9. Discourse Modes in Livy

This chapter discusses the use of tense in an excerpt of Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* by means of a discourse mode analysis along the lines of the previous chapters, and contrasts his use of the discourse mode with that in the *Aeneid*. Livy uses approximately the same ‘building blocks’ as Vergil, but the result is different because he uses them in a different manner (both quantitatively and qualitatively).

First of all, we should note that the *directing mode* is not a good concept to describe Livy’s use of the present tense, as I will explain in a separate section on the historical present (§9.1). The other sections of this chapter are each concerned with a particular discourse mode.

The corpus for this discussion consists of the first fifteen capita of book 21 and the first thirty capita of book 22.267

By way of introduction, I will start with a general impression of Livy’s use of the modes by discussing the episode of Abelux (*AUC* 22.22).268 The story takes place in Saguntum, where a prefect by the name of Bostar is keeping hostages of several Spanish tribes imprisoned. In the previous lines, Livy has explained that these hostages had been holding the Spanish tribes back from an alliance with the Romans. The story of Abelux explains how this situation changed, as Livy announces in its first line:

> Eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio *exsoluit*.

One man removed this constraint on Spain, employing a scheme of greater ingenuity than integrity.269

This sentence is presented in the report mode. Of course, on the basis of the perfect tense form *exsoluit* alone the sentence could equally well be analyzed as presented in the narrative mode. In the narrative mode, however, perfect tense forms denote events on the time line of the story which usually advance reference time and are part of a larger sequence. The perfect tense form *exsoluit* is not part of a larger sequence of perfect tense forms. Rather, the perfect tense form presents the state of affairs as anterior to the time of narration, and summarizes a somewhat larger part of the time line in an evaluative way (*sollerti magis quam fideli*).

The story then continues with information about this man Abelux, and the narrator adds his view on ‘barbaric people’ by means of a small reported remark (*qualia ... ingenia*).

> **Abelux** *erat* Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, *qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia*, cum *fortuna mutauerat fidem*. Ceterum *transfugam sine magne rei proditione uenientem ad hostes nihil alium quam umum uidit atque infame corpus esse ratus, id *agebat* ut quam maximum emolumentum nouis sociis esset.

This was Abelux, a Spanish nobleman then living in Saguntum. He had earlier been a loyal adherent of the Carthaginians, but had changed his allegiance as his own fortunes changed, such being the nature of barbarians. He assumed that, if he came to the enemy as a deserter but with nothing of great value to betray to them, he would be no more than another worthless, discreditable individual.

This is *narrated information* (§8.3.1) about Abelux, presented by means of an imperfect and pluperfect tense form. The imperfect tense form *erat* denotes a situation which holds in reference time (since it holds in the story world as a whole), and the pluperfect tense form

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267 For a more literary approach to the narrative techniques in book 21 and 22, see Fuhrmann (1983).

268 See Walsh (1963:178ff) for a discussion of the structure of the individual episodes in Livy, among which this episode.

269 The translations are taken from: J.C. Yardley (2006). The Latin text is based on the OCT by Conway & Walters (1967).
mutaverat denotes a state of affairs which took place before reference time. The imperfect tense form agebat provides information on Abelux thoughts and motives at the very start of the story. The first event of the story is given in the next clause, the transition of narrated information to the proper narrative being marked by means of igitur.

circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam.

He therefore set his mind on making himself as useful as possible to his new allies. He considered everything that fortune could put within his reach, and settled on returning the hostages as being the best idea. That one thing, more than anything else, he thought would win for the Romans the support of the Spanish chieftains.

The perfect tense form adiecit represents Abelux' decision on what to do, and is the first actual event of this story. These sentences are presented in the narrative mode.

The actions of Abelux that lead directly to the freeing of the hostages are given by present tense forms in the next sentences: Abelux approaches Bostar (adgreditur), the Carthaginian commander, warns (monet) him that he should do something to win the favor of the Spanish people, and persuades (inquit) him to free the hostages. Then, Abelux goes to the Roman camp, explains (expromit) his scheme and finally returns to Saguntum (redit).

Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, uelut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanicorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque nouas uolentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat beneficio et gratia deuincendos esse.

Miranti Bostari percontantique quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, 'obsides' inquit, 'in ciuitates remitte. Id et priuatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in ciuitatibus est sui, et publice populis gratiam erit. Volt sibi quisque credi et habita fides ipsam plurernque obligat fidem. ministerium restituentorium domos obsidum mihi mete deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuue et rei suae naturae gratiae quantum insuper gratiam possim adhuc'.

Hominis non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventus quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret expromit et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constitueto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit.

Abelux was well aware, however, that those guarding the hostages would make no move without authorization from Bostar, their commander, and so he craftily approached Bostar himself. The latter had his camp right on the beach outside the city, in order to cut the Romans off from access from that direction. In the camp, Abelux took Bostar aside, and explained to him how matters stood, as though Bostar were ignorant of the fact. Until that day fear had curbed the spirit of the Spaniards because the Romans were far off, said Abelux, but now the Roman camp stood south of the Ebro providing a secure stronghold and refuge for all who looked for violent change. Accordingly, he concluded, since fear would not keep the Spaniards in check, they should be put under obligation to Carthage by a gesture of generosity and good will.

Bostar, taken aback, asked what offering could now suddenly be so important to the Spaniards. ‘Send the hostages back to their communities,’ said Abelux. ‘That will win you gratitude on a personal level from the parents – the people who have the greatest respect in their communities – and on the official level from the various tribes. Everybody wants to be trusted, and giving a person one’s trust generally secures his true loyalty. I claim for myself the duty of returning the hostages to their homes. I

270 The perfect participle construction circumspectis omnibus represents an event that happened before reference time, and is, of course, also part of the time line of the story (Risselada 1997). The numerous participles in Livy are not discussed in this chapter, further research on the use of participles within the discourse modes is necessary.
should like to assist my own plan with a special effort, and increase as much as I can the gratitude for
an act that by its very nature will make people grateful.’

The man was not very quick-witted compared with other Carthaginians, and Abelux managed
to win him over. Abelux then set off furtively at night to the enemy outposts, and there was met by a
number of Spanish auxiliaries, by whom he was conducted to Scipio. The Spaniard explained his
proposition, assurances were exchanged, and the time and location fixed for the transfer of the hostages
were arranged. He then returned to Saguntum.

This sequence of present tense forms is different from sequences of present tense forms in the
Aeneid, and does not fit the definition of the directing mode. First of all, the tempo in which
the presented events follow each other seems much higher. In addition, the subordinate
clauses (e.g. cum…sciret) and the sentence about Bostar’s camp (habebat) contain deictic
elements that indicate distance (past tenses, ibi). Moreover, whereas in the Aeneid sequences
in the directing mode seem to evoke a three-dimensional (mental) stage on which the events
and situations take place, this is not the case here. The narrator takes big steps along the time
line of the story: the discourse mode used in this passage is the retracing mode (§2.5). I will
elaborate on this below.

When Abelux has made all the arrangements, all he has to do is wait for the night to
fall. This day of waiting is summarized in the following sentence:

Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis.

Abelux spent the next day with Bostar, receiving instructions on how the business was to be conducted.

The perfect tense form absumpsit presents the spending of this day as an event on the time
line of the story, and should therefore be seen as presented in the narrative mode. The actual
transmission of the hostages is presented in the next sentence by means of the present tense
form ducit, and a temporal setting for this present tense form is given by means of a cum-
clause.

Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum ut custodias hostium falleret constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam
excitatis puerorum profectus, ueluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit.

He then took his leave, having decided with Bostar that he would make the journey at night, so as not to
be spotted by enemy sentinels. At the time he had established with them, he woke the men who were
guarding the boys and set off, leading the party into the trap he himself had treacherously prepared, and
of which he pretended to be unaware.

