THE DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN LIVY'S HISTORY*

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INTRODUCTION

The *Ab Urbe Condita* of Livy has been variously praised as a work of literary art and blamed for its shortcomings as history. Due to Livy's lack of personal experience in politics and warfare it is perhaps to be expected that 'in the recording of the facts his talent is largely literary'. Even the rather slighting verdict has been heard that his History is a 'prose epic', its author a 'poet in prose'. Admittedly Livy was not 'one of the leading intellects of the ancient world' and is rated as a 'second-class historian'; nevertheless, 'he raises an abysmally bad historiographic tradition to more respectible levels'. There is, however, little doubt as to his achievements as a literary artist, and it is to one of the literary aspects of his work that special attention will be paid in this study, viz. the so-called 'dramatic elements' in his history.

In discussions of Livy as a literary artist words such as 'dramatic', 'dramatize', 'dramatization', etc. invariably occur. The following examples may be quoted: In his summary of Livy's literary approach Walsh says: 'He utilizes one main source, reorganizes the structural arrangement, and introduces new material to achieve more dramatic effects'. According to Walbank, Livy 'in full control of all the devices perfected by the rhetoricians, employed them to dramatize events and to play upon the emotions of the reader.' In his recent work on Livy, Lipovsky effectively illustrates that by utilizing dramatic structure and enlisting dramatic form (p.185), 'he is a historian whose method of exposition is dramatic' (p.7), and with reference to Livy's 'lactea ubertas' (Quint. 10.1.32), he believes that it may well be that the dramatic quality of Livy's work is an integral part of this milky richness (p.9). Burck finds that Livy utilizes the dramatizing narrative technique and applies 'dramatisierende Elemente', and of his important book on Livy's 'Erzählungskunst' he devotes the second part (176 sqq.) to Livy and peripatetic historiography, illustrating how some of Aristotle's directives regarding drama are applied to his presentation of history. While Gries published an article on 'Livy's use of Dramatic Speech', Vogt speaks of the Livian idea of Roman history as a 'religiöses Drama'.

It is therefore indisputable that the historiographer Livy incorporates poetic elements, i.e. elements of drama, in his presentation of events, be it
in his speeches, in graphic portrayal of episodes or in the structure of his narrative. There is, however, more to the term ‘dramatic’ than normally meets the eye: In its everyday meaning this term denotes the shocking, the dreadful, the awe-inspiring nature of an action or event, but this narrowed sense does not do justice to the full spectrum of the meaning of this word. Taking into account Aristotle’s definition of tragedy and his perhaps less well known discussion of its elements, it has been possible to identify the following dramatic elements which will subsequently be traced and analysed in the History of Livy. Firstly the plot, i.e. the composition of events, which comprises the following aspects: All information has a single focal point; there is contrast and conflict, not only between persons but also the innermost conflict between necessity and man’s free will; the plot is complex due to unforeseen turns of events, whilst tension results from irreconcilable beliefs and threatening conflict. There is an unexpected turning-point at which the fall of the hero is brought about by a ‘tragic flaw’, while sympathy is evoked by his relative innocence. This emotional involvement of the reader results in a purging and balancing of emotions whereby a degree of immunity against life’s emotional onslaughts is attained. A final element of the plot is pathos, not only in the physical but also in the mental sense. Secondly, characters in conflict: According to Aristotle, the more complete the identification with the protagonist and the fuller the understanding for the antagonist, the greater the dilemma and the more enthralling the ensuing fall. The portrayal of character is dramatic when functional and subordinate to dramatic action: This action comprises not only the final act, but also the entire negotiating process conducted by means of dialogue and resulting in an understanding between parties. Thirdly, the mould in which the material is cast, viz. the ‘embellished language’ of tragedy: This comprises not only the introduction of stylistic and rhetorical elements, not only graphic, exciting, and moving descriptions, but also dialogue, the revealing monologue, and the speech, be it direct or indirect. Finally — and this is perhaps the most important aspect — as drama implies emotional involvement, any action or event which evokes emotion is essentially dramatic, and when Aristotle speaks of tragic action as being serious and having a certain magnitude, he has in mind the timeless and universal element intrinsic in all dramatic action.

The aim of this study is to trace the dramatic elements in Livy’s History, to determine his position with regard to the Hellenistic tragic-pathetic historiography, and to find answers to the following questions: What were Livy’s reasons for introducing dramatic elements? What was his purpose and how did he attain it? What is the effect of these elements in his work? Should such elements have been omitted or are they indispensable? How does he compare with other ancient historiographers in this respect?

For obvious reasons this investigation had to be restricted to a certain
section of Livy's work, and Books 6–10 have been selected. The first pentad (Bks. 1–5) is of an introductory nature, more poetic and perhaps not representative of Livy's mature work.\(^{14}\) The third decade (Bks. 21–30), covering the Second Punic War, has been thoroughly investigated because of the exciting nature of its theme,\(^ {15}\) and Bks. 31–45 have likewise received ample attention.\(^ {16}\) More recently Lipovsky\(^ {16}\) published his book on the second pentad (Bks. 6–10), motivating his choice by stating that 'It is very possible that, in Livy's mind, Books VI–X were the most important of all the extant books'.\(^ {17}\) He focuses upon the 'dramatic structure' of the two main themes, viz. the struggle of the orders and Rome's military struggle to ensure her hegemony over Italy. However, the dramatic structure of these themes is but part of the dramatic elements introduced by Livy and, as outlined above, an overall picture of these elements in a part of his work needs to be formed which may be regarded as representative of Livy's work as a whole.

