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The Second Punic War: The Turning Point of an Empire

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The Second Punic War: The Turning Point of an Empire



Honors Thesis

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Department: History

Advisor: Dorian Borbonus, Ph.D.

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Abstract

Though the foundation of the Roman Empire is considered by some to be in 27 BC with Octavian's acceptance of the name Augustus, its origins were in fact in the late 3rd Century BC with Rome's involvement in the Second Punic War. The nearly 20 year war pitched Rome against Carthage in what became a turning point in Roman history. Rome would undergo economic changes that led to the establishment of the practice of Roman aristocrats paying extra costs of the war in an exemption of military service. During the war, Rome's armies were active farther abroad for greater lengths of time than previous wars. As a result, recruitment underwent changes relaxing previous laws and customs of who could be recruited and greater power and independence was given to generals in forming their own armies. Additionally, the most successful Roman general during the war, Scipio Africanus, achieved unprecedented individual power both in the field, including an indefinite term as general and nearly complete diplomatic freedom, and at home, such as breaking through the normal political requirements for multiple political positions. Lastly, Rome won large sums of land and money from the victory that formed the beginnings of a territorial empire and brought Rome into further contact with other kingdoms; creating nearly unavoidable conflict, and leading to even further expansion. These economic, military, and political precedents that occurred during the Second Punic War are all studied through the primary use of the ancient historian Livy, who is most qualified for the task.

Acknowledgements

“I plainly perceive that, like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea, the farther I advance, I am carried, as it were, into a greater depth and abyss; and that my work almost increases on my hands which seemed to be diminished by the completion of each of its earlier portions”

Livy (31.1)

Though my puddle pales in comparison to the abyss Livy waded into, I do understand, to a limited extent, his struggle in trying to write a work that feels like a longer and longer undertaking the farther you advance. What Livy does not mention in this quote which was probably quite invaluable to him was his support system that helped him finish his work. I too have been fortunate enough to have such a network that I must thank. First, I'd like to thank my parents who without I would not even be able to be at the University of Dayton let alone part of the University Honors Program. They've been extremely understanding, supporting, and encouraging for my whole life, but especially with this undertaking. Additionally, I'd like to thank Dr. Borbonus who agreed to participate in his first honors thesis with a student with limited professional history experience. He has been extremely helpful with the process and content of this thesis and I'm always grateful for his input and willingness to meet and discuss. I've also thoroughly enjoyed discussing various elements of Roman history through this thesis and hope to have a few more of these conversations out of pure interest on the topic. I also need to thank my friends and family who have always showed interest in my pursuit of this thesis and been there for some laughs and fun to keep me going. Of this group, I owe a particularly large amount of thanks to my girlfriend Clare. She has been by my side for over four years and always one of my biggest supporters and friends. Thank you for always being willing to hear about something about Livy or Scipio and just being there. Lastly, I need to thank the University of Dayton and the University Honors Program for such an opportunity to learn and produce a work of which I'm extremely proud of!



Table of Contents

Abstract	Title Page
Introduction	1
Livy: the Source of a Turning Point	3
A Changing Roman Economy	11
Military and Recruiting: A Trial of the Military Future	17
Scipio Africanus : a New Breed of Politician	26
Results of the War: the Winnings of an Empire	34
Conclusion: A Roman Empire Emerges	40
References	43
Appendix	45

The Roman Empire's rise is sometimes seen as all too inevitable, almost guaranteed, but even more so it is often narrated as a fluid process where victory continuously expanded the empire at a similar pace as Roman opponents were progressively in Rome's path of expansion. All Roman victories were not equal however, and some indicate radical turning points in the ebb and flow of Roman history. One such turning point is the Second Punic War when the Romans came face to face with Hannibal at the gates while stationing forces farther abroad than ever before and for longer durations. The dire strain put on by the 16 year war with fighting in Italy for nearly the war's entirety forced Roman transformations in both its economy and military practices. It also provided the perfect setting for political figures to achieve unprecedented powers. Rome began the war with influence limited to Italy and some of the nearby islands, but would emerge with claims in Spain and Greece and experience in Africa and Gaul. It was this war that was the decisive struggle in which Rome would emerge as the Mediterranean's foremost power.

The primary source for this study of the Second Punic War is Livy, whose *Ab Urbe Condita* was a massive attempt to give the Romans a systematic history from the foundation of Rome to the contemporary reign of Augustus. From study of modern scholarship, it was determined that although using Livy presents a few qualifications that must be considered for his use, he is the most useful account for the Second Punic War because of the reliability of his sources contemporary to the war, his working knowledge of the Roman political system, and his fortunate place in history to see the full results of the decline of the Republic, while still remembering it fondly. As a result, this thesis study uses Livy's account to cite and analyze a number of significant changes as part of Rome's turning point. Modern scholarship is used to support this analysis providing academic investigation on the cited events to reveal a more detailed and critical understanding of where modern historians stand on the raised issues. These instances examined are then compared to earlier Roman history, especially the First Punic War, to establish the precedence of the events primarily by use of modern scholarship. Now established as precedents, the events of the Second Punic War are then compared to Roman history following the Second Punic War, with a specific focus on the dramatic events of the late Republic. For this study, the use of the term late Republic refers to the

events traditionally cited as the final decline and fall of the Republic beginning with the election of Tiberius Gracchus to tribune in 133 BC and concluding with the recognition of Augustus in 27 BC. The primary source Plutarch is used for this comparison whenever possible and is further supplemented with modern scholarship. Additionally, this thesis is written assuming the reader has an at least general working knowledge of the Second Punic War. Thus it is by an overall comparing and contrasting of the Second Punic War relative to the Republic's history before and after the conflict that provide the evidence for citing this as the Roman turning point in the Mediterranean.

The elements of this turning point generally fall into changes in the Roman economy, military, political structure, and territorial holdings. The first set of precedents regard the Roman economy. Roman financing during portions of the war relied on private funding from Rome's commercial middle class being utilized on a grand scale for military purposes leading to grants of exemption to recruitment for the donors. This would later have dramatic effects on Roman political interest groups in the last century of the Republic. This change in finances also allowed for an overhaul of Roman currency, resulting in the system that was utilized for nearly five centuries of Roman rule. Additionally, Livy highlights elements that illustrate Rome's changing military and recruitment methods. As a result of the challenges associated with Roman armies spending longer continuous terms stationed abroad, especially as the war's focus moved from Italy to Spain to Africa, and the significant drain the war had on Roman manpower, recruitment methods were altered to meet these challenges. Similar methods can be seen employed with more permanence in the late Republic's armies. Also similar to the late Republic, the Second Punic War illustrates for the first times the power a successful general could achieve with the growing support of his soldiers. This successful general was Scipio Africanus who ultimately becomes the focus of Livy's narrative as the Roman failures of the war led up to his grand actions in bringing the war to a close. His actions led to him being granted long term commands first in Spain and then in Africa with unparalleled independence allowing fuller diplomatic powers during his command and later political power after his command. This power extends to the point that he is able to challenge the senate and even the political structure as a whole. Thus Scipio is among the first of the powerful and dynamic men that led Rome on the path of the great

generals. It was all of these precedents and changes during the Second Punic War which would forever change the course of Roman history.

Livy: The Source of Rome's Turning Point

Livy was born in the Transpadane Gallic city of Patavium just outside the provincial borders of Italy in 59 BC, according to Saint Jerome. Saint Jerome is believed to have been 5 years off in his estimate of Livy's birth and death, however, which would put Livy's birth at 64 BC.¹ The region is said to have been known for its conservative morals reflecting older days of Roman virtue. Though it is not specifically known when he first moved to Rome and began writing it was at the very least within a few years of the start of the rule of Augustus that Livy set out writing a 142 book history of Rome from the foundation of the city to his present day. Of particular note, Livy's limited travel meant he never served as a part of the Roman military and lacked a large amount of geographical travel which can be seen in his work. Ultimately, Livy wrote for nearly 40 years in Rome until he retired to Patavium possibly finishing a few books there until his death in 17 BC if Saint Jerome's claim of 12 BC is once again adjusted.²

Livy used a number of sources throughout his history, but his typical methodology of writing involved the use of a single primary source to build his own narrative from while supplementing with other sources as needed. The primary source for the Second Punic War is debated though it is generally agreed the Greek historian Polybius is used as this primary source at least for the later portion of the war, especially for the events in Greece and Africa. The argument against Polybius's use is that the books about the Second Punic War appear more balanced in their geographic focus than the 15 books immediately after the war that, which focuses nearly entirely on events in Greece. The comparison between the overall geographic focus leads some to believe the account of the Second Punic War used a greater mix of sources. However, evidence indicates Livy's account of events ranging from Hannibal's march to Italy, Scipio's capture of Carthago Nova, and even the Battle of Zama indicate very similar content to

¹ Ogilvie, R. M. *A Commentary on Livy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. P. 2

² Walsh, P. G. *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961. p. 1-19

Polybius's, and thus it is likely a safe assumption Polybius was one of Livy's main sources.³

Polybius was a Greek soldier and politician who when exiled to Rome in 168 or 167 BC set about writing his *Histories*, which concerned Rome from 264 – 146 BC. His 40 book account states his motives are to analyze Rome's swift rise to power as well as provide a handbook of sorts on the proper actions of a political and military leader.⁴ Polybius is especially influential to Livy because he is the only apparent source used by Livy that utilized the accounts of the Greek literary companions of Hannibal, Silenus and Sosylus, though some claim Livy would have had direct access to them. Polybius use as the main source for Livy offers a further potential advantage in that it is well known that Polybius was friends with Scipio Aemilianus, adopted grandson and great nephew of Scipio Africanus. Though it can not necessarily be confirmed as Polybius does not cite any instances, it is a possibility the younger Scipio could have shed details on his adopted father especially in light of the fact that Aemilianus would later become a second Scipio Africanus. This being said Livy does offer the advantage over Polybius in that Livy had a working knowledge of Rome's political system and would have had a much more nuanced understanding of significant events that would have occurred politically. This can be best illustrated by Livy's often extensive explanation around the seeking of triumph's by generals, which is often very briefly mentioned by Polybius.⁵ This usefulness is furthered by the known use of his supplementing sources.

