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Discourse-Linguistic Strategies in Livy's Account of the Battle at Cannae

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1   Introduction*

A familiar observation about ancient historiographical texts is that they generally display 'emplotment': the assembly of a series of events into a narrative with a plot.[1] The skillful ways in which the Roman historian Livy fashions his source material into a narrative have been much discussed by modern scholarship, and from various angles and perspectives.[2] Most recently, in a stimulating monograph on Livy's books on the Hannibalic war (*AUC* books 21–30), David Levene has shown how Livy, by means of his personal selection and organization of the source material, is able to communicate particular interpretations of the war, demonstrating once more that coherent narratives may be rhetorically highly compelling.[3]

In the present volume, Oakley also draws attention to the rhetorical force of Livy's historiographical narrative, for instance when he observes that 'Livy's whole narrative in the Cannae episode of book 22 is shaped so as to throw as much blame as possible on Varro'.[4] Another example of rhetorically driven

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1   The term emplotment was coined by Hayden White in his 1973 work *Metahistory* to describe the way in which modern historians necessarily fashion their source material into narrative. See Cuddon 2013, s.v. 'emplotment'.

2   See e.g. Burck [1934] 1964 and [1950] 1962; Bruckman 1936; Walsh [1961] 1989; Luce 1977; Fuhrmann 1983; Feldherr 1998; Chaplin 2000; Krafft 2007; Pausch 2011.

3   Levene 2010. For the same view on the rhetorical force of narrative from a linguistic-anthropological perspective, see e.g. Ochs 2005: 278.

4   Oakley, this volume, p. 162 For the rhetoric of classical historiography see e.g. Woodman 1988; Marincola 1997; Laird 2009. Cf. also Conte [1987] 1994: 372, who places Livy's history in a diachronic development in which ancient historiography, 'instead of being 'investigation' of the truth, could become a rhetorical activity'.

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organization of the narrative is discussed in the contribution by Pausch. In the context of a discussion on Livy's techniques for enhancing the engagement of the audience, Pausch points out the way in which the historian strategically places the list of *prodigia* of the year 218 BC at the end of book 21, and thus in close proximity to the list of *prodigia* of the year 217 at the beginning of book 22, 'presumably in order to double their frightening impact'.[5]

In this chapter we would like to take Levene's general observations and conclusions as a starting point for a detailed discussion of the narrative organization in Livy's book 22, paying special attention to the episode of the battle at Cannae (22.34.1–22.61). In this discussion we will focus on the various strategies that the historian employs in order to create a coherent and rhetorically compelling narrative, which not only guarantees the audience's sustained attention, but also makes the audience receptive to the particular ideological and moral stances from which the narrative is presented.

The views we present here are based on the results of an in-depth discourse-linguistic analysis of the complete text of book 22, and strongly corroborate observations made by Levene 2010 and Oakley (this volume) on prominent themes in Livius' account of this traumatic episode in Rome's war against Hannibal.[6] Both Levene and Oakley draw attention to the importance of the theme of *discordia ordinum* (the struggle of the orders and the disunity of the state), which in books 21 and 22 is strongly associated with the theme of contrast between the good and bad Roman commanders.[7] This theme is conveyed by a particular lexicon in which reason (*ratio*) and prudence (*prudentia*) are opposed to rashness (*temeritas*) and reliance on fortune (*fortuna*).[8] Another theme that appears to permeate book 22, also mentioned by Levene and Oakley, is the theme of deception (*fraus*, especially *punica fraus*) as opposed to faith (*fides*).[9] In our chapter we will show, among other things, how the particular organization of the narrative of book 22 supports these themes. As such it may contribute to the view that Livy is preoccupied, in this part of the decade,

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5   Pausch, this volume 241. For a comparable observation see Levene 2010: 37.

6   For an introduction to the relevant concepts used in the analysis, we refer to the Introduction to this volume.

7   The rash commanders in books 21–22, who lead their armies to defeat against Hannibal, are Sempronius (Allia), Flaminius (Trasimene), Minucius (hill near Gereonium), and Varro (Cannae). The good commanders are, especially, Fabius Maximus and Aemilius Paullus.

8   See Oakley in this volume 166 for an overview of the Latin words in book 22 that are connected to this theme: *temeritas* and cognates; *consultus—inconsultus*; *cauere*, *cautus* and their cognates; *prouidus*, *improuidus* and their cognates; *ratio*; *ferox*. See Buijs in this volume for Livy's treatment of this theme by means of speech representation.

9   This theme is e.g. present at 41.6–43.1; 43.6; 48.1; 58.8. See Oakley in this volume, p. 166.

with explaining away the Roman defeat at Cannae by highlighting Roman *discordia* and Punic *fraus* as excuses.[10]

In the first part of the chapter we will introduce and explain the narrative strategies and devices that appear to be dominant in Livy's book 22 (§ 2), and give an illustration by means of an analysis of the organizationally quite straightforward mini-episode of Abelux, the clever Spaniard from Saguntum who managed to hand over to the Romans the Spanish hostages that were held captive by the Carthaginians in Saguntum (22.22.6–22.22.21) (§ 3). This analysis occasions a digression on the strategic use of the historic present in § 4. In the second part of our contribution we will provide, along the same lines, an elaborate analysis of the much more complex episode of the battle at Cannae (§ 5).

This will lead, in § 6, to the conclusion that the narrative of Livy's book 22 is a carefully wrought unity, in which a heterogeneous set of textual strategies and linguistic devices is put to use in such a way as to keep the audience optimally interested and amenable to the historian's particular presentation, interpretation and evaluation of the events.

2 Livy's Interweaving of 'Annalistic Material' and the Main Story Line

In his aforementioned study on the Hannibalic war, Levene makes a convincing case for considering the third decade of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* a single story.[11] The very beginning of book 21, which seems to function as a preface to books 21–30 as a whole, already points strongly in this direction:[12]

(1) In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. [...] et adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt.

   LIV. 21.1.1–21.1.2

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10 See Levene 2010: 262–263, referring to Bruckmann 1936. Also Pausch (this volume, 243).

11 Levene 2010: 15–17 extensively defends his position building on earlier studies, notably, but not solely by Burck [1950] 1962; Walsh 1973; and Luce 1977 on the episodic structure of Livy's historiography.

12 Here as in the following the Latin text is that of Dorey's Teubneriana (1971), the translation that of the Loeb edition (Foster 1929), sometimes slightly adapted.

> In this preface to a part of my history I may properly assert what many an historian has declared at the outset of his entire work, to wit, that the war which I am going to describe was the most memorable of all wars ever waged—the war, that is, which, under the leadership of Hannibal, the Carthaginians waged with the Roman People. [...] And so variable were the fortunes of the war and so uncertain was its outcome that those who ultimately conquered had been nearer ruin.

By means of these specific opening words the historian already creates an important expectation on the part of his audience which will remain active and dominant throughout the third decade: the audience may expect an extended continuing story line on a single war, figuring Hannibal in the role of main antagonist and pivot around which the story will evolve. Levene observes, and rightly we think, a general narrative 'arc' in the 3rd decade.[13] This arc starts with the rise of Hannibal and his invasion of Italy in books 21 and 22, where Hannibal's victories become increasingly devastating. In the next three books the Romans begin to recover, but are still faced with a number of significant defeats. At the end of book 25, exactly in the middle of the Hannibal books, a balance in defeats and victories is achieved,[14] after which, from book 26 onwards, the Romans definitely seem to have recovered, and will gain a series of victories in Italy, Spain and Africa. Book 30, in reversing the events of book 21, could be seen as a natural closure of the entire decade.

This appears to be quite a straightforward narrative organization, providing a global 'arc of narrative tension' on the highest level of narrative analysis. However, keeping track of this main story line feels, in Levene's words, 'bewilderingly difficult', as 'we move from scene to scene, from theatre of war to theatre of war, sometimes picking up threads from a book or more earlier'.[15] When we move our focus from the decade as a whole to the internal structure and coherence of the single book, more particularly book 22,[16] the narrative organization appears not to be less complex and bewildering. Although the impression of a continuing main story line dealing with the war against Hannibal in Italy is maintained, it is difficult to speak of one single story which is presented as one single narrative arc of tension. What we see is rather a diversity of related or (seemingly) unrelated minor story lines, which do or

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13   Levene 2010: 15–17.
14   Recapture of Syracuse, but defeat and death of the Scipio brothers in Spain.
15   Levene 2010: 63.
16   Levene leaves the internal structure of book 22 largely out of account.

do not have themselves the form of fully elaborated narrative arcs of tension, and which alternate with, or are intertwined with, elements that are generally described as 'annalistic material'. This 'annalistic material' refers to formal elements of the Roman political year, such as the election of new magistrates and their taking up of office, the reception of embassies, reports of deaths of important persons, and prodigies. These elements tend to get a fixed position in the organization of the single book (e.g. the election of new consuls at the end of a book, and their taking up office at the beginning of a new book), as was probably customary for a prior generation of historians.[17] The narrativity of annalistic events is usually low.[18]

The following—abridged—passage from the beginning of book 22 serves as an illustration of how Livy adroitly manages to interweave 'annalistic material' of the years 217 and 216 BC and elements of the main story line about the war between Hannibal and the Romans. Our main focus in this chapter will be on the second half of book 22, but the illustrations in § 2-§ 4 below are taken from the first half, mostly in chronological order, in order to prepare both methodologically and by way of content our analysis of the battle of Cannae (22.34–22.61).

(2) 22.1.1 **Iam** uer **adpetebat**; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis mouit
         […]
     22.1.4 **per idem tempus** Cn. Seruilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. […]
     22.1.19 **postremo Decembri iam mense** ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est
         […]
     22.2.1 **dum** consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal **profectus ex hibernis**, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium peruenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem uiam per paludes **petit**
              LIV. 22.1.1–22.2.1

     22.1.1 Spring was now drawing on, and accordingly Hannibal moved out of his winter encampment
         […]

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17   Levene 2010: 34–45 convincingly illustrates how in the Hannibal books the annalistic chronology is often subordinated to a thematically governed book structure.
18   Narrativity is a concept used to distinguish narrative text types from, for instance, argumentative or reportive ones. See Herman 2007.

22.1.4 About the same time, on the Ides of March, Gnaeus Servilius began his consulship in Rome

[...]

22.1.19 Finally—the month was now December—victims were slain at the temple of Saturn in Rome

[...]

