

taetra ibi luctatio erat via lubrica [glacie] non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerunt... ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. (21.36.7)

The vocabulary used of the slope here is interesting. Both *lubrica* and *fallente* have connotations of deceptiveness, of treachery.³⁷ *Levis*, too, can have associations with instability and fickleness. The landscape is deceptive and difficult to get a grip on, both literally and figuratively.

Eventually the Carthaginians succeed in navigating the descent, and arrive in the fields of the Po Valley (21.37). Yet the impossibility of grasping and interpreting the Alps continues even after the Carthaginians have left them behind. As the first engagement with the Roman army draws near, Livy gives us a set of paired speeches from the Roman general, Scipio, and from Hannibal, in which each commander encourages the troops and stresses the significance of this battle.³⁸ These speeches present opposed conceptions of space and of Hannibal's journey up to this point. These differing visions of what has happened serve both to illuminate the character of each general, but they are also a neat way of showing how events, and the space in which they happen, can be subject to opposite, ideologically motivated interpretations.³⁹ Scipio's speech comes first, and offers a vision of the state of affairs which will be contradicted in most of its

³⁷Elizabeth Sutherland, in her article on Horace *Odes* 1.19, 'How (Not) to Look at a Woman,' *AJPh* 124.1 (2003): 67-8, sums up the meanings of *lubricus* in Latin literature: it tends to describe or be associated with materials, states, and situations that are unstable, unpleasant or even dangerous.

³⁸These speeches are much longer and more elaborate than their counterparts in Polybius' narrative (3.63-64). Ragnar Ullmann suggests intermediate sources in the form of Claudius Quadrigarius and Coelius Antipater in 'Quelques remarques sur Polybe, III, 64, et Tite Live, XXI, 40-41,' *Symbolae Osloenses* 10 (1932).

³⁹Feldherr, *Spectacle and Society*, 53-54ff for the notion that Livy presents contrasting views of the world in pre-battle speeches as being at stake in the battle ahead; victory will confirm one side's story over the other. In this case Hannibal's world view would win out, but the obvious knowledge that Hannibal will eventually lose, and his grand imaginings will not come to pass, complicates the situation somewhat. For further discussion of these speeches, see Eric Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, (Austin, 2011), 88-98, and Ursula Händl-Sagawe, *Der Beginn des 2. Punischen Krieges : ein historisch-kritischer Kommentar zu Livius Buch 21*, (Munich, 1995), 256-7.

details by Hannibal. From his perspective, the Carthaginian army is transformed beyond hope by their journey across the Alps, that they now resemble the mountain-dwelling Gauls more than a functional army.

effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore inluuie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, niue rigentes nerui, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. (21.40.9)

In short, Scipio expects that “the Alps have conquered Hannibal”. In his own speech, Hannibal makes the opposite claim, referring to himself as *uictorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium*.⁴⁰ It is unclear whose interpretation is to be preferred, since the description of the army when they did come down from the Alps corresponds quite well with Scipio’s vision – Livy notes their *squalida et prope efferata corpora*.⁴¹ The Alps once again defy easy interpretation; they are the location of opposing interpretations of a historical event. Their status as slippery boundary seems to leak out into the way that their history is understood, so that they come to stand for the difficulty of seeing events in a singular way.

The speeches also offer contrasting views of space more generally, which reflect each general’s approach to reality and narrative. Both have something to say about their journeys up to this point. Scipio’s is a comparatively dry and down to earth account of his movements since the declaration of war, prosaic and grounded in detail (*licuit in Hispaniam, prouinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo.... cum praeterveherer nauibus Galliae*

⁴⁰ 21.43.15

⁴¹ 21.39.2

oram...egressus).⁴² This recitation of his route up until this point is appropriate for the character of the rational, capable general, it recalls the clear, A to B approach taken by Caesar in his *Bellum Gallicum*. Specifically, it recalls Michel Rambaud's category of 'espace stratégique', the dominant view of space in the *Bellum Gallicum*.⁴³ Beyond characterizing Scipio, its main function is to bring home to the reader how extreme and divorced from reality Hannibal's approach to space is. Hannibal's normal viewpoint is more like Rambaud's 'espace géographique', in which everything is seen in large terms, as if from above. Scipio's pragmatism is also apparent in his interpretation of the past: he takes into account the defeats of the First Punic War (which Hannibal glossed over in his speech before the Alps), and extrapolates from the past into the present:

experiri iuuat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per uiginti annos terra ediderit an idem sint qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodeuicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an uectigalis stipendiariusque et seruus populi Romani a patre relictus... (21.41.6-7)⁴⁴

Scipio's pragmatism is not entirely endorsed by the narrative, since we have already seen that a supernatural element to Hannibal's character is not ruled out by his crossing of the Alps, and there will be much more in the way of quasi-supernatural behaviour as events unfold.

⁴² 21.41.2-3

⁴³ Michel Rambaud, "L'espace dans le récit césarien," in *Littérature gréco-romain et géographie historique. Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion*. Ed. R. Chevallier (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1974): 111-129.