**ANALYSIS**

In analysing these books, it soon becomes evident that large parts of the narrative are decidedly undramatic and even tedious, and that a concentration of dramatic elements occurs largely in three types of presentation, viz. the short story, the account of civil strife and the description of military conflict, i.e. in the stories, the quarrels and the battles.\(^ {18}\) Although these three categories are naturally intermingled due to the annalistic approach, a clearer picture can be obtained by treating each one separately. Due to the scope of this investigation, it has been necessary to select in each category a limited number of representative incidents and episodes for detailed treatment.

**1. THE SHORT STORY**\(^ {19}\)

Livy specializes in selecting and portraying incidents which generate the maximum amount of human interest and involvement through vivid depiction of the motives and passions of the main characters and the dramatization of the conflict of virtue and vice. Witte illustrates Livy's mastery with regard to the 'dramatisch aufgebaute Einzelszene',\(^ {20}\) and Walsh points out that this type of scene occurs especially in the earlier books due to the wealth of legendary material.\(^ {21}\) These short stories are not mere digressions, as often in Herodotus, but are mostly functional and presented as a whole (ὁλος, ἐν σώμα). Five incidents illustrative of Livy's incorporation of dramatic elements in short stories have been analysed of which two will be treated in detail.

**1.1 The Duel between Titus Manlius and the Gaul (7.9–10)**

Shortly before this incident Livy tells the dramatic story of the trial of
L. Manlius for maltreating his son Titus Manlius. The latter in an ironical turn of events takes his father's side, forces the tribune to withdraw the case, and reaps the honour for filial affection by being elected tribune (7.4–5). Thereupon the Gallic and Roman armies pitch their camps on either side of the bridge over the Anio (9.6). The pending conflict kindles suspense, further heightened when a Gaul 'eximia corporis magnitudine' challenges the bravest of the Romans 'maxima voce' to fight him (9.8). Not only is direct speech used in this dramatic confrontation, but the Gaul's 'hybris' is unmistakable. The words 'diu ... silentium' underline the tension which is slightly relaxed when Titus Manlius, recently introduced, steps forward as the protagonist (10.2). During this dramatic lull a dialogue - essentially dramatic — takes place, Manlius requesting and receiving permission from the dictator to fight that brute ('illi beliuae', 10.3). Historically irrelevant, but dramatically effective, attention is given to the arming of Manlius and the description of the Gaul ('stolide laetus'), sticking out his tongue in derision (10.5). On the bridge the opponents face one another 'spectaculi magis more', and while the tension is building up anew, the enormous size, the glittering vest, and the rich and colourful armour of the Gaul are contrasted with Manlius' middle stature, unostentatious bearing and practical armour (10.6,7). In comparing the 'cantus', the 'exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana' of the Gaul with the 'pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum' of Manlius, Livy evidently intends to demonstrate on a more universal level Rome's superiority over the Gauls (10.8). The hopes and fears ('spe metuque') of the spectators involve the reader. The showdown is at hand, yet the suspense is drawn out still further by the graphic but historically irrelevant description of the fight (10.9,10). Pierced through his belly and groin the antagonist falls, stretched over a 'spatium ingens', and Manlius despoils his opponent of his chain — no further gruesome, shocking or ghastly details are given as in the Hellenistic historiography. Rather the mood is depicted, the resultant emotions are portrayed: The 'pavor cum admiratione' of the Gauls sharply contrasted with the Romans — 'alacres, gratulantes laudantesque' (10.12). Manlius is extolled — evidently the exponent of the old Roman 'virtus', and in his calmness, his valour and his discipline he is 'der Spiegel echt römischer Grösse' — a typical example of Livy's moralistic tendency.

This episode is rich in dramatic elements. There is tension resulting from a pending conflict; direct speech is used in the confrontation; there is 'hybris', an effective dramatic pause, and a deliberate contrasting of the opponents; the reader is emotionally involved, the duel is vividly depicted, and the conflict has a universal dimension. This highly dramatic incident not only forms a 'whole' in the Aristotelian sense, but functionally paves the way for Manlius' election as dictator (7.26).
1.2 Titus Manlius Sentenced to Death by his Father (8.7)