22.2.1 While the consul was occupied in Rome appeasing the gods and levying troops, Hannibal, who had left his winter quarters, heard that Flaminius, the other consul, had already arrived at Arretium; and so, though another route, longer to be sure but less difficult, was pointed out to him, he took the shorter route through the marshes

The first sentence of book 22 contains clear linguistic indications that the main story line is being resumed here, the combination of *iam* and the imperfect tense (*appetebat*) being a common linguistic strategy for signalling a 'fade in', and for building up narrative tension towards the occurrence of a new action or episode in the main story line.[19] The first action of this new episode follows in the next sentence: as expected now that spring has arrived, Hannibal moves out of his winter encampment (*Hannibal ex hibernis mouit*) from northern Italy towards the central regions where the Roman army was encamped (not cited).

Before we are told, however, what happened next, the main story line gives way to a passage which conveys prototypical 'annalistic material': Consul Gnaeus Servilius taking up office in Rome on the Ides of March, and the occurrence and expiation of a large number of prodigies in the ensuing months, ending, in the month of December, with a public offering and feast at the temple of Saturn (22.1.4–22.1.19). Next, in 22.2.1, we are taken smoothly back in time and switch from the events of the political and religious year in Rome to the main story line of Hannibal's offensive in Italy, the transition being facilitated by a *dum*-clause containing a few more items from the 'annalistic' list of events,[20] as well as by the recapitulative phrase *profectus ex hibernis*, repeating

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19 The cinematographic term 'fade in' is used for the phenomenon of turning the camera to an event or situation that has already started while the camera was still at a different location. Chausserie-Laprée 1969: 497–517 speaks of '*iam* d'ouverture et de préparation'. See for this narrative technique also Kroon & Risselada 2002, 2004.

20 The transitional, coherence-creating function of the clause is also enhanced by the fact that the *dum*-clause has a personal subject (*consul*), whereas the activities referred to in the immediately preceding text lack a specific, individualized subject. The *dum*-clause

ex hibernis mouit (22.1.1) and bringing us back to the theatre of war in mid-Italy. As we will explain later, the present tense form *petit* in 22.2.1. (the first present tense after a long series of perfects) has, as is often found in Livy, a prospective, open-ended force and provides the signal that here we are dealing with a consequential action that will propel the first of a number of smaller, local narrative arcs of tension in book 22: the dramatic episode of Hannibal's march through the marshes that will be recounted in the remainder of paragraph 2.

In terms of discourse mode, this first chapter of book 22 might be considered a sort of hybrid.[21] On the one hand the passage displays the characteristics of a continuing narrative in that it contains, also in the 'annalistic digression', various characteristic features of causal-chronological storytelling, for instance the use of temporal coherence markers like *per idem tempus*, *inde*, *haec ubi facta* and *postremo*. Moreover, there appear to be a few attempts to tell the events and facts from a story-internal perspective, as is for instance the case in the sentence (not quoted in 2 above) *augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata* ('men's fears were augmented by the prodigies reported simultaneously from many places', 22.1.8).[22] At the same time, however, the passage altogether lacks an arc of tension, and the temporal markers used are deliberately vague and merely serve to integrate the annalistic material loosely into the frame of the main story line, hence giving the passage the *appearance* of a coherent and continuous narrative.[23] As readers we hardly have the impression that we are really drawn into a story-world, in the sense of being mentally transferred to an alternative world parallel to the *hic* and *nunc* of the historian and his audience. The suggestion of temporal continuity, moreover, seems to be broken in the sentence *postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est* ('finally—the month was now December—victims were slain at the temple of Saturn in Rome', 22.1.19), where with *Decembri iam mense* an exact date is provided which refers to a considerably later moment in the year than the reference time of the main story line, which is early spring.[24]

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      clearly has forward-linking capacities in that it introduces here one of the protagonists of the main story line that is about to restart.

21   For the concept of discourse mode, see the Introduction to this volume, p. 10.

22   The imperfect tense and the mentioning of an emotive response are typical features of a story-internal perspective. See also Allan, this volume pp. 141–142.

23   Chausserie-Laprée 1969: 69 ff. speaks of *clichés de liaison*. See also McDonald 1957: 155–159. Levene 2010 §1.2 provides an extensive discussion of how Livy organizes his narrative of the Hannabalic war in terms of chronology.

24   See also Levene 2010: 49–50, who gives a slightly different interpretation of the phrase *Decembri iam mense*.

All in all we might conclude that in the first chapter of book 22 we are deal-ing with a hybrid text type which contains features of both the *narrating* and the *discursive* discourse mode.[25] This mixture of modes, conveniently reflect-ing and combining here the two main 'layers' of the text (annalistic parts and main story line), might be regarded as a textual strategy for rhetorical pur-poses, meant to guarantee the coherence of the text and, hence, to retain the audience's attention also in between the individual narrative sub-arcs. In our discussion of the episode of the battle of Cannae we will see more examples of this strategy. But first we will now turn our attention to the strategic organiza-tion of the narrative sub-arcs.

3   Narrative Arcs of Tension and the Story of Abelux as an Illustration[26]

The use of narrative subarcs is a particularly characteristic feature of Livy's book 22, as we will show. We find these subarcs in various shapes and sizes, ranging from a single complex sentence to a full-blown, self-contained mini-story.[27] Examples of such mini-stories in the first half of book 22 are the episode of the battle at lake Trasimene (22.4.2–22.7.5), the episode of the battle in Spain at the mouth of the river Ebro (22.19.1–22.21.8), and the episode of the clever Spanish hostage Abelux (22.22.6–22.22.21).

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25   For the distinction between narrating mode and discursive mode of presentation, see the Introduction to this volume. In the discursive mode the story-world is temporarily sus-pended, and the communicative situation of the historian and his audience comes to the fore. Undiluted discursive mode, in which the historian is overtly present and 'in discus-sion' with his audience, is relatively rare in book 22. Livy hardly gives explicit comments or judgements on the recounted facts and events, and becomes visible as a historian only at major moments in the narrative organization, or in passages in which he discusses his sources. For examples of the former, see 22.42.10 *di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis* and 22.43.10 *ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt*; for an example of the latter, 22.36.1 *Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum uariant auctores ut uix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim.* A remarkable instance of metanarrative comment is 22.54.8 *Nunquam salua urbe tantum pauoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora uero faciam.*

26   See Adema 2008: 175–178 for a discussion of this episode in terms of discourse modes and use of tenses.

27   A good example of one complex sentence in the first half of the book is 22.2.10–22.2.11,

Inserted substories like these comply quite neatly with theoretical models of storytelling, such as the influential model originally proposed by Labov 1972. These models describe the prototypical structure of natural stories in terms of a number of successive standard elements which together form some sort of 'arc of tension', displaying a rising action, climax, falling action, and resolution. These arcs may or may not be framed by a so-called abstract and coda, in which the transition is made from the communicative situation (the here and now of speaker/writer and hearer/reader) to the story-world and vice versa. In table 8.1 we repeat the distinctions introduced in the Introduction to the present volume, which are largely based on Labov's system.

When we apply this theory to the story of Abelux, we get quite a clear view of the historian's skills as a narrator, and of the ways in which he connects self-contained mini-stories with the overarching main story line. The first sentence of the episode is clearly meant as an announcement of a story that the historian is about to tell, and for which he tries to capture the audience's attention by highlighting its relevance:

(3)   [*Abstract*] eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus *sollerti magis quam fideli consilio* exsoluit.
          LIV. 22.22.6

       From this constraint Spain was released by the machinations—more clever than honest—of one man.

It is to be noted that in this first stage of the process of tension building (the so-called *Abstract*) the discourse mode involved is usually not narrating in a strict sense, but discursive: the speaker merely draws attention to the topic of a story that he is about to tell, and is not yet involved in *creating* that world.

In the next stage (*Orientation*), the reader is actually drawn into this new, secondary reality or world, in which he will become more and more involved and curious about the story's outcome, and in which, as a narratee, he may himself actively build up expectations, form opinions and draw conclusions, under the guidance of an overtly or more covertly present narrator. In the story of Abelux, this second stage starts immediately after the introductory sentence quoted under (3) above:

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where the entire story of how Hannibal lost the sight of one of his eyes is told in the form of one single periodic sentence.

TABLE 8.1   Prototypical structure of a natural story or episode

Abstract	summary of the content or point of the narrative
Orientation	previous history; introduction of time, place, circumstances and main participants
Complication	a conflict arises, build-up of tension
Peak	climax: the conflict is maximally tangible and near a solution
Resolution	the conflict is resolved, substituted by another conflict or remains permanently unresolved
Coda	summarizing bridge to time of narrating
Evaluation (any position)	evaluation of the narrative or of elements of the narrative, often conveying, or pertaining to, the point of the narrative

(4)   [*Orientation*] Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, *fidus* ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat *fidem*. ceterum […] id agebat, ut quam maxumum emolumentum nouis sociis esset.

LIV. 22.22.6–22.22.7

Abelux was his name, and he was a noble Spaniard of Saguntum. Loyal hitherto to the Phoenicians, he had now—as barbarians are for the most part prone to do—altered his allegiance with the alteration in their fortunes. But […] he proposed to benefit his new allies to the utmost extent of his ability.

As is common in Orientations, we find imperfect and pluperfect tense forms (*erat*, *mutauerat*), the semantics of which are especially apt to describe the setting (time, place, protagonists, circumstances) within which one or more complications are expected to arise.

As appears from the inserted comment *qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia*, the narrator is still relatively 'overt', steering the narratee's interpretation of the story into a certain direction. The recurrence in the Orientation of the concept *fidus/fides*—introduced in the Abstract by means of the words *fideli consilio*,—corroborates this observation (see the words *fidus ante Poenis*; *fortuna mutauerat fidem*).

After this Orientation we get a clear build-up of tension in the form of a first *Complication*, Abelux's decision to deliver up the hostages to the Romans:

(5)   [*Complication*] circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam.

LIV. 22.22.8

And considering everything that fortune could put into his power, he inclined for choice to deliver up the hostages, believing that this was the one thing that would most effectively secure for the Romans the friendship of the Spanish leaders.

After this start of the narrative proper, the arc of tension continues in an upward direction with a second Complicating Action, this time conveyed by a verb form in the historic present tense, *adgreditur*:

(6)   [*Complication*] sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur.

LIV. 22.22.9

But since he knew that the men guarding the hostages would do nothing without the orders of Bostar, the governor, he artfully approached Bostar himself.