The Roman accounts of Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, both contemporaries of the war, as well as Coelius Antipater, Claudius Quadrigrius, and Valerius Antias, who all wrote between the war and Livy's time, are used as supplemental sources. Some theorize that Livy only cites Fabius and Cincius through the three later accounts, but this cannot be completely confirmed as none of these sources still exist. Though Fabius Pictor's account is fairly biased against the Carthaginians, the accounts of both he and Cincius, who was actually held prisoner by Hannibal for a time,

³Eckstein, Arthur M. 2014. "Livy, Polybius, and the Greek East" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 408-9. Online

⁴ Eckstein p. 408-11

⁵ Champion, Craige B. 2014. "Livy and the Greek Historians from Herodotus to Dionysius: Some Soundings and Reflections" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 196-7. Online

are invaluable sources contemporary to the war.⁶ The Roman sources would have furthered Livy's ability to record the changes that underwent Roman politics during the course of the war. Additionally, these sources would have likely used the *Annales Maximi*, a pontifical record of political events of every year, which some assert Livy did not use directly.⁷ Evidence for this rests in Livy's consistent pattern of political officials every year.⁸ Despite his use of a number reliable and useful sources, Livy's motives and personal background do present the challenges to using him as a source, however they do not disqualify his use especially for the concerned study.

Though it is prevalent throughout his account, Livy specifically provides his motives for writing his massive account of Rome's history from the city's foundation in the preface. He claims to write such a history to highlight moral figures and events telling his readers "that from thence you may select yourself and for your country that which you may imitate."⁹ He believes Romans had seen major atrocities and all out moral decline in the recent decades that were destroying the empire from within. These recent decades were so traumatic that Livy hopes his writing of more ancient times will offer a mental distraction from these troubles as well as an example to hopefully return to the moral principles he illustrates. For Livy these moral principles are embodied in several historical individuals, and to a lesser extent groups or communities, and so he goes about retelling the history of these exemplary figures. Unlike Polybius, Livy rarely interjects his narrative with personal comments or analysis of these moral figures, though he does sometimes communicate his personal views or that of his sources through the speeches of these individuals.¹⁰ Thus Livy's motive results in a few concerns that must be kept in mind when using Livy for analysis.

The first of these challenges is Livy's characteristic Romano-centric perspective that led to large stereotypes of foreign figures and even entire peoples thus distorting his

⁶ Hoyos, Dexter. 2014. "Rome and Carthage in Livy" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 369-70. Online

⁷ Ogilvie p. 6

⁸ Richardson, James H. 2014. "The Complications of Quellenforschung: The Case of Livy and Fabius Pictor" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 13-5. Online

⁹ Livy 1.Preface

¹⁰ Walsh p. 82-5

overall accuracy of their portrayal. Livy rarely takes the time to provide full studies of foreigners outside of Rome and the peoples are generally described as a whole with the turn of one phrase such as “Punic faith”¹¹ or “Gallic ferocity”.¹² This description can extend however as individuals of those nations such as Hannibal immediately carry with him the descriptions of Carthaginians as a whole. Conversely, his actions also directly affect the outlook of the collective Carthaginian people. Geography of a people’s environment also plays a major role in developing their moral standing such as the Samnites who Livy considered rough and possibly untrusting because of their mountainous surroundings. These stereotypes do not just separate groups, but rather develop a moral hierarchy measuring how close people come to being Roman. Immoral Romans can even be relegated to near barbaric status, while outsiders who master their passions can become nearly Roman. This can be seen very clearly with the primary enemy of the Second Punic War, Hannibal because Livy’s descriptions and actions are often colored with his own broad stereotypes often depicting varying portraits of Hannibal. Livy’s generalized descriptions were not limited to foreigners, however and his accounts of the Romans themselves can present a more positive light though he does completely abstain from criticizing Roman leaders or groups as a whole.¹³ This is primarily the result of Livy’s motives to present the Roman past as more virtuous and worthy of emulating.

The overall consideration that must be kept in mind when using Livy is the potential effects of his motives on the portrayal of historic individuals, which is especially true with the most prominent historical figure of this study, Scipio Africanus. Scipio’s place in Livy’s description of the Second Punic War is very pronounced making him the very clear figure to exemplify the political changes as a result of the war. Scipio’s appearance in the war is actually quite early, though Livy is sure to point out his ultimate fate of ending the war at the same time. When a cavalry engagement breaks out between troops led by Hannibal and Scipio’s father, the reigning consul, the elder Scipio is wounded, but is saved by the brave actions of his son. Though Livy admits there are

¹¹ Livy 22.6

¹² Livy 7.12

¹³ Bernard, Jacques-Emmanuel. 2014. “Portraits of Peoples” In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 39-43. Online

accounts the consul was saved by a slave, he quickly dismisses them admitting the sole reason is his personal preference.¹⁴ Livy likely prefers this story versus the slave to further his moral agenda. Later, Livy also makes an extended effort to highlight Scipio Africanus's election to aedile despite his being below the necessary age requirement. Though this is of political consequence, which is discussed later, it is worthy of mention because Livy goes out of his way to interject the narrative with the special note of Scipio's political election.¹⁵ Overall, these instances show that Livy excessively focuses on Scipio by mentioning his early military and political activities.

Though Livy makes Scipio Africanus an exaggerated focus of his account, the exalted protroyal of Scipio Africanus at the Tomb of the Scipiones, despite refusing to be buried there, indicate Livy was not the first proponent of this exaggeration. The Tomb of the Scipiones is located on the southeast side of Rome between the Via Appia and Via Latina. It was built sometime during the early to mid-third century by either Scipio Barbatus, who served as consul against the Samnites, or one of his sons, who were both consuls during the First Punic War. The tomb underwent a renovation in the mid second century to modernize and enlarge area.¹⁶ The tomb features a large fresco that now only has portions of the three layers remaining. This fresco was topped by three statues including the writer Ennius, Scipio Asiaticus, and Scipio Africanus, who is shown in the prominent center position. Visual evidence of the fresco indicates three confirmed layers, the outermost being a nature scene and the other two some unconfirmed figurative scenes.¹⁷ Visual evidence from the fresco shows two individual elephants on the lower layer that would have been created when the tomb was first renovated in the mid-second century.¹⁸ Though these are possibly from the war fought by Asiaticus, Scipio Africanus's position at the center of the tomb's fresco provide some evidence the scene further emphasized Scipio Africanus possibly by showing the battle of Zama or Scipio's triumph in Rome. The evidence of the fresco cannot be confirmed, but Scipio Africanus's

¹⁴ Livy 21.46

¹⁵ Livy 25.2

¹⁶ Holliday, Peter J. *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. P. 33-4

¹⁷ Holliday p. 34

¹⁸ Figures 1, 1a, 2, and 2b in appendix

prominence on the exterior of the tomb is evident. This is striking though because Scipio Africanus was never buried at the tomb and is actually not buried in Rome at all. This was the result of a falling out late in Scipio's life when he is accused of embezzlement in conjunction with the war against Antiochus III.¹⁹ Thus Scipio Africanus was so exalted either by the remaining Scipio family or perhaps by a greater number of people from Rome, that he is the primary figure of a family tomb that was initially built before his rise to power and does not even house his remains. This indicates that others held the same regard for Scipio as Livy's amplified focus, but nearly a century before when the tomb was renovated. This does not deny that Livy may have exaggerated accounts of Scipio, but it does show he was not alone in Roman society in the high regard he held for Scipio and so a small fraction of this elevated position was based on Scipio's position in Roman society.

Though Livy's motives indicate the need for some caution in citing events as reported by Livy, the balance of some of Livy's descriptions indicate he did not see Scipio as flawless or a mythical figure. Livy does indicate mythical instances such as the rumor that Scipio was born from a serpent much like Alexander the Great or had a direct connection with the gods. Despite this, he generally qualifies and critiques these instances such as with the two previous examples, which Livy credits both to the personal design of Scipio.²⁰ Additionally, Livy does not omit many of Scipio's less virtuous actions such as his potentially dubious tactics in burning the camps of Syphax and Hasdrubal in Africa, though he is admittedly less critical than Scipio may deserve.²¹ Livy's possible distortions are sometimes undeniable however such as the meeting between Scipio and Hannibal serving as an improbable instance for even Hannibal himself to admit Scipio's greatness.²² Livy's critique does assure the reader that accounts of Scipio can be utilized, but with some caution.

¹⁹ Livy 38.52

²⁰ Walsh p. 94-5

²¹ Livy 30.5-6

²² Livy 35.14

In addition to his moral agenda, Livy asserts during his preface his goal is not to confirm or deny facts of ancient practices and traditions that have been passed down.²³ For this statement Livy is specifically referring to practices during the foundation of the city, but it conveys that he is not focusing on historical accuracy. Though he states this, his choice of using the annalistic tradition of writing indicates he was not oblivious to the issue of historical accuracy. Though none of the works have survived, the tradition of annalistic historiography goes back to the 3rd century to some of Livy's sources namely Fabius Pictor and Cincius Ailementus. Annalistic historiography referred to taking a systematic approach of progressing the narrative on a year by year basis. Although another writing tradition of contemporary history had begun in the 2nd century and was utilized by Sallust and Julius Caesar, Livy still made the conscious decision to utilize the annalistic form. Thus Livy's choice to use an annalistic style indicates his focus was more on the past rather than the contemporary events around him.²⁴ This conscious choice to focus on Rome's history indicates a preference for the sources contemporary to events at the height of the Republic, such as the Second Punic War, rather than recent developments such as Augustus or the civil wars. This is once again in line with the motives of his preface to distract from the calamities of his day in preference for historical accounts. Additionally, if Livy did not directly use the massive record of Roman political history, the *Annales Maximi*, as some suggest,²⁵ identifying with this tradition would have further enabled his use of previous sources of the tradition. This would enable drawing on comparable political records to the *Annales Maximi* found in previous annalistic sources, who likely used the political record directly. As a result, the presentation of historical figures such as Scipio Africanus would not have been solely Livy's perspective, but instead a composite of previous writers including those contemporary to him.²⁶ Although, Livy may not have explicitly realized it in his motives for writing, his conscious choice to return to an annalistic tradition stressed a greater

²³ Livy 1.Preface

²⁴ Hahn, Frances Hickson. 2014. "Livy's Liturgical Order: Systematization in the History" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 92. Online

²⁵ Ungern-Sternberg, Jürgen. 2014. "Livy and the Annalistic Tradition" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 169. Online

²⁶ Levene, David S. 2014. "Allusions and Intertextuality in Livy's Third Decade" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 214-5. Online

historical accuracy and allowed him to use a greater number of sources resulting in a more reliable account.

