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978-1-108-48014-7 — Livy: Ab urbe condita Book XXII

Edited with Introduction and Notes by John Briscoe, Simon Hornblower

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LIVY  
AB VRBE  
CONDITA  
BOOK XXII

EDITED BY  
JOHN BRISCOE  
AND  
SIMON HORBLOWER



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*To  
Jim Adams*

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has its origins in the work done by Hornblower after 2015 for a monograph about Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Rome and the Hellenistic world,<sup>1</sup> in which the period of and immediately after the Hannibalic or Second Punic War featured extensively. At that time, he felt the absence of a good, large-scale, up-to-date set of commentary volumes on Livy's third decade, like the series of Oxford commentaries inaugurated by Robert Ogilvie in 1965 (books 1–5) and continued by Stephen Oakley (books 6–10; 1997–2005) and John Briscoe (books 31–45; 1973–2012).<sup>2</sup> In 2017 Briscoe, whose Oxford Classical Text of books 21–25 had been published in the previous year,<sup>3</sup> accepted an invitation from Hornblower to collaborate with him on a commentary on book 22. The absence of commentaries mentioned above continues, and the present book is written on different lines, for a different publisher and for a series with particular and explicitly literary aims. We have tried to keep those aims in mind throughout, but the events narrated were historical (however rhetorically handled), and we have sought to do justice to matters of history as well as of literature. The balance of topics covered by the eleven sections of the Introduction aims to reflect this.

There is no separate section on topography in the Introduction, but for Trasimene and Cannae in particular, see the introductory notes to 4.1–7.5 and 40.4–50.3 (on this style of reference see below). Hornblower re-visited Trasimene and Cannae in June 2019. We believe that Lazenby 1978 was right in his locations for the two main battles, and have used his maps as the basis for our own (see further below). The more important Italian and Spanish sites are marked on our maps 1 and 3, and we do not usually refer to those maps in the Commentary. We do, however, aim to give precise references to the *Barrington Atlas* (*Barr.*).

Of the ten books which Livy devoted to the Hannibalic War, book 22, the Trasimene and Cannae narrative, was the obvious choice. In the course of our writing, Stephen Oakley remarked to one of us that 'Livy is at his best when writing about Rome's defeats', and by that criterion alone, book 22 stands out within an exceptionally fine and polished decade. Of the other nine, only book 27 rivals it for dramatic power, but that book ends with a Roman victory: the battle of the Metaurus river (207 BC), which as Livy himself says,<sup>4</sup> redressed the catastrophe of Cannae.

We were delighted to have our proposal for a 'Green and Yellow' edition (only the second such on any book of Livy)<sup>5</sup> accepted by the Syndics

<sup>1</sup> Hornblower 2018.

<sup>2</sup> See Abbreviations, section on texts and commentaries.

<sup>3</sup> Briscoe 2016, and see the companion volume *Liviana* (Briscoe 2018).

<sup>4</sup> 27.49.5.      <sup>5</sup> The first was Kraus 1994, on book 6

of Cambridge University Press, on the recommendation of the Latin academic editors of the series, Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley himself. We are immensely grateful to them both for their encouragement and advice, and above all for their hard work on our drafts, which are much improved as a result of their comments and suggestions, large and small.

Our other main creditor is Jim Adams – a friend of both of us, and Briscoe's colleague at Manchester for 23 years – who has always been ready with wise advice and valuable comments, particularly, of course, on matters of Latinity. His forthcoming monograph on *asyndeton* is eagerly awaited, but meanwhile we have profited greatly from his suggestions on that topic. In addition, he commented on and suggested valuable improvements and additions to Introduction section 7(h), 'Speeches'; but the usual exemption clause applies. Lastly, we thank him for the loan of his venerable copy of the excellent school edition of book 22 by Powe and Shipp 1936, a rare book, published in Sydney. Our own book is dedicated to Jim.

We thank Oliver Taplin for advice on a detail about Hannibal's wigs (1.3n.), and Anna Hartmann and Marco Petoletti for help with the problem of Busa in Boccaccio (see Introduction n. 115). We must also thank everyone at Cambridge University Press who has contributed to the publication of this volume, particularly Classics Publisher Michael Sharp and Content Manager Sarah Starkey, also copy-editor John Jacobs and proof-reader Jane Burkowski.