The act of approaching Bostar is not presented as the kind of event that is sufficiently newsworthy in itself to be independently stored as such in the narratee's long-term memory (as the perfect tense form *adgressus est* would have been), but merely opens a narrative window towards another event, scene or episode that is still to come, in this case the ensuing scene of Abelux's meeting with Bostar, which will turn out to be the Peak of the story. In this sense the historic present tense can be seen as a forward pointing coherence device: the historic present forms a signal for the narratee that for a yet undetermined period of time the act or event referred to has to be kept mentally active and is not to be stored as a particularly relevant event in itself on the narratee's 'mental hard disk'.[28] As already suggested above, and as we will explain in §4 with more examples, Livy often seems to use the inherent open-endedness of the present tense (e.g. as opposed to the 'factive' perfect tense) as a textual strategy to raise the narrative tension and to direct the narratee's attention for-

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28   For a cognitive explanation of this use of the present, see Van Gils & Kroon (forthc.).

wards, therewith stimulating the narratee's active anticipation of something important or remarkable that is still to come. This is also clearly the case with *adgreditur* in (6).

The next element in Labov's model of narrative organization, the *Peak*, may count as the ultimate stage of tension building. The narratee is prototypically incited in this stage to immerse himself completely into the story-world, forgetting as much as possible about his own reality and that of the narrator, and identifying himself with one or more of the characters.[29] The rightmost column of the table in Appendix 1 on pp. 229–230 provides the linguistic and narratological features that prototypically occur in this type of immersive story-telling. In the story of Abelux, the Peak is clearly recognizable by the occurrence of both indirect and direct speech: the use of directly reported speech can be seen as a very powerful immersion device. Abelux is talking here to the prefect Bostar, who keeps, on account of Hannibal, the Spanish hostages imprisoned:

(7)   [Peak] 'Obsides' inquit 'in ciuitates remitte. id et priuatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in ciuitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. *uolt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem.* ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuuem meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.'

              LIV. 22.22.12–22.22.14

'Send back the hostages to their homes,' said Abelux. 'That will at once be grateful personally to their parents, who are the people of most consequence in their own states, and to their tribes in general. Everyone wishes to be trusted: confide in people, and almost always you confirm their confidence in you. The task of restoring the hostages to their homes I request for myself, that I may work, as well as counsel, for the furtherance of my plan, and to an act that is gracious in itself lend such added grace as I am able.'

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29   The three stages of tension building and gradual involvement of the audience described here also play a role in a recent experimental research by Bjørner, Magnusson & Nielsen 2016 on cinematographic storytelling, which nicely complements and corroborates our own research. The study shows how people watching a 3D animation film get only progressively involved in a story, by subsequently crossing a number of cognitive boundaries, and also how their degree of immersion lowers when all kinds of obstacles to narrative immersion from outside the story-world are brought in. The researchers propose a circular model, called 'The Wheel of Immersion' to describe the dynamic process of different levels of involvement viewers can be in while watching a film.

It is clear that immersive Peaks of the type illustrated in (7) may play an important role in keeping the narratee's attention and in rousing his special interest. Significantly, however, the Peak of the Abeluxstory does not coincide with what might be considered the climax of the story in terms of relevance for the course of events on a higher level of the narrative (its relevance for the broader 'narrative arc', the war against Hannibal). From that point of view, the moment of Abelux's handing over of the hostages to the Romans, later on in the story, might have been a better candidate for treatment as an immersive climax.[30] However, judging from the actual placement of the Peak, this mini-story apparently serves quite specific communicative goals in addition to recounting the most relevant facts of the Hannibalic war. The emphasis on *fides*, both in the introductory stages of the story—see the italicized words in the passages quoted under 3 and 4—and especially in its immersive peak—see the italicized words in 7—makes clear, we think, that local arcs of narrative tension such as the mini-story of Abelux are created because of their thematic relevance. One of the important themes in book 22 is the virtue of *fides*, and especially the infidelity and treachery on the Punic side, the *Punica fraus*.[31] The strategic positioning of the Peak of the story, and the concomitant narrative strategy of immersion, clearly serve to highlight this theme in the story of Abelux.

After this Peak the rest of the story (22.22.15–22.22.18) is told in a significantly lower key and in quite big steps, marked by present tense forms of the type illustrated by *adgreditur* in passage (6) above. Abelux secretly informs Scipio of his plans (*expromit*), returns to Saguntum (*redit*), and leads the hostages and their guardians into the trap (*in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit*), without Bostar being aware of Abelux's false intentions. These present tense verb forms lead to the outcome (*Resolution*) of the story in 22.22.18: the actual handing over of the hostages, first to the Romans and then to their families and friends. The Resolution is told in passive perfect forms which clearly round off the narrative proper (*perducti*; *acta*), after which Livy evaluates this outcome by stressing that the gratitude of the Spaniards to the Romans was much bigger than the gratitude to the Carthaginians could ever have been:

(8)   in castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eum ⟨eo⟩dem ordine, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat.

LIV. 22.22.18–22.22.19

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30   For the idea that certain events are more 'tellable' than others, see Baroni 2013.

31   For *punica fraus* see also the contribution by Pausch, this volume, p. 235.

They were then conducted to the Roman camp. The remainder of the plan for the restoration of the hostages to their friends was carried out, through the agency of Abelux, exactly as he and Bostar had agreed, and everything was done as it would have been if he had been acting in the name of the Carthaginians.

The gratitude which the Romans won under such circumstances was much greater than the Carthaginians would have enjoyed.

With the end of the story of Abelux the episode in Spain comes to an end, after which the historian returns to his main story line by means of the following transitional sentence, in which in a subtle manner also the book's central themes of good leadership and of *temeritas* versus *prudentia* and *ratio* is touched upon:

(9)   Haec in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in
       Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset;
              LIV. 22.23.1

       Such was the course of events in Spain in the second summer of the Punic
       war. In Italy meanwhile the defeated Romans had been afforded a little
       breathing space by Fabius's wise policy of holding back.

4   Digression: Immersion and the Use of the Historic Present in Livy

One of the interesting things we observed when analysing the text of Livy 22 by means of our linguistic-narratological instrument, is that there are not many moments that on account of a specific clustering of features might count as particularly immersive, that is, as causing a high degree of immersion of the narratee in the story-world, for instance by drawing the narratee into subjective or emotional involvement with a character's perspective or psychology. In the mini-story of Abelux we have analysed the passage of Abelux approaching Bostar as immersive narrative, especially due to the occurrence—always significant—of direct speech (see 7 above).[32]

High immersivity in narrative is commonly held to co-occur with a disappearance of overt signs of a mediating narrator (such as coherence particles

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32   Other instances of direct speech in book 22 can be found in 39 (Fabius' speech to Paullus),
      49 (death of Paullus) and in various scenes after the battle at the end of book 22 where
      the fate of the surviving Roman soldiers is discussed.

and a complex sentence structure), and, especially, with the use of the historic present tense, which seems to turn the narrative into a vivid eye-witness account in which the narratee is mentally engaged.[33] This so-called eye-witness use of the historic present can be illustrated with an excerpt taken from the section in book 22 that precedes the story of Abelux, and which also deals with the war in Spain. The historian describes here, in quite a detailed way, the chaos among the Carthaginian sailors when they are suddenly confronted with a rapidly approaching Roman fleet. In narratological terms, such a passage in which time of narration and story time more or less seem to coincide is called a 'scene':[34]

(10) uixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras **eue-huntur**, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia **incidunt**, raptimque omnia ⟨ac⟩ praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria **impediuntur**, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles **prohibetur**.
         LIV. 22.19.10

Hardly were they all on board, when some cast off the hawsers and swung out on to their anchors, and others—that nothing might detain them—cut the anchor cables, and, in the hurry and excessive haste with which everything was done, the soldiers' gear interfered with the sailors in the performance of their tasks, and the confusion of the sailors kept the soldiers from taking and fitting on their armour.

As said, this type of highly immersive passages, in which the use of the present tense can be seen as an indication that the addressee is invited to become fully engaged in the story and to immerse himself in the perspective of one or more characters on the spot, is extremely rare in book 22.[35] We do find historic presents in Livy regularly, but almost all of them are of the type illustrated in (2) and (6) above (*petit*; *adgreditur*), and function as a kind of instruction for the narratee to open a window to, for instance, a new narrative arc, and to actively engage in forming expectations about what will follow in the text.

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33 E.g. Pinkster 1990: 225; Rossi 2004: 131; Adema 2008; Allan, De Jong & De Jonge 2014; Toolan 2016; Grethlein & Huitink 2017. See also Allan, this volume.

34 Walsh 1963: 185–198 speaks of 'episodes' which may contain 'emotional reactions by a vivid, imaginative and often imaginary reconstruction of crowd scenes' (185). The graphic effect, Walsh continues, is achieved through 'asyndeton, short clauses, accumulation of words and expressions, historic presents and historic infinitives'.

35 We have found only four or five other examples, and all of them less convincing than example (10).

Another example is *coniungit* in (11), also taken from the Spanish episode in book 22. In the text preceding this example Livy has briefly told how Publius Scipio arrived in the harbour of Terragona with a large fleet.

(11) ea classis ingens […] portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se **coniungit**, ac deinde *communi animo consilioque* gerebant bellum.

        LIV. 22.22.2–22.22.3

This fleet […] dropped anchor in the harbour of Tarraco. There Scipio disembarked his troops and **set out to join his brother**; and from that time forward they carried on the war with perfect harmony of temper and of purpose.

The semantic value of simultaneity of the present tense clearly does not have anything to do here with creating the impression of an eye-witness account (or with the reader identifying with a character in an immersive narrative mode of presentation).[36] The present tense rather seems to underline, we think, that the narrator takes along the narratee in constructing the narrative, taking a step that is not necessarily new or surprising in itself, but which is needed here on which to build a new narrative arc. The arc anticipated in (11) will prove to be a major one: a small part of it is given in the next chapter (first action of the two brothers), but most of it will extend even beyond the boundaries of book 22. The view that the historic present tense somehow has a prospective force and stimulates an active anticipation on the part of the narratee of what is to follow, seems to be corroborated here by the presence of the imperfect tense form *gerebant* in the following sentence, which has the same semantic open-endedness as the present tense. Both verb forms have a tension raising effect here, which would have been absent had the perfect tense been used. The perfect tense form *coniunxit* would have made the event of the reunion of the Scipio brothers into a mere subsequent item in a chronological series of historical facts, without any structuring or tension-building effects.