Book 8 commences with a factual account of battles with and revolts of neighbouring nations (8.1–3). This conflict is brought to a head in a fierce debate, Annius demanding equal rights for the Latins, to be fiercely opposed by the consul T. Manlius Torquatus. The narrative is seemingly interrupted by a shocking incident, dramatic in itself and dramatically presented. It takes place during the war with the Latins. Livy introduces his leading characters, both distinguished men, viz. the protagonist Titus Manlius, youthful son of the consul, and his antagonist Geminus Maecius, 'cum genere tum factis clarus' (7.2). A dramatic verbal confrontation in direct speech takes place, Maecius taunting his opponent, challenging him to a duel. The reader is sympathetically involved in the typically tragic dilemma of the 'iuvenis', well aware of the order prohibiting an extra ordinem engagement with the enemy (6.16). Moved by 'ira' or 'pudor' or 'vis fati', forgetting ('oblitus') his father's command, he commits his 'hamartia', and accepts the challenge (7.8). The tension is tangible when the other horsemen position themselves 'velut ad spectaculum' (7.9). The fierce encounter is vividly described in deliberately stylized language. Maecius, flung by his wounded horse is graphically portrayed and with rare grotesque detail (the ἐναγώγα of tragic historiography) Livy describes how his hero 'pierced his opponent through the throat, so that the steel passed out through the ribs, and pinned him to the earth' (7.11). Once the climax is reached, the jubilation is of short duration. Through an unexpected turn of events the hero's role is switched to that of an elated antagonist, justly proud of his heroic exploit, facing the severity of the protagonist — his own father (7.13–15). The reader is involved in a highly emotional scene of a father, who is also a consul, turning away from his fatherly pride and from his son ('filium aversatus'), and thus effecting the 'peripeteia'. Summoning an assembly, he directly rebukes his son for subversion of military discipline ('disciplinam militarem soluisti', 7.16) and for bringing about the tragic dilemma 'that I must either forget the republic, or myself and mine' (7.22). To establish the authority of the consuls he is sentenced to death 'atroci imperio' (7.20). There is a profound silence ('silentio'); the highest degree of pathos is attained and the emotions of tragedy are aroused: fear ('metu'), ἐρήμος, grief ('lamentis', ἔλως), rage ('exsecrationibus') and horror ('horrenda') (7.22). To increase the appalling effect of the horrifying incident Livy allows himself the rare bizarre detail of describing the blood spouting from the severed neck. And now, we are told, the body of the youth is burned with all the military zeal with which any funeral could be celebrated (7.22).

In spite of its seeming irrelevance, this episode becomes an integrated part of his history through Livy's comment that this 'atrocitas' proved
to be profitable in the ensuing battle (8.1). In this way the universal importance of discipline is also underlined. In this ‘Kurzerzählung’ we have a mini-tragedy effectively comprising all the elements of tragedy. It is no mere digression or appendix, but it is functional. Livy lifts the curtain on an unforgettable drama, and through the total emotional involvement of his reader he imprints an indelible moral truth upon his mind.

2. THE ACCOUNT OF CIVIL STRIFE

The struggle of the orders is one of the two main themes of the second pentad. This struggle features prominently in books 6, 7 and 10. Strife and struggle are essentially dramatic and frequently take place in the senate and in the assemblies where tension because of differing opinions often reaches its highest pitch. Dialogue and debates — often involving crowds — are therefore ideally suited to excite the reader emotionally. In scenes of civil strife the speech, direct or indirect, plays an important role. Cicero had taught that it was permissible for the historiographer to insert speeches in order to dramatize situations (Or. 20.66), and Gries concludes that, although the proportion between direct and indirect speech fluctuates, 'the general trend is in the direction of ever more copious use of a fertile means for giving dramatic life to the great story of Rome'. Besides this, character portrayal by means of speeches was a well-known and thoroughly exploited technique.

Representative episodes will now be briefly analysed to illustrate how Livy not only selects inherently dramatic events but also applies dramatic techniques in recording them.

2.1 The Sedition of M. Manlius (6.11; 14–20)

Book 6 commences with the rebuilding of Rome after the Gallic invasion. The first ten chapters comprise a predominantly factual report on military and civil matters. In chapter eleven the renewed conflict between the orders is brought to the fore and Livy 'uses dramatic techniques to portray vividly Rome's domestic strife'. He applies a highly effective device which is typical of his method: By selecting a representative incident centered around an individual with whom the reader can identify, he vividly and forcefully illustrates the grievances of the plebeians against the patricians. The protagonist in the drama which is about to unfold is introduced: Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, a patrician by birth and the famous defender of the Capitol during the Gallic invasion of Rome, is characterized in a way which is dramatically functional. Being too aspiring in mind ('nimius animi') he despised ('sperneret') the leading men (11.3), his mind puffed ('inflato animo') by his exploits in defending the Capitol — the unmistakable 'hybris' of tragedy. Furthermore he was envious ('invideret'), violent
(‘vehemens’) and unbridled (‘impotens’) (11.3,6) — the tragic flaw in his character which leads to his unprecedented decision to become a plebeian partisan (11.7). By incriminating the senators and luring the commons to his side, the scene is set for conflict. This first episode is followed by a dramatic pause in which a victory over the Volsci is described. However, with the recalling of the dictator to Rome because of the growing sedition (‘gliscente in dies seditione’, 14.1) the second episode begins. An incident is vividly described through which Manlius dramatically demonstrates his championship of the people: A centurion is led to prison on account of his debt; Manlius runs up, shouts out aloud at his captors, emotionally protests against his lot, pays his debt and liberates the man. This gesture, together with a second calculated incident (14.9,10), further inflames the minds of the people (‘tumultum augebat ... accendit animos’). At his house Manlius stirs up the emotions still further by blaming the patricians for hoarding Gallic gold (14.11). The plot develops and a session of the senate is convened (15.1).

Manlius is summoned by the dictator: The protagonist and antagonist face each other ‘velut in acie’ (15.3). A dramatic debate ensues, the dictator threatening him with imprisonment if he does not reveal the hoarders of the public treasure (15.4–6). Manlius’ spirited reply is presented in indirect speech which is switched to direct speech to render the six rhetorical questions dramatically more effective (15.7–13). Accusations are flung to and fro and the confrontation is brought to a head when the dictator orders Manlius’ imprisonment (16.1). His appeal to the gods to come to his aid is a calculated means of generating suspense (16.2), while sympathy (‘maestam’, 16.4), i.e. the ἔλεος of tragedy, is aroused in the people, and in the reader. The situation being ‘haud procul seditione’ (16.6), the senate in a turn of events generously makes land available, but instead of being appeased, the sedition is exacerbated further (‘inritatur’, 16.7) by this measure.