Again, this combination of a cum-clause containing a pluperfect subjunctive and a main
clause containing a present tense form does not resemble the directing mode as we find it in
Vergil’s Aeneid. Also this sentence is part of the retracing mode.

Next, the outcome of the story is presented in the narrative mode by means of two
perfect tense forms, perducti and acta, in alternation with the pluperfect tense constitutum
erat which provides narrated information.

In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicum cum Bostare constitutum erat,
acta per eundem ordinem quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur.

They were brought into the Roman camp. After that, all the other measures for returning the hostages
were taken in line with the agreement with Bostar and in the same sequence as if the affair were under
the direction of the Carthaginians.

After this, Livy evaluates the outcome of this story by stating that the gratitude of the
Spaniards to the Romans was much bigger than the gratitude to the Carthaginians could ever
have been. This evaluation is presented by means of a reported sequence, containing the perfect tense form *fuit* and the periphrastic expression *futura fuerat*. The explanation of this statement is presented by means of the narrative mode, and is marked with *enim*: the imperfect tense forms *poterat* and *videbatur* represent situations which hold in reference time and the pluperfect tense form *fecerat* provides narrated information on a state of affairs which took place before reference time.

maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia *fuit* in re pari quam quanta *futura* Carthaginiensium *fuerat*. Illos *enim* graues [superbos] in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse uideri *poterat*: Romanus primo aduentu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium *fecerat* et Abelux, uir prudens, haud frustra *uidebatur* socios mutasse.

For the very same service the Romans earned considerably more gratitude than the Carthaginians would have done. For the Spaniards had found the Carthaginians hard to bear and domineering when things were going well for them, and the softening of their attitude could have been attributed to their changing fortunes, and to their fear. The Romans, on the other hand, had been strangers up to that point, and now, at the moment of their arrival, they had begun with an act of kindness and generosity. And Abelux, it would appear, was a prudent man who must have had good reason to change his allies.

All this made the Spaniards look forward to an uprise against the Carthaginians, and it is with this situation in reference time (expressed by means of an infinitivus historicus, see below) that the story of Abelux is rounded off (narrative mode)

*Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota *forent*, ni hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta *coegit*, *interuenisset*.*

As a result, there was massive support for the defection which they were all contemplating; and in fact fighting would have broken out immediately but for the intervention of winter, which obliged Romans and Carthaginians alike to retire to their billets.

In short, this story starts in the report mode, ant then we gradually enter the story world by means of narrated information and the narrative mode. The middle part of the story is presented by means of the retracing mode, but at the end of the story the narrator uses the report and narrative mode again to conclude.

The episode of Abelux shows that the discourse modes can indeed be used to describe the way in which Livy presents his history. The occurrence of the historical present in this work may, however, not be explained by means of the directing mode. The next section aims to explain the particular use of the present tense in Livy.

### 9.1 The Historical Present in *Ab Urbe Condita*

The historical present occurs in three types of environments in *AUC*:

1) Transposed (dynamic) descriptions
   several simultaneous states of affairs sketch what is going on in the story world.

2) Retracing mode
   the narrator takes big steps along a time line, and each entry on this line is represented by a present tense form (“annalistic present”). The narrator focuses on one particular reference time at the time, chaining several reference times.

3) ‘Highlights’ within the narrative mode
   a sequence that is clearly presented in the narrative mode contains an isolated
present tense form. The narrator puts special emphasis on one particular reference time by means of the present tense.

The use of the present tense in transposed (dynamic) descriptions may be illustrated by means of the example below, in which it is described how the Romans, caught in a trap of the Carthaginians, try to escape – despite the lack of escape routes. All states of affairs after the imperfect tense form *obstabant* take place in the same reference time. In stead of advancement of reference time, we find a spatial progression through the scene, as *alii* and *pars magna* indicate.

Example (1) *AUC*: 22.6.4

Magnae partis fuga inde primum *coepit*; et iam nec lacus nec montes pauori *obstabant*; per omnia arta praeruptaque uelut caeci *evadunt*, armaque et uiri super alium alii *praecipitantur*. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae *deest*, per prima uada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus [umeris] exstare *possunt*, sese *immergunt*;

The event triggered the flight of most of the Romans, and now neither lake nor hills stood in the way of their panic. They ran off blindly, over ground that was nothing but ravines and cliffs, and arms and men fell tumbling over each other. Most, finding no passage for their flight, waded through the shallows at the edge of the lake into the deeper water, sinking up to their heads and shoulder.

The description given by means of the present tense forms *evadunt*, *praecipitantur*, *deest*, *possunt* and *immergunt* presents an elaboration of the imperfect tense forms *nec obstabant* (and of and the state of affairs *coepit*). Reference time does not advance in this sequence since all present tense forms take place in the same reference time. The dynamic character of this description is evoked by the iterative character of *evadunt* and *praecipitantur* and the use of *alii* and *pars magna*.271

A total number of 29 present tense forms occur in descriptions (static and dynamic) in my sample.272 The 81 instances of the historical present outside description all evoke the same interpretation: the state of affairs is contemporaneous with reference time. I have divided these 81 instances into two groups: one group of isolated present tense forms within narrated sequences and another group of present tense forms which occur in an uninterrupted sequence of two or more present tense forms. An overview of the use of the historical present is given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Present tense forms in <em>AUC</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series (retracing mode)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As becomes clear from the table, the present tense forms in both the ‘isolated’ and the ‘series’ group very often denote *advancing events*. Advancing events are bounded states of affairs that indicate an advancement of reference time.


272 Three historical presents in *AUC* occur in other discourse modes in *dum*-clauses and are not part of the numbers in table 1. A number of 35 ‘actual’ present tense forms occurs in *AUC* outside direct speech, see the sections on the report mode and the normal description mode below (§9.3 and §9.5). Five present tense forms occur in *dum*-clauses in the narrative mode or the report mode.

273 The 29 present tense forms occurring in transposed description are divided over 13 sequences.

274 The 35 present tense forms occurring in series of present tense forms are divided over 14 retraced sequences.
Present tense forms in series are part of what I introduced in §2.5 as the *retracing mode*. An example of such a series is found in the excerpt below, which recounts how the Celtiberi gained power in several parts of Spain.

**Example (2)** *AUC* 22.21.5

Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos [obuiam antea miserant] obsidesque *dederant* Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma *capiunt* provinciamque Carthaginisiium ualido exercitu *inuadunt*. Tria oppida *expugnant*; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnantes, quindecim milia hostium *occiderunt*, quattuor milia cum multis militarebus signis *capiunt*.

The Celtiberians had sent the leading men of their territory as spokesmen to the Romans, and had also given hostages. Now, prompted by a message they were sent by Scipio, they took up arms and overran the Carthaginian area with a powerful army. They stormed three towns, and then put up a magnificent fight against Hasdrubal himself in two battles, killing 15,000 of the enemy and capturing 4,000 along with some military standards.

This way of presentation does not resemble the directing mode, in which a three dimensional stage is set up on which the presented states of affairs take place. The events represented by means of the present tense forms *capiunt*, *inuadunt*, *expugnant* and the second *capiunt* are not surrounded with the amount of detail we find in the directing mode, and they seem much further apart in time than events in the directing mode usually are. Adam (1998:146) provides a similar observation about *AUC* 1.30.1-2 and *AUC* 1.3.6-11: “The most obvious characteristic of the present tense forms in these passages is that for the most part they simply name a series of events. Further […], the events which they name extend across a large span of time in a short space of text, and they are linked only by a common theme in each case, not by the tight cause-and-effect sequentiality which marks a true narrative.” Another feature of this sequence that would not be found in the directing mode is the use of the perfect tense form *occiderunt*: this perfect tense form does not reflect a base in reference time, as the perfect tense forms in the directing mode do (see §3.4). Rather, the perfect tense form *occiderunt* is used in the same way as the present tense forms in this sequence, since it denotes an event that advances reference time.²⁷⁵ The states of affairs expressed by present tense forms may be compared to the two exceptional sequences of historical presents in the retracing mode in the *Aeneid* (§2.5). One of these sequences is repeated below.

