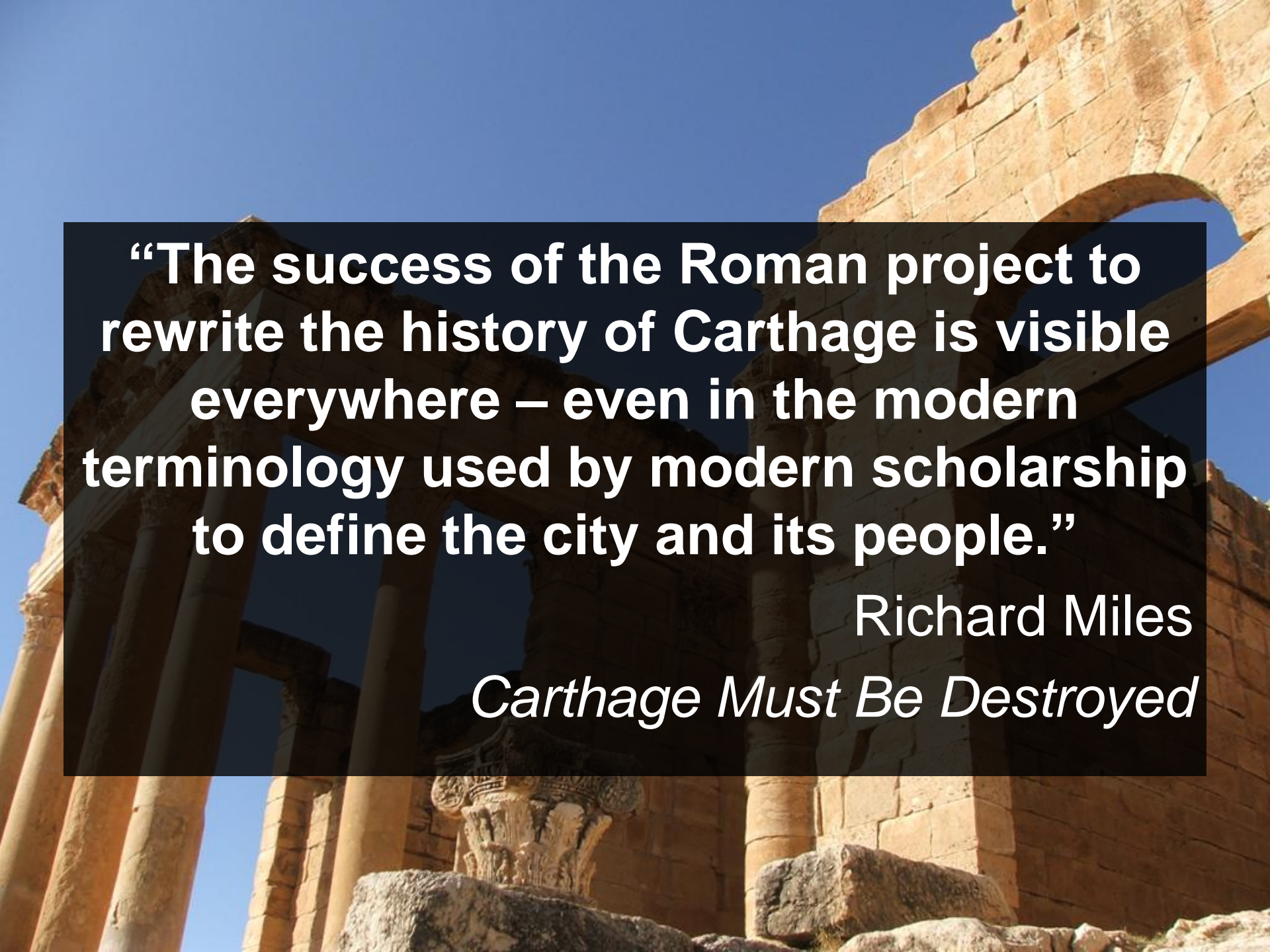


The background image shows the ruins of an ancient Roman temple or public building. The structure is made of large, weathered stone blocks. In the foreground, there are several columns and a set of steps leading up to a platform. The sky is clear and blue. A dark, semi-transparent rectangular box is overlaid on the center of the image, containing white text.

(Re)Writing History
Livy and the Hannibalic War

The background of the image shows the ruins of an ancient city, likely Carthage, under a clear blue sky. The scene is dominated by large, weathered stone structures. In the foreground, there are several tall, fluted columns supporting a partially collapsed archway. The stone is a warm, golden-brown color, showing signs of age and erosion. The overall atmosphere is one of historical grandeur and decay.

