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Livy, Hannibal's Monument, and the Temple of Juno at Croton*

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SUMMARY: Livy's history recounts several events that take place, years apart, at the temple of Juno at Croton. A reading, both intertextual and intratextual, of passages having to do with the temple argues that the repeated references to the place form a strand of narrative complementing the main thread of Livy's account of Rome's expansion. Moreover, the temple unites geography and history, for it stands at the edge of each, at the place where Italy ends and the ocean begins and where Livy's narrative meets and responds to those of other writers.

AS BOOK 28 OF LIVY'S *AB URBE CONDITA* comes to a close, the narrative briefly summarizes the year's events in Bruttium and concludes with Hannibal's dedication of a monument (28.46.15–16):

In Bruttiis nihil ferme anno eo memorabile gestum. Pestilentia incesserat pari clade in Romanos Poenosque, nisi quod Punicum exercitum super morbum etiam fames adfecit. Propter Iunonis Lacinae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicavitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto.¹

* This paper arose from discussions with students Erin Miller, Craig Russell and Robert Webber in a class on ancient historiography during the winter of 2002. The following fall I presented a version to the Department of Classics at Berkeley, where Robert Knapp, Donald Mastronarde and Kathleen McCarthy offered helpful comments, and Charles Murgia timely encouragement. Christina Kraus and David Levene provided generous and valuable comments on an early draft, as did Jane Chaplin and Matthew Roller on a later one. *TAPA*'s anonymous readers will recognize the many ways in which their comments helped improve the argument. I am grateful to all these people. Finally, I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Marleen Flory, with whom I first read Livy.

¹ The text for Livy, Books 26–30 is the Oxford edition of Conway and Johnson; for 21–5, that of Walters and Conway; for 31–40, the 1991 Teubner edition of Briscoe; for 41–5, the 1986 Teubner edition of Briscoe.

In the territory of the Bruttians almost nothing worthy of memory was achieved that year. An epidemic had come upon both the Romans and the Carthaginians with equal devastation, except that hunger as well as disease afflicted the Carthaginian army. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he established and dedicated an altar with a great inscription incised in Punic and Greek containing a record of his achievements.

Livy's reference to this altar and inscription has received scholarly comment of two types, of which we might loosely classify one as intertextual and the other as intratextual. First, since Polybius (3.33.17–18) mentions an inscription set up by Hannibal on Cape Lacinium, commentators on Polybius cite the Livy as a parallel, and Livy scholars cite the Polybius as a parallel and possible source.² Second, Livy's reference to the monument is, as it were, a punctuation mark.³ At the end of Book 28, the eighth of Livy's Second Punic War narrative, Rome's invasion of Africa is becoming imminent. Indeed, the opening words of Book 29 refer to Scipio's arrival in Sicily to prepare the invasion. Located on the boundary between Books 28 and 29, the monument indicates the end of Hannibal's success in Italy, separating the past, which belonged to Hannibal, from the future, which will be Scipio's.

What follows reexamines this monument in several contexts, moving to and fro between inter- and intratextual readings.⁴ The passages providing these contexts are those that have to do with the temple of Juno at Croton. Livy scholars have followed references to religion through the *AUC*, they have tracked the career of *exempla* and traced the trajectories of particular families. They have extracted and compared triumph notices, death notices, and references to injustices done to women.⁵ This thematically driven work

² Walbank 1957 ad loc.; Weissenborn and Müller ad loc.; Brizzi 1983: 245; Meister 87; Marincola 1997: 102 n193; Champion 23 n31. On the temple see also Polybius, 34.11.9, with Walbank 1957 ad loc.

³ Burck 1950:141; 1971:22: "By closing the book with a reference to the account of his deeds in Punic and Greek that Hannibal had erected in the temple of Juno Lacinia, Livy underlines the caesura which the content necessitates at this point: this symbolizes the conclusion of Hannibal's war in Italy." See also Hoffmann 9, and Levene 1993: 68.

⁴ The bibliography on intertextuality is extensive. My starting point for this paper is a remark of Laird 142: "An intertextual relation may be seen to obtain between the discourse of a historian and the discourse of his eyewitnesses, of his documentary sources, of his predecessors, of his rivals and of the occasional inscription." I have also relied on Conte, Hinds, and Edmunds, who has an extensive bibliography. On intertextuality in historiography, see now Marincola 2005. On intratextuality, see Sharrock and Morales. See also the recent discussion in Levene 2006: 73–108.

⁵ Religion: Levene 1993, and now Davies; *exempla*: Chaplin; families: Vasaly 1987; triumph notices: Phillips; death notices: Pomeroy; injustices done women: Moore.

has taught us a great deal about Livy as a historical thinker and literary artist. Livy's use of space has also received attention.⁶ If we are willing to read Livy's history at least partly as an extended story of space that is falling increasingly under Rome's influence, influence that determines both the course of events and the nature of the record of events, then we can learn something about the historian's narrative technique by studying the embedded topographies of places swallowed by the growing giant. A case in point is the temple of Juno, which plays a role in shaping both Livy's own narrative and his response to earlier histories.

1. LIVY AND HANNIBAL

Livy 28.46.15 records that "almost (*ferme*) nothing worthy of memory" was accomplished among the Bruttians that year.⁷ The exception that necessitates the careful *ferme* is the activity of Hannibal, who spent (*egit*) the summer in their territory, and founded and dedicated the altar (*condidit dedicavitque*).⁸ Setting up an altar with an inscription of one's achievements is itself a memorable act. After all, Livy recorded it.

The reference to a *titulus* containing *res gestae* and the commemorative vocabulary at the beginning of the passage (*nihil...memorabile gestum*) remind us that the projects of both Livy and Hannibal overlap here at the monument. Hannibal, like Livy, commemorates *res gestae*, and Livy says in his preface that his own act of writing Rome's history contributes manfully to the memory of the *res gestae* of the Roman people. His history is a *res* and a great one. And, of course, Livy famously compares studying history to examining a monument.⁹ This conceptual overlap invites comparison of Livy's literary project and Hannibal's, a comparison that is to Livy's advantage. Hannibal's achievements may make an *ingens titulus*, but Livy's *res* is a matter of boundless effort, *immensi operis*, as he says in Preface 4, and one which struggles because of its own extent, *magnitudine labore sua*. In Livy's description, the monument preserving Hannibal's *res gestae* aptly reflects the

⁶Kraus 1994b: 267–89; Jaeger 1997; Morello; Marincola 2005.

⁷The year was 205 B.C. Livy's account of 204 does not begin until Book 29.11.

⁸Kraus 1994: 254, on 6.29.9 (*tabulae...his ferme incisa litteris fuit*): "*ferme* can be code for scholarly care."

⁹Pref. 1: *res populi Romani*; 3: *rerum gestarum*; 4: *res est praeterea et immensi operis...*; on this overlap, see Moles, and Kraus 1994b: 267–70. For the metaphor of the monument, see Pref. 10: "Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri," and discussion in Jaeger 15–29.

narrative closure of the very *res gestae* it commemorates, since those *res* are neatly inscribed in the finite space of an inscription, itself a form of writing embedded in a particular place. Hannibal's *res gestae* in Italy are, in the end, constrained by plague and the limited confines of Bruttium. Livy's history, in contrast, like the *res gestae populi Romani*, almost grows as it goes: "iam provideo animo...crescere paene opus," says the narrator as he begins the account of the Second Macedonian War by comparing his topic to an ocean, whose deceptive appearance leads him from the shallows into deeper and deeper water (31.3.5). That image from the opening of Book 31 underscores what our monument at the end of 28 implies: Hannibal's *res gestae* fit easily into the *res gestae* of the Roman people, just as his record of those *res* occupies a mere decade of Livy's narrative.

