

Index

Notes: Roman names are entered under family name or *nomen*, not *cognomen*, so ‘Pomponius’ not ‘Matho’; but there are cross-references for important individuals (‘Scipio *see* Cornelius’, ‘Flaminius *see* Quinctius’). Better-known Latin authors are listed once only (no cross-references), under their familiar English forms, e.g. ‘Cicero’, ‘Seneca’, ‘Ovid’, ‘Virgil’.

‘cos.’ = consul.

The famous Hannibal is listed as ‘Hannibal (9)’ (his number in Geus 1994), and Scipio as ‘Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius’; he is sometimes also referred to in the index as just ‘Africanus’.

- Abelux, 115
- Acarnania, 145
- Acciaiuoli, Donato, 4
- Achaeus (Seleucid usurper), 25, 191
- Achilles, 123
 - as ancient military model, 359
 - smiles once only in *Iliad*, 265
- Acilius Glabrio, Manius (cos. 191)
 - crosses Adriatic unopposed, 322
 - vows temple to Piety, 200
- Acilius Glabrio, Manius (suffect cos. 154)
 - fulfils father’s vow of temple to Piety, 200
- Acilius, Gaius, 265
 - historian and interpreter, 260
- Acylla or Acholla, 299
- address, form of
 - Scipio’s to brother Lucius, 330
- adlection, 174
- adoption, 46
- aediles, curule, 14, 113
- Aegates islands, 67
- Aegospotami, 357
- Aelius Paetus, Publius (cos. 201, censor 199), 314
 - on diplomatic mission to Asia Minor (194–193), 260
 - plebeian censor with Scipio as patrician colleague, 251
- Aemilia, 43, 58
 - magnificent lifestyle, 255, 386
 - personal wealth, 424
- Aemilianus
 - Plutarch life of?, 32
- Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus (cos. 187)
 - fulfils vow made by Regillus before Myonnesus, 200
- Aemilius Lepidus Numida, Marcus
 - as long-lived decemuir, 196
- Aemilius Lepidus, Marcus (military tribune 190), 335
- Aemilius Paullus, Lucius (cos. 216), 21, 43, 47, 70, 84
 - commanded Roman right wing at Cannae, 102
 - death at Cannae, 104
 - father-in-law of Africanus, 176
 - tried for embezzlement, 183
- Aemilius Paullus, Lucius (conqueror of Macedon, 168), 47, 54, 56
- Aemilius Regillus, Lucius (praetor 190), 200, 324
 - honoured at Cretan Aptera, 264
- Aeneas, 60, 81, 96, 139
 - as founder of Rome
 - combined with Romulus legend, 291
 - talks to Anchises in *Aeneid* 6, 235
 - voyage to Italy denied by Hegesianax, 305
- Aeneas Tacticus, 344
- Aeneas the Tactician, 99
 - read by Hannibal?, 280
- aerarium*. *See* treasury
- Aeschylus, 22
 - his Cassandra echoed by Virgil’s Dido, 412
 - visited Syracuse, 276

- Aetolians
 as a cause of Roman war against Antiochus, 316
 breach with Rome, 317
 control Delphic amphiktion, 145, 316
 controlled Delphi when Hegesianax honoured there (193), 305
 destroyed by Cato at Callidromus, 322
 misunderstand *fides*, 161
 Scipio on
 as inciting Antiochus to war, 253
 unpopular in Greece, 145, 316
 Africanus. *See* Cornelius Scipio
 as *cognomen*, 14, 32, 46, 89
 Agamemnon, 149, 239
 Agathocles, 62, 108, 146
 bronze coinage of, 289
 rated highly by Scipio, 56, 265
 Tower of, 210
 Agenor, 288
 ager Gallicus, 187
 ager publicus
 public land and Gracchan reforms, 402
 Agesilaus, 9
 Agrigentum, 148
 Ai Khanum (Bactria)
 founder Cineas had cult at, 292
 Alaric
 sack of Rome, 150
 Alcaeus of Messene
 on Philip V's failure to bury dead after Cynoscephalae, 321
 Alcibiades
 echoed by Livy, 268
 Alcides
 poetic name for Hercules, 234
 Alexander Romance, 304
 Alexander the Acarnanian
 prods Antiochus to war, 318
 switched from Philip V to Antiochus III, 306, 307, 314, 318
 Alexander the Great, 4, 25, 49, 55, 57, 71, 75, 87, 90, 93
 as quasi-priest, 322
 at town of the Malli people
 protected by comrades after wounded, 342
 city foundations of, 134
 forced by mutiny to turn back, 351
 owned statuette by Lysippus, 223
 rated top general by Hannibal, 337
 sea does him obeisance, 121, 239
 siege of Tyre, 300
 spared house of Pindar, 223
 Alexandria
 as city name, 49
 Eschate, 134
 Alexandria (Egyptian)
 as greatest eponymous foundation, 292
 built on site of earlier settlements, 129
 processions at, 246
 Alexandria Troas
 Antiochus offers to abandon claims to, 331
 home town of Hegesianax, 305
 resisted Antiochus III (192), 305
 Alexandris. *See* Syracosia
 allies, Roman
 military contribution, 101
 Allobroges, 86
 Alps, 11, 83
 Hannibal's crossing of, 85–8
 Hannibal's route, 87
 Hasdrubal crosses, 186
 Hercules' crossing of, 234
 altars
 at Pergamum (the 'Great Altar'), 376
 at Syracuse
 great altar of Hiero II, 277
 Althaea, 79
 ambushes, 210
 as deception, 359
 Marcellus killed in, 153
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 234, 414
 Ammon, 232
 Hannibal consults oracle?, 316
 Amphiaras, 240
 amphiktion, Delphic, 145
 Amphipolis, 343
 Brasidas heroized at, 343
 anabasis
 march up country
 of Antiochus III, 307
 of Xenophon, 9
 title of historical works by Xenophon and Arrian, 9
 Anchises
 friend of Anius of Delos, 263
 talks to Aeneas in Aeneid 6, 235
 Andobales, 23, 86, 116, 128
 shifts support to Scipio, 121
 anecdotes, roving, 388
 anger
 divine, 92
 Anius, mythical king of Delos, 263
 magical daughters keep Agamemnon's army supplied, 352
 Anna (nymph)
 sent by Juno, 233
 Annaeus Florus
 on Maharbal, 111
 annalistic historians, 29
 Anthes, 287

- Anticlea, 42
 Antigonid dynasty, 305
 Antigonus 'the One-eyed', 87
 defeated and killed by Seleucus I at Ipsus (301), 332
 related somehow to Philip II, 305
 Antigonus Doson
 guardian of Philip V, 306
 Antigonus Gonatas
 as king without a kingdom, 125
 recovered Macedonian heartland (277), 305
 Antioch
 Syrian
 as Seleucid western capital, 301
 Antiochus (crown prince)
 Hannibal meets at Daphne, 301
 predeceased father Antiochus III (187), 302
 Antiochus I
 and Berossus, 304
 Antiochus III, 3, 15, 22, 35, 51
 ambiguity towards Hannibal's advice
 the explanation, 327–8
 becomes 'the Great', 307
 career until 196 assessed, 307
 has affair with young woman at Euboean Chalcis, 321
 makes offers to Scipio Africanus before Magnesia, 331
 on Hannibal as adviser
 opinion volatile, 321
 sacrifices to Athena at Ilium (Troy), 305
 statues of
 on Delos, 264
 Antiochus IV
 humiliated by Laenas, 84
 military parade at Daphne, 301, 306
 ordered out of Egypt by Popillius Laenas, 378
 Antiphilus (epigrammatist), 409
 on the treacherous heron at New Carthage, 120
 Aaos conference, 250
 Antoninus Pius (emperor), 39
 Apamea
 peace of
 Eumenes II awarded territory disputed with Prusias, 375
 Hannibal's surrender demanded, 326, 335
 Apamea (Phrygian), 315
 Apennines, 92, 98
 Aphrodite
 and Persephone at Locri, 164
 Apollo, 141, 242, 263
 Sibyl inspired by, 185
 Apollonia, 142
 Apollonius (Seleucid courtier)
 co-commands Seleucid fleet with Hannibal, 324
 Apollonius Rhodius
 and Ptolemaic policies, 304
 Apollophanes of Seleucia
 Greek doctor who persuaded Antiochus III of military plan, 307
 appearance, personal, 25
 Appian, 30, 50, 69
 lists Syrian cities named after Macedonian predecessors, 292
 mentions man from Italica in 143 BCE, 132
 on discussion between Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus, 261
 on dispositions at Cannae, 102
 on Hannibal's love affair, 151
 on Hannibal's request for instructions about Saguntum, 83
 on Italica, 128
 on libations by Octavian, 224
 on Metaurus (by implication), 204
 on Scipio's problematic warning to Antiochus before Magnesia, 332
 on Scipio's sacrifices on sailing for Africa, 224, 239
 on Sertorius as Hannibal reincarnated, 414
 on spread of estates in Italy, 401
 on triumphs, 247
 Appian Way
 shrine of Rediculus, 151
 Appuleius Saturninus, Lucius, 49
 Apta (Crete)
 honours to Scipio and brother Lucius, 264
 Apulia, 68, 97, 138, 150
 Arausio
 battle of, 108
 arbitration
 cynical Roman attitude to, 309
 Arcadia, 73
 archaeology
 and Carthaginian imperialism, 63
 and child sacrifice at Carthage, 228
 and destruction of Italy, 404
 and latifundia, 402
 attesting gymnasia in Sicily, 277
 centuriation
 at Gracurris, 294
 Great Altar of Pergamum, 376
 Iberian, 29
 in Italy, 397
 of Baecula, 123
 of Cannae, 101
 of Carthage, 271
 evidence for afterlife beliefs, 229
 foundation date and, 60

- of Italica, 133
 - of New Carthage, 123
 - Punic traders at Athens attested by, 287
 - survey
 - in southern Etruria, 397
- Archidamus III of Sparta
 - helps Tarentum, 149
- Archimedes, 95
 - friend and adviser of Hiero II, 276
 - helped to design the Syracosia (ship), 276
 - killed at fall of Syracuse, 148, 276
 - not author of epigram on Syracosia, 277
- Archimelos
 - epigrammatist
 - praised the *Syracosia*, 277
- Ares, 141
- Arginousae
 - forensic mourning after battle, 165
- Argo*, 224
- Argyrippa
 - founded by Diomedes, 141
- Ariminum, 88
- Aristides and Phocion
 - famously upright Athenians, 386
- Aristobulus, 34
- Aristomachus of Corinth, 147
- Ariston (agent of Hannibal), 48, 268, 327
 - name of, 285
 - the Ariston affair, a study in *fama*, 310–14
- Ariston (Carthaginian philosopher)
 - Greek name of, 285
- Aristophanes
 - on Cleon, 101
- Aristotle, 12
 - interested in Locri, 164
 - on Alcibiades, 259
 - on Carthage, 63, 172
 - denied Carthage monarchical, 266
 - Phormio as Aristotelian, 285
- Armenia
 - at time of Hannibal's stay, 373
 - Greek rock inscriptions, 373
 - kinship with Thessaly, 292
- Arno, 96
- Arpi, 363
 - Hannibal encamps at, 141
 - recaptured by Fabius son of the Delayer, 146
- Arretium, 92
- Arrian, 34
 - on Alexander's wounds, 342
 - on Prusa
 - does not mention Hannibal, 377
- arrogance
 - alleged Carthaginian, 121, 167
- Artaxata
 - Hannibal as founder of, 373, 378
- Artaxias king of Armenia
 - Hannibal at court of, 369, 374
- Artemidorus
 - on dreams, 240
- Artemis, 141
- Asclepius, 240, 352
 - and incubation, 240
- Asopius, 118
- assemblies
 - at Rome, 173
- assidui
 - defined, 401
- Astarte, 96
- asulia*, 162. *See* inviolability of sanctuaries
- asyndeton, 224
 - absence of co-ordinator, 183
 - Livy makes Hannibal use before Zama, 216
 - Livy makes Scipio use slangy example, 330
- Athens
 - at Ilium (Troy)
 - Antiochus III sacrifices to, 305
 - takes human form in Homer, 241
- Athens
 - and Carthage, 63
 - and Naples, 364
 - Carthaginians at, 287
 - deme system, 46
 - departure of Athenian expedition to Sicily, 224
 - philosophical schools at, 282
 - son of admiral Phormio sent out at request of
 - Acarnanians, 118
 - Spartan fear of, 80
 - Timaeus prefers Syracuse to, 275
 - trade with Carthage, 63
 - tribute displayed at, 246
- Atilius Regulus, Marcus (cos. 217), 102
- Atintania, 142
- Atreus, 239
- Attalid dynasty of Pergamum. *See* Eumenes, Attalus
- Attalus II, 335
- auctoritas, 421. *See* nod
 - defined, 258
 - of Scipio, 258
- Aufidus, 101
- Augustine
 - on Alaric, 150
- Augustus, 13, 46
 - Res gestae, 17, 245
 - contrasts *auctoritas* and *potestas*, 259
 - factio* used tendentiously, 180
 - uses first person singular, 15
- Aurelius Victor, Sextus, 30

470

Aurelius Victor, Sextus (cont.)
 on Hannibal's death, 379
 on Metaurus, 204
 Ausculum
 battle, 198
 auspices, 70, 158, 246
 and tripudium, 227

 Baal, 49, 51, 111
 Hammon, 228
 role in provoking the war, 233
 Babylon
 as eastern Seleucid capital, 301
 Bactria (northern Afghanistan). *See* Ai Khanum
 Baecula, 14, 349
 course of battle, 124
 site recently identified, 123
 Baetis, 116
 Balearic, 11
 islands
 slingers from, 11, 356
 Barca and Barcids, 45, 47–9, 172
 faction, at time of Ariston affair, 312
 Barcas (mythical figure), 76
 Barce, 279
 nurse in Virgil, 76
 Barce, city in Cyrenaica, 49
 Barke, 4, 72
 Barmokaros
 swears treaty with Philip V, 141
 basileus.
 Scipio hailed as king, 122
 Batbaal
 female chief priest at Carthage, 231
 battle managers
 and heroic leaders, 343
 beards, 25, 26
 Beautiful Promontory
 as good omen for Scipio, 210
 beginning of evils
 history of expression, 317
 beheading
 as method of execution, 190
 belief
 disputed term, 229
 Bellona
 war goddess, 198
 Belus, 76
 benefactions
 and Euhemeran doctrines of deification, 238
 Beneventum, 54, 98
 Beroia, 292
 Berossus
 anti-Egyptian?, 304
 closeness to Antiochus I exaggerated, 304

Index

bilingualism, 10, 16, 17, 98, 146, 212
 Malta evidence, 289
 Pyrgi tablet, 93
 biography
 ancient, 9, 20
 and past presumptive, 7
 confers immortality, 425
 only one ancient of Hannibal, 30
 sometimes disparaged, 1
 Bithynia, 12
 wars with Attalid Pergamum, 374
 Boccaccio
 praised Busa, 105
 Boeotian
 Plutarch as, 33
 Bomilcar
 fails to relieve Syracuse, 148
 incompetent, 139, 360
 reaches Locri, 138
 Bomilcar (1), 65
 booty, 66, 79, 86, 242, 317, 326, 385
 displayed in triumphs, 247
 from Carthage
 eased Roman finances after Zama, 405
 from Metaurus, 190, 207
 from New Carthage, 121
 from Saguntum, 83
 Scipio prays for, 224
 Bostar, 115
 Bouzos, 68, 104
 Brachylles
 Flamininus' part in his murder, 382
 Brasidas, 38
 compared to Maharbal, 107
 death and heroization, 343
 good at speaking – for a Spartan, 286
 leading Spartans jealous of, 155
 welcomed 'as athlete' at Scione, 245
 breakfast
 and stratagems, 90, 127, 357,
 359
 Bruttium, 138, 169, 214
 battles against Locri, 164
 Crassus' province, 208
 buglers
 as give-away at Metaurus, 189
 Bullock, Alan, 1, 6
 burial
 failure of Philip V to bury dead after
 Cynoscephalae, 321
 Hannibal tries to give to Roman commanders,
 94, 229
 Busa, 68, 104
 logistical importance of, 355
 Byzacium, 299