“The success of the Roman project to rewrite the history of Carthage is visible everywhere – even in the modern terminology used by modern scholarship to define the city and its people.”

Richard Miles

Carthage Must Be Destroyed

Hannibal Stereotypes

- Hannibal as a figure of cruelty and faithlessness (Fabius Pictor, see, for example Polybius 9.22.8, 9.26.11, and Livy e.g. 24.45.12-14 and 22.6.11-12)
- *dirus Hannibal* (Horace, *Carm.*3.6.33-6 and Juvenal, *Sat.*7.161)
- *Hannibal ad portas* (Cicero, e.g. *Phil.*1.5.11)

Western Media Percepties

‘Lonely Planet’ Reisboeken:

- 2004 “Carthage – home of military superstar Hannibal”
- “Carthago – thuis van Hannibal die een militaire superstar was”

HANA
HANNIBAL PALACE
قصر



BG TUNISIA

بج تونس



مصفاة حنبعل لتكرير الغاز

Hannibal Gas Treatment Plant

الغاز الطبيعي اختصاصنا

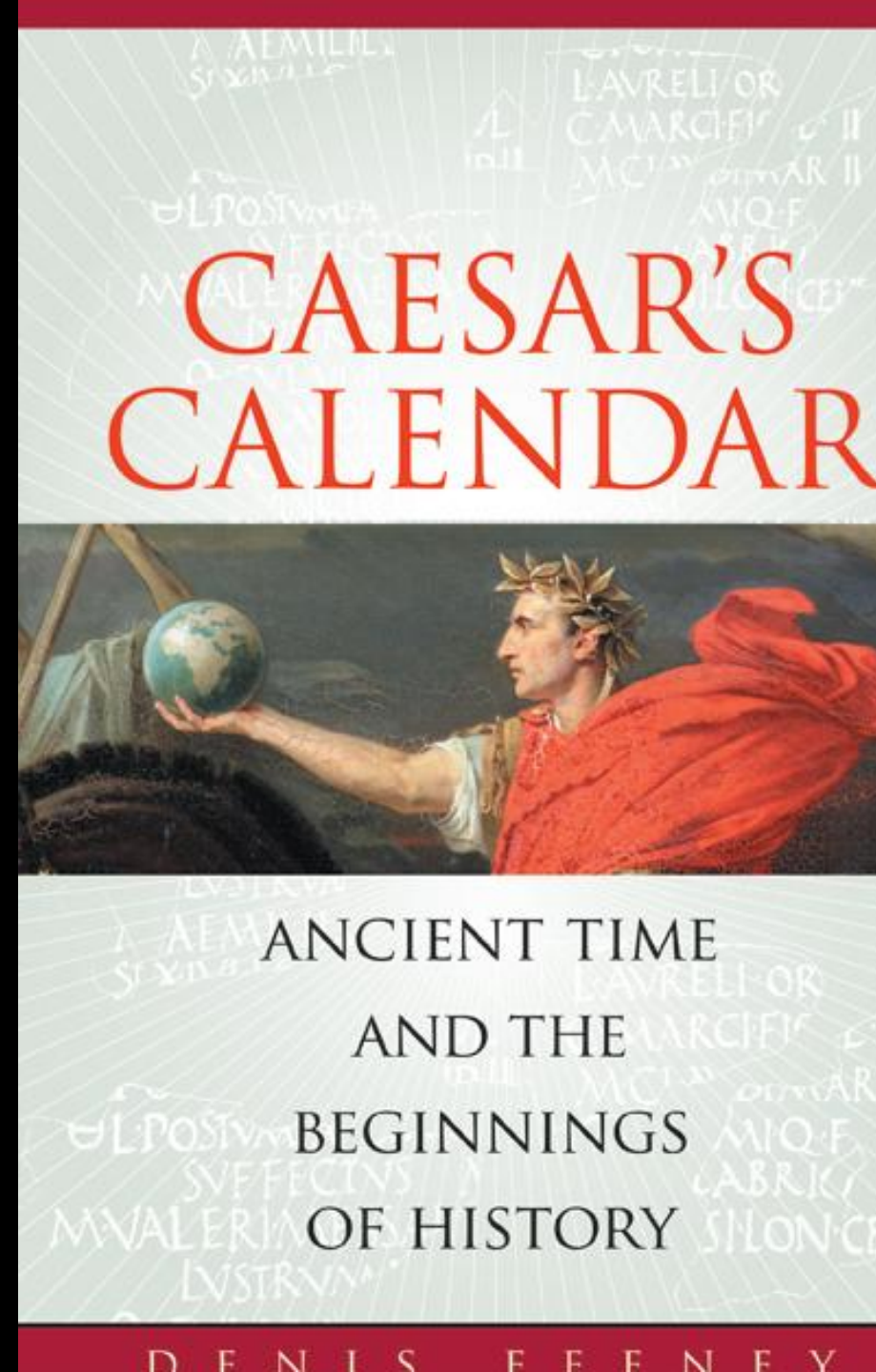
Natural gas. It's our business

TV and Film

- **2001 *Hannibal: The Man Who Hated Rome* British documentary**
- **2005 *Hannibal vs. Rome* in National Geographic Channel**
- **2006 *Hannibal - Rome's Worst Nightmare* TV film starring Alexander Siddig in the title role**
- **2010 *On Hannibal's Trail* BBC TV Documentary**
- **2017 (?) *Hannibal the Conqueror* Mainstream movie, starring Vin Diesel as Hannibal**

Writing History

- **Historiography**
- **Writing 'history' under Augustus**
- **Cultural Revolution**
- **Importance of time**



In the Beginning...

Facturusne operae pretium
sim si **a primordio urbis res
populi Romani** perscripserim
nec satis scio nec, si sciam,
dicere ausim, quippe qui
cum veterem tum volgatam
esse rem videam, dum novi
semper scriptores aut in
rebus certius aliquid
allaturos se aut scribendi
arte rudem vetustatem
superaturos
credunt. (*praef.1-2*)

“Whether I am likely to
accomplish anything worthwhile
of the labour, if I record **the
achievements of the Roman
people from the foundation of
the city**, I do not really know, nor
if I knew would I dare to avouch
it; [2] perceiving as I do that the
theme is not only old but
hackneyed, through the constant
succession of new historians, who
believe either that in their facts
they can produce more authentic
information, or that in their style
they will prove better than the
rude attempts of the
ancients. (Loeb)

In the Beginning...

Facturusne operae pretium
sim si a primordio urbis res
populi Romani perscripserim
nec satis scio nec, si sciam,
dicere ausim, quippe qui
cum **veterem** tum volgatam
esse rem videam, dum **novi**
semper scriptores aut **in**
rebus certius aliquid
allaturos se aut scribendi
arte rudem vetustatem
superaturos
