

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-05755-4 - The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius

John M. Moore

Excerpt

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PART I

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF POLYBIUS
BOOKS I–V

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CONSPECTUS OF SIGLA

- A *Vaticanus Gr.* 124.
 B *Londiniensis, Mus. Brit., Add. Ms.* 11728.
 B₂ *Marcianus Gr.* VII, 4.
 B₃ *Mediceus Laurentianus Plut.* 69, 9.
 B₄ *Marcianus Gr.* 371.
 B₅ *Marcianus Gr.* 369.
 C *Monacensis Gr.* 157.
 C₂ *Vaticanus Urb. Gr.* 101.
 Z *Vaticanus Gr.* 1005.
 Z₂ *Constantinopolitanus, Top Kapu Serai, fonds Ahmet III,* 25.
 D *Monacensis Gr.* 388 (also containing the *Excerpta Antiqua*).
 E *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 1648.
 J *Vindobonensis Phil. Gr.* 59.
 F *Vaticanus Urb. Gr.* 102 (*Excerpta Antiqua* from Books 1–xviii).
 C₃ *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 1796, and *Oxoniensis Bodl. Laud. Gr.* 4.
 C₄ *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 1649.
 C₅ *Parisinus, B.N., Coisl.* 318.
-
- Z₃ *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 1739.
 Z₄ *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 462.
 Z₅ *Parisinus, B.N., Gr.* 2376.
 Z₆ *Ambrosianus Gr.* F88 *sup.*
 Z₇ *Leidensis Scal. Gr.* 51.

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CHAPTER I

THE PREVIOUS EDITIONS
OF POLYBIUS

The first edition of Polybius which aimed at a critical appraisal of the text was that of Casaubon;* while containing some useful work, it was based on a poor selection of manuscripts, particularly in the first five books. This was followed by the four major editions, those of Schweighäuser, Dindorf, Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst.

Schweighäuser made the first attempt at a critical edition in the modern sense; however, his work is valueless as a technical study of the manuscript tradition. It is based largely on partial collations made by other scholars, and these collations appear to have been random selections of groups of readings, resulting in many shortcomings in the text; for example, although he realised the value of A, he had only a few scattered readings from it. Usually when discussing manuscripts he stated his conclusions without proof, and left his reader to glean what supporting evidence he could from the sparse information in the notes; very rarely did he state fully the evidence on which his conclusions were based. Nevertheless, his edition remains of interest for the history of Polybian scholarship, and of value for many of his emendations; many of his conclusions were apparently accepted by Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst. He mentions, albeit unsatisfactorily, more manuscripts than any other study.

The first Teubner edition, edited by Dindorf, contains a certain amount of work on the manuscripts in the introduction, although the major part is devoted to a discussion of A, and of various cruces in the text. Dindorf's main thesis is that all extant manuscripts of Books I–V are derived from A, the variant readings in other manuscripts being the result of emendation of various

* A list of the major editions of Polybius will be found in the bibliography.

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degrees of competence in the course of the transmission of the text; this hypothesis was rightly denied by Hulstsch in his review of Dindorf's edition.* There is no discussion of the manuscript tradition of Books VI-XVIII.

The next study of the manuscript tradition was that of Hulstsch, contained primarily in his *Quaestiones Polybianae*, I, Programm des Gymnasiums zu Zwickau, 1859. He does not give a proven relationship between the manuscripts, but only an 'order of merit', and divides the tradition of Books I-V into two streams which he describes as *integri* and *interpolati*. He realises that D and E have been edited to a certain degree and C to a very considerable extent, but wrongly states that B is not derived from A. The position he suggests for F is vague and not in fact correct, and he does not give M sufficient weight. This is altogether an unsatisfactory discussion of the manuscripts. His *Quaestiones Polybianae*, II, Programm des Gymnasiums zum Heil. Kreuz, Dresden, 1869, adds nothing significant to the study of the tradition. The introduction to the first edition of vol. I of his text (1867-71) says of B C D E that it is easier to see that they are closely related to A than to tell their exact derivation, and that he hopes to deal with the problem at greater length later; apparently, this fuller study was never published. Of the other manuscripts of Books I-V he only mentions C₃ and C₄ in passing, accepting Schweighäuser's conclusion that they are copies of the *editio princeps*. This cannot be considered a satisfactory discussion of the manuscript tradition.

The introduction to the second edition of his text reproduces most of that of the first edition, adding only that in the Zwickau Programm he had argued that wherever C D E do not agree with A they are 'aut neglegentia corruptos aut conjecturis virorum criticorum temptatos'. This, however, he had already denied by implication in his review of Dindorf's edition; he does not comment on this contradiction. The only other addition is the statement that a further study of B should prove valuable.

On Books VI-XVIII he states in the introduction to the first

* Hulstsch, in *Fleckeisen*, XIII (1867), 289 ff.

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edition of vol. II of his text that D G H K L are derived from F; he does not produce evidence, and the supposition is demonstrably false. He adds nothing in the second edition.