⁴⁴ On the opposing Carthaginian and Roman perspectives on the loss of Sicily and Sardinia in the First Punic War, and their implications for understanding the role of focalization in Livy's narrative technique, see Pausch, *Livius und der Leser*, 145-8.

Nonetheless, Hannibal will be defeated just as his father was; ultimately the Carthaginians will not prove to be that different from their predecessors.

If Scipio tries to deny any Herculean qualities to Hannibal, that general's speech reclaims them, by applying an epic veneer to all of his achievements so far, just as he did in the speech prior to the Alps at 21.30. Italy's absolute centrality to Hannibal's world view now becomes particularly prominent. At the beginning of the book, Spain was his base and everything radiated outwards from there. Now Spain is peripheral (he refers to his army's past in the *uastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus*)⁴⁵, and he imagines that he has come to the centre of the world and the end of his journey. Much of the success he praises in himself and his army has to do with crossing great natural boundaries – he describes the Carthaginian position in Italy as being hemmed in by such boundaries:

dextra laeuaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem nauem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior ac uiolentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, uix integris uobis ac uigentibus transitaе. Hic uincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis.
(21.43.4-5)

The overwhelming nature of these boundaries, which they have crossed or will have to cross, becomes the measure of their achievement; it becomes even more exaggerated as the speech goes on, and again we see rhetoric which recalls Augustan ways of expressing Roman success in conquest:⁴⁶

⁴⁵ 21.43.8

⁴⁶ Horace, Odes 3.4.33-36: *uisam Britannos hospitibus feros/ et laetum equino sanguine Concanum/ uisam pharetratos Gelonos/ et Scythicum inuiolatus amnem*; Catullus 11.5-12: *sive in Hyrcanos Arabesue molles, seu Sagas sagittiferosue Parthos/,sive quae septemgeminus colorant/ aequora Nilus/,sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,*

ab Herculis columnis ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos uincentes huc peruenistis. (21.43.13)

Everything about Hannibal's perception of his journey and his destination contradicts the picture offered by Scipio. Space is not something that a general simply moves through, going from A to B. Instead, each step along the way becomes another signifier of Hannibal's great destiny. Space is for Hannibal a rather stylized setting for his achievements, and this view of space, that it is composed of borders and obstacles to be crossed, is at the heart of his self-definition. It is also how he defines himself in opposition to the Romans. As he sees it, they are concerned with using the geography of the world to set limits for others, to define space in a prohibitive way. Hannibal crosses those limits and collapses those definitions.

circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos obseruat: 'ne transieris Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!'
ad Hiberum est Saguntum. 'nusquam te uestigio moueris.' (21.44.5-6)

At this stage, however, the Ebro is the only real boundary the Romans have set for the Carthaginians, and that was agreed in a treaty. Again, Hannibal seems to be projecting his ideas about who he is fighting with into the future. His preoccupation with Roman boundaries brings

Caesaris visens monimenta magni,/ Gallicum Rhenum horribile aequor uli/mosque Britannos.; Propertius 4.3.7-10: te modo uiderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,/ te modo munito Sericus hostis equo,/ hibernique Getae, pictoque Britannia curru,/ ustus et Eoa decolor Indus aqua. On these images in the Augustan period see James Romm, *The Ends of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton University Press, 1994), for discussions of the individual regions; Richard F. Thomas, *Lands and peoples in Roman poetry: the ethnographical tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1982); also Micah Young Myers, "The frontiers of the empire and the edges of the world in the Augustan poetic imaginary." PhD diss., Stanford University, 2008. ProQuest (AAT 3332892).

to mind future events, such as their dealings with the Seleucids: the setting of the Taurus mountains as the limit to Antiochus III's power, or Popilius Laenas drawing a circle around Antiochus IV to prevent the invasion of Egypt.⁴⁷

But in Hannibal's view if the Romans are arrogant in their setting of boundaries, they are even more so in their own crossing of them. He points to the assignment of the consuls to Africa and Spain at 21.17.1. Although the consul Sempronius, to whom Africa was assigned, did not make it beyond Sicily, Hannibal implies that that Africa and Spain, the homelands and former bases of his army, are already lost to them (*nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis uindicarimus*).⁴⁸ At the very least, they are fighting beyond their own territory and do not have the *tuta ac pacata itinera* that the Romans can fall back on.⁴⁹ No possibility of flight or retreat remains to them. This brief passage again raises the idea of Italy as the Romans' homeland; they are safe there, while the Carthaginians have no home.

However, Hannibal's idea that the Romans have the friendly countryside on their side is a questionable idea about how Rome and Italy relate to one another at this point in time. The treachery of the Italian countryside and its communities will prove to be a huge problem for the Romans, and Hannibal will end up having to use it to his advantage. This misconception of Hannibal's, however, is in line with the sense we have been getting all along in book 21, that Livy is somehow presenting us with an attack on Augustan Rome. The status of Rome and Italy (and the level of their interconnectedness) which Hannibal envisages is anachronistic. The same notion of Italian unity is put forward in Scipio's speech, when he tells the Roman troops that they must fight "for Italy" at the Ticinus (*pro Italia uobis est pugnandum*).⁵⁰ Urso, in his article on the

⁴⁷ Livy 45.12, Polybius 29.27.