**Example (3), Aeneid** 10.148 – 158

namque ut ab Euandro castris ingressus Etruscis regem *adit* et regi memorat nomenque genusque quidue petat quidue ipse ferat, Mezentius arma quae sibi conciliet, uiolentaque pectora Turni edocet humanis quae sit fiducia rebus *admonet* immiscetque preces, haud *fit* mora, Tarchon iungit opes foedusque *ferit*; tum libera fati *classem conscendit* iussis gens Lydia diuum externo commissa duci. Aenea puppis prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones, *imminet* Ida super, profugis gratissima Teuceris.

For when, leaving Evander and entering the Tuscan camp, he meets the king, and to the king announces his name and his race, the aid he seeks, and the aid he himself offers; informs him of the forces Mezentius is gathering to his side, and the violence of Turnus’ spirit; then warns him, what faith may be put in things human, and with pleas minglest entreaties – without delay Tarchon joins forces and strikes a treaty; then, freed from Fate, the Lydian people embark under heaven’s ordinance, entrusting themselves to foreign leader. Aeneas’ ship takes the lead with Phrygian lions beneath her beak; above them towers Ida, sight most welcome to Trojan exiles.

This sequence summarizes the actions of Aeneas in book 8, and almost every present tense form in this sequence represents a large advancement of the reference time in this subordinate story.

²⁷⁵ For an explanation of this perfect tense form, see note 289.
Instead of using the metaphor of a stage, we may in case of the retracing mode use the image of a conceptual time line, along which the narrator, or more specifically the historiographer, takes steps along the time line while he focuses on the particular part under consideration. Rather than ‘directing’ the events he ‘retraces’ them. As said in §2.5, this use of the present tense is similar to the use of the present tense on actual time lines, such as the time line in the appendix of Conte’s Latin Literature (1994:729ff). Whereas Conte in the section on Livy states “Titus Livy – his cognomen is unknown – was born at Padua in 59 B.C.” (1994:367), this event is presented on the time line in the appendix as “Livy is born at Padua” (1994:749).

All sequences of present tense forms in my Livy-sample are presented in the retracing mode, but I do not exclude the possibility that the directing mode is used in AUC.276 There is one sequence of present tense forms in my Livy-sample which seems to resemble the tempo of the directing mode (a scene in terms of Bal 1985), but a comparison to a similar part in the Aeneid shows that we should still analyze the sequence in AUC as an example of the retracing mode.277 This sequence is part of the siege of Saguntum, in the context of which it is told how the Saguntines raise a cry and then drive the enemies away through the collapsed walls of their city.

Example (4) AUC 21.09.01

Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis quia praeter spem resisterent creuissent animi, Poenus quia non uicisset pro uicto esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidamunque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

The battle had long hung in balance. The Saguntines’ confidence soared because their resistance was more effective than they could have hoped, while the Carthaginians’ failure to secure victory left them feeling beaten. Suddenly the townspeople raise a shout and pushed the enemy back to where their wall had collapsed. Dislodging them from there in disorder and panic, they finally routed and scattered them, driving them back to their camp.

This excerpt seems to contain enough detail to picture it on a full-blown stage, but the narrator of the Aeneid would take much smaller steps when using the directing mode. If we compare this example from Livy to a similar siege scene in the Aeneid, we find much more detail and a lower tempo in the latter. In the example from the Aeneid, the Latins fail to drive their enemies away from their wall.

Example (5) 11.876 - 890

ululitur ad muros caliginis turbidus atra puluis, et e specus percssae pectora matres feminem clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt. qui cursu portas primi inrupere patetis, hos inimica super mixto premit agmine turbam, nec miseram effugiant mortem, sed limine in ipso, moenibus in patriis atque inter tuta domorum confixi expirant animas. pars Claudere portas, nec sociis aperire uiam nec moenibus audent accipere orantis, oriturque miserrima caedes defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum. exclusi ante oculos lacrimantque ora parentum

On the walls rolls a cloud of dust, black and murky, and from the watchtowers mothers, beating their breasts, raise to the stars of heaven their womanish cries. Upon those who first broke at full speed through the open gates there presses hard a throng of foes, mingling with their ranks, nor do they escape a piteous death, but on the very threshold, their native walls about them, and within the shelter of their homes, they are pierced through, and gasp away their lives. Some close the gates, and dare not open a way to their friends, nor receive them inside the walls, implore as they may; and slaughter most pitiful ensues, both of

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276 The narrator of AUC may want to present some parts of his historiographic work in more detail, and use the directing mode to do so (cf. Risselada 1997 on the Bacchanalia episode, for instance).

277 The terms scene and summary are used in the sense of of Bal (1985). These terms have to do with the tempo of narrative texts: in scenes the time of the narration and the narrated time seem to (more or less) coincide, whereas in summaries the narrated time is many times larger than the time of the narration (i.e. the narrator speeds up his narrative). (cf. also De Jong fc. for a discussion of tempo in Greek Ancient Narrative).
pars in praecipitis fossas urgente ruina
uoluitur, immissis pars caeca et concita frenis
arietat in portas et duros obice postis.

Both excerpts contain a raised cry as a detail, but whereas Livy talks about walls from which the enemies are driven and attacks that are repelled, Vergil is concerned with the doors and their tresholds within such walls and the people who die on them. Apart from tollunt, the only state of affairs in this excerpt that is comparable to those in the excerpt of AUC is oritur misserima caedes, considering that – like expellunt, exturbant and redigunt – it could be presented in much smaller steps on the time line. As a matter of fact, it is fragmented into such smaller steps in the next sentences, which present a dynamic description that elaborates the word caedes.

The contrast between these two excerpts may be used to draw attention to an additional characteristic of the directing mode: the directing mode consists of scenes presented in a relatively slow tempo, whereas the retracing mode gives summaries of series of states of affairs which at least are a couple of hours apart, or even several days.

Another contrast between the retracing and directing mode is found in the amount of control and knowledge the narrator displays. The directing mode combines, as I explained in chapter 1, immediate deixis with displaced knowledge, resulting for instance in the combination of words such as nequiquam with the historical present, and in the occurrence of this tense in apostrophes et cetera. We do not find displaced knowledge in the case of the historical present in AUC. A state of affairs in the historical present in AUC takes place in one particular reference time on which the narrator concentrates without, for the time being, taking the rest of his story into consideration. This is corroborated by the fact that the present tense in AUC never denotes a state of affairs that is valid in the story world as a whole (i.e. transposed report).

The excerpts above show sequences of present tense forms in which the narrator focuses on one particular reference time at the time, chaining several reference times together. The occurrences of isolated present tense forms within the narrative mode may be explained along the same lines. In these cases, the narrator highlights the state of affairs under consideration by focusing explicitly on one particular reference time. An example of this is found in the second chapter of book 2, in which Hannibal looses his eye.

Example (6) AUC 22.2.6
Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex uerna primum intemperie uariante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus
superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extare, uectus, uigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo
grauante caput et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat altero oculo capitur.

As for Hannibal himself, he had been suffering from an eye-infection since the inclement spring weather with its alternating hot and cold temperatures, and now he rode the one surviving elephant to keep himself higher above the water. However, the sleep-deprivation, the damp nights, and the swampy atmosphere all had a bad effect on his head, and since there was no place and no time for treatment he went blind in one eye.