Index

471

- Cadmus, 378
 Caecilius Metellus, Lucius (military tribune 216), 106
 Caecilius Metellus, Quintus (cos. 206), 165, 178
 Caecilius Metellus Scipio, Quintus, 49
 Caere, 93
 Caesar. *See* Julius
 Caleacte (Sicily). *See* Silenus
 Cales, 99
 Caligula
 floating palaces at Lake Nemi
 modelled on the Syracosia?, 277
 Callicula, 99
 Callimachus, 288
 as anti-Seleucid poet?, 304
 Hymn to Delos
 anti-Seleucid?, 304
 Callisthenes
 works of in Tauromenium library
 catalogue, 278
 Calvus
 as *cognomen* ('Baldy'), 45
 Cambyses (Persian king)
 deceived by ambiguous oracle, 380
 Seneca contrasts with Scipio(!), 422
 Camillus
 vow as dictator to Juno Moneta, 197
 Campania, 15, 66, 104
 attitudes to Hannibal in, 364
 cavalrymen loyal to Rome, 140
 fertility of, 98
 Cannae, 2, 26
 as granary, 101
 battle, 2, 11, 18, 26, 101–5
 cinema at, 101
 citadel, 101
 numbers at, 101
 cannibalism
 Hannibal (10) suggests to Hannibal (9), 354
 Canusium, 26, 68, 101
 coin from, 26, 106
 Hannibal at, in 207, 187
 Romans escape to after Cannae, 104
 Cape Bon peninsula, 63
 captatio benevolentiae
 defined, 290
 captured cities
 treatment of, 121, 128
 Capua, 25, 162
 Etruscan origin, 279
 goes over to Hannibal, 140
 harsh Roman treatment of, after surrender, 151, 364
 hegemonical aspirations, 140, 363, 365
 importance of, 139–41
 luxurious living at, 141, 152
 Hannibal not personally implicated, 279
 Oscan in language and culture, 279
 prosperous again in second and first centuries BCE, 401
 siege of, 149
 Caracalla (Roman emperor)
 and Hannibal's tomb, 383
 Carneades, 36
 teacher of Clitomachus, 285
 Carrhae
 battle, 191
 Cartala, 79
 Carthage, 4, 60
 alleged ban on Greek at, 280, 287
 and Boeotian Thebes, 288
 and Greek culture, 285–90
 archaeology and financial situation after Zama, 271
 army, 27, 79, 101, 110, 143, 167, 211, 218, 219, 347
 allied and other non-Carthaginian elements, 64
 cavalry, 64
 linguistically and ethnically diverse, 26, 65, 346
 sacred band, 64
 switch to conscription, 347
 authorities at recall Hannibal, 211
 constitution, 63
 destroyed by Scipio Aemilianus, 271
 domestic affairs after Zama, 267–71
 eventual revival, 406
 factions, 172
 finances
 not in bad shape in 190s, 270
 foundation and position, 56
 gerousia (elders), 64
 imperial but republican power, 346
 indemnity, 271
 intermarriage with Greeks. *See* intermarriage
 Junonia planned on site of, 295
 law, 65
 magistrates, 65
 mercenaries, 43, 67, 219, 347
 oligarchy but with democratic features, 173
 ox-hide story of foundation, 290
 ox-hide trick, 378
 philosophy and philosophers at, 285–7
 religion, 65, 285, 290–1
 afterlife beliefs, 229
 divination part of, 228
 revenues calculated by Hannibal, 270
 senate, 64
 sends Hannibal few reinforcements or supplies, 138, 354, 360
 separation of powers, 64

472

Carthage (cont.)
 sufetes at, 12, 64
 touring Greek dramatic groups at?, 288
 trade, 271, 287
 Carvilius, Spurius, 55
 Casilinum, 98
 Casinum, 98
 Cassander, 131
 Cassius Dio, 36
 claims Hannibal tried after Zama, 66, 267
 on Barc(h)ids, 47
 on Scipio's movements (193), 262
 says Hannibal understood divination, 227
 castle
 Hannibal's
 on coast of Africa, 299
 Castor and Pollux, 329
 sent by Sparta to help Locri against
 Croton, 164
 Castra
 transport dues at, 252
 castrametation (camp layout)
 Pyrrhus'
 admired by the Romans, 337
 Castulo, 52, 116
 casualties, 211
 at Cannae, 104
 at Ilipa, 127
 at Metaurus, 190
 at Trasimene, 94
 at Zama, 220
 Catana (Sicily)
 Marcellus founds gymnasium at,
 277
 cataphracts, Seleucid
 heavy cavalry
 destroyed at Magnesia, 335
 Cato. *See* Porcius Cato
 Caudine Forks (321)
 as ambush, 360
 causes of second Punic war, 80–3
 cavalry
 at Zama, 218
 Carthaginian superiority in, 103
 Hannibal's, 11, 89
 Roman weakness in, 89, 101, 103
 redressed by Numidians, 127
 Cedrae (in Caria)
 mixobarbaroi at, 237
 Celtiberian
 defined, 116
 Celts, 85, 89
 4,000 killed at Cannae, 104
 armour of, 356
 at Zama, 218

Index

Ducarius, 94
 importance for Hannibal, 85
 censors, 14
 collegiality between, 251
 could appoint one of selves princeps
 senatus, 251
 duties of, 251
 lacked imperium, 249
 Nero and Salinator as, in 204, 196
 Scipio as, 14, 249
 census
 censors compiled lists of Roman citizens, 251
 figures
 evidence of, 401
 for 199 not known, 253
 vulnerable to manipulation, 407
 centuriation
 at Graccuris, 294
 defined, 293
 Cephallenia, 321
 Cercina, 359
 Hannibal at, 299
 Chalcis (Euboea)
 occupied by Antiochus, 316
 characterization
 in Livy's speeches, 31
 checks and balances
 Polybius on, 173
 chief senator. *See* princeps senatus
 Chyretiae (Thessaly)
 Flaminius' letter to, 362
 Cicereius, Gaius
 vow during battle, 197, 200
 Cicero, 13, 15, 20, 33, 35
 compares Scipio and Hercules, 235
 compromise view of generalship, 343
 confused about Marcus Septimius, 116
 'Dream of Scipio'
 as emulation of Plato, 417
 full names and tribe, 46
 often uses Hannibal as example, 413
 on cleverness of Clitomachus, 286
 on consular commands in 190, 328
 on demolition of house as mark of
 execration, 301
 on 'Hannibal ad portas', 151
 on Livius Andronicus, 203
 on Metaurus, 203
 on optimates and populares, 175
 on Phormio, 35, 265, 344
 comments on Hannibal's Greek, 282
 on rapacity of provincial governors, 167
 on Salinator's vow at Metaurus, 193
 on Scipio and special seats in games, 255
 on Scipio as hero, 237

Index

473

- on Scipio's nod, 258
- on Sena, 204
- Cimbri, 108
- Cimon
 - victory at Eurymedon (466), 325
- Cineas
 - cult of as founder of Ai Khanum, 292
- Cirta
 - Masinissa given, 221
- Cisalpine Gaul, 85, 92
- city foundations. *See* foundations, of cities
- Cius
 - former site of Prusa, 377
- Civilis
 - one-eyed, 87
- class conflict in Italy
 - how successfully exploited by Hannibal?, 362–6
- Claudius Caecus, Appius (cos. 296)
 - vows temple to Bellona during battle, 198
- Claudius Centho, Appius (praetor 175)
 - ouatio, 202
- Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (cos. 208), 3, 33, 95, 183
 - body of, 95
 - defeats Hannibal at Nora, 141
 - fight Hannibal indecisively at Numistro, 153
 - founds gymnasium at Sicilian Catana, 277
 - killed in ambush by Hannibal, 153
 - recaptures Syracuse, 146
 - reckless of own life, 68, 339
- Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (cos. 196)
 - on embassy to Carthage (195), 299
- Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (cos. 152), 131
- Claudius Nero, Gaius (victor at Metaurus), 84, 90, 108, 126, 153
 - arranges food supplies for army on way north, 188, 355
 - considered 'outstanding' in 208, 183
 - impious treatment of Hasdrubal's head, 95, 191
 - in Iberia, 44, 95, 117
 - why hated by Salinator, 184
- Claudius Nero, Tiberius (cos. 202), 215
- Claudius Ptolemy
 - on Italica, 131
 - on Libyssa, 382
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius (military tribune 216), 106
- Claudius Quadrigarius
 - on meeting between Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus, 260
- Cleomenes I of Sparta
 - deceived by ambiguous oracle, 383
 - sacrificed bull to sea god Poseidon, 240
- Cleon, 101
 - treated as coward by Thucydides, 343
- Cleopatra, 1, 212
 - comparison with Hannibal, 28, 247, 369, 414, 434
- Cleopatra (daughter of Antiochus III)
 - betrothed to Ptolemy V, 309
- Clitomachus (philosopher), 285–7
 - name changed from Hasdrubal, 285
 - wrote book of consolation for fall of Carthage, 286
- code-switching, 99
- Greek–Punic
 - in north Africa, 287
- Coelius Antipater, 17, 233
 - Metaurus not alluded to, 204
 - on Hannibal's dream of Juno, 213
- Coeranus
 - envoy from Smyrna, at Lysimachia conference, 309
- cognomen*, 14, 46, 74
- cohorts
 - Polybius on, 350
- coins
 - Carthaginian
 - resemble coins of Ptolemaic Egypt, 288
 - from Canusium, 25, 106
 - from Capua, 140
 - Hannibal's role in choice of types, 355
 - of Capua, 363
 - of Dasii family, 363
 - of Greek Italy, 29
 - of Hannibal, 27
 - of Scipio, 25, 225
 - Siculo-Punic, 289
 - Tarentum issues of Carthaginian type, 149
- Col de Clapier, 87
- Colichas, 23
- Colline Gate, 150
- colonies, Roman
 - given encouraging names, 295
- colonization
 - in Italy (197–194), 255
- Colophon, 23, 163
- comitia, 173
- communications
 - slowness of, 155
- comparison between Hannibal and Scipio
 - provisional (207), 153
- Compsa
 - goes over to Hannibal, 138
 - recaptured by Fabius the Delayer, 146

- Concord
 temple to vowed by Vulso during
 mutiny, 198
consulares (former consuls), 257
 consuls, 10, 14, 44
 Corcyra
 Hannibal advises stationing of Seleucid fleet
 at, 320
 in treaty between Hannibal and Philip, 142
 Corduba, 131, 133
 founded by Marcellus (cos. 152), 131
 Corinth
 as mother city of Syracuse, 147, 276, 293
 fall of, 132
 Cornelia II, 58
 and cult of Scipio?, 419
 daughter of Africanus, mother of the
 Gracchi, 43
 Cornelii Scipiones, 53
 Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus (cos. 204), 114
 Cornelius Hispallus, Gnaeus (praetor 179,
 cos. 176)
 as example of younger man on embassy of
 seniors, 299
 honoured at Cretan Aptera, 264
 honoured at Cretan Polyrrenia, 264
 Cornelius Lentulus, Gnaeus (cos. 201), 104, 179
 tries to continue war after Zama, 221
 Cornelius Lentulus, Lucius (cos. 199)
 at Lysimachia conference, 308
 Cornelius Merula, Lucius (cos. 193)
 presides over consular elections for 192, 179
 Cornelius Nepos. *See* Nepos
 Cornelius Scipio, Lucius, son of Africanus, 44
 birth year, 58
 captured by Antiochus but returned to
 father, 331
 Cornelius Scipio, Publius, father of Africanus, 14,
 44, 84
 killed fighting in Iberia, 116, 343
 on Hannibal as would-be Hercules, 234
 takes momentous decision to fight war in
 Iberia, 86, 115, 158
 Cornelius Scipio, Publius, son of Africanus, 44
 birth year, 58
 Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, Publius,
 4, 38, 47
 as friend of Polybius, 100
 clears out camp-followers and seers from
 army, 352
 dreams about his adoptive grandfather, 415
 Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius, 1
 advances career of Digitius, 278
 advisory roles to brother Lucius and Antiochus
 assessed, 328–34
 and Ennius, 30
 and Flamininus, 248–51
 and Hercules, 234, 408
 and recalcitrant quaestor, 254, 387
 as legate of brother Lucius, 15, 323
 as princeps senatus
 how often did he speak?, 251–9
 as Salian priest, 14, 331
 flamboyant clothes and panoply, 25
 movements restricted in 190, 230
 as talking ghost, 47, 415
 at Syracuse, 57
 adopts Greek dress, frequents
 gymnasium, 275
 book-reading, 275
 birth year, 2
 brigand chiefs show him reverence, 238, 394, 428
 celebrates triumph (201), 230, 245–8
 censor, 251–3
 charges against in 184, 392
 consul for second time (194), 253
 ‘Continence of’, 57, 423
 Crete visit, 264
 death at Liternum, 392–4
 denied triumph in 205, 135
 despicable treatment of Sophoniba, 212, 423
 did not invent manipular army, 350
 discusses generalship with Hannibal at
 Ephesus, 97, 260, 337
 dishonest ruse in Africa (204), 210, 230
 Ennius and, 13
 family and youth, 53–9
 financial assets at death, 424
 first visit to Africa, 127
 flowing hair of, 25, 123
 forensic attacks on (180s), 386–92
 games (205), 207
 hated by Cato, 386
 how often wounded?, 341
 in the ‘Dream of Scipio’ by Cicero, 415–20
 jokes by. *See* jokes by Scipio
 letter to Philip V, 20, 248, 330
 letters from, 22–4
 letters to Asia Minor cities, 23, 161
 makes few interventions in senate, 258
 meets Hannibal at Ephesus (193)?, 259–65
 meets Hannibal before Zama, 215–17
 monumental arch, 238, 329, 414
 name Scipio
 afterlife of, 424
 scansion of, 48
 no attested vow before or during Zama, 201, 223
 no cult of, 239, 292, 394, 418, 419
 nod of, as indicating authority, 258
 not a man to apologize, 166, 390, 435