Moreover, by identifying the content of the inscription as Hannibal's *res gestae*, Livy's text points to an alternate Second Punic war narrative told from a point of view completely opposed to that of the *AUC*, and set down in Punic and Greek instead of Latin.¹⁰ Thus Livy's text directs attention to and commemorates a source with tremendous authority, Hannibal himself, eyewitness *and* participant in events, the Thucydidean-Polybian ideal.¹¹ Yet by indicating that the inscription contains *res*, without quoting any of Hannibal's *verba*, Livy's text causes readers thinking about Hannibal's achievements to fall back either on their own memory of what the monument says, or on the version of those *res gestae* most ready to hand, Livy's own. It superimposes, as it were, their memory of Books 21–28 on Hannibal's inscription.

Here, where Livy's reference to the inscription mobilizes the intertextual relationship between his narrative and Hannibal's, the reference to an *ingens titulus* points toward the amplitude and authority of Hannibal's version of history only to show that the *AUC* has greater amplitude. It also has greater authority, since both those who do not seek out the inscription themselves and those who read neither Punic nor Greek must accept the version of the Latin historian who has the last word, all the words, in fact. In position and function, Hannibal's monument resembles the trophy dedicated by Vergil's Aeneas at Actium (3.288): *Aeneas haec de Danaïs victoribus arma*, "Aeneas dedicates these arms, taken from the Danaan victors," a feint that appears

¹⁰ On the nature of Hannibal's inscription, see the comments of Schmitt and Meister in Verdin 121–122. The consensus is that Hannibal's *res gestae* belong to the near-eastern tradition of inscriptions recording achievements. Brizzi observes that the inscription addresses a Hellenic audience, and he interprets the monument in the context of Euhemerism.

¹¹ On autopsy, Marincola 1997: 79–83, on background and experience as sources of authority, 134–136, Boncquet 281–2.

to give glory even as it appropriates it by naming the Greeks as immediate winners while claiming victory in the greater contest.

2. LIVY AND POLYBIUS

Livy does not say how he learned of this monument, whether he saw it himself, or read about it, or saw it and read about it. Possible written sources include Coelius Antipater (whom he cites together with Valerius Antias for material in the previous paragraph, 28.46.14), Polybius, some combination of these authors, a source he shares with one or more of these authors, or none of the above.¹² Coelius wrote a monograph on the Second Punic War, and Cicero preserves a fragment of his work recounting Hannibal's dealings with the temple of Juno at Croton.¹³ Polybius's influence on Livy, perhaps traceable as early as Books 21 and 22, becomes more pronounced as the decade goes on.¹⁴ I shall explore the idea of Livy's monument as a response to Polybius's text first and save discussion of Coelius for the end.

After listing the forces that Hannibal sent back to Africa, when he was about to leave Spain and make his move for the Alps, Polybius cites the inscription on Cape Lacinium (3.33.17–18). Most of the scholarship on Polybius's reference to this monument discusses the numbers and names that he reports, or simply adduces it as evidence of Polybius's respect for documents.¹⁵ I would like to examine more closely the authorial remark that Polybius appends to his discussion of the numbers:

Οὐ χρηὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀναγραφῆς, εἰ τοιαύτη
κεχρήμεθα περὶ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀννίβου κατ' Ἰβηρίαν πεπραγμένων οἷα
μόλις ἂν χρήσαιτό τις αὐτοὺς κεχειρικῶς τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις, οὐδὲ

¹²Theories range from that of Girod 1195–97, who argues that Livy must have seen Croton and the temple of Juno, because he gives such a detailed description of it, to that of Klotz 190, who attributes Livy's description to Silenus via Coelius. Klotz guesses that Polybius learned of the inscription from Silenus. See Walbank 1957: 364–5.

¹³Caelius Antipater fr34P (from Cicero *Div.*1.48), with Herrmann ad loc. See the quotation and discussion of this passage below.

¹⁴Livy finally refers to Polybius by name in the last scene of the decade, 30.45.5. One theory is that Livy relied primarily on Coelius for material in 21–23, then turned to Polybius in 24, especially for events in Sicily. For an overview, see Tränkle, with the review by Briscoe 1978, and more generally Briscoe 1993:39–52.

¹⁵See Walbank 1957 ad loc., with bibliography. See also Pédech 338. Sacks 13, lists this passage as one where Polybius, “either denounces the accounts of other historians or asserts the superiority of his own.” Eckstein 280, points out that Polybius was proud of having gone to see it, and that he, “presents himself as having energetically set about his research.”

προκαταγινώσκειν, εἰ πεποιήκαμεν παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἀξιοπίστως
 ψευδομένοις τῶν συγγραφέων. ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὐρόντες ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ τὴν
 γραφὴν ταύτην ἐν χαλκῷματι κατατεταγμένην ὑπ' Ἀννίβου, καθ'
 οὓς καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τόποις ἀνεστρέφετο, πάντως
 ἐνομίσαμεν αὐτὴν περὶ γε τῶν τοιούτων ἀξιόπιστον εἶναι, διὸ καὶ
 κατακολουθεῖν εἰλόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ.¹⁶

One need neither marvel at the precision of the record, if I used such precision concerning Hannibal's achievements in Spain as would the very person who had managed those affairs in detail, nor need one condemn me for doing something very similar to what those historians do who lie in a manner worthy of belief. For having discovered this record on Cape Lacinium, narrated fully in bronze by Hannibal while he was occupied in these parts of Italy, I considered it to be absolutely trustworthy, at least concerning things of this sort, wherefore I chose to follow this document.

Polybius refers repeatedly to writing and to the credibility of writing: because his account uses precise numbers, which make it more accurate, it is paradoxically open to criticism for resembling the number-laden plausible accounts presented by lying historians. Since this is so, argues Polybius, it is how you arrive at those numbers that matters. Polybius embraces using the same care and effort that goes into direct participation (managing affairs in detail), as the right means for attaining precision (ἀκριβείαν). His credibility, then, is that of the perfect source, who takes part in events and whose account is credible (ἀξιόπιστον), in contrast to the false precision of those who make up numbers in order to lie credibly (ἀξιοπίστως).

Polybius took his numbers from a record that he discovered on Cape Lacinium, a record composed by Hannibal himself. As in Livy 28, here again Hannibal and a historian meet at a monument, and their roles overlap. Discoverer of the inscription, careful transcriber of an accurate record, Polybius is both eyewitness and author. He concludes his authorial aside by returning to the relationship between the record (γραφὴ) and the eyewitness; only this time Hannibal is the direct participant, the eyewitness, and the composer of the record. As direct participant and contemporary, Hannibal is the ideal source, at least when it comes to his numbers. (When it comes to the truth value of the rest of the record, Polybius seems to place Hannibal on the side of the plausibly lying historians, for even the record of this ultimate eyewitness is not credible in all aspects—notice the γε in περὶ γε τῶν τοιούτων.) What is significant here is that Polybius calls upon his act of eyewitness to prove the ethical soundness of his precision, and it is this precision that guarantees the

¹⁶ The text is that of Buettner-Wobst's 1985 Teubner, ed.

accuracy of the record. Polybius here not only sets apart his accuracy—and ethics—from Hannibal's, he distinguishes his practice from that which he attributes to Timaeus, whom he criticizes for using documents without saying where and how he found them (12.11.1).¹⁷

When Livy lists Hannibal's forces in Book 21.38.1–5, he uses numbers that resemble those of Polybius and, accordingly, is thought to have drawn on the same tradition.¹⁸ He does not, however, mention either Polybius or the inscription at this point. But even if Livy did not use Polybius's account directly as a source for Book 21, by the time he wrote Book 28, he had almost certainly read and used Polybius's writings on the Second Punic War. If, for the sake of argument, we accept that Livy has read the Polybius passage, then it is possible to interpret his presentation of the monument as a response to Polybius's presentation. This makes several features of the two descriptions worthy of mention.

