HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Carthaginian Commanders of the 2nd Punic War

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Who was who in the Second Punic War? A scoreboard listing with major commanders and other leaders who fought for Carthage.

INTRODUCTION

Have you ever found yourself confused by the pernicious habit of the Carthaginians of using the same names for all their generals? Not only that, but they didn’t use first or middle names either. The dozens of Hasdrubals, Hamilcars, Bomilcars, Hannos, Hannibals and Magos have perplexed scholars and wargamers alike. Well, this scorecard of Carthaginian generals of the Second Punic War is offered as relief for this vexing problem. (But be warned, the same names are repeated regularly throughout the other centuries of Carthaginian history). In order to bring a little organization to this confusing mess, each group of generals with the same name will be presented under the following format: First, major commanders will be listed and numbered, in a subjective order of importance. Each general will be described in a short biography, with a list of battles. His counter’s source of origin is then listed. Second, the minor commanders of the same name will be listed, with a brief description.

THE HANNIBALS

Fortunately, there was only one major commander named Hannibal during the Second Punic War.

Hannibal Barca (#1)


Battles: OC at Ticinus (W); Trebbia (W); Trasimene (W); Cannae (W); Zama (L); Advisor at Magnesia.

Other Hannibals:

Hannibal Monomachus (#2)

A subordinate of the great Hannibal. No recorded commands of any note. He is remembered chiefly for his logistic advice before crossing the Alps. His plan to avert any food shortage was to have the troops eat any of their comrades who fell by the wayside. Hence his catchy nickname, Hannibal the Cannibal. By the way, no one appears to have taken his idea seriously, except for Roman propagandists.

Hannibal (#3)

A junior officer on Hannibal’s staff. He was sent as an escort with Hannibal’s agents Epicydes and Hippocrates from Italy to Syracuse, Sicily in 215 BC.

THE HASDRUBALS

There were four major commanders named Hasdrubal, as well as a few minor Hasdrubals, a source of considerable confusion in many Punic War histories (including questionable calls in SPQR and the Consul for Rome Module that place Hasdrubal Gisgo at Cannae, Zama and Trebia). By the way, there was another general of this name, Hasdrubal the Splendid, who was Hamilcar Barca’s son-in-law. The splendid one served as the Carthaginian commander in Spain from the death of Hamilcar Barca (229 BC) until he was assassinated in 221 BC and succeeded by Hannibal (#1). So Hasdrubal the Splendid missed the Second Punic War, but laid much of the groundwork for it.

Hasdrubal Barca (#1)

The second son of Hamilcar Barca. Born 244 BC. Subordinate of his brother Hannibal in Spain, 221-218 BC. Theater Commander in Spain, 218-208 BC. Army Commander in Gaul and Italy 208-207 BC. Died fighting at the Battle of the Metaurus in 207 BC. Counter: Africanius/ C3I Nr.4.

Battles: OC at Dortosa (L); Castrum Album (W); Ilera (W); Bacula (L); Metaurus (L).

Hasdrubal Gisgo (#2)

The son of Gisgo (a famous general of the First Punic War and rival of Hamilcar Barca). Army Commander in Spain, 214-208 BC. Theater Commander in Spain 208-206 BC; and in Africa 205-203 BC. Following three successive defeats at the hands of Scipio Africanus (Ilipa, Utica and Great Plains), Hasdrubal Gisgo committed suicide to avoid lynching by an angry mob in Carthage in 203 BC. On the other hand, Hasdrubal Gisgo’s daughter, the beautiful temptress Sophonisba, proved very successful at seducing Numidian Kings. Both Syphax and
Masinissa married her, before Scipio had Masinissa force her to drink poison. Counter: *Africanus* / *Cșl* Nr. 4.

**Battles:** OC at *Castulo* (W); *Ilipa* (L); *Great Plains* (L).

**Hasdrubal**

One of Hannibal’s marshals. Served variously as Chief of Staff, Quartermaster General and Cavalry Commander, in Italy 218-203 BC. His greatest moment came when he commanded the Iberian and Gaulic heavy cavalry at Cannae. Hasdrubal first crushed the Roman cavalry wing, then rode clear around the rear of the Roman army to rout the Allied cavalry wing and finally charged the rear of the Roman legions. This display of control over a mass of barbarian cavalry was an unparalleled feat in the annals of military history.