- not a *popularis* politician, 175
 not opposed to second Macedonian war, 248, 257
 oath after Cannae, 106, 226
 opposes persecution of Hannibal, 253
 problematic last-minute advice to Antiochus before Magnesia, 332
 rated Dionysius I and Agathocles highest of all, 56
 saves father at Ticinus, 59, 89, 113
 sexual attitudes and sex life, 56–8, 122
 special relationship with Jupiter, 222
 strategy at Zama, 219
 suppresses mutiny in Iberia (206), 128, 338, 367
 vows games during, 223
 tactical preferences, 349
 the ‘Scipionic legend’, 25, 55, 121, 223, 235
 villa at Liternum
 described by Seneca the Younger, 392
 visit to Delos, 263
 war aims, 137
 wife Aemilia, 43, 58
 witnessed Hannibal’s march on Rome (211)?, 150
 Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, Lucius, 3, 13, 179
 and aedileship, 114
 at battle of Thermopylae (191), 322
 celebrates games vowed during war with Antiochus, 200
 commands warships on crossing to Africa, 209
 Crete visit, 264
 debate (193) about conduct of, 258
 elected consul (for 190), 323
 had hand in Hannibal’s death?, 381
 letters to Asia Minor cities, 23, 161
 Cornelius Scipio Calvus, Gnaeus, uncle of Africanus, 14, 44, 86
 funeral mound, 116, 131
 killed fighting in Iberia, 116, 343
 Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, Gnaeus (praetor 179, cos. 176), 58
 Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Publius
 fails to be elected consul (in 192 for 191), 179
 Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Publius (cos. 191)
 fails to be elected consul for 192, 259
 had hand in Hannibal’s death?, 381
 speech in senate, 258
 vows and holds games to Jupiter, 200
 Cornelius Scipio Salvito, 225, 418
 Cornelius Sulla Felix, Lucius
 and Fortuna, 222
 ‘illiterate’ for resigning dictatorship, 280
 owned statuette by Lysippus, 223
 correction in stride
 narrative technique, 341
 Corsica, 67, 72, 81, 200
 Corupedium
 Seleucus I defeated Lysimachus at (281), 308, 332
 Corycus (Ionia)
 sea battle off, 323
 councils of war.
 Carthaginian, 109
 counterfactuals, 95, 96, 105, 208, 217, 329, 405
 cranes
 needed to move large statues, 290
 crepidi
 Greek boots
 Scipio wears at Syracuse, 275
 Crete
 Aristotle compares Carthage to, 285
 dream interpreter from, 240
 epigraphy. *See* Aptera, Polyrrenia, Gortyn
 Hannibal at, 369
 Ptolemaic interest in, 372
 Publius and Lucius Scipio visit, 264
 Croesus
 and Prusa?, 377
 Croton, 11, 12, 18, 198
 Hannibal’s base in last years of war in Italy, 18
 Livy analyses political divides at, 362
 crucifixion, 61, 99
 of generals at Carthage (dubious), 66, 384, 427
 cult
 for mortals, 236
 cultic honours
 to Flamininus, 249
 Cumae, 60, 61, 193
 Hannibal’s attempt on, 141
 curule magistrates, 113
 Cybele
 Roman adoption of cult, 290
 Cydonia, 264
 Cynoscephalae, 248
 Aetolian contribution to Roman victory, 317
 Philip V neglects dead after defeat at, 321
 Cyprus, 93
 Cyrenaica, 4, 279
 Cyrene
 Hannibal at (193)?, 315
 Cyropolis, 134
 Cyrus the Great, 50, 89
 posthumous humiliation of head, 191
 Cyrus the Younger
 decapitated, 191
 Cyzicus
 battle, 156
 Damocritus (Aetolian envoy)
 sent to Nabis of Sparta, 318

- Daochos of Thessaly
 - family monument at Delphi
 - compared to Scipio's monumental arch, 329
- Daphne
 - Antiochus IV stages military parade at, 301, 306
 - suburb of Antioch
 - Hannibal arrives at, 301
- Darius III (Persian king), 57
- Dasii
 - important Apulian family, 141
 - oscillating role of, 363
- dates, 10
- Datis (Persian commander)
 - acts on warning dream, 241
- Daunia, 97, 98
- debt
 - and Gracchan programme, 404
- Decades (in Livy), 5
- decapitation, 95, 191
- decemviri
 - Salinator cos. 208 probably not one, 184, 196
- deception, Punic, 214. *See* Punic deception
- Decii
 - self-sacrificing Roman family, 421
- decision-making, 155
 - by commanders, 158–63
 - on the spot, 86
- dedications, 19, 22, 93, 96, 141, 192, 338, 357
 - by Alexander to father Ammon, 232
 - by Publius and Lucius Scipio at Delos, 263
 - of temples or games, 197
- deification
 - through conquest
 - Euhemerus and, 238
- Delium
 - Datis at, 242
 - Menippus at, 264, 320
- Delos
 - and Datis, 242
 - epigraphy, 22
 - Bouzos, 68, 104, 355
 - kinship with Romans, 264
 - Scipio and brother Lucius, 263
 - neutrality of, 264
 - the Delians as friends and kin of Romans, 263
- Delphi, 62, 71
 - Aetolian control of amphiktion, 305, 316
 - booty from Metaurus sent to, 207
 - charioteer statue at
 - resembles Motya statue, 289
 - Daochos monument at, 329
 - Muttines honoured at, 148
 - Roman contacts with, 71, 145, 285
- demagogues
 - Flaminius and Varro represented as, 92
- Demaratus
 - interrogation of mother, 42
- demes, of Attica, 46
- Demeter
 - Sicilian cult of, 290
- Demetrias (Thessaly)
 - and Aetolians, 316, 318
 - Antiochus occupies, 316, 319
 - conference at
 - attended by Hannibal, 320
- Demetrius II, 125
 - of Macedon
 - father of Philip V, 141
 - unbearded, 25
- Demetrius of Pharos, 142
- Demetrius the Besieger, 36, 125
 - son of Poseidon and (?) Aphrodite, 236
- Demetrius, son of Philip V, 247
 - addresses brother as 'Perseu', 330
 - hostage at Rome
 - released after Thermopylae, 322
- democracies
 - Hannibal's alleged support for, 366
- demography
 - explains Roman undemocratic features
 - in second Punic war, 174
- demolition of house
 - as mark of disgrace
 - Carthage and Rome, 301
- Demosthenes, 305
 - variant versions of death, 379
- deportatio exercitus
 - withdrawal of army a condition for
 - a triumph, 246
- Dercylidas
 - as 'Sisyphus', 74
- destruction of crops
 - as slow and difficult, 399
- devastation
 - of Italy
 - how bad and how lasting?, 398–401
- Dicaearchus (Aetolian envoy)
 - sent to Antiochus III, 318
- dictators, 90, 96
- Dido, 60, 76
 - and Hannibal, 212
 - not given Greek ancestry, 289
 - ox-hide trick to obtain site of Carthage, 378
- Digitius, Sextus, 121
 - rewarded by Scipio for role at New Carthage, 278
- Dimale, 142

Index

477

- Diodorus, 30, 68
on cult of Persephone and Demeter, 290
used Hieronymus in books 18–20, 308
- Diogenes Laertius
on Clitmachus, 286
- Diognetos
father of Clitomachus
name theophoric, 285
- Diognetus, 288
- Diomedes
founds Argyrippa (Arpi), 141
- Dionysius I, 37, 62, 112, 287
Carthaginian wars against, 65
rated highly by Scipio, 56, 265
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1
- Dionysus
Thriambos, 230, 246
- Dioscuri, 164, 329
- Diotimos son of Strombichos
Athenian general
at Naples, 28, 364
- diplomacy
in Iberia, 115, 122
- divination, 109, 186, 213
by auspices, 70
Hannibal versed in, 227, 232
military, 35
part of Carthaginian religion, 228
pre-battle sacrifices as, 227
- diviners
Scipio Aemilianus expels from Iberian
army, 352
- Domitian (Roman emperor)
foil to Scipio (in Silius), 423
- Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus (cos. 192)
role at Magnesia exaggerated by Appian,
332, 335
- Dorieus (Spartan), 159
- doriktetos chora, 316
spear-won territory
as important Hellenistic concept,
308
- doubles
in battle
Hannibal (10) as protection for Hannibal
(9)?, 45
- Dream of Scipio
Aemilianus' dream
fictional work by Cicero, 415
by Cicero, 417
- dreams, 239, 240–3. *See* epiphanies
interpretation of, 240
of Hannibal
Juno's warning, 213, 232
of Marcus Septimius, 241
of Scipio, 47
of Scipio Aemilianus
Cicero's 'Dream of Scipio', 240
types of
episode or epiphany, 240
- dress, 25
- drill, formation, 122, 209
- Ducarius, 94
- earth, 141
- earthquakes, 198
at Trasimene, 94
- Ebro
river, 68
treaty, 69, 72, 81
- Edeco, 121
- Edessa, 292
- education
Roman, 55
- Egypt, Ptolemaic
and Carthage, 288
and Cyrene, 288
evidence for, 304
Memphis
dream interpreter, 240
Ptolemies not very active city founders, 292
strong interest in Crete, 372
Syrian wars against Seleucids, 301
unstable in 190s BCE, 303
- ekphrasis
as description of work of art, 276
Moschion's
description of Syracosia, 276
- Elaea
Scipio detained at, 329, 332
- elephants, 11, 64, 85
Africa as elephant country, 213
African, 12
Bush and Forest, 26
at Magnesia, 335
at Metaurus, 190
at Zama, 218, 358
Indian, 12, 26
Lucretius on, 411
successful Seleucid use of at Panion (201),
331
Surus, 87
- Elissa. *See* Dido
- Elizabeth (biblical), 42
- elogium, 13, 53, 113
of Cornelia II, 44
of Scipio, inscribed, 13
- emotions
decapitation and, 191
Hannibal's

- emotions (cont.)
 on leaving Italy, 213, 225
 tears
 at Carthage after Zama, 221
 Emporium, 86
 Scipio lands at, 118
 Ennius, 12, 30, 76
 as 'Calabrian Muse', 237
 celebrated Scipio, 13, 30, 237
 for scansion of name Hannibal, 412
 hinted at Scipio's epiphany of Neptune?, 239
 Metaurus probably not named by, 205
 on battle of the Great Plains, 211
 on Geminus at Cannae, 102
 on Hannibal as perjurer?, 410
 on Hannibal's crossing of Alps, 408
 on Hannibal's cruelty?, 408
 on Juno's reconciliation with Rome, 193
 on Salinator's triumph, 193
 on Scipio's heroic status, 237
 on Scipio's *res gestae*, 420
 on untruthful seers, 228
 personal friend of Scipio, 237, 285
 probably compared Scipio and Hercules, 235
 soliloquy by Antiochus III, 311
 translated Sacred Record of Euhemerus, 238
 tria corda (three hearts)
 as Greek, Latin, and Oscan, 237, 285
 triumph of Nobilior as closure of *Annals*?, 247
 enslaved people, 56, 61, 62, 209, 381
 and Gracchan reforms, 404
 and Hannibal's death, 381
 as accompanying Roman embassies, 299
 at New Carthage, 121
 at Scipio's villa, 394
 on estates in Italy, 402
 entrails, inspection of
 as form of divination, 227
 Epaminondas, 31
 and tactical reserves, 357
 Epeios, 21
 Ephesus, 28
 Hannibal and Scipio meet at, 28, 35
 Hannibal meets Antiochus at, 302
 harbour Coressus
 common (dis)embarKation point, 302
 Epicyles, 75, 163
 as Hannibal's agent at Syracuse, 146
 Epidamnus, 142
 epigrammatists. *See* Alcaeus of Messene,
 Antiphrilos, Archimelos, Nossis
 epigraphy. *See* inscriptions
 epiphanies, 240–2
 at Hannibal's march on Rome, 150
 at New Carthage, 120
 cloudburst after Ilipa, 127
 Juno to Hannibal, 213, 232
 Marcus Septimius visited by Publius and
 Gnaeus Scipio, 241
 of Neptune, 120, 239
 Rediculus, 232
 to Hannibal in Iberia, 233, 242, 365,
 398
 types of, 240
 epistulae,
 letters sent by Publius and Lucius Scipio, 160
 epitaphs, 13–16
 Eratosthenes, 288
 on death of Demosthenes, 379
 Eretria
 cult for Flamininus, 420
 Erythrae (Ionia)
 exiles who 'fled to the Medes', 298
 Eryx, 67, 96
 ethnics, 72–7
 of known Carthaginian philosophers, 287
 Etruria, 92
 battle in
 Polybius' designation for Trasimene, 202
 Capua originally Etruscan, 279
 coin from depicting mahout, 26
 disaffected from Rome, 208, 362
 diviners from, 185, 186
 Etruscan piracy, 62
 Etruscan treaties with Carthage
 mentioned by Aristotle, 93
 gold tablet from (Pyrgi), 93
 Horatius and Etruscans, 96
 Lucius Scipio's (doubtful) mission to, 390
 Romans neither Greeks nor Etruscans, 292
 rural poor in, 401
 supplies sent to by Flaminius and Geminus, 91
 triumphs
 Etruscan in origin?, 246
 Euboea, 60
 Eudamidas, 38, 283
 Eudamus the Rhodian
 replaces Pausistratus, 324
 Euhemerus of Messene, 420
 influence on Ennius, 238
 Sacred Record translated by Ennius, 238
 Eumenes II
 helps Romans to defeat Polyxenidas at sea off
 Corycus, 323
 pushes Antiochus III to war against Rome, 314
 troops of, at Magnesia, 335
 wars with Prusias I of Bithynia, 375
 Eumenes of Cardia, 277
 Euphorion of Chalcis
 as Seleucid librarian, 304

- Euripides, 277
in Armenian rock inscription, 374
- Europa, 289
- Eurymedon river
Cimon's victory at (466), 325
- Eusebius
on Salinator, 184
- Eustathius, 110
- Eutropius
on Metaurus 'and Sena', 204
- exempla, 31
- extortion trials
at Rome
development of, 385
- Fabius Buteo, Marcus, 84
- Fabius Labeo, Quintus (praetor 189)
visits Crete, 370
- Fabius Maximus, Quintus (the 'Delayer'), 3, 33,
71, 84, 96, 165, 176
and human sacrifice at Rome, 228
death, 208
ordered evacuation of unfortified towns, 399
pontifex (216), 228
recaptures Tarentum (209), 153
speech attacking Scipio, 125
strategy of, 97
- Fabius Maximus, Quintus (son of the Delayer)
recaptures Arpi, 146
- Fabius Maximus Rullianus, Quintus (cos. 295)
vows temple to Jupiter Victor, 198
- Fabius Pictor, Quintus, 29, 66
history written in Greek, 285
mission to Delphi, 285
works of, in Tauromenium library
catalogue, 278
- Fabircius Luscinus, Gaius, 54
- face of battle
modern approach to study of warfare,
338
- factions
at Carthage?, 172
- Falernian field, 98
- fama
rumour
power of at Carthage, 310, 314
- fasti
explained, 176
- fatalis dux
Scipio as predestined leader, 106
- Festus
on Graccus, 294
- fides*, 161
- films
about Hannibal and Scipio, 372, 415
- flaming twigs stratagem, 37, 99, 359, 376
evidence of for logistics, 354
- Flamininus. *See* Quinctius
- Flaminius, Gaius, 70, 91
as forerunner of the Gracchi, 173
as tribune (232)
agrarian law, 92, 402
defeated and killed at Trasimene, 94
vows allegedly not made by, 199
- Flavinius, Marcus
centurion invented in 1960s, 343
- fleet
Carthaginian, 65
- Florus (historian)
comparison between Hannibal and Pontius
Telesinus, 413
- focalization, 125
- focussing devices, 105
everyone else . . . but x alone, 322
- Fontei, Tiberius, 116
- food
Roman need for in Iberia, 115
- fora
assize towns, eponymous, 294
- foraging and foragers
normal soldiers as foragers, 354
- forrix*. *See* monumental arch
- Fortuna
and Sulla, 222
- fortune, 236
as theme in speeches before Zama, 216
favourite Polybian concept (as *tyche*), 299
- foundations, of cities, 49, 60, 68, 131
- Iberian
by Barcids, 291–5
- freedom
Hannibal offers to Italians, 94, 365
- freedom of the Greeks
Hannibal as champion of?, 274
proclaimed by Flamininus, 71, 249, 250,
307
Scipio and, 250, 274
- Frentani, 97
- Frontinus. *See* Julius
- Fulvius Centumalus, Gnaeus (cos. 229), 54, 70
- Fulvius Centumalus, Gnaeus (cos. 211), 140
loses second battle of Herdonea, 150, 153
- Fulvius Flaccus, Gnaeus (praetor 212)
loses first battle of Herdonea, 150
- Fulvius Flaccus, Quintus (cos. 179)
fulfils vows made in Celtiberian war, 200
- Fulvius Flaccus, Quintus (cos. 212), 150
savage treatment of surrendered Capuans, 151
- Furius Purpurio, Lucius (cos. 196)
vows temples to Jupiter, 200