As we have seen, each author uses the monument to punctuate his account. Polybius first mentions the inscription at the end of his Spanish narrative, before his account of Hannibal crossing the Alps; he refers to it again when the Alps are crossed (3.56.4), before the methodological digression, which he says that he is introducing at the point in the narrative where the war has reached Italy (3.57–59). Livy, who introduces the monument when it comes into being, places the inscription near the end of Hannibal's campaign in Italy and at the end of a book, so that it concludes Hannibal's war in Italy.¹⁹ Polybius, not surprisingly, says nothing about the inscription being in Greek, but he also says nothing about it being bilingual, whereas Livy points out that the inscription was in Punic and Greek. Polybius presents the numbers of soldiers in detail, then invokes the inscription as evidence, placing emphasis on the accuracy and credibility of the information it preserves. Livy refers only to *res gestae*, with no representation of the inscription's contents. (As Marincola points out, the inscription does not *prove* anything in Livy.)²⁰ In addition, Polybius's comment on the inscription is a first-person claim to accuracy and credibility, whereas Livy's description is just that, a third-

¹⁷ On 12.11.1, see Pearson 44. Polybius's discussion is in keeping with what Eckstein 25 says about Polybius's pervasive moral vision: lying about numbers can give an historian "pragmatic success" in that it makes his falsehoods possible and plausible, but it is unethical not to do one's homework.

¹⁸ Walbank 1957 ad loc.

¹⁹ This is not to rule out Polybius possibly reusing the inscription in the chronologically 'correct' position.

²⁰ Marincola 1997: 105. Marincola 102 n.193 also observes that Livy's version mentions the monument "with no sense that it is somehow a privileged source."

person description. Moreover, each author's monument reflects the main aims of his historiographical program: Polybius, who writes for military leaders and statesmen, stresses precision and involvement; Livy, who writes to improve his fellow Romans by invoking the memory of Rome's past, stresses commemoration. Finally, Livy, who is attuned to the overlap of textual and geographical space, uses it in a way that brings closure to the episode.²¹ Thus Livy repeats—possibly even imitates—Polybius's use of the monument to punctuate the greater war narrative, but does not repeat or imitate Polybius's way of locating and representing it.

3. THE MONUMENT IN LIVY 21–45

Ὅμως δὲ τὸ πραγματευομένῳ τὴν τῆς γῆς περίοδον, καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα λέγειν ἀνάγκη, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ἔνια, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἔνδοξα ᾖ.

Strabo, 6.1.2.

However, the man who busies himself with the description of the earth must needs speak, not only of the facts of the present, but also sometimes of the facts of the past, especially when they are notable.

H.L. Jones, tr.

Let us place Hannibal's monument in an intratextual context, that of the representation of Croton and the temple of Juno in the *AUC*, all the while keeping an eye on Livy's invocation of and response to historiographical tradition. First, its geographical situation alone makes the temple of Juno a logical place to invoke at a book's ending and major narrative transition.²² The temple

²¹ On overlap, see Kraus 1994b; examples of *monumenta* bringing closure to episodes in Livy are many (e.g. 1.7.3, the city itself; 1.7.11, the altar of Hercules, 1.13.5, the Lacus Curtius; 6.29.9, the inscription set up by T. Quinctius after his triumph over Praeneste).

²² On Cape Lacinium, see 'Lacinium promuntorium' *RE* vol. 12, 345–346. For other book endings at the meeting point of land and sea, see the end of *Aeneid* 6 and beginning of 7, with Jeff Will's comment to Stephen Hinds, "*Aen.* 6.901 *litore*, 7.1 *litoribus*; the structural 'shores' of Vergil's poem?" Hinds 109n15. Livy's book endings in the third decade are significant: e.g. at the end of Book 21, Flaminius leaves Rome without sacrificing on the Capitoline; 22, the defeated consul who survives Cannae returns to a Rome that greets him and thanks him for not despairing of the state; 27, Hannibal withdraws to Bruttium; 28, he sets up the monument; 29, the narrative returns to Rome to report consular elections, games, and the installation of a gold quadriga on the Capitoline; 30, Africanus returns to the Capitoline in triumph. On the poetics of Livy's book structure with focus on the first pentad, see Vasaly 2002: 275–90.

stands on a promontory, Cape Lacinium.²³ In Livy's picture of Italy, Bruttium is its futhermost corner (*extremum Italiae angulum* 27.51.13), and Cape Lacinium is the very edge and a jumping-off point for Greece or Africa. It is, as we shall see, the place from which Hannibal departs on his return to Africa in Book 30. Cape Lacinium appears first in the extant text when Philip secretly makes contact with Hannibal (23.33.4). Avoiding the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, his envoys land near the temple. Livy identifies precisely where they disembark: "ad Laciniae Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt." After making their way to Hannibal and forming an alliance with Carthage, the envoys return to their ships. Livy is once again very precise about the place: "eodem ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt." If for Livy the Alps are Italy's metaphorical walls (21.41.15), Cape Lacinium is its postern gate, where people come and go, sometimes sneakily.²⁴ The place also marked an old political boundary. Although the surviving books of Livy do not refer to it, Appian tells us that, according to a treaty struck with Tarentum around 303 B.C.E., this is the point beyond which the Romans were not to sail. When the Romans did so in 282 B.C.E., the Tarentines sank part of the Roman fleet, then insulted the Roman envoys who came to complain. When the Romans subsequently attacked, the Tarentines called in Pyrrhus.²⁵ The *Periochae* of Livy list these events as part of Book 12. Cape Lacinium and the temple of Juno also appear as prominent features in several episodes from Books 21–45, two of which (from Books 24 and 30) provide bookends, as it were, for Hannibal's inscription. What follows will examine separately the passages that discuss the cape and the temple, then consider them together, with an eye to the intratextual relationship between them.

The narrative of Book 24 begins with events at Rhegium, then follows the Italian coast eastward to Locri, Croton, and Apulia, before returning westward in order to record Sicilian affairs. Livy's first elaborate reference to and only extended description of the temple of Juno appears as a digression within the digression describing Croton (24.2.10–3.9. I have marked the steps in the digression in bold font):

²³ For good photographs of the cape, the one surviving column of the temple, and examples of various dedications, see *Il Tesoro di Hera: Scoperte nel santuario di Hera lacinia a Capo Colona di Crotona*. Catalog a cura di Roberto Spadea, 1996. On the temple's history and importance for southern Italy, see Lomas, 1993: 32; De Sensi Sestito 41–50.

