen ita percussos iratosque in aciem acceperere sed densatis ordinibus in cornua uacuumque circa campum extra proelium eiecere, ne pauido fuga uolneribusque milite sinceram et integram aciem miscerent.

Ceterum tanta strages hominum armorumque locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares compleuerat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per confertos hostes fuerat, itaque qui primi erant, hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis qua quisque poterat sequentes hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt, principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant uagam ante se cernendo aciem, quod Scipio ubi uidit receptui prope canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua inducit quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies esset, ita nouum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe ad ueros hostes peruentum erat, et armorum genere et usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et magnitudine uel spei uel periculi pares; sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat.

In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, reuertentes in auersam hostium aciem incurrere, is demum equitum impetus perculit hostem, multi circumuenti in acie caesi, <multi> per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra uiginti milia: par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus, elephantis undecim: uictores ad mille et quingenti cecidere.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumentum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio priusquam excederet pugna expertus, et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis uis signa sequi et seruare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem ne homines mixti ex conluuione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, uulneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Carthaginienses Afrosque ut omnibus rebus aliis pares eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent in postremam aciem summos, interuallo quoque diremptos. hoc edito uelut ultimo uirtutis opere, Hannibal cum Hadrumentum refugisset accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricensimo post anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.

#### LIV. XXIX 38; XXX 1

[XXIX 38] Eadem aestate in Brutiis Clamptia a consule ui capta, Consentia et Pandosia et ignobiles aliae ciuitates uoluntate in dicionem uenerunt, et cum comitorum iam appeteret tempus, Cornelium potius ex Etruria ubi nihil belli erat Romam acciri placuit, is consules Cn. Seruilius Caepionem et C. Seruilius Geminum creauit, inde praetoria comitia habita, creati P. Cornelius Lentulus P. Quinctilius Uarus P. Aelius Paetus P. Uillius Tappulus; hi duo cum aediles plebis essent, praetores creati sunt, consul comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in Etruriam redit.

Sacerdotes eo anno mortui atque in locum eorum suffecti: Ti. Ueturius Philo flamen Martialis in locum M. Aemili Regilli, qui priore anno mortuus erat, creatus inauguratusque; in M. Pomponi Mathonis auguris et decemuiri locum creati decemuir M. Aurelius Cotta, augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat. quadrigae aureae eo anno in Capitolio positae ab aedilibus curulibus C. Liuio et M. Seruilio Gemino, et ludi Romani biduum instaurati; item per biduum plebei ab aedilibus P. Aelio P. Uillio; et Iouis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

[XXX 1] Cn. Seruilius et C. Seruilius consules--sexto decimo is annus belli Punici erat-- cum de re publica belloque et prouinciis ad senatum rettulissent, censuerunt patres ut consules inter se compararent sortirenturue uter Bruttios aduersus Hannibalem, uter Etruriam ac Ligures prouinciam haberet: cui Bruttii euenissent exercitum a P. Sempronio acciperet; P. Sempronius--ei quoque enim pro consule imperium in annum prorogabatur-- P. Licinio succederet; is Romam reuerteretur, bello quoque bonus habitus ad cetera, quibus nemo ea tempestate instructor cuius habebatur, congestis omnibus humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis, nobilis idem ac diues erat; forma uiribusque corporis excellebat; facundissimus habebatur, seu causa oranda, seu in senatu et apud populum suadendi ac dissuadendi locus esset; iuris pontificii peritissimus; super haec bellicae quoque laudis consulatus compotem fecerat, quod in Bruttii prouincia, idem in Etruria ac Liguribus decretum: M. Cornelius nouo consuli tradere exercitum iussus, ipse prorogato imperio Galliam prouinciam obtinere cum legionibus iis quas <L.> Scribonius priore anno habuisset, sortiti deinde prouincias: Caepioni Bruttii, [Seruilio] Gemino Etruria euenit, tum praetorum prouinciae in sortem coniectae, iurisdictionem urbanam Paetus Aelius, Sardiniam P. Lentulus, Siciliam P. Uillius, Ariminum cum duabus legionibus--sub Sp. Lucretio eae fuerant--Quinctilius Uarus est sortitus, et Lucretio prorogatum imperium ut Genuam oppidum a Magone Poeno dirutum exaedificaret. P. Scipioni non temporis, sed

rei gerendae fine donec debellatum in Africa foret, prorogatum imperium est; decretumque ut supplicatio fieret, quod is in Africam prouinciam traiecisset, ut ea res salutaris populo Romano ipsique duci atque exercitui esset.