480

Gades, 11, 85
 Mago excluded from, 136
 Galen, 35
 Gaul, 142
 Gauls. *See* Celts
 Antiochus I's victory over, 305
 Gellius, Aulus, 30, 56
 on Scipio tearing up account book, 389
 on Scipio's predictive powers, 231
 reports Hannibal's sarcasm to Antiochus
 before Magnesia, 326
 Gelon, 62
 Genius
 of the Carthaginians, 141
gens, 46
 Cornelia, 133, 179, 424
 geographical knowledge, 93
 Gereonium, 100
 as granary, 354
 gerousia
 at Carthage, 64
 Geryon
 cattle of, 87, 234
 Giso (5), father of Hasdrubal (8), 46
 Gisgo (6)
 Hannibal jokes with, 109, 367
 Gisgo (7), 59, 172
 gladiators, 88
 gods
 assimilation of Greek and Punic, 226
 listed in treaty between Hannibal and Philip
 V, 226
 Gorgo and Praxinoe, 293
 in Theocritus 15,
 proud of Corinthian descent, 276
 Gortyn
 Hannibal at, 264
 Gortyn (Crete)
 Hannibal at, 369
 Gracchi. *See* Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius
 (tribune 133) and Gaius
 Gracchi, Gracchan attempts at reform, 402
 forerunners of Gracchi, 403
 multiple causes of, 403
 recruitment problems and, 403
 Gracchus, 132
 eponymous Iberian foundation by Tiberius
 Gracchus senior, 294–5
 grain
 Syracosa contained, 276
 granaries
 Gereonium, Placentia, Cannae as, 354
 Great Plains
 battle, 126, 211, 358
 Greek language, 10, 215

Index

groups
 at Rome?, 176
 Grumentum
 skirmish between Hannibal and Nero, 187
 Guadalquivir, 130
 Guadiana, 130
 gymnasia
 perceived centres of pederasty, 277
 Roman attitudes to, 277
 Sicilian
 paramilitary function, 277
 Syracosa contains one, 276
 Trajan on, 277
 Gytheum
 cult for Flamininus, 420
 Hadrian, 36
 ambiguous relationship with Italia, 129
 Hadrumetum, 214
 Hannibal flees to after Zama, 220
 Hagnon (Athenian)
 as hero?, 419
 hair
 of Scipio. *See* Cornelius Scipio Africanus,
 Publius
 Hamae, 193
 Hamilcar (1), 62, 235
 cult for, 228, 236, 428
 Mortya statue and?, 290
 had Syracusan mother, 75
 sacrifices during entire battle of Himera (?),
 225, 227
 Hamilcar (9), 41, 50
 Hamilcar (12)
 at Locri, 168
 Handel
 opera about Scipio, 423
 Hannah (biblical), 42
 Hannibal (6), 74, 75
 Hannibal (7), 41
 Hannibal (9)
 absent from Thermopylae narrative (191), 322
 Alexander the Acarnanian advises Antiochus
 to send him back to Africa, 318
 alleged slaughter at Juno sanctuary, 167,
 213, 225
 alleged visit to Cyrene (193), 315
 allegedly wins sea battle for Prusias, 361, 375
 and Hercules, 12, 226, 234, 408
 and his Tyrian agent Ariston, 310–14
 and logistics
 situation harder than Scipio's and
 achievement greater, 353
 apologizes for manhandling Giso (7), 60, 66,
 220, 244, 266, 268, 390, 435

- Armenian stay, 373–4
 as connoisseur of art?, 223
 as his own diviner, 227, 232, 241
 as popularis?, 175
 at Avernus, 228
 at court of Artaxias of Armenia, 369
 attends and hates lecture on generalship by Phormio, 281
 belief in incarnation, 229
 birth year, 2
 childhood and family, 50–3
 city foundations of, 377–9
 Cleopatra compared to. *See* Cleopatra
 comparison with Sertorius, 414
 consults oracle at Ammon?, 316
 cruelty of (alleged), 400, 408
 defeated at sea by Rhodians, 325
 defeats (minor) listed, 421
 discusses generalship with Scipio at Ephesus, 260, 337, 380
 elected 'praetor' (sufete), 269
 emotions on leaving Italy, 213, 225
 fails at Naples, 139, 275
 films about, 372, 415
 final years at Prusias I's Bithynia, 374–7
 financial abilities already displayed in Italian campaign, 355
 flees to court of Antiochus III, 298–302
 grave
 traditions about, 382
 greed of
 Polybius' explanation, 400
 had ? only 12,000 men on leaving Italy, 356
 his end
 traditions about, 379–82
 humour, sense of. *See* jokes, Hannibal
 impiety of
 breach of treaties, 410
 inscribed bronze tablet, 10, 11–13, 16–20
 isolation of, 107–10
 jokes with Giso (6), 367, 432
 knowledge of Latin
 wrongly doubted, 279
 legacy at Carthage, 405–7
 letter to Rhodians, 19, 281
 love affair at Salapia, 151, 279
 marches on Rome (211), 150
 meets Scipio at Ephesus (193)?, 259–65
 meets Scipio before Zama, 215–17
 mother, 41
 name
 afterlife of, 414
 scansion of, 412
 need for maritime city, 138, 360
 no cult of, 236, 239, 428
 no libations attested on sailing for Africa, 225
 not attested as making battle vows, 226
 not formally a priest, 232
 oath sworn as child, 51, 315
 offers freedom to Italians, 94, 365
 on Crete (Gortyn), 369
 one-eyed, 27, 87
 persecution of opposed by Scipio, 253
 Pontius Telesinus fright evokes thoughts of, 413
 private castle (African)
 as evidence for his personal wealth, 299
 promise of Carthaginian citizenship to allies, 408
 reason for limited role at Seleucid court, 307
 non-Greek outsider, 327
 reasons for avoiding sieges in Italy, 361
 reasons for placing Alexander first among generals, 337
 reformer at Carthage after Zama, 267–71
 rejects miraculous parentage (in Lucian), 232
 role as adviser to Antiochus assessed, 327
 sarcastic remark to Antiochus before Magnesia campaign?, 326
 speech of advice to Antiochus at Demetrias urges alliance with Philip, 320
 statues of, 28
 strategy at Zama, 219
 suffers rare defeat at Nola, 141
 surrender of
 demanded at Apamea (189), 326, 336
 tactical preferences, 347
 the 'Hannibalic legend', 223, 232
 town house at Carthage demolished, 301
 treaty with Philip V, 21, 141–5, 226
 tries to relieve Capua, 149
 under-rated by Vegetius, 348
 unwounded (allegedly), 339
 war aims, 137, 362
 wife Imilce?, 43, 52
 wigs of, 27, 91, 360
 wins then loses Syracuse, 146
 wrongly represented as perjurer, 222
 Hannibal (10)
 the 'single-combat-man'
 suggested cannibalism to Hannibal (9), 354
 supposedly author of Hannibal (9)'s cruelties, 45, 360, 400, 433
 Hannibal ad portas, 188, 232, 413
 Hannibal at gates proverbial for danger, 150
 Hanno (3), 12, 61
 mentions seers on naval expedition, 228
 Hanno (18), 60, 82, 172
 recalled to Carthage, 170

482

Hanno (21), 11, 86
 Hanno (22), 50, 102
 Hanno (26), 126
 Hanno (28), 21
 defeated by Scipio and Masinissa, 210
 Hanno (31) 'the Mullet', 45
 haruspices, 186
 Hasdrubal (5), 60, 69
 Hasdrubal (6), 39, 41, 163, 182
 commits 'suicide by Roman' at Metaurus, 190, 340
 decapitation of, 95, 190
 defeated on Ebro, 115
 letter to Hannibal in 207, 187
 Hasdrubal (8), 116, 126, 210
 denominated as son of Gisco (5), 46
 Hasdrubal (13)
 Carthaginian philosopher. *See* Clitomachus
hastati, 349, 358
 as front line of Roman infantry, 211
 Hebe, Greek goddess of youth
 temple vowed by Salinator after Metaurus, dedicated by Lucullus, 192
 Hegesianax
 audience with Roman legati, 307
 denied Aeneas' voyage to Italy, 305
 honoured at Aetolian-controlled Delphi, 305
 on Seleucid embassy to Rome (193), 305
 Seleucid historian and diplomat, 304
 Heircte, 67
 Helen, 149
 hellenization
 contested term, 290
 helpful animal motif, 378
 not same as ox-hide trick, 378
 Hera, 12, 85
 as 'present' in treaty with Philip V, 141
 Heraclea on the Black Sea, 23
 Heraclea under Latmos, 22, 161
 Heracles/Herakles, 49, 87
 founder of Fabian gens, 330
 Heraclides
 envoy of Antiochus III, 250
 Heraclides of Byzantium
 as envoy of Antiochus to Scipio, 331
 Hercules, 11, 85, 238
 as 'present' in treaty with Philip V, 141
 temple of (near Rome), 150
 twelve labours of, 87
 Herdonea
 first battle of, 150
 population moved by Hannibal, 153, 365, 410
 second battle of, 150, 153
 Herennius Siculus
 seer, friend of Gaius Gracchus, 227

Index

hermaphrodite
 intersex infant at Frusino, 185
 Hermes, 229
 Herodian
 on Caracalla's statues to Sulla and Hannibal, 383
 Herodotus, 20, 88, 322
 focussing devices in, 105
 on Cleomenes' sacrifice of bull to Poseidon, 239
 on Demaratus, 42
 on dream epiphany experienced by Hipparchus, 241
 on Scyles' Greek mother, 297
 postpones contents of letters, 156
 heroes heroines and hero cults, 237, 246
 Brasidas at Amphipolis, 343
 Herakles' double aspect, 235
 snake at Linternum hints at Scipio as hero, 393
 heroes, heroines, hero cults
 alleged for Hamilcar (1), 228
 heron, treacherous, 120
 Hesiod
 in Armenian rock inscription, 373
 Hesychius
 alleged author of *Life of Aristotle*, 282
 Hiero II
 building activity at Syracuse, 275
 death, 146
 sends military help to Rome, 91
 Hieronymus
 grandson of Hiero II, 146
 Hieronymus of Cardia, 342
 account of early Rome, 276
 and 'spear-won territory', 308
 on Seleucus I's romantic recovery of Babylon, 306
 portrait of Antigonus 'the One-eyed', 305
 Himera
 battle (480), 62
 Himilco (1), 61
 Hippocrates, 75, 163
 as Hannibal's agent at Syracuse, 146
 Hippocrates, Spartan
 sends 'laconic' message, 156
 Hipponium
 became Vibo Valentia, 295
 Locrian colony
 probably shared revolt from Rome, 366
 Hirpini
 abandoned Hannibal, 153
 went over to Hannibal, 138
 Hispalis
 near Seville, 126

- Historia Augusta
 on Italica, 131
 history
 defined by Aristotle, 259
 Hodus, 287
 Homer, 20, 31, 42, 265, 322
 army doctors in, 352
 Diomedes in, 141
 focussing devices in, 105
 Lucian makes Hannibal claim ignorance of, 280
 Odyssey, 42
 translated by Livius Andronicus, 284
 on epiphany of Athena, 241
 on generalship, 343
 on guile, 359
 on kingship, 319
 on night-fighting, 94
 hoplites
 heavy-armed Greek infantry, 343
 phalanx of
 superseded at Rome by manipular army, 350
 Horace, 15
 imitates Ennius on the Great Plains, 211
 on Ennius, 237
 on Hannibal's 'rapid flight' after Zama
 textually problematic, 339
 on Metaurus, 189, 193, 204, 364, 412
 on Tarentum, 149
 Horatius, 74, 96
 Hostilius Mancinus, Lucius, 99
 Hundred
 at Carthage, 65
 hyperbaton
 dislocated word-order
 of Pindar, 280
 Iamblichus
 on Pythagorean philosophers at Carthage, 287
 Iberia, 2, 11 *See* Baecula, Ilipa
 and Scipio's war aims, 137
 Barcid city foundations in, 293
 Carthaginian treatment of, 345, 408
 cause of Roman recruitment problems, 403
 chieftains in, 23
 debate about (193), 258
 Gracchus (father of Gracchi) in, 44
 Hamilcar (9) in, 68
 Hannibal as commander in, 79–85
 Hannibal's offer of, 217
 Hannibal succeeds to command in, 51
 Hannibal's wife from, 43
 Hasdrubal (5) in, 69
 Hercules' crossing to Italy from, 234
 importance for Roman careers, 44, 434
 logistical problems presented by, 353
 loss of by Carthage
 effects felt after Zama, 270
 Marcus Septimius takes command in, 116
 military service in unpopular, 401
 mints, 27
 not fully subdued at start of third century, 421
 Scipio Aemilianus' army reforms in, 352
 Scipio given command in (210), 14, 117
 Scipionic diplomacy with communities of, 118, 345, 346
 Scipio's father and uncle killed in, 44, 48
 senate regularly sends supplies to, 352
 silver mines, 365, 403
 sword named after, 357
 troops from in Hannibal's army
 at Cannae, 356
 troops from in Hasdrubal's army at Metaurus, 190
 Ilergetai, 11
 Ilipa, 14, 122, 207, 349
 battle, 126–7
 casualties at, 127
 Scipio improves on at battle of Great Plains, 211
 site disputed, 126
 Illyrian war
 first, 71
 Ilourgeia
 savage treatment of by Scipio, 128, 423
 Imilce, 43
 imperator
 as title, 124
 imperialism, 7, 62, 66
 peripheral. *See* peripheral
 Roman, denounced by Hannibal, 88
 imperium, 14
 as 'dominion', 137
 Gnaeus' delegated by brother Publius?, 159
 of Minucius, 100
 proconsular, conferred on Scipio, 117
 incubation, 240
 indemnity
 and booty
 legal unclarity, 389
 Carthaginian
 after Zama, 220
 indutiae
 truce, 229
 inferred motivation, 63
 inscriptions, 28
 Aetolian league in fifth century, 316
 Aetolian–Roman treaty (212), 145
 at Croton

inscriptions (cont.)