²⁴ The idea of the Alps as walls was expressed by Cato, according to Servius *Ad Verg. Aen.* 10.13: "Alpes quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam." On the Alps as a boundary, see Williams 48–58.

²⁵ App. *Samn.* 7.1. See also Dion. Hal. 19.5, 39.4, and Polybius, 1.6.5–7, with Walbank, 1957 ad loc. See also Lomas 1993:39–58, esp. 50.

(A) The deserter acting as commander and guide, the Bruttians surrounded the city with a cordon of troops and, admitted by the plebeians, took all of it by the first assault, except the citadel (*praeter arcem*). (B) The aristocrats held the citadel (*arcem optimates tenebant*) as a refuge prepared in advance for such an emergency. Aristomachus fled to the same place, as if he had been the person behind handing the city over not to the Bruttians but to the Carthaginians. (C) The city of Croton had a wall twelve miles in circumference before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy (*ante Pyrrhi in Italiam adventum*). After the destruction caused by that war (*post vastitatem eo bello factam*) barely half the city was inhabited. The river, which had flowed in the middle of the city was now flowing past outside the places built up with houses, and the citadel was at a distance from the inhabited areas. (D) Six miles from the famous city, was the temple of Juno Licinia, more famous (*nobilius*) than the city itself, sacred to all the surrounding peoples (*sanctum omnibus circa populis*). There a grove, hedged in with a dense wood and lofty silver-fir trees, had fertile pastures at its center (*lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit*), where a herd of every kind of cattle, sacred to the goddess, fed untended by a shepherd. And the flocks returned to the fold every night, separately, each according to its kind, never attacked by the ambushes of wild beasts nor by human treachery (*nunquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum*). Consequently, the profit (*fructus*) from the stock was great, and from it was made and dedicated a column of solid gold, and the temple was gloried for its riches as well as for its sanctity (*inclitumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit*). In addition, some wonders are imputed to it, as is usual for such famous places (*ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur ut plerumque tam insignibus locis*): there is the story (*fama est*) that there is an altar in the temple's vestibule and that its ash is never stirred by the wind. (c) But the citadel of Croton (*sed arx Crotonis*), looming over the sea on one side, sloping down to the plain on the other, once fortified by only the natural situation of the place, afterwards was also girded by a wall (*situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est*), where through the cliffs at the rear it had been captured through a stratagem by Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily. (b) In that citadel (*ea tum arce*), safe enough, as it seemed, the aristocrats of Croton were holding themselves (*optimates tenebant se*), (a) while their own plebeians together with the Bruttians, surrounded them.

Organized carefully in ring-composition, the digression moves from (A) Croton surrounded and (B) the aristocrats holding out on the citadel, to (C) changes in topography because of a previous war, to (D) the description of the precinct and temple, back to (c) changes in topography because of a previous war, and then back to (b) the aristocrats of Croton holding out on the citadel and (a) the Bruttians surrounding them.

This place-description surveys the major events in Croton's past by pointing out their traces in the city's landscape: there was a time before Pyrrhus

came, when the city's population filled its walls; Pyrrhus's attacks produced such devastation that now only half the city's area is occupied; there was a time before Dionysius, when the citadel was fortified by nature alone; after he attacked, the people built a wall.²⁶ During the present episode, betrayal by a deserter, who has informed the enemy that the outer walls are sparsely guarded, has allowed the enemy to enter those walls. Finally, at the end of the episode, the city is abandoned (24.3.15). Thus the digression offers a farewell tour of the historical landscape of a city that Livy calls *nobilis* but that has deteriorated physically.

In contrast to the city, which bears the scars brought about by time, betrayal and the depredations of war, the precinct and temple of Juno seem free from trouble. The description emphasizes the place's security and pristine atmosphere: the grove with its fertile pastures is enclosed by tall silver-fir trees (*proceris abietis arboribus*) typical of the *locus amoenus*.²⁷ (The very height of the trees suggests that this grove has not recently met the ax for that "beginning of evils," ship-building, the purpose usually served by literary firs.²⁸) Flocks graze without needing a shepherd. In fact, the herds manage themselves, returning to their own stables at night. Unlike the aristocrats and plebeians in Croton, different kinds of animals live in harmony in Juno's sanctuary. The flocks suffer neither attacks from predators nor the treachery of man (no *insidiae*, no *fraus*). The profits (*fructus*), nearly spontaneous fruits of this peaceful and pastoral life, are hefty. It is fitting that the offering they have financed is a solid gold column, because Livy's description suggests that the temple and its precincts still enjoy an almost golden age.²⁹ Even the wondrous phenomenon described by Livy, an altar where the ashes are never stirred by the wind, contributes to the impression of static peace.

²⁶ Cf. Polybius 2.39, on the pressure from the barbarian tribes that made Croton give up the customs and laws that they had adopted from the Achaeans (this is after the conquest of Dionysius in 389 B.C.).

²⁷ See, recently, Newlands, with bibliography.

²⁸ Italian communities send this wood to Scipio for ship-building: *abietem in fabricandas naves* 28.45.18 (the only other use of the noun *abies* in the surviving text of Livy). See also Enn. *ann.* 189; Vergil, *G.* 2.68; *Aen.* 5.663. The specific golden-age connections of this wood appear at Enn. *scen.* 247; *Aen.* 8.90–96. See Thomas 1988 on Verg. *G.* 2.68. On the violation of groves in Vergil, see Thomas 1988b:261–73, esp. 262–65. The cutting of the wood is the beginning of the evils in Euripides' *Medea* as well.

²⁹ I say "almost" because, as a reader points out, some of the *fructus* could have included meat as well as wool and milk. On golden-age typology, see Gatz 228–232 (a useful *con-spectus locorum*), and 165–173 on vegetarianism and peace among animals.

Or rather, the temple has escaped trouble so far. While the temple itself is situated six miles away from the troubled Croton, its description occupies an ambiguous position: as a digression, it involves a departure from its context; yet, as a digression it also entails a return to that context. Thus it is firmly embedded within it. In the text of the digression, then, the temple of Juno lies at the center of the description of Croton. If this context—Croton deteriorating over time and finally abandoned—does not by itself communicate a sense of foreboding, some of the details of the temple's description convey the idea that the place no longer is as it was. Livy's use of the perfect tense makes it clear that the temple's famous wealth, in contrast to its *miracula*, is a thing of the past ("the temple was (*fuit*) gloried for its riches as well as for its sanctity").³⁰ In addition, place-descriptions with reference to side-attractions such as temples and their attendant wonders are the usual stuff of geographies and guidebooks.³¹ The opening section of Book 24 follows the path of the coast, as would a geography, a *periodos* *ges*, as does, for example, Strabo's description of Magna Graecia (6.1.7). Such phrases as *miracula adfinguntur* and *fama est* can be read not simply as general references to tradition and report, but as a kind of "footnoting" that draws attention to the historian-narrator's scholarly activity.³² Indeed Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 3.552, which refers to the temple of Juno at Lacinium, mentions the temple's exemplary wonder in a similar way: "in hoc templo illud miraculi fuisse dicitur..."³³ Even the adjectives *nobilis* and *inclitus* mark the sanctuary as one of those notable (ἐνδοξα) things that, according to Strabo, the geographer must talk about in spite of their being from the past (and he makes this remark when discussing the deterioration of Magna Graecia).³⁴ Thus the passage leaves the

³⁰ The geographer Strabo mentions the place saying, "after these [the three capes of the Iapyges] comes the Lacinium, here is the shrine of Hera, at one time wealthy and filled with dedications" (6.1.11): μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὸ Λακίνιον, "Ἦρας ἱερόν, πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν.