The dictator resigns and in the following episode the tension reaches a new level of intensity when the multitude is further upbraided by unidentified instigators, Livy using the highly dramatic technique of rhetorical questions — eight in a row (17.3–5). In yet another dramatic twist the Senate discharges Manlius from prison because of the threats of the crowd, and not only is the next episode foreshadowed, but the interest of the reader is sharpened by the remark that this action did not terminate the sedition but supplied a leader for it (17.6).

After a brief dramatic pause (17.7–8), the sedition resumes its former violence (‘recrudescente’, 18.1), the conflicting parties both ‘acrior’ than before. In this phase emotion plays a leading role: Manlius, ‘plenior animorum irarumque ... inflatus exacerbatusque’, spurs the already excited commons on to revolution (18.3–5). His instigations are reproduced by
means of a direct speech (18.6-15), comprising no less than six inciting rhetorical questions and culminating in the appeal: 'It is now time to aim at still higher objects ... Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled to the ground!'\textsuperscript{35} As though in a footnote Livy adds that from this his first attempt to obtain regal power allegedly arose (18.16) — a combination of the 'hybris' and 'hamartia' of tragedy. A meeting of the senate is called; emotions have been aroused ('vociferantur', 19.1); a resolution is accepted which spells the fall of Manlius, and rising opposition against him from the ranks of the commons signals a rapidly approaching climax: In direct speech their tribunes propose that a day of trial be appointed on a charge of aiming at regal power (19.4-7). This is the unmistakable peripeteia, and the denouement quickly follows: His own relatives and friends leave him in the lurch (20.2-3); no clear charges are formulated (20.4), and Livy drives home the universal message that glorious achievements become hateful through ambition (20.5) — one is reminded of the 'seriousness' and 'magnitude' characteristic of tragic action. All Manlius' efforts viz. 400 witnesses attesting to his kindliness, the enumeration of his military exploits and rewards, and his prayers to the gods (20.6-9), are of no avail. The tide has turned against him and his downfall is inevitable: He is sentenced to death and flung from the Tarpeian rock, the pathos of his fate evoking the horror and sympathy intrinsic in all tragedy.

This episode represents one of the most accomplished tragedies in the work of Livy: The whole account is a dramatic unity\textsuperscript{36} divided into episodes; there is conflict, the protagonist being functionally characterized with his 'hybris' and 'hamartia'; there is identification and emotional involvement; there is vivid portrayal of conflict, not only through direct and indirect speech, but also through dramatic incidents; emotions are aroused, while through development of the plot and turns of events suspense is generated, and tension, relaxed by dramatic pauses, builds up to a climax; finally, there is the pathos of the fall of the hero, fear and sympathy are evoked, while the whole tragic episode is universal in its application.

2.2 The Quarrel between Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius (10.18-19)

Generally speaking the two main themes of the second pentad alternate: When there is peace between the orders at home, military conflict tends to escalate, and vice versa.\textsuperscript{37} The beginning of Book 10 is concerned mainly with the ongoing military struggle with the Etrurians and the Samnites. This account is interrupted once to dramatize the struggle of the orders through the graphic portrayal of the dispute between Appius Claudius and Publius Decius Mus about the Ogulnian Law (10.6-9): Decius strongly puts his case for the opening of the priesthood to the plebeians, and the law is passed.\textsuperscript{38} In 10.18 a powerful combination of Etrurians and Samnites
renews the tension. The plebeian consul L. Volumnius sets out for Samnium, and his patrician colleague Appius Claudius, functionally introduced as 'vir acer et ambitiosus' (15.8), enters Etruria. At this point the two main themes become intertwined: Within the pending military conflict ('bellum ingens', 18.1), the smouldering struggle between the orders is graphically brought into relief by the portrayal of a personal dispute. Appius, being hard pressed, sends a letter for help to his colleague in Samnium (18.7). After marked successes in Samnium (in sharp contrast with Appius), Volumnius arrives in Etruria. However, Appius now denies having sent the letter. The stage is set for conflict. A brief but highly dramatic dialogue follows (18.11–13), Appius 'from an illiberal and ungrateful mind' curtly asking Volumnius why he had come, the latter replying that he would instantly depart if the letter had been forged. In Appius' high-handed retort, the 'hybris' of the protagonist is evident, whereas Volumnius' disciplined response ensures the reader's sympathetic involvement.

At this point Appius' officers intervene, endeavouring to reconcile the consuls in the interest of the commonwealth ('ne ... rem publicam prodat', 19.2). With difficulty they drag the consuls to an assembly (19.5), where longer discourses follow, Appius sneeringly ('cavillans', 19.7) referring to Volumnius' improved eloquence, upon which the latter reacts with instant repartee that the point at stake is not who is the better orator but who is the better commander (19.8). With contrasting magnanimity he offers Appius the choice of either Etruria or Samnium. Eventually the dilemma is resolved by the soldiers' overwhelmingly shouting ('tantus clamor exortus', 19.12) in favour of concerted military action. Hesitating at first, Appius is forced to admit defeat (19.13) and, to save face, has no choice other than to rally, thereupon 'displaying a degree of courage equal to that of his colleague and of the troops' (19.18). In the ensuing battle both consuls are victorious.