- Hannibal's bilingual record at Juno sanctuary, 12, 212
- attest Athenian diplomacy with Carthage (406), 63
- attest Carthaginians at Athens, 288
- attest contact between Carthage and Thebes, 288
- attest Greek–Punic code-switching, 287
- Augustus' *Res gestae*, 245
- Baalbal's genealogy, 231
- Chyretiae
 - Flamininus' letter to, 161, 362
- elogium of Cornelia II, 44
- elogium of Scipio, 13, 418
- elogium of Scipio Barbatus, 53
- Erythraeans who have fled to 'the Medes', 298
- Etruscan king's bilingual dedication to Astarte, 93
- from Armenia
 - rock inscriptions about Greek literature, 373
- from Athens
 - proxeny decree for Tyrians, 288
- from Bahariya oasis (Egypt)
 - dedication by Alexander to father Ammon, 232
- from Chios
 - Romulus and Remus, 71
- from Colophon
 - letters from Scipios, 23
- from Crete
 - honours to Scipio brothers and others (189), 264, 371
- from Delos
 - dedications by Scipios, 22, 263
 - friendship and kinship with Rome, 263
 - honours for Bouzos of Canusium, 68, 104, 355
 - honours to Scipio, 263
 - Scipio honoured for virtue and piety, 419
- from Delphi
 - Gelon's victory celebrated, 62
 - honours to Hegesianax, 305
 - honours to Muttines, 148
- from Eretria
 - cult for Flamininus, 420
- from Greece
 - honours for Flamininus, 419
- from Gytheum
 - cult for Flamininus, 420
- from Heraclea under Latmos
 - letters from Scipios, 22
- from Italica
 - meagre, 132
- from Malta, 289

- from Memphis (Egypt)
 - Cretan dream interpreter, 240
- from Pyrgi
 - bilingual gold tablet, 93
- from Sicily
 - attesting gymnasia, 277
- from Sidon (Phoenicia)
 - prince celebrates victory at Nemean games, 288
- from Syrian Antioch
 - proves 195 as date of Hannibal's flight, 301
- from Tauromenium
 - library catalogue, 278
- in Piraeus and Athens museums
 - none for Carthaginians, 288
- Lampsacus' kinship with Rome, 308
- Lindian Chronicle, 241
- Macedonian, 305
- modern collections, 28
- Mummius, disputed dedication by, 132
- on warfare between Gortyn and Cnossus (Crete), 370
- Ptolemaic, 304
- Punic
 - from Ibiza, 357
 - from Malta, 289
- Rhodian 'foreign judges' attested by, 309
- Seleucid, 306
- intelligence, military. *See* spy network, Hannibal's
- intercessio. *See* veto
- intermarriage, 75, 146
 - Ariston as product of?, 310
 - Carthaginians with Greeks, 62, 287
- interpreters, 98, 128, 279
 - Acilius as, 260
 - at Zama, 215
 - none mentioned in Hannibal's dealings with Antiochus, 281
 - presumed use of by Hannibal to some army units, 347
- intersignification, 53, 329
- invidia
 - unpopularity
 - of Nero and Salinator as censors (204), 196
- invented tradition, 195
 - about Italica, 134
 - origin of concept, 131
- inviolability
 - of sanctuaries, 23, 161, 163
 - personal, of tribunes, 390
- Iolaus, 141
- Ipsus
 - Antigonus 'the One-eyed' defeated and killed by Seleucus I (301), 332

- Isère, 87
 Isthmian festival and games, 71
 Flaminius' proclamation at, 249
 Italica
 home city of Trajan and Hadrian, 131
 location at Santiponce, 128
 not founded by Scipio, 128–35, 171, 291
 Italy
 as a mere 'geographical expression', 365
 attitudes to Hannibal and Rome, 362–6
 Carthaginian allies in, 142
 colonization in (197–4), 255
 devastation of
 how bad and how lasting?, 398–401
 eponymous assize towns (*fora*) in, 294
 Greek cities of, 274
 Hannibal offers freedom to Italians, 94, 365
 Hercules crosses from Iberia to, 234
 protected from ferocious Gauls by Rome, 364
 Itanos (Crete)
 Ptolemaic garrison at, 372
iumenta. *See* pack animals
ius Latī. *See* Latin right
Iuventas, Greek Hebe
 temple vowed by Salinator at Metaurus, 192

 Jacob (biblical)
 ladder, 229
 Jason (mythical figure)
 and fire-breathing bulls, 100
 pours libations from ship Argo, 224
 jealousy, *phthonos*, 155
 Jesus
 called 'King of the Jews' in sign fixed on
 cross, 296
 John (gospel of)
 on sign attached to cross of Jesus, 296
 John the Baptist, 42
 joint commands
 at Carthage, 108
 jokes
 by Hannibal, 21, 109, 210, 326
 by Scipio, 21, 210, 254
 Judaism
 Toynbee's attitude to, 396
 judges
 at Carthage, 65
 Hannibal seeks to end life tenure of, 270
 Jugurtha
 paraded in triumph, then executed, 247
 Julius Caesar, 9
 as rex, 125
 on Sulla, 280
 Julius Frontinus, Sextus, 30
 on Maharbal stratagem, 112

 praises Hannibal's choice of camp at
 Numistro, 153, 338
 story about 'Scipio Africanus' as not
 pugnacious
 probably means Aemilianus, 340
 Julius Obsequens
 collected Livy's prodigy lists, 284
 Junius Silanus, Marcus, 118
 Juno, 11, 193
 dissuades Hannibal from marching on
 Rome, 233
 favoured Carthage until 207, 184
 hymn to, by Livius Andronicus, 184
 Lacinia, 11, 12, 16, 85, 167, 232
 Moneta, 197, 200
 perennially angry, 233
 reconciled to Rome after Metaurus, 12, 193,
 233, 295, 406
 Junonia
 as theophoric name of intended colony, 295
 Jupiter, 42, 231
 Optimus Maximus, 226, 230
 and triumphs, 246
 Purpurio vows temples to, 200
 role in provoking the war, 233
 Scipio Nasica vows and holds games to, 200
 Scipio sacrifices to on sailing for Africa, 224
 Stator, Romulus' vow to, 197
 triumphs, 14
 Victor, Rullianus vows temple to, 198
 Justin, 30
 on audits of Carthaginian generals, 170
 on Carthaginian constitution, 65
 on Hannibal's naval victory for Prusias, 375
 on Hannibal's precocity, 79
 on Hannibal's wanderings, 370
 used good sources, 170
 Juvenal
 compares Hannibal to Alexander, 86
 eighth Satire and prosopography, 176
 on Hannibal as 'supreme general', 411
 on Hannibal's crossing of Pyrenees and Alps, 85
 on Hannibal's end, 369, 379

 Kerkouane, 63
 kingship
 Roman attitudes to, 23, 122, 124, 212
 expressed by the Scipios, 332
 Koine
 as educated Hellenistic Greek, 162
 Kronos
 and Baal, 228

 Lactantius
 quoted Ennius, 237

- Laelius Sapiens, Gaius (friend of Aemilianus), 110
 Laelius, Gaius (friend of Africanus), 219
 as confidant of Scipio, 110
 at New Carthage, 120
 awards crown to Digitius, 278
 consul 190 with Lucius Scipio, 323
 sent to raid Africa, 208
 Lake Nemi
 Caligula's floating palaces on, 277
 Lamprias catalogue, 32
 Lampsacus
 Antiochus offers to abandon claim to, 331
 envoys from at Lysimachia conference, 309
 kinship link with Rome, 307
 resisted Antiochus III (192), 305
 Laodice
 queen of Antiochus III, 301
 statue on Delos, 264
 Larinum, 100
 latifundia
 large land-holdings and Gracchan reforms, 402
 Latin language, 19
 Hannibal's knowledge of, 98, 279
 Latin right
 entitled Italian magistrates to Roman
 citizenship, 362
 law, Carthaginian, 65
 legates, 15, 54, 116, 161
 as diplomats, 207, 215
 as staff officers, 136, 164, 258, 328
 ten, as commissioners, 307
 legends
 about Scipio and Hannibal. *See* Cornelius
 Scipio Africanus, Publius and
 Hannibal (9)
 legions, 92, 101
 in Bruttium, 209
 number in 207, 186
 numbers in second Punic war, 356
 Scipio's in Sicily, 208
 Leocritus, 287
 Leontini, 148
 Lepti Minus or Minor, 214
 letters
 who composed?, 160
 Leuctra, battle of, 33, 357
 Leuke Akra, 68, 293
 lex Calpurnia
 and extortion trials, 385
 libations, 230, 239
 liquid sacrifices
 before sea journeys, 224
 Liber-Triumpus, 230
 libraries
 attached to gymnasia
 Tauromenium, 278
 Syracusia contains one, 276
 Libyphoenicians
 explained, 73
 Muttines as, 338
 Licinius Crassus (cos. 70)
 decapitated after Carrhae, 191
 Licinius Crassus Dives, Publius (cos. 205),
 118, 176
 given Bruttium as prouincia, 208
 Licinius Tegula, Publius, 185
 Liguria, 142
 Lilybaeum, 88, 221
 Lindian Chronicle
 on epiphanies, 241
 Liternum, 15, 20, 392
 litterae
 meaning of
 language or literature?, 280, 296
 Livius Andronicus, 193
 and family of Salinator, 184
 Cicero on career of, 203
 created Latin literature, 284
 hymn to Juno, 184
 translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, 284
 Livius Salinator, Gaius (cos. 188)
 commands fleet against Antiochus (191), 322
 Livius Salinator, Marcus (cos. 208)
 probably not decemuir, 184
 Livius Salinator, Marcus (decemuir), 185, 196
 Livius Salinator, Marcus (victor at Metaurus), 70,
 90, 108, 126, 153
 as censor (204) contracts for temple to
 Iuventas, 192
 career and grievances, 183–5
 legate to Carthage, 84
 moves against Mago (6), 208
 probably not decemuir, 196
 vows temple to Hebe on day of Metaurus, 192
 Livy, 5, 16, 29, 213
 accepted story of Hannibal's meeting with
 Scipio, 260
 and caution theme, 90
 and Horace, 194
 character sketch of Hannibal
 influenced by Sallust, 52
 claims that Italian senates favoured Rome, the
 plebs Carthage, 362
 compared to Polybius on Cannae, 101
 compared to Polybius on speeches before
 Zama, 216
 implies Metaurus a tipping point, 182
 Locri affair topical in his lifetime, 167
 main source for Roman Republican
 religion, 222

- obituary of Scipio, 244
- on causes of second Punic war, 81
- on Hannibal's bravery, 340
- on Hannibal's death
 - role of Flamininus, 381
- on Hannibal's emotions at departure from Italy, 213
- on prodigies, 91
- on Sena as camp site, 204
- on the trials of the Scipios, 387
- portents
 - change in coverage of, 284
 - postpones contents of letters, 156
- silent on Hannibal's wanderings between Antiochus period and 183, 370
- speeches in, 31, 159
- treatment of Salinator's vow of temple at Metaurus, 192, 197
- uses asyndeton about Salinator, 183
- Locri, 58
 - besieged by Crispinus, 153
 - class struggle at, 363
 - Hannibal wins over in 215, 139
 - Hannibal's and Scipio's treatment compared, 163–71
 - helped by Sparta at battle of Sagra river, 164
 - Italian city named after Greek founding area, 292
 - man management at
 - Hannibal and Scipio compared, 4, 366
 - Scipio puts Pleminius in charge of, 136
 - unusually sophisticated city, 164
 - women prominent at, 164
- logistics, 351–6, 435
- lot
 - as showing will of gods, 251
- Lucan, 52
 - on Pompey's decapitation, 191
- Lucania, 138
- Lucanians, 104
 - some abandon Hannibal, 153
- Lucian, 4, 265, 422
 - makes Hannibal assert ignorance of Homer, 280
 - makes Hannibal reject claim to divinity, 232
- Lucretius
 - on elephants, 411
 - on Hannibal (by implication), 411, 413
 - on Scipiadæ, 48, 422
- Lucretius, Spurius (praetor 205), 208
- ludi Romani
 - games in Circus Maximus, 113
- Luke (gospel of)
 - on sign attached to cross of Jesus, 296
- lustrum condere
 - ritual lustration
 - carried out by sensors at end of term, 251
- Lycophron, 28
 - on Anius of Delos, 263
 - on Balearic slingers, 357
 - on Malta, 152, 289
 - on Menelaus in Italy, 149
 - on Naples, 139
 - on the Apulian Dasii, 363
- Lycurgus (Spartan lawgiver), 236
- Lysander
 - on oaths, 36
 - tactics at Aegospotami, 357
- Lysias, envoy of Antiochus III, 307
- Lysimachia, 320
 - Roman–Seleucid conference at (196), 308
- Lysimachus
 - defeated by Seleucus I (281), 308
- Lysippus (sculptor), 223
- Macedonia
 - as consular allotment, 250
- Macedonian legion
 - at Zama, 143, 219, 248
- Macedonian war
 - first, 143, 248
 - second, 143
 - not opposed by Scipio, 248, 257
- Machanidas, 122
- Machaon, 352
- Macrobius
 - source of Ennius fragment about Scipio, 239
 - wrote commentary on 'Dream of Scipio', 417
- magazines
 - as storage depots, 354
- magister
 - at Secular Games, 196
- magistrates
 - at Carthage, 65
 - wider ancient senses of, 12
- Magnesia, 3
 - alternative designation of battle, 192
- battle, 22
 - analysis of, 335
 - numbers at, 333
 - terms imposed after, 335
 - location under Mt Sipylus, 333
- Mago (6), 41, 90, 116, 163, 207, 215
 - at Gades and Balearics, 136
 - death of, 136
 - false exile story about (193), 316
 - receives instructions from Carthage, 157
- Mago (7)
 - swears treaty with Philip V, 141

- Mago (10) 'the Samnite', 45, 72, 74
 at Locri, 168
 Mago (12), 119
 Mago (15) 'the Bruttian', 75
 Maharbal, 90, 96
 as theophoric name from Baal, 49
 criticizes Hannibal, 105, 137
 and gets away with it, 367
 not in Polybius, 262
 disappears from record after Cannae, 163
 more than one bearer?, 111–12
 overruled by Hannibal after Trasimene, 94
 stratagem in Frontinus, 37
 Malchus, 65
 Malta
 locus of Carthaginian–Greek contacts, 289
 Longus captures, 88, 152, 289
 Mamertini, 66
 Mandonius, 121
 mandrake
 stratagems using, 112
 maniples, manipular army, 211
 at Cannae, 103
 at Zama, 219
 when introduced, 349
 Manlius Torquatus, Titus
 dictator (208), 183
 ransom speech, 21, 258
 Manlius Vulso, Gnaeus (cos. 189)
 on crucifixion of generals at Carthage, 384
 res gestae of, 19
 Manlius Vulso, Lucius (praetor 218), 84
 vows temple to Concord during mutiny, 198
 man management
 Hannibal and Scipio compared, 366
 manpower
 Carthaginian, 115
 Roman and Italian losses in second Punic war, 401
 Mantinea, battle (207), 122
 maps, 31, 92
 Marathon, 242
 battle, 22, 103
 Marcius Ralla, Quintus
 dedicates in 192 temples vowed by Furius Purpurio, 200
 dedicates Tuditanus' temple to Fortuna (194), 198
 Marcius Septimius, Lucius, 59
 asks senate for supplies, 156
 takes command in Iberia, 116
 Marcius, Gaius
 Iberian from Italica, 132
 maritime city
 Hannibal's need for, 139
 maritime supremacy
 Roman, 360
 Marius, Gaius, 46
 abolished property qualification for military service, 429
 and Syrian seer Martha, 227
 Marrucini, 97
 Mars, 66, 230
 month of March sacred to, 331
 temple dedicated by Cincinnatus, 198
 Martha
 seer of Marius, 227
 Marullinus, Aelius, 132
 Masinissa, 25, 50, 116, 123, 172, 378
 at Zama, 219
 Carthaginian complaints against (195), 313
 despicable treatment of Sophoniba, 212
 enters the story, 123
 joins Scipio with cavalry in 204, 210
 visited by Scipio Aemilianus (dream), 415
 Massilia, 75, 85
 Masters of the Horse, 90, 96
 Mausoleum at Halicarnassus
 compared to Scipio's monumental arch, 329
 Mazaetullus, 50
 medicines and medical staff
 as part of logistics, 352
 Medma
 Locrian colony
 probably shared revolt from Rome, 366
 meetings between Hannibal and Scipio
 at Ephesus (193), 259–65, 337
 before Zama, 215
 Melqart, 12, 85, 87, 227, 234, 289
 Hamilcar (1) confused with?, 228
 on Siculo-Greek coinage?, 289
 patron god of Tyre, 49
 Memnon (historian), 23
 men on the spot, 147
 Menelaus, 239
 in south Italy, 149
 Menippus
 erects statues on Delos, 264
 massacre by, 264, 314, 320
 mercenaries, 106
 Mamertines, 66
 sent by Philip V to Zama?, 219
 merism
 indicates a totality, 225
 Messapians
 as threat to Tarentum, 149
 Messina (Sicily), 177
 Scipio, 136
 Metaurus, 15
 battle, 12, 15, 90, 95

