CHAPTER 1

Hannibal and Scipio on Themselves

1.1 Introduction

Famous modern generals and politicians write their memoirs, sometimes with help from ghostwriters; and their biographies are written by other people.[1] There are some rough ancient equivalents to military memoir-writing: the best-known surviving examples are Xenophon's lengthy and heavily autobiographical *Anabasis* (the 'march up country') and Julius Caesar's accounts of his campaigns.[2] Both men used the third person singular about themselves, and both had self-exculpatory motives for writing. Biographies existed in the ancient world.[3] The same Xenophon wrote an encomiastic sketch, with biographical elements, of his friend the Spartan king Agesilaus. Neither Scipio nor Hannibal wrote memoirs in the modern sense, or even in the limited, campaign-focussed way that Xenophon and Caesar did; and biographers did not tackle their lives until much later. So if we want a sense of how Hannibal and Scipio might have presented themselves and their careers, we must improvise and use our imaginations.

The present book begins, it may be thought, back to front, with two partly imaginary inscriptions which purport to celebrate retrospectively much of the career of Hannibal, and all the career of Scipio. Hannibal's will be based on a genuine surviving and at one time inscribed document, which does not survive complete as an inscription, but which was partially summarized by our two main surviving sources, Polybius in Greek and

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[1] This chapter anticipates facts and discussions to be provided later in the book, and in this chapter itself; to keep the text and footnotes as uncluttered as possible, I give very few detailed forward references.

[2] There are other attested but lost examples, as we shall see later in this chapter. See Section 1.4, p. 19.

[3] Momigliano 1971 (50–1 on the *Agesilaus*).

Livy in Latin. They were primarily interested in the military statistics which it supplied.

Scipio's is an entirely imaginary creation by me, but it lists known facts in the simple succinct manner of such Roman commemorations. I hope these two items will serve as an introduction to most of the themes of the book, and to many Roman constitutional terms, and will provide a narrative outline. Both, even Scipio's, are incomplete: they cover only the successes of each man, not the unhappy years before their deaths in 183 BCE. That is because we know that Hannibal's record stopped in 205 when he inscribed it; and Scipio's fictitious contemporary epitaph can naturally be assumed to have contained nothing explicitly negative.[4] This chapter will end by asking how far our two parallel lives speak to us in their own words and will discuss the limitations of our evidence, including the difficulty of knowing what the two men looked like.

I have provided modern BCE dates in the two 'documents', for the convenience of readers. Republican Roman epitaphs did not give dates; if they had done, they would have been in the form 'in the consulships of x and y': there were two consuls a year, and they were the highest Roman 'magistracy'. The Romans went on dating in this way until Justinian in the sixth century CE.[5]

Hannibal's bilingual tablet (Punic and Greek) is much likelier to have been dated than Scipio's. The Punic half would have done so in one of two ways: either to 'the 195th [or whatever exact year] from the [creation of the] office of *sufete*', an annual eponymous Carthaginian magistracy instituted around 600 BCE; there are earlier inscribed precedents for this formula. Or he may have dated it by the *sufete* of the particular year in which he inscribed the text.[6] Not only the Romans, but many Greek cities and therefore Greek historians also dated in this way. The Greek version might – again, if it had dates at all – have used the more international 'Olympiads', the dating system by the Olympic festival in Greece, held in midsummer every four years and believed in antiquity to have begun in 776, so that 220/219 is the 'first year of the 140th Olympiad'.[7] This usefully international system was devised by the important Greek historian

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[4] There survives a very brief genuine, but much later inscribed, *elogium* of Scipio: p. 13.

[5] Bickerman 1980: 69. 'Republican' as a dating term means the period between about 500 BCE, when the Romans got rid of their kings, until the start of the principate of Augustus, conventionally 31 BCE – that is, of the Roman Empire in the chronological sense. Rome had an empire with a small 'e' long before that, in fact from the mid-third century BCE.

[6] For the first method, see Huss 1985: 460 (cf. Hoyos 2006: 11). For the second, see Huss 1985: 473 and n. 58. For *sufetes*, see further p. 12, cf. 64.

[7] As at Pol. 3.16.7.

Timaeus, who came originally from the Sicilian city Tauromenium, but who worked in Athens in about 300 BCE and was a pioneer of Greek scholarly interest in Rome and Italy. His writings were probably known to Hannibal's Greek tutor, the historian Sosylus of Sparta.

1.2 Hannibal's Record: A Guess

Here is a guess at what the complete version of Hannibal's autobiographical record might have looked like:

> I, Hannibal Barca, general of the Carthaginians and son of the general Hamilcar, inscribed this record in Italy at the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia near Croton in the year 205, on an altar built and dedicated by myself. I write it in both Punic and Greek, but not in Latin, the language of the Romans.
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> In the year 219, I captured the Roman allied city Saguntum in Iberia.[8] In the next year, I went to Gades, where I discharged my earlier vows to my protector Hercules and made new ones for the campaigning ahead. I then marched north from our Iberian capital New Carthage, and at the Ebro river I received promises of success from Jupiter.[9]
>
> Here are the numbers of my forces, so that posterity may know what careful dispositions I made for Iberia and Carthage, and with what small forces I defied the Romans for thirteen years. I sent home to Africa 13,580 infantry, 870 Balearic slingers, and 1,200 cavalry, some for the protection of Carthage, others to be distributed through Africa. I sent recruiting officers to the cities of Africa with orders for the provision of 4,000 picked men to act as a garrison and hostages at Carthage. I left Iberia in the charge of my brother Hasdrubal and gave him 11,850 African infantry, 300 Ligurians, 500 from the Balearics, 450 Libyphoenicians, about 800 Numidians and Mauri, and 300 Ilergetai from Iberia, together with 20 elephants. I also gave him a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes. Thirty-two of the quinqueremes and the five triremes were provided with equipment and crews. I left Iberia with only 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry and 37 elephants.
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> I crossed the Pyrenees and Alps, leaving my subordinate officer Hanno 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry to control the region, and entered Italy.[10] My army defeated the Romans four times in two years, at Ticinus and Trebia (218), Trasimene (217), and Cannae (216). Each battle was greater than the last.

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[8] In this book, I usually prefer 'Iberia' (which includes modern Portugal) and 'Iberian' to the modern 'Spain' and 'Spanish'. Some modern authorities use both indifferently, e.g. Taylor 2020a: 69–70. When referring to the names of the Roman province(s), I say *Hispania*(*e*).

[9] These three cities are modern Sagunto, Cartagena, and Cadiz.

[10] Geus 1994: 120, 'Hanno (21)'.

Hannibal's inscription and monument were placed at the sanctuary of Juno 'Lacinia' near the south Italian town of Croton.[11] They have been seen, perhaps rightly, as belonging to a near eastern tradition of recording achievements: there are examples from Tyre, the Phoenician city which was held to have colonized Carthage.[12] But there was a Greek tradition too.

Hannibal in his Italian years was not a civil magistrate.[13] 'General' is how he would have designated himself. The highest magistracy at Carthage was that of *sufete*, of which there were two every year (or at any rate two eponymous ones); Hannibal was elected to that office after his defeat at Zama and return to Carthage. But despite its superficial resemblance to the Roman consulate, the office of *sufete* did not in this period combine military and civil roles.[14]

The Punic version of the tablet will certainly have called Juno, Greek Hera, by the name of her approximate Carthaginian equivalent Tanit.[15] At Rome, Juno was thought to have favoured the Carthaginians against the Romans until the Metaurus battle in 207: there is poetic evidence for her grand reconciliation with Rome in that year.[16] But in 215, Hannibal has evidently not lost hope of her favour. Hercules is (approximately) both Greek Herakles and Carthaginian Melqart. In tradition or myth, Hannibal had a special relationship with and imitated Hercules.[17]

As for the end, Hannibal was buried in Bithynia, where he took poison. His tomb has never been found but was alleged to have borne the simple

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[11] Lacinia is a cult epithet of Juno, derived from the Lacinian promontory (*Barr.* map 46 F3). Jaeger 2006 studies the object and its text as part of the larger narrative theme she identifies: the recurrence of the temple of Juno Lacinia in Livy's history.

[12] Near eastern: Meister 1990: 121–2 (exchange between T. Schmitt and K. Meister regarding Meister 1990: 87); for Tyre, Schmitt cites Brizzi 1983; compare Jaeger 2006: 393 n. 10.

[13] In English public life, a magistrate is a kind of judge. But in the study of ancient Greek and Roman history, it is used in a much wider sense: a state official, appointed by election or lot, who might have military and financial as well as legal duties.

[14] See Aristotle, *Politics* 1273a29–30 and 37 (calling the *sufetes* 'kings', βασιλεῖς, and distinguishing them from the generals, στρατηγοί); Warmington 1966: 144–5; Huss 1985: 458–61 (*sufetes*), 478 (generals); Picard 1994: 375 (*sufetes* 'had no military competence' in the time of Agathocles, about 300). Much earlier, Hanno (3), author of a naval voyage along the west coast of Africa, was both general and *sufete*. Aristotle (*Politics* 1273b8) criticized the accumulation of offices at Carthage, but the fundamental civil–military distinction seems to have been maintained in Hannibal's time, and Aristotle's assertion is problematic (Saunders 1995: 165; note his p. 163 on this Aristotle passage: 'the constitutional procedures are desperately hard to fathom'). See further p. 64.

[15] Groag 1929: 11 n. 2.

[16] See p. 193 and n. 13, citing Ennius at Goldberg and Manuwald 2018a: 240–1, Book VIII t[estimonium] 2, as elucidated by Badian 1972 and Feeney 2016 and 2021.

[17] A final detail about the inscription: Hannibal's list must have said how many elephants he took with him from Iberia (he specifies how many he left with Hasdrubal); but this has dropped out. The total is given, for a slightly later stage of the journey, by Appian, *Hannibalic War* 4/13, cf. Scullard 1974a: 155. For Hannibal's elephants (mostly African, a few Indian), see p. 26.

Latin metrical inscription – a half-hexameter – 'here lies Hannibal', *Hannibal hic situs est.*[18] A curious tradition grew up about Hannibal's grave in the Severan period, third century CE. The poet Ennius wrote an epigram for Scipio, which began with the same formula:

> here he lies, to whom nobody, neither citizen nor foreigner, was able to render recompense for his efforts in proportion to his deeds.[19]

It may have continued

> from the sun rising over the marches of Maeotis (the sea of Azov), there is nobody who can become equal in deeds, *factis*.[20]

The parallel with Hannibal's epitaph is temptingly neat, but the opening funerary formula is common and need not show specific knowledge of Ennius on Scipio.[21] Ennius wrote another epitaph on Scipio, but this one purported to be spoken by Scipio himself and claimed divine status.

1.3 Scipio's Epitaph or *Elogium*

Livy makes Scipio's brother Lucius complain that no eulogy of Publius was spoken at the *Rostra* (the speaker's platform at Rome) after his death, but this is unreliable, part of a section in which Livy largely followed the confused account by a poor authority, Valerius Antias, of the attacks on the Scipio brothers in the 180s.[22] A real inscribed *elogium* of Scipio does exist. It is however not contemporary but dates from the time of the emperor Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE). It is only a very short fragment, the surviving words of which merely record the four magistracies he held. It runs as follows, but the words inside square brackets are restored:

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[18] Not Hannibal's own work: his own inscription pointedly did not use Latin.