Thus, by means of the selection and dramatic presentation of an inherently dramatic incident, Livy, in his typically moralizing way, drives home the universal message that internal division is harmful to the state, but that by acknowledging merit and mutual collaboration in spite of petty personal differences, a nation is invincible.

A further example of civil strife may be mentioned briefly. The conflict between L. Annius and T. Manlius Torquatus (8.4–6) is no full-scale drama but Livy, utilizing its dramatic potential and applying dramatic techniques, graphically portrays the growing conflict between the Romans and their allies regarding the rights of the latter. 40

3. THE DEPICTION OF MILITARY CONFLICT

Precision and detailed accuracy regarding strategic planning, battle reports, siege operations and topography had low priority in the Roman
conception of ‘historia’. The Roman historian was more interested in the mood and the psychology of the combatants and their leaders. Furthermore, the Isocratean school had prescribed schemata according to which battles were to be described. The third decade of Livy’s Ab Urbe Condita describing the second Punic War, for instance, was composed as a ἐν καλῷ ὀλοῦ with the τέλος of a Roman final victory, showing a strongly dramatic forward movement and climaxing in Books 29–30 as Rome invades Africa and brings the war to a successful conclusion. Walsh has pointed out Livy’s stock methods of describing battles and sieges, and Burck has pointed out the heightening of tension (‘Steigerung’) in his portrayal of battles, as well as the accentuation of the psychological aspect of the soldiers’ attitude. In his analysis of the first decade Briscoe has illustrated Livy’s enormous variations of style according to subject matter, e.g. the plain simple style for military narrative, and rhetorical writing for the sack of cities.

In his book on the second pentad Lipovsky has shown clearly how Rome’s military struggle dominates especially in the second half of the pentad where there is a ‘strong dramatic movement towards growing domination’. In the middle of Book 8 citizenship is bestowed on the Latin states, thus ending the ‘local’ phase of Roman conquest. The second half of the pentad comprises the ‘national’ phase of conquest, i.e. Rome’s struggle for Italian hegemony.

Many battles are described but here too only two representative engagements will be analysed to demonstrate Livy’s implementation of dramatic techniques in his presentation of essentially dramatic material.

3.1 M. Furius Camillus defeats the Volscians (6.23–25)

The Volscian war was entrusted to M. Furius Camillus with Lucius Furius as his assistant (22.6). Camillus was in the decline of life, but his mind was still vigorous, his faculties unimpaired, and war still aroused him (22.7). The conflicting armies are introduced: The antagonists are confident (‘fidentes’, 22.8) and determined, the Roman protagonist shows the same ardour (‘idem aror’, 23.1), but it is the ‘superba fiducia’ (23.2) of the Volscians, i.e. their ‘hybris’, which will prove to be their undoing. A complication of the plot develops and strife within the larger conflict looms: The elder Camillus delays the engagement (‘morabatur’, 23.1), whereas L. Furius, eager to fight because of his youth, his natural disposition and high hopes (‘ferox cum aetate et ingenio ... spe inflatus’, 23.3), incites the already excited soldiers, disparaging the authority of his elderly colleague (23.4). His indirect speech is dramatically switched to direct speech: ‘Marcus Furius ... yield to all, and allow yourself to be persuaded!’ (23.8). To this Camillus replies calmly but firmly and without bitterness that he
would not interfere with his colleague's authority, but that he still believed his own plan to be the more advisable (23.9–11).

Despite this warning, the battle lines are drawn up, Camillus himself a 'spectator intentus' (23.12). Suspense is generated when the armies clash: Due to a stratagem the Romans are exposed to a sally and retreat in terror (24.3), but by a fortunate turn of events Camillus is on the scene — a changed Camillus — and in direct speech he addresses the fleeing troops: 'Sequimini nunc Camillum!' This confrontation brings about a dramatic 'peripeteia': Shame stops their flight, they wheel and meet the enemy (24.7). Camillus, distinguished and venerable, takes the lead (24.7), whereas L. Furius beseeches the cavalry to redeem him from blame (24.8). He has paid for his rashness and now exerts his utmost efforts together with the soldiers. The Volscians are put to flight and great numbers are slain (24.11) — their fall due to 'hybris'. The denouement follows: Camillus selects L. Furius as colleague, this act of reconciliation underlining the universal lesson: 'Gloria' results, not from self-asserting harshness, but from 'moderatio' (25.6).

In this 'double drama' the dramatic effect is due primarily to the inherently dramatic elements and in the second place to applied techniques. It is noticeable that there is no pathos, no grotesque details, no ἐναργεῖα. The emphasis falls rather upon the varying emotions of individuals and of groups, and evidently, as Walsh puts it, 'Livy's preoccupations are overwhelmingly moral'.