Counter: generic Hasdrubal from SPQR.

**Battles:** Subordinate at *Trebii; Cannae* possibly *Zama*.

**Hasdrubal Calvos**

The Bold. Commanded the invasion of Sardinia, in 215 BC and taken captive at the Battle of Caralis.

**Other Hasdrubals:**

**Hasdrubal**

An admiral, he led the Carthaginian home fleet against Scipio’s invasion, 204-202 BC.

**Hasdrubal the Kid**

Leader of the pacifist, anti-Barca faction in the Carthaginian Senate at the end of the war, 205-201 BC.

**The Hannos**

The Hannos present the most problems in identification. Not only were there plenty of them around (ten listed here), but it’s also just about impossible to track any one Hanno throughout the war. Just about all the Hannos were captured in their first engagement, but we can’t be sure these Hannos weren’t released later for ransom or in exchanges. Many of these Hannos may actually be the same guy, but there’s no way to tell. Anyway, here goes...

So far, there is only the generic Hanno counter from *SPQR* to represent all of them.

**Hanno son of Boliclar**

His father was Boliclar the Suffete (something like a consul or president), not Boliclar the admiral. Another of Hannibal’s marshals in Italy, 218-203 BC. Army Commander and Military Governor of Lucania, in Italy, 215-203 BC. Notable actions include command of the flanking force at the crossing of the Rhone River in 218 BC; Polybius credits Hanno with command of the Numidian cavalry at Cannae (Livy names Maharbal here); OC at the battles of Beneventum 214 BC and a battle in Brutium 213 BC; active at the siege of Capua, 212-211 BC. During the Metaurus campaign, Hanno brought his corps up to Metapontum, in Apulia, to reinforce Hannibal’s main army. Hanno was then sent back to Brutium to levy fresh forces. Led the armistice party when Hannibal returned to Africa in 203 BC.

**Battles:** Subordinate at *Trebii; Cannae*, OC at *Beneventum* (L) (not the *SPQR* scenario, a later battle in 214 BC); Subordinate at *Zama*.

**Hanno**

Army commander in Sicily from 212 to 211 BC. Initially successful, he became jealous of his subordinate cavalry commander, Muttines (see below), and sacked him. Deserted by his Numidian cavalry, he was defeated and driven from the island.

**Hanno**

Army Commander in Northern Spain, 218 BC. Captured in 218 BC at the Battle of Cissa, along with Indibilis, the Iberian Chief of the Illegetes. Indibilis was later released, so this Hanno may have also been freed. Some translations of Polybius name this Hanno as one of Hannibal’s brothers. In other translations the brother label in the same passage applies to Hasdrubal. So this could be the fourth son of Hamilcar Barca, and possibly the same as Hanno #5 below. Maybe so, but he sure didn’t fight like a brother of Hannibal.

**Hanno**

Commander of a small reinforcing army sent from Africa to Spain in 207 BC. Fought under Mago Barca’s command and was captured at Celtiberia in 207 BC.

**Battles:** Subordinate at *Celtiberia*.

**Hanno son of Hamilcar**

Many historians maintain that this Hanno was Hannibal’s brother and a fourth son of Hamilcar Barca, since Livy calls him a son of Hamilcar. But there were a lot of other Hamilcars around, so who knows. Cavalry commander in Africa. Killed at the Battle of Agathocles Tower in Africa, 204 BC. Some historians believe this Hanno is the same as #3, #8 and/or #9.

**Battle:** OC at *Agathocles Tower* (L).

**Hanno**

General and agent. Entered Sardinia in 216 BC and instigated a native revolt. A subordinate under Hasdrubal Calvos during the invasion of Sardinia that followed. Captured at the battle of Caralis, 215 BC.

**Other Hannos:**

**Hanno**

Garrison commander at Capua, in Italy 212-211 BC. Captured when Capua fell in 211 BC.

**Hanno**

Cavalry commander under Mago Barca in Spain in 206 BC. Attempted to rally resistance after *Ilipa*, but was defeated by Marcus Septimus. Escaped to Africa. May be the same man as #3, #5 and/or #9.

**Hanno**

Cavalry commander in Africa, 204 BC. Ambushed and killed by Scipio. Many historians feel this incident is a doublet of the Hanno #5 killed at Agathocles’ Tower. Could also be the same Hanno as #3 and/or #8.