The present tense form capitur attracts the attention of the reader because it is the only present tense form in an environment of past tenses and because it is placed at the end of the sentence. The present tense means that the narrator takes reference time as his base, and focuses on this
particular part of the time line. This creates the foregrounding effect which has long been recognized in case of these isolated present tense forms.\footnote{E.g. Chausserie-Laprée (1969:372f), Fleischman (1991); Adams (1995). Cf. also Sicking (1997) for a similar view on the historical present in ancient Greek. Note that in some studies the term historical present is restricted to isolated occurrences of a present tense form referring to the past, whereas the term narrative present refers to sequences of present tense forms (e.g. Fludernik 2003).}

In sum, present tense forms in Livy may be used to concentrate on one particular reference time. This use of the present tense occurs in sequences of present tense forms in which case the \textit{retracing mode} is used. An isolated occurrence of a historical present, by contrast, seems to have a highlighting function within the narrative mode (see also §9.3).

\subsection*{9.2 Quantitative Use of Discourse Modes}

Before I elaborate on the use of the individual discourse modes in \textit{AUC} and compare \textit{AUC} to the \textit{Aeneid}, I will discuss how often the discourse modes are used in both works. An overview is given in the table and the figure below.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & \textit{AUC} & & \textit{Aeneid} \\
 & Words & \% & Words & \% \\
\hline
Report & 1487 & 12 & 6609 & 10 \\
Transposed Report & 0 & 0 & 945 & 2 \\
Registering & 16 & <1 & 37 & <0.1 \\
Directing/ Retracing & 504 & 4 & 23387 & 36 \\
Narrative & 5360 & 44 & 5800 & 9 \\
Description & 1246 & 10 & 706 & 1 \\
Transposed Description & 231 & 2 & 3237 & 5 \\
Direct speech & 1519 & 13 & 22594 & 35 \\
Indirect speech & 1754 & 14 & 1027 & 2 \\
Total & 12117 & 100 & 64342 & 100 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Quantitative use of modes in an excerpt of Ab Urbe Condita, compared to \textit{Aeneid}\footnote{As part of my research, I divided the text of the \textit{Aeneid} and the Livy-sample into sequences (§1.3) according to the discourse modes used, making use of a database created for that purpose. This database was used to count the words in all discourse modes.}}
\end{table}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chart.png}
\caption{Bar chart showing the percentage of each discourse mode in \textit{AUC} and \textit{Aeneid}.}
\end{figure}
CHAPTER 9

Figure 1: Discourse Modes in AUC and Aeneid

The most obvious difference between the Aeneid and AUC is the difference in the use of the narrative mode as compared to the directing and retracing mode. The narrative mode is by far the most frequent mode in AUC. Apart from the retracing mode and some instances of transposed description, the transposed modes are not used in AUC. The narrator of AUC uses slightly more report than the narrator of the Aeneid, and adds a considerable amount of description to his story. Another difference between the Aeneid and AUC is found in the use of direct and indirect speech. Direct speech takes up a much larger part of the text than indirect speech in the Aeneid, whereas the text of AUC contains slightly more indirect speech than direct speech.

In the following sections I will discuss each of the discourse modes in AUC separately, starting with the narrative mode. The aim of these sections is primarily to contrast the use of the discourse modes in AUC with the use of the discourse modes in the Aeneid (as presented in the previous chapter), but at the start of each section I will briefly discuss the tense usage within these modes.

9.3 Narrative Mode and Narrated Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Base Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The narrative mode presents the states of affairs of a story in relation to each other. The story takes place in the past of the base, and in case of AUC this base always is the time of narration. As far as tense usage is concerned, the narrative mode is characterized by perfect tense forms denoting the events in reference time, and imperfect tense forms denoting situations. The pluperfect is used to denote states of affairs that are anterior to reference time. A combination of these three tenses is found in example (7) which tells how the Romans react to burning torches (attached to the horns of cattle) approaching them.

Example (7) AUC 22.17.4

Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumuentos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua minime densae micabant flammae, uelut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boues palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt.

Those stationed to guard the pass could see fires on the hilltops, and some right above their heads. Thinking they were surrounded, they abandoned their posts. They headed for the hilltops, where the blazing flames were least concentrated, assuming this to be the safest path, but even so they ran into a number of cattle that had strayed away from their herd.

The pluperfect tense form locati erant refers to a state of affairs that is anterior to reference time. The perfect tense form conspexere denotes a state of affairs that happened right before (ubi) the state of affairs excessere, which is an event taking place in reference time. The imperfect tense form micabant refers to an unbounded state of affairs in reference time (a situation). The last event of this excerpt is given by means of a perfect tense form, inciderunt.

The historical infinitive is also found in the narrative mode in AUC, although it occurs in only seven sequences (11 infinitives). The infinitives in the narrative mode take place within a well-defined reference time, as the infinitives credere and intueri in the example below do. The starting point of these infinitives is indicated by means of primo statim adventu

280 See Viljamaa (1983) for an extensive discussion of the historical infinitive in Livy.

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convertit and its end by means of dein, which explicitly indicates a shift to a new reference time. The infinitives indicate, in a sketchy way (see §7.2), how the soldiers reacted when Hannibal was appointed their leader.

Example (8) AUC 21.4.2
Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim aduentu omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuuenem redditum sibi ueteres milites credere; eundem uigorem in uoltu uimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein breui effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad fauorem conciliandum esset.

Hannibal was sent to Spain where he won the hearts of the entire army immediately upon his arrival. The older soldiers thought that a young Hamilcar had been brought back to them; they saw that same dynamism in his expression, the same forcefulness in his eyes, the same facial expression and features. Then, in a short while, he saw to it that his father counted for little in winning him support.

Apart from the perfect, imperfect and pluperfect tense and the historical infinitive, the present tense also occurs in the narrative mode in AUC, as I explained above. The semantic value of the present tense is to indicate that a state of affairs is contemporaneous to the base. These isolated present tense forms indicate that the narrator uses reference time as his base for the short period of only one reference time. As became clear in table 1 (§9.1), isolated present tense forms usually indicate an event which advances reference time. This is illustrated in (9), in which Publius Scipio has just arrived in Spain and joins his brother Gnaeus Scipio (present tense form coniungit). The narrator then uses the imperfect tense form gerebant to refer to the state of affairs of the Scipio brothers conducting the war together.

Example (9) AUC 22.22.3
Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul uisa cum magna laetitia ciuium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito prefectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.

This armada, huge thanks to its large column of transport vessels, was seen in the distance, and, to the great jubilation of the Romans and their allies, it came in from the open sea and docked in the harbour of Tarraco. After disembarking his men, Scipio set out and joined his brother, and from that point they fought the war together, with a joint strategy.

The present tense is used in a past tense environment, which, in itself, has a highlighting effect, of course (see §9.1). The semantic value of the present tense also contributes to the emphasis given to the state of affairs coniungit: by means of the present tense the narrator focuses on this moment in the story, before continuing by means of ac deinde.

This example also illustrates that the use of the historical present is restricted to states of affairs that take place within the reference time. This means that the present tense is not used when a situation lasts longer than the given reference time. The imperfect tense is used to refer to the state of affairs that takes up more time than just one reference time. Gerebant refers to a situation that extends beyond the reference time with which it is contemporaneous: the war will continue for some time. Such an interpretation could not have been evoked by means of a present tense form: the present tense in AUC refers to states of affairs that obtain in reference time alone, and a phrase like deinde bellum gerunt would have been a presentation of this war as one step on the time line. That is, it would have implied that this war was finished in the next reference time, passing over the actions within this war.281

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281 A perfect tense form in this clause would evoke two interpretations: a perfect tense form could be interpreted as part of the narrative mode, in which case the interpretation would be similar to that of the present tense, or it could be interpreted as part of the report mode, providing a summary of the events to come.
An overview of the distribution of the tenses in the narrative mode is given in the table below, the numbers with respect to narrated information are given in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Tense usage in narrated sequences in AUC and the Aeneid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (historical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present/ perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the much larger amount of historical presents in narrated sequences in AUC\textsuperscript{282}, a considerable difference is found in the use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. These verb forms mostly occur in cum-clauses in AUC to provide frames for the events and situations in the main clause, as is illustrated in the example below. The master of horse, Municius, has been drawn into a fight by Hannibal and saved by the consul Fabius. The cum-clause indicates the return to the camp after this fight, and provides a temporal frame for Municius’ speech. Municius admits that his low esteem of Fabius was wrong.