#### LIV. XXX, 12-15

Ibi Syphax dum obequitat hostium turmis si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset, equo grauius icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et uiuus, laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus spectaculum, ad Laelium pertrahitur. caedes in eo proelio minor quam uictoria fuit quia equestri tantummodo proelio certatum fuerat: non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est impetu in castra facto quo perculsa rege amisso multitudo se contulerat.

Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat; eoque ex fuga ingens hominum se contulerat uis. Masinissa sibi quidem dicere nihil esse in praesentia pulchrius quam uictorem recipere tanto post interuallo patrium inuisere regnum, sed tam secundis quam aduersis rebus non dari spatium ad cessandum; si se Laelius cum equitatu uinctoque Syphace Cirtam praecedere sinat, trepida omnia metu se oppressurum; Laelium cum peditibus subsequi modicis itineribus posse, adsentiente Laelio praegressus Cirtam euocari ad conloquium principes Cirtensium iubet, sed apud ignaros regis casus nec quae acta essent promendo nec minis nec suadendo ante ualuit quam rex uinctus in conspectum datus est, tum ad spectaculum tam foedum comploratio orta, et partim pauore moenia sunt deserta, partim repentino consensu gratiam apud uictorem quaerentium patefactae portae, et Masinissa praesidio circa portas opportunaque moenium dimisso ne cui fugae pateret exitus, ad regiam occupandam citato uadit equo.

Intranti uestibulum in ipso limine Sophoniba, uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdrubalis Poeni, occurrit; et cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse, id quod erat, rata genibus aduoluta eius omnia

quidem ut possis' inquit 'in nobis di dederunt uirtusque et felicitas tua; sed si captiuae apud dominum uitae necisque suae uocem supplicem mittere licet, si genua, si uictricem attingere dextram, precor quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusce regiae deos, qui te melioribus ominibus accipiant quam Syphacem hinc miserunt, hanc ueniam supplici des ut ipse quodcumque fert animus de captiua tua statuas neque me in cuiusquam Romani superbum et crudele arbitrium uenire sinas, si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuissem, tamen Numidae atque in eadem mecum Africa geniti quam alienigenae et externi fidem experiri mallet: quid Carthaginensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit uides, si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut uindices ab Romanorum arbitrio oro obtestorque.' forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas. itaque cum modo <genua modo> dextram amplectens in id ne cui Romano traderetur fidem exposceret propiusque blanditias iam oratio esset quam preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus est animus uictoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum in uenerem praeceptis, amore captiuae uictor captus, data dextra in id quod petebatur obligandae fidei in regiam concedit, institit deinde reputare secum ipse quemadmodum promissi fidem praestaret, quod cum expedire non posset, ab amore temerarium atque impudens mutuatur consilium; nuptias in eum ipsum diem parari repente iubet ne quid relinqueret integri aut Laelio aut ipsi Scipioni consulendi uelut in captiuam quae Masinissae iam nupta foret, factis nuptiis superuenit Laelius et adeo non dissimulauit improbare se factum ut primo etiam cum Syphace et ceteris captiuis detractam eam <lecto> geniali mittere ad Scipionem conatus sit, uictus deinde precibus Masinissae orantis ut arbitrium utrius regum duorum fortunae accessio Sophoniba esset ad Scipionem reiceret, misso Syphace et captiuis ceteras urbes Numidiae quae praesidiis regis tenebantur adiuuante Masinissa recipit.