Lastly, the timing of Livy's writing allowed for the greatest amount of time to pass with which to analyze the precedents of the Second Punic War, but still early enough to fondly remember the Republic firsthand. Although Polybius beginning his writing in approximately 168-167 BC allowed for a greater level of historical accuracy and more reliable use of sources, its close chronological proximity to the war meant that he could not fully analyze the effects of the events he recorded. Polybius would even have to wait until during his writing to see the climax of Roman-Carthaginian relations in 146 BC when Rome finally destroyed Carthage. Additionally, Polybius's account would not analyze any of the dramatic occurrences of the first century BC which saw the dramatic fall of the Republic. On the other hand, accounts that occurred after moved away at first from recalling the Republic in a positive light such as Seneca who does not lament the loss of the Republic and then ultimately to not considering the Republic at all. This first occurs with Tacitus who records Rome's history to teach lessons of the past, much like Livy, except now Rome's past was distinctly imperial.²⁷ Thus Livy wrote in the era that enabled him to see the maximum change that occurred during his account of history, but early enough to ensure his history was Republican history and not marred by his imperial present.

Overall, as shown, Livy proves a useful source for an analysis of the Second Punic War and the precedents that are set during the course of the war that mark it a turning point. He has distinct advantages such as his place in history or his working knowledge of Roman politics allowing him to claim these precedents. These precedents have to be considered critically, however, and must be most cautiously approached if the narrating of the historical event advances or erodes the moral position of the figure, group, or generalized people in question.

²⁷ Gowing p.153-4

A Changing Roman Economy

A major component of the Roman movement towards an empire that is elaborated on by Livy are the economic changes experienced by Rome's aristocratic class, the commercial middle class, and the soldiers of Rome's armies. As a result of a law that was passed at the beginning of the Second Punic War limiting ships owned by senators and the geographic dispersion of the war which dictated transport by sea to be efficient, it was necessary that the senate reach out to Rome's commercial middle class, the *publicani*. The middle class profited immensely from this need, which ultimately led to a power struggle between the senate and *publicani* in the late Republic. Additionally, the funding provided them with exemption to military service. During the war, Rome was also forced to implement a new coinage system which resulted in two independent currencies used by the public and military respectively. The combination of the divided currency systems and the exemption of military service showed the initial stages of a professional army from a societal perspective, in which citizen roles and soldier roles were now independent unlike the Republic's citizen soldiers.

One economic development that would have fairly far reaching effects in the late Republic was the passing of *Lex Claudia de nave senatoris* at the very start of the Second Punic War. Livy, who is our only source for the law, states the *Lex Claudia de nave senatoris* was a law that limited senators to owning just one ship for commercial activities. Livy seems to imply that the motivation for the law was to limit the commercial activities of senators, who he believes should stay to nobler agrarian livelihoods, while providing them just enough to transport their personal goods.²⁸ Some modern scholars dispute Livy's description of the motivation as anachronistic and instead assert that it was to ensure that the senate, the primary decision makers of foreign policy and military logistics, could not profit from their decisions in order to preserve the senate's decision making motivations.²⁹ The law seems to be passed in part because of the newfound necessity of armies and diplomats alike for sea transport rather than land

²⁸ Livy 21.63

²⁹ Bringmann, Klaus. 2014. "The Roman Republic and its Internal Politics between 232 and 167 BC" In *A Companion to Livy*, edited by Bernard Mineo, p. 395-6. Online

marches because of the geographic distance of the Spanish and Greek theaters.³⁰ This is compared to the First Punic War when one of the only instances of transport and supply via sea was Regullus's invasion of Africa, which ultimately fails and an invasion of Africa is not attempted the rest of the war.³¹

Though arguments have been made that this law further entrenched the aristocratic class in their agricultural ways leading to later land crises, this seems to be a fairly lengthy claim as land and agrarian practices are impacted by a number of other effects during the war.³² These effects are discussed later in this study with regards to their effect on the general-soldier relationship and Roman land control. For example in this present discussion however, the prominent effects on Roman land owning was Hannibal's raiding of Italy for 15 years.³³ The resulting devastation resulted in the displacement of the former land owners or the death of the land owners themselves, which opened some of this land to purchase. Thus this one small example of several during the war that could have had an impact on the future land crises.

A more certain claim of the *Lex Claudia de nave senatoris*, however, is that it would have a dramatic impact on the commercial Roman middle class, the *publicani*.³⁴ Allowing the *publicani* nearly complete independence from the competition the aristocratic class enabled the middle class to make huge profits. This is evident in book 23, when Roman armies have been abroad in Spain for three years and after a successful battle against Hasdrubal the Roman armies are in need of supplies especially with three Carthaginian generals active in Spain. All the while, there was the threat that Macedonia would enter the war and taxes had declined as a result of shrinking Roman manpower. With the state treasury depleted, it is resolved that the commercial *publicani* will supply the necessary provisions to Spain and will later be repaid. Nineteen persons agree to the contract on the condition that their losses are insured by the state and more importantly

³⁰ Livy 21.41, 24.40, 27.5, 28.5, and 29.14

³¹ Rosenstein, Nathan. *Rome and the Mediterranean 290 to 146 BC: The Imperial Republic*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. P. 63-4

³² Bringmann p. 395-6

³³ Gabriel, Richard A. *Scipio Africanus: Rome's Greatest General*. Washington DC: Potomac Books, Inc, 2008. p. 205-6

³⁴ Bringmann p. 395-6

that they are exempt from military service.³⁵ Though an instance of public funding bailing out the Roman state had occurred before in the First Punic War,³⁶ this time it differs in that a long term contract is formed rather than just by voluntary donations by an individual or group for the sum of one ship. The long term contract rather than the one time installment was the result of the necessity of the geographic distance of the Second Punic War as well as the huge financial strain. This long term agreement enables the commercial middle class to achieve such wealth and indirect power that some of the *publicani* are found to profiting via fraud from the clause that dictated the state pay back any losses of ships. The senate is unable to properly address the issue until later because of the state of affairs and the senate's reliance on the *publicani* at this point in the war.³⁷ This economic boom of Rome's middle class would later have dramatic effects.

The economic profit the *Lex Claudia de nave senatoris* allowed the *publicani* would have a notable impact on crises that would develop during the late Republic. After the Second Punic War, Roman expansion was less overtly fueled by the necessity of a direct attack like Hannibal. Though the nature of Roman imperialism is heavily debated, it is clear that Rome suffered no direct assault on Italy to the point the city of Rome itself could have been threatened during the century following the Second Punic War. As a result, the Roman state was often divided and thus unpredictable with regards to foreign policy because of the various interest groups. On one side, was at least a portion of the senate that often appeared reluctant to add greater responsibility and thus territory to the Roman Empire and so often hesitated with regards to expansion. This was contrasted with the *publicani* who promoted expansion to expand potential markets to further their commercial activities and receive public contracts like the one given during the Second Punic War. These interest groups were often in direct conflict leading to unpredictable Roman involvement, or lack thereof, in foreign affairs.³⁸ This conflict would come to head with the political actions of the *populares* who were in the camp that wished to expand and institutionalize Roman hegemony and were now of the financial and popular power level to seek radical change to a number of issues facing the Republic. This

³⁵ Livy 23.48-9

³⁶ Rosenstein p.67

³⁷ Livy 25.3

³⁸ Woolf, Greg. *Rome: An Empire's Story*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 p. 99-101

ultimately led to unprecedented violence in Rome beginning with the murder of political officials in the streets by mobs and escalating to Sulla marching his legions on Rome itself.³⁹ Thus the internal strife of the late Republic was due in part to the *publicani*'s profit from the long term contract that was necessary because of the dire condition of the state's finances during the Second Punic War. This along with the geographic distance influenced Rome's commercial class seeking further and further territorial expansion and thus economic opportunities. This would ultimately drive the Roman Empire into a state of open conflict unlike any it had seen before.

In addition to the far reaching financial class changes, there were also dramatic changes to Roman currency during the Second Punic War. In book 26, the Roman state once again runs into similar issues as previously described when it is in need of rowers as part of a levy of troops. Initially, an edict is issued which requires private individuals to provide rowers in proportion of their income, but this time it is openly refused. Roman citizens appear exhausted of war and just before this event is described, Livy mentions how the people of Rome complained of the levies, the length of the war, and the devastation that occurred throughout Italy. They publically vent frustrations of how their armies have been cut down continuously and their slaves have already been purchased at very low rates for armies and now they are demanded once again. The necessity of rowers is dire though and the solution for the senate and magistrates is to volunteer a seemingly very large portion of their personal funds as an example. The solution works and the equestrians emulate the senate who are in turn emulated by the commons.⁴⁰ Though this event provides a much needed stimulus to the state treasury and fills the levy requirement, it has more radical effects as the collection of nearly the entire cities currency and precious metal allows for a new financial system to immerge.

The economic strain of the Second Punic War brought about by supporting military forces of unprecedented size and the devastation of Roman land holdings ultimately brought about the utter collapse of the current currency structure requiring a new system to be implemented. The Roman financial system had long been based on

³⁹ Woolf p. 106-12

⁴⁰ Livy 26.35-6

bronze coinage, while silver coinage had been implemented only as recently as 269 BC just before the First Punic War.⁴¹ Both coinage systems would ultimately collapse within ten years of the start of the Second Punic War as they were continually debased to the point that the bronze *as* and silver *drachma* were 25% and 30% respectively of their original precious metal compositions. As a result, an entirely new system was installed in 211 BC, which created two seemingly independent currencies based on the silver *denarii* for use in the public sector, primarily Rome, and the other using the *victoriati* for nearly exclusive use within the Roman military.⁴² The *victoriati* was used as the legacy to the previous *drachma* by using the same weight and distributing it in the same area the *drachma* had been most used, southern Italy, northern Italy, and southern Gaul where the *drachma* had been used. This is the apparent reason for its extensive use by the military. The strength of the new system was derived from the fact that the *victoriati* and *denarii* were not fractions of one another during the Republic, though an imperial coin that reused the name of the *victoriati* was later incorporated into the system of the *denarii*.⁴³ Additionally, the *victoriati* contained some base metals further separating it from the pure silver *denarii*.⁴⁴ This change was enabled as a result of Roman victories at Syracuse, Capua, Carthago Nova, and Tarentum, which brought continuous booty to Rome from 212 to 206 BC.⁴⁵ Scipio's victory in Spain is especially important because it gave the Romans access to the many mines in the area, especially for silver, in order to sustain this financial shift.⁴⁶ The *denarii* was ultimately used for nearly five centuries until it was replaced by the *antoninianus* in the mid-third century AD. The *victoriati* lapsed in 170 BC, though it nominally made a brief return though it was not the same

⁴¹ Pliny 33.42-4

⁴² Bringmann p. 397-9

⁴³ Crawford, Michael H. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 628-30

⁴⁴ Bringmann p. 398-9

⁴⁵ Crawford p. 33

⁴⁶ Thommen, Lukas. *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p. 120-1

coin.⁴⁷ Additionally, the bronze coinage was also lightened though it maintained the name *as*, which in practice simply reorganized bronzed coinage from its debased value.⁴⁸

The creation of two independent currency systems, one for the public and one for the military, along with the granting of exemption from military service in return for private finances began to divide the societal relation between the roles of a citizen and of a soldier in the Republic's citizen army. Those two roles were no longer interlinked as simultaneous duties of the state. Like the new currency system, the supply contract made between the state and *publicani* reflects the beginning of a shift towards a professional army rather than citizens serving. As mentioned, part of the contract dictated that those that were paying to supply the forces in Spain would be exempt from military service.⁴⁹ Although partially the result of a major crisis, the event shows that Romans were ready and willing to trade their personal revenues in exchange for remaining out of service to maintain their personal holdings. Even more so, it sets the precedent of a portion of the populace being *allowed* the exemption. Additionally, the precedent of citizens exempt from service occurred during one of the more critical times of what was perhaps the Romans most contested war creates the initial gap. This precedent which would shield citizens from military service, coupled with the shift to a new currency system which developed two sets of independent coinages between the military and civilians, began to separate the role of being a citizen and the role of being a soldier, which at the onset of the war were unified.