Example (11) forms, moreover, a good illustration of the coherence and tension-creating force of certain thematic strands, even across individual books. It is no coincidence, we think, that in addition to the use of the prospective historic present *coniungit* and the tension-building imperfect *gerebant*,

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36 See Pinkster 2015: 395 for the semantic value of simultaneity of the present tense. In Van Gils & Kroon (forthc.) a more elaborate argumentation is provided for this interpretation of the historic present.

we also find, in the expression *communi animo consilioque*, a reference to the important *concordia/discordia* theme that dominates the first book of Livy's third decade: although the narrative is now heading straight for the defeat at Cannae, the narratee seems to be invited here to already look ahead of that, towards the eventual recovery of the Romans and the salutary virtue of *concordia*. Various textual strategies are clearly working together here in leading the audience through the multi-layered structure of the third decade.

Finally, a particularly clear example we want to give here of the tension-building use of the historic present tense in the first half of book 22 is (12). After the episode of the defeat at Lake Trasimene, the historian inserts a long passage on the reactions in Rome and the decisions made there. With the sentence quoted in (12) he finally returns to the main story line of the campaign against Hannibal, and it is here that after a long time we encounter again a historic present, *ducit*:

(12)   Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fuluio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conueniendum edixerat nouis militibus, uenit. inde Praeneste ac transuersis limitibus in uiam Latinam est egressus, unde *itineribus summa cum cura exploratis* ad hostem **ducit**, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.

        LIV. 22.12.1–22.12.2

The dictator, after taking over the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant, marched through the Sabine country to Tibur, where he had given the new levies notice to assemble on a certain day. From Tibur he marched to Praeneste, and striking across the country came out into the Latin Way, and then, reconnoitring the roads with the utmost circumspection, **advanced** in the direction of the enemy, though resolved nowhere to commit himself to fortune, except in so far as necessity might compel him.

Like in (11) above, the present tense opens an important new window, raising expectations for things to come. The anticipatory nature of the passage is corroborated and made explicit by the future participle *commissurus*, and gains even more in weight by the reference to one of the other important themes of the book: *prudentia*, as opposed to *temeritas* (see the italicized words *itineribus summa cum cura exploratis*). It is obviously that it is here that the rising arc of tension towards Cannae starts. The use of a perfect tense *duxit* would have presented this action as merely another narrative step after *egressus est*, instead of marking its relevance for future events in the story.

5   The Battle of Cannae

After this overview of Livy's narrative method in the first half of book 22 of his
History, we may now proceed to our analysis of the account of the battle of Can-
nae. How does Livy employ the aforementioned and other narrative strategies
in his presentation of the defeat at Cannae?

5.1   *The Beginning of the Battle*

Defeats have been presented before in Livy's historiography, and the topic in
itself is well suited for a presentation in one continuous narrative arc which
starts with the first strategic plan and ends with its announcement in Rome.
In spite of this narrative potential, we do not see such a single narrative arc
in Livy's treatment of the battle of Cannae, but rather a series of connected
episodes which may or may not have their own narrative arc of tension. We
will argue that in the Cannae episode, as in the first half of book 22, Livy's nar-
rative strategies have two intended effects on the reader: on the one hand they
highlight important themes, such as *discordia*, *fides*, *fortuna* and *temeritas*, and
on the other hand they provide strong cohesive ties between otherwise loosely
connected episodes.

The first thing we need to decide upon for our analysis is where exactly the
Cannae episode starts. Since there is not one narrative arc in which the battle of
Cannae is presented, it is possible to choose various starting points.[37] The battle
proper starts at 22.47.1 with the typical battle cry (*clamore sublato*), and finishes
in 22.49.18 with the equally typical account of the number of people injured,
killed, put to flight and made captive. When taking a slightly broader view,
however, we could pinpoint the start of the Cannae-story at the arrival of the
consuls in Cannae (22.44.1); or, also including the preparation of the enemy, we
could start with Hannibal's decision to move southwards when he faced famine
and rebellion in his previous camp at Gereonium (22.43.1); on account of the
inevitability of the encounter of the two armies in 216, the story could also
be taken as starting when the consuls Varro and Paullus leave Rome for their
armies (22.40.4), or even before their departure with the speeches about how
to wage a war against Hannibal (22.38.1). And we may want to start even earlier,
and to include in the Cannae-story the four chapters preceding 22.38, where we
are successively informed about the elections of the consuls Varro and Paullus
(22.34, 22.35), about the levy of the army (22.36), about certain prodigies and
embassies (22.36), and about the embassy of Hiero from Sicily (22.37).

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37   Oakley (this volume: 182) lets the story start in 22.33.9, as we do as well, see below.

In the following subsections we will analyze the battle narrative in a strict sense (22.47–22.49) as a complex, narrative unit, but we will also look at the larger story (starting at the end of 22.33 and ending at 22.61), and show how Livy uses various narrative strategies to present the elections, prodigies, and embassies in 217 together with the war preparations and the battle of Cannae in 216 BC as correlated events in Roman history. We therefore take the consular elections for the year 216 as the starting point of the story about the battle of Cannae.

The idea that the outcome of elections could be the starting point of a military defeat is easily explained within the logic of ancient historiography, in which the outcome of great events, like battles or conquests, could and should be related to the conduct of individuals, usually the generals of an army.[38] This particular view on causes and effects in complex societies may be problematic from our modern point of view on the goals of historiography, but if one takes into account one of the most important objectives in ancient historiography, namely to teach later generations about morally good and bad leadership, the focus on the political and military leaders is quite understandable. It is therefore natural that the story about Rome's most traumatic defeat should begin with the election of the discordant consuls who would command the Roman army against Hannibal. The theme *discordia* is present from the first introduction of the elections till the final stages of the battle.[39]

If we look at the larger narrative structure of book 22, the elections are presented as a very problematic political episode in between the two main defeats of book 22—Lake Trasimene and Cannae—and, in spite of their chronological place in the year 217 BC, appear to be more strongly connected to Cannae than to the past and contemporary events of the year 217. Livy does not interrupt the tragic episode of the Lake Trasimene or the following episodes about the prudent dictator Fabius and his rash master of the horse Minucius with a section on the elections in Rome.[40] Instead, the typically annalistic material of electoral outcomes is presented only after the reader has heard about the armies

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38   See Cic. *De orat.* II.63.

39   E.g. *comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis* (22.34.1) and at the end of the battle, Paullus explicitly says he would rather die than become an *accusator collegae* (22.49.11). Two examples of *concordia* just before the elections (*summa inter se concordia* in 22.32.1 and the delayed construction of the temple of Concordia in 22.33.7) may be interpreted as anticipating by contrast the upcoming *discordia* with its disastrous consequences for the war.

40   Also in section 2 above we have seen that some typically annalistic events throughout 217 were mentioned clustered instead of scattered throughout the main story line about Hannibal's advancement into Italy.

having retired in their winter camps (22.32.4). Probably the elections had taken place already by that time.[41] A reader will not easily recognize this deviation from the chronological order, as Livy loosely relates his information about the Roman winter camps to information about envoys arriving in Rome.[42] After some elaboration about this embassy, an equally vague connection brings the reader to yet another short annalistic report, this time about remarkable punishments, and ending with the city praetor arranging the building of a new temple.[43] The next subtle connection is that this same praetor had written to the consuls with a request to hold elections for the new consuls.[44] Without noticing, we have made a chronological step backwards in this sentence.[45]

All in all, in terms of narrative strategies, Livy apparently wants to present the consular elections as the start of the Cannae-story rather than connect them to the events of the preceding year 217. From a narrative strategic point of view, the difficult process of organizing consul elections for the year 216 anticipates the problematic year itself, especially with regard to Roman leadership.[46]

5.2 *Types of Narrative Arcs in the Cannae Episode*

Each event in Livy's History, whether it is the election of new consuls or the heat of the battle, may in essence be either summarily reported in the discursive mode or presented in more detail in the narrative mode. Why certain events are presented as full-blown narrative episodes is an intriguing, but difficult question to answer.[47] Based on the analysis presented in this chapter, we see that in book 22 Livy chooses the more elaborate, narrative option for events which best illustrate his main themes, like *fraus Punica* or Roman *discordia*, and the discursive presentation for the other events which need to be

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41 A chronological reconstruction of the consular elections for the year 216 can be found in Sumner 1975.

42 *Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Roman uenere.* (22.32.4)

43 *Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis* (22.33.1).

44 *Ab eodem praetor … litterae ad consules missae* (22.33.9).

45 See Levene 2010: 36–63 for a discussion of various examples of subtle non-chronological presentation of events and vague temporal expressions to link non-related events.

46 This observation fits in with Levene's general conclusion on Livy's third decade (2010: 52): 'while Livy is aware of his calendrical anachronisms, and generally ensures that they do not overtly damage the main chronological sequence of his narrative, he is simultaneously prepared to allow them to maintain a narrative effect according to their place in his 'textual' year rather than according to when they actually occurred.'

47 Reasons for presenting events in a narrative episode may be their immersive potential or simply the level of detail in available sources, but neither seem to play a role in the case of Livy's book 22.

covered by the annalistic historiographer, especially the events of the political years 217 and 216 BC in Rome.

Narrative episodes in the Cannae-story, and elsewhere, are distinguished by the presence of a narrative arc, which prototypically contains the fixed set of components summed up in table 8.1 above (section 3), namely Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Peak, Resolution and Coda.[48] When we look at Livy's use of the narrating mode in the second half of book 22, we find only a few episodes told with a complete narrative arc and most of them told after the defeat.[49] Other episodes contain narrative components, but these are of a much more complex type than the prototypical Labovian pattern and seem to be intentionally structured in such a way as to continually increase the narrative tension. The patterns we find in the second half of book 22, and which may also be combined, are of the following kind:

(i)   An episode containing all elements of a narrative arc
(ii)   The periodic sentence (which contains a narrative arc within the scope of one syntactic unit)
(iii)   A short narrative episode (which contains a complete narrative arc in a few sentences)
(iv)   An extended ascending narrative arc (which contains an abstract, orientation and complication)
(v)   A change of perspective halfway through a story (which has the effect of starting a new narrative arc)

In the last two types, we find 'Labovian' narrative arcs which are incomplete either because they lack the final components of Resolution and Coda (type iv), or because they lack the initiating components of Abstract and Orientation (type v). We will see below how the historian in book 22 combines especially the patterns (iv) and (v) combining an ascending narrative arc with a change of perspective, to the effect that halfway through a complication the story is interrupted by a new viewpoint on the situation.