- booty from, 190, 192, 207
- casualties, 190
- personification, 203, 212
- river, 15
- topography, 189
- triumphs for, 201
- metics (registered foreigners)
 - at Athens
 - philosophers as, 282
- Metilius, Marcus (tribune 217)
 - on visual effects of Hannibal's
 - devastation, 400
- Midas
 - drank bull's blood, 380
- Miltiades (Carthaginian philosopher), 287
- Minnio
 - prods Antiochus to war, 318
- Minucius, Marcus, 174
- Minucius Augurinus, Gaius (tribune 187)
 - forensic attack on Lucius Scipio, 389
- Minucius Augurinus, Gaius (tribune 184), 180
- Minucius Rufus, Marcus
 - as Master of the Horse (217), 90, 96
 - imperium made equal with Fabius', 100
 - on visual effects of Hannibal's
 - devastation, 400
- Minucius Rufus, Quintus (cos. 197)
 - ouatio, 202
- misdirection
 - tragic, 416
- monumental arch
 - Scipio's, 329, 414
- moon, 141
- Mopsii
 - at Compsa, 138
- Moschion
 - source for the Syracosia, 276
- Motya
 - statue of charioteer
 - and cult of Hamilcar (1)?, 289
 - booty or not?, 289
- Mozart
 - set the 'Dream of Scipio' to music, 417
- mules
 - logistically important, 353
 - mentioned only once in surviving text of
 - Polybius, 353
 - of Marius, 353, 422
- Mummius, Lucius, 19
 - dedication at Italica (?), 132
- mutiny
 - against Alexander, 342, 351
 - against Antiochus III, 309
 - Scipio's harsh suppression of, 128
 - Vulso makes vow during (218), 198
- Muttines or Muttones the Libyphoenician
 - defects to Rome, 147, 338
- Myonnesus
 - sea battle, 200, 325
- Myrkanos
 - swears treaty with Philip V, 141
- Myth of Er. *See* Plato
- Nabis (Spartan king), 318
 - Damocritus sent to, 318, 362
- Naevius (poet), 56, 420
- Naevius, Marcus (tribune 184), 180
 - accuser of Scipio in 184, 391
- names, personal, 41
 - and prosopography, 45–7
- Naples, 60
 - Hannibal attempts to win, 139
 - Hannibal fails at, 139, 275, 361
 - not barbarized, 296
 - Rome's oldest naval ally, 139
- Naravas, 50
- Naupactus
 - Aetolian league meets at (193), 317
- naval warfare
 - few naval battles in second Punic war, 360
- Naxos in Sicily, 60, 129
- Nemean festival and games, 71
 - Diognetus at, 288
- Nepos, 30
 - first to name Zama, 194, 218
 - on demolition of Hannibal's town house,
 - 301, 424
 - on Hannibal at Gortyn, 370
 - on Hannibal's Greek, 279, 296
 - on Hannibal's naval victory for Prusias, 375
 - on Hannibal's oath, 51
 - on Romans' role in Hannibal's death, 380
 - says Hannibal sailed to Cyrene (193), 315
- Neptune
 - and Scipio, 120
 - more than one Punic 'equivalent', 227
 - Scipio sacrifices to on sailing for Africa, 224
- Nero. *See* Claudius
- Nero Claudius Drusus, brother of emperor
 - Tiberius, 194
 - and Metaurus, 204
- neutrality
 - of Delos, 264
- New Carthage, 2, 14, 60, 239
 - as supply depot, 119
 - compared to Italica, 133
 - foundation of by Hasdrubal (5), 69
 - name, 293
 - Scipio captures, 119–23
 - symbolic value of, 119

490

Nicander (Aetolian envoy)
 later career, 318
 on Hannibal, 320
 sent to Philip V, 318
 Nicias, 156
 has favourite seer, 227
 nicknames, 74
 night-fighting, 94
 Nobas, 75
 nod
 of Jupiter and Scipio, 258
 Nola
 Hannibal suffers rare defeat at, 141
 political oscillation at, 364
 nomen, 46
 Nossis (Locrian epigrammatist), 164
 nostalgia
 colonial
 affected naming of cities, 292
 Timaeus' for Sicily, 275
 Numantia, 38
 Numidians, 11, 64
 at Cannae
 pretended deserters, 103
 at Trebia
 ambush, 90
 at Zama, 219
 kill Scipio's father, 116
 oaths
 breaking of
 by Scipio, 358
 cynical attitudes to, 36
 in treaty between Hannibal and Philip V, 226
 Scipio's after Cannae, 106
 sworn by Hannibal as child, 51, 68, 315
 Octavian. *See* Augustus
 Octavius, Gnaeus (praetor 205), 215
 Odysseus, 42
 as ancient military role model, 359
 Olbia (happy, prosperous)
 name as example of onomastic optimism, 295
 oligarchies
 always resist reform, 270
 Olympiads, 10
 Olympian festival and games, 71
 Olympias, 55
 omens
 bad
 for Hannibal on crossing to Africa, 213
 good
 for Scipio on crossing to Africa, 210
 one-eyed man
 Hannibal as, 27, 87
 onomastic evidence. *See* names, personal

Index

Ophellas, 72
 Oppian law (215)
 debate on repeal of, 255
 optimates, 175
 optimism
 onomastic: 295
 oracles
 Ammon
 Hannibal allegedly consults, 228, 316, 382
 at Delphi, 145
 Dorieus and, 159
 of the dead
 Hannibal's sacrifices at, 228
 promises success to Scipios in Africa, 225
 Oracles, 79
 Orosius
 alleges terminal illness of Scipio, 393
 Orpheus, 233
 ouatio, 246
 Claudius Centhos, 202
 Minucius Rufus in 197, 202
 not same as modern 'ovation', 201
 Ovid
 on 'great Scipio', 422
 on Metaurus, 186, 195, 205
 ox-hide trick
 by Dido, 377
 not Greek, 377
 pack animals
 Nero's army provided with on march up
 Italy, 355
 used for carrying weapons, 356
 Padus, 88
 Paestum, 121
 as 'city of Poseidon' and of Digitius, 278
 relevant to divine help at New
 Carthage, 278
 Pagasai. *See* Demetrius
 Palinurus, 224
 pallium, 56
 Greek tunic
 Scipio wears at Syracuse, 275
 young Scipio allegedly half-wearing, 278
 Pamphylia
 Alexander at, 239
 Hannibal's sea battle off, 325
 Panion
 Seleucid victory over Ptolemaic Egypt at
 (201), 331
 Panormus
 ship-building by Scipio at, 208
 papyri
 documentary
 from Ptolemaic Egypt, 304

Index

491

- parallels between Hannibal and Scipio
 about apologies, 390
 advisers before Magnesia, 3, 274
 parallel drawn by Livy, 323, 406
 as historians, 20
 both had trouble with 'quaestors', 269
 both learned from family deaths in battle to
 stay alive, 344
 both suspected of stealing booty?, 267
 brought down by domestic enemies, 3
 deaths, 3, 380
 did not aim at monarchical position, 428
 did not found eponymous cities, 428
 fictional same-sex stories told about both, 52
 financial, 252
 Hercules as model, 234
 literary, detected by modern scholars, 407
 neither received cult, 427
 not great successes as politicians, 431
 oaths or vows taken in youth, 226
 omens during crossings to Africa, 214
 overseas commands, 3, 155, 429, 434
 religious, 242
 stories told after Cannae, 105
 upholders of Greek freedom?, 274
- Parmenio and Pythodorus
 envoys from Lampsacus at Lysimachia
 conference, 309
- Parthians
 decapitate Crassus, 191
- Parthini, 142
- past presumptive, 7, 70
- patronyms
 denomination by, 46
- Pausistratus the Rhodian
 fleet commander
 death of, 324
- pederasty
 fictional story about summoning of boy
 Hannibal, 52
 gymnasia perceived to be associated with, 277
- Pella
 Syrian, 292
- Pelopidas, 33
- Pergamum
 great altar
 celebrated Pergamene victories over
 Prusias?, 377
 rulers of. *See* Eumenes II, Attalus II
- Pericles, 46
- periocae, 70
 Italica mentioned, 132
 periocha 41,
 on Gracchus, 294
- peripheral imperialism, 86, 158
- perjury
 by Scipio?, 211, 229
- Persephone
 cult at Locri, 164
 Sicilian cult of, 290
- Perseus (king of Macedon), 25, 54
- personification
 of Africa on coin, 225
 of Metaurus as 'witness', 203, 212
- Petillii cousins
 and attacks on the Scipios (187), 389
- Petillius, Quintus (tribune 187), 180
- Petrarch
 drew on 'Dream of Scipio' in his Africa, 417
- phalanx
 Greek infantry formation. *See* hoplites
- Pharus, 142
- Phaselis, 121
- Philadelphus. *See* Ptolemy II
- philhellenism
 ambiguity of, 249
- Philip II of Macedon, 25, 36, 37, 49
 as founder of eponymous cities, 292
 lost eye at Methone siege, 339
 talent-spots Eumenes of Cardia at
 gymnasium, 277
- Philip of Megalopolis
 alleged agent of Antiochus III, 321
- Philip V of Macedon, 20, 25, 79, 207
 accused of neglecting to bury dead after defeat
 at Cynoscephalae, 321
 Hannibal's letter to, 119
 Hannibal's treaty with, 83
 succeeded to throne (221), 305
 why preferred Rome to Antiochus, 321
- Philippi, 49
- Philippopolis, 49
- Philistus (Sicilian historian)
 works of in Tauromenium library
 catalogue, 278
- Philopoemen, 3, 4,
 262
 death
 compared to Hannibal's, 380
 military training by, 122
- philosophers at Carthage. *See* Carthage,
 philosophy and philosophers
- Phoenice, Peace of, 143, 374. *See* treaties
- Phoenician trenches, 220
- Phoenicians, 12, 93
- Phormio (Athenian admiral), 118
- Phormio (Athenian philosopher), 35, 265
 Aristotelian, 282
- Picenum, 97
- Pietas. *See* Piety

- piety
 of Hannibal towards dead Romans, 95
 Glabrio family and temple to, 200
- Pindar, 1, 15, 216
 house at Thebes spared by Alexander, 223
 imitated by Horace on Metaurus victory, 193
 too difficult for Hannibal?, 280
- piracy, 62, 324
 Aetolian, 316
- Piraeus, 277
- pistis, 161
- Pithekoussai, 61
- Placentia, 88
 Hasdrubal besieges, 186
- Plato
 on seers, 228
 Republic
 Myth of Er emulated by Cicero in 'Dream of Scipio', 417
 Plautus (comic playwright), 263
- Pleminius, Quintus, 58
 as scoundrel, 151
 at Locri, 136, 163–71, 177, 366, 385
 fate of, various versions, 166
- Pliny the Elder, 25
 claims Hannibal spared temple at Saguntum, 222
 on Gnaeus Scipio's funeral mound, 116
 on Hannibal's love affair, 151
 on Italica, 131
 on Libyssa, 382
 on Pomponia (by implication), 42
 on Prusa as foundation by Hannibal, 377
 on Scipio's olive tree at Liternum, 393
 on statues of Hannibal at Rome, 150
 says Cato learned soldiering from Hannibal and Scipio, 421
- Pliny the Younger
 on gymnasia, 277
- plunder. *See* booty
- Plutarch, 1, 3, 30, 109
 lost Lives of Scipio, 31–4
 on death of Demosthenes, 379
 on discussion between Hannibal and Scipio on generalship, 261
 on Hannibal in Armenia, 369
 Life of Lucullus fuller than Strabo, 373
 on Hannibal's death, 379
 on Pyrrhus' 'integrated' generalship, 343
 on the two Catos, 386
 sceptical about superhuman status of mortals, 238
- Podalirius, 352
- poison
 Hannibal's death by, 379
- politeia
 wider than constitution, 107
- Polyaenus, 30, 37
 on Hannibal's belief in incarnation, 229
 on mandrake stratagem, 112
- Polybius, 3, 29
 Aetolian breach with Rome as 'spark' lighting Rome's war with Aetolians, 317
 and caution theme, 90
 and ethnics, 73, 74, 77
 and Scipio Aemilianus, 100
 and 'those around', 110
 and tyche, 299
 anecdotes to illustrate Scipio's character, 254
 bias of, 100
 book 6,
 Roman religion discussed in missing section, 230
 book 6 of, 63, 107, 173
 capable of dramatic narrative, 298
 compared to Livy on Cannae, 101
 compared to Livy on speeches before Zama, 216
 confuses Marcus Atilius Regulus with Marcus Minucius, 102
 did not narrate trials of Scipios sequentially, 387
 does not record prodigies, 91
 events not mentioned by
 could still have happened, 262
 fragment described Hannibal's subterfuge at Gortyn?, 371
 interested in Locri, 164
 Italica not mentioned by, 130
 less informative than Livy about Roman religion, 222
 little after Zama about Carthage in surviving text, 220
 Metaurus not named by, 204
 mules mentioned once only in surviving text of, 353
 on causation, 80
 on cohorts, 350
 on deaths of Marcellus, Hasdrubal (6), and Hamilcar (9), 340
 on effects of second Punic war on Italian cities, 399
 on fear and respect for Rome, 98, 364
 on Hannibal's cruelty, 400, 408
 on Hannibal's 'greed'
 explicable by 'force of circumstances', 400
 on Hannibal's impiety, 410
 on Scipio
 sought fame in aristocratic state, 266
 on Scipio and dreams or omens, 242