Example (10) AUC 22.29

Ita per uariam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius conuocatis militibus 'saepè ego inquit, 'adui, milites, eum primum esse urum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene momenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse.

This day of wavering fortunes was mostly done and when the two sides had returned to camp, Municius summoned his men. ‘Men!’ he said, ‘I have often been told that the best man is he who gives helpful advice, that the man who accepts good advice stands next to him and that the most inadequate man is he who cannot give advice, but cannot accept it from another, either.

In the Aeneid, such frames tend to be given by means of an imperfect indicative, often in a cum inversum construction, or by means of a clause starting with ut or postquam containing a perfect indicative (see §5.7). When a narrator uses a cum-clause with a subjunctive, this seems to stress the temporal distance between himself and the story he is narrating, since such a frame explicitly positions the main clause in a time of the past.\textsuperscript{283} This might be the reason why we find it more often in the historiographical work AUC.

The narrative mode is the most important discourse mode in AUC, as already became clear from figure 1 above. It is used to present the lump sum of the story, and enables a pretty high tempo in comparison to the directing mode of the Aeneid. In my opinion, this has to do with the subject matter and, especially, with the amount of material of both works: the narrator of the Aeneid picks the parts of his story and uses as much words as he wants to present them, whereas the narrator of AUC has decided to go through the history of Rome, and is, therefore, limited in the amount of episodes he can present in an elaborate manner.

Within the narrative mode, the narrator of AUC alternates between what in narratological terms is known as scenes and summaries. In summaries, relatively large steps are taken on the time line of the story. The tempo is high, as may be illustrated by means of

\textsuperscript{282} The present tense forms in narrated sequences in the Aeneid occur in dum-clauses.

\textsuperscript{283} See §5.7.
the example below. The narrator presents the event of Hannibal getting hurt, then proceeds to the panic this caused, after which he moves to a reference time with the length of several days (*per paucos dies*). He adds adds a short description to this reference time (*per quod ... cessatum*), and, finally, reaches the reference time in which the war starts again.284

Example (11) AUC 21.7.

Vt uero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, aduersum femur tragula grauiter ictus cececidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio *fuit* ut non multum abset quin opera ac uineae desererentur. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio *fuit* dum uolnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum *erat* ita ab apparatu operum ac muntionum nihil *cessatum*. Itaque acrius de integro *coortum est* bellum pluribusque partibus, uix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, uineae *coeptae* agi admouerique aries.

But then Hannibal himself, approaching the wall with insufficient caution, collapsed with a serious spear-wound to the front of his thigh, and with that his men fled in panic from their positions, leaving the earthworks and siege-sheds well-nigh abandoned. To give the general’s wound time to heal, it was siege tactics rather than direct assault for the next few days. But while there was a lull in the fighting during this time, there was no let-up in the construction of siege-works and of fortifications to protect the city. As a result, when hostilities resumed it was with greater determination than before, and the siege-sheds began to be advanced and the rams brought up in more locations, although a number of places scarcely accomodated such operations.

Summaries such as these are alternated with *scenes*. The tempo in *scenes* is slower, and they may contain direct speech, like in the example below which gives a detailed account of the events in Flaminius’ camp, including a speech of Flaminius. Flaminius is determined to stop Hannibal despite the bad omens.

Example (12) AUC 22.3.5

Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse *quietaurus erat*, tum uero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique *uidit*, suum id dedecus ratus per mediam iam Italiam uagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa saevimuram: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consiliumque rem gerentem, interim equitatu auxiliique leuium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum -iratus se ex consilio *pronuntiari* 'immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus’ *inguit*, 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam uastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perueniat, nec ante nos hinc mouerimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres accuuerint'. Haec simul increpans cum ocius signa conuelli *iusset* et ipse in equum *insiluisset*, equus *repente* corruit consulemque lapsum super caput *effudit*.

Even if his enemy had remained inactive, Flaminius would not have remained inactive himself – and now he saw allied property hauled off and pillaged almost before his eyes. He took it as a personal insult that the Carthaginian was meandering through central Italy and meeting no opposition as he advanced to launch an assault on the very walls of Rome. In council, everybody else was advocating a prudent rather than a flamboyant course of action. They should await Flaminius’ colleague, they suggested, so as to have combined forces and a unified plan and strategy for the campaign, and in the meantime use their cavalry and light infantry to curb the unchecked raiding of the enemy. Furious, Flaminius stormed out of the council, and put up the signal simultaneously for marching and engaging the enemy. ‘Why, yes,’ he said, ‘let us just sit before the walls of Arretium! This is where our home and our hearts are! Let us have Hannibal slip through our fingers and make a thorough job of pillaging Italy! Let him reach the walls of Rome, looting and burning everything on his way! And let us not move from here until the senators summon Gaius Flaminius from Arretium, as once they did Camillus from

284 The perfect tense forms *fuit* in this example represent events on the time line of the story, and not an indication of the report mode, which it usually is in the *Aeneid* (§3.3). The combination with the subjects *trepidatio* and *obsidio* makes that these state of affairs have an internal endpoint (they are *telic*) and the perfect tense is used to present them as reaching their endpoint in the reference time they demarcate, i.e. as events within a narrated sequence. This use of *fuit* is not found in the *Aeneid.*
Veii.’ With this snide remark he gave the order for the standards to be quickly pulled from the ground, and he himself leaped onto his horse. But the horse suddenly took a stumble, throwing the consul over his head.

The perfect tense forms of this scene denote the events, whereas the frames are given by means of imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives, as explained above.

A clause that deserves further attention is the relative clause at the start of this example, *qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat*. This clause provides information about Flaminius. The information is not restricted to reference time alone, but holds in the story world as a whole. It is *narrated information*.

### 9.3.1 Narrated Information

Narrated information is information that is presented as contemporaneous with reference time (imperfect tense) or as anterior to reference time (pluperfect tense). An overview of the tenses used in narrated information in *AUC* and in the *Aeneid* is found in the table below. As is shown in the table, the imperfect and the pluperfect are the tenses that provide narrative information in both works.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>AUC Ind.</th>
<th>AUC Subj.</th>
<th>Aeneid Ind.</th>
<th>Aeneid Subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>2 (48%)</td>
<td>14 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>21 (48%)</td>
<td>13 (93%)</td>
<td>62 (46%)</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>22 (48%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>73 (54%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45 (100%)</td>
<td>14 (100%)</td>
<td>135 (100%)</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In narrated information, the imperfect tense describes situations which are not only valid in reference time, but rather in the story world as a whole. This is the case in examples like (13) in which characteristics, such as names (*Ducario nomen erat*) of certain characters are given.

Example (13) *AUC* 22.6.1

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrier infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora uirorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferbat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur ciues, donec Insuber—*Ducario nomen erat*—facie quoque noscitans consulem, …

The battle went on for some three hours. It was savage at every point, but around the consul the fighting was even more fierce and violent. Flaminius had his strongest troops alongside him, and he was energetically bringing assistance at any point where he had seen his men under pressure and in difficulties. His armour marked him out, and so the enemy furiously attacked him, and his own men just as furiously defended him. Then an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius recognized the consul by his appearance.

The pluperfect tense describes states of affairs that took place long before reference time (analepsis), like *fuerat* in the example below.

Example (14) *AUC* 22.21.1

Quietum inde fore uidebatur reliquum aestatis tempus fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquietae auidaque in nouas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus *fuerat*, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum uenerunt.