These changes show the beginnings of the formation of a professional army that is very separate for normal civilian society. In this it is comparable to soldiers in the armies of the first century, namely Caesar's. One historian states Caesar's soldiers began to have "a feeling of belonging to a distinct society with its own rules and codes..." and continues saying "they found in their comrades in the *contubernium*, the century, the cohort, and the legion, a new world, a new way of life, the life of professional soldiers."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Crawford p. 628-9

⁴⁸ De Ligt, Luuk. 2007. "Roman Manpower and Recruitment During the Middle Republic" In *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by Paul Erdkamp, p. 125. Oxford.

⁴⁹ Livy 23.48-9

⁵⁰ Cagniard, Pierre. 2007. "The Late Republican Army (146-30 BC)" In *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by Paul Erdkamp, p. 84-5. Oxford

Though this societal divide was due in part to the shifting loyalties of armies and their long terms abroad, which will be described momentarily, the separation of currency between citizen and soldier strikingly reflects the later complete separation of those societies. This expanding divide could also be embodied by the actions of Caesar who continuously needs to travel south each winter during his Gallic campaign just to be a part of Rome's political developments. Thus even one of Rome's most powerful generals, who had several administrative powers to delegate such work, had to return close to Italy just to stay connected to the political life of Rome, which he was so disconnected from on the frontier. This is despite the fact his army would have to remain in Gaul and he continually would return to revolts over multiple years. Additionally, Caesar would often emphasize this separation to his soldiers when he emphasized their superiority.⁵¹ This dividing gap between military and civilian forces is traceable to the social significance of the disconnection of the two currencies. This divide continued to separate in practice as the Roman army became increasingly professional, though still nominally a citizen army, until Augustus made the definitive change.⁵² Thus the Second Punic War shows the turning point of the Roman economy in its transformation towards empire through further empowering a wealthy commercial class, implementing a currency system that would be used for nearly five centuries, and allowing citizens military exemption in return for financing which had dramatic impacts on internal Roman politics and the military dynamic.

Military and Recruiting: A Trial of the Military Future

The rigors of the Second Punic War brought about significant changes to the Roman army that, though not in a continuous development, would be appear again in the late Republic with dramatic consequences. As the war progressed, Roman armies spent more and more time abroad in foreign territory without the possibility of return to Italy. This along with the Roman army's failures in battle and the geographic distance of the fighting put large strains on the sources of manpower and the current recruitment methods. As a result, recruiting criteria and methods shifted to be more tolerant of the

⁵¹ Plutarch *Caesar* 16, 17, and 21

⁵² Gilliver, Kate. 2007. "The Augustan Reform and the Structure of the Imperial Army" In *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by Paul Erdkamp, p. 184-5. Oxford

individuals recruiting and more decentralized in terms of location. Lastly, the relationship between the generals and the armies in the Second Punic War showed very considerable differences with respect to previous wars and instead reflected the start of a growing trend of the same relationship between the armies and generals of the late Republic.

Roman forces were active abroad during the Second Punic War from the very start as after Publius Scipio, father of the later Scipio Africanus and the reigning consul of the time, is eluded at the Rhone River by Hannibal, who is making his way to Italy. Publius Scipio then sends his army onto Spain under command of his brother, Cneius Scipio. This army was ultimately active under Cneius for seven years. A year later, Publius Scipio brought another army to Spain which would serve for six years.⁵³ Both generals and armies would ultimately be defeated and killed in battle within the span of a few days of each other in part because the Celtiberian mercenaries being used by the Romans were bribed into neutrality by the Carthaginians. These defeats left the armies depleted and demoralized as they gathered and elected a temporary leader, Lucius Marcius.⁵⁴ Despite Marcius winning a victory to survive in Spain, a new general is elected in Rome. This general, who is given the powers of proconsul, is Publius Scipio, son of the late Publius Scipio. Livy comments that Marcius was superseded because the senate was not yet ready for a general elected by his own army, which seems plausible considering the excessive control the senate utilizes during the war. Though Scipio's leadership has more dramatic effects on recruiting, as mentioned later, for this context it is important because he brings some new forces with him, but also incorporates the remnants of the army of his father and uncle into his own force.⁵⁵ This sustains those Spanish veterans who serve the remaining seven years of Scipio's campaign.⁵⁶ Ultimately, those veterans who survived the war in Spain could have served up to 14 years with no recorded evidence of personal relief in a return to Italy.

⁵³ Livy 21.30-2

⁵⁴ Livy 25.33-7

⁵⁵ Livy 26.2 and 26.18

⁵⁶ Livy 28.16

This element of the Second Punic War had a marked difference from past campaigns which were either just a shorter duration and so troops were not abroad as long or the troops were active in regions much closer to Italy and Rome with fighting less dire enabling troops to return home. The most obvious evidence is during the First Punic War looking at the number of triumphs alone, which would have dictated that the victorious army or fleet would return with the general to celebrate. Several examples include the armies of Valerius Maximus⁵⁷ and Atilius Caiatinus in Sicily and fleets of Gaius Duilius,⁵⁸ Lucius Scipio, Sulpicius Paterculus, Atilius Regulus,⁵⁹ Manlius Vulso,⁶⁰ and Sempronius Blaesus⁶¹ who all celebrated triumphs within a ten year period of the war, though there were even more during that same period that are not listed. The Second Punic War paled in comparison with fair less triumphs in number and the first triumph not occurring until 207 BC.⁶² Armies and fleets also returned out of necessity, such as Lucius Scipio's returning from Sardinia because he was outnumbered⁶³ or Regulus's army being evacuated from Africa after his defeat.

Evidence suggests that it was often of personal importance of many, both general and soldier, to return home. Regulus is said to have wanted to give up his command in Africa during the First Punic War because of his concern for his wife and children maintaining his farm.⁶⁴ During the Second Punic War both Marcellus who fought throughout Italy and Sicily and Scipio in Spain are said to have hoped to bring their troops home in triumph. Though possibly for self-promotion, Marcellus is said to have argued for triumph from the senate more on account of his soldiers return than his own personal fame.⁶⁵ Though it is likely to be Livy's promotion, Scipio echoes similar sentiments in wanting to bring his soldiers home on account of their countless years of

⁵⁷ Lazenby, J. F. *The First Punic War: A Military History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. p. 52

⁵⁸ Lazenby p. 67-8

⁵⁹ Lazenby p. 73-9

⁶⁰ Lazenby p. 98

⁶¹ Lazenby p. 116

⁶² Lazenby, John F. 2004. "Rome and Carthage" In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by Harriet I Flower, p. 234-5. Cambridge

⁶³ Lazenby p. 74

⁶⁴ Rosenstein p. 62

⁶⁵ Livy 26.21

continual service and loyalty to his family.⁶⁶ Marcellus's actions would be more reliable as it is likely some senate account would have been kept especially because Marcellus is ultimately not granted a triumph, but rather an ovation so his soldiers can still enter the city. This importance for soldiers to return home can also be seen in that forced time abroad was used as punishment for failures in battle, such as the survivors of Cannae, who were ordered to remain in Sicily with a limit on garrisoning in towns for the remainder of the war with no return.⁶⁷ For Scipio and his men though it was instead the result of geographic necessity that they remained abroad so long.

As these armies stayed abroad longer it forced the Roman senate to adapt recruiting methods that differed greatly from the normal parameters and structures and to recruit at unprecedented levels. Roman forces abroad meant that it was much more difficult to keep an army maintained by reinforcements from Rome and Italy alone. One of the Roman recruitment solutions was to hire mercenaries, specifically the Celtiberians, for the first time at the Roman camp in Spain.⁶⁸ As mentioned before, this proves disastrous for Cneius Scipio who incorporated them into his forces only to have them bought off by the Carthaginians and leave him with a force incapable of matching his opposing Carthaginian force. Livy is sure to promote his own moral agenda stating foreign auxiliaries are never to be trusted.⁶⁹ This solution is abandoned and a Roman force never relies on mercenaries during the rest of the war.

The other alternative which is explored is expanding the recruitment in Roman society. This expansion is most startling with the use of slaves in armed forces in Italy under the command of Tiberius Gracchus. Though this was not necessarily a common practice throughout the war, this army is cited on multiple occasions because the majority of its composition is slaves who are promised freedom for their service.⁷⁰ They achieve this freedom in battle, but are ultimately destroyed by Hannibal at Lucania in southern Italy. The surviving freed slaves abandon the cause after the death of Gracchus during that battle until Scipio Africanus recruits them back to make a combined effort with the

⁶⁶ Livy 28.33

⁶⁷ Livy 26.1

⁶⁸ Livy 24.49

⁶⁹ Livy 25.32-36

⁷⁰ Livy 24.14-7

consul Appius Claudius to besiege Capua.⁷¹ Though the slave army met initial success, when nothing concrete was maintaining loyalty of the slaves, they abandon this cause. The use of slaves for armed forces was a recruiting change that was not adopted after the war, but it does show just how dire the need for manpower and the lengths the Romans were willing to go to field armies.