- on Scipio and self-preservation, 341
- on Scipio's awareness of father's mistakes, 344
- on Scipio's religious attitudes, 114
- on Scipio's trial (184), 391
- on the tribunate of the plebs, 174
- praises dishonest success by Scipio, 210
- quotes Xenophon to describe Scipio's
 - 'workshop of war', 350
- rightly stresses Hannibal's logistical
 - achievement, 353
- speeches in, 20, 31, 158
- word for 'rumour' a favourite of, 310
- Polyrrhenia (on Crete)
 - honours to Hispallus, 264
- polysemic interpretations, 49, 422
- Polyxenidas the Rhodian
 - defeated at sea by Romans and Eumenes II off
 - Corycus, 323
 - sent by Antiochus to bring forces from
 - Asia, 321
- pompai*. *See* processions
- Pomponia, 41, 178, 235, 236
 - piety of, 113, 222
- Pomponius Matho (praetor 217), 54, 90, 96
- Pomponius Matho, Manius (cos. 233), 41, 67
- Pomponius Matho, Marcus (cos. 231), 41
- Pomponius Matho, Marcus (praetor 204), 42,
 - 165, 178
- pontifices, 184
- Pontius Pilate
 - fixes sign on the cross, 296
- Pontius Telesinus
 - compared to Hannibal, 413
- Popilius Laenas, Gaius (cos. 172)
 - arrogant treatment of Antiochus IV, 84
- Popilius Laenas, Gaius (cos. 172), 378
- populares, 175
- Porcius Cato, Marcus (the Elder), 36, 44, 87, 180
 - and indemnity imposed on Antiochus at
 - Apamea, 336
 - as censor co-appoints colleague Flaccus
 - princeps senatus*, 251
 - commands warships on crossing to Africa, 209
 - drops a Libyan fig, 271
 - hated Scipio, 386
 - military tribune at Thermopylae (191), 322
 - on Scipio
 - Cicero's evidence, 421
 - on Scipio's auctoritas, 259
 - part in Scipio's disgrace, 386
 - quaestor, 209
 - sends supplies home from Iberia because 'the
 - war will feed itself', 352
 - severity of censorship (184), 386
- Porcius Cato, Marcus (the Younger)
 - paired with Phocion by Plutarch, 386
- Porcius Licinus, Lucius
 - dedicates temple to Venus Erycina, 200
- Porcius Licinus, Lucius (praetor 207)
 - at Metaurus, 189
- portraits of Hannibal and Scipio, 24–8
- Poseidon
 - as 'present' in treaty with Philip V, 141
 - Romanized as Neptune, 120
- Posidonius
 - on Fabius and Marcellus, 33
- Postumius Albinus, Lucius (cos. 229), 54, 70
- praenomen, 46
- praetorium
 - as meeting of Roman officers, 109
- praetors, 44
 - as Carthaginian sufetes, 269
- Praetuttii, 97
- prayers
 - Ajax to Zeus, 94, 359
 - Roman
 - at Trasimene, 199
 - Scipio's for safe return from Africa, 223
 - Scipio's on sailing for Africa, 224
- Priam, 123
- priests and priesthoods, 14
 - Carthaginian
 - some priests women, 231
 - Roman, 175. *See* Salian priests
 - decemviri, 184
 - usually for life, 230
- Sicilian
 - for Persephone and Demeter, 290
- princeps senatus, 15
 - censors could appoint one of selves as, 251
 - had right to speak first in debates, 251
- Scipio as, 249
- principes, 358
 - as 'chief men' at Locri, 363
 - as second line of Roman infantry, 211,
 - 220
 - at Zama, 219
- processions
 - as features of Greek public life, 245
 - triumphs as, 14, 230
- proconsul, 14
- prodigies, 91
 - Livy's coverage of, 284
 - reported in 207, 185
- prolepsis, 81, 89, 138
- proletarii
 - defined, 401
- propraetor, 117
- prorogatio, 14
- Proserpina. *See* Persephone

494

proskunesis
as obeisance, 121

prosopography, 45–7
and Hamilcar (12) problem, 168
and Roman Republican politics, 175–80
Busa, 105
revival of?, 426

prouincia, 67
origins of system, 155

proxenos
Scipio at Delos, 263

proxeny
Athenian, for Tyrians, 288
defined, 263

Prusa
as ‘Bursa’, 377
Hannibal’s role in foundation, 375, 377

Prusias I of Bithynia, 23, 35, 328
Hannibal at court of, 369
letters to, by Publius and Lucius Scipio, 332

Ptolemais
new name of Barke, 72

Ptolemies, Ptolemaic Egypt. *See* Egypt,
Ptolemaic

Ptolemy I, 306
as historian, 34, 344

Ptolemy II, 54
and Theocritus, 276

Ptolemy IV
loses Seleucia in Pieria, 307

Ptolemy V, 309
incorrect rumour of death, 309

Ptolemy VI Philometor, 44

Punic co-jurors
to treaty between Hannibal and Philip V, 162

Punic deception, 128, 211, 358

Punic language, 10, 19, 28, 60, 98, 141

Punic war
second, 2

Punic wars
third
Carthage destroyed, 405

Punica fraus. *See* Punic deception

Puteoli
Hannibal’s attempt on, 141

Pyrenees, 11, 85, 126

Pyrgi, 93

Pyrrhus, 54, 66, 91, 98
exemplifies ‘integrated ideal’ of
generalship, 343
helps Tarentum. *See*
rated second by Hannibal for generalship, 337

Pythian festival and games, 71

quadriremes, 11

Index

quaestors
Carthaginian, 64
Hannibal has trouble with quaestor at
Carthage, 269
on Hannibal’s army staff, 270, 355

Roman
Cato as, 209
number of, 64
recalcitrant quaestor refuses to open
treasury for Scipio, 254

Quinctius Cincinnatus, Gaius
dedicates temple to Mars, 198

Quinctius Crispinus, Titus (cos. 208), 153,
183
begins siege of Locri, 153
wounded and killed, 153

Quinctius Flamininus, Lucius (cos. 192)
organizes a beheading, 191

Quinctius Flamininus, Titus, 3, 4, 71
and Scipio, 248–51
asked by Antiochus for formal alliance with
Rome, 309
career resists analysis in terms of groups,
179, 248
continuation of command, 257
cultic honours to, 249
defeats Philip V at Cynoscephalae, 143
favoured propertied classes after
Cynoscephalae, 362
land commissioner (201), 249
letters sent by, 161
part played in Hannibal’s death, 380
sent to impose peace between Pergmaum and
Bithynia, 375

quinqueremes, 11, 91

ransom
Hannibal’s offer after Cannae, 106

Raphia
ends fourth Syrian war, 307

recruitment
and Gracchan reforms, 403

Rediculus, 232, 233
god of Return, 151

religion
Carthaginian, 61, 290
cognitive, 229
measures at Rome after Trasimene, 96

Roman
Greek elements in, 284
Livy more help than Polybius, 222

repetundae. *See* extortion trials

res gestae, 19

reserves, tactical
Epaminondas and, 357

- rex
unacceptable royal title at Rome, 124
- Rhegium
Locrian exiles at, 363
not barbarized, 296
- rhetoric
of speeches before Zama, 216
- Rhoda (Iberian place), 76
- Rhode, 62
- Rhodes, 75
Rhodian naval defeat of Hannibal, 321, 325
Rhodians as 'foreign judges', 309
Roman friendship with, 62, 71
- Rhone, 85
- ring-composition
defined, 313
- rituals
Carthaginian
Hannibal's violent sacrifice of lamb, 225
Roman
expiatory, 91
Scipio's on departure for Africa, 223
tripudium, 227
- river god
Metaurus as, 203
- Rome
and Delphi, 71, 145, 285
and Troy, 291
army
hastati, principes, and triarii, 211
manipular, 211
as democracy?, 173
decision for war with Antiochus after Delium
massacre, 320
favoured propertied classes, 362
foundation of, 60
Hannibal marches on (211), 150
imperial but republican power, 346
imperialism of, 7
not defenceless, 105, 150
religion at
Greek elements in, 283
Servian wall, 97
- Romulus
and Remus, 236
coins from Italica, 133
on Chios inscription, 71
as founder of Rome
story combined with Aeneas legend, 291
vow to Jupiter Stator, 197
- Rostra, 13
- roving anecdotes, 99, 228, 359, 376 *See* anecdotes,
roving
Hannibal a favourite subject of, 413
- sacrifices
before battle, divinatory, 227
Carthaginian
Hamilcar's to Baal, 51
Flaminius' unlucky, 92
Hannibal's at Cercina, 300
Hannibal's of a lamb, 225
human, at Rome, 71, 228
included a Greek (228), 284
neglected by Flaminius, 91
not usually done by magistrates in person, 225
of children at Carthage, 72, 228
performed by commanders, 232
Scipios, on sailing for Africa, 120, 224
- sacrosanctitas*. *See* inviolability
- Sagra river
battle (Archaic), 164
- Saguntum, 11, 69, 72, 158, 172, 233
appeal to Rome, 82
as cause of war, 80
Hannibal's attack on as his own initiative?, 82
not recaptured by Rome until 212, 115
siege of, 107
- Salaeca, 21
- Salapia
Hannibal has love affair at, 151
- Salian priests, 14, 25
Scipio as, 230
- Salinator. *See* Livius
- Sallust, 26
influenced Livy's sketch of Hannibal, 52
source for Sertorius' divinatory doe, 227
- salutatio
morning greeting at Rome
Carthaginian equivalent, 300
- Samnites, 138
and Roman manipular army, 350
- Samnium, 98
- Samson (biblical), 37
- Samuel (biblical), 42
- Sardinia, 54, 67, 91, 93
unjustly seized by Rome, 81
- satraps
natural hosts for exiles, 298
- Seleucid
of Armenia, 373
- Saturnia
as theophoric place name, 295
- schools, 55
- Scione
welcome to Brasidas, 245
- Scipiadae, 48
- scipio
as rod or staff, 49, 212
as thunderbolt, 72

Scipio. *See* Cornelius
 Scyles
 taught Greek by mother, 297
 sea power, 75
 sea routes in western Mediterranean, 155
 Secular Games, 196
 sanctioned by Sibylline Books, 185
 seers, 108
 Carthaginian, 228
 favourite
 of Tolmides and Nicias, 227
 on campaign, 232
 on naval expedition of Hanno (3), 228
 Plato on, 228
 Scipio Aemilianus expels from Iberian
 army, 352
 Seleucid dynasty, 304–7
 Seleucus I
 defeated Lysimachus at Corupedium (281),
 308, 332
 helped to power by Ptolemy I, 306
 Seleucus IV, 309
 Hannibal's advice about, 320
 succeeds Antiochus III (187), 301
 Seleucus Romance
 hypothetical work reasserting Seleucid
 primacy in city foundations, 304
 self-preservation by generals
 attitudes to, 339–44
 sella curulis, 212
 ivory chair for curule magistrates, 113
 Semitic influences
 on treaty between Hannibal and Scipio, 144
 Sempronius Gracchus, Gaius, 44
 and extortion trials, 385
 and seer Herennius Siculus, 227
 attempts to found colony Junonia, 295, 406
 head of, after death, 191
 Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius (cos. 238), 81
 Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius (cos. 215), 146
 Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius, father of the
 Gracchi, 44, 132
 and Cato, 390
 as founder of eponymous city Graccus in
 Iberia, 294
 mission to Philip V, 330
 prevents imprisonment of Lucius Scipio, 180
 triumvir who founded Saturnia, 295
 uses tribunician veto to help Lucius Scipio, 389
 Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius (tribune 133), 44
 worried about rural poor in Etruria, 401
 Sempronius Longus, Tiberius (cos. 218), 84, 88
 blamed for Trebia defeat, 89
 captures Malta, 152, 289
 Sempronius Sophus, Publius (cos. 296)

Index

vows temple to Tellus, 198
 Sempronius Tuditanus, Gaius (cos. 204)
 forces in Greece, 208
 Sempronius Tuditanus, Publius (cos. 204),
 143, 213
 military tribune at Cannae, 104
 on lot as will of gods, 251
 vows temple to Fortuna, 198
 Sena, 15
 alternative name for Metaurus battle, 188, 203
 senate, Carthaginian, 59, 79
 senators in treaty with Philip V, 141
 senate, Roman, 15, 24, 66, 86
 censors revised membership of, 251
 number of meetings (201–190), 257
 provides supplies, 353
 responsible for supplies, 115
 underestimated Hannibal, 15, 100
 Seneca the Elder, 54
 mentioned Scipio, 422
 Seneca the Younger, 13
 on Hannibal, 414
 on Scipio's villa, 392
 senex
 Livy makes Hannibal self-identify as before
 Zama, 216
 seniores
 senior senators (in debate about Iberia), 258
 Sentinum
 battle, 198
 Septimius Severus (Roman emperor)
 and Hannibal's tomb, 383
 Sergius Catiline, Lucius (praetor 68)
 debt proposals, 404
 serpents, 42
 Sertorius, 54
 comparison with Hannibal (Plutarch and
 Appian), 414
 one-eyed, 87
 Sertorius, Quintus, 345
 and pet divinatory doe, 227
 Servilius Caepio, Gnaeus (cos. 203), 178
 on embassy to Carthage (195), 299
 Servilius Caepio, Quintus
 at Arausio, 108
 Servilius Geminus, Gaius (cos. 203), 178
 Servilius Geminus, Gnaeus (cos. 217), 91, 102
 Servilius Pulex Geminus, Marcus (cos. 202), 178
 Servius (commentator on Virgil), 48
 Sibyl
 inspired by Apollo, 185
 Sibylline Books, 96, 185
 consulted in 207?, 185
 Sibylline oracles, 22
 Sicily, 88, 91

Index

497

- as locus of Carthaginian–Greek contacts, 289
- gymnasia at, 277
- Scipio given as province, 207
- Sidicines, 104
- Sidon
 - Agenor of, 288
- sieges
 - did not bring Hannibal and Scipio into direct conflict, 361
 - Hannibal not equipped for, 105, 356, 361
 - of Capua, 149
 - of Locri, 153
 - of Placentia, 186
 - of Rome not practicable, 150
 - of Saguntum, 82
 - of Syracuse, 146
 - of Utica, 212
- Silanus, Junius, 126
- Silenus of Caleacte, 233
- Silius Italicus, 28, 31
 - and ‘Roman Hannibal’, 407
 - closes epic with Scipio’s triumph, 247
 - makes Juno send Hannibal to urge Hannibal to fight, 233
 - names Scipio’s mother Pomponia, 42
 - Pomponia talks to Scipio in underworld, 235
 - on Barce wife of Xanthippus, 76
 - on Hannibal’s oath, 51
 - on Hasdrubal’s decapitation, 191
 - on personal name Barcas, 76
 - picks up Livy on Hercules as Hannibal’s role model, 234
 - Virgil’s Turnus as Hannibal, 150
- Simonides of Magnesia
 - celebrated Antiochus I’s victory over Gauls, 305
 - Seleucid poet, 304
- Sisyphus, 74
- slaves. *See* enslaved people
- slingers
 - Balearic
 - in Hannibal’s army, 356
- Smyrna, 307
 - Antiochus offers to abandon claim to, 331
 - envoys from at Lysimachia conference, 309
 - resisted Antiochus III (192), 305
- snakes, 240
 - and miraculous births, 55, 235
 - kept guard over Scipio’s spirit at Liternum, 393
 - poisonous, 35
 - tall story about Hannibal’s use of to win sea-battle, 375
- Somnium Scipionis. *See* Dream of Scipio
- Somnus (sleep god), 233
- Sophocles, 73
- Sophoniba, 211
 - despicably treated by Scipio and Masinissa, 212
- Sosylus of Sparta, 11, 28, 279, 297
 - as Hannibal’s teacher, 280
- Spain. *See* Iberia
- Sparta
 - adventurers from, in south Italy, 149
 - advisers at, 328
 - Agésilas as friend of Xenophon, 9
 - Aristotle compares Carthage to, 285
 - Brasidas, 38, 343
 - Cleomenes I makes bull sacrifice, 239
 - Cyrene ‘granddaughter’ of, 286
 - defeat at Leuctra, 33
 - Demaratus, 42
 - Dercylidas, 74
 - Dorieus
 - and Delphic oracle, 159
 - double kingship compared to Roman consulship, 64
 - fear of Athens, 80
 - Gytheum inscription, 420
 - jealousy towards Brasidas at, 155
 - kings called Eudamidas, 38, 283
 - laconic messages, 156
 - lend Dioscuri to Othalian Locri, 164
 - Locri the ‘Sparta of the West’, 164
 - Lycurgus, 236
 - Lysander
 - at Aegospotami, 357
 - on oaths, 36
- Machanidas
 - defeated by Philopoemen, 122
- Menelaus, 149
- Nabis
 - and Antiochus III, 318
- Pausanias (Regent), 66
- Sosylus, 11, 28
- Tarentum founded from, 148
- Thera founded from, 286
- Thermopylae (480), 322
- Tyrtaeus, 280
- Vegetius on Hannibal’s teacher from (Sosylus?), 281
- women at, 164
- Xanthippus, 76
- speech
 - direct and indirect, 158, 216
- speeches
 - exchange between Scipio and Fabius, 208
 - Hannibal’s at Ephesus to Antiochus quoted, 322
 - in ancient historians, 20
 - in literary sources, 31