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285 These perfect tense forms occur in 22.1.2 and are part of a sequence of pluperfect tense forms giving the information that the Gauls had transferred their animosity from the Romans back to Hannibal.
The remainder of the summer, so it seemed, was going to be uneventful, and indeed would have been as far as the Carthaginians were concerned. But the Spaniards are by nature a fractious people, always eager for violent change, and now there was the problem of Mandonius and the former chieftain of the Ilergetes, Indibilis. As soon as the Romans retired from the passa to the coast, these two roused their compatriots to insurrection, and came to pillage the peaceful lands of the allies of Rome.

With respect to the other states of affairs in the narrative mode, narrated information is backgrounded. It gives the background information that is necessary to understand the progression through history presented in the narrative mode. Such information may, as explained in §8.2.3, also be given by means of the report mode, but in AUC, the report mode gives information that is of an evaluative nature. The example above illustrates this: the clause about the character of the Spanish people (quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta auidaque in nouas res sunt ingenia) is reported (sunt is a present tense form that takes its base in the time of narration) and gives evaluative information. The report mode is the subject of the next section.

9.4 Report Mode and Registering Mode

In the report mode a narrator presents states of affairs in relation to his base, in case of AUC the time of narration. Also in the registering mode, the narrator presents states of affairs in relation to his base. The registering mode differs from the report mode in that the registering mode contains only those states of affairs which the narrator experiences in his immediate environment (time of narration). The registering mode hardly occurs in AUC (see example (18)).

First, I will explain the tense usage in the report mode. In this mode, a present tense form denotes a state of affairs that is contemporaneous with the time of narration. The perfect tense denotes states of affairs that are anterior to the time of narration. By means of the perfect tense, situations in the story world may be summarized and presented as mere facts, as in example (15). The narrator provides his audience with the information that Saguntum was the most prosperous city south of the Ebro. Just like oppugnabatur, the state of affairs fuit is an atelic state of affairs (see §2.3.1), and might as well have been presented by means of an imperfect tense form. By using the perfect tense, the narrator disregards the relation between the state of affairs fuit and that of oppugnabatur and presents the information in relation to his own point in time.

Example (15) AUC 21.7

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa ui oppugnabatur. Ciuitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas breui creuerant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae sanctitate qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt.

While the Romans were engaged in these preparations and deliberations, Saguntum was already facing an all-out assault. This city-state, lying about a mile from the sea, was by far the most prosperous south of the Ebro. The Saguntines are said to hail from the island of Zacynthos, some also being of mixed race from the Rutulian city of Ardea. At all events, they had in a short time come to possess great wealth thanks to their maritime or agricultural activities, to their increase in population, or to their high values – which led them to remain loyal to their allies even when faced with destruction themselves.

The narrator continues with a present tense form, dicuntur, which is contemporaneous with his own time. The pluperfect creverant is part of this reported sequence as well: it denotes a state of affairs that has preceded the reported situation. The reported sequence is ended by means of the perfect tense form coluerunt.
Also the imperfect tense occurs in the report mode in *AUC*. Just like in the *Aeneid* it denotes states of affairs that are contemporaneous with an orientation moment provided in the reported sequence (e.g. *conferebant* in *AUC* 21.1). An overview of the tense usage in reported sequences is given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th><em>AUC</em></th>
<th><em>Aeneid</em></th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th><em>AUC</em></th>
<th><em>Aeneid</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>89 (68%)</td>
<td>7 (27%)</td>
<td>266 (34%)</td>
<td>14 (17%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>26 (20%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>490 (62%)</td>
<td>35 (41%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>8 (6%)</td>
<td>12 (46%)</td>
<td>25 (3%)</td>
<td>27 (32%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>8 (6%)</td>
<td>7 (27%)</td>
<td>5 (&lt;1%)</td>
<td>8 (10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131 (100%)</td>
<td>26 (100%)</td>
<td>786 (100%)</td>
<td>84 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison to the *Aeneid*, the present tense occurs far less often in the report mode in *AUC*. This is due to the fact that the similes in the *Aeneid* are taken as part of the report mode (§2.2). Similes occur often in the *Aeneid*, whereas they hardly occur in Livy’s work. I have found one instance in my Livy-sample in which the narrator compares a situation in his story to a more general situation, but this, of course, is not a simile as found in the *Aeneid*. The narrator states that the siege of Saguntum was not at all like normal sieges, but more like a proper battle:

**Example (16) AUC 21.8**

Nihil tumultiariae pugnæ simile erat, *quaes in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent*, sed iustae acies, uelut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia interuallo constiterant.

It was nothing like the scrappy fighting that usually arises during assaults in cities, when one side grasps an opportunity; rather, two regular fighting-lines had taken up a position in what was virtually an open field between the collapsed wall and the city buildings a short distance away.

Another reason for the small number of present tense forms in the Livy-sample is that general remarks on the epic gods, such as ‘Jupiter is king of men and gods’ (§2.2), do not occur.286 The narrator of *AUC* makes only four remarks that are of a more general character. One of these is made when the senate of Carthage has to decide whether Hannibal may succeed Hasdrubal.287 The majority of the senate wins from the minority, although this minority includes all the right-thinking men. Livy adds that this usually is the case:

**Example (17) AUC 21.4**

Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, *ut plerumque fit*, maiori pars meliorem uicit.

A small number, including all the most right-thinking men, agreed with Hanno, but, as usual, the bigger party triumphed over the better.

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286 The fact that generalizing sentences do not occur often in this sample does not mean that this is a feature specific for historiography (as none of my observations in this chapter is specific for historiography as a genre). I do not exclude that some historiographers (for instance Sallust, cf. *Cat*. 6.3) may use remarks such as *ut plerumque fit* more often than Livy does in this sample.

287 Another general remark is made in caput 13 of book 22: *uidelicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum uinculum fidei est, melioribus parere*. (transl.: that was evidently because the authority to which they were subject was just and tolerant, and they did not refuse obedience to a superior people – *the only real bond of loyalty*)
Apart from the difference in the amount of present tense forms, the *AUC* is comparable to the *Aeneid* as far as the distribution and uses of the other tenses in the report mode is concerned. Now that I have explained the tense usage within the report mode, I proceed to the use of the report mode. Like the narrator of the *Aeneid*, the narrator of *AUC* uses report to organize his material and to give information from his own point in time. He does so in various ways. He may explicitly refer to the organization of his work by stating something like *quam ante diximus* (book 22, caput 28). Such remarks are not found in the *Aeneid*. Another way in which the narrator of *AUC* organizes his work is found in the *Aeneid*: the use of reported summaries to announce what the content of the next sequence will be (Walsh 1963:178). An example of this is found at the start of the episode of Abelux, which I discussed above (*Eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsoluit*).

The conclusion of episodes may also be presented by means of the report mode. Such conclusions of, for instance, battle episodes are often followed by a reported sequence in which the narrator discusses accounts of the battle in other sources. We find this, for instance, at the end of the episode about the battle at *lacus Trasumenus*. The narrator concludes his story with the statement that this is (*est!*) the famous battle at Lake Trasimene, and then gives the numbers of the losses on both sides. After that he gives us information about the treatment of this battle by other writers: they tend to give larger numbers. The clause containing *velim* in this excerpt is one of the few instances of the *registering mode* in this corpus.

Example (18) *AUC* 22.7

*Haec est nobilis ad Trasumenum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam auresis itineribus urbem petiere; duae milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] ex uolneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui.*

This is the famous battle of Trasimene; few defeats suffered by the people of Rome have been as memorable. Fifteen thousand Romans fell in action. Ten thousand scattered in flight throughout Etruria, and headed for the city by various roads. Two thousand five hundred of the enemy died in the battle, and many others later succumbed to their wounds. Statistics for the fallen on both sides are many times greater in other authors. Apart from my aversion to the unfounded exaggeration to which historians are all too prone, I have myself accepted Fabius as my main source, since he was contemporary with this war.