⁴⁸ 21.44.7

⁴⁹ 21.44.8

⁵⁰ 21.41.14.

speeches and battle at the Ticinus, points out this oddity and suggests that it should be read in the context of a burgeoning Italian identity in these years, an identity which would form in the aftermath of Hannibal's invasion in response to a foreign threat within the Italian peninsula, and this seems right.⁵¹ But it also makes sense as a retrojection of Augustan values regarding Italy that would be familiar to contemporary readers. This sense is further borne out as the narrative approaches the battle at the Trebia. At this point, Livy narrates for us the anxieties of the consul Sempronius in the run-up to the battle. Not only does he fall prey to the same exaggerations of Hannibal's progress that Scipio and Hannibal himself have expressed, complaining that the Carthaginian camp is *in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis*, but he also thinks about the forebears of the Romans and how their land, their territory is about to become destabilized.

Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam uictis ademptas nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent pelli Romanos. "quantum ingemiscant" inquit "patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si uideant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia pauentes intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?" (21.53.4-5)

On the surface this seems anachronistic. To a reader of Livy's day, the generations that fought the Punic wars were remembered as superior men, so to read about a man of the third century worrying about inferiority to his own forebears must have seemed rather strange. It is

⁵¹ Gianpaolo Urso, 'Pro Italia vobis est pugnandum: Annibale al Ticino,' *RSA* 33 (2003), 80-87. See also Mathilde Mahé-Simon, 'L'Italie chez Tite-Live,' *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 77 (2003/2): 235-258, who makes a similar argument, suggesting that Livy is referring to a unified Italy deliberately to highlight the Roman reaction to foreign invasion. On the progress of Italian identity during the second and first centuries and its reflection in literature, see Clifford Ando, "Vergil's Italy: Ethnography and Politics in First-century Rome," in *Clio and the poets: Augustan poetry and the traditions of ancient historiography*, eds. David S. Levene and Damien P. Nelis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 123-142.

also strange that Sempronius implies that this part of Italy is uncomplicatedly part of the Roman *patria*, part of the lands in which their fathers lived. As Levene points out, the area around the Trebia was at that time inhabited by Gauls, whose allegiance was uncertain.⁵² But it makes sense that Livy would have Sempronius put it this way. To readers of his own time, it is more shocking to think of the lands they knew as part of *Italia* falling away out of Roman control.

Space and history are equally fluid, then, in this part of the third decade. Hannibal and his view of space, and the views of those around him, present us with various possibilities for understanding Italy, and the significance of his invasion. By repeatedly collating Rome and Italy, and referring to a level of unity which was only being consolidated in Augustus' own time, the Roman reader is encouraged to remember the fractured history of the relationship between the two. The Carthaginian invasion appears to be taking place at a time more similar to their own. The suggestions that Hannibal looks on third century Rome as more like its future Augustan self perform the same function. The status of Rome, Italy, and Carthage with respect to one another and to the rest of the world is not yet set, and the various perspectives through which we see space and geography in book 21 remind the reader of this.

Hannibal in the Italian landscape:

From the concern with large spaces and conceptions of geography which are prominent during Hannibal's journey into Spain, we move to a more landscape-focused narrative as the war proper gets underway. The landscapes which form the backdrop to individual battles and moments of crisis will be our main subject as we look at the end of book 21 and book 22. Livy's

⁵² Levene, *Hannibalic War*, 222–3. See also Nicholas Purcell, "The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman impact on Cisalpine Gaul," in *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, eds. T.F.C. Blagg and Martin Millett (Oxford: Oxbow, 1998): 6–29.

descriptions of landscapes serve several purposes: they can help to reflect on the character of the individuals in the history, particularly on Hannibal and the Roman generals who oppose him; hints of the supernatural or of a certain agency on the part of the landscape add a genre-bending momentousness to the narrative; they can also continue to raise questions about the relationship between the Romans and Italy. There are strong suggestions in book 22 that the Italian countryside has the capacity to work against the Romans, and this naturally recalls the disunity and fragmentation of Italy over the course of the Hannibalic War. The unity Hannibal imagined he would find is shown to be deeply questionable.

The end of 21 and the beginning of 22 do not quite fit in to this pattern. Instead the difficulties faced by both the Romans and the Carthaginians in acclimatizing to war in Italy and its terrain emerge gradually from the narrative. The battle at the Ticinus (21.46) proves to the Romans that they are no match for the Carthaginian cavalry, and therefore that the open plains of the Po Valley are not the place to make a stand (*campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse*).⁵³ The battle at the Trebia follows after an interlude on Sicily, and we see Hannibal's predilection for concealment and illusion in the landscape:

Erat in medio riuus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme uestiuntur, uirgultis uepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumuectus ipse oculis perlustrauit, "hic erit locus" Magoni fratri ait "quem teneas...." (21.54.1)

⁵³ 21.47.1

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