³¹ On the genre, see Romm 26–31.

³² Hinds 1–2.

³³ "In hoc templo illud miraculi fuisse dicitur, ut si quis ferro in tegula templi ipsius nomen incideret, [et] tamdiu illa scriptura maneret quamdiu is homo viveret qui illud scripsisset." The parallel here between a person's life and the status of the roof-tile may reflect some connection to the Flaccus story discussed below. See also Aristotle, *Mirab. Ausc.* 96.

³⁴ Cf. Paullus's tour of Greece (45.27.5–28.6), with remarks by Jaeger 1997:1–3, and now Marincola 2005. On *inclutus/inclitus*, see Murgia 99–100, and Oakley 494–95, on 6.11.2. The deterioration of Magna Graecia was a topos as well as a reality. See Cicero, *De Amic.* 13: ...*magnamque Graciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat.*

impression that from the narrator's point of view, while his readers could visit Croton and the temple, the glory of both now reside only in the literary and scholarly tradition.

In sum, Livy's elaborate description of Croton and the temple in Book 24 creates a memorable place that comes to mind when either reappears in the narrative. Readers of Book 28 would envision Hannibal's monument in the precinct and its greater context, the deteriorating Croton of Book 24. Although Hannibal adds to the temple's fame by placing his monument there, the glory of city and temple alike exist more in tradition than in present reality. As a result, Hannibal's statement of his achievements appears more firmly linked to the distant and, as it were, archived past.

The passage forming the other bookend for our inscription is 30.20.5–9. Hannibal retreats to Bruttium at the end of Book 27, and spends the last years of the Italian campaign in that area. Recalled when Scipio's invasion looks imminent, he prepares his fleet and departs for Africa from the Lacinian promontory. According to Livy, Hannibal's last act on Italian soil was to slaughter, in the very temple of Juno where they had fled for refuge, his Italian allies, who had refused to follow him to Africa (30.20.6).³⁵ By pointing out that this murder took place in a temple hitherto inviolate (*inviolatum ad eam diem*), Livy links Hannibal's departure to the original description of the peaceful sanctuary and suggests that the killing of Italians brings the temple's "golden age" to an end. (Livy does not tell us how Hannibal had obtained ships before committing this final sacrilege [*praeparaverat ante naves*, 30.20.5], but one fears for that old-growth in Juno's grove.) Whereas Appian (*Hann.* 7.9.59) says explicitly that Hannibal killed the Italians in order that they not fight on the Roman side, Livy gives no strategic motive for the act. His account thus makes the killing in the temple an act of blatant impiety on Hannibal's part, as David Levene observes, and it suggests that dying in the temple is a consequence of belonging to the *genus Italicum*.³⁶ Furthermore, by calling

³⁵ "multis Italicis generis, quia in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inviolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis."

³⁶ Levene 1993: 74. Appian's more detailed account divides the Italians into two groups, those who, having committed crimes against their own towns are willing to go to Africa in order to avoid the consequences, and those who wish to remain in Italy. Hannibal then makes another division: surrounding the Italians who want to stay with his army he has his men choose those whom they want to take along as slaves. Then they kill the rest. Appian reports that Hannibal did away with several thousand horses and draft animals as well. In short, he presents the killing as cruel, but a matter of military strategy. Appian makes no reference to the Temple of Juno.

the victims simply Italians, and not specifying their towns of origin or their class, this passage unites the Italian towns and elides the class-conflict that Livy claims plagued them.³⁷ Thus it illustrates starkly the failure of Hannibal's strategy of allying himself with Italian city-states against Rome.

Their common setting links Hannibal's establishment of the altar at the temple in Book 28 to his slaughter of Italians in Book 30, thereby drawing together the act of foundation connoted by the verb *condere* (*aram condidit*) and the killing of rivals for the possession of Italy. Livy appears to be playing with the same link between foundation and death that Vergil uses so effectively to draw together the opening and closing passages of the *Aeneid* and that appears in Livy's own story of Romulus killing Remus.³⁸ But where Vergil, who sings of *arma* and *vir*, uses the verb *condere* as the link between foundation and sacrifice (*dum conderet urbem* 1.5; *ferrum adverso sub pectore condit* 12.950), Livy, who writes the history of space falling under Roman control from the city's foundation, uses the vividly represented and memorable place, the temple of Juno. Its position, at the end of Italy and beginning of the sea, comes into play here. Hannibal has indeed founded something, but the place encourages a double perspective on events: on the one hand, they can be seen from the Carthaginian point of view, to which Livy calls attention by describing Hannibal's longing gaze back at the Italian shore. From this point of view, Hannibal established an altar and killed Italians as a parting act of severance. On the other hand, from the Roman point of view, the Italians, by dying in the Italy that they refused to leave, have been sacrificed in the temple as part of the founding of a unified peninsula.³⁹

The manner in which the passage engages with its greater context reinforces this idea of a unified Italy. In Book 21, Hannibal encourages his army by stopping on a promontory on the Alps and displaying Italy spread below (21.35.7–10):

When the standards had been set in motion at dawn and the column was advancing sluggishly through a track filled with snow, and heaviness and hopelessness appeared on the face of every man, Hannibal advancing in front of the standards onto a certain promontory from which there was a view far and wide (*praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late*

³⁷ While discussing civil discord in Croton (24.2.8): "unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae civitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis faveret, plebes ad Poenos rem traheret."

³⁸ On this use of *condere* in Vergil, see James, in Livy, see Miles 110–136.

³⁹ I am talking about Livy's highly abstracted mental map, not the complex realities of Romanization and Hellenism in Magna Graecia. On this see Lomas 1993, 1995.

prospectus erat), commanded the soldiers to halt and showed them Italy, and the plains around the Po lying beneath the Alps (*Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpibus montibus Circumpadanis campos*); they were then crossing over the walls not of Italy alone (*non Italiae modo*) but of the city Rome itself; after this all would be effortless or easy. With one, or at most two battles they would hold the citadel and head of Italy (*arcem et caput Italiae*) in the palm of their hand.

The passage relating Hannibal's departure looks back to that first view (30.20.7–9):

They say that only rarely had anyone leaving his country for exile gone away as sadly as Hannibal departed from the land of his enemies. He looked back often on the Italian shores (*respexisse saepe Italiae litora*), aimed invective at gods and men, and called down curses on himself and his own head as well (*suum ipsius caput execratum*), that he had not led his army, still bloody, from the victory at Cannae straight to Rome, that Scipio dared to go to Carthage, although he had not as consul seen a Carthaginian in Italy (*in Italia*), that he himself, having killed a hundred thousand armed men at Trasimene and Cannae, had grown old around Casilinum, Cumae and Nola. Making these accusations and complaints he was detached from his long hold on Italy (*ex diutina possessione Italiae*).