Syphacem in castra adduci cum esset nuntiatum, omnis uelut ad spectaculum triumphum multitudo effusa est. praecedebat ipse uinctus; sequebatur grex nobilium Numidarum. tum quantum quisque plurimum poterat magnitudini Syphacis famaеque gentis uictoriam suam augendo addebat: illum esse regem cuius tantum maiestati duos potentissimi in terris tribuerint populi Romanus Carthaginiensisque ut Scipio imperator suus ad amicitiam eius petendam relicta prouincia Hispania exercituque duabus quinquereuibus in Africam nauigauerit, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator non ipse modo ad eum in regnum uenerit sed etiam filiam ei nuptum dedit. habuisse eum uno tempore in potestate duos imperatores, Poenum Romanumque. sicut ab dis immortalibus pars utraque hostiis mactandis pacem petisset, ita ab eo utrimque pariter amicitiam petitam. iam tantas habuisse opes ut Masinissam regno pulsum eo redegerit ut uita eius fama mortis et latebris ferarum modo in siluis rapto uiuentis tegeretur.

His sermonibus circumstantium celebratus rex in praetorium ad Scipionem est perductus. mouit et Scipionem cum fortuna pristina uiri praesenti fortunae conlata, tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac priuatim iuncti. eadem haec et Syphaci animum dederunt in adloquendo uictore. nam cum Scipio quid sibi uoluisset quaereret qui non societatem solum abnuisset Romanam sed ultro bellum intulisset, tum ille peccasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur, sed non tum demum cum arma aduersus populum Romanum cepisset: 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 pestemque omnibus delenimentis animum suum auertisse atque alienasse, nec conquiesse donec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma aduersus hospitem atque amicum induerit. perditio tamen atque adflicto sibi hoc in miseris 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; et fidem criminibus raptae prope inter arma nuptiae neque consulto neque expectato Laelio faciebant tamque praeceps festinatio ut quo die captam hostem uidisset eodem matrimonio iunctam acciperet et ad penates hostis sui nuptiale sacrum conficeret et eo foediora haec uidebantur Scipioni quod ipsum in Hispania iuuenem nullius forma pepulerat captiuae. haec secum uolutanti Laelius ac Masinissa superuenerunt. quos cum pariter ambo et benigno uultu excepisset et egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic adloquitur: 'aliqua te existimo, Masinissa, intuentem in me bona et principio in Hispania ad iungendam mecum amicitiam uenisse et postea in Africa te ipsum spesque omnes tuas in fidem meam commisisse. atqui nulla earum uirtus est propter quas tibi adpetendus uisus sim qua ego aequae ac temperantiae et continentiae libidinum gloriatus fuerim. hanc te quoque ad ceteras tuas eximias uirtutes, Masinissa, adiecisse uelim. non est, non--mihi crede--tantum ab hostibus armatis aetate nostrae periculi quantum ab circumfusiis undique uoluptatibus. qui eas temperantia sua frenauit ac domuit multo maius decus maioremque uictoriam sibi peperit quam nos Syphace uicto habemus. quae me absente strenue ac fortiter fecisti libenter et commemorari et meminisse cetera te ipsum reputare tecum quam me dicente erubescere malo. Syphax populi Romani auspiciis uictus captusque est. itaque ipse coniunx regnum ager oppida homines qui incolunt, quicquid denique Syphacis fuit, praeda populi Romani est; et regem coniugemque eius, etiamsi non ciuis Carthaginensis esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium uideremus, Romam oporteret mitti, ac senatus populi Romani de ea iudicium atque arbitrium esse quae regem socium nobis alienasse atque in



arma egisse praecipitem dicatur. uince animum; caue deformes multa bona uno uitio et tot meritorum gratiam maiore culpa quam causa culpae est corrumpas.'