The work of Büttner-Wobst is by far the fullest examination of the tradition; he reproduces a large proportion of the introduction of Dindorf's edition, but adds a great deal of new material. The study is in two parts, in the introductions of vols. I and II; the two sections are not two parts of the same discussion, but in the second volume he corrects part of the introduction to the first volume, and on a number of points comes to different, and in some cases fuller, conclusions.

He summarises his conclusions in vol. I on p. lxxii: all extant exemplars were derived from a manuscript written before the tenth century, which contained lacunae, glosses and errors; A and M were copied from this manuscript,* and from A were copied B and F; C D E are recent manuscripts full of emendations, whose derivation cannot be stated until B and F have been recollated accurately, and the various hands in C D E carefully distinguished. This is a most unsatisfactory basis for an edition, since it leaves the position of C D E in doubt. On p. xxx he states that all other manuscripts either share all the lacunae of A or have attempted to fill the lacunae by conjecture. This is not true, and is based on the assumption (which he himself admits to be false in the introduction to vol. II) that all good readings in C D E are the result of conjecture and have no independent authority (p. xxxvii). He does not prove this statement, and it is the nearest he gets to a statement of the position of C D E. His placing of F needs amplification, at least, since A contains Books I–V complete, while F has excerpts from Books I–XVIII.

He says that M is from the same source as A because it contains the same lacunae as A at I, 2, 7–8 and I, 3, 3 (p. xxx). This is not so; M stops short of the first lacuna at the end of an excerpt, and does not contain the passage in question. At I, 3, 3 M shows no lacuna, although its text does appear to be a condensation of the

* M is *Vaticanus Gr. 73*, containing the *Excerpta de Sententiis* compiled under Constantine Porphyrogenitus; see Pt. III.

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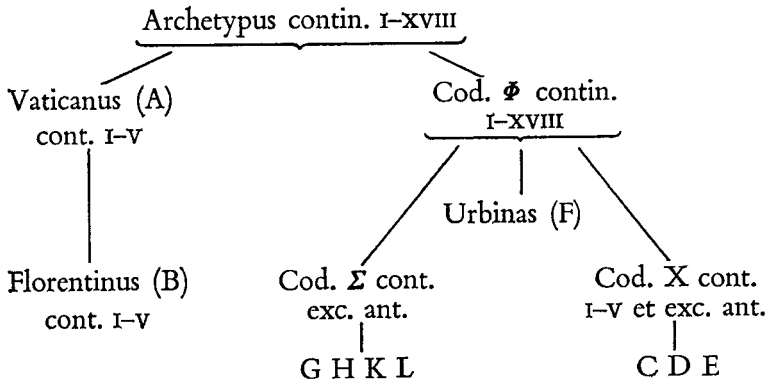
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fragments preserved in A.* Büttner-Wobst should have put the evidence on this passage in a far less misleading form. On p. lxxviii he repeats the conclusion of Schweighäuser that C₃ and C₄ are derived from the *editio princeps*, with no comment.

He concludes that A is the only manuscript 'fide dignus' (p. xlii), and discounts the authority of F (pp. lxx–lxxi) and C D E (pp. xxxvii ff.) on totally inadequate grounds. That he should have changed his mind radically on the relationship between the manuscripts by the time he wrote the introduction to vol. II is a sufficient indictment of the study of the tradition and the text contained in vol. I.

He represents his conclusions on the manuscript tradition reached in vol. II in the following stemma† (p. lix):



In discussing the manuscript tradition he states that C D E are derived from Φ *via* an intermediate copy, and that C is closer to Φ, while D E are closer to A (p. xxix); this is impossible unless he argues that there was contamination between A and D E; this he does not do. Further, he says when giving the stemma: 'in praesentia nihil certi de codicibus recentioribus [i.e. C D E,

* The compilers of the Constantine excerpts were in the habit of altering the text of the beginning or end of passages excerpted to complete the sense without copying material irrelevant to their subject; it is therefore only to be expected that, if they were faced with text with a lacuna in it, they would alter it in an attempt to restore the sense and give their readers a complete text.

† On the excerpts from Books VI–XVIII and G H K L see below.

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probably not B C D E, though it is not always clear whether he is including B among the “recentiores” or not] iudicari posse’.

Z2 was discovered after Büttner-Wobst’s first edition, but he discussed it in an article,* and he refers to it in the second edition of vol. I.† He demonstrates adequately that it is independent of C D E, but does not realise that it is derived from Z—a manuscript he never mentions. He goes no further with his discussion of C D E.

Büttner-Wobst’s study of Books VI–XVIII is not so full as that of Books I–V.‡ It is in the introduction to vol. II of his edition, and the stemma above summarises his conclusions. He states correctly that D G H K L are not derived from F, but then says that D and G are derived from two different hyparchetypes in their turn derived from the hyparchetype of the *Excerpta Antiqua* from Books VI–XVIII; this can be shown to be wrong. He does not attempt to elucidate the exact relationship between F D G H K L, and only mentions a fraction of the extant manuscripts. The actual tradition will be shown to be very different from the form he suggested.

In his second edition of vol. I Büttner-Wobst neither reprints his study of the manuscripts, nor adds any new work on the subject.

Two examples will suffice to show that Büttner-