Also in the *Aeneid*, we find the report mode to conclude episodes (example (6) and (7) in §8.2), but these conclusions are not as explicit as the conclusion above. As I discussed in §8.2.3, the narrator of the *Aeneid* uses the report mode to present retrospective information. This also occurs in *AUC*, as is illustrated by example (19), in which the adverb *numquam* makes the information about Hannibal’s character an evaluative reported statement, together with the comparative *habilius* and the perfect *fuit* (cf. Aen.9.179ff).

Example (19) *AUC* 21.4

*Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diuersissimas, parendum atque imparandum, habilius fuit.*

Never was one character so amenable to the two extremes of obedience and command.

The narrator may also evaluate larger parts of his story by means of the report mode, using a construction such as *adeo ... ut*, as he does in example (20). This sequence is part of the battle

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288 Whereas summaries of episodes in the *Aeneid* are sometimes presented by means of the directing mode (historical present, see §2.4.2) (§2.4), all such summaries in *AUC* are presented in the report mode (perfect tense forms). They are found at 21.3.1; 21.12.4; 22.7.5; 22.16.7; 22.21.4.
CHAPTER 9

at Lake Trasumene. The narrator uses his overview of the story world as a whole to indicate how fierce this battle was: the combatants did not even notice an earthquake.

Example (20) AUC 22.5.7

tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostruit auteritque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus inuexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

So whetted were their spirits, so focused were they on the fight, that even though there was an earthquake that demolished large sections of many Italian cities, made swift rivers change course, brought tidal waters up rivers, and created huge landslides on mountains, none of the combatants actually noticed it.

As I explained in the previous chapter, the report mode may be seen as a mode that is subsidiary to the directing mode in the Aeneid in that it organizes the story and provides the readers with the necessary information. As is shown in the examples above, in AUC the report functions in the same way: it structures the history that the narrator tells in the narrative mode, and adds historiographical information.

9.5 Retracing Mode

In the sample of Livy’s AUC, the retracing mode occurs quite regularly (see table 1, §9.1). The advancement of reference time seems to be a prominent characteristic of these sequences: each state of affairs indicates a large step on the time line. In retraced sequences, the narrator retraces the events and situations that are part of his history. That is, he positions himself on a past time line and works his way to (or in the direction of) the present time. Tenses other than the present tense are not used often in this mode, as is shown in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AUC</th>
<th>Aeneid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (historical)</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>35 (85%)</td>
<td>3 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>9 (53%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present/ perfect</td>
<td>5 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41 (100%)</td>
<td>17 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives function to provide frames for the retraced sequences, as two of the perfect tense forms do as well.289 These perfect tense forms occur in clauses starting with ut or ubi, and are comparable to the perfect tense forms in ut and postquam clauses in the Aeneid (§3.4).290 An example of a perfect tense form in an ubi-clause is found in (21), which is part of an episode in which Hannibal tries to scare the Romans by sending them cattle with burning torches attached to their horns.

Example (21) AUC 22.17

Vbi ad radices montium uiasque angustas uentum est, signum exemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes;

289 The other perfect tense form, occiderunt in example (2) AUC 22.21 above, is somewhat more problematic. My suggestion would be that the perfect tense is used because of the object quindecim mille: occiderunt does not refer to one action on which the narrator focuses, but to many actions (15,000) taken together by means of 1 perfect tense form (cf. gerebant, example (9)).

290 The other perfect tense form is persuasit in AUC 22.22 (part of the Abelux story which is discussed above).
When they reached the foothills, and the narrow defiles, a signal was immediately given for the horns to be lit, and the cattle driven up the hills facing them.

Most present tense forms in the retracing mode denote events that advance reference time. Stationary situations in the present tense do occur in AUC, but these are usually part of (transposed) descriptions, as I will show in the next section. An example of a stationary situation is found, however, in the retraced sequence below. This sequence is preceded by an imperfect tense form (apparebat) which is part of the narrative mode. Hannibal wants to incite Flaminius’ irresponsibility and tendency to fight. The actions Hannibal takes are presented by means of the retracing mode (parat, ostendit), and the situation denoted by means of potest is embedded in the clause of ostendit.

Example (22) AUC 22.03

Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferocter omnia ac præpropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in uitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus parat, et laeua relieto hoste Faesulas praeteriens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam uastitatem potest caedibus incindisque consuli procul ostendit.

It was therefore perfectly clear that Flaminius would have no regard for god or man, and that his conduct would be characterized throughout by arrogance and lack of caution. And, to make him more ready to yield to his natural defects, the Carthaginian was preparing to stimulate him and stir him to action. Leaving his enemy to the left, Hannibal made for Faesulae and went on to conduct raids in central Etruria. There, with slaughter and burning, he provided the consul with a distant spectacle of as much devastation as he could.

More research is required to answer the question why the narrator of AUC uses the retracing mode for certain parts of his story. On the basis of this sample, I would say that the narrator of AUC uses the retracing mode to be able to present events and situations in a matter-of-fact sort of way: a simple sequence without too many details (cf. Oldsjö 2001: 269ff).

9.6 Description Mode

The description mode is characterized by spatial progression along a physical object or specific location. Reference time stands still in the description mode. A considerable part of my AUC sample (about ten percent) is presented in the description mode. The base is either the time of narration or reference time.

In descriptions presented from a base in the time of narration, the imperfect tense is used to describe a past story world, while the present tense is used to describe places that still exist in the world of the narrator. Whereas the latter type of description does not seem to occur in the Aeneid, it does occur in AUC. The events in Livy’s works are, of course, situated in places that will still there in his own time, and, therefore, a number of descriptions consist of ‘real-life’ present tense forms. These descriptions concern mountains, lakes or roads that were still there in Livy’s own time, an example of which is the description of the environment of Lacus Trasimenus.

Example (23) AUC, 22.4

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli peruastat, quo magis iram hosti ad uindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam peruenerant ad loca nata insidios, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses in Trasumennum sidunt. Via tantum interest perangusta, uelut ad [id] ipsum de industria relictio spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adsurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, …

Hannibal completely razed the territory between the city of Cortona and Lake Trasimene, using all the atrocities of war to sharpen his foe’s resentment and spur him to avenge the injuries inflicted on his allies. The Carthaginians had by now reached a spot naturally suited to an ambush, the area where
Trasimene is at its closest to the mountains of Cortona. Between the two there is no more than a narrow pathway, almost as if just enough space had been deliberately left for Hannibal’s purpose! After this, the terrain widens a little to form a plain, and beyond that rise some hills. It was there, in the open, that Hannibal established camp.

However, present tense descriptions such as this example do not occur often in AUC, as may be observed from the figures for the present tense use in table (7).

### Table 7: Tense usage in description sequences in AUC and the Aeneid (base in time of narration)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>AUC</th>
<th>Aeneid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (real)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (dum-clause)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>85 (71%)</td>
<td>27 (79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>12 (10%)</td>
<td>6 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical infinitive</td>
<td>9 (8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present/ perfect</td>
<td>1 (&lt;1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120 (100%)</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The historical present tense forms in these descriptions all occur in a *dum*-clause.

Descriptions in AUC are usually dynamic descriptions consisting of imperfect tense form. They describe what was happening in the story world in a relatively long reference time. An example is the description of what the Gauls had to endure during the march through the swamps surrounding the Arno. The accumulation of imperfect tense forms provides the reader with a highly specific and very pictorial passage.

**Example (24) AUC 22.2.4**

Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex uoraginibus poterant, neque aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel uictis taedio animis prostruissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium uigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa sternent corpora inueniri poterant, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbebant, [aut] lumentoritum itinere toto prostratum passim acerui tantum quod extaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parui temporis necessarium cubile dabant.