3.2 The Battle of Sentinum (10.27–30)

Most of the battles fought in the intervening period are reported factually and in a stereotyped way. It is as though Livy is deliberately building up the dramatic tension to a climax in the decisive battle of Sentinum. The dispute between Q. Fabius Maximus and P. Decius Mus has been settled and through their reconciliation the struggle between the orders has virtually been ended. They now face their enemy together. Tension builds up because of the massive and formidable coalition of Gauls, Samnites, Umbrians and Etrurians (27.3), and the suspense grows while two days pass with indecisive skirmishes (27.7). On the third day an omen is interpreted positively for the Romans (27.8), but the first encounter remains indecisive until late in the day (28.1–2). Fabius, knowing the enemy to flag and relax after strenuous efforts, reserves the strength of his men. In contrast to this Decius, 'ferocior et aetate et vigore animi' (28.6), charges the enemy at the head of his cavalry, thus committing his 'hamartia'. In an unexpected turn of events the Romans are terrified ('terruit', 28.8) by an enemy attack with chariots and wagons, and the ensuing fear, tumult and headlong flight are graphically depicted: 'conterruit ... pavor dissipat; sternit inde mentes equos virosque improvida fuga. Turbata ... signa ... multique ... obtiri'
The fear and sympathy of tragedy is evoked in the reader. Decius, trying in vain to stop the flight, in a highly emotional scene, just as his father did earlier, dedicates himself to Earth and the infernal gods (28.12-13). Uttering execrations on himself and the foe, he rushes upon the enemy and meets his death — the heroic downfall of a tragic hero, comprising pathos, ὕστος and ἔλεος. The 'peripeteia' is instant: Stopping their flight the Romans renew their fight with a force scarcely human ('vix humanæ', 29.1). Inspired by the words of Livius the pontiff, the left wing in a battle described in relatively vivid detail, gains the supremacy (29.3-7). On the right, Fabius attacks ('quanto maximo impetu', 29.9) and the Samnites flee 'effuso cursu' to their camp (29.11). Their general is slain, their camp taken, the Gauls overpowered, 25 000 of the enemy are killed, 8 700 of the Romans (29.16-18).

In this hard-fought battle, dramatically portrayed, the back of the massive Italian resistance has been broken. At Luceria Rome gains a further yet less impressive victory over the Samnites, but this is overshadowed by an 'ingens victoria' (38.1) shortly after.

CONCLUSION

Representative stories, quarrels and battles in Livy's second pentad have been analysed, and the dramatic elements, both inherent in the material and applied in the portrayal, have been identified. It now remains to provide answers to the questions posed at the outset as to Livy's reasons for and purpose in introducing these elements, their effect and importance in his work, and his position in this regard compared to other ancient historians.

Firstly, what were Livy's reasons? The answers are in a certain sense obvious: Rome's early history was by its very nature dramatic, comprising not only the conflict of nations on the battlefield and the strife in senate and assembly, but also the enthralment of heroic deeds and the pathos of suffering. Furthermore, it was conventional for an historian to employ the techniques of tragic-pathetic historiography to a greater or lesser degree, and in this Livy was inevitably influenced by his sources. Finally, Livy naturally had to bear in mind the needs and expectations of his audience and readers: He had to produce a 'scientific' work, but at the same time a work of art which included moving and exciting presentation of events.

Secondly, what was Livy's purpose in employing dramatic elements? As Luce puts it (xvii): 'Livy is concerned with producing a dignified, stimulating history of his people'. He does not want to give a mere factual account: It must be stimulating by being interesting and engaging. Furthermore, Livy's moralistic concerns demanded of him, by means of his portrayal, an accentuation of the timeless, universal virtues and truths. Moreover, due to his psychological interest, his aim is to engage his reader.
not only in the motives, the thoughts, and the state of mind but especially in the whole spectrum of emotional experiences of his characters. As we have seen, Livy attains these aims largely through effective implementation of dramatic elements. This includes the overall dramatic structure of the main theme of a book, a pentad or a decade, comprising a beginning, middle and end, i.e. a dramatic forward movement, through several turning-points up to a final climax. It also includes the careful selection of inherently dramatic episodes which are mostly functionally integrated in the history, although historically irrelevant scenes or details are sometimes included, justified by their emotional effect and not by their factual or logical importance. These episodes, mostly selected as being representative of a larger conflict or struggle, are composed according to the Aristotelian theory of tragedy and are dramatized to ensure the emotional involvement of the reader. This 'dramatization' is effected by means of the portrayal of an individual with whom the reader can identify, by means of tension and suspense, and by means of graphic presentation (ἐπιγραφή) in which speeches as well as stylistic and rhetorical devices play an important role. The most important dramatizing technique is however the vivid description of scenes in the tragic-pathetic tradition. Although widely used by his predecessors, Livy applied this technique more moderately and with a greater degree of control. It is noticeable that these devices occur well-nigh exclusively in the description of episodes which are inherently dramatic. These techniques, when used, are therefore justified and merely enhance the dramatic effect. Despite ample opportunity in his many battle accounts, we rarely meet with the excesses of both Hellenistic and earlier Roman writers who often indulged in portraying grotesque and ghastly scenes in gruesome detail so as to evoke horror and dismay. Livy prefers to concentrate on the thoughts and emotions of the people involved.

Thirdly, what is the effect of Livy's method of dramatic portrayal? Large parts of his narrative are decidedly undramatic and even tedious. By introducing dramatic techniques he, at least from an artistic point of view, ensures the continued interest of his reader, involving him emotionally, by providing a graphic and indelible picture of representative episodes from his history, and by vividly impressing universal truths upon his mind. On the other hand, from a 'scientific' point of view his controlled use of tragic-pathetic methods counts in his favor.