**Hanno the Great**

Like Antiochus the Great (loser at Magnesia) and Pompey the Great (loser at Pharsalus) Hanno doesn’t seem to have really earned his title. Hanno achieved his fame suppressing the Libyan and Numidian revolts that followed the invasion of Regulus (255 BC) during the First Punic War. Hanno remained as commander-in-chief in Africa while his rival, Hamilcar Barca became the commander in Sicily from 247-242 BC. When the Mercenary Revolt (241-239 BC) broke out, Hanno botched the initial campaigns and had to surrender his command to Hamilcar. Hanno returned to a command, late in the war and survived with his reputation intact. Hanno became the leader of
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the appeasement/anti-Barca faction in the Carthaginian Senate from 238 until at least 215 BC. He was too old to do any military campaigning during the Second Punic War.

The Magos

There was only two major commanders named Mago, fortunately. But of course there were others.

Mago Barca (#1)
Hannibal in Gaul and Italy, 218-216 BC. Led an important mission to the Carthaginian senate in 215 BC. Army Commander in Spain, 215-206 BC where he fought numerous actions. Commanded the invasion of Liguria in 205 BC, a campaign that culminated in the extremely hardfought Battle of the Po River, 203 BC, where Mago was severely wounded. Died of his wounds, while sailing from Liguria to Africa in 203 BC.

Counter: So far there is only a generic Mago from SPQR (new counter in future Cli magazine insert).

Battles: Subordinate at Trebbia; Trasimene; Cannae; Castrum Album; Castulo; Ilipa. OC at Celt-Iberia (L); Po River (L).

Mago the Samnite (#2)
Another of Hannibal’s marshalls in Italy, 215-203 BC. Polybius says he was a senior general of equal rank with Hannibal, therefore they always operated separately so they would not have to share the commander’s portion of loot. Not mentioned in the early Italian campaigns, he may have arrived later. Army Commander and Military Governor of Bruttium, 212-203 BC; he often worked in tandem with Hanno (#1). Ambushed and killed the Roman Consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 212 BC.

Mago (#3)
Livy says this Mago was a relative of the Barcas. He was a subordinate commander at the Battle of Caralis in Sardinia, 215 BC, where he was captured.

Other Magos:
Mago (#4)
Commander of the Carthaginian garrison at New Carthage, Spain. Captured when the city fell in 210 BC.

Mago (#5)
An ambassador sent by Hannibal to negotiate an alliance with King Philip of Macedon in 215 BC.

The Himilcos

There was only one important Himilco in the Second Punic War, and a handful of lesser Himilcos. There seems to have been a tendency among the ancient historians (not to mention the rest of us) to confuse Himilcos and Hamilcars.

Himilcos (#1)
Deputy Commander in Spain under Hasdrubal Barca from 218 to 215 BC. Defeated in a naval battle at the Ebro river, 217 BC. Brought fresh drafts of troops from Africa to Spain in 216 BC, before the Battle of Dertosa.

Commander of the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, in support of the rebelling city of Syracuse, 214-212 BC. Came near to reconquering Sicily for Carthage, but died of the plague along with most of his army outside Syracuse in 212 BC. Polybius gives his name as Hamilcar in one reference, but Livy consistently sticks with Himilco in multiple references.

Other Himilcos:
Himilco (#2)
Garrison Commandant at Castulo in Spain. Captured when the city fell in 206 BC.

Himilco (#3)
Senator, leader of the pro-Barca faction during debates in 215 BC after the Battle of Cannae.

The Hamilcars

Although Hamilcar was a very popular name in practically all of Carthage’s other wars, there were no Hamilcars of significance in the Second Punic War. Of course, Hamilcar Barca’s long shadow dominated much of the war effort, not only through his sons (Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Mago and maybe Hanno) but in that he trained the officers and men and planned the invasion of Italy.

Hamilcar (#1)
A subordinate officer with Hannibal in Italy. Served with Hanno (#1) and Mago the Samnite (#2) in Lucania & Bruttium, 216-203 BC. Took Petelia in Bruttium by siege in 216 BC and was the Garrison Commandant of Locri in 205 BC. Sometimes called Himilco in the sources.

Hamilcar son of Bomilcar (#2)
Possibly the brother of Hanno (#1). An army commander in Spain, in 214 BC. Only mentioned once, he may have only been a recruiting officer bringing a fresh levy of African troops over. Could be the same man as Hamilcar (#4) below.