Briscoe would like, once again, to thank the staff of the University of Manchester Library, including the Library-based members of the University's IT services, for their constant and friendly help.

For permission to adapt the maps of the battle-sites of Trasimene and Cannae in Lazenby, *Hannibal's war*<sup>6</sup> we thank John Lazenby himself, and Liverpool Classical Press, who have inherited the classics and ancient history list of Aris and Phillips, the original publisher. The other two maps (Italy; Spain) are reproduced from the second edition (1989) of *Cambridge ancient history* VIII, where they accompanied Briscoe's chapter (3) on the Second Punic War.

Briscoe has contributed to the new Loeb edition of books 21–22, by John Yardley and Dexter Hoyos, which was published while this volume was in Press (Yardley 2019); we have tried to take account of it even when it is not specifically cited.

Finally, presentation. For brevity and clarity, **bold** numbers in references to Livy are to chapters in book 22 itself, so that 'see 9.5n.' means 'see our note on 22.9.5'. The bracketed numbers after the names of (mostly) Roman individuals refer to their numbering in *RE* (see Abbreviations) in the entry under the relevant *gens*; thus 'Q. Fabius Maximus (116)' at 8.6n. means he is Fabius no. 116 in *RE*.

For some of the corrections in this 2021 reprint, we thank Robert Parker and Joseph Solodow.

<sup>6</sup> Lazenby 1978.

ABBREVIATIONS

I ANCIENT AUTHORS AND WORKS

These usually follow *OCD*<sup>4</sup> except that L. = Livy and Th. = Thucydides.

II LIVY TEXTS, COMMENTARIES AND  
TRANSLATIONS REFERRED TO

Briscoe 1973	J. Briscoe, <i>A commentary on Livy books xxxi–xxxiii</i> . Oxford, 1973
1981	<i>A commentary on Livy books xxxiv–xxxvii</i> . Oxford, 1981
2008	<i>A commentary on Livy books 38–40</i> . Oxford, 2008
2012a	<i>A commentary on Livy books 41–45</i> . Oxford, 2012
2012b	see <i>Works Cited</i>
2016	<i>Titi Liui ab urbe condita libri xxi–xxv</i> . Oxford, 2016
Butler and Scullard 1953	H. E. Butler and H. H. Scullard, <i>Livy, book XXX</i> <sup>6</sup> . London, 1953
Conway 1902	R. S. Conway, <i>Livy book II, edited with introduction and notes</i> . Cambridge, 1902
C–W	Walters, C. F. and R. S. Conway, <i>Titi Liui ab urbe condita, libri xxi–xxv</i> . Oxford, 1929
Dimsdale	M. S. Dimsdale, <i>Livy book XXII</i> . Cambridge, 1889, and reprints
Foster	B. O. Foster, <i>Livy, books xxi–xxii</i> (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA, 1929
Hoyos 2006	notes to Yardley 2006
Kraus 1994	C. Kraus, <i>Livy ab urbe condita book VI</i> . Cambridge, 1994
Oakley 1997	S. P. Oakley, <i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. I, <i>Introduction and book VI</i> . Oxford, 1997
1998	<i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. II, <i>books VII and VIII</i> . Oxford, 1998
2005a	<i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. III, <i>book IX</i> . Oxford, 2005
2005b	<i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. IV, <i>book X</i> . Oxford, 2005
Ogilvie 1965	R. M. Ogilvie, <i>A commentary on Livy books 1–5</i> . Oxford, 1965
Powe and Shipp	A. B. Powe and G. P. Shipp, <i>T. Livi liber XXII</i> <sup>7</sup> . Sydney, 1936

T–P	J. Thompson and F. G. Plaistowe, <i>Livy book XXII</i> . London, 1901, reprinted Bristol, 1988
Vallet	G. Vallet, <i>Tite-Live ab urbe condita liber XXII</i> . Paris, 1966
W–M	W. Weissenborn and H. J. Müller (eds.), <i>Livius ab urbe condita</i> , vol. IV <sup>o</sup> , Buch XXII. Berlin, 1905
Yardley 2006	J. C. Yardley (tr.), <i>Livy, Hannibal’s war, books 21–30</i> (Oxford World’s Classics). Oxford, 2006
2019	J. C. Yardley, D. Hoyos and J. Briscoe, <i>Livy, History of Rome, books 21–22</i> (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA, 2019

III OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

app.	apparatus criticus
Barr.	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world</i> . Princeton–Woodstock, Oxon., 2000
CAH VIII	A. E. Astin, F. W. Walbank, M. W. Frederiksen and R. M. Ogilvie (eds.), <i>Cambridge ancient history</i> , 2nd (actually new) edn, vol. VIII. Cambridge, 1989
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CT	S. Hornblower, <i>Commentary on Thucydides</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 1991–2008
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols. Leiden, 1923–58
FRHist	T. J. Cornell (ed.), <i>The fragments of the Roman historians</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 2013
HCP	F. W. Walbank, <i>A historical commentary on Polybius</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–79 (references are to vol. 1 unless otherwise specified)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams</i> . Cambridge, 1965
H–S	J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Munich, 1965
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.), <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis</i> . Oxford, 2004
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> , 2 vols. Florence, vol. 1 <sup>2</sup> , 1965, vol. 2, 1963
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , 3 vols. Berlin, 1892–1916
Inscr. Ital.	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

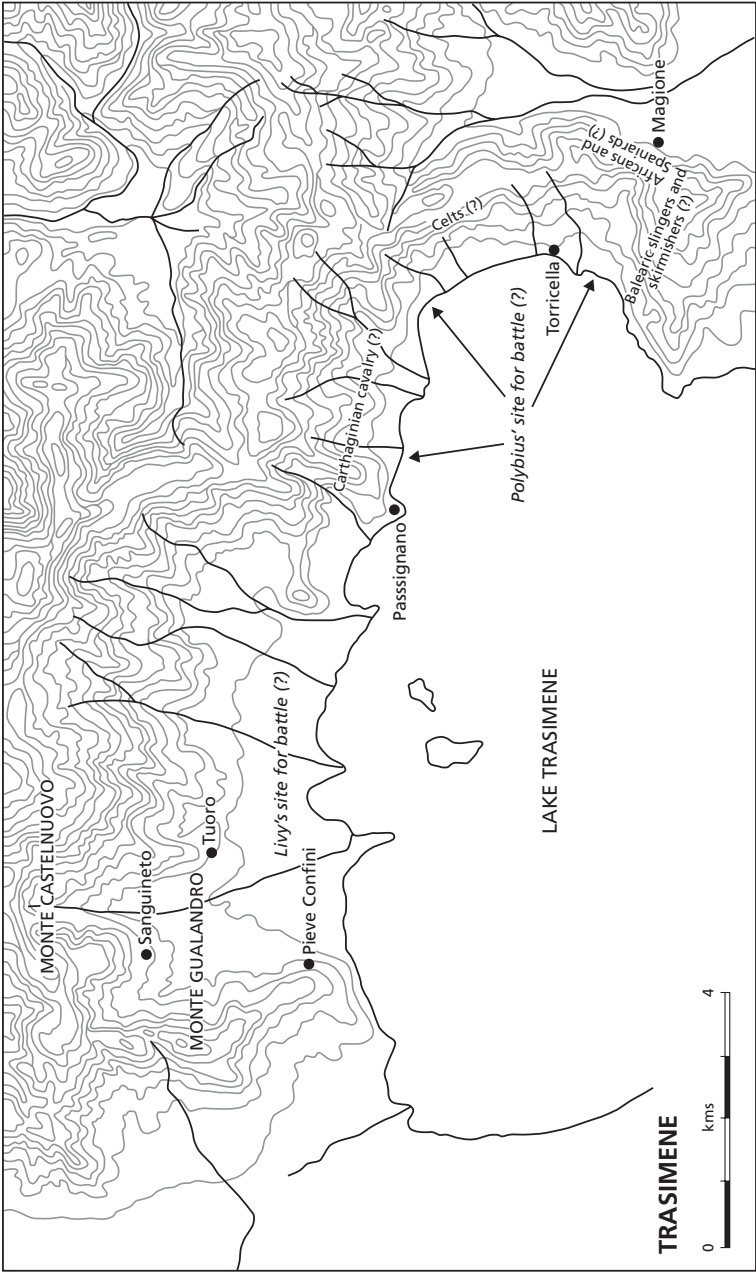
xiii

K-St	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischer Sprache</i> , 3rd edn, rev. A. Thierfelder, 3 vols. Leverkusen, 1955
LGP <sup>N</sup>	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews et al. (eds.), <i>A lexicon of Greek personal names</i> , 5 vols. in 8. Oxford, 1987–2018
L-S	C. T. Lewis and C. Short, <i>A Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford, 1879
LSJ <sup>9</sup>	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> <sup>9</sup> . Oxford, 1940 (with P. G. W. Glare, <i>Revised Supplement</i> , Oxford, 1996)
LTUR	M. Steinby and A. La Regina (eds.), <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 10 vols. (6 the city, 4 the suburbium). Rome, 1993–2009
MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> , 3 vols. New York (vols. 1–2) and Atlanta, GA (vol. 3), 1951–86
OCD <sup>4</sup>	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.), <i>Oxford Classical dictionary</i> <sup>4</sup> . Oxford, 2012
OCT	Oxford Classical Text; see Briscoe 2016 in section II above
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig, 1902–3
OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford, 1982
PECS	R. Stilwell (ed.), <i>The Princeton encyclopedia of Classical sites</i> . Princeton, 1976
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RS	<i>Roman statutes</i> ; see Crawford 1996 in <i>Works Cited</i>
SB	D. R. Shackleton Bailey, editions of Cicero’s correspondence, with his own numberings
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–
Sk	O. Skutsch; see Skutsch 1985 in <i>Works Cited</i>
SVT	H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , vol. III. Munich, 1969
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger et al., <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> <sup>3</sup> , 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> . Leipzig–Stuttgart–Berlin, 1900–