Recruiting also underwent a fundamental change during the war of where and how, rather than just who, to levy as soldiers, which ultimately provided generals with more power and independence in managing their forces. This primarily consisted of the Roman forces being recruited from more local groups. Multiple times through Livy's description consuls are given the liberty to enlist as many troops as is necessary to fill their numbers. At the early stages of the war this is limited to allies as the consuls are given the power to levy as many allies as seen fit in books 21 and 22, rather than a given number provided by the state.⁷² This freedom is later expanded during Livy's normal political official turnovers in books 26 and twice in book 27. The new officers are commanded that when they are want of troops they are to recruit them from the existing legions present in the *provincia* they are assigned.⁷³ The standard recruiting procedure according to one specific description states the consuls arranged a day for all men of military age to meet publically. Then the consuls or public assembly choose from these men, who approach in small groups of four, going tribe by tribe, to form four large groups which ultimately become the four legions. Lastly, officials are deployed to the allies demanding a set number of troops on the assigned date at the assigned place. This description is quite difficult to use however as at one point during the Second Punic War, 25 legions were operating at one time. Creating four legions by choosing from four-man groups at a time would have been exhausting and impossible for a count as high as 25 legions. Additionally, these forces remained in the field year to year and so using these procedures yearly was not necessary.⁷⁴ Though this does not signify a marked change in the criteria of men to be recruited it is a noticeable change in that the armies are not

⁷¹ Livy 25.14-22

⁷² Livy 21.17, 22.11

⁷³ Livy 26.1, 27.22, 27.38

⁷⁴ De Ligt p. 115-6

organized and deployed from Rome, but rather the officers recruit their armies first with the independent power over allies and later over the legions themselves.

The recruitment freedom previously provided sees a variation in book 28's description, which specifically focuses on Scipio's preparations for operations in Africa while serving as consul in Sicily. The passage specifies that he is not given the power to levy, though he heavily implored the senate to do so, he is able to accept volunteers who should wish to serve. This is a growth from the previous three descriptions which make mention of using remaining legions. Though it was not through the lawful structure of a levy, the senate still granted Scipio powers that enable him to build his forces. It is a shift from the previous instances because he is drawing from the unorganized groups of the public and forming an army by his command.⁷⁵ This growing independence of general's recruiting stemmed from the massive amount of forces Rome was already fielding and from the geographic dispersion of troops. In the year 212 BC, Rome fielded up to 25 legions in the field, which was an estimated 30% of Rome's adult male citizen population. Percent estimates of the allies' population are much more difficult to find, though it is safe to assume it is also significant as allies provided approximately 60% of the manpower in the Second Punic War⁷⁶ The already large percent involvement of the population meant the Roman state was not capable of forming any new legions and so the existing forces that remained in the field would have to be utilized. The exact administering of this was left up to general then. Similarly, Roman forces were spread so far and wide that new forces would sometimes move to different areas of need and so recruiting could be arranged there.

This shift in recruiting practices during the Second Punic War ultimately serve as precedents for later in the more permanent changes in the actions of Gaius Marius. During Marius's first consulship, he received the command in Numidia against Jugurtha immediately bringing about a sweeping change to the recruiting of the army. To fulfill his need for soldiers, Marius goes about enrolling poor men who do not meet the Roman property requirement to serve. Marius's changes allowed for swift recruitment to meet

⁷⁵ Livy 28.45

⁷⁶ De Ligt p. 116

the pressing war needs first in Africa and later during his subsequent consulships in northern Italy and southern Gaul.⁷⁷ This change is an expansion of the precedents set during the Second Punic War when generals were given the independence to make recruiting decisions and the laws and customs of recruiting were so relaxed that mercenaries, local volunteers, and even slaves were used.

During the Second Punic War, the property requirement was also dropped briefly from 217 BC to 212 BC or 211 BC from the normal 11,000 *asses* for the fifth class with regards to Roman recruitment. According to Livy this is the first time of such an occurrence since Servius Tullius, Rome's sixth king, established the classes.⁷⁸ This event is significant because according to Livy, it is the first property requirement reduction since the kings. It is even more significant, however, in that the new standard doesn't become permanent, but rather the old value is reinstated once Roman manpower stabilizes. This would indicate a precedent for Marius's actions down the road of lower the requirement to the point that it is eliminated, but the return to previous levels serve as evidence that Livy is not attempting to justify Marius. This is because the precedent of the third century is resolved as soon as the crisis is passed, unlike Marius's changes. If Livy was attempting to justify Marius, the moral examples of Livy's Republican history would have maintained such a lowered recruiting standard. Marius's changes would later have dramatic impacts in that it shifted the loyalty of soldiers from the state to that of their personal generals. This was because the poor and landless soldiers now depended on their general to provide land upon their discharge. This dynamic concretely materialized with Sulla's march on Rome.⁷⁹ A change in the general-soldier relationship was not unique to Marius and his successors, but once again this feature can be traced back to the Second Punic War.

The soldier-general relationship shift, in which the long terms abroad and the land devastation in Italy unique to the Second Punic War showed a glimpse into future Roman politics, are best embodied in the experiences of Scipio Africanus. Though he is a critical example for political changes as discussed later, he is just as essential for the study of

⁷⁷ Plutarch *Marius* 9

⁷⁸ De Lig t p. 125

⁷⁹ Keaveney, Arthur. *Sulla: The Last Republican*. London: Croom Helm, 1982. p. 62-5

military changes during the war. Spending so much time abroad coupled with the growing flexibility and responsibility given to generals as touched on beforehand, an army's general would become the greatest figure of authority among the army and the long term abroad would develop a connection of self-reliance, which in the dangerous situation of the Second Punic War could mean survival.⁸⁰ Livy indicates this relationship in the first speech of Publius Scipio, later Africanus, to his troops upon his arrival in Spain. Livy's speech for Scipio continually relates both the army's respect and esteem for their late commanders as well as the uniqueness of this level of admiration for them and their family to the point that without even knowing their new commander they support him as he is of the Scipio line.⁸¹ Though the specific content of the speech is unreliable, Livy indicates that the loyalty of soldiers towards the general was already a concern in the late third century.

This is even more evident later in Scipio's term in Spain, when he falls ill and as rumors are exaggerated that the illness is likely fatal, unrest occurs in Spain and Gaul. Livy especially highlights the Roman garrison at Sucro that mutinies. After the mutiny is crushed by killing the members who start it, the remaining troops take an oath of allegiance to Scipio though no mention is made of an oath to Rome. Livy claims that the mutiny demonstrates how much of the sustained success in Spain can be credited to Scipio.⁸² Though that is likely true the oath is a further indication that he was the primary authority to his men and the surrounding people in Spain as it is only specifically mentioned that the reclaimed troops swore to him rather than Rome. This reveals the significance of the power and authority that Scipio had achieved in Spain.

The Second Punic War is an especially unique comparison to the first century BC because they both offer examples of a large demand by soldiers for land after the fighting was over. The first century's soldiers sought land because the innovations of Marius which resulted in the landless recruits that were previously discussed. The Second Punic War soldiers were landless in a similar sense because Italy had suffered from land loss

⁸⁰ Caginart p. 84-5

⁸¹ Livy 26.41

⁸² Livy 28.24-9

and devastation in Italy unlike any before.⁸³ This is a unique characteristic from the wars to come before and those immediately after. Hannibal's nearly 15 year campaign in Italy with intentions, especially early in the war, of destroying Roman agriculture and infrastructure left the returning veterans with little of their former farms.⁸⁴ This is even more evident by Scipio's post-war political efforts to attempt to ensure his returning veterans were given land by forming a ten-man commission while he is in the influential role of censor.⁸⁵ Scipio differs from his first century successors though by being sure to stress that land must be given through the state rather than any personal action of his own. Though his methods differ and do not yet show the overt ambition of the late Republic's leaders, the unique post-war situation shows the same problems of landless veterans returning from war and how distribution of land was the proposed solution.

The issues of long variable service times without return home, difficulties recruiting within the normal Roman laws and customs, and the growing dependence of soldiers on their generals would persist with many temporary solutions like Marius until they were permanently resolved by the man who would use them to secure his long-term power, Augustus. After his victory at Actium, Augustus controlled 60 legions and a huge navy which needed to be safely disbanded while maintaining his newfound control. He first established a minimum service requirement and a fixed reward for those that served this length. This removed the variability of the term length and the variance of rewards that so affected a soldier's loyalty to the state. At first this reward was land in the tradition of the Republic, but as Augustus's reign grew more stable it slowly shifted over to a monetary reward. Additionally, he permanently stationed troops as garrisons on the frontier. These changes allowed the army to continue to draw from all social classes, including the poor and landless, providing a large manpower pool while trying to minimize the danger of an army following a single ambitious general over the state. The use of landless troops also enabled this garrison approach as troops were not held to any location by any major personal holdings until after their service.⁸⁶ Thus it was not until

⁸³ Gabriel p. 205-6

⁸⁴ Livy 22.3 and 22.23

⁸⁵ Gabriel p. 205-6

⁸⁶ Gilliver p. 183-8

Augustus that the tensions on the army and recruiting were relieved that made their first appearance as a result of the extended rigors of the Second Punic War.

Scipio Africanus: a New Breed of Politician

The late Roman Republic would be dominated by a series of powerful men who gained immense political, economic, and military power who further expanded the Roman Empire and ultimately brought the Republic crashing down under the weight of their ambitions. The first great general of this era was Marius who achieved six successive consulships and made the critical changes to the army's recruitment requirements as previously discussed.⁸⁷ It was then Sulla who utilized this change as he marched his army on Rome against Marius himself because his soldiers now were more loyal to him than the state.⁸⁸ The next generation with men like Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar would utilize the self-sustaining cycle of military achievement and political opportunities to dominate the Roman world until the balance was broken by the death of Crassus. Pompey and Caesar then wielded the juggernauts they had forged against each other with Caesar rising victorious.⁸⁹ This was short lived, however as after his assassination, a new civil war broke out between Caesar's would-be successors, primarily Marc Antony and Octavian. Through his victory, Octavian would become Rome's new political power, but unlike his predecessors, he was able to skillfully institutionalize his power as he became Augustus.⁹⁰ This is the generally accepted trend towards the establishment of the emperors, but this trend has origins much farther back than the traditional beginning with Marius.

