

This paper offers a re-interpretation of Livy's notice on the arch of Scipio Africanus, erected in 190 BCE, directly before Africanus' departure for the east (37.3.1-7). I argue that the framework of this report sets the arch in an explicit religious context, an aspect of Livy's presentation overlooked by previous scholarship (Spano 1951, Mastrocinque 1982, De Maria 1988, Richardson 1992, Levene 1993, and *LTUR* 2.267.s.v. "fornix Scipionis"). I further set the arch within Livy's account of Africanus' public conduct in the years preceding his eastern campaign. I argue that the arch is one example of Africanus' use of religion to construct continuity between the Hannibalic and Macedonian wars.

Livy's notice on Africanus' arch directly follows the report on the expiation of prodigies before the consuls' departure. Further, the parallel structure of the report (37.3: *Priusquam consules in prouincias proficiscerentur... P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, priusquam proficisceretur*) corroborates the arch's religious, if not expiatory, purpose, and implies that this religious purpose was bound up with the departure for war. The arch also had other military associations. Calabi Limentani 1982 has demonstrated parallels with the *fornices* of Stretinius (Livy 33.27.1-5), which were built *ex manubiis* in 196 in lieu of a triumph. Following her lead, I suggest that Africanus' arch was built not in lieu of a triumph, but in lieu of a manubial temple, which Africanus is not attested to have vowed or dedicated (Pietilä-Catrèn 1987, Ziolkowski 1992, Orlin 1997). The arch was located in a religiously charged area: near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the *area Capitolina*, where several temples dedicated during the Hannibalic war were concentrated (e.g. *Fides* and *Mens*). I therefore argue that the arch both participated in the immediate religious context of 190, and served as a physical monument for the victory over Hannibal. The arch thus connected Africanus' past military successes with the future conflict, in which he would once again face Hannibal (cf. Livy 37.1.6).

The emphasis on the continuity between the Hannibalic and Macedonian wars can be traced as early as Africanus' second consulship in 194. The Livian narrative begins with the speech of Africanus, who makes the connection between the Hannibalic and Macedonian wars explicit (34.43: *hinc Aetoli...illinc Hannibal, Romanis cladibus insignis imperator*). Africanus then discharges religious obligations incurred during both wars (34.44): the *ver sacrum* vowed after the defeat at Thrasemene (217 BCE), and the celebration of the *ludi Romani votivi*, vowed by Sulpicius Galba for the success of the war in Macedon (210 BCE). I argue that Livy's report on the year also shows structural parallels between military and religious matters.

I have shown a previously ignored religious context for the arch of Africanus, which adds an important dimension to an interpretation of the arch as a public monument. An analysis of both Livian passages shows the arch as part of a consistent and coherent image of Africanus, his public activities, and the role of religion in his self-advertisement.