In the following sections, we treat the various episodes in the broader Cannae-story as composed of narrative, discursive and hybrid elements, paying specific attention to narrative patterns and strategies.[50] The results of this analysis reveal narrative and historiographical choices which, we believe, are

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48   See also the Introduction to this volume. The Abelux-episode discussed in section 3 of this chapter illustrates such a typical narrative arc.

49   Before the end of the battle at Cannae, complete narrative arcs are found for the Punic ruse at the end of 48 and, immediately afterwards, the dying Paullus in 49. See Appendix 2 for examples of complete narrative arcs after 49.

50   See Appendix 2 for a schematic overview of the narrative structure of book 22, based on our analysis.

directly relatable to the historian's particular ideological and moral stances and to his efforts to keep the reader involved.

5.3   *Elections, Armies, Prodigies, Embassies* (*22.34–22.37*)

In 22.34 the plain discursive presentation of events, which continues the text type of 22.33, soon makes place for an ascending narrative arc:[51]

(13) Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. interreges proditi a patribus
       C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. in eius interregno
       comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis.
               LIV. 22.34.1

       The authority of the consuls was extended for a year. To be interrex the
       Fathers named Gaius Claudius Cento, the son of Appius, and after him
       Publius Cornelius Asina. The latter conducted an election, which was
       marked by a bitter struggle between patricians and plebeians.

All three sentences contain passive perfect tense predicates—a typical feature of the discursive mode, see Appendix 1—and lack any form of narrative tension. However, the last sentence clearly hints at a story by announcing a major conflict (*magno certamine*) between the senators and the plebs. The experienced reader of these sentences will supposedly recognize the dominant theme of Roman *discordia* here, which heightens his expectation of an upcoming story. A discursive sentence announcing a thematically relevant event may function as an *Abstract* of a narrative. Such abstracts do not necessarily summarize the main event of the story, but may point to a significant aspect of it, which in Livy's book 22 is usually one of the central themes of the decade, such as *discordia*, *temeritas* and *fraus*, or their opposites.[52]

The abstract in 22.34.1 is indeed followed by the next component in the Labovian narrative model, an *Orientation*. The plebeian protagonist of this narrative episode is introduced in the remaining part of 22.34 with his name, background and character in imperfect tenses and with his thoughts in indirect speech.

(14) C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione prin-
       cipum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictato-

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51   The theme of consular elections starts at 22.33.9 with a few discursive sentences about the difficult epistolary communication between the senate in Rome and the consuls who stay outside Rome with their armies.

52   See also examples 3 above and 20 below, where the abstracts point at a story about *temeritas*.

rio imperio concusso aliena inuidia splendentem, uolgus [et] extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines.

LIV. 22.34.2

Gaius Terentius Varro had endeared himself to the plebeians—the class to which he himself belonged—by invective against the leading men and the usual tricks of the demagogue. The blow he had struck at the influence and dictatorial authority of Fabius brought him the glory which is won by defaming others, and the rabble was now striving to raise him to the consulship, while the patricians opposed the attempt with all their might, lest men should acquire the custom of assailing them as a means of rising to their level.

At 22.35, the *Complication* starts when the character Varro, with his provocative behavior and his atypical background for a consul, reaches this political rank as a result of his popularity at the elections:[53]

(15) Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, [...] C. Terentius consul unus **creatur**, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae.

LIV. 22.35.1–22.35.2

When the plebs had been inflamed by these harangues, [...] Gaius Terentius was the only consul elected, and the assembly called to choose a colleague for him was therefore under his control.

The event of the election of the popular Terentius Varro who opposed the leading elite, leaving all his aristocratic competitors far behind, is the first in five capita to be presented with a historic present tense (*creatur*). This historic present is clearly of the type discussed above with regard to *petit* in example (2), *adgreditur* in (6), *coniungit* in (11) and *ducit* in (12): the choice for a present tense instead of a perfect tense makes clear that the election of Varro is not a mere subsequent fact in an annalistic account of historical events, but rather a consequential event in the main story line.[54] This means that *creatur* starts a

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53   Historical veracity of Livy's presentation is not our object of study: whenever we discuss historical events as treated by Livy, these should be taken as being part of the story world and not as historical reality.

54   Compare the present tense form *creatur* here with *creati* in 22.35.5 which is clearly

narrative arc, in this case one that will lead to the disastrous battle of Cannae. The preceding discourse has prepared the reader for this narrative development and it is immediately clear that it complicates the course of events. However, the expected next step, the satisfaction of the plebs about this election, which would count as a resolution to this narrative arc, does not (yet) follow. Instead, the ascending narrative arc is interrupted, due to a radical switch to another point of view, namely the perspective of the *nobilitas*:

(16) tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse uirium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Liuio consul fuerat, ex damnatione collegae, ex qua prope ambustus euaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem **compellit**.

> LIV. 22.35.3

> The nobles, finding that Varro's competitors had not been able to command the necessary strength, thereupon obliged Lucius Aemilius Paullus to stand, though he held out long and earnestly against their importunity. He had been consul together with Marcus Livius, and the condemnation of his colleague—from which he had not himself escaped unscathed— had embittered him against the plebs.

Within one single sentence we find out about the deliberations of the *nobiles* and their decision to put forward Aemilius Paullus as the only candidate for the position of second consul. This periodic narrative sentence contains an Orientation with regard to the thoughts of the nobilitas (*experta ... eius*) and an Orientation with regard to the newly introduced character of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (*L. Aemilium Paulum ... infestum plebei*), and ends with a Complicating (and consequential) new action within the situation sketched: *nobilitas Paulum ad petitionem compellit*. Periodic sentences like these build up narrative tension through two or more embedded clauses and they often contain character motivations for the particular course of action that is conveyed by the finite verb form of the sentence.

The change in perspective from the *plebs* to the *nobilitas* is both a break and a continuation of the narrative arc about the election of Varro. In fact, the two perspectives of Varro and his supporters on the one hand and the *nobilitas* and their leaders on the other will continue to alternate as simultaneous

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included in an 'annalistic' context and lacks the tension-raising capacities that *creatur* has.

narrative arcs with conflicting objectives.[55] Later on, we will find a third perspective, namely that of Hannibal.[56]

In the story about Cannae, the continuous alternation of these three perspectives stimulates the curiosity of the reader about the outcome of multiple ascending narrative arcs, in which the component called Complicating Action is never followed by a Peak or Resolution, but by a switch to one of the other two perspectives—as is also the case in (16) above. Often the sentence before such a change in perspective contains a historic present tense, which stresses the open-endedness of the current narrative arc and gives the effect of continuing tension.[57] These present tense forms, such as *creatur* in (15) and *compellit* in (16), usually refer to logical and well-motivated actions of a character or group, which will appear to have major consequences for the following course of events. It is remarkable how Livy uses, or rather abuses, the forward looking capacity of the historic present to keep the reader alert just before radically moving perspective, leaving the ascending narrative arc without a proper peak, let alone a resolution. The effect is clearly that of a suspenseful story of multiperspectivalism in which the parallel universes of Hannibal, the plebeian consul with soldiers and plebs, and the senatorial consul with the *nobilitas* all contribute to illustrate the major themes of *discordia*, *temeritas* and *fraus*, or their opposites.[58]

The story about the turbulent consular elections of 216, which started in 22.34.1 with a discursive sentence containing an Abstract (example 13), continued with an Orientation and Complication and was interrupted by a change in perspective, ends (22.35) with information about the elected praetors and consuls. The sentences are again typically discursive here, with the passive voice, no individual agents and a summarizing rhythm.[59] In terms of narrative coherence, these sentences present the Resolution and Coda of the story of the elections.

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55 See also *Varrone indignante* (22.41.3), *et consul alter* (22.42.4), and *Quod quamquam Varro* (22.42.9).

56 For Hannibal's view as a sudden break in perspective, see 22.40.7, 22.41.4, 22.43.1, 22.44.4, 22.45.1, 22.46.1; or back from Hannibal to the Romans, see 22.42.1, 22.44.1.

57 In addition to creating unresolved narrative tension, the combined perspectives also provide the narratee with more information than the characters (dramatic irony). See Pausch (this volume, 241) for the suspense created by presenting two opposing views.

58 Examples of the historic present just before a change of perspective and hence apparently at the end of an episode are *terga uertunt* (22.47.4), *integram pugnam ineunt* (22.47.10), *ad persequendos mittit Hispanos et Gallos pedites adiungit* (22.48.6).

59 For an overview of the most characteristic features of the discursive mode in Latin historiographical prose, see the leftmost column of Appendix 1 to this chapter.

Next, at 22.36, we are informed about the levy of the Roman armies and about alarming prodigies. Apart from an implicit and weak temporal relation with the preceding story about the elections and an explicit, but vague temporal relation with the following story about the Sicilian ambassadors (*per eosdem dies*, 22.37.1), there is no relation between the military preparations and prodigies in 36 and the surrounding discourse.[60] The first sentence illustrates well the typical features of the discursive mode of presentation:

(17) Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum uariant auctores, ut uix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim.

   LIV. 22.36.1

   The armies also were augmented. But how large were the additions of infantry and cavalry I should hardly venture to declare with any certainty—so greatly do historians differ in regard to the numbers and kinds of troops.

The narrative pace is summarizing and lacking in details, and we find the passive voice (*multiplicati sunt*) without any reference to individual agents. The present tense (*uariant*) is a 'real' present tense in that it refers to the *hic-et-nunc* of the author and the audience: the historian explicitly discusses the source of his information (*auctores*) in this sentence and even refers to himself (*ausus sim*). There is no individual agent with personal features and no arc of tension. The prodigies in the second part of the chapter are told in the same, discursive way (passive voice, no individual agents, no narrative tension, general statements). The effect of this mode of presentation is clearly more matter-of-fact and less emotionally involving for the reader. In the discursive passages the historiographer presents himself as an author who can be trusted to include all relevant annalistic facts after thorough personal consideration of the sources.

5.4   *Words of Soldiers and Generals* (*22.38–22.40.4*)

The passage in book 22 that follows is characterized by the conventional insertion of (reported) speech. The words of combatants and especially of generals are a typical part of war narrative.[61] They may be quoted in direct speech, as happens with Fabius' premonitory speech (22.39), or presented in indirect speech as we see with Paullus' answer (22.40). An even more reduced pre-

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60   See also section 2 above.
61   See Adema 2017, and in this volume 293.

sentation of speech is the summarizing treatment of the new oath of the soldiers (22.38). Direct speech especially is a forceful instrument for involving the reader and, as is also demonstrated by Buijs (this volume), for bringing to the fore important themes uttered by characters who are mostly affected by the course of history themselves.