Fourthly, are dramatic elements in Livy's work indispensable? These elements undoubtedly save his work from inherent monotony and from a consequent lack of interest in his reader. Due to his moderate application of these techniques he cannot be unduly criticized on this account. Compared to other ancient historians, Livy's history is not as enthralling as those of Tacitus and Ammianus, partly due to their ability to build tragedies around leading figures, partly to their greater inclination toward tragic-pathetic
devices. Livy’s history may be less universal in its application than that of Thucydides, perhaps less interesting than that of Herodotus with its many digressions. Nevertheless, in terms of dramatic presentation he has provided a well-balanced picture: On the one hand he achieves his literary aims of graphic presentation and compression, on the other hand he fulfils his historian’s duty regarding clarification and credibility. 59 In conclusion the question may well be asked whether Livy might not have been classified ‘first class’ had he exploited the dramatic potential of his material more fully, and had he utilized dramatic techniques more constantly.

Notes

* This study was made possible by a stipend granted by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung. This enabled the author to do research at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte, University of Bonn, during 1990.
1. E.g. J. Lipovsky, A Historiographical Study of Livy Books VI–X, New York 1981,3: ‘Livy’s fame traditionally rests upon his reputation as a literary figure. As a historian his reputation has been negligible’.
14. Analysed by Burck, *op.cit.* (n.13). Walsh, *op.cit.* (n.5), 124 regards the first pentad as ‘no more than a prologue to Livy’s serious history’.
16. E.g. Walsh, *op.cit.* (n.2) and Luce, *op.cit.* (n.4).
18. Walsh, *op.cit.* (n.2), 178, identifies the following suitable events selected by Livy ‘to create or enhance a dramatic situation’: (a) crises in battle (b) excitement in assemblies (c) human situations of a fearful, pathetic or romantic kind.
19. Also called a *novella*, ‘Kurzgeschichte’, ‘Kurzerzählen’, ‘Einzelszene’, etc.
20. ‘Über die Form der Darstellung in Livius’ Geschichtswerk’, *RzM* 65 (1910) 274–287. He compares Polybius’ ‘Einzelerzählungen’ with Livy’s ‘künstlerische Überarbeitung’ of these incidents.
22. R. Heinze, ‘Livius und Claudius Quadrigarius’ in *Wege zu Livius, Wege der Forschung* 132, Darmstadt 1977, 378–9. In this episode a number of dramatic elements clearly have their origin in Livy’s source.
23. In 7.26 Livy tells a similar story, well aware of the fact that his preceding account of military matters (cc.16–23) has become tedious. The same technique is applied as in cc.9–10: The mention of a gigantic Gaul challenging the Romans immediately revives the reader’s interest. However, Livy admits that this duel was ‘minus insigne’ because of a crow attacking the Gaul — a ‘numen interpositum deorum’. When the Gaul is slain, a desperate battle ensues, due to an unexpected μετασχημα. The Romans are victorious, and T. Manlius Torquatus (slayer of the first Gaul) is elected dictator and in turn appoints M. Valerius Corvus (slayer of the second Gaul and ‘aemulum decoris sui’) as consul at the age of 23. In this way Livy functionally links and integrates two ‘short stories’.
24. ‘Cuspidibus concurrisset’ (7.9) evidently echoing the sound of the charging horses’ hooves. One is reminded of the ‘embellished language’ typical of tragedy.
25. ‘Ut aut rei publicae mihi aut mei meorum obliviscendum sit’, 7.16.
26. ‘Cervice caesa fusus est crur’ (7.21): The sound effect may be deliberate, the gruesome severing by axe echoed by the staccato c in ‘cervice caesa’, and the rushing of the blood from the severed veins echoed by the f and s in ‘fusus est’.
27. Lipovsky, *op.cit.* (n.1), 112–115, uses this scene together with the quarrel between L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (8.29–36) to illustrate the change in Roman approach to discipline from harsh ‘severitas’ in the former to an effective mingling of ‘severitas’ with ‘comitas’ in the latter scene.
28. Five more short stories have been analysed but are mentioned only briefly, viz. the anecdote of the two sisters (6.34–35), the dedication of P. Decius Mus (8.9), the account of M. Fabius and his slave masquerading as shepherds (9.36), the incident of Virginia dedicating a chapel to plebeian chastity (10.23) and the heroism of Publius Decius (7.34–36). This last episode is not in itself an important historical event, but it does inspire interest and is an excellent ‘Einzelerzählung’ providing variety amidst factual accounts which tend to become monotonous. In the case of this story the overall effect is attained rather than inherently dramatic material than by applied dramatic techniques. Here again there is no striving after effect through gruesome details or scenes of pathos.
29. According to Walsh, op. cit. (n.2), 206, 'Livy's exploitation of the crowd scene is one of the most consciously dramatic features of his writing'. Cf. Burck, op. cit. (n.13), 229.


32. Cf. Lipovsky's treatment of this episode, op. cit. (n.1), 33–35.

33. Lipovski, op. cit. (n.1), 33.

34. 'accurrir, vociferatusque', 14.3. The direct speech of drama is deliberately utilized.