From north to south, from his *prospectus* at one promontory, to his gaze back at another (*respexisse*), Hannibal surveys Italy (notice the repetitions of *Italia* in each passage).⁴⁰ As Livy thus casts his own retrospective gaze back to Book 21 from Book 30, he presents Hannibal's reported curses as a revision of his achievements: once threatening Rome, the head of Italy, *caput Italiae*, Hannibal now heaps curses on his own head (*suum ipsius caput execratum*). The "one, at most two" battles he promises his soldiers, he now laments as opportunities lost after Trasimene and Cannae left Rome virtually defenseless. Just as the murder of Italians replaces the foundation and dedication of an altar as Hannibal's definitive act on Italian soil, so too Hannibal's departing laments and curses replace the inscription as the definitive account of his achievements.⁴¹ Thus Hannibal's version of his *res gestae* recedes behind Livy's vivid and memorable scene while Hannibal recedes from the Italian shore.

⁴⁰ Hannibal metaphorically clings to Italy and has to be (metaphorically) dragged away: "ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus" (He looks back to this scene himself, when he says to Scipio: "me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti," 30.30.14).

⁴¹ For other ways in which Hannibal's words and actions shape the past, see Rossi, esp. 359–360.

Like the death of Turnus in the *Aeneid*, Hannibal's murder of Italians can be seen as both an ending and a beginning. From Hannibal's point of view, his departure from Italy closes an era. The altar has monumentalized his achievements, the murder of the Italians has severed his ties with the allied Italian *gentes*, the slaughter in Juno's temple has broken his ties to the goddess' local cult. From a more distant point of view, however, the killing can be seen as the sacrifice that opens a new age, in which the cities of Magna Graecia become Roman colonies and allies (34.45.3–4), and in which Cape Lacinium becomes a jumping-off point for fleets engaged in Rome's wars of expansion. Indeed, this is how the later books of Livy present the cape. The very place where Philip's envoys furtively hide their ship and Hannibal commits sacrilege is where C. Livius Salinator ritually purifies his fleet before leaving to fight Antiochus: "lustrata classe ad Lacinium altum petit" (36.42.2). In fact, in Livy's new larger-scale geography, Magna Graecia has become so much a part of Roman Italy that after saying that Salinator sails down the west coast of Italy, makes for Sicily, and picks up ships owed by allies from Rhegium and Locri, Livy goes on to note that the first Greek community Salinator reaches is Corcyra.⁴²

4. THE ROOF TILES OF THE TEMPLE OF JUNO

The temple of Juno appears for the last time in the *AUC*'s existing books in a pair of annalistic notices for the years 174 and 173 B.C. (42.3.1–11; 42.28.10–12). The episode begins with the report that the Roman censor, Fulvius Flaccus, removed the temple's roof in order to use the tiles on his temple of Fortuna Equestris at Rome: "eodem anno aedis Iunonis Laciniae detecta."⁴³ The 'hard core' of information in this annalistic notice is that the

⁴² Clearly the world has shrunk since the time of Numa, when, says Livy, it would have been impossible for the Crotoniate Pythagoras to reach the Sabines or to communicate with them if he had (1.18.2–3).

⁴³ Fulvius Flaccus does complete this temple (see 42.10). Its fate is uncertain. Giving an example of systyle column spacing, Vitruvius (writing before 27 B.C. refers to a temple by this name: "quemadmodum est Fortunae Equestris ad theatrum lapideum" (perhaps the detail "next to the stone theatre" is meant to distinguish it from another temple of Fortuna Equestris). It may have appeared later in Livy's text, since Julius Obsequens refers to it in 53 (on the year 92 B.C.). Writing of the year A.D. 22, Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.71.1, says that there was no Temple by this name in Rome. See Richardson 155. If Livy is referring to this same temple, which as Richardson points out, was probably destroyed in the fire that burned the *scaena* of Pompey's theatre in A.D. 21 (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72.4), then Livy's account allows his contemporaries to draw a connection between the temple they see in Rome in the present, and the destruction of Juno's temple in the past.

temple, in this year, was deprived of its roof, that the Senate voted to return the tiles, and that the impiety was expiated.⁴⁴ Livy expands this core information in a marked way. First he sets out Flaccus's motives: that no temple at Rome surpass in size and splendor the one he vowed in the Celtiberian war ("ne ullum Romae amplius aut magnificentius templum esset" 42.3.1). Then he probes Flaccus' thinking, repeating *ratus* to give his reason for taking the roof tiles ("thinking (*ratus*) it would contribute greatly to the ornament (*ornatum*) of that temple if the roof-tiles were marble"), and for taking only half (*ad partem dimidiam*) of them ("thinking (*ratus*) that this would be enough to cover what was being built"). Next Livy provides gratuitous details about the transportation of the tiles, pointing out that ships had been made ready (*naves paratae fuerunt*) to remove and carry them off, and that, in Rome, the tiles were taken off the ships and carried to the temple ("tegulae expositae de navibus ad templum portabantur"). Livy goes on to report the Senate's outraged response (42.3.4):

Had he [Flaccus] considered that he had insufficiently violated the temple, the most revered in that region, one which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated, unless he had foully removed its roof and almost torn it down? (*templum augustissimum regionis eius, quod non Pyrrhus non Hannibal violassent, violare parum habuisse nisi detexisset foede ac prope diruisset?*) The rooftop had been removed from the temple, the building, stripped, lay open for the rains to rot. Was it for this that a man was appointed as censor for regulating morals? That he, to whom the job had been passed down of erecting sturdy buildings and to whom places had been entrusted for safe keeping in the manner of the ancestors—that he should wander through allied cities, tearing down temples and laying bare the roofs of sacred buildings! And what could seem unworthy if he did it to allies' private houses, to do the same thing by tearing down the dwellings of the immortals, and to bind the Roman people with a religious obligation, building temples from the ruins of temples (*ruinis templorum templa aedificantem*), as if the gods were not the same everywhere, but some to be cultivated and adorned by spoils taken from others! (*tamquam non iidem ubique di immortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique!*).

Livy concludes by saying that the Senate voted to restore the tiles, and that the expiation was carried out carefully, although the *redemptores* reported that they had left the tiles in the forecourt of the temple, because no craftsman could figure out how to put them back into place. This passage, then, fulfils the requirements for history listed by Sempronius Asellio, who said that it was

⁴⁴ Levene 1993: 108–9, has discussed the impiety of this act and pointed out how it symbolizes Rome's poor treatment of its allies. See also Orlin 151–53, 191–93.

not enough to say what was done and in what year; rather one had to expand, by intentions, motive, and means.⁴⁵ Its marked expansion and the inclusion of the Senate's speech suggest that Livy is presenting an important idea here. It is one conveyed by the place and the rhetoric working together.

The setting in this passage changes several times. After the annalistic notice mentioning Lacinium, the narrative begins at Rome, where Flaccus strives to make the greatest temple. Then it moves to Lacinium, where he removes half the temple roof, then back to Rome, where the Senate requests a hearing, castigates Flaccus for sacrilege, and votes to return the roof tiles, then back to Lacinium where the crime is expiated, and finally back to Rome, where the *redemptores* make their report. Within this narrative Flaccus himself moves from Rome, to the promontory, and back to Rome. The tiles travel from Lacinium to Rome and back to Lacinium. The tiles, returned but not replaced, prevent the episode from achieving closure until the coda to the story appears in a second passage, the notice for the end of the year 173 B.C. (42.28.10–12), which reports that Flaccus died foully (*hic foeda morte periit*) upon learning of one son's death and another's illness: he hanged himself and his slaves found his body. The story concludes by recording the gossip that resulted: "There was the belief (*erat opinio*) that he had been too little in possession of his mind after his term as censor. The common rumor was that Lacinian Juno had taken his mind on account of her anger at the despoiling of her temple" ("volgo Iunonis Laciniae iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentum ferebant"). This coda completes the narrative's one final departure and return, as the story that begins with Flaccus's mental processes (his motives for taking the tiles), returns to them (his grief and the rumour of madness). Flaccus's death brings closure, but not the equilibrium that would have been achieved by complete restoration and compensation. Another exchange occurs instead: he took away Juno's roof tiles; she took away his mind.⁴⁶

All this reported movement to and fro connects Rome and Lacinium together and shows how this part of Italy has become a geographical unit. The passage shows this geographical unity from two different perspectives that result in different political interpretations. The references to the ships, first waiting to carry the tiles away from Lacinium, then being unloaded in Rome, draw attention to the convenience of travel between the two places,

⁴⁵ Sempronius Asellio, Fr. 1 P. See also Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.62–63, with the important discussion of this passage by Woodman 78–81.