credunt. (*praef.1-2*)

“Whether I am likely to
accomplish anything worthwhile
of the labour, if I record the
achievements of the Roman
people from the foundation of
the city, I do not really know, nor
if I knew would I dare to avouch
it; [2] perceiving as I do that the
theme is not only **old** but
hackneyed, through **the constant**
succession of new historians, who
believe either that in **their facts**
they can produce more authentic
information, or that in their style
they will prove better than the
rude attempts of the
ancients. (Loeb)

Livy: Time and Structure

- Published in pentads
- First book covers several centuries
- Books 2-5 average 30 years per book
- 6-10 = 25 years (approx); 11-20 = 7.5 years (approx)
- Books 21-30 cover 218-202 BC
- Manipulation of 'time' through structure – places stress upon certain events

Rome vs. Hannibal

- What did Hannibal mean to the Roman mind-set?
- Reputation for: Perfidy, trickery, monstrous cruelty, greed, sacrilege
- The Roman Hannibal
- What did this war mean to Rome...

Book 21: Hannibal

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod **Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.**

IN this preface to a part of my history I may properly assert what many an historian has declared at the outset of his entire work, to wit, that the war which I am going to describe was the most memorable of all wars ever waged —the war, that is, which, **under the leadership of Hannibal, the Carthaginians waged with the Roman People.** (Loeb)

Livy's Hannibalic War

- **Structure of the war**
- **Two pentads; events in parallel (e.g. Cannae, 22.42ff vs. Metaurus, 27.49ff)**
- **Rise and fall of Carthage is juxtaposed with the rise of Rome in the second pentad**
- **Hannibal vs. Rome's *uiri***

Writing a Myth

- Indication that Hannibal was trying to create his own 'history'
- Had two historians with him on campaign – Sosylus and Silenus (both writing in Greek; fragment of Silenus preserved by Cicero via Coelius Antipater, *Cic.Div.*1.49)
- Association with Hercules (Punic deity Melqart)
- Indication that these sources were used by Rome's writers

The Character Sketch

- Importance of the character sketch
- Parallels with Catiline. NB Clauss (1997) 184: 'both can be seen as representing and opposing the Roman state simultaneously'
- Significance of basing the other on Rome's own anti-hero
- Livy's second Punic War is not a 'black and white' approach to heroism

Hannibal: Character

Plurimum audaciae ad
pericula capessenda,
plurimum consilii
inter ipsa pericula
erat. Nullo labore aut
corpus fatigari aut
animus vinci poterat...