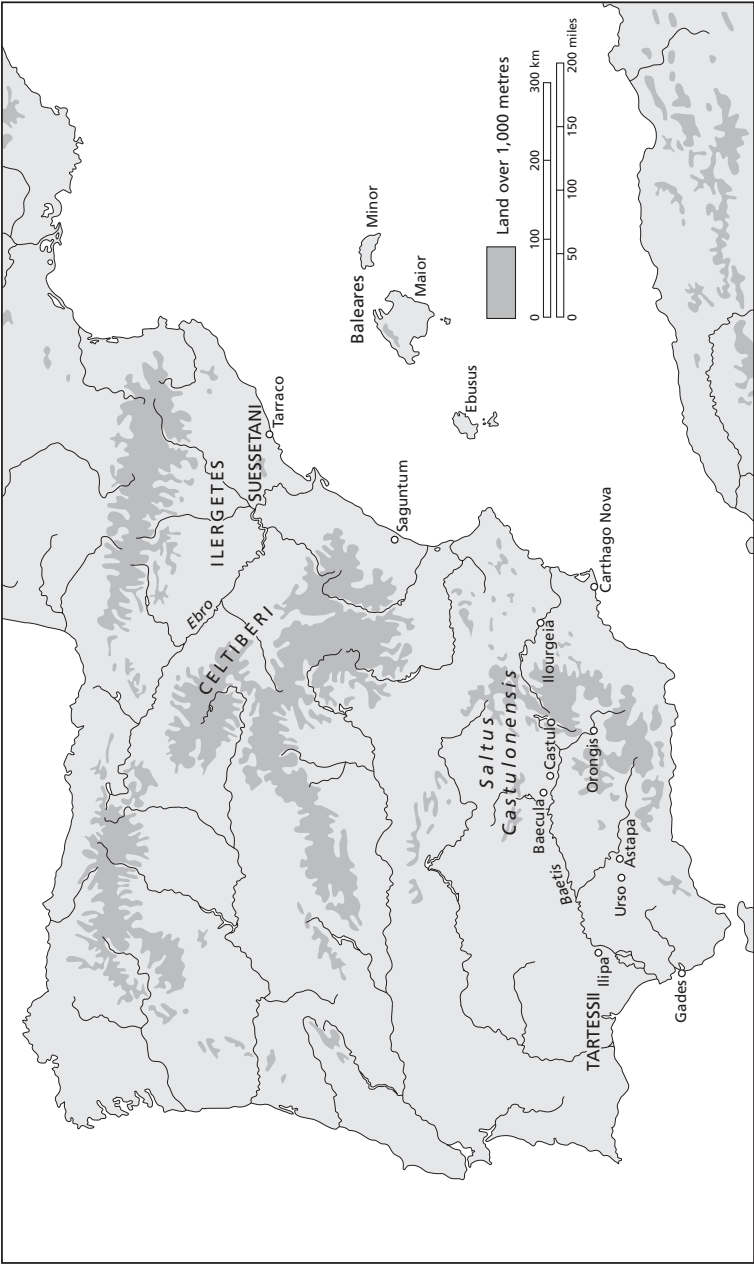
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