⁴⁶ Valerius Maximus (1.1.20; 1.8 (ext.) 18) reports this story as well. On Juno see Mueller 221–63, esp. 247–252. Fear of Juno's wrath did not, apparently, deter later recyclers who, around 1520, took almost all the columns to use for the palace of the Archbishop of Croton (*RE* "Lacinium promunturium" 345).

even as the phrase *naves paratae fuerunt* recalls Hannibal's departure from Italy (*praeparaverat ante naves*, 30.20.5). Flaccus exploits his censorial *auctoritas* to cow the people in Bruttium; the Senate, in response, emphasizes the responsibility arising from this connection: these are allies (*socii*); the gods are the same everywhere; the censor's responsibility should be the same. The Senate sets Pyrrhus's and Hannibal's relative restraint against Flaccus's sacrilege; it juxtaposes the temple on the cape and the one at Rome, Lacinian Juno and Fortuna Equestris (*violassent violare, templorum templa, aliorum alii*). In this large-scale geography, with ease of access by water, two changes have occurred: from the point of view of the Senate, as geographical difference has disappeared, and even Cape Lacinium has been annexed to Rome, so too should political difference have been elided, for the locals are allies, and should be treated as such; from Flaccus's point of view, this place is still not Rome, and the geographical connection means only that Rome can plunder those allies all the more easily.⁴⁷

In contrast to the men and building materials which move to and fro, all the talk takes place at Rome, the expressions of outrage, the Senate's attack on Flaccus, the final report made by the men in charge of expiating the impiety. (Outside of Rome the intimidated allies say nothing.) When the Senate speaks, it does so with striking unanimity: a request is made "on all sides" (*ex omnibus partibus*) that the consuls bring the matter before the Senate; when Flaccus enters the Senate house, the Senators attack him "one and all" (*singuli universique*); their feelings on the matter are clear even before it is officially placed before them ("cum priusquam referretur appareret quid sentirent patres" 42.3.10); and when the matter is put to a vote they all express entirely the same opinion ("in unam omnes sententiam ierunt"). Even the Senate's manner of speaking contributes to the impression of unanimity, for no one Senator stands out as the lone voice defending Rome's allies against this misuse of *auctoritas*. Livy says that a muttering arose in the Senate house (*fremitus igitur in curia ortus est*), then presents the details of this muttering in a rhetorically sophisticated piece of indirect speech attributed to the group as a whole.⁴⁸ The reference to abusing one's position by robbing a temple might even recall for Livy's readers the passages about temple-robbing in

⁴⁷ Moreover, by co-opting the coast, Rome has begun to take on the qualities of a maritime city. On maritime cities, see recently Horden and Purcell. On foreign influence as a source of Rome's moral decline in Livy, see Feldherr 37–50. Cicero's famous list of the problems of maritime cities in *De Re Publica* 2.7 includes "a certain corrupting and changing of the people's character" ("quaedam corruptela ac mutatio morum").

⁴⁸ The Senate's criticism employs epanaphora (*violassent violare*) anaphora (*non...non*), asyndeton, (*non...non; detractum...nudatum*) rhetorical question and antithesis.

the *Verrines*, the speeches by which the ambitious young Cicero, presenting himself as the voice of moral outrage, had made his own reputation.⁴⁹ Livy's readers, contrasting the unanimity of the Senate in Flaccus's day with that more recent conflict, might note how much Rome had declined morally in the century after Flaccus's death.

5. LIVY AND COELIUS

Having surveyed the Temple of Juno passages in Livy, we can finally turn to Coelius. David Levene has pointed out that there is another story of a *miraculum* at the temple of Juno, one that Livy does not tell but probably knows. We know the story because Cicero reports it, citing Coelius (fr. 34P, from Cic. *Div.* 1.48):

Hannibalem Coelius scribit, cum columnnam auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Laciniae, auferre vellet, dubitaretque, utrum ea solida esset an extrinsecus inaurata, perterebravisse, cumque solidam invenisset, statuisse tollere; ei secundum quietem visam esse Iunonem praedicare, ne id faceret, minarique, si fecisset, se curaturam, ut eum quoque oculum quo bene videret, amitteret. idque ab homine acuto non esse neglectum; itaque ex eo auro quod exterebratum esset buculum curasse faciendum et eum in summa columna collocavisse.

Coelius writes that Hannibal, wanting to take away the golden column in the shrine of Juno Lacinia, but uncertain whether it was solid or gilded on the outside, took a core sample, and when he had found it to be solid decided to take it. Juno appeared to him as he was sleeping, told him not to take it, and threatened that if he did, she would see to it that he would lose also that eye with which he could see well. The shrewd man did not ignore this warning. He saw to it, accordingly, that the image of a calf was made from that gold which had been removed, and he placed it atop the column.

This story would fit chronologically with the account of Hannibal dedicating the altar, for both events could have taken place during the summer that he spent around the temple. We also know that Coelius was one of Livy's sources for events of 205 B.C. because, just before mentioning Hannibal's inscription, Livy cites Coelius's account of some ships captured off Sardinia. It is possible, then, that Coelius told about both altar and column in the same section of

⁴⁹ Especially *In Verr.* 2.4. On Cicero's use of places, buildings, and artwork in the *Verrines*, see Vasaly 1993: 104–30. The plundering of the temple of Juno would continue, as fact or topos. In his *Life of Pompey*, Plutarch says that during the Mithridatic wars the pirates plundered previously inviolate sanctuaries. The last he lists is the temple of Juno at Lacinium (24.5). Appian says that Sextus Pompey plundered the temple before fleeing to Antony (*BC* 5.133.14). One wonders how Livy's later books would have presented these stories.

his history and that Livy read that passage. Levene suggests that Livy omits the story of Hannibal and the column, in order not to interrupt the growing impression of Roman *pietas* with an act of *pietas* on Hannibal's part.⁵⁰ Levene's interpretation of the omission is probably correct for the immediate context. But if we consider the relationship of the Coelius passage to Livy's extended account of the temple, it appears that Livy is doing something more complicated than simply omitting a story.