In terms of narrative tension, the speech of Fabius at 22.39 may, as a whole, be seen as a rising narrative arc which brings other characters, and especially the addressee Paullus, in a situation which is typical of a 'Complication'.[62] Paullus' answer resolves the tension by acknowledging the points Fabius has made. It is to be noted that the speech of Fabius highlights several of the themes we have established above as dominant, namely *discordia* between generals, fear of *fraus punica* and an admonition towards *prudentia*.

As a whole this set of speeches, coming right after the story of the elections, is yet another foreshadowing of the looming disaster. There is apparent thematic coherence in the presentation of events anticipating the battle of Cannae. However, the events themselves (elections, speeches and the following arrival at the encampment in 22.40) are only loosely connected and do not constitute one narrative arc.

5.5   *Arrival and First Hostilities in Gereonium* (22.40.5–22.42)

One of the aspects in which literary storytelling typically differs from everyday oral storytelling, is the presentation of multiple perspectives. We have seen already that in his presentation of the consular elections, the narrator easily switches between the short-sighted view of the masses and the cautious point of view of the *nobilitas* (example 16). In the episode in which the Roman army arrives at Gereonium, a third point of view is added: the strategic thoughts of Hannibal.[63]

An interesting question is how exactly such a changing of perspective might interfere with a narrative arc. We refrain here from a theoretical digression on the various ways in which a change of perspective may interrupt, expand or complicate a narrative arc. Instead, we merely indicate the effect in terms of reader involvement: an arc is, as it were, interrupted by a new point of view and the reader is implicitly invited to balance the two points of view and form a critical attitude towards at least one of them.

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62   A premonitory speech is expected to heighten the tension because the speaker highlights an uncomfortable or dangerous truth for the addressee who is expected to react in either a contrastive or proactive way (peak) or simply by accepting the inevitability of the situation (resolution).

63   See Van Gils in this volume: 265 for the spatial indications of the various points of view.

A first example of a shift in perspective to Hannibal is found when Varro and Paullus arrive at the camp near Hannibal and take control of their legions:

(18)   ut in castra uenerunt, [...] Geminum Seruilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae [...] praeficiunt. Hannibal [...] tamen aduentu consulum mire gaudere. non solum enim nihil [...] superabat [...].

        LIV. 22.40.5–22.40.8

When they got to the camp [...] Geminus Servilius was put in command of the smaller camp [...]. Hannibal [...] was nevertheless greatly rejoiced at the coming of the consuls. For not only were the spoils exhausted [...].

The consuls are, exceptionally enough, presented as unanimously taking a decision: they put consul Geminus Servilius in command of the smaller camp (*praeficiunt*, a historical present marking, as we saw before, a consequential action), but before we hear about the consequences, our viewpoint is directed toward Hannibal, who is oddly happy to see the Roman army augmented. Hannibal's joy is explained in a mixed narrative-discursive sentence.[64]

In the following episode, which forms the overture to the actual battle at Cannae, we also find an example of mixed, narrating-discursive telling:

(19)   Ceterum temeritati consulis ac ⟨prae⟩propero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut [in]iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. ceterum uictoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac uociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse.

        LIV. 22.41.1–22.41.3

But even Fortune furnished material to the recklessness and over-hasty temper of the consul. The repulse of a foraging party had led to a general melee, which came about from the soldiers rushing forward to attack the enemy, rather than from any plan or orders on the part of the generals;

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64   Narrative elements are the imperfect tense and spatial indications from Hannibal's relative viewpoint, and discursive elements *enim*, references to later sources, counterfactual mood.

and in this the Phoenicians by no means held their own. About seventeen hundred of them were slain and not more than a hundred of Romans and allies. But the consul Paullus, who was in command that day—for they commanded on alternate days—was fearful of an ambuscade and checked the victors in their headlong pursuit, despite the angry remonstrances of Varro, who cried out that they had let the enemy slip through their hands and that they might have brought the war to a conclusion if they had not relaxed their efforts.

In the above passage the historian recounts the first skirmishes between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the arrival of the new consuls Paullus and Varro in the Roman camp in central Italy. In the preceding paragraph we have seen Hannibal greatly rejoicing at the arrival of the consuls and at the advantageous prospect of a combat, pressed hard as he is by a lack of supplies and the expected desertion of his Spanish troops. The first sentence of the passage in (19) at first sight seems to prepare the reader for the start of a new narrative subarc of tension, and, hence, for a narrating mode of presentation: the clause *ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit* ('But even Fortune furnished material to the recklessness and over-hasty temper of the consul') has clear characteristics of an Abstract, mentioning the significant themes of *temeritas* and *fortuna*.

What follows, however, is *not* a gradual building up of a narrative arc of tension (via an Orientation and Complication rising towards a Peak), by means of which the narratee may become more and more involved in a story-world that is being evoked. Rather, the discursive mode of presentation seems to continue, with the historian supplying a number of relevant facts without elaborating upon them in an 'episodic', story-telling way: there has been a fight in which the Carthaginians were hardly a match (*haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit*), and the casualties at the Carthaginian side outnumbered by far the Roman casualties (*ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis*). Typically discursive features in the passage are the use of the 'factive' perfect tense, the lack of a clear temporal sequentiality of the reported events, the mentioning of approximate, large numbers, the use of negation (*haudquaquam*) and comparison (*magis … quam*), and the low degree of 'agentivity'.[65] The paragraph seems to end, however, in a mixed narrating-

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65   This low degree of agentivity appears from the use of the abstract verbal noun *dimicatio*, the passive verb form *caesi*, and the lack of specific, individualized protagonists. For an overview of features of the discursive mode in Latin historiographical prose, see Appendix 1 to this chapter.

discursive way, with the return of the protagonists Paullus and Varro, and the mentioning of their (re)actions—in Varro's case even being rendered in the form of an indirect speech.

This touch of narrativity in an otherwise discursive context might be explained in terms of a coherence-creating narrative strategy, similar to the hybrid presentation in example 2 in section 2 above. What we see in example 19 is that Livy, by adding a few well-chosen narrative ingredients at the beginning and at the end, brings to the fore the entire cluster of themes that dominate book 22, especially *discordia consulum, ratio* versus *fortuna*, and *temeritas* versus *ratio/prudentia*. Instead of blowing up the fortuitous and relatively unimportant Roman victory recounted here into a full mini-story with its own narrative arc of tension (which at this point in book 22—shortly before Cannae—would probably have raised the tension too high), the historian chooses to recount the battle largely in the authoritative, matter-of-fact style of the discursive mode. Its particular framing, however, makes unmistakably clear how the passage thematically coheres with book 22 as a whole, and keeps the audience's attention alive and focused.

At the end of this mixed narrative-discursive account of the small victory for the Romans, we again get the viewpoint of Hannibal (22.41.4), who evaluates his loss as an opportunity to provoke the *temeritas* of the 'rougher consul and the recruits'. Hannibal's view smoothly connects the Resolution of this lost skirmish to the Orientation of a new narrative arc, about an attempt to trick the Romans into believing that Hannibal has left with his army behind the hills. The historic presents *relinquit, condit, traducit* together 'open up' the complication.

The narrative arc of this story about Punic *fraus* contains a change in perspective to the Roman soldiers once Hannibal's army is hidden during the night (22.42.1 *Ubi inluxit*) and a Peak when the soldiers start to shout (22.42.3 *clamor*) and consul Paullus pleads for *prudentia* (22.42.4 *Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere prouidendum praecauendumque esse*).[66] The historic infinitive underlines the inconclusiveness of the situation. But with the following sentence (*postremo*), the immersive effect ends through some clear text structuring elements from the narrator's perspective and with the historic present *mittit* (22.42.4) the narrator marks a new direction in the course of events: Paullus sends praefect Statilius to check out the situation and Statilius' report (*renuntiat*) confirms Paullus' fear of an ambush.[67] The unexpected effect of Statilius'

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66   The effect of reader immersion which is typical of a Peak is achieved through auditive and visual details of the situation and the inclusion of character perspectives on the situation.

67   The immersive effect of the preceding sentence ends through some clear indications that

words on the soldiers and their leader Varro is summarized by the narrator: they are determined to go to Hannibal's camp and, in spite of Statilius' warning, fall in Hannibal's trap. The two completely contrasting reactions to Hannibal by Varro and his soldiers on the one hand and Paullus and Statilius on the other are another illustration of the Roman *discordia* which will also determine the outcome of the battle of Cannae.

At this point in the course of events, however, the Romans are still saved by the gods. The surprising denouement to this story of fraud is told in the form of a mini-episode with one sentence for every Labovian narrative component:

(20) [ABSTRACT] di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inminentem pestem Romanis: [ORIENTATION] nam forte ita euenit ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, serui duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Seruilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; [COMPLICATION] deductique ad consules **nuntiant** omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. [RESOLUTION AND CODA] horum opportunus aduentus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos praua indulgentia maiestatem soluisset.

LIV. 22.42.10–22.42.12

On that day, it might almost be said, the very gods put off, but did not prevent, the calamity that impended over the Romans: for it chanced that when the consul ordered the standards back into the camp and the soldiers were refusing to obey him, two slaves appeared on the scene, one belonging to a Formian, the other to a Sidicinian knight. They had been captured by the Numidians, along with other foragers, in the consulship of Servilius and Atilius, and on that day had escaped back to their masters. Being conducted to the consuls, **they stated** that Hannibal's entire army was lying in ambush just over the nearest hills. Their opportune arrival restored the authority of the consuls, when one of them, by running after popularity, and by unprincipled indulgence, had impaired their prestige—beginning with his own—amongst the soldiers.

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the narrator's structuring and evaluating perspective is back: *postremo, seditio,* and the full denomination of *Marium Statilium praefectum.*

The Abstract of this story announces how the gods themselves postponed the imminent disaster of the Roman defeat. The story reinforces the two important themes of *discordia* and *fraus*: only divine intervention could temporarily help the two discordant consuls against Hannibal and the prudent consul was, of course, right in suspecting Hannibal's *insidiae*.[68] The use of the historic present (*nuntiant*) in the Complication of this short narrative episode marks the future relevance of this action.[69] The consequences are summarized in the next sentence which functions as Resolution and Coda to this story.[70] A ministory like this seems to be the perfect form to tell a thematically relevant story which does not pertain to the main story line.