Just as the Second Punic War showed changes in military and recruitment structures that would later be adopted more permanently, it also showed a glimpse of the future of Roman politics in the embodiment of Scipio Africanus. As previously discussed, Scipio is one of Livy's primary figures throughout the war and primarily only rivaled in focus by Hannibal. Livy's close attention to Scipio does confer benefits in that the greater the number of descriptions and actions described enable him to be more fully

⁸⁷ Plutarch *Marius* 9

⁸⁸ Keaveney p. 62

⁸⁹ Woolf p. 129-45

⁹⁰ Woolf p 163-9

analyzed. This analysis demonstrates the precedents of Scipio in Roman politics both in his *imperium* abroad and at Rome. First, he is given long term commands which initially are out of geographical necessity in Spain, but later out of his able command experience. With this, he is also given unprecedented diplomatic independence in his proceedings in Spain and then Africa. Finally, his sustained success abroad propels him to exceed political limitations in place. These characteristics were unparalleled at the time to solely Scipio and the Second Punic War, but can be found in the actions of the later great generals. Thus the origins of the emperors and tumultuous first century BC can be traced back to Scipio Africanus.

Scipio's extended focus in Livy allows for analysis that indicates Scipio is the first of the type of political and military figures who achieve distinguished military success in a specific region, which ultimately enables a longer term command. After the defeat and death of both his father and uncle in Spain, Scipio volunteers to take over their former commands of the surviving forces which are slightly supplemented by new troops. After his initial success in Spain taking Carthago Nova, his term commanding in Spain is extended from yearly to until he would be chosen to be recalled.⁹¹ The same would occur in the final years of the war as Scipio is granted an indefinite term until the war in Africa was brought to a conclusion in addition to even greater powers of independence.⁹² Though the long term military effects of this decision were discussed earlier, this has profound political implications. Despite Scipio's short term of about a year relative to the overall nine year Roman involvement in Spain at that time, his swift military success leads to an indefinite appointment within Spain despite being just 24.

In order to guard against the possible effects the motives of Livy could have had on this portrayal of Scipio Africanus, his uncle and father's commands must be compared. It is not made as clear whether or not the two Scipio generals in Spain before Scipio Africanus were given these indefinite commands. It is likely though, based on their continued involvement and communicating with Rome as indicated by letters

⁹¹ Livy 27.7

⁹² Livy 30.1

requesting supplies,⁹³ that Scipio Africanus's father and uncle had similar term lengths. They achieved similar victories over the course of their campaign in Spain. Additionally, no mention is ever made that the *provincia* of Spain was ever an option for the new consuls and no debate in the senate is ever mentioned sending a new general. Thus it seems a logical conclusion that the elder Scipio brothers had secure commands in Spain like Scipio Africanus. Livy's motives admittedly led him to focus on Scipio Africanus's indefinite appointment, but the events involving his father and uncle indicate that the precedent of long term commands for generals was a realistic precedent, but a unique one to the Second Punic War. It was Scipio Africanus who could capitalize on it however, in that his campaign in Spain ends with nearly total victory over Carthaginian forces and an eventual appointment to the command in Africa rather than death and defeat like his father and uncle.

The Second Punic War's situation resulted in this newfound military independence, unlike previous commanders, even if they achieved comparable military successes. The war theater locations of the previous Punic War, Pyrrhic War, and the Samnite Wars meant that military commanders, Consuls specifically, often followed strictly to their political term schedules. This is evident with Regullus and Lutatius who both have concerns of missing opportunities for glory to their potential successor Consuls. This is in spite of Regullus and Lutatius already achieving victories in Africa and Sicily, respectively.⁹⁴ This yearly changeover of command prevents any single man from achieving battle driven fame to even come close to rivaling that of Scipio. The locations of these campaigns in Sicily and North Africa are in close enough proximity to Rome that the normal political structure can be continued. Additionally, the lack of direct strain on Italy allowed for easier transportation and communication. This changes, however, as Rome's resources nearer to home are much more strained and the geographic distance to Spain, which by most armies up to that point arrived via land. This enables Scipio Africanus the extended command in Spain in which he is wildly successful building a large amount of public popularity and political support. It is this support that enables him to gain the command of entering Africa and its indefinite term, unlike

⁹³ Livy 23.48

⁹⁴ Lazenby p. 101, 157-8

Regulus who invaded Africa before him and the two successive Consuls assigned Africa during Scipio's campaign that are given lesser powers.⁹⁵

The growing stakes of the issue of the right to command, which Scipio first displayed, ultimately became such a seriously contested issue that it would lead to the first, but not the last, march on Rome. Though it was not Marius's march, he reinforces the power achievable through sustained command after Scipio. Marius is first elected Consul for the war against Jugurtha in Africa and ultimately holds six successive Consulships serving in both Africa and northern Italy. This streak of commands enables him to reform the recruiting methods of the army to eliminate the property requirement as discussed previously. It is this long term command that enables such sweeping and successful changes.⁹⁶ As also previously described, it is this change that results in the shifting of soldiers' primary loyalty from the state to the general.⁹⁷ It is Sulla who exploits this fact to march his army on Rome against Marius to install himself as dictator. The reason for this though is over a conflict for the command against Mithradates that was initially given to Sulla, but then is politically slipped to Marius. Sulla's march originated in a reaction to retrieve his command that was seemingly necessary from his perspective in order for his political survival rather than a premeditated action out of quests for pure power or personal rivalry. The stakes of these commands were so great that, for Sulla's case, it was worth being the first man to bring his army forcibly into Rome.⁹⁸ Julius Caesar would later depend on the success of his own campaign and political campaigning to ensure a five year extension of his own campaign, which he would use to fund his own political ambitions of public building and political ambition.⁹⁹ Though these longer campaigns became increasingly common, it was Scipio who first broke the political mold of foreign command as a result of his previous long term military success that was enabled out of necessity.

With his long term commands, came an advance in overall independence of command, but especially the growth in Scipio's diplomatic freedom during the course of

⁹⁵ Livy 30.38-40

⁹⁶ Plutarch *Marius* 9

⁹⁷ Woolf p. 131-3

⁹⁸ Keaveney p. 62-5

⁹⁹ Plutarch *Caesar* 21

the Second Punic War. In the waning years of his involvements in Spain and with his conclusion of the war in Africa he is given, or takes, a large degree of independence to make diplomatic agreements on behalf of the state. This would have far reaching effects on the actions of Pompey who received an increasingly autonomous campaign to reap huge economic and political gains by utilizing similar independent powers as well as vastly affect the future territory of the empire.

After Scipio's nearly complete victory in Spain he sends gifts to King Syphax of Numidia in an attempt to procure an alliance that would allow him to easily pass over into Africa. The gifts are warmly received, but Syphax says that he will not commit unless Scipio himself presents himself. Thus he travels into Africa with only two ships and meets with both Syphax and Hasdrubal, the general he recently faced in Spain, who is also meeting with the king. Overall, the conversations of the event are primarily to further elevate the virtues and manners of Scipio, but the journey does offer an interesting omission: no mention is made of Rome or the senate in conjunction with this journey. Scipio does not concern himself with his *imperium* being limited to the *provincia* of Spain and any necessity to send word to Rome. Additionally, there is no mention that Rome ever questioned him on the matter. The only motivator that Livy cites is his ambition to subdue Africa.¹⁰⁰ This contains shades of Livy's own hindsight on Scipio's future actions, however. Though this is not necessarily of major consequence, Scipio's easy ability to pass into Africa meeting a foreign king who has previous Carthaginian involvements, including meeting with one of their major generals at the very same time as himself, is worthy of mention, especially in foreshadowing his future diplomatic powers. Ultimately, Scipio's trip is initially successful and he secures an alliance and good standing with Syphax, but later Syphax's marriage to the daughter of the same Hasdrubal secures his loyalties back to Carthage.¹⁰¹

It is very difficult to analyze how much of a single precedent an instance like this was from preceding events as Rome had very little alliance relations outside of Italy with perhaps the exception of Massilia during a comparable war time when one general is

¹⁰⁰ Livy 28.17-8

¹⁰¹ Livy 29.23

given freedom to make relations extending beyond his area of command.¹⁰² The closest possible example before the Second Punic War would be that of Hiero and Syracuse during the First Punic War. At the onset of the First Punic War, Carthage and an old enemy of theirs, Syracuse, are in a tentative alliance to force out a group of mercenaries called the Mamertines who had taken over Messana in northeast Sicily. Carthage and Syracuse ultimately conflict with Rome supporting the Mamertines and the First Punic War boils over from what first appeared just a minor skirmish.¹⁰³ It is under these circumstances that comparison would lie when Rome is able to turn the loyalties of Hiero and Syracuse and sue for peace. The closest thing to a Scipio-like figure in this peace agreement would be Valerius Maximus who would later triumph and stress his own involvement in the victory with a painting in the *Curia Hostilia*. The situation of Valerius differs however in that both Consuls along with their armies operate in Sicily and it is unclear if Valerius is even the one to make the peace agreement. Additionally, clear mention is made that the Roman state ratified this treaty unlike that of Scipio.¹⁰⁴ Finally, this treaty is much more a peace treaty than securing an alliance as Syracuse is forced to pay indemnities and did not play a major role the rest of the First Punic War.

Any other comparisons of an individual securing friendly relations by an independent effort during war time are very difficult to find especially any that occur at a comparable distance from Rome to that of Scipio's. This is evident during Marcus Valerius Laevinus's diplomatic envoy to the Aetolians attempting to secure an alliance for aid against Philip and Macedon, which occurs before the travel of Scipio to Syphax. Laevinus implores the Aetolians to join because of how well the Romans treat allies, but stresses that the "Aetolians would be honored by them (the Romans) so much the more, because they were the first of the nations across the sea which had entered into friendship with them."¹⁰⁵ According to Livy, who would have had a fairly accurate view of Rome's diplomatic history cites this instance as the first foreign nation to ally with Rome and it is under circumstances of a much more state organized envoy than that of Scipio's

¹⁰² Lazenby p. 158

¹⁰³ Rosenstein p. 54-60

¹⁰⁴ Lazenby p. 50-4

¹⁰⁵ Livy 26.24

journey.¹⁰⁶ The other possible comparison would be Scipio Africanus's own father and uncle who while in command in Spain send official diplomatic ambassadors rather than attend anything themselves.¹⁰⁷

During the Second Punic War, Scipio's diplomatic powers would extend from one meeting without notice of the senate to being vested with the powers to end the entire war on account of the Roman people. After the battle of Zama, Scipio emerges as the clear victor in Africa and Carthage is brought to its knees with no option, but to sue for peace. Rather than sending the envoy to Rome itself, the peace terms are dictated by Scipio himself by the senate's command. Even when the reigning Consuls are given the province of Africa, specifically Tiberius Claudius Nero and Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus, the senate is sure to clearly define that Scipio is given sole command over the peace talks.¹⁰⁸ Though it seems possible one could argue this is the result of the geographic difference, it seems unlikely that Scipio's public standing and military track record would have no correlation with this power. So it is solely Scipio who is given the ability to dictate terms to bring the war to a final close.