498

speeches (cont.)
 of Locrians at Rome, 165
 Spoletium, 97
 spy network
 Hannibal's, 37, 92, 100, 213, 357
 squalor
 as forensic technique, 183
 stasis
 absent at Carthage, 65
 at Compsa, 138
 statues. *See* Motya (charioteer)
 at Corinth
 Scipio declines statue, 419
 Caracalla's to Hannibal and Sulla, 383
 of Hannibal at Rome, 28, 414
 of Scipio, 238
 Seleucid, on Delos, 264
 statuette owned by Alexander, Hannibal, and Sulla, 223
 Stephanus of Byzantium, 18
 lists nine Olbias, 295
 Metaurus not listed by, 205
 on Barke, 74
 on Capua, 140
 on Italica, 131
 on Rhode, 76
 on Ticinus, 205
 Stobaeus, 35
 Stoic
 philosopher on the good general, 283
 Stoics, 36, 38
 Strabo
 and 'those around', 110
 does not mention Italica, 131
 on 'barbarization' of Italy (by Rome), 296
 on Hannibal in Armenia, 369, 373
 on Metaurus, 205
 strategy
 Hannibal discusses, 109
 Sucro, 128
 Suda
 Byzantine lexicon, 387
 Suessula, 140
 Suetonius
 on oracle about the Scipios, 225
sufete, 10, 170
 Hannibal elected as, 269
 Sulla. *See* Cornelius
 Sulpicius Galba Maximus, Publius (cos. 211 and 200), 314
 commander against Philip in second Macedonian war, 249
 dictator 203, 178
 on diplomatic mission to Asia Minor (194–3), 260

Index

sun, 141
 supplication
 Locrians at Rome, 165
 Romans at Trasimene, 199
 supplies, 101, 115
 Alexander's arrangements for, 351
 food provided for Nero's army by Italian towns, 188
 normally sent from Italy to Roman commanders in Iberia, 352
 problems of supply
 early Greek poets and historians aware of, 352
 surrender
 not same as capture, 424
 Surus (elephant), 26, 87
 swords
 Iberian, 122, 350, 357
 Sychaeus, 76
 Symmachus
 explains Roman success against Hannibal religiously, 351
 synedroi, 144, 162
 as Carthaginian advisers, 109
 Syphax, 14, 160, 221, 345
 and Scipio's triumph, 247
 Scipio's first attempt to win over, 127
 Syracosia (giant ship)
 sent by Hiero II to Ptolemy II, 276
 Syracuse
 as Scipio's base, 209
 cultural and literary capital, 275
 foundation of, 61
 Scipio at, 25
 Scipio's military display at, 122, 256
 theatres, 275
 won then lost by Hannibal, 146
 Syria, 301
 Syrian wars, 301
 fifth, 301
 mixed results for Antiochus III, 307
 fourth
 ended badly for Antiochus III at Raphia, 307
 tactics, 109
 at Cannae, 103
 Hannibal and Scipio compared, 357
 Tader, 116
 Tagus, 119
 Tagus (river), 80
 Tanit, 12, 141
 Taras. *See* Tarentum
 Tarentum
 Hannibal takes most of, 148

- home city of Livius Andronicus, 184, 284
- not barbarized, 296
- sources of prosperity, 149
- Tarraco, 86
 - Scipio at, 118
 - Scipio returns to, 123
- Taurini, 87
- Teanum, 99
- tears, 221
- Telesia, 98
- Tellus, earth god
 - Sophus vows temple to, 198
- temenos
 - as religious precinct
 - to Cineas at Ai Khanum, 292
- temple medicine, 240
- Ten Thousand (Xenophon's army). *See* Xenophon
- Terentius Culleo, Quintus (praetor 187)
 - on embassy to Carthage (195), 299
- Terentius Varro, Gaius
 - as demagogue, 92, 100
 - at Capua, 140
 - commanded Roman left wing at Cannae, 102
 - defeated by Hannibal at Cannae, 101
 - elected consul for 216, 100
 - thanked for not despairing of the republic after Cannae, 107, 365, 384
- testis*. *See* witness
- Teutones, 108
- Thapsus (Africa), 299
- Tharros (Sardinia)
 - traders from, 93
- Thebes
 - Cadmus founded, 288
 - destroyed (335), 223
 - foundation legend, 378
 - Pelopidas and Epaminondas, 33
- Themistocles
 - at Ephesus, 302
 - drank bull's blood, 380
 - flight of, 298
- Theocritus, 304
 - hopes for patronage of Hiero II, 276
- theophoric
 - names of city foundations
 - Junonia, Saturnia, 295
- theophoric names, 49, 111
- Theophrastus, 68
 - name changed from Tyrtamos, 285
- Theoxena
 - tragic story of, 298
- Thera, 73
 - founded from Sparta, 286
- Theramenes, 74
- Thermopylae (battle of, 191), 322
 - Glabrio vows temple to Piety, 200
 - Glabrio's son fulfils father's vow made on day of, 200
- Thermopylae (battle of, 480), 322
- Thessaly
 - Demetrias as important harbour of, 314
 - kinship with Armenia, 292
- Thoas (Aetolian)
 - speech of complaint against Rome (193), 317
 - speech to Antiochus quoted, 319
 - surrender demanded at Apamea, 326
- Thrace
 - European
 - claimed by Antiochus III, 307
- Thucydides, 1, 20, 63, 342
 - and speeches, 24
 - doesn't tell us what anyone looked like, 24
 - echoed by Livy on Hannibal's flight, 298
 - IR and, 342
 - on appointments of generals, 118
 - on Brasidas, 107, 155
 - on causation, 80
 - on Cleon, 101
 - on libations before sea journeys, 224
 - on Nicias, 156
 - on night-fighting, 94
 - on Sicilian cities, 60
 - on supply problems, 352
 - postpones contents of letters, 156
 - too difficult for Hannibal?, 280
 - treats Cleon as coward, 343
- Thurii (Italian)
 - became Copia ('Abundance'), 295
- Thyestes, 239
- Thyrrheum, 145
- Tiber, 96
- Tiberius (Roman emperor)
 - and Metaurus, 204
- Tiberius, emperor, 30, 194
- Ticinus, 2, 11
 - battle, 59, 88–90
 - Stephanus of Byzantium on, 205
- Timaeus of Tauromenium, 11, 60, 87
 - nostalgic for Syracuse, 275
 - on Dido, 60
 - source of Diodorus for Sicilian cults, 290
- timocratic
 - Roman assemblies as, 173
- tipping points, 182
- Tolmides, 227
- Tomyris, Scythian queen, 191
- Toynbee, Arnold
 - Hannibal's legacy
 - reception of, 395–8

500

Toynbee, Arnold (cont.)
 on Judaism, 396
 trade, 62, 93, 104
 Bouzos as trader, 68
 Carthage and, 137
 part of sneer against Varro, 101
 training, 127
 Vegetius on, 351
 training, military
 Scipio's at New Carthage, 122, 350
 Trajan
 on gymnasias, 277
 Trasimene, 11
 battle, 29, 52, 54, 90–6
 lake, 94
 treasury
 Scipio demands opening of, 254
 treaties
 at end of first Punic war, 67
 between Capua and Hannibal, 140
 between Carthaginians and Etruscans, 93
 between Hannibal and Philip V, 21, 141–5,
 226, 248
 between Romans and Aetolians, 145, 317
 between Romans and Hiero II, 147
 between Rome and Carthage (before 261),
 62, 138
 between Rome and Carthage after Zama, 220
 between Rome and Naples, 139
 Ebro, 69, 72, 81, 349
 guaranteed by oaths to the gods, 226, 229
 Peace of Phoenice
 ended first Macedonian war, 317
 Trebia, 11, 80
 battle, 90
 Trebius, 138
 tria nomina, 46
 triarii, 358
 at Zama, 219
 third line of Roman infantry, 211
 Tribes, 14, 46
 tribunes
 military, 14, 106, 109
 Cato at Thermopylae, 322
 of the people or plebs, 14, 113
 Polybius book 6 on, 173
 tripudium
 sacred chickens, Roman, 227
 triremes, 11
 Triton, 141, 236
 triumphs
 booty and, 247
 by Scipio family in first Punic war, 53
 conventions for award of, 246
 denied to Scipio in 206, 135, 177

Index

derivation of word, 246
 disputes about, 180, 257, 386, 431
 Etruscan origin?, 246
 explained, 14
 few in second Punic war, 245
 for Metaurus victory, 193
 Hannibal avoids being led in one, 247, 369
 hunger for, 403
 joint, between Nero and Salinator, 201
 no Carthaginian parallel, 230, 245
 of Aemilianus, 415
 of Cato, 386
 of Flamininus, 247
 of Labeo, 371
 of Manius Pomponius, 81
 of Salinator, Ennius on, 193, 205
 of Scipio (201), 135, 245–8
 of Scipio Nasica, 258
 on the fasti, 176
 what they looked like, 247
 Troy, 96
 Capys as Trojan, 139
 Hegesianax and, 305
 Hercules' sack of, 234
 Romans self-identified as Trojans, 292
 truces
 indutiae, 210
 Scipio violates, 210
 Tunis
 Scipio seizes, 212
 Turdetanians, 129
turris. *See* castle
 tyche. *See* fortune
 type-scenes, 42
 Tyre, 12, 26, 49, 60, 291
 Athenian proxeny decree for Tyrians, 288
 Carthaginian sacred envoys at (332), 300
 Hannibal pretends to be on mission to, 300
 home city of Ariston, 310
 Seleucid when Hannibal arrives at, 301
 Tyrtaeus
 read by Hannibal?, 281
 Tzetzes
 Chiliades
 inaccuracies, 377, 383
 Umbria, 97, 187
 underworld, 43
uolones. *See* volunteers
 uota
 ambiguous between vows and prayers, 199
 Utica, 142
 Scipio besieges, 212
 Vaccae, 79

Index

501

- Valerius Antias, 13, 56
 on beheading by Lucius Flamininus, 191
 on trials of Scipios, 387
- Valerius Flaccus, Lucius (cos. 195, censor 184)
 appointed princeps senatus by self and Cato as
 censors, 252
- Valerius Flaccus, Publius
 intercepts Hannibal's treaty with Philip V, 141
- Valerius Laevinus, Marcus (cos. 210)
 succeeds Marcellus in Sicily, 148
- Valerius Maximus, 30
 on Nero's triumph, 202
 on visit to Scipio of admiring brigands, 394
- Varro (scholar), 60, 402
 on etymology of 'triumph', 246
- Vegetius, 30, 39, 342
 ascribes eventual Roman success in second
 Punic war to training, 350
 on causes of Roman initial failures against
 Hannibal, 348
 on elephants at Zama?, 219
 on military training, 122
 on Sosylus as Hannibal's teacher, 281
- Velleius Paterculus
 comparison between Hannibal and Pontius
 Telesinus, 413
- Venus
 Erycina, 67, 96, 200
 Roman adoption of cult, 290
 protector of Pompey and Caesar, 222
- Venusia, 153
 colony at, 249
- Vestals, 231
- veterans
 Scipio's from African campaign
 given land in Apulia and Samnium, 249
- veto
 tribunician
 used by Gracchus to protect Lucius
 Scipio, 389
- via Aemilia, 189
- via Flaminia, 189
- Vibo Valentia
 name conveys strength and valour, 295
- Villius Tappulus, Publius (cos. 199), 314, 327
 on diplomatic mission to Asia Minor
 (194–193), 260
 tries to turn Antiochus against Hannibal, 315
- Villius, Lucius, 113
- Vindelici, 194
- Vipsanius Agrippa, Marcus, 245
- Virgil
 Aeneid, 42
 conversation in *Aeneid* 6 between Aeneas and
 Anchises, 235
- hints at Hannibal without naming him, 412
 ignores Metaurus, 195
 makes Dido foresee Hannibal, 76, 412
 on Barce (nurse), 76, 412
 on Carthage as 'Bursa', 377
 on Dido, 51
 on Jupiter's nod, 258
 on libations by Anchises and Aeneas, 224
 on Priam's decapitation, 191
 on Scipiadae, 48, 422
 on Turnus, 150
- Viriathus, 132
- volunteers, 209
- vows
 always bring favourable outcomes to
 battles, 199
 Hannibal's to Melqart, 85, 226
 not attested before defeats, 199
 temple to Iuventas vowed by Salinator, 192
 vows by commanders before or during battles,
 197–201
- warships. *See* quinqueremes
- weaponry
 as branch of logistics, 356
- weapons
 Hannibal's men recycle captured, 356
 manufacture of, 122
 by Scipio at New Carthage, 350
- wigs
 Hannibal's, 27, 91, 188, 339,
 344
- witness
 Metaurus as, 203, 212
- women
 at Sparta, 164
 Busa as benefactor, 104
 priests at Carthage, 231
 role at Locri, 164
 Scyles' Greek mother, 297
 tragic story of Theoxena, 298
- women, naming of, 41
- wonder
 as Homeric notion, 123
- Wooden Horse
 as ambush, 359
- wounds
 Hannibal 'never wounded', 339
 Scipio
 how often wounded?, 341
- Xenophanes
 ambassador of Philip V, 141
- Xenophon, 9, 342, 344
 compared to Marcius Septimius, 116

| | |
|---|--|
| Xenophon (cont.) | Zacynthus, 81 |
| Greek of easy enough for Hannibal?, 280 | Zama, 2, 358 |
| his Ten Thousand anticipate Roman | battle, 218–20 |
| manipular army, 350 | casualties at, 220 |
| on Agesilaus, 9 | name not used before Nepos, 15, 194, 218 |
| on decapitation of Cyrus the Younger, 191 | numbers at, 218 |
| on ‘laconic’ Spartan message, 156 | terms offered after, 220 |
| on ‘workshop of war’ | topography, 218 |
| quoted by Polybius, 350 | Zeus, 141 |
| Xerxes (Persian king), 37, 322 | Ammon |
| Xerxes king of Armenia, 353 | Hannibal consults?, 316 |