But the Gauls were unable to remain on their feet once they stumbled, or to extricate themselves from the deep holes; their spirit could not sustain their strength, nor hope their spirit. Some, physically exhausted, had difficulty dragging themselves along, and others, their spirit broken from fatigue, simply collapsed, and perished among the beasts of burden that themselves lay dying all around. Most debilitating of all was the sleeplessness they endured for four days and three nights. Everything was covered with water, and finding a dry spot to set down their wearied limbs was impossible. And so they would pile their baggage packs together in the water and lie down on them; or the cadavers of pack animals that were strewn in heaps all along their path provided as much of a bed as they needed. All they sought was something above water that would give them a moment’s sleep.

Instead of giving a step by step account of this march, the narrator provides us with an overview of what could be seen in this reference time of four days and three nights (*per quadriduum et tres noctes*). These pictures painted with words are more detailed than most narrated sequences, and it seems, although more research is required, as if the narrator of AUC uses descriptions rather than the narrative or the directing mode to give more attention to a certain episode of his story.

The use of the historical infinitive in descriptions is noteworthy. A total number of 21 historical infinitives occur in my Livy-sample, nine of which are part of descriptions.291 The

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291 The other historical infinitives are all part of narrated sequences, see above.
historical infinitive indicates what is taking place in a reference time given in the context, which makes it suitable for descriptions, as may be observed in the example below (cf. Viljamaa 1983:65). A message about great losses on the Roman side has reached the senate, evoking various reactions. The perfect tense form *adfecit* indicates the reference time in which the historical infinitives take place.

Example (25) *AUC* 22.8

Eius rei fama uarie homines *adfecit*. Pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis leuem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamuis leuis causa quam [in] ualido grauior sentiretur, ita tum aegreae et adfectae ciuitali quodcumque aduersi incidentit, non rerum magnitudine sed uiribus extenuatis, quae nihil quod adgrauaret pati possent, aestimandum esse.

The news inspired different reactions. The hearts of some were in the grip of a greater anguish, and this fresh loss of the cavalry they thought of little account compared with what had been lost earlier. Others would not consider the occurrence in isolation. When a body was sick, they said, any upset, however slight, was felt more seriously than a grave one was dealt in good health. Likewise, when the commonwealth was ailing and weakened, any stroke of misfortune should be measured not on an absolute scale but with reference to its diminished capacity, which could stand no further burden.

The historical infinitives, as it were, fill the more abstract *adfecit* in with a picture of people exchanging their opinions.292

The examples above are all descriptions presented from a base in the time of narration, but in *AUC* we also come across transposed descriptions. An example of such a transposed description is found in chapter 22.6: a perfect tense form (*pugnatum est*) first indicates that there was a fight with a duration of three hours. The perfect tense form is part of the narrative mode. The next state of affairs is *est*, which indicates a situation during this event. This clause may be seen as a transposed description, which explains how we should picture the fight.293

Example (26) *AUC* 22.6

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; *circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.* Eum et robora uirorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa ui petebant et tuebant ciues, donec Insuer eques - Ducario nomen erat- facie quoque noscitar consulem, '[En]' inquit …

The battle went on for some three hours. It was savage at every point, but around the consul the fighting was even more fierce and violent. Flaminius had his strongest troops alongside him, and he was energetically bringing assistance at any point where he had seen his men under pressure and in difficulties. His armour marked him out, and so the enemy furiously attacked him, and his own men just as furiously defended him. Then an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius recognized the consul by his appearance. ‘Look,’ he said …

This short transposed description seems to function to ‘zoom in’, as it were, on the consul, and the people surrounding him (Kroon 2007). After this, the narrator continues, in the narrative mode, with two imperfect tense forms indicating a frame for the incident *inquit*. As explained above, the clause *Ducario nomen erat* is narrated information (example (13)).

We also find longer transposed descriptions, for example in chapter 22.5 when the Romans are surrounded by Carthaginians at Lake Trasumene and the consul Flaminius tries to save his men. The present tense forms *instruit, adhortatur* and *iubet* are iterative states of affairs, as may be derived from the clauses containing the present tense situations *patitur* and *potest*.

292 Fragmentation in terms of Kroon (2007).
293 Other instances are *percontantur* and *retinet* in 22.7 and *certatur* in 22.28.
Example (27) *AUC* 22.5.1

Conslur perculsis omnibus ipse satis ut in re trepida impauidus, turbatos ordines, uertente se quoque ad
dissonos clamores, *instruit* ut tempus locusque *patitur*, et quacumque adire audirque *potest*, *adhortatur*
ac stare ac pugnare *iubet*: nec enim inde uotis aut imploratione deum sed ui ac uirtute euadendum esse;
per medias acies ferro uiam fieri et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme pericii esse.

There was chaos all around the consul but the consul himself showed considerable composure in such a
precarious situation. The ranks were in disarray, as men turned in the direction of the confused shouts,
but he formed them up as well as time and their position permitted. Wherever he could go, and
wherever he could make himself heard, he encouraged them and told them to stand and fight. They
needed force and courage to get out of there, he said, not prayers and petitions to the gods. It was by the
sword that a way could be made through the midst of the enemy line, and in general less fear meant less
danger.

The distribution of the tenses used in transposed descriptions is given in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense Type</th>
<th>AUC</th>
<th>Aeneid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (historical)</td>
<td>29 (94%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present/ perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 (100%)</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cases of the pluperfect and perfect tense in transposed descriptions (*concenderant* in
22.19 and *auditum est* in 22.7) refer to states of affairs that have happened immediately before
reference time.

Both transposed description and description from a base in the narrator’s time seem to be used
in *AUC* to put the ongoing narrative on hold and to describe one reference time with more
detail than we usually find in the narrative mode. The description mode partially seems a
means for the narrator of *AUC* to add some flavor to his history, or as Walsh (1963:187) puts it “Livy seeks to portray emotional reactions by a vivid, imaginative and often imaginary
reconstruction of crowd scenes”.

9.7 The Use of Discourse Modes in Livy’s Historiography

Chapters 1-8 provided a set of discourse modes and bases in which the *Aeneid* is presented. In
this chapter, I investigated whether and how the narrator of *AUC* uses these discourse modes
and bases.

The only discourse mode that does not appear to be applicable to *AUC* is the directing
mode. The narrator of *AUC* does use sequences of present tense forms to tell his story, but
these belong to the retracing mode. This mode seems particularly appropriate for
historiography, since it represents the ‘bare’ time line of the events.

Another important difference with respect to the use of the present tense is that in
*AUC* an isolated present tense form sometimes occurs within a sequence in the narrative
mode. In accordance with the semantic value of the present tense, these isolated present tense
forms represent a shift to a base in reference time. They have a high-lighting effect, also
because of the contrast between the present tense form and the past tense forms surrounding
it.
As far as the use of discourse modes and bases is concerned, the outcomes are equally interesting. Just as in the *Aeneid*, the report mode is used to structure and organize the story. In its two instances in the *Aeneid*, the retraced mode is used in the same way as in *AUC*: the retraced sequences present the states of affairs in a matter-of-fact fashion. However, these works differ with respect to the use of both the narrative mode and the description mode. Due to the importance of the directing mode, the narrative mode is hardly used in the *Aeneid*. In *AUC*, the narrative mode is the most important mode, the default mode. The description mode is used in *AUC* to focus on a certain part of the story, whereas in the *Aeneid* it is used mainly as a background mode.

On the basis of these outcomes we may draw the preliminary conclusions that the use of discourse modes in *AUC* confirms that the historiographer’s main goal is to progress through the history he wants to present. This can be contrasted to an epic narrator, who mainly seems to entertain his public with the form of a performance taking place ‘on stage’ (directing mode). Further research is, of course, necessary. It would be interesting to investigate, for instance, the relation between the use of discourse modes and earlier views on the composition of the *AUC*, such as the *Einzelerzählungen* as they have been distinguished by Witte (1910) (cf. also Bürck 1964 and Luce 1977).