This is in stark contrast to the most obvious comparison, the end of the First Punic War. As that war draws to a close, it is clear to Carthage that there is no means by which to raise a fleet and the last few Carthaginian strongholds in Sicily surrender. As a result the Carthaginian general Hamilcar, who is located in Sicily, is given the power to dictate terms of peace. The initial peace agreement talks are with the Roman Consul located in Sicily, Lutatius. The deal they make is voted on by the people and firmly rejected by the Roman people. Then a ten person commission is sent to supersede Lutatius and dictate the final terms of peace. Though Lutatius may have simply been too lenient and so the people of Rome rejected his terms, he was fortunate to be part of the talks anyways as it was the Carthaginian Hamilcar who initiate peace talks rather than Lutatius. Furthermore, after the initial treaty is rejected, he is completely replaced by a ten man commission which includes his own brother.¹⁰⁹ Scipio was once again unique in the fact

¹⁰⁶ Richardson p. 13

¹⁰⁷ Livy 24.48

¹⁰⁸ Livy 30.34-43

¹⁰⁹ Lazenby p. 155-8

that he set the precedent of individuals governing Roman foreign and diplomatic policy abroad. He would not be the last however; as the effects would be felt years after his conclusion to the Second Punic War as they would have a dramatic impact on the organization of the eastern portion of the Roman Empire.

The most profound beneficiary of Scipio's precedent would be Pompey who would be granted unheard of administrative and military power in order to deal with pirates that threatened the Mediterranean. He is given *imperium* over entire Mediterranean and the coastlines up to 50 miles inland. He was also given fifteen subordinate commanders from the senate for administrative tasks as well as the power to levy any number of troops and sailors he saw fit. Though this power is much more immense than that that was given to Scipio, he wields the same diplomatic independence, but it is just on a grander scale. As Pompey begins receiving pirate prisoners who surrender as a result of his efforts, he begins settling them throughout the east in cities that had previously been depopulated and devastated. After his successes, Pompey is granted even greater powers so that he holds *imperium* over land in the east just as he does at sea. He then summons the many kings and princes of eastern kingdoms in order to manage diplomatic arrangements even those that were made by his contemporary Lucullus during the Third Mithradatic War. Pompey also founds a number of cities and establishes a number of Roman territories, which would later have major involvements such as Judaea. It is with this super command that Pompey is able to make a drastic impact on the organization of the eastern portion of the entire Roman Empire.¹¹⁰

Like the great generals to follow, such as Pompey, Scipio utilizes this military success as political leverage in order to surpass political limits of his day. The first instance is Scipio's return to Rome after successful campaigns in Spain in which he seeks both a triumph, which had never been done before by someone without a magistracy, and the election to Consul. Though he is refused a triumph, he does march into the city displaying the large amount of silver he claimed in Spain.¹¹¹ This sets the stage, however, for the later and truly grander triumph of his return from Africa, which Livy

¹¹⁰ Plutarch *Pompey* 25-39

¹¹¹ Livy 28.38

compares to later triumphs raising the historic achievement of Scipio (Chaplin p. 294-5).¹¹² He is very successful, however, in his election to Consul as he not only wins, but Livy states “It is recorded, that this election was attended by a greater number of persons than any other during the war. People had come together from all quarters, not only to give their votes, but also for the purpose of seeing Publius Scipio.”¹¹³ Though at this point, Scipio very much operates within the realm of precedent with his election to Consul, his military success has clearly had a dramatic effect on his popular support as his election apparently has the best attendance of any during the war despite the diminished population. Soon after, lots are drawn for provinces for the following year and Scipio intends to challenge the Carthaginians in Africa to bring an end to the war. He is contested, however, by Quintus Fabius Maximus who questions Scipio’s age, experience, and motives for wishing to take Africa as his province. Most of the senate believed if they refused Scipio, he would simply seek the matter from the people and so it is resolved that the tribunes will keep consistent with the senate’s decision. Ultimately, a middle ground of sorts is agreed up as Scipio is assigned Sicily, but given the option to cross over into Africa should it benefit the state.¹¹⁴ Though Scipio does not achieve precisely what he planned for, his popular favor clearly did have an impact on the proceedings of the senate and in the end the possibility of his crossing into Africa is left open. Scipio’s potential use of the tribunes is possibly anachronistic analysis on the part of Livy who had knowledge of similar situations with the Gracchi. It is possible Scipio would not have challenged the senate to the point that he would have tried to supersede their decision by going to the people, but the fact alone that he ultimately is granted his goal despite the opposition in the senate indicates he did carry great political power at this point.

Results of the War: the Winnings of an Empire

With Scipio’s final peace settlement with Carthage and the agreement between Rome and Macedon a few years previously, Rome enters a new age as the most powerful

¹¹² Burk, E. 2009. “An Introduction to Books 29 and 30” In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Livy*, edited by Jane D. Chaplin and Christina S. Kraus, p. 294-5. Oxford

¹¹³ Livy 28.38

¹¹⁴ Livy 28.40-5

power in at least the western portion of the Mediterranean if not the entire sea. The result of Rome's victory is first and foremost the territorial and economic gains that would help aid reparation of Italy after nearly 20 years of devastation as well as fuel the growing motivation at home to conquer. The Romans now recognized place as one of the most powerful force in the Mediterranean meant that isolationist foreign policy in the east was nearly impossible. The Romans also had difficulties avoiding western involvements as well as the precedent of long Spanish campaigns was set and the newly claimed lands in the west had to be defended. Additionally, the actions of both the Gauls in the north and Rome's allies primarily in the south of Italy lead to Roman action securing their rule in these areas. Lastly, even the language of Livy's account shows a marked change in the attitudes of the Romans towards their holdings.

The peace terms of Rome with Carthage and Macedon would have a dramatic effect on Roman actions in the near future with regards to foreign policy and military action. The agreement with Carthage as stipulated by Scipio, as discussed previously, determined that all Roman prisoners, fugitives, and deserters be restored at no cost. Additionally, all Carthaginian armies had to leave Gaul and Spain, Carthage had to abandon claims to Spain and all islands between Italy and Africa, Carthage had to disband all of its navy with the exception of 20 ships, and finally Carthage made payments of wheat, barely, and silver to Rome.¹¹⁵ The terms also limited Carthage's ability to make war, but overall were fairly lenient when compared to the later Roman treaties that annexed the conquered land because it allowed Carthage to maintain lands in Africa that had been owned before the war.¹¹⁶ The peace with Macedon, however, was made much more out of a stalemate than a victory as Rome agreed in 205 to peace in order to focus on finishing the war with Carthage. The treaty makes no mention of reparations of either side indicating the First Macedonian War was regarded as a stalemate. The treaty does assert the Romans now have claims of control over the Parthini Illyrians mentioning three of their fortresses by name: Dimale, Eugenium, and Bargulum. The Macedonians on the other hand assert control over the Atintania in Epirus. Though neither side loses territory from the other, both superpowers do assert

¹¹⁵ Livy 30.16

¹¹⁶ Rosenstein p. 173-5

new claims over lesser groups.¹¹⁷ This furthers Rome's foothold in the Balkans, which was begun with the First Illyrian War just before Hannibal's invasion.

Nearly, immediately after the Second Punic War, a second war with Macedon broke out, one in which the full focus of the Roman military could be placed. The origins of the Second Macedonian War lied in Macedon's alliance with Carthage reportedly even to the point of sending troops to the battle of Zama. Additionally, envoys from Rhodes, Athens, and Pergamum arrived with grievances against Philip, King of Macedon.¹¹⁸ Already, more minor powers in Greece and Asia are sending envoys to Rome despite limited involvements. This coupled with potential unfulfilled feelings from the first involvement in Macedon led to the ultimate Roman victory just three years after resuming the fighting imposing a heavy indemnity. The indemnity levied against Macedon would be even heavier than the one against Carthage, but the terms still left Macedon, like Carthaginian Africa, intact.¹¹⁹ This would only be the first of countless conflicts including wars ending in 194, 188, and 168 that commanded Roman attention and ultimately expansion throughout the east all the way to Parthia.¹²⁰

When Rome wasn't involved in conflicts in the east, troops were continuously sent west to protect current territory and the allies that were earned during the Second Punic War. As mentioned, Scipio received unprecedented diplomatic powers while abroad in Spain to procure relations with Syphax in Africa. He also used them to secure relations with tribes in the area in order to sway the Iberian peninsula from the Carthaginians.¹²¹ After the war, Rome did reduce the number of troops left in Spain to about one legion, but added two praetors to govern Spain signifying a permanent Roman presence in the region. Rome quickly had to increase the troop levels however as formerly loyal tribes, began revolting after it was clear Rome had become new rulers in the area.¹²² The revolt during Scipio's bout of illness is indicative that the area was still

¹¹⁷ Livy 29.12

¹¹⁸ Livy 31.1-3

¹¹⁹ Rosenstein p. 179-89

¹²⁰ Woolf p. 65-70

¹²¹ Livy 28.38

¹²² Rosenstein p. 198-200

politically unstable,¹²³ but the area would ultimately be under fairly firm Roman control in 178 with a Roman victory and a required fixed tax that covered the military cost of troops in Spain.¹²⁴ Before the Second Punic War Roman expansion had been limited to Italy and the islands nearby in the Mediterranean with the exception of Illyria, which was primarily to address piracy issues. After the war, however, Roman territorial claims extended into the mainland of both Spain and Greece, which were the major theaters of Roman wars for the next century. Thus both the east and west expansion of the Roman Empire began as the result of conflicts that firmly begun during the Second Punic War.