Masinissae haec audienti non rubor solum suffusus sed lacrimae etiam obortae; et cum se quidem in potestate futurum imperatoris dixisset orassetque eum ut quantum res sineret fidei suae temere obstrictae consulere--promisisse enim se in nullius potestatem eam traditurum--ex praetorio in tabernaculum suum confusus concessit. ibi arbitris remotis cum crebro suspiritu et gemitu, quod facile ab circumstantibus tabernaculum exaudiri posset, aliquantum temporis consumpsisset, ingenti ad postremum edito gemitu fidum e seruis unum uocat, sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae uenenum erat, et mixtum in poculo ferre ad Sophonibam iubet ac simul nuntiare Masinissam libenter primam ei fidem praestaturum fuisse quam uir uxori debuerit: quoniam eius arbitrium qui possint adimant, secundam fidem praestare ne uiua in potestatem Romanorum ueniat, memor patris imperatoris patriaeque et duorum regum quibus nupta fuisset, sibi ipsa consuleret.

Hunc nuntium ac simul uenenum ferens minister cum ad Sophonibam uenisset, 'accipio' inquit 'nuptiale munus, neque ingratum, si nihil maius uir uxori praestare potuit, hoc tamen nuntia, melius me morituram fuisse si non in funere meo nupsissem.' non locuta est ferocius quam acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo dato impauide hausit, quod ubi nuntiatum est Scipioni, ne quid aeger animi ferox iuuenis grauius consuleret accitum eum extemplo nunc solatur, nunc quod temeritatem temeritate alia luerit tristioremq; rem quam necesse fuerit fecerit leniter castigat, postero die ut a praesenti motu auerteret animum eius, in tribunal escendit et contionem aduocari iussit. ibi Masinissam, primum regem appellatum eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona aurea patera sella curuli et scipione eburneo toga picta et palmata tunica donat, addit uerbis honorem: neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos neque triumphantibus amplioem eo ornatum esse quo unum omnium externorum dignum

Masinissam populus Romanus ducat. Laelium deinde et ipsum conlaudatum aurea corona donat; et alii militares uiri, prout a quoque nauata opera erat, donati. his honoribus mollitus regis animus erectusque in spem propinquam sublato Syphace omnis Numidiae potiundae.

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Haec eo anno in Africa gesta; insequentia excedunt in eum annum quo M. Seruilius Geminus, qui tum magister equitum erat, et Ti. Claudius Nero consules facti sunt. ceterum exitus superioris anni cum legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia questi essent uastatos agros ab regiis praesidiis profectosque in Macedoniam legatos ad res repetendas non admissos ad Philippum regem, simul nuntiassent quattuor milia militum cum Sopatro duce traiecta in Africam dici ut essent Carthaginiensibus praesidio et pecuniae aliquantum una missum, legatos ad regem qui haec aduersus foedus facta uideri patribus nuntiarent mittendos censuit senatus. missi C. Terentius Uarro C. Mamilius M. Aurelius; iis tres quinqueremes datae.

Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo cliuus Publicius ad solum exustus est, et aquarum magnitudine, sed annonae uilitate fuit, praeterquam quod pace omnis Italia erat aperta, etiam quod magnam uim frumenti ex Hispania missam M. Ualerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris uicatum populo discripserunt.

eodem anno Q. Fabius Maximus moritur, exactae aetatis si quidem uerum est augurem duos et sexaginta annos fuisse, quod quidam auctores sunt. uir certe fuit dignus tanto cognomine uel si nouum ab eo inciperet. superauit paternos honores, auitos aequauit. pluribus uictoriis et maioribus proeliis auus insignis Rullus; sed omnia aequare unus hostis Hannibal potest. cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; et sicut dubites utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an quia ita bello proprie quod tum gerebatur aptum erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait. augur

in locum eius inauguratus Q. Fabius Maximus filius: in eiusdem locum pontifex--nam duo sacerdotia habuit--Ser. Sulpicius Galba. ludi Romani diem unum, plebei ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus M. Sextio Sabino et Cn. Tremelio Flacco. ii ambo praetores facti et cum his C. Liuius Salinator et C. Aurelius Cotta. comitia eius anni utrum C. Seruilius consul habuerit an, quia eum res in Etruria tenuerint quaestiones ex senatus consulto de coniurationibus principum habentem, dictator ab eo dictus P. Sulpicius incertum ut sit diuersi auctores faciunt.



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