

I. Where does the speaker get information? *Iliad* 2.484-6 [Lattimore, tr.]: Tell me now, you Muses who have your homes on Olympus. For you, who are goddesses, are there, and you know all things [*iste ta panta*], and we have heard only the rumor [*kleos*] of it and know nothing.

Herodotus 1.5: Whether this second account is true, or whether it happened otherwise, I shall not discuss further. I shall proceed at once to point out the person who first within my own knowledge inflicted injury on the Greeks...

II. Opening Statements of the *Iliad*, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy

1. *Iliad* 1.1ff. [Lattimore, tr.]: Sing, goddess, the anger of Peleus' son Achilles and its devastation, which put pains thousandfold upon the Achaians, hurled in their multitudes to the house of Hades strong souls of heroes, but gave their bodies to be the delicate feasting of dogs, of all birds, and the will of Zeus was accomplished since that time when first there stood in division of conflict Atreus' son the lord of men and brilliant Achilles.

2. Herodotus 1.1: Herodotus of Halicarnassus, this is the exposition of his inquiry (ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε), that neither what has been brought to pass by men become colorless (ἐξίτηλα) with age, nor the great and wondrous works displayed both among the Greeks and among the barbarians lose their fame (ἀκλεᾶ γένηται), both other things and particularly what the reason was (δι' ἣν αἰτίην) that they fought each other.

3. Thucydides 1.1: Thucydides the Athenian wrote up the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, how they made war against one another, beginning his account right as the war began, in the expectation that it was going to be a great war (μέγαν) and more worthy of record (ἀξιολογώτατον) than any of those which had taken place in the past, and taking as evidence they were both at their peak of power for it in regard to all manner of preparation, and that the rest of the Hellenic world took one side or the other, part right away, but part after deliberation. For this disturbance was the greatest ever (κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη... ἐγένετο) for the Hellenes and even part of the barbarians, and possibly, I daresay, for all peoples.

4. From Livy's Preface [to his entire history]: It is this that is particularly healthy and profitable in the study of affairs: that you look upon evidence of every model [of human action] set into a clear record [*in illustri monumento posita*]; from there you can take for yourself and your commonwealth what to imitate, and from there what is foul in its beginning and foul in its outcome to avoid.

5. The opening of Livy 21.1: In *parte* operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in *principio* summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.

In *part* of my work I may say by way of preface that which most writers of history say in the *beginning* of their entire project, that I am intending/about to write the war that was the most memorable of all that were ever waged, the one which, under Hannibal as leader, the Carthaginians waged with the people of Rome. For neither did any communities and races stronger in resources bear arms against one another; nor did these very peoples at any other time have so much force and strength; and so varied was the fortune of war and so undecided the fighting that those who were victorious came closer to destruction. The hatred with which they fought, moreover, was greater, almost, than their strength [*odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus*], with the Romans indignant that the conquered should bear arms against their conquerors, the Carthaginians because they believed that the law had been laid down greedily and arrogantly against the conquered.

There is the story, moreover, that Hannibal, when he was about nine years old and boyishly cajoling his father Hamilcar to be brought along to Spain when, having completed the African war and about to send his army across to Spain, Hamilcar was performing a sacrifice, was brought up the altars and, having placed his hands on the sacrificial entrails, was bound by oath to become, as soon as he could, an enemy of the Roman people.

What pained the man of great spirit was the loss of Sicily and Sardinia; for he felt both that Sicily had been given up too readily because of despair at events and that Sardinia had been taken away during the African disturbance by Roman deceit, with an indemnity imposed as well.

III. Some other versions of Hannibal's oath. How do they differ?

1. Polybius 3.11 [read]

2. Cornelius Nepos, *Hannibal* 2 [says Hannibal cherished his father's hatred for Rome as if it were his inheritance; give context Antiochus' court]: "My father Hamilcar," he said, "when I was just a little boy, no more than nine years old, on setting out from Carthage for his command in Spain, performed a sacrifice to Juppiter Best and Greatest. While he was carrying out this religious ceremony, he asked me if I wanted to go along with him to the camp. When I had heard this happily and had begun to beg that he not hesitate to bring me along, he said: 'I shall do it, if you give me the proof of loyalty that I ask.' He drew me up to the altar at once, the one where he had begun performing the sacrifice, and having sent everyone else away, made me take hold of it and swear that I would never enter into friendship with the Romans."

3. Livy 35.19.3 [Same context, reassuring Antiochus] "My father Hamilcar," he said, "O Antiochus, when I was still small, was performing a sacrifice. He drew me up to the altars and bound me by an oath that I would never be the friend of the Roman people.

4. Appian (2x): similar situation to Livy 21: "It was said also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be eternal enemy of Rome."