To reckless courage in
incurring dangers he united
the greatest judgment
when in the midst of them.
No toil could exhaust his
body or overcome his spirit.
Of heat and cold he was
equally tolerant. (21.4.5,
Loeb)

Hannibal: Character

Has tantas viri virtutes
ingentia vitia
aequabant, inhumana
crudelitas, **perfidia**
plus quam Punica,
nihil veri, nihil sancti,
nullus deum metus,
nullum ius iurandum,
nulla religio.

These admirable qualities
of the man were equalled
by his monstrous vices:
his cruelty was inhuman,
his perfidy worse than
Punic; he had no regard
for truth, and none for
sanctity, no fear of the
gods, no reverence for an
oath, **no religious scruple**
(Loeb)

Religion and the Hannibalic War

- The importance of having the gods on your side
- Prodigies are more positive when Scipio (the future Africanus) is consul
- Bringing *Magna Mater/Cybele* to Rome
- Livy downplays the role of Claudia Quinta and Scipio Nasica
- Result: Focus on the community and approaching victory...

Magna Mater (Cybele)

- The same story is told in Ovid (*Fasti* 4.247-348), as well as by Cicero (e.g. *Cael.*34), Diodorus (34.33.2), and later writers.
- BUT other than the poet Silius Italicus, only Livy claims that the Sibylline Books stated that victory in the Hannibalic war could be achieved by bringing the image to Rome.

Magna Mater (Cybele)

- Livy: ignores the cult's association with Troy
- Significantly downplays its 'oriental' and 'exotic' elements
- (Levene, 1993:71) 'No one goes as far as Livy in completely Romanising the cult and ignoring the oriental. The central focus for him is on the total acceptance of the cult at Rome, and the consequent victory for Rome that it promises.'

in eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis uelut **praesagientem animum** de fine belli quod depoposcisset prouinciam Africam. itaque quo maturius fati ominibus oraculisque portendentis sese uictoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset.

They considered the presentiment which existed in the mind of Publius Scipio, with regard to the termination of the war, when he claimed Africa as his province, as corroborating the same anticipation. [8] In order, therefore, that they might the more speedily put themselves in possession of victory, which was portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they began to think what method could be adopted for conveying the goddess to Rome. (29.10.7-8, Loeb)

Livy's Scipio

- Livy's Scipio is given prominence mid-way through the third decade, with his assumption of the command in Spain.
- Like Hannibal he has a character sketch (26.19.3-9).
- The son of Jupiter? Another Alexander?
- Like Hannibal, Livy's Scipio is a master of rhetoric, capable of addressing friend and foe alike, but he is also ruthless (e.g. 28.27.1-29.12) and willing to dispense with formality in the pursuit of individual glory (e.g. 28.40.1-2).

Hannibal and Scipio

- Prior to the battle of Zama, Hannibal and Scipio show mutual admiration for one another (30.30.1-9).
- Hannibal says that it would have been better had the gods permitted their fathers to be content to ruling their own lands and not to make war (*optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse ut et uos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus*, 30.30.6).
- Carthage will reject Hannibal; Rome will reject Scipio (38.52.1-3).
- “Hannibal Barca and Scipio fight fire with fire in onomastic *Blitzkrieg*” see Henderson (1997) 142 n.49

Oracular Hannibal

‘nulla magna ciuitas diu quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi inuenit, ut praeualida corpora ab externis causis tuta uidentur, suis ipsa uiribus onerantur.’

‘No great state can stay quiet for long; if it does not have an enemy abroad, it finds one at home, just as outstandingly sturdy bodies appear to be safe from external threats, but are burdened by their very strength.’ (30.44.8)

Bibliography

- Clauss, J. J. (1997) '*Domestici hostes: The Nausicaa in Medea, the Catiline in Hannibal*', *Materiali e Discussioni* 39: 165-85
- Feeney, D. (2007) *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley, CA; London)
- Henderson, J. (1997) *Figuring out Roman Nobility: Juvenal's Eighth Satire* (Exeter)
- Levene, D. S. (1993) *Religion in Livy* (Leiden)
- Miles, R. (2010) *Carthage Must be Destroyed: The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Mediterranean Civilisation* (London)