5.6   *Movement to Cannae and Preparations for Battle* (22.43–22.45)

After his failed attempt to ambush the Romans, Hannibal decides to move to Cannae and the consuls Paullus and Varro follow shortly afterwards. This episode is told quite elaborately with a narrative arc starting with an Orientation and moving forward with a Complicating action (*statuit*). This would be a typical context for a historical present. The form *statuit* is ambiguous, but based on our analysis of similar contexts we propose to interpret it as a present tense, and not a perfect tense: the consequences of Hannibal's decision to move southwards will include the fatal battle at Cannae, a consequence explicitly anticipated here by the narrator.[71]

In this passage, as elsewhere in historiographical narrative, perfect tense forms are the unmarked way to tell a chronologically structured story. Similar to the situation in Gereonium (*praeficiunt*, 22.40.7), a present tense action by the two consuls (*communiunt*, 22.44.1) opens up a new narrative arc, the rare plural form of which promises well for future events. This hope vanishes quickly when the perspective switches to Hannibal again who knows perfectly well how to push the Roman leaders in the direction of disagreement (*dirigit aciem lacessitque ... hostes*, 22.44.4). Hannibal's consequential action (note the historic presents) has the desired consequences. And while the Roman consuls contest each other (*discordia consulum*, 22.44.5), Hannibal provokes them further by sending his Numidians in a surprise attack (*mittit*, 22.45.2). The expected reaction by Varro, as soon as he is in command, does not keep the reader waiting: the armies are prepared for the final battle with the consuls Varro

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68   See Pausch (this volume, 237–240) for the role of *insidiae* in books 21 and 22.

69   See §4 above.

70   The aftermath of the peak is told (Resolution), but we also find a comment about the general significance of this story (Coda).

71   *ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt* (22.43.10).

and Paullus on respectively the left and right wing and the ex-consul Geminus Seruilius in the middle.[72]

5.7   *Description of the Armies and the Battle* (22.46–22.49)

The episode of the actual battle starts with a description of the enemy with imperfect tenses and visual details (22.46), which, in terms of Labov, can be seen as an Orientation to the battle itself. Battle narratives are a traditional ingredient of ancient historiography and tend to contain typical elements which are recognized, and maybe even expected as such by the audience.[73] The description of the armies is one of those elements, and others are the battle cry (*clamore sublato*, 22.47.1) which signals the beginning of the fighting and the description of simultaneous fighting scenes told in a series of connected episodes from left to right wing or vice versa.[74] Also the fate of the survivors and a view of the battlefield when the battle is over can be considered typical elements, or historiographical topoi. In the case of the battle of Cannae, we find three battle episodes: right wing, left wing and back to the right wing.

The right wing of the Romans (of which Paullus was commander, but this is not mentioned) is described first in discursive mode (22.47.1). The combat leads to the remarkable flight of the Roman cavalry (*Romani equites terga uertunt*, 22.47.3). This unfavourable moment in the right wing is presented in a historic present tense, as if, we hypothesize, this was not the end, but rather the beginning of a new complication. A perfect tense would have suggested that the flight was a conclusive step in the narrative, whereas the historic tense suggests that the flight is not the end of the story. The fight continues indeed, but the Romans are unable to overcome the tactics of the Punic army. The battle description of the right wing finishes with an open end: the Romans enter a new fight (*integram pugnam ineunt*, 22.47.10), but the reader's expectation is subtly directed towards a negative end through the meaningful classification of the fight as unfair (*iniquam*): the tired Romans are confronted with fresh and strong troops.

The continuation of the story is an example of how a rising narrative arc with an open end may be followed by a change in perspective and a new episode. The left wing description incorporates the story of a Punic ruse (22.48). We find a

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72 *Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laeuum, Aemilius dextrum: Gemino Seruilio media pugna tuenda data* (22.45.8).

73 See, for instance, Walsh 1963: 197–204 for stock techniques in Livy's battle descriptions and Hau 2014 for battle topoi in Greek historiography.

74 Livy closely follows the information found in Polybius in the battle scene. See Oakley (this volume, 182–189).

hint about a story in the Abstract-like first sentence (*Punica fraude*, 22.48.1), an Orientation in which the main characters are introduced (*Quingenti ferme Numidae* etc., 22.48.2), and a Complication in the historic present (*repente … desiliunt … considere iubentur*, 22.48.3). The reader knows it is a story about fraud, so he expects a surprise attack any moment, and this expectation is fulfilled (*adoriuntur*, 22.48.4) in a Peak.

In the third and last battle episode (22.49), we return to the right wing (*parte altera pugnae*), where Paullus sits heavily wounded. This section contains much direct speech and the rhythm of the narrative accordingly slows down to scenic level. The narrative of the dying Paullus contains a rising arc with Lentulus' approach to Paullus and his offer to help him escape. The Peak of this scene and, we believe, of the Cannae story at large, is formed by Paullus' elaborate answer to Lentulus in which he refuses Lentulus' offer, but shows typical Roman values, like *uirtus*, *dignitas* and *constantia* even in the moment of death. After the Peak, Paullus' death is described matter-of-factly as a Resolution to the story, in the discursive mode.

In a next scene, the Romans flee in all directions (*fugiunt*, 22.49.13). The historic present *fugiunt* opens up a window about the outcome of this flight, which is, indeed, immediately elaborated upon in more detail: in the following sentences the facts about the whereabouts of the fleeing Romans and allies are given. Note that in this case, the 'window' that was opened is not filled in with a narrative, but with a list of events in discursive mode. At the end of the battle description (22.46–22.49) we find a Coda with the words *Haec est pugna Cannensis* (22.50.1) and a comparison to another major Roman defeat (at the river Allia around 390 BC).

(21) Haec est pugna ⟨Cannensis⟩, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, leuior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus grauior foediorque.

      LIV. 22.50.1–22.50.2

Such was the battle of Cannae, a calamity as memorable as that suffered at the Allia, and though less grave in its results—because the enemy failed to follow up his victory—yet for the slaughter of the army even more grievous and disgraceful.

5.8   *Aftermath of the Battle (22.50–22.54)*

The aftermath of the battle is given more space than the battle itself.[75] This is remarkable in itself, but the details of this narrative episode are even more noteworthy: the lack of formal leaders and the chaotic situation of the defeated Romans is told with special interest in the deliberations and discussions of the various groups who need to decide on their own what to do. In 22.50, we hear about contrasting proposals in indirect and direct speech and certain Romans, like Sempronius Tuditanus, are a clear *exemplum* of courageous words and deeds.

Hannibal also needs to decide what to do right after his victory and again the various options are presented in direct and indirect speech by Maharbal and Hannibal respectively (22.51). Hannibal's choice is explicitly evaluated by the narrator as an exemplum of a wrong decision in terms of warfare leadership. Hannibal decides not to proceed immediately to Rome, but to let his soldiers plunder the victims and take the surviving Romans as hostages.

The next scene, the Carthaginians revisiting the site of the carnage, starts off with a historic present (*insistunt*, 22.51.5). The view of the battlefield is terrible even for the enemy (*foedam etiam hostibus spectandam stragem*, 22.51.5) and, as if it were through their eyes, Livy gives us a horrific description of this view. The graphic quality of this description makes it one of the most immersive passages of book 22. Note that not the historic present tense, but rather participle and imperfect and pluperfect tenses are used to give the graphic quality to this scene.[76]

(22)   quosdam et iacentis uiuos succisis feminibus poplitibusque inuenerunt, nudantis ceruicem et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inuenti quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foueas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat.

        LIV. 22.51.7–8

Some were discovered lying there alive, with thighs and tendons slashed, baring their necks and throats and bidding their conquerors drain the remnant of their blood. Others were found with their heads buried in holes dug in the ground. They had apparently made these pits for themselves, and heaping the dirt over their faces shut off their breath.

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75   See also Oakley (this volume, 170) for a discussion of this observation.

76   Walsh 1963: 181 has pointed out the graphic presentation of this 'rare scene of horror' in Livy. Another immersive passage is 22.2.5–22.2.10, again with imperfect tenses rather than the historic present.

The next decision regards the capture of the smaller camp and trade of hostages. With *ducit et excludit* (22.52.1) the narrator opens up a new discursive window: a great number of quantitative data are provided and the fate of groups and not that of individuals is told. Predicates are in perfect tense, often passives, or are actual present tense forms. An individual note is reserved for a generous lady called Busa who provided shelter, food and clothes to the Romans who were valorous enough to escape to Canusium.

Canusium provides the context for a narrative episode about Roman leadership (22.53). First, we hear about a number of military tribunes and other young noble Romans who deliberate about the best course of action; the young Scipio is given the role of good exemplum by convincing the others through words, oaths and threats to defend the Roman Republic. Next, the reader is informed about the situation in Venusia, where consul Varro finds himself still alive. In a hybrid mode of presentation facts are summarized and a lack of narrative tension is combined with typically narrative elements like imperfect tenses and individual agents. As soon as Scipio and the other leader Appius hear about Varro's presence in Venusia, they send him a message to ask him what he wants them to do. The historic present (*mittunt*, 22.54.5) opens a narrative window which is quickly 'filled in' with Varro's decision to move to Canusium.

The narrator ends his treatment of the surviving Roman troops with a section on the situation in Rome where people are still unaware of the fate of the survivors. With negations and strong personal comments, the narrator is extraordinarily visible at this point in his work.[77] Especially noteworthy is his personal evaluation that no other people would have been able to rise again after such a major defeat, comparing this defeat even to the future downfall of Hannibal in Africa. With this comment at the end of 22.54, the narrator brings his readers back to the primary narrative arc of the third decade which was explicitly started in the first paragraph of book 21 (example 1 above). Where the start was a typical Abstract, this is a typical (intermediate) Coda in which evaluations are common and the mode of presentation is clearly discursive.