Knowledge of this story, whether from Coelius or Cicero, also enriches readers' encounters with the initial description of the temple, the account of the slaughter of Italians, and the story of the roof-tiles.⁵¹ For readers familiar with the Coelius story, Livy's reference to the golden column in Book 24 would call to mind Hannibal's experience with that very column, thus reinforcing the impression that the temple, while vulnerable to human depredation, is also under potent divine care. The stark contrast between Hannibal's impious slaughter in the temple and his earlier shrewd response to Juno's warning, would underscore the hubris that he displayed as he left Italy. Finally, in the Flaccus story, the Senate's specific if patently false claim, that not even Pyrrhus or *Hannibal* violated Juno's temple, would call to mind the story of the column as well as that of the slaughter of Italians.⁵² The obvious parallels between Hannibal and the gold, and Flaccus and the roof-tiles, two accounts of temple-robbery, rebuke, and recompense, offer a moralizing commentary on the actions of Flaccus and the Senate: personal ambition threatens the *pax deorum*, and is thus more dangerous than Rome's worst external enemy. Moreover the strong parallels draw attention to the most important difference between the two stories: in placing the golden calf atop the column Hannibal returned something better than what he took. Flaccus, in contrast, only returned the roof-tiles and, when no one could restore them properly, offered nothing greater in recompense. The inadequacy of his response is underscored by the parallel between Juno's removal of Flaccus' sanity, and her unfulfilled threat to Hannibal's vision. Thus, while not retelling the story from Coelius, but instead recycling its elements and reusing them in a series of linked passages, Livy both reinforces his ongoing moral argument and shows his creative independence from his Latin predecessor.

⁵⁰ Levene 1993: 68.

⁵¹ Kraus 1994: 330 on 6.42.9–11, observes that Livy "sidesteps famous stories in an almost Hellenistic fashion, leaving clues to what has been omitted" (Kraus points out that, for example, the phrase *in concordiam redactis* in 6.42.12 might allude to a temple of Concord traditionally attributed to Camillus).

⁵² Pyrrhus was not much better than Hannibal: the Locrians claimed that he attempted to steal from their temple of Persephone (29.18.3–6).

6. THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT AND SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In Livy the common setting of several passages in and around the temple of Juno allows a nexus of ideas to take shape around them. Forms of the verb *violare* appear in three and contribute to a narrative of progressive transgression: in the initial description of the temple and its precinct the animals are *inviolati*—safe from predators and man. Hannibal murders the Italians in a temple *inviolatum ad eam diem*; the Roman senators use the verb *violare* twice, and emphatically, when they castigate Fulvius Flaccus for outdoing Pyrrus and Hannibal. These last two passages place emphasis on violation and transgression in a manner recalling the previous appearance(s) of the place and suggesting that each act of violence sets a new standard.

At the same time the temple and Croton provide markers indicating stages in Rome's expansion. The murder of the Italian soldiers in Book 30, the foundation of a Roman colony at Croton in Book 34, the purification of Salinator's fleet in Book 36, together show that the place is now fully integrated into Livy's large-scale Romanocentric geography. Indeed the reference to Salinator's purification of the fleet in Book 36 follows Hannibal's observation to Antiochus that he does not wonder *if* the Romans will sail against Asia as much as he marvels that they have not done so already (36.41.2). Moreover, immediately after reporting Flaccus's death, and the choice of a *suffectus* to fill his position, the narrative turns to events of the following year with a striking expression of large-scale geography: "When Publius Licinius and C. Cassius were consuls, not only the city of Rome, not only the Italian land (*terra Italia*), but all the kings and states in Europe and in Asia had turned their attention to concern for the war of Macedonia and Rome" (42.29.1).

In the space of forty years (and twenty books of Livy) the location of the temple of Juno goes from being part of an Italy that is to a dangerous degree Hannibal's to being part of an Italy that is securely Rome's; this transition is accompanied by the precinct's transformation from a rich and tranquil preserve in an exotic location into a deconstructed temple, half-open to the elements with a pile of tiles sitting beside it. During the same period moral imperfection has reached Rome in the form of *studium* for building the biggest temple and a willingness to commit sacrilege in order to do so. So far the disease seems to have affected only one Roman—the Senate is emphatically united against him—and since what would be the largest temple in Rome is apparently only half the size of the temple of Lacinian Juno, Rome still has a way to go before struggling with its own magnitude. But it has taken another step on the slippery slope, a step not unlike bringing home that artwork from

Syracuse.⁵³ Thus while Cape Lacinium provides a reference point by which to measure Rome's expansion, the temple provides a gauge, as it were, by which to measure its progress as an entity growing so large that its own size contributes to its ruin.⁵⁴

Livy's representation of the place undergoes a series of stylistic metamorphoses as well. A digression describes Croton and the temple in Book 24. It recalls travel-writing and local histories, major components of the earlier historiographical tradition of Magna Graecia.⁵⁵ The scene of Hannibal's departure has all the earmarks of the kind of tragic historiography that Polybius skewers (and Livy employs to good effect elsewhere).⁵⁶ The Flaccus narrative expands the bare *monumenta* of an annalistic notice in a marked fashion. Finally, the discovery of Flaccus's suicide by household slaves makes reference to the circulation of opinion and gossip. Livy does not repeat his narrative technique when setting events at the temple. Nor does he appear to repeat the accounts of other authorities to whom he refers, Hannibal himself, Polybius and Coelius. This makes sense, given how Livy sees his project. The historian, who in his Preface gives readers a glimpse of the crowded and competitive field of historiography in his day, with authors striving to add newer *res* or express them in more graceful *verba*, has to find ways of inserting himself into this tradition.⁵⁷ One part of his strategy for doing so is characteristically spatial: he fills in the places left empty by other historians.⁵⁸

Thus Livy's treatment of other writers parallels one of the striking features of his treatment of the temple: both call attention to opposing positions from which to regard the same thing, whether building or event. The temple stands at the end of Italy and the beginning of the ocean; its ekphrasis digresses from the description of Croton, even though it occupies the center of that description; Hannibal's altar marks the end of his achievements in Italy and the beginning of Scipio's counter-preparations; the inscription marks the boundary between Hannibal's version of events and Livy's; the temple

⁵³ See Gruen 93–102 (with bibliography), who argues that this was not Rome's first foray into art-collecting.

⁵⁴ For expressions of this idea, see Pref. 4 and 7.29.1–2.

⁵⁵ E.g. Antiochus of Syracuse, Timaeus of Tauromenium. On these historians see Pearson, and Marincola 1997: 100, 267. On geography as a Greek genre and the Romans' relative lack of interest in it, see Strabo 3.4.19, with the comments of Momigliano 65–68; Marincola 1997: 83–86. On Livy and geography see Walsh 153–157, and Girod.

⁵⁶ See esp. 24.26.1–15. On tragic historiography, see Polybius 2.56.3–12; Walbank 1960: 216–34.

⁵⁷ On the crowded field of historiography in Livy's preface, see Moles 142–5.

⁵⁸ On the overlap between building the city and building the story, see Kraus, 1994b.

marks the end of Hannibal's stay in Italy and the beginning of a more unified peninsula. The story of Fulvius Flaccus incorporates both his and the Senate's very different interpretations of Italy's political geography. Thus the temple of Juno provides a material reminder that events can be narrated from at least two points of view, that what one version leaves out, another, told from a different point of view, includes. Given the annalistic organization of his text, Livy cannot narrate continuously the story of any place outside of Rome for the obvious reason that doing so would mean abandoning his main topic. Yet by returning repeatedly to the temple of Juno and its environs, by reiterating the idea of violation and by making use of the place's location at the end of Italy, Livy spins a strand of narrative that complements his main thread. The result is to show how a place that for centuries was important to the Greeks of southern Italy became of historical and even religious significance to Rome. And even as it provides a setting for events, the temple gains literary significance as a place where Livy shows how his own history responds to those of other authorities.

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