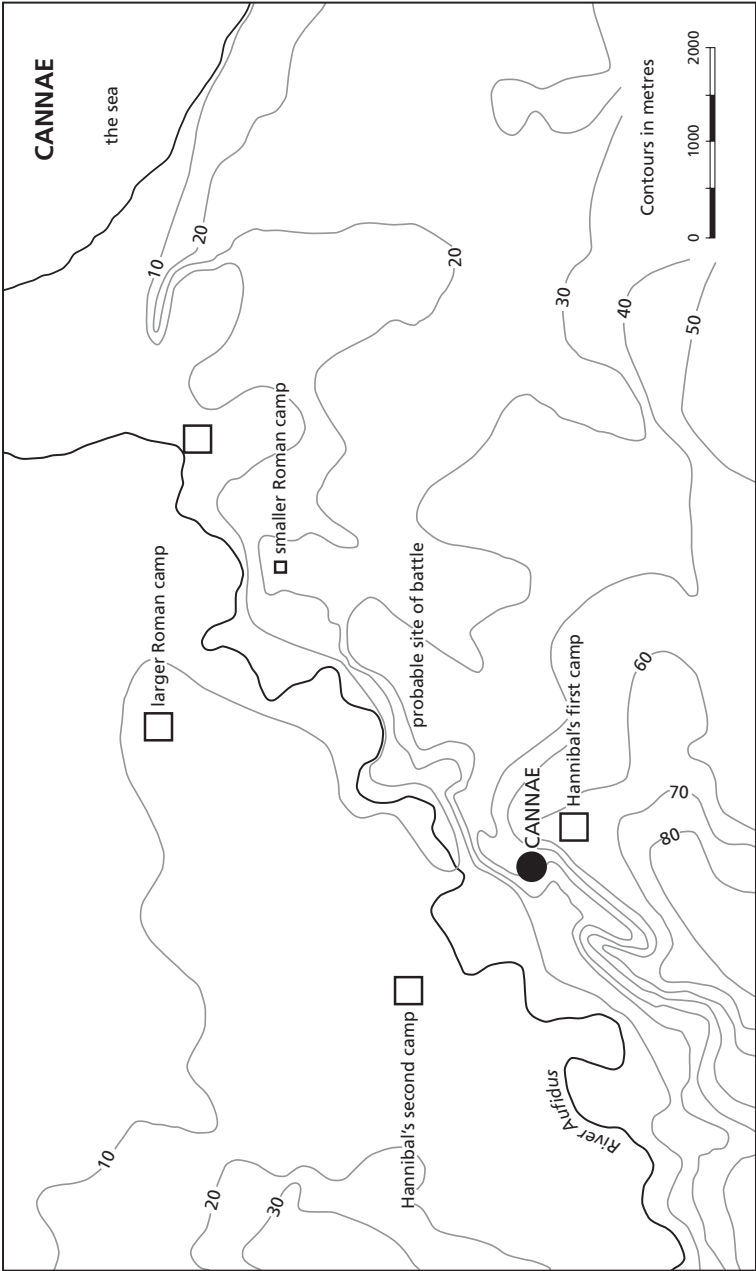
Map 1. Italy



Map 2. Trasimene



Map 3. Spain



Map 4. Cannae