5.9   *Reactions in Rome (22.55–22.61)*

The impact of the battle of Cannae on the Roman politics and population is described in the last sections (22.55–22.61) of book 22. We learn about the desperation of their personal and political losses, but also their harshness towards

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77   *Ne has quidem reliquias* (22.54.7); *Numquam salua urbe* (22.54.8); *succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare* (22.54.8); *nulla profecto alia gens* (22.54.10); *compares cladem ad Aegates insulas ... aut pugnam aduersam in Africa* (22.54.11); *nulla ex parte comparandae sunt* (22.54.11).

the Roman hostages who are kept prisoner by Hannibal mainly through indirect and direct speeches. The narrator connects the various speeches with discursive sentences in which the difficult situation in Rome is emphatically brought to the fore. Direct speeches in the form of rhetorically well-formed orations, such as delivered by Fabius (22.39), the embassy of prisoners (22.59), and the response to their request by a severe Roman senator (22.60), are a format well suited to argue, by the utterances of involved characters, the key themes. Moreover, orations slow down the narrative rhythm and heighten narrative tension because of their persuasive goal.

In the last section of book 22 (22.61) the prisoners' dilemma is resolved: the harsh verdict is pronounced to the envoys (*triste responsum*, 22.61.3) that no money will be spent to get the captives back to their families. In two sentences a story is told about an unnamed envoy who deceitfully returned to his home (*fallaci reditu*, 22.61.4) but was sent back to Hannibal by a unanimous decision of the Romans: there is no place for fraud in Roman society, even if the alternative is surrendering to the enemy.[78] Finally, the historian includes a completely different version of the story about the prisoner's embassy in indirect speech (*est et alia fama*, 22.61.5) and after this alternative version he comments on the strangeness of the existence of different versions.

The last passage of book 22 contains a second Coda to the story of Cannae.[79] It is a sign of Livy's narrative art that he manages to make us think of this battle as one coherent story (*ea clades*, 22.61.10) and evaluate the impact or magnitude of it in a typical Coda, even though there has not been one single narrative arc to describe the defeat of the Romans at Cannae.

(23) Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, uel [de] ea
      res indicio ⟨est, quod fides socio⟩rum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat,
      tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re, quam quod ⟨de⟩sperauerant
      de imperio.

       LIV. 22.61.10

For the rest, how greatly this disaster exceeded those that had gone before is plain from this: the loyalty of the allies, which had held firm until the day of Cannae, now began to waver, assuredly for no other reason than because they had lost all hope of the empire.

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78   See also Oakley, 180–182 for this passage.
79   We already saw a Coda in Liv. 22.50.

6   Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the textual strategies and associated linguistic devices in book 22 of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*. The results of this analysis strongly suggest that two motivations are behind most presentational choices of the historian: to keep the audience alert and interested, and to highlight specific moral themes.

In the first part of this chapter, we have introduced and illustrated with examples from the first half of book 22 a number of narratological and linguistic concepts which can help us to discover Livy's use of textual strategies in the story about Cannae. In the second part of this chapter, we have analysed the story about Cannae in the second half of book 22, making use of the concepts introduced in part 1. The larger Cannae-story has been divided into seven episodes and for each episode the presence of particular textual strategies has been analysed.

The most important textual strategies we have discerned are the announcement of a thematically relevant event (Abstract), the insertion of narrative sub-arcs (subsequent increase and decrease of narrative tension, along the components Orientation-Complication-Peak-Resolution in terms of Labov), the change of perspective halfway through a narrative arc, the rare use of immersive narrative and the frequent use of a hybrid narrative-discursive mode of presentation.

In order to detect the various textual strategies, we have made use of a narratological-linguistic instrument which is summarized in Appendix 1. The linguistic devices we have particularly focused on are tenses, coherence markers, and point of view. Also relevant for our analysis, though less systematically discussed, have been active-passive variation, collective vs. individual agents, narrative rhythm, the presence of emotions or visual details, and lexical references to key themes like *fraus*, *fides*, *prudentia* and *temeritas*.

In the analysis of book 22, the frequent use of the historic present to open up a narrative window (or Complication, in terms of Labov) was particularly revealing. Events presented in the historic present tense are typically well-motivated actions by one of the main characters, which are expected to have relevant consequences. We have coined the term 'consequential action' to describe this type of events. These consequences are often given in the ensuing text. The reader's expectation linked to a consequential action is, however, not always fulfilled: the narrator may insert a sudden switch in perspective. The tension about relevant consequences remains, but is temporarily put on hold because a new narrative arc is introduced.

Another recurring characteristic of Livy's text is his use of typically narrative features (e.g. temporal connectives, the imperfect tense, references to emo-

tions) in passages which lack a narrative arc. In such passages we find the historian reporting a number of events in a summarizing and evaluative manner and without creating expectations about a particular outcome, as a straightforward narrative would have done. In order to keep the audience attentive, the report is, so to speak, 'narrativized'.

A last observation regards the thematic relevance of (in)direct speech. The insertion of a conversation between two characters, as happens in the scene of Abelux and Bostar (22.22) and of Lentulus and the dying Paullus (22.49), seems to typically mark the Peak in a narrative arc. The words of these characters contain valuable moral lessons for the reader, and seem to point at the very reason why the historian has inserted the story. The Peaks of both stories do not coincide with historically pivotal events, but with exemplary characters showing their moral standard to a fellow character, and indirectly to the reader.

All in all, we would conclude that Livy's decisions as to narrative structuring (where to put peaks, what events to be magnified, and what other events to be played down, mentioned in passing or not referred to at all) may be partly driven by aesthetic considerations, but that, at least in book 22, many of his choices seem to be strategies for taking the audience along a well-considered construction of moral and ideological themes.[80]

Appendix 1: Prototypical Features of Modes of Presentation in Latin Historiography

	Discursive mode (low/no immersion)	Neutral narrating mode (moderate immersion)	Immersive narrating mode (total immersion)
point of view	speaker (historian)	narrator	character
progression	argumentative	narrative	impressionistic
coherence marking	(*ceterum, itaque, igitur, ergo*)	(*tum, eo die*)	(*hic, repente*)
events	listed	summarized	detailed
rhythm	quick	quick or scenic	scenic or slower
quantities	big numbers possible	big numbers possible	small numbers
nouns	abstract, collective	collective, concrete	concrete
semantic agent	collective or well-known	character or collective	character

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80   For a comparable conclusion with respect to Livy's third decade more generally, see Levene 2010: 31, who refers to Lipovsky 1981.

(*cont.*)

	Discursive mode (low/no immersion)	Neutral narrating mode (moderate immersion)	Immersive narrating mode (total immersion)
syntactic subject	evaluative or abstract noun	character or collective	character
referential chain	full denotation	series, light references	series, light references
transitivity	low transitivity	high transitivity	high transitivity
tense	actual present; perfect	perfect & imperfect; historic present	historic present; imperfect; historic infinitive
voice	passive	active	active
embedded speech	no	indirect discourse	(in)direct discourse

Appendix 2: Narrative Elements in the Presentation of the Battle of Cannae (22.34–22.61)[81]

		Presence of narrative arc
34.1	Varro becomes popular and is elected consul	Arc type iv
35.3	Paullus is put forward as consular colleague	Arc type ii
35.5	The result of the elections and composition of the armies	No arc: discursive
36.6	Prodigies frighten the Roman citizens	No arc: hybrid
37.1	Arrival at the senate of a Sicilian embassy	No arc: hybrid, incl. (in)direct speech
38.1	The soldiers take a new oath	No arc: hybrid
38.6	Commander's speeches by Varro and Paullus	No arc: discursive, incl. ind. speech
38.12	Fabius takes the floor and gives a speech	Arc type iv: dir. speech
40.1	Paullus reacts to Fabius	Arc type v: ind. speech
40.5	The consuls arrive at the Roman camp	Arc type iv
40.7	Hannibal sees and rejoices at the arrival of the consuls and new soldiers	No arc: hybrid
40.8	The situation of Hannibal is tough	No arc: hybrid
41.1	Swift Roman victory in chaotic melee	No arc: discursive
41.3	Paullus' holds back the Roman soldiers	No arc: hybrid
41.4	Hannibal's view on the Roman victory is positive	Arc type v, incl. ind. speech
41.6	Hannibal prepares an ambush	Arc type iv

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81   See pp. 210 for the five types of narrative patterns we distinguish and the difference between a discursive and narrative-discursive (hybrid) presentation of events.

(*cont.*)

		Presence of narrative arc
42.1	Romans discover the empty Carthaginian camp	Arc type v
42.4	Paullus tries to check the soldiers and sends Statilius	Arc type v, incl. ind. speech
42.7	Statilius' report inflames rather than restrains the soldiers and worsens the conflict between Varro and Paullus	Arc type iv
42.10–42.12	Escaped slaves reveal ambush	Arc type iii
43.1	Hannibal returns, but decides to leave for southern Italy	Arc type iv
43.7	Statilius confirms Hannibal's departure; Romans follow	No arc: discursive
43.10	Hannibal puts his camp in a favourable place	Arc type v
44.1	The consuls put up their camp	Arc type v
44.4	Hannibal provokes the enemy	Arc type v
44.5	The consuls disagree about the best course of action	No arc: discursive, incl. indir. speech
45.1	Hannibal lets Numidians attack some Romans	Arc type v
45.5	Varro decides to prepare for battle	Arc type v
46.1	Description of Hannibal's army	Arc type iv
47.1	Start of the battle and right wing fighting	No arc: hybrid
48.1	Left wing: Punic ruse	Arc type i
49.1	Right wing again: dying Paullus	Arc type i, incl. dir. speech
50.1	Haec est pugna Cannensis	Coda to main story
50.4	Deliberations in the Roman camps and outbreak to Canusium	Arc type i, incl. (in)d. speech
51.1	Deliberations in Hannibal's camp	Arc type i, incl. dir. speech
51.5	The Carthaginians view the battle field and collect *spolia*	Arc type iv
52.1	Hannibal easily conquers the Roman camps	No arc: discursive
53.1	Deliberations in Canusium	Arc type iv, incl. (in)dir. speech
54.1	In Venusia Varro and many soldiers are welcomed generously	No arc: hybrid
54.5	The soldiers of Canusium and Venusia are united in Canusium	Arc type iii
54.7	The situation in Rome	No arc: discursive
55.1	Deliberations in the senate	No arc: discursive (incl ind. speech)
58.1	Hannibal's treatment of the prisoners	No arc: hybrid
59.1	Embassy of prisoners plead their case in Rome	Direct speech
60.1	Reaction of the masses and response by Manlius Torquatus	Hybrid + direct speech
61.1	The reaction to the harsh verdict	No arc: hybrid
61.4	The runaway prisoner is brought back to Hannibal	Arc type ii
61.5	Alternative facts (alia fama)	Indirect speech
61.10	Coda to major defeat	No arc: discursive

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