Lastly, the results of the Second Punic War would allow Rome cement power within Italy itself especially in the northern areas with the Gauls and with allies who were disloyal during the war. At the very start of the war, when Hannibal marched out of the Alps and into Italy he was supplied and his army reinforced by Gauls hoping to chase out the Romans especially after his first victory at Trebia.¹²⁵ Similar sentiments persisted even after the war as Rome sent armies north at varying intervals as late as 155 to put down uprisings.¹²⁶ Thus issues on the Roman's northern border and thus the entrance to Italy used previously by Gallic armies and Hannibal were addressed. Various defecting Italian cities also allowed Rome to exercise control of these areas with little resistance. Capua, Tarentum, and Syracuse were the primary offenders to turn towards the Carthaginians, but even areas in the north such as Arretium had questioned loyalty during the war.¹²⁷ It was Capua, though, whose betrayal was felt the worst as they were considered citizens and according to Livy they wished to rule Italy themselves.¹²⁸ When ultimately captured back by the Romans, the punishment fit these feelings of betrayal as the remaining elite were executed by the conquering general Flaccus without senatorial decree.¹²⁹ Rome would claim the land of these dead elites and ultimately sell the former Campanian territory to Romans.¹³⁰ This enabled demonstration of further Roman control

¹²³ Livy 28.24-9

¹²⁴ Rosenstein p. 200-1

¹²⁵ Livy 21.38-56

¹²⁶ Rosenstein 176-9

¹²⁷ Livy 27.24

¹²⁸ Livy 23.6-7

¹²⁹ Livy 26.14-15

¹³⁰ Livy 28.46

in the region. This control would extend so far that when the Campanians appealed to the Roman senate, the senate turned it over to the tribunes stating the Campanians were now in the power of the Roman people. Syracuse, which was formerly independent, also now entered directly under Roman control¹³¹ and Tarentum was reclaimed killing any supporters of the Carthaginians during the battle or immediately after.¹³² These events allowed Rome to subdue Capua to lesser status where it would be unable to rival Rome for the foreseeable future, enforce Roman rule in Tarentum who may have still harbored some very deep resentments from its conquest in 272, and lastly Syracuse was reduced from an independent kingdom to another city in Roman controlled Sicily. The heightened Roman control in these areas along with the colonies for veterans, such as the ones backed by Scipio in postwar politics, helped to cement a Roman presence by ensuring loyal communities were distributed throughout Italy.¹³³ Evidence for the effectiveness can best be seen during the Second Punic War itself when Roman and even Latin colonies were some of the few areas to resist and at times hold out against Hannibal in southern Italy.

Lastly, these territorial conquests would have an effect on the concepts of *imperium* and *provincia* undermining their use as descriptions of personal roles, as they ultimately come to define empire. Some the first recorded uses of *imperium* and *provincia* appear in the era of the Second Punic War and generally concern matters of the senate. Livy is really one of the few useful sources for this purpose because he is one of the few surviving sources that would have used, directly or indirectly, the *Annales Maximi*, which provided details on the use of *imperium* and *provincia* during the Republic. The other comparable source, Polybius, also isn't usable for this period because he wrote in Greek. In the late third century, the use of *imperium* is limited to the command of one man and *provincia* designates the area where his *imperium* is limited. *Imperium* was initially really only given to primarily consuls until during the Second Punic War as demonstrated by the opposition to the appointment of Scipio Africanus

¹³¹ Livy 26.32-4

¹³² Livy 27.16

¹³³ Broadhead, Will. 2007. "Colonization, Land Distribution, and Veteran Settlement" In *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by Paul Erdkamp, p. 153-5. Oxford

when sent to Spain as a proconsul.¹³⁴ The senate was still not completely comfortable with this though as evident when Scipio is denied his Spanish triumph for not holding a magistracy.¹³⁵ This event also demonstrates the connection between *imperium* and triumphs in the fact that they both stemmed from the senate as the senate bestowed both honors and that a non-consular triumph had a dramatic impact on significantly improving the chances for winning the next consular election.¹³⁶ The criterion that limited Scipio would be relaxed throughout the war though, as Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Scipio's successor in Spain, was granted an ovation upon his return to Rome and finally Lucius Furius Purpureo celebrated a triumph as praetor in *provincia Gallia* in 200 just after the war's conclusion. This trend continued however, with 18 non-consular triumphs taking place over the next 30 years after Furius primarily out of Spain.¹³⁷ Thus after the Second Punic War, the effects of *imperium*, namely the limitations for celebration of a triumph, were relaxed. Use of *provincia* also changed as a result of the war, once again, specifically with regards to Spain. In 197, two praetors were sent to Spain to clearly establish the boundaries of two new *provinciae*. They appear to set these boundaries fairly clearly, as shown by one of those praetors, Marcus Helvius, not receiving a triumph upon his return in 195 because he acted in the *provincia* of the other praetor. This strict stance is not held however as multiple instances of praetors marching into one another territory and even an instance of the two praetors campaigning together follows.¹³⁸ Thus *provincia*, the term which described containing or limiting one's *imperium*, was relaxed as officials acted farther abroad and began to act with their *imperium* outside of their assigned *provincia* as shown in Spain.

Though not necessarily at quick rates, the use of these words continue to expand evident by their use by Plautus and Terence in comedies in 79 where *imperium* and *provincia* are used in humorous context for the duties of slaves or prostitutes. This signifies the uses of the words was very mainstream and were not necessarily limited to the honor of political officials. Around this same era, *imperium* begins being used in

¹³⁴ Richardson, John. *The Language of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. p. 10-21

¹³⁵ Livy 28.38

¹³⁶ Rosenstein p. 202-4

¹³⁷ Richardson p. 31-33

¹³⁸ Rosenstein p. 198-200

context to Rome and the Roman people as whole considering their power over other peoples rather than the power of one man. Once again, the use of *imperium* is expanded being used in context of the speeches of Cicero to slowly grow to represent the state as a general institution. In that same context, *provincia* represents the area an *imperium* holder, but because *imperium* has grown to mean the state, *provincia* takes on the meaning of a Roman territorial acquisition. It is not until the reign of Augustus in which the term *imperium Romanum* is used to finally signify our modern conception of the Roman Empire in that it is an area of Roman power, but with a distinctly geographic connotation.¹³⁹ Though it was a long path for the terminology of empire to come about, the initial expansion of the qualifications for the use of *imperium* and *provincia* is in the immediate aftermath of the Second Punic War. It was through an attempt to adjust to newly expanded territory and the challenges of adjusting language to fit a growing number of political positions and their more common existence in foreign lands, that the Romans developed their own concept of the Roman Empire.

Conclusion: A Roman Empire Emerges

Though the effects are varied, the Second Punic War brought about a number of very influential changes throughout the Roman economy, military, political structure, and territory. These changes, as has been shown from looking at Roman history before Hannibal's invasion, were new precedents, but not unique occurrences as they would be persistent through the next two centuries and sometimes expanded until reaching breaking points at the end of the Republic. Even Livy saw the last century of the Republic as so dreadful he hoped his writing may distract him from the memory, though he knew he could never forget them. In most cases it would take the emperor Augustus to resolve these issues bring stability to the chaotic world, at least for a time, which the Roman Empire had become.

The characteristics of this transformation, as described, included the development of increasingly privately funded military operations by a minority that ultimately did not physically serve. This was done by the forming of long term contracts with the *publicani*

¹³⁹ Richardson p. 49-52, 70-3, 81-3

which had the unintended effects of class conflict a century later in the commercial classes attempt for greater wealth and political representation. The Second Punic War's financial difficulties also led to the abandonment of the old coinage system of using the *drachma* in favor of the *denarii* and *victoriatti*, which indicated the beginning of a societal divide between citizens and soldiers. Additionally, armies spent progressively longer terms abroad until armies because of the geographic distances. This along with the large number of forces required by the Romans forced a relaxing of the typical recruiting methods leading to more decentralized recruiting that provided generals with greater independence. This greater independence along with the need of soldiers for land after the war, which was a unique event because that level of devastation to Italy had never been seen before, led to the beginning of soldiers' loyalties shifting from the state to their individual general. This characteristic of the Roman military would resurface again in the first century BC. One of these generals, Scipio Africanus, demonstrated such military success in the field that he achieved longer terms of command than any general previously as well as nearly complete diplomatic freedom in dealing with foreign nations. His military successes also enabled him to carry huge popular support and political power in Rome, though still within the Republican system. In this sense, Scipio was among the first of the great generals that would lead the Roman army and the state, though he differed from those ambitious men in that they ultimately brought down the Republic. It was all of these precedents and changes that perforated nearly every element of Roman society to make the changes that led to Rome's position firmly atop the Mediterranean hierarchy

Though the figures of Scipio and Hannibal especially, have often received extensive analysis, the effects of the Second Punic War as a whole has not received nearly the same attention. Other scholarship in progress may aid in remedying this though.¹⁴⁰ Though just an undergraduate thesis, this study has revealed that the Second Punic War does carry great effects further into the Republic's history. Future modern scholarship can be compared for their opinions of the length, extent, and source of the Second Punic Wars impacts. For this thesis, it has been established many of these effects

¹⁴⁰ Hoyos, B. D. *Mastering the West: Rome and Carthage at War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

progressed nearly two centuries contributing to the fall of the Republic. Thus reviewing this thesis and looking back at the Second Punic War itself, it appears of great historical irony that the Second Punic War, which was the Republic and senate's finest hour showing the resilience, flexibility, and persistence of the system, that ultimately set the events in motion that would bring that same system crashing down.

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Appendix

The four photos shown below are from the fresco on the exterior of the exterior of the Tomb of the Scipiones that were taken during a site visit. Figures 1 and 1a as well as 2 and 2a are the same pictures, but the second has been edited. The edits feature a red line to indicate the outline of the elephants that were more clearly seen in person because of the depth than in the picture. The blue line is shown for the same reason of the lack of depth coming through in the picture and so the more recent layers needed differentiating from the lower layer of concern.

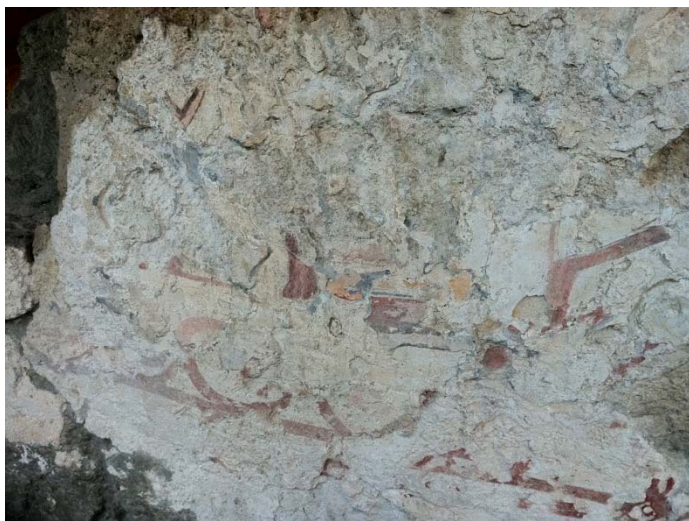


Figure 1



Figure 1a



Figure 2



Figure 2a