[19] Hannibal's Severan grave and Latin epitaph: p. 383. Ennius' epigram: *Hic est ille situs, cui nemo ciuis neque hostis/quiuit pro factis reddere opis pretium*: Goldberg and Manuwald 2018b: 230–1, epigrams 1a–b; combined from Cicero, *On laws* 2.57 (first four words) and Seneca the Younger, *Letters* 108.33; Scaliger was the first to combine them (brilliantly); hence the complete version of Vahlen 1928: 215 (epigram no. III), as cited by Jaeger 1997: 161. Cf. Henderson 2004: 102.

[20] *A sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes/nemo est qui factis aequiparare queat*: Goldberg and Manuwald 2018b: 234–5, epigram 3a, from Cicero's *Tusculan disputations* 5.49 (cf. Vahlen 1928: 216, epigram no. IV). Henderson 2004, writing before Goldberg and Manuwald, follows those who take 1a–b and 3a together, but there is no certainty. Would Ennius have repeated the word *factis*?

[21] With the Ennius line, Henderson 2004 ingeniously compares *Vatia* (a personal name) *hic situs est* at Seneca (first century CE), *Letter* 55.4 and suggests that Seneca had Ennius in mind.

[22] Livy 38.54.9 with Briscoe 2008: 192.

> [Publius Cornelius, son of Publius,] Scipio Africanus; twice consul; censor; curule aedile; trib[une of the soldiers].[23]

This does not get us far. Here is my much fuller but mostly imaginary epitaph, as it might have looked when inscribed soon after Scipio's death:

> Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius, grandson of Lucius, of the tribe Cornelia.[24] Consul twice (205, 194), censor (199), aedile (213), military tribune (216), Salian priest (215).[25] As a private citizen aged twenty-five, he was granted *imperium* to wage war in Iberia (210), after the deaths in battle of his father Publius and his uncle Gnaeus.[26] Such a grant was without precedent. In Iberia, he captured New Carthage with divine help (209) and defeated Carthaginian generals at Baecula (208) and Ilipa (206). In Africa, as proconsul, he defeated the Numidian chief Syphax (203) and the Carthaginian general Hannibal (202).[27] For these achievements, he was awarded a triumph and the honorary surname (cognomen) Africanus.[28]

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[23] *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.89: [*P(ublius) Cornelius P(ubli) f(ilius)*] / *Scipio Africanus* / *co(n)s(ul) bis censor* / *aedilis curulis* / *trib(unus) mil(itum)*. Two censors were elected at intervals of five years; their main duties were compiling the list of citizens (*census*) and revising membership of the senate. See further p. 251. Curule aediles looked after the city of Rome; military tribunes were the most senior-ranking officers in a legion. See Suolahti 1955: 57–187. They were usually expected to have at least five years of military experience (Suolahti 1955: 52; Keppie 1998: 39–40), but this cannot always have been true of those who (like nineteen-year-old Scipio himself at Cannae, p. 106) were sons of senators. The other sort of tribune was the tribune of the people: non-military but important. In the present book 'tribune' on its own means 'tribune of the people'.

[24] 'Tribes' were subdivisions of the Roman citizen body. By Scipio's time, there were thirty-five.

[25] The Salian priesthood (of Mars) imposed restrictions of movement on the holder. The date of Scipio's election is uncertain. He is first attested as Salian priest in 190 (see pp. 331 and 230 for the historical context and for the functions of the twelve Salii). But in the Augustan period, holders had to have a living father and mother (Wissowa 1912: 491 n. 9 and Rüpke 2008: 8, both citing Dion. Hal. 2.71.4). Rüpke 2008: 81 and 642 no. 1372 assumes that this rule already existed in Scipio's time, so that his election must pre-date his father's violent death in 211. He therefore dates the election to 215 but thinks even 216 possible. Such early dates would mean Scipio was Salian priest during all his years of energetic campaigning in Iberia. But we do not hear that this ever posed religious obstacles for him. That is surprising. (In any case, it was probably open to him to resign on election to the consulate for 205, so it was not a lifetime job: Rüpke 2008: 8 and – on Scipio – 642 n. 5, with slightly different emphasis.) The alternative is to deny that the rule about both living parents was in operation two centuries earlier (was it part of a pseudo-antiquarian 'revival' designed to attract the young and so rejuvenate the order?) and to date Scipio's election to some year after his return at the end of 206.

[26] *Imperium* was supreme power at Rome, especially but not only command in war.

[27] A proconsul was typically an ex-consul whose military authority, *imperium*, was extended by *prorogatio* after his year of office. For *prorogatio* (which began in 210 BCE), see Bellomo 2019: 195–202, and *OCD*^{4} *pro consule*, *pro praetore* (E. B[adian], A. W. L[intott]). Modern Eng. 'prorogue' (suspend, discontinue, a session of the UK parliament, as was attempted illegally in 2019) has a distinct – and virtually opposite! – meaning.

[28] 'Triumph' at ancient Rome had a specific meaning, a general's procession to the temple of Jupiter to celebrate a victory. Entitlement to a triumph was not automatic and was often fiercely contested: it had to be voted by people and senate. Mommsen 1887–8: 1.126–36 is still fundamental for the facts and conventions; see also Itgenshorst 2005 (esp. on sources); Östenberg 2009 (esp. on visual evidence); Bastien 2007; Beard 2007; Krasser, Pausch, and Petrovic 2007; and, for Livy's accounts

> As censor, he and his colleague appointed him chief senator, *princeps senatus*.[29] As legate, he accompanied his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio in his victorious campaign against the Syrian king Antiochus at Magnesia (190).[30] He died at Liternum in Campania (183).

My fictitious epitaph of Scipio contains one colourful detail which is unlikely to have featured in the original (or at least cannot be paralleled from the handful of known elite epitaphs of the period): the claim that he captured New Carthage *with divine help*. But Scipio would certainly have mentioned his tenure of the Salian priesthood. This imposed certain restrictions on its holder and helps to explain why Scipio played no actual military as opposed to advisory role in the battle of Magnesia at which his brother Lucius defeated Antiochus.

As I have composed it, Scipio's epitaph does not actually name his decisive battle against Hannibal as Zama. That is because that name was not attached to it until late in the first century BCE, when it was so called by the Latin biographer Cornelius Nepos. In the same way, the almost equally decisive 'battle of the Metaurus river' in 207 owes its usual modern name to the poet Horace, who wrote his Pindaric celebration of the battle even later than Nepos. In the 40s BCE, Cicero had casually called it 'the battle at Sena', after the town Senigallia nearby (the full ancient name was Sena Gallica).[31]

Of these two texts, the first is essentially historical, but with, I will argue, legitimate additions. The second is an entirely fictitious composition by me, but the facts are as there given, and the type of epitaph conforms to the third-person style of Roman elite epitaphs of the period.[32] In particular, there survive numerous contemporary epitaphs of the Scipio family from their family tomb at Rome, but not one for the great Africanus, although there was a statue to him there. He was surely buried at his Liternum villa.[33]

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of contested triumphs (but ranging more widely than that), Pittenger 2008. 'Triumph' in *OCD*^{4} (E. B[adian]) is a good concise account but cites only Beard of these recent works.

[29] *Princeps senatus*: this was not a magistracy but entailed various roles, duties, and privileges. See Chapter II.4. The Roman senate, a wealthy and aristocratic body, consisted of about 300 former magistrates and was the chief authority in Roman public life; it supervised military, political, and religious business. Its prestige was at its greatest in the war against Hannibal, at least after 216, when it had catastrophically underestimated Hannibal.

[30] This (military adviser) was one of several distinct senses of *legatus*.

[31] Nepos, *Hann*. 6.3; Horace, *Odes* 4.4.38; Cicero, *Brutus* 73. See Appendix 8.4.

[32] The emperor Augustus adopted the first-person style for his *Res gestae* or record of achievements, written by himself in his seventies (he lived 63 BCE to 14 CE). The version probably 'represents a draft of 2 BC', but he likely worked on it from as early as 23 BCE: see Brunt and Moore 1967: 6. Cf. Cooley 2009.

[33] Livy 38.56 with Briscoe 2008: 197–8. For the tomb of the Scipios at Rome, see Coarelli 2015.

It is inconceivable that he was buried without an epitaph in one of these sites.[34] That is why I have provided him with one. Some of the surviving epitaphs of office-holding Romans of the Republican period were near-contemporary, others (like Scipio's own genuine *elogium*, already quoted) were inscribed in the time of Augustus or later but may have drawn on orally preserved family traditions. There is no fixed set of formulae: some early epitaphs are in verse, most in prose. I have drawn eclectically on the sort of text, especially the Scipionic family epitaphs, which can be found in the standard modern collections.[35]

1.4 How Much Did Hannibal's Bronze Tablet Say?

It is certain, from the two main historians of the period, one Greek, one Latin, that Hannibal, during what for him was the otherwise inactive summer of 205 BCE, inscribed a bilingual inscription at the temple of Juno Lacinia in south Italy.[36] The Latin historian Livy was derivative from the Greek Polybius (about 200–118 BCE). In the middle of the second century, Polybius wrote that he was proud to have read and used what he called 'a bronze tablet on which Hannibal himself had made out these lists' of his forces.[37] The Roman Livy (about 59 BCE–17 CE) drew heavily on Polybius for his Latin narrative of the Roman war against Hannibal (218–201 BCE) and of the following years. At the beginning of Hannibal's invasion of Italy, under the year 218, book 21, Livy provided – with no mention of his source, not Polybius nor an intermediary nor the inscription – almost exactly the same factual material about troop numbers as Polybius did under the same year in his book 3. Livy then described Hannibal's erection of the altar itself in book 28, in his narrative of the much later year in which the object was inscribed, that is, in summer 205; but unlike Polybius, he makes no claim to have seen it himself.[38] It is usually and rightly assumed that Livy's source in his first passage, book 21, was Polybius' book 3. For much of his third 'Decade' – books 21–30, the Hannibalic War narrative – Livy probably used Polybius directly rather than through a Latin intermediary such as Coelius Antipater, who wrote a monograph on the Roman war against Hannibal.[39]

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[34] Val. Max. (5.3.2b) says his tomb 'in involuntary exile', i.e. at Liternum, was inscribed 'ungrateful fatherland, you do not even have my bones', *ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes*. (Cf. De Sanctis 1969: 582 n. 277; Henderson 2004: 100.) This, the only evidence, may be spun out of Livy 38.53.8, on which see Briscoe 2008: 189, rejecting Walsh's suggestion (1993: 187) that the line might be from Ennius (*ossa . . . habes* is the first half of a hexameter).

[35] *ILS* nos. 1–17 and 43–68, or *ILLRP* 309–19 (but the latter does not include epitaphs of Republican individuals, where these were written and inscribed in later times).

[36] On the bilingualism of the tablet, see Adams 2003: 207 n. 1.

[37] Pol. 3.33.5–18 (forces which he designated for the protection of Iberia and Africa; claim to autopsy at §18); 3.56.3–6 (forces which he took to Italy).

[38] Livy 21.21.9–23.6 and 28.46.16.

There is an important and interesting divergence between Polybius book 3 and Livy's second passage, the one in book 28. Livy there calls Hannibal's monument in the temple of Juno Lacinia 'a huge tablet, written in Punic and Greek, recording his *res gestae*', his achievements.[40] This is clearly the same physical object that Polybius saw, but Livy's language ('achievements') implies a much fuller and more ambitious document than the description in Polybius book 3. Which of these two authorities is right? Normal principles of source-criticism teach us to prefer the original source to the derivative; so Polybius ought to be preferable to Livy, and a mere list of forces preferable to a record of *res gestae*. If so, perhaps Livy wanted a grand finale to his book 28 and therefore elaborated the more modest description which Polybius had given in his book 3. That is certainly possible.[41]

But it is not necessary or desirable, for several reasons. First, it is surely improbable that the bronze tablet began, with no introduction or explanation at all, 'This is a list of the forces which Hannibal left behind or took with him'. Why, on that assumption, should Hannibal have been content with anything so meagre, and what did he expect his readers to make of his intentions in writing it down?

Second, the interesting detail about the tablet's bilingualism serves no obvious literary purpose and did not feature in Polybius book 3. Livy surely did not invent it. He got it from somewhere. Why not Polybius? Perhaps through a Latin intermediary, but that would not affect the present argument.

Third, Polybius in book 3 may after all contain a tiny hint that the inscription consisted of more than a mere list. He says that he considered it

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[39] For Livy's 'Decades', see p. 5.

[40] But Livy does not here use the actual word *monumentum*. This weakens the idea (Jaeger 2006: 391–3, approved by Levene 2010: 29 n. 68) that in his description of Hannibal's altar and tablet, Livy had in mind his own history, conceived as a sort of monument, as in his main Preface to the whole work, at §10. A better approach might be looked for in the expression *res gestae*, which occurs both in the Preface (§3) and at 28.46.16. It would also have called to mind Augustus' inscribed *Res gestae*. But Livy probably did not know of this latter inscription when he wrote his third Decade.

[41] Hornblower 2018: 72 n. 150, but also citing Tränkle 1977: 224 n. 123 for the suggestion that Livy used Coelius Antipater at 28.46.16, and that Coelius in turn drew on Polybius. I now prefer to believe (with what I take to be the implication of Tränkle's view) that a Greek equivalent of the words *res gestae* did indeed feature in Polybius, but in book 13 (see p. 18) not in his book 3. It is, however, not necessary to bring Coelius into it.

'an absolutely first-rate authority *at least as regards matters of this sort*', that is, about numbers of forces, where the qualification 'at least' can be plausibly read as implying that it contained other material also.[42] That might refer to a more personal, autobiographical record.

Finally, the argument from principles of source criticism is mistaken. Polybius' account of the war against Hannibal is complete only until the catastrophic Roman defeat at the battle of Cannae in 216; after that, we have only extracts, sometimes substantial but often not, covering the remaining fifteen years. The surviving text of Polybius' narrative of Hannibal's last years in Italy is particularly gappy. In one of the missing sections of book 13, where he covered events of 205–204, Polybius could perfectly well have given a fuller account of Hannibal's altar, and of the contents and character of the inscription, than he had done in book 3.[43] From that book 13, there survive only three very short geographical fragments, all of them about places in south Italy.[44] But that is enough to indicate that this was where Polybius covered Hannibal's operations near Croton in those two years. To be sure, he had called the inscription a list of forces under the year 218 (in book 3), because that was his narrow purpose in citing it at that moment (and in any case see my third point, on the possible implication of 'at least'). I therefore conjecture that Livy used Polybius for both 218 and 205, and that I am entitled to attempt a reconstruction of the non-statistical contents of the tablet.[45] An autobiographical element should be no surprise. But it had better not be too boastful, for reasons we must now consider.

The real surprise is that an inscription put up by a defeated and much-feared Carthaginian general should still have been on site and intact for Polybius to inspect, half a century later. How to explain this? In the years after Zama, upper-class Romans (but not Scipio himself) pursued

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[42] Pol. 3.33.18, περί γε τῶν τοιούτων ἀξιόπιστον. Jaeger 2006: 394 acutely draws attention to the little word γε, 'at least'. It may (unless the first four words of Greek are mere verbiage) imply a reservation on Polybius' part about the credibility of what Jaeger calls the 'rest of the record'. But she does not speculate as to the nature of the 'rest'. The Loeb translation (Paton, rev. Habicht and Walbank) ignores περί γε τῶν τοιούτων entirely; Shuckburgh has 'for such facts', which is better but not enough. No comment in *HCP*.

[43] Jaeger 2006: 395 thinks Livy's placing of the inscription at the end of book 28 is deliberate artistry (my words), but rightly adds at n. 19 'This is not to rule out Polybius possibly reusing the inscription in the chronologically "correct" position' (i.e. in 205).

[44] 13.10.1–3, all from the epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*, a late but valuable work giving geographical information ascribed by name to earlier authorities, many of them now lost for the most part.

[45] A referee suggests that the 'periplus' of Hanno (3) (an account of a voyage along the coast of west Africa, see p. 12 n. 14 and p. 61) might be a good parallel for something more like a narrative.

Hannibal relentlessly until he was driven to suicide in 183, but then they began to regard him with retrospective respect.[46] This is natural enough: the greater the defeated enemy, the greater their own achievement. True; but lower down the social scale, and especially in communities which had suffered from the presence of his army, the fear and hostility are likely to have persisted. It was shrewd of Hannibal to insure the tablet against destruction by housing it in a sacred place.[47] But piety has its limits, and perhaps the choice of languages, that is, the equally shrewd avoidance of Latin, helped to save it from defacement or other vandalism at the hands of passing Roman squaddies.[48] Croton, like many of the cities of south Italy, was an ancient Greek city-foundation, although refounded as a colony by the Romans in the 190s. Greek was thus a natural choice for the area. To write in Punic, not Latin, the 'language of power', was patriotic assertion.[49]

If the reconstruction offered here is on the right lines, the tablet was, on a modest scale, a work of history.[50] Hannibal has indeed been categorized in modern reference works as a 'fragmentary Greek historian'.[51] But that inclusion is only for a letter in Greek, probably some sort of anti-Roman warning, sent to the Rhodians, and – we are told – describing the achievements, the *res gestae*, of Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, the Roman commander in Asia Minor in 189. None of the actual text of this letter survives.[52] Hannibal's inscription of his own *res gestae*, however succinct and brief, would have been at least as good a candidate for inclusion: we know of several autobiographical memoirs, most of them by military or political leaders.[53]

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[46] Cf. Hoyos 2003: 4. For later admiration of Hannibal at Rome, see pp. 413–4.

[47] So Groag 1929: 11 n. 3. The story of Hannibal's later slaughter of Italians in the very same temple (30.20.6) should not be believed: p. 167, cf. 213.

[48] A referee compares the plastering over of the Oscan dedication to Lucius Mummius at Pompeii, probably by Sullan colonists. For Mummius, destroyer of Corinth, see *DPRR* MUMM1495, and for the inscription itself, see Taylor 2020: 53 and n. 89.

[49] For Latin as a 'language of power', see Adams 2003: 545.

[50] Moore 2020: 41–4, esp. 43 n. 25 sees Hannibal's monument as an example of attention to *akribeia*, (historiographical) 'accuracy' in a Greek tradition, on the part of Hannibal as well as of Pol. himself. Moore treats this as an early stage in Hannibal's development towards maturity. But although his prudent preparations took place at the start of the war, his act of record came at its end. So they are evidence for two distinct stages of Hannibal's personal development, as Moore 2020: 44 finally acknowledges.

[51] He is no. 181 in both *FGrHist* and *BNJ*, where see the commentary by D. Roller, who remarks that 'it is hardly unexpected that [Hannibal] would have some publications, and that they would be in Greek'. But he does not mention the tablet, still less promote it to the status of a 'fragment'.

[52] See Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 3 n. 13; Marek 2023: 98. The source is Nepos, *Hann.* 13.2. For Vulso, see *DPRR* MANL1103.

[53] *FGrHist* nos. 227–38. See Meister 1990, stressing (89) the variety of the genre. Certainly it is a potentially capacious and extendable category. Why should Solon's self-justifying political poetry not have qualified?

There is a parallel between Hannibal and Scipio at the historiographical level: Scipio has also been categorized as a 'historian'. The evidence consists (like that for Hannibal) of just one item, and it too is a letter. It was sent to King Philip V of Macedon and is mentioned by Polybius; but it is doubtful whether the letter was a work of history, or whether Scipio was a historian.[54] As for history-writing proper, Cicero says that no product of Scipio's leisure hours was 'committed to writing', *mandata litteris*, although this may mean no more than nothing survived to his day.[55] So of our two parallel lives, Hannibal has the better claim to the title of 'Greek historian'.

Hannibal's inscribed record was an autobiography only in a partial sense: he lived for another twenty-two years after 205. Scipio's imaginary epitaph covers his complete life, with an implied closural allusion to his 'internal exile' at his country estate at Liternum in Campania, to which he haughtily withdrew after his political enemies had brought him low by the 'trials of the Scipios', for which the Latin name is 'Scipiones': the plurals there refer to the forensic attacks on both Publius Scipio and his brother Lucius. That completeness is part of the definition of epitaphs and obituaries.

1.5 'In Their Own Words?' The Limits of the Evidence

The biographer of modern, early modern, or even medieval and a very few ancient individuals can expect to be able to draw on the subject's own words. Speeches and writings by both Hitler and Stalin are plentiful (but unlike Hitler, Stalin was no orator) as indeed they are for Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth century, and even for Demosthenes and Cicero.[56] The biographer of Hannibal and Scipio has a much harder job. To be sure, Polybius, Livy, and the fragmentary historians and poets put many elaborate speeches into the mouths of both of our parallel lives, but these are almost without exception inventions, at the level of detail. This tradition goes back to the earliest surviving Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides in the fifth century BCE, and indeed before them to Homer, who did not need to worry about authenticity and makes his mythical Trojans speak perfect Greek. Polybius sometimes gives speeches which Livy does not bother to transmit, such as Hannibal's conventional speech of encouragement to his troops before Cannae.[57] Conversely, Polybius knew that there was a debate in the Roman senate after Cannae about whether to ransom their prisoners but does not mention that the ransom proposal was opposed by Titus Manlius Torquatus, to whom Livy gives a long, savage, and successful speech.[58] The most plausible candidates for authentic utterances by Hannibal are the shortest, such as his alleged piece of pithy black humour during the battle of Cannae itself. After he had heard that the consul Aemilius Paullus had ordered his cavalrymen to dismount, he remarked: 'I would have preferred him to have handed them over to me in chains.' If this was indeed said, it would presumably have been in Punic and then translated by somebody. This joke at the expense of an enemy's mistake curiously resembles a remark of Scipio in 204 BCE during the preliminary campaigning in Africa before Hannibal's departure from Italy the next year: on both occasions, the leader encourages his men by observing that the enemy's behaviour is highly convenient from his own and their points of view. The Carthaginian commander in 204 was called Hanno (28) son of Hamilcar, and he billeted his cavalry in the town of Salaeca. Scipio commented 'Cavalry under roofs in summer! May there be more of them, so long as they have a commander of that sort!' Again, this is likely to have been remembered by those who heard it.[59]

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[54] No. 232 (= Pol. 10.9.3) in both *FGrHist* and *BNJ*, where see again H. Beck's commentary (notably sceptical). Meister 1990: 87 accepts Jacoby's view. By contrast, Scipio's like-named son Publius was a real historian.

[55] *On duties* 3.4.

[56] Laud: Trevor-Roper 1940 (biography).

But this is a meagre harvest. So the bronze tablet copied by Polybius and used by Livy has unique value as containing, at least in the section which records his military and naval forces, Hannibal's own undoubted words. Hannibal's treaty with Philip V of Macedon in 215 is preserved by Polybius and is probably 'a Greek translation produced in Hannibal's chancellery'.[60] The document as preserved must reflect Hannibal's wishes, if not his actual words as dictated in some Italian tent.[61] But there must also have been input from Philip and his 'chancellery'. Otherwise there is, of alleged compositions by Hannibal, an interesting but obviously inauthentic Greek letter preserved on papyrus. It pretends to be addressed by 'Hannibal king of the Carthaginians' to the Athenians after Cannae and mentions the Wooden Horse built by Epeios, by which Troy was captured. This, it has been speculated, might be an anti-Roman production from the later 180s, comparable to the verse 'Sibylline oracles' and other apocalyptic literature of the period.[62]

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[57] 3.111. [58] Pol. 6.58, Livy 22.60.5–27; *DPRR* MANL0787.

[59] Livy 22.49.3 and 29.34.7. For Paullus, see *DPRR* AEMI0826.

[60] Pol. 7.9; *HCP* 2: 42. 'Chancellery' is an imposing word for the staff of a general in camp.

[61] Hoyos 2003: 213 calls it 'the nearest equivalent we can come to anything composed by Hannibal himself'. For the treaty, see Chapter 5.2.

We have seen that Scipio's real epitaph does not survive, and even if it did, it might be only the words of his family.[63] But famous people do occasionally stipulate exactly what they want said on their graves, just as they often plan their own funerals. What is not said can be as revealing as what is. Thomas Jefferson's grave monument at Monticello does not say that he was president of the United States, but only that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia. Such silences are eloquent.[64] Jefferson's epitaph, at least, is known to reflect the exact wishes of the person commemorated. Since our epitaph for Scipio is anyway imaginary, let us go even further. We might imagine Publius on his deathbed in his rural exile, dictating to Lucius the wording of his epitaph, and refusing his brother's invitation to say anything about Rome's ingratitude in his final years except by noting the tomb's location at Liternum, not in the grand family vault at Rome. Readers of the epitaph would have taken the point.

So far so speculative. We do, however, have three Greek inscriptions which contain Scipio's own words – in Greek. The first is very short: the inventory record of a dedication at Delos, the Aegean island sacred to Apollo, of a golden laurel crown, probably in 194 BCE. The inventory says that the object bore the inscription 'Publius Cornelius Scipio to Apollo Delios'.[65] The other two are longer. One is a joint letter by Publius and his brother Lucius to the council and people of Heraclea under Latmos in Caria (south-west Asia Minor), in 190 BCE after the Roman victory over Antiochus III at Magnesia 'by Mount Sipylos', *ad Sipylum*: '[Lucius Cornelius Scipio], consul of the Romans, [and Publius Scipio his broth] er, to the council and [people] of Heraclea [greetings].' The letter goes on to claim that 'we are favourably disposed to all Greeks', and to issue a grant of freedom. The attribution to the Scipios is virtually certain; in particular, the last two letters of the Greek word 'brother' can be read. The other inscribed letter is much more fragmentary, but it does contain the whole of the Greek word 'brother' and was also evidently sent by the Scipios. It was addressed to the council and people of Colophon in coastal Ionia (central western Asia Minor, north of Caria) and concerns the inviolability, *asulia*, of the nearby sanctuary of Apollo of Claros, a prestigious oracular site. The brothers confirmed this valued status.[66] It is uncertain how far the brothers actually composed the detail of these Greek letters.

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[62] Hamburg papyrus no. 129; Seibert 1993a: 525 n. 24 and 1993b: 5–6 with n. 18; Momigliano 1975: 40–1. For Sibylline oracles and other such anti-Roman verse literature, see Hornblower 2018 ch. 5, and add *CPJ* 4 no. 614, hexameter Sibylline oracle reconstructed from newly published fragments.

[63] Ennius wrote a verse epitaph purporting to be spoken by Scipio himself from beyond the grave and claiming divine status (the surviving part ends 'to me alone the greatest gate of heaven lies open'). Goldberg and Manuwald 2018b: 235–7, epigrams 3b.

[64] It would be nice, in this connection, to cite Aeschylus' funerary epigram (*FGE* 476–9), which boasts that he fought the Persians at Marathon (490 BCE), but not that he wrote plays. But it is a pseudo-epitaph, composed centuries later than its subject.

[65] *Inscriptions de Délos* no. 442 line 102. It is disputed whether Scipio visited the island in person, but that is immaterial for the present purpose. 'Delios' means 'of Delos'.

In addition to these two letters preserved on stone, there are several literary mentions or summaries of letters sent by the Scipio brothers in or about 190.[67] Memnon, the historian of another Heraclea (on the Black Sea), says that the Scipio brothers each sent a letter to Memnon's home city, and he briefly gives their gist.[68] And from Polybius we learn of letters they sent simultaneously to Aemilius Regillus, commander of the Roman fleet (this one in Latin, naturally), and to King Eumenes of Pergamum updating each of them on the diplomatic and military situation; and of another, and more interesting, letter, to King Prusias of Bithynia.[69] Polybius summarizes this: the Scipios urge the wobbling Prusias to take the Roman side, on the grounds that the Romans had regularly left kings in place and even increased their dominions.[70] Two of the royal examples cited are very minor Spanish chieftains called Andobales and Colichas, of whom however Publius Scipio had first-hand experience. The letter, which exaggerates Roman generosity, almost amounts to a piece of indirect speech and should perhaps be regarded as such, that is, as fictitious at the level of detail. After all, those obscure Iberian chieftains had already featured in Polybius' own narrative and were in any case not very good examples in view of what happened to them later.[71] That is, Polybius may have done what Thucydides explicitly admitted to doing: he provided the Scipios with arguments rhetorically appropriate to the 'general purport' of what his researches told him was actually said. In that sense, their letter to Prusias would be as much a literary creation by the historian as was the sick Nicias' lengthy letter home to the authorities in Athens, wretchedly asking for recall from his command in Sicily in view of his painful disease of the kidneys.[72]

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[66] See pp. 162–3. Sherk 1969 nos. 35 (tr. Sherk 1984: no. 14, Austin no. 202, and Ma 1999: 366–7 no. 45), Heraclea under Mount Latmos; and 36 (tr. Ma 1999: 368 no. 46), Colophon; cf. also (for the *asulia*) Rigsby 1996: 352–3 no. 173 (no tr.). For the historical context of the Colophon letter, see now Jones 2019: 142–4.

[67] For Publius Scipio's letter to Philip V of Macedon, see p. 20 n. 54.

[68] *FGrHist* and 434 Memnon 18.6–9 (Heraclea in the Black Sea). Not yet in *BNJ*.

[69] Regillus (*DPRR* AEMI1175) and Eumenes: Pol. 21.8.1. Prusias: 21.11.3–12, compare Livy 37.25. For once in this period, we can compare Pol.'s original with Livy's adaptation, for which see Tränkle 1977: 105; Briscoe 1981: 327–8; Pausch 2011: 186 and n. 345.

[70] See Rawson 1991 [1975]: 174 and n. 23, part of an excellent discussion of the ambiguities of Roman attitudes to kings and kingship.

[71] Briscoe 1981: 328, n. on Livy 37.25.9, explaining why Livy's version did not list the kings. Prusias, far away in Bithynia, would not have heard of the Iberian chieftains, but Polybius' and Livy's readers would have done.

It may be objected, and reasonably too, that these various letters by the Scipios are official documents expressing and implementing the precise wishes and decisions of the Roman senate, so do not represent the thought and language of the Scipios themselves. But that raises the large question of policymaking on the spot, 'peripheral imperialism'.[73] In any case, detailed application of general senatorial wishes can hardly have been referred home every time from distant Asia Minor. Of the brothers, Lucius was the consul, but Publius' glittering record and far greater experience made him the dominant partner. The words are surely his.

So much for contemporary evidence for what was actually said or written by Hannibal and Scipio. Most of the remainder of this book will necessarily draw on the traditions about our two lives, as transmitted by literary authorities, most of them writing much later than the events they described. They all wrote in either Greek or Latin. No Carthaginian history written in Punic survives, if there ever was one. The position resembles the fifth- and fourth-century BCE 'Persian wars' of the Greeks against the Persians, of which no Persian written account exists.[74]

1.6 What Did Hannibal and Scipio Look Like?

Finally, a biography of a modern, early modern, or even medieval individual would naturally be expected to reproduce at least one photograph or painting of its subject. Regrettably, it is (in my perhaps too sceptical opinion) not possible to do this with confidence for Scipio, still less for Hannibal. We shall see that more or less speculative attempts have been made to identify coin images as their portraits, but none of these actually bear their names.

Literary sources help a little. Back in the fifth century BCE, Thucydides almost never told us what anybody looked like, except in medical contexts. But this extreme of austerity was exceptional even in his own century, and by the Hellenistic period, historians were very happy to provide that sort of personal detail.[75] If Plutarch's *Scipio* had survived, we would certainly have been told something about his appearance, to judge from the opening of his *Life* of Flamininus, and many other of his *Lives*. Plutarch wrote several decades later than the elder Pliny, according to whose *Natural history* Scipio was the first Roman to shave daily, so this detail comes from some other, lost and probably Hellenistic, writer.[76] It may be related to that part of the 'Scipionic legend' which saw him as another Alexander, who differed from his father Philip II in being clean-shaven and was so represented in art. In this, he was followed by most Hellenistic rulers, but not the bearded Philip V and Perseus of Macedon, or the Seleucid kings Achaeus (a usurper, uncle of Antiochus III) and Demetrius II.[77] Scipio's absence of beard might be historical if he himself encouraged the 'legend', as is likely.

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[72] Th. 1.22.1 and 7.11–12.

[73] Fieldhouse 1981: 23 for the nineteenth century. See p. 158.

[74] See further Appendix 1.1.

In the surviving literary sources, Scipio's personal appearance is always focalized through the effect he had on others.[78] Polybius' introductory character sketch says nothing about this.[79] His imposing and magnificent physical presence in the bloom of his youth, including his 'flowing hair', *promissa caesaries*, made a strongly favourable impression on the Numidian prince Masinissa; conversely, his adoption of Greek cloak and boots in the gymnasium at Syracuse attracted Roman soldierly disapproval.[80] We do know what he looked like – quite a spectacle – in his ceremonial, archaic, paramilitary dress as a Salian priest for the twice-yearly dance and hymn to Mars; the outfit and panoply included tall caps, robes with scarlet stripes and purple borders, and a figure-of-eight shield.[81] Otherwise, there exist what are thought to be contemporary and later portrait coins of Scipio, and a gold ring from Capua, and if the identifications are sound, these may crudely approximate to the reality.[82] One of the alleged contemporary coin candidates is an issue from Canusium, where Scipio rallied the survivors of the disaster at Cannae; but this theory is now authoritatively dismissed as 'unsubstantiated'.[83] A bust in Copenhagen is plausibly argued to be a portrait of Scipio, rather than of Sulla (early first century BCE), as had been thought.[84] Certainly, the men depicted on all these objects are clean-shaven.

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[75] Hornblower 2016.

[76] Pliny *NH* 7.211, cf. Scullard 1930: 36 n. 1. Pliny here calls him just 'Africanus'; this is more likely to be the subject of the present book than his adoptive grandson Aemilianus, who was also called 'Africanus'.

[77] Smith 1988: 46 and n. 2.

[78] By contrast, Livy's authorial character sketch of Scipio's consular colleague of 205, the *pontifex maximus* (head of the main priestly college) Publius Licinius Crassus, includes good looks among his admirable qualities (30.1.5, under the year 203).

[79] 10.2.

[80] Livy 28.35.5–7 and 29.19.11–12. The Syracuse episode has implications for Scipio's attitude to Greek culture: p. 275.

[81] Dion. Hal. 2.70–1; Scullard 1981: 85.

[82] Vollenweider 1974: 57–64, esp. 57 and taf[el] (i.e. fig.) 37 for the gold ring; Toynbee 1978: 18–19. It is a fine portrait of someone, now in the Naples Museum. It is signed by 'Herakleidas', and probably dates from the late third or early second century. Scullard 1970: 249–50 cites Val. Max. 3.5.1 for a ring worn by Scipio's son Lucius 'carved with the head of Africanus'. A coin of the moneyer in 112 or 111

As for Hannibal, his appearance is (even) more elusive, and we do not even know for sure if he was bearded or not. Livy's character sketch at the start of the war narrative says he wore the same clothes as his troops, but this does not get us very far and is anyway one of a series of stock attributes of the self-denying good commander; the influence of Sallust can be detected here. Only the opening three paragraphs have any claim to be about Hannibal the individual.[85]

When writing this book, I have been asked, 'was Hannibal Black?', to use modern racial categories and terminology. He was after all born in (north) Africa.[86] The answer must be no, in the absence of detailed knowledge of his ancestry. Carthage was an implant by a colonizing power. As we have seen, it was thought of as founded from Phoenician Tyre, and the colonial connection was still close enough for Hannibal to head for Tyre as his first stop in his flight eastwards in 195. Hannibal may not have looked much different from Phoenicians (Tyrians), or even from the Asia Minor Greeks who gave him refuge in his years of wandering after that. The literary sources do not suggest otherwise. We might however have an idea of what one part of his army as a whole looked like. A remarkable Etruscan coin has been thought to suggest that Hannibal used a Black mahout (whose head is depicted on the obverse) to ride and control at least one of his elephants (a definitely Indian elephant is depicted on the reverse: Hannibal did have a few Indian ones).[87] It is true that

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Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio (*DPRR* CORN3529) is sometimes thought to recall Scipio, but the grounds are so weak that I ignore this.

[83] Vollenweider 1974: 58–9 and taf. 38.1; Toynbee 1978: 1. Unsubstantiated: *HN Italy:* 78 no. 660.

[84] Coarelli 2002, followed by Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 221–2 with photo at fig. 5.3, also Bendala Galán 2015b: 45, with photo at 44.

[85] Livy 21.4.2–10.

[86] Hannibal has in recent years been claimed as Black or part-Black; see Sailor 2002 (a reference I owe to Denis Feeney), discussing a plan to make a movie about Hannibal starring the Black actor Denzel Washington. It seems not to have got off the ground.

[87] Most of Hannibal's elephants were African, of the north African 'Forest' type, *Loxodonta cyclotis*, much smaller than the African 'Bush' elephant, *Loxodonta africana*; the Carthaginians were good at training 'Forest' elephants for battle, but because of their small size it was not possible to fit them with towers, at least on the battlefield: see Charles 2008. Hannibal had, however, some Indian ones, and these were the best he had; they were acquired from Hellenistic kings. Cf. p. 87 for the Indian elephant called Surus. For Hannibal's elephants generally, see Scullard 1974a: 146–77.

Hannibal's army was generally more linguistically and ethnically diverse than that of Scipio or any other Roman commander of the time. But there are other possible contexts for the coin, such as the invasion of Pyrrhus, or the exploits of the family of the Metelli in the first Punic war.[88] The coin remains mysterious, the human head more so than the elephant, and any connection with Hannibal is speculative.

There is a splendid, famous, and often reproduced bust in the Naples Museum.[89] But it is a Renaissance work of no evidential value.[90] Portrait coins from Iberian mints (especially New Carthage) were at one time believed to depict Hannibal, Hamilcar, and Hasdrubal in the guise of the god Melqart/Herakles. (Those claimed for Hannibal are clean-shaven.)[91] But here are two expert and opposite views. The first is from 1956: 'the heads, with their strongly marked features and close-curling hair, show so much of the African Semite that one may suspect the engraver of having individual models in mind'. That is, these are claimed as portraits of Barcid family members. The second is from 2021, after quoting the first: 'this type of racialized reading of antiquity here and elsewhere must be acknowledged as such and rejected'.[92] I agree with the second quotation and conclude that the attempt to detect Hannibal's features on any of these coins must be abandoned.

Livy's main but meagre description of Hannibal's appearance is, like Scipio's, focalized through contemporary observers: he was thought to have inherited his father Hamilcar's vigorous eyes and energetic facial expression.[93] He had only one of those eyes after 218, as a result of ophthalmia incurred during his crossing of the Alps. He therefore belongs to an intriguing and surprisingly large category of 'one-eyed men against Rome'.[94] We also hear that he wore different-coloured wigs and changes of clothes as a precaution against assassins.[95] In the first century CE, there were still three statues of Hannibal on display at Rome: like Cleopatra, he continued to fascinate the Romans. But no actual descriptions of these survive.[96]

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[88] Snowden 1970: 130–1 and the Italian coins illustrated at 70–1 plate 41; Scullard 1974a: 172–3 and plate XXII b; Baglione 1976 plate XXVII no. 1; *HN Italy*: 26 no. 69, photo at plate 2. For the various possibilities, see Harris 1971: 140 and esp. Baglione 1976: 156–67. *HN Italy* merely refers to Baglione. Hannibal's diverse army: Pol. 1.67 and Livy 30.33.8.

[89] See e.g. Hoyos 2003 plate 1 and the dust-jackets of Barceló 2004 in the 2012 reprinting (also at p. 176) and Brizzi 2011a.

[90] Seibert 1993b: 43. It is bearded. Hoyos' caption says 'identification not certain' (an understatement), but he uses it all the same.

[91] Seibert 1993b: 42–3, 'Porträts', but without discussing the beard problem.

[92] Robinson 1956: 39, a very influential passage; Yarrow 2021: 119, caption to fig. 3.6.

[93] Livy 21.4.2.

[94] Africa 1970; see further p. 87 and n, 56 for the 'one-eyed' theme.

[95] Pol. 3.78.1–4 (217 BCE), cf. Livy 22.1.3 with Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 144. These wigs were thought of as an example of 'Punic deceit'. Pol. adds that he changed his clothes frequently for the same reason. For 'Wagner' chief Prigozhin's wigs, see p. 91 n. 79.

Parallel lines never meet, by definition. But parallel lives can surely be allowed to do so. Hannibal and Scipio each knew what the other looked like, because they met in person at least once, first before Zama, and perhaps again at Ephesus in 193.[97] In addition, the young Scipio as military tribune could just conceivably have glimpsed Hannibal in the distance on the battlefield of Cannae, and again in 211, when Hannibal rode right up to the walls of Rome and allegedly threw his spear over them.[98]

Appendix 1.1 Sources; Speeches

I have not provided a separate chapter on the sources, which are mostly literary. What follows is a very brief sketch.[99] The first point to be made, and made emphatically, is that in terms of literary source material there is no parallel between Hannibal and Scipio, in that no written Carthaginian history of the period survives, if there ever was one, and no historically minded contemporary Carthaginian poetry like that of Ennius in Latin or Lycophron in Greek (the latter's date is however disputed).[100] The literary sources for the lives and actions of both our parallel lives are all in either Greek or Latin. Some indirect input from the Carthaginian side in the surviving histories was provided by members of Hannibal's entourage, notably his friend and teacher Sosylus of Sparta and Silenus of Caleacte. Both these wrote in Greek.[101]

Before turning to the literary sources in detail, I address other types of evidence. For Greek inscriptions, where English translations are available, I have for preference cited according to these: see Abbreviations or References under Austin, O/R, R/O, and Sherk 1984. For collections of untranslated Greek inscriptions, see again Abbreviations, especially *IC*, *IG*,

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[96] Pliny *NH* 34.32; Smith 1988: 78. Cleopatra comparison: see pp. 414, 434.

[97] See pp. 261–5.

[98] The confrontation at Cannae between Hannibal and young Scipio in Silius Italicus (9.412–13) is poetic fiction. The spear-throw: Plin. *NH* 34.32 with p. 150.

[99] For more detail, especially about the sources for the war between Hannibal and the Romans, the second Punic war, see Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 8–13.

[100] Huss 1985: 505 said that historiography was at home in Carthage, but the evidence he cited was very meagre: mostly fragmentary or lost.

[101] See Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 10 (Silenus used by Coelius). Sosylus and Silenus are *FGrHist* and *BNJ* nos. 176 and 175. For other, very fragmentary or nameless, Greek writers about Hannibal, see *FGrHist* 178 (Eumachus of Naples), 179 (Xenophon, not the famous one), and 180 (generalizing references by Pol.); cf. *HCP* 1: 42, n. on Pol. 1.3.2, and 2: 39, n. on 7.7.1. It is a pity so little is known about the Neapolitan Eumachus, given Hannibal's important failure at Naples (p. 139).

SEG, and *Syll.*³ (vol. IV of *SVT* has German translations); *CIL*, *ILS*, and *ILLRP* for Latin; *CIS* (with Latin translations); also *ICO* (with Italian translations) for Punic inscriptions from Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, including Ibiza. Punic inscriptions from Carthage have been exploited by economic and religious historians, but no narrative or biography can be constructed out of them.[102] I claim no specialist expertise in archaeology or numismatics but have drawn gratefully on much recent work.[103] The first volume (2001) of a new edition of *Historia numorum* (ed. 2, 1911), the standard edition of the coins of the entire Greek world, covers the Greek coins of Italy only, but it includes issues from cities and areas under Carthaginian control during Hannibal's occupation of the south.[104]

The main (partly) surviving literary sources are Polybius and Livy.[105] Polybius was a near-contemporary of some of the events described in the present book; he talked to prominent Romans and visited sites himself. For the antecedents and early stages of the war, he drew, not mindlessly, on an important history by Quintus Fabius Pictor, written in Greek; but this work probably did not go much if at all beyond Trasimene in 217.[106] Livy used Polybius heavily but supplemented him with material from other, mainly Latin, writers, and from his own invention.[107] Neither author survives anything like complete, although we have plenty of both: the untranslated Greek text of Polybius fills four modern volumes, the Latin of Livy fills six.

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[102] For exploitation of Punic inscriptions by Pilkington 2019, see p. 209 n. 79. He helpfully provides his own English translations for all those he quotes.

[103] For Iberian archaeology, see esp. Bendala Galán 2015a (edited collection); for the Hellenistic West, esp. Sicily and north Africa, Prag and Quinn 2013 (edited collection); for the Punic and Phoenician Mediterranean generally, López-Ruiz and Doak 2019 (edited handbook), and add, for Carthage, Pilkington 2019. In this book, Italian archaeology is cited most often in Chapter 19, sections 1–3, discussing Hannibal's legacy in Italy.

[104] *HN Italy*: see esp. 161–3 nos. 2013–32, 'Carthaginians in south west Italy'. The old edition: *HN*². On how to use the evidence of coins, see esp. Yarrow 2013 and 2021.

[105] See p. 16. There are multi-volume Loeb editions (Greek or Latin and facing English translation) of Polybius and Livy. The old Polybius Loebs have all been revised recently: see Abbreviations under Walbank and Habicht. The Livy volumes are in process of revision. For Walbank's commentary on Polybius, see Abbreviations under *HCP*. For large-scale modern commentaries on Livy, see References under Ogilvie, Oakley, and Briscoe, but such commentaries on books 21–30 are still lacking in English; but see Feraco 2017 (book 27) and Beltramini 2020 (book 26), in Italian. For book 22 (Trasimene and Cannae narrative), see Briscoe and Hornblower 2020.

[106] *FRHist* no. 1. Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 10, 13, and 14 n. 21.

[107] For the 'fragments' (quotations in later writers) of these, and commentaries on them, see *FRHist*. This translates all ancient material, including testimonia (ancient information about rather than by those historians), but regrettably provides no commentary on the testimonia. The fragments of the Greek historians were collected and commented on by Jacoby in *FGrHist*. For translations and new commentaries, see *BNJ* (online). It retains Jacoby's numbering of historians, 'testimonia', and fragments. Most of the Latin historians with whom we are concerned used a year-by-year arrangement, and so are called 'annalists'. But 'annalistic' is also often used by extension among modern scholars as a term of disparagement of writers of this sort who are thought to be mendacious.

Plutarch's *Lives* and voluminous other works are discussed elsewhere.[108] One brief but valuable ancient biography of Hannibal survives, the generally admiring Latin *Life* by Cornelius Nepos (about 110–24 BCE).[109] Several works by the Greek Appian of Egyptian Alexandria (second century CE) give useful additional material; Polybius was his main source for the period covered by the present book.[110] The Greek writer Polyaenus, also in the second century CE, recorded ten stratagems in his main chapter on Hannibal, not all of which are attested elsewhere.[111] In Latin, Sextus Julius Frontinus' collection of stratagems (late first century CE) is also valuable.[112] Valerius Maximus, writing in Latin in the time of the emperor Tiberius (14–37 CE), preserved a number of anecdotes which illustrate both the good and bad qualities of individuals unsystematically.[113] The learned Latin miscellanist Aulus Gellius (second century CE) will be drawn on frequently.[114] Diodorus Siculus ('of Sicily') has valuable material in book 25 about the Carthaginians in Iberia, and his books 11–21 are the main source for the wars between Carthage and the rulers of Greek Sicily. Other writers will be cited from time to time, above all the priceless Latin military handbook 'epitome of military matters', *Epitoma rei militaris*, by the late military writer Vegetius in about 400 CE; and Justin's epitome of Trogus.[115] I refer to the author of *On famous men* as (Sextus) Aurelius Victor, although it is not thought to be a genuine work of his. It too is in Latin.

The Latin poet Ennius, a contemporary and admirer of Scipio, will often be cited in this book, but his works survive only in fragments.[116]

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[108] See p. 3 n. 14 and Appendix 1.3. There are Loeb and Teubner editions of all Plutarch's writings.

[109] Text: Marshall 1977 (Teubner ed.; no Loeb). On Nepos, Stocks 2014: 25–7; Lobur 2021; Ginelli 2021: 1–54 (general introduction).

[110] The Loeb Appian has been valuably revised by B. McGing. What McGing calls the *African book* is in the present work called the *Libyan history*, abbrev. *Lib*. Some modern scholars refer to it as the *Punic history* (abbrev. *Pun*.). Other relevant books of Appian are the *Hannibalic (Hann.)*, *Iberian*, and *Syrian* (Seleucid) *histories.*

[111] 6.38. There is another at 7.48. Krentz and Wheeler 1994 provide a reprinted Greek text and their own facing translation, on a kind of Loeb model.

[112] Loeb edition: Bennett and McElwain 1925.

[113] Teubner ed. (no Loeb): Kempf 1888. See Stocks 2014: 29–32, Briscoe 2019: 1–14.

[114] See Holford-Strevens 2003. Loeb ed.: J. C. Rolfe (1924); OCT: P. K. Marshall (1990).

[115] Full name Flavius Publius Vegetius Renatus. See Milner 1996: translation, with introduction and notes; no Latin text, for which see Reeve 2004 (OCT). Vegetius drew on a variety of earlier Latin writers. Justin: Seel 1972 (Teubner Latin text); Yardley 2003. See further p. 170 n. 77.

[116] See now Goldberg and Manuwald 2018a and 2018b (Loeb editions); for Ennius' historical poem the *Annals*, they build on Skutsch 1985. For the poet Lycophron, whose date is disputed but who may also have been a contemporary of Hannibal and Scipio, see most recently Hornblower 2022 (tr. and commentary).

From the first century CE, Silius Italicus' *Punica* is a seventeen-book Latin verse epic about Hannibal's war against Rome. It is a special case, a problematic mix of history and fantasy.[117]

Four maps are here provided.[118] Map references in footnotes are to the *Barrington Atlas* (*Barr.*). Such references presuppose the detailed map-by-map references to the ancient evidence, and modern arguments for identifications, which are provided in the *Barrington map-by-map Directory*, to which reference will not be routinely made.

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Finally, speeches in literary sources will often be cited or quoted, and this needs justification, given that ancient prose historians often invented speeches, as Homer had done.[119] Some speeches are 'indirect' ('x said that . . . ', followed by a report), some are 'direct' (conventionally enclosed in quotation marks in modern European languages). Indirect speech is as much speech as direct but can be used to feed in authorial comment.[120] Polybius did not go in for large-scale invention, except in pre-battle harangues. Where Livy's speeches can be compared with their Polybian originals, he can be shown to have often amplified and embellished. In particular, he includes many *exempla*, historical examples; these are likely to be additions. Some of Livy's speeches are attempts at characterization and allow a viewpoint other than that of the authorial voice; they may even conflict outright with the narrative. Both Polybius and Livy use speeches to illustrate policy.

Appendix 1.2 Plutarch's Lost *Lives* of Scipio

Plutarch wrote two now lost *Lives* of Romans called Scipio Africanus.[121] One of them was free-standing (no pair), the other paired with that of the fourth-century BCE Greek (Theban) commander Epaminondas, also lost.[122]

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[117] Loeb ed.: Duff 1934. See Stocks 2014; cf. also Marks 2005 and 2008, Augoustakis and Fucecchi 2022.

[118] They are based on the following maps in *CAH* VIII (new ed.): 1 and 4 (Iberia, except that Baecula has been moved to reflect recent discoveries, see p. 123), 2 (Italy and Sicily), 9 (north Africa), 11 (Greece and the east Mediterranean).

[119] On speeches in Livy and Polybius, see Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 50–6, the essential points of which are here summarized. See also Pausch 2011: 157–89.

[120] On indirect speech, see Laird 1999: 144–8; *CT*: 33 (for Hdt. and Th.); Briscoe and Hornblower 2020: 50 n. 128 and 273, n. on Livy 22.40.1–3.

[121] I thank Chris Pelling for valuable email exchanges about the subject-matter of this appendix, but he has not read it and should not be held responsible for anything said.

[122] Other free-standing examples are the surviving lives of Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba, and Otho, and the lost lives of e.g. Pindar, Augustus, and Tiberius.

We owe this information to a list of Plutarch's works, known (incorrectly) as the 'Lamprias catalogue' because his son Lamprias was said to have compiled such a list.[123] But both Scipio Africanus and his adoptive grandson Aemilianus (the eventual destroyer of African Carthage in 146 BCE) were entitled to call themselves 'Africanus' and were so called in antiquity; we use the different names for convenience, to keep them apart, and that will be done in this appendix.

It is inconceivable that Plutarch wrote two biographies of Aemilianus but not one of Africanus, Rome's greatest general ever. It follows that he did somewhere in his oeuvre write a biography of Africanus, so the matter could perhaps be left there for present purposes. But the possibility of a pairing between Africanus and Epaminondas is of interest for how Scipio was viewed, and the possibility will be alluded to sometimes in the present book. The problem has been much discussed, but there is no consensus.[124]

Even if the Lamprias catalogue did not exist, we would know that Plutarch wrote a biography of at least one of the two Scipios we are interested in. There are three 'fragments' embedded in Plutarch's other *Lives*; that is, passages where he cross-refers to what he said in those lost biographies of a Scipio or more than one. One is clearly about Africanus, the other two about Aemilianus.[125] But that does not solve the problem, 'where did the references come from?', because Plutarch could have talked about Africanus in a *Life* of Aemilianus and vice versa. Nor should we forget the free-standing *Life*, which Plutarch could have referred to vaguely and without making that clear.

Here are the arguments for assigning the paired Scipio *Life* to Africanus. (The slightly differing formulae used in the three Plutarch fragments, to denote either the biography in question or the individual written about, have also sometimes been used to try to determine which Scipio was meant, but they are unconvincing, and I ignore arguments based on them.)[126]

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[123] For text, translation, and discussion, see Sandbach 1969: 3–29. See also Ziegler 1949: cols. 60–6.

[124] Here is a selection of modern views. In favour of Africanus: Sandbach 1969: 74 (citing earlier work); Russell 1972: 113 n. 26; Ziegler 1949: 258; Georgiadou 1997: 6–8. Of Aemilianus: Pelling 2002: 373.

[125] No. 2 Sandbach is the story that Scipio (Africanus) met Hannibal at Ephesus in 193; see Chapter 11.6. (The story is also recounted in the *Flamininus*, but without a cross-reference.) The cross-reference is at *Pyrrhus* 8.5, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σκιπίωνος γέγραπται, literally 'as has been written in the work about Scipio' or 'as in what has been written about Scipio'. Almost exactly the same formula is used at *Gaius Gracchus* 10.5 (frag. 4 Sandbach): after naming 'Scipio Africanus' (i.e. Aemilianus) in full, he says ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σκιπίωνος γέγραπται, 'as has been written in the work about him', or 'as in what has been been written about him'. But in frag. 3 (*Tiberius Gracchus* 21.9), he says explicitly περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν τῷ Σκιπίωνος βίῳ τὰ καθ᾽ ἕκαστα γέγραπται, 'about this it has been written in detail in the *Life* of Scipio'. This too is clearly, to judge from the context, Aemilianus, who has just been referred to (§7) as 'Scipio Africanus' in full, as in the *Gaius Gracchus*.