Hamilcar son of Gisgo (#3)
Probably the brother of Hasdrubal (#2). Garrison Commandant of Malta, captured when the island was seized by the Roman navy in 218 BC.

Hamilcar (#4)
An admiral, successfully raided Sardinia in 210 BC. Possibly Hamilcar #2.

The Bostars

None of the Bostars amounted to much in this war, but here they are anyway.

Bostar (#1)
A subordinate general under Hasdrubal Barca in Spain in 217 BC. Bostar was directed to screen the Roman army, while Hasdrubal was busy in southern Spain. Polybius comments that he was unusually gullible for a Carthaginian. Bostar was outwitted by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio and an Iberian noble named Abeluix. They tricked him into foolishly releasing all the hostages being held in Saguntum. This Bostar is never heard of again after this sorry incident.

Bostar (#2)
Garrison Commandant at Capua in Italy. Captured when the city fell in 211 BC.

Bostar (#3)
An ambassador sent by Hannibal to negotiate an alliance with King Philip of Macedon in 215 BC.

Less Common Names:
Maharbal
Son of Himilco. Famous as Hannibal’s top cavalry general, he was a versatile marshal. When Hannibal had to temporarily leave the siege of Saguntum in 219 BC, he put Maharbal in charge of his entire army and all siege operations. In a notable cavalry action following the Battle of Lake Trasimene, Maharbal defeated a force of 4,000 Roman cavalry in Umbria. Livy says he commanded the Numidians at the Battle of Cannae. Polybius says it was Hanno.

Battles: OC at Umbria (W).

Subordinate at Trebbia; Trasimene;
Cannae; possibly Zama.

**Muttines/Myttines**

A Liby-Phonecian half-breed general. A superb commander of Numidian cavalry. He was sent by Hannibal from Italy to take over command of the Punic cavalry in Sicily in 211 BC. Through his audacious and aggressive cavalry raiding he managed to reverse the failing fortunes of Carthage on the island. However, his blue-blood Carthaginian commander, Hanno #2, became jealous of his success, and removed him from his command on the eve of the Battle of Himera 211 BC. The Numidian horsemen mutinied, the battle was lost and Muttines took a hike, and joined the Roman team. He later shows up as L. Valerius Myttines, a Roman citizen and commander of auxiliary cavalry with Lucius Scipio in the Magnesia campaign (War Elephant Module).

**Battles:** Subordinate at Magnesia (with the Roman side).

**Carthalo**

Cavalry commander with Hannibal in Italy, 218-209 BC. Commanded a cavalry unit at Cannae, and forced the surrender of the Roman camp guard. Assigned as commandant of the garrison in Tarentum, 211 BC. Killed when Tarentum fell to Fabius in 209 BC. Battles: Subordinate at Trebia and Cannae.

**Bombilcar**

Admiral of the Carthaginian Home Fleet from 218-211 BC. He was either a staunch adherent of the *fleet in being* theory, or a coward. He sailed his large fleet (140 quineremes) all over African, Sicilian, Italian and even Greek waters, but always managed to avoid combat with the Roman navy, even when he outnumbered their fleet considerably.

**Adherbal**

Prefect of Gades in Spain, 206 BC. Commanded a small naval squadron in an action against the Roman navy at the Pillars of Hercules (straits of Gibraltar).

**Gisgo**

A minor officer in Hannibal's army, he gained fame from an anecdote recorded of Hannibal on the eve of the battle of Cannae. As Hannibal rode forward with a small group of staff officers to observe the Roman army forming up, he noticed that his junior officers seemed dismayed by the sheer size of the Roman host of 86,000 men. Hannibal quipped "What I find most amazing is that amongst all those tens of thousands of men, there is not one named Gisgo!".

**Sources:**

Polybius and Livy are the primary ancient sources. One will often find discrepancies in Carthaginian names between different translations. Diodorus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Appian and Nepos provide a few details.

**Warning:**

Many general histories incorrectly identify Carthaginian generals. For example, many descriptions of the Battle of Cannae place either Hasdrubal Barca (#1) or Hasdrubal Gisgo (#2) at that battle, when neither was there. So remember, just because you see it in print doesn't mean it's true.

**Note:**

(W) signifies a Win; (D) a Draw; (L) a Loss. OC signifies Overall Commander.