IV. The Structure of Livy 21-30:

Books 21 Begins with Hannibal in Carthage; ends w/ end of consular year (218 BCE).
Books 21-22: Beginning through Cannae and the response to Cannae at Rome.
Books 22-25 ends with end of 212

Book 26 Begins with beginning of 211
Books 26-29 Events of 211-204

Book 31 Starts at beginning of 203; ends with Scipio's triumph over Carthage.

V. Livy's use of earlier Latin authors.

From the 2nd c. CE scholar and grammarian Aulus Gellius. *Noctes Atticae* 10.24.6-7. Gellius quotes earlier Latin writers in his discussion of the term *diequinti*, "on the fifth day from this."

There is moreover the following example, Coelius', from the second book of his histories: "If you are willing to give me the cavalry and yourself follow me with the rest of the army, on the fifth day from this I will see to it that dinner is cooked for you [*curabo tibi cena sit cocta*] at Rome on the Capitoline." Moreover, Coelius took both the story and the term [*diequinti*] from the fourth book of Cato's *Origines*, where it is written thus: "therefore his master of the horse advised the Carthaginian dictator: "send the

cavalry to Rome with me, on the fifth day from this dinner will be cooked for you [*tibi cena cocta erit*] on the Capitoline.”

Livy 22.51.1-4 [My translation, which tries to preserve the Latin word order]:

When all were surrounding the victor Hannibal, congratulating him and persuading him that, having finished off such a war, he take the remains of the day and the following night as rest for himself and his tired soldiers, Maharbal, his cavalry commander, who thought they should not pause at all, said “on the contrary, so that you understand what has been achieved by this battle, on the fifth day from this as victor on the Capitoline [*uictor in Capitolio epulaberis*] you shall feast. Follow me. I shall go ahead with the cavalry so that they know that you have come before they understand that you are about to/intending to come.” To Hannibal the thing seemed all too wonderful and greater than he could grasp at once [*maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset*]. And so he said that, while he praised Maharbal’s good will, he thought that he needed time to consider the plan. Then Maharbal said: “no wonder. The gods have not given everything to the same man. You know how to win, Hannibal, but you don’t know how to use a victory.” It is well believed that that delay, of one day, was the salvation of the city and its empire.

VI. Vergil (Allen Mandelbaum’s tr.)

Aeneid 1.1 ff. The opening of the epic:

I sing of arms and of a man: his fate
had made him fugitive; he was the first
to journey from the coasts of Troy as far
as Italy and the Lavinian shores.

Across the lands and waters he was battered
beneath the violence of High Ones, for
the savage Juno’s unforgetting anger;
and many sufferings were his in war—
until he brought a city into being
and carried his gods to Latium;
from this have come the Latin race, the lords
of Alba, and the ramparts of high Rome.

Tell me the reason, Muse: what was the wound
to her divinity, so hurting her
that she, the queen of gods, compelled a man
remarkable for goodness to endure
so many crises, meet so many trials?
Can such resentment hold the minds of gods?

There was an ancient city they called Carthage—
a colony of refugees from Tyre—
a city facing Italy, but far
away from Tiber’s mouth; extremely rich
and, when it came to waging war, most fierce.
This land was Juno’s favorite—it is said—
more dear than her own Samos; here she kept
her chariot and armor; even then
the goddess had this hope and tender plan:
for Carthage to become the capital
of nations, if the Fates would just consent.

But she had heard that, from the blood of Troy,
a race had come that some day would destroy
the citadels of Tyre; from it a people
would spring, wide-ruling kings, men proud in battle
and destined to annihilate her Libya.
The fates had so decreed. And Saturn's daughter—
in fear of this, remembering the old war
that she had long since carried on at try
for her beloved Argos (and, indeed,
the causes of her bitterness, her sharp
and savage hurt, had not yet left her spirit;
for deep within her mind lie stored the judgment
of Paris and the wrong done to her scorned
beauty, the bread she hated, and the honors
that had been given ravished Ganymede)—
was angered even more...

Aeneid 4.621ff. (Dido's curse):

“These things I plead; these final words I pour
out of my blood. Then, Tyrians, hunt down
with hatred all his sons and race to come;
send this as offering unto my ashes.
Do not let love or treaty tie our peoples.
May an avenger rise up from my bones,
one who will track with firebrand and sword
the Dardan settlers, now and in the future,
at any time that ways present themselves.
I call your shores to war against their shores,
your waves against their waves, arms with their arms.
Let them and their son's sons learn what is war.”

Other questions to consider:

1. The fall of Saguntum, Polybius 3.17; 3.20-33; Livy 21.6-16.
The siege itself and the fall of the city (Polybius 3.17; Livy 21.6-16). What are some important differences between the two versions?
2. The end of Livy Book 21 (21.57-end) and beginning of 22 (22.1-7)
Consider the role of religion here, and the role of the Capitoline Hill.
How are religion, politics, and the city itself interrelated?
3. The aftermath of Cannae, especially the end of Livy 22.
Compare Livy 22.50-61 and Polybius 3.117-118.
What, according to each author, led to Rome's ultimate success?