(1) Africanus was by far the greater commander, whose decisive victory over Hannibal at Zama in 202 was comparable to Epaminondas' decisive victory over the Spartans at Leuctra in 371. No such victory could be claimed for Aemilianus.

(2) Both Africanus and Epaminondas were put on trial by their ungrateful fellow-countrymen. Plutarch himself made this comparison explicitly elsewhere.[127] Appian made it too, and is thought by some to have taken it from Plutarch's *Parallel life*.[128] But this is not agreed.[129] Cicero mentions in the same breath Epaminondas, Hannibal, the *Maximi*, and the *Africani* (i.e. Aemilianus and the older Africanus), but the plural means that this does not help with our problem.[130]

(3) The Thebans Pelopidas and Epaminondas were close colleagues and friends. Plutarch, himself a Boeotian, devoted a *Life* to each of these great Boeotians who fought against the Spartans. The *Pelopidas* is paired with the (Marcus Claudius) *Marcellus*, an outstanding Roman general killed in action during a battle against Hannibal, just as Pelopidas was killed in battle.[131] There would be a neat symmetry if the Roman *Lives* corresponding to the Theban ones were of two great generals who, unlike the 'Delayer' Fabius, so called from his strategy of non-confrontation, fought aggressively against Hannibal: Marcellus and Scipio Africanus (it was said that Romans called Fabius their shield and Marcellus their sword).[132] They were not friends as were the two Thebans, but the death of Pelopidas in battle in 364 left Epaminondas as the sole commander capable of defeating the Spartans, until his own death at the battle of Mantinea in 362. Similarly, Marcellus' death left Africanus as the only serious challenger to Hannibal, although Mantinea was not a decisive victory as was Zama.

And now for Aemilianus. There is only one main reason, but it is a strong one:

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[126] Ziegler 1949: cols. 249–50; Sandbach 1969: 74.

[127] *Moralia* (the collection of his various works other than the biographies) 540d–541a.

[128] *Syr.* 40–1/205–18; Ziegler 1949: col. 249; Russell 1972: 113 n. 26.

[129] For doubts see Brodersen 1991: 217, who thinks Appian could have got it from a collection of rhetorical examples.

[130] *On the orator* 1.210.

[131] *DPRR* CLAU0908. For this man see pp. 95 n. 100; 141.

[132] Fabius is *DPRR* FABI0712. 'Sword and shield': Plut. *Marc.* 9.7, quoting the first-century BCE philosophical historian Posidonius (*FGrHist* 87 F42a); cf. Plut. *Fab.* 19.4. With the double metaphor Kidd 1988: 901 compares Livy 3.53.9.

(1) Epaminondas was an intellectual (indeed a trained philosopher), as was Aemilianus but not Africanus, despite the story of Africanus' book-reading at Syracuse in the run-up to Zama.

Most of those scholars who have written about this problem admit to uncertainty and lack of confidence. On balance, I prefer to conclude, also unconfidently, that Africanus was paired with Epaminondas, but even if he was not, we have seen that Plutarch did write a biography of Africanus.

Appendix 1.3 The 'Roving Anecdote'

Hannibal was a charismatic figure, with whom Greek and Latin authors were fascinated. Many anecdotes were told about him, and to a slightly lesser degree about Scipio. How, if at all, can we know which were true? It would be a dull and two-dimensional history which contained no anecdotes about individuals, and there are plenty of them in Polybius as well as in Livy. Naturally, Plutarch in his biographies (and the *Moralia*) illustrated character by means of anecdotes.[133] Other literary sources collected brief anecdotes about Hannibal and Scipio, indeed the two men are favourite pegs. Some are clearly derived from what survives of the large-scale historians, some are not; some are shared between two or more collections. But how are we to decide whether and in what sense they are believable and usable? Among mainstream ancient historians, Arrian was rare in giving thought to the problem, and he announced in the Preface to his *Anabasis* of Alexander that he would be largely following the accounts of Ptolemy I (king of Egypt) and Aristobulus; and he gives his reasons for trusting them. But he then explains that he has added material from other writers where this is worth recording, and not unbelievable; he will refer to these 'only as things said', *hōs legomena monon*.[134] This appendix tries to lay down some principles for using anecdotes.

One type of anecdote will be mentioned several times in the present book. It will be called the 'roving anecdote'. There is no canonical definition of this purely modern expression, but I propose to use it where the same essential story is told by different sources (or perhaps the same forgetful source!) *about different agents*.[135] The last element of that definition is important: sometimes the same action or conversation is recorded about Hannibal by different writers, but the envisaged situation or interlocutor may be different. Some illustrative examples in the chapters which follow are as follows; none of them are true roving anecdotes, although they pose similar problems of veracity:

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[133] For the *Moralia*, see p. 3 n. 14.

[134] Polybius (23.14.12) provides a precedent but should not be over-translated. After giving some illustrations of Scipio's character from the 180s when he was under attack by his enemies (see Chapter 18), he says, in the translations of both Shuckburgh and the revised Loeb edition of Walbank and Habicht, that he has related 'these anecdotes' for the sake of the good reputation of the dead and to encourage their successors to perform noble deeds. But the Greek for 'these anecdotes' is just ταῦτα, 'these things'.

(i) A scornful remark about military divination is attributed to Hannibal. But in one source Hannibal says it to King Prusias I of Bithynia, and in another to the Seleucid king Antiochus III.[136] This is not 'roving' because it is about Hannibal both times.

(ii) A bizarre naval stratagem by which pots of venomous snakes are hurled at the enemy is said by one source to have been actually carried out by Hannibal when helping Prusias in a sea-battle; but in another source he merely demonstrates it, but to Antiochus not Prusias.[137] These variations do not inspire confidence in the strict historicity of either story, but they are not 'roving anecdotes' in the strong sense here proposed. The snakes story would be a genuine roving anecdote only if the unnamed 'Carthaginian' agent in a similar story told by Galen were someone other than Hannibal, and that is possible but perhaps not very probable.[138]

(iii) A famous story is told by several writers about a conversation between Scipio and the exiled Hannibal. The details vary, and Plutarch even manages to tell it, perhaps through faulty memory, with a significant difference in two of his different surviving *Lives*. This is not a roving anecdote: it always has those same two men as the principals and would make no sense if spoken by anyone else but those two. See pp. 261–5.

(iv) Cicero tells a story about how the exiled Hannibal in the later 190s attended a long and annoying lecture about generalship at Ephesus, delivered by a named and independently attested Aristotelian philosopher called Phormio.[139] A roughly similar story about Hannibal is reported by Stobaeus, an omnivorous collector of extracts from Classical authors.[140] Often he gives his source, but not for this one.

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[135] The obvious candidate for this sub-category is Plutarch, whose writings were voluminous. In different *Lives*, he gives radically different versions of Hannibal's meeting with Scipio at Ephesus, but that is not a roving anecdote as here defined, because it concerns the same people each time.

[136] Cic. *On divination* 2.52 and Val. Max. 3.7. ext. 6 (to Prusias); Plut. *On exile* 66 (to Antiochus). See p. 227 n. 34.

[137] Nepos, *Hann.* 10 (Prusias); Frontinus *Stratagems* 4.7.10 (Antiochus). See p. 376.

[138] Galen vol. XIV Kühn p. 231. See p. 376 n. 35.

[139] *On the orator* 2.75–6.

[140] *On generals* IV 13 no. 58, p. 368 Wachsmuth and Hense; II: 399 Gaisford. Cf. Brink 1941.

> 'About Hannibal: when he heard a Stoic philosopher maintaining that only the wise man is a true general he laughed, thinking that it is impossible for someone without experience acquired through deeds to have knowledge of such matters.' It would be bad method to use Stobaeus to argue that Cicero's Phormio story is a mere roving anecdote, for two reasons: first, in Stobaeus it is told about Hannibal as principal figure, not about someone else altogether, as in a true 'roving anecdote'. Second, there are too many differences, for example the philosopher is a Stoic; we are told something about his doctrine; and there is nothing about Hannibal being an exile. We should choose between the versions, and Cicero's more circumstantial version is here accepted. See further p. 37–8 for more members of the category of stories to which both these belong. The Phormio story is not (unlike the pots of snakes) intrinsically incredible, so we are entitled to argue that Cicero's is the likelier version of a plausible story – which may, however, be no more than a fiction which made use of a known philosopher to illustrate Hannibal's outlook towards amateurs. If, hypothetically, the identical story, which has a definite anti-Greek tinge, had been told about, say, Cato the elder attending a lecture by Carneades, it would be a true roving anecdote, and the purpose of its re-application to Cato as main agent would be to illustrate an attitude to Hellenism rather than to generalship and who is competent to talk about it.[141] I return later to this group of stories with the theme battle-hardened-general-despises-amateur-theorists. Some are candidates for 'roving'.

Here by contrast are two well-known and genuinely roving anecdotes which, despite their status as such, have been legitimately used by modern historians of the Roman Empire and Greek religion respectively. Cassius Dio says that a woman approached the Roman emperor Hadrian and asked for his attention, but he told her he had no time. She said, 'then do not be a king'. The story is quoted by Fergus Millar on the first page of his *Emperor in the Roman World*.[142] But as Millar himself acknowledged, almost the same story was told about both Philip II of Macedon and Demetrius the Besieger.[143] He nevertheless used the story to illustrate how emperors, like Hellenistic kings, were expected to dispense justice.

The Spartan Lysander remarked that 'I cheat boys with knuckle-bones, men with oaths'.[144] But this cynical attitude to perjury is also attributed to

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[141] Cato: *DPRR* PORC0907. [142] Cassius Dio 71.32.1; Millar 1977: 1 and n. 3.
[143] Plut. *Moralia* 179 c–d and *Demetr*. 42.7. [144] Plut. *Lys*. 8.4–5

Philip II of Macedon and to Dionysius I of Syracuse. Robert Parker used Lysander's remark to illustrate how 'merry rogues exploited the institution [of oaths] at every period', and like Millar he acknowledged that the story was told of others as well as of the individual he mentions in first place.[145]

Neither Millar nor Parker was concerned to characterize Hadrian and Lysander biographically. They were using the roving anecdotes cautiously, to illustrate particular ancient attitudes. That is the most that can be done with roving anecdotes, and it is not nothing.

So what if any roving anecdotes are about Hannibal? An attractive candidate might seem to be stratagems, where they are also attributed to some other person, perhaps far distant in time and/or space.[146] For example, Hannibal on Crete is said to have put a layer of gold on top of vessels filled with stones; this recalls a trick played (with slightly different motives) by a man in Herodotus.[147]

Again, Hannibal tied flaming twigs to the horns of cattle to simulate troops with torches and was so able to make a getaway. But this looks rather like a stratagem recommended by the Greek writer Aeneas the Tactician in the fourth century BCE.[148] Had someone on Hannibal's staff read this handbook?