35. 'Tempus est etiam maiora conari ... Solo aequandae sunt dictaturae consulatusque' (18.13–14). Other figures of speech are also deliberately introduced to heighten the effect of this speech, e.g. alliteration of the s in 'Si singulius singulos adgressuri essetis' (6); short staccato sentences (7); alliteration of the v in 8; anaphora of 'qualescumque' in 12.

36. I.e. the Aristotelian OAT xctl -re:!.da JtpCi~~c;,, with a beginning, a middle and an end. Cf. Burck, op. cit. (n.13), 182 sqq. and Lipovsky, op. cit. (n.1), 35.

37. Cf. 7.18. 2–3: 'haud memorando certamine ... Domi maius certamen'. Also 10.6.2–3.

38. Although this is no drama, this episode comprises many elements of drama, e.g. it is presented as a 'whole', there is conflict between protagonist and antagonist, there is tension, there is direct and indirect speech and a climax is reached.

39. 'inliberali et ingrato animo', 18.10. Livy admits that, if Appius had not sent the letter, he was 'haud immerito iratus'. Note the deliberate rhetorical and therefore dramatic effect of the alliteration of the s, reflecting irate disdain: 'Satin salve? Ut se se in Samnio res habent?'

40. To these examples more could be added, e.g. (a) The debate on the Licinio-Sextian Laws (6.34–42), the account of which 'raises the tempo of domestic strife to a dramatic climax at the end of a book' (Lipovsky, op. cit. [n.1], 40. Cf. his excellent treatment of this episode, 40–48). (b) The quarrel between the dictator L. Papirius Cursor and his master of horse, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (8.30–36). Although drawn out, this episode is studded with typical dramatic elements. Cf. also Lipovsky's detailed treatment of this episode, 115–129. (c) The conflict between P. Decius Mus and Appius Claudius on the Ogulnian Law (10.6–9). (d) The dispute between Quintus Fabius Maximus and P. Decius Mus (10.24–26).


42. Witte, op. cit. (n.20), 381.

43. Cf. Burck, op. cit. (n.42), 21, and in general Burck, op. cit. (n.15), 7–56.


47. Op. cit. (n.1), 168. On p.88 he speaks of a 'virtually unbroken string of successes' through the second half and finds 'The dramatic impression is particularly strong at the ends of Books VIII, IX and X'.


49. Cf. the effective anaphora: 'Quis ... quis. 'Vestra ... vestra'.

48

51. E.g. Samnite defeats: Bk. 9.38, 40, 42, 43; Bk. 10.12, 14, 16, 19, 20. Etrurian defeats: Bk. 10.5, 12, 19, 21. It is remarkable how the enemies of Rome time and time again come back at her after being reportedly totally defeated, devastated, routed. To avoid further monotony Livy at times simply passes over military events by saying e.g. ‘Multa secunda proelia fecit’ (9.42.5).

52. This battle is extensively foreshadowed, e.g. 13.2–4; 16.3–8; 18.1–2; 21.1–4; 21.11–15. Cf. Lipovsky, *op. cit.* (n.1), 155 sqq.

53. 10.35–36. Emotions of dismay, dejection and fear are portrayed. Several speeches are recorded. A *peripezia* leads to Roman victory, described with no ἐνάργεια. The Romans suffer greater losses, and their consul is refused a triumph. With regard to Roman defeats in general, cf. H. Bruckmann, *Die römischen Niederlagen im Geschichtswerk des T. Livius*, Diss. Münster 1936.

54. Other noteworthy battles which are dramatically described are: (a) Battle against the Gauls (7.12–15) comprising a quarrel between the Roman leaders, speeches in O.R. and O.O., ‘suspense’, ‘peripezia’, etc. (b) M. Valerius Corvus defeats the Samnites (7.32–33): The dramatic impact is limited to that which is naturally dramatic, i.e. conflict between the hero (protagonist) and antagonist with their fatal ‘hybris’, a speech, vicious fighting but no pathetic detail. (c) Samnite defeat (9.22): This is a typical, short, dramatic battle comprising vivid scenes, emotions and a defeat due to ‘hybris’ and ‘hamartia’. (d) Roman defeat (without a battle) at Caudium (9.2–7): This is portrayed as a terrible humiliation for the Roman soldiers, special emphasis being laid upon their shame, their grief and their rage through which the emotional involvement of the reader is ensured. Cf. Burck, *op. cit.* (n.13), 229; Walsh, *op. cit.* (n.2), 204. (e) The war against the Etrurians (9.32,35–37,39). (f) The rout of the Linen Legion (10.38–42): With this dramatically portrayed victory Rome’s hegemony over Italy is virtually established.

55. Of the moral change within the minds and hearts of men Lipovsky, *op. cit.* (n.1), 183, says: 'Livy, above all ancient historians, understood that such changes greatly overshadow the acts and decisions of political leaders'.

56. Cf. Walsh, *op. cit.* (n.5), 129: 'Livy's history is pre-eminently psychological history'. Burck, *op. cit.* (n.13), 229, speaks of Livy's depiction of the 'Grundaffekte'.

57. Livy explicitly states his view regarding digressions (9.17.1). Embellishments and variety to please his reader and relax his own mind may be included, but not more than required by necessity ('plus iusto').

58. Cf. A.H. Mc Donald, 'The Style of Livy', *JRS* 47 (1957) 163–164. Perhaps the reason may be found in Livy’s lack of personal battle experience, or in his realisation that his sophisticated Augustan reader might not be impressed by such descriptions.


49
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