Finally, a story which is about Hannibal indirectly but whose main agent is Scipio.[149] When Scipio was in Africa for the final campaign, some of Hannibal's spies were captured and brought to him. Instead of torturing them or interrogating them about Hannibal's forces, he had them shown round his army, gave them dinner, and sent them on their way. Hannibal was so impressed by this that it made him eager to meet Scipio in person.[150] Xerxes had done much the same with some Greek spies in 480 BCE.[151] And the consul Publius Valerius Laevinus in 289 BCE is said to have treated Pyrrhus' spies in the same way.[152] Walbank thinks that the Scipio anecdote may be true despite the models, because Scipio 'may have known and utilized these earlier stories'.[153] One can often say something of the sort.

Now let us return to Hannibal stories in the same category as that of his reaction to Phormio the philosopher. There is a further complication, and this does raise again the question of the 'roving anecdote'. We saw that Hannibal is alleged to have disapproved of the Stoic who said that only the wise man can be a general. But two pages later, Stobaeus, this time evidently using Plutarch, but without citing him, says that some king or general called (probably) Eudamidas heard a philosopher claim that only a wise man can be a general.[154] Eudamidas commented that this sentiment was admirable, but the speaker had not heard the bugle sounding around him (Plutarch's version). Now there are two known Spartan kings called Eudamidas, one dated to about 330–294 BCE, the other to 294 (?)–244 BCE.[155] There was also a Spartan commander (not a king, and not very famous like Brasidas) called Eudamidas in the 380s.[156] If we could trust the detail (in Stobaeus, not Plutarch) that the philosopher in question was a Stoic, the later of the two kings called Eudamidas would be historically preferable in view of the history of Stoicism. But this detail is attached to Hannibal, not to Eudamidas. The best conclusion is that here we really do have a 'roving anecdote', told about two distinct individuals, and accordingly both anecdotes are highly suspect as evidence for the biography of Hannibal or indeed Eudamidas. They are usable only as indicating Greek military attitudes to theory as opposed to practice: compare our conclusion about Millar and Parker.

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[145] Parker 1983: 186–7 and n. 237.

[146] For an undatable Carthaginian stratagem attributed both to a Maharbal (by Frontinus) and to a Himilco (by Polyaenus) and thus a roving anecdote in the full sense, see p. 112.

[147] See p. 371.

[148] Pol. 3.93–4, Livy 22.17, with p. 99. A referee suggests that there is a further similarity, with the biblical Samson's 300 foxes with firebrands attached to their tails (Judges 15.3–5), and that this might be a piece of Semitic folklore.

[149] Pol. 15.5.

[150] Pol. 15.5; Livy 30.29.2–3, Val. Max. 3.7.1c.

[151] Hdt. 7.146.

[152] Dion. Hal. 19.11.

[153] *HCP* 2: 450, citing other authors for Laevinus and Pyrrhus.

Finally, there is a special category of anecdote, and a special sort of complication, which concerns Scipio in particular.[157] 'Roving' is not quite the word for it, but there are similarities with that category. A number of doings and sayings are attributed to 'Scipio Africanus', but this could be either the Scipio who is the subject of the present book, or else Scipio Aemilianus, who was also called Scipio Africanus. Occasionally there are good reasons for preferring the one Scipio over the other. There is an example in Frontinus' book of stratagems: Scipio 'Africanus' answers some critics by saying that his mother gave birth to a commander not a warrior, and there are good reasons for identifying this speaker as Aemilianus (it suits his Numantine campaign in Iberia).[158] But that is rare good fortune, and sometimes such an anecdote suits either man (or neither).[159] In around 400 CE, Vegetius included two specific references to 'Scipio Africanus', both of which are evidently about Aemilianus because Iberian Numantia explicitly features in them.[160] Historically, Aemilianus not Africanus is associated with military activity against Numantia. That is therefore also likely to be true of a third passage of Vegetius which approvingly attributes to an unspecified 'Scipio' a maxim to the effect that you should always give a fleeing enemy an escape route.[161] It is true that this might be thought superficially reminiscent of Africanus, who allowed Hasdrubal Barca to escape after Baecula, but that was an obvious and regrettable mistake. Frontinus reports the same maxim in a chapter on 'advice' and attributes it to 'Scipio Africanus', but again he probably – as in the 'mother' story – means Aemilianus.[162]

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[154] Stobaeus IV. 13, no. 65, p. 370 Wachsmuth and Hense; 2: 400 Gaisford. Plutarch *Moralia* 192B, from the *Remarks by Kings and Generals.* One manuscript of Stobaeus has Eudaimonidas, an attested name (at Sparta and Messenia), but far rarer than Eudamidas or the dialect equivalent Eudemides. Decisive, however, is the absence of a known king or general anywhere called Eudaimonidas.

[155] *LGPN* IIIA: 162, Εὐδαμίδας nos. 9 and 11; Bradford 1977: 161–2, nos. 1 and 2. I adopt Bradford's dates.

[156] Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.24; Poralla 1913: 54 no. 295. Successive Teubner editions of the *Moralia* identify this man as Plutarch's Eudamidas, but one of the kings is likelier.

[157] But not only Scipio. See text for the problem – which Eudamidas?

[158] Front. *Strat.* 4.7.4; Astin 1967: 263 no. 44 (see next n.). For the opposition commander/warrior see Chapter 16.2 (on the need for generals to stay alive).

This appendix should not be taken as implying that roving anecdotes were peculiar to the ancient world. But perhaps the favoured categories differ. It may be that jokes are to the modern world what stratagems (also a source of entertainment) were to the ancient.[163]

To sum up: genuinely roving anecdotes are usable only as illustrations of attitudes and perceptions, not as specific evidence about any one of the different individuals about whom they are told. Anecdotes of other sorts, including sayings, must be judged according to the criteria for believability that apply to any contested piece of historical narrative. Could this as a matter of simple fact have happened or been uttered at the time and place alleged? Is it anachronistic or plausible in its supposed context? Is it in character as displayed elsewhere? Does it help to explain other credible events, or other courses of action followed by the individual in question? The test must if possible go deeper than 'do I want to believe it?'.

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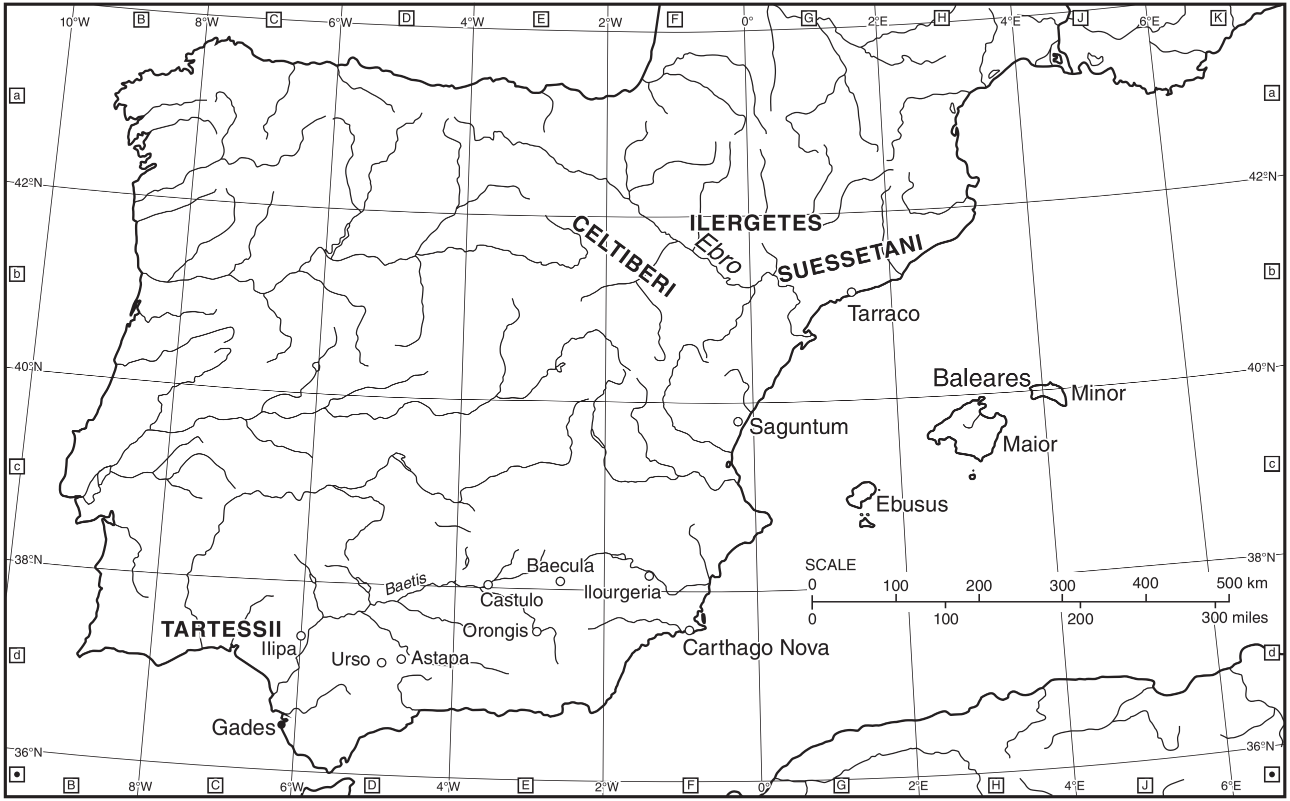
[159] Astin 1967: 248–69, appendix II, *dicta Scipionis*, lists sixty-eight utterances attributed to Aemilianus (some preserved by more than one author, listed as e.g. no. 41a, b, c) but concedes that some could be about the older Scipio, e.g. nos. 5, 66; and presumably that might be true of others in his *incerta* ('uncertain') section at the end, nos. 55–68. But at no. 62, alleged quotation by the emperor Pius, 'Scipio' is surely Aemilianus.

[160] 1.15.5 and 3.10.19–20. In addition, there are several passages in Vegetius where Scipio Africanus the elder is probably in the author's mind as the unnamed deviser or employer of particular stratagems or tactics. The same is true of Hannibal.

[161] 3.21.3.

[162] Front. *Strat.* 4.7.16. Astin 1967: 268 nos. 65a (Frontinus) and 65b (Vegetius) attributes both of them confidently to Aemilianus. Milner 1996: 107 n. 5 cites Frontinus but does not discuss the problem, 'which Scipio?'. For another dictum of 'Scipio Africanus' in Frontinus where the speaker is certainly Aemilianus, see Astin 1967: 260, no. 35b, cf. 35a.

[163] For example, this story of an earnest undergraduate's question to a famous professor is told at Oxford about Gilbert Murray and at Cambridge about Henry Sidgwick: Q: 'Are you interested in incest, professor?' A: 'Only in a general sort of way.'


ILERGETES
CELTIBERI
Ebro
SUESSETANI
Tarraco
Baleares
Minor
Maior
Saguntum
Ebusus
SCALE
0
100
200
300
400
500 km
0
100
200
300 miles
Baetis
Baecula
Castulo
Ilourgeria
Orongis
TARTESSII
Ilipa
Urso
Astapa
Carthago Nova
Gades
10°W
8°W
6°W
4°W
2°W
0°
2°E
4°E
6°E
42°N
40°N
38°N
36°N

Map 1 Iberia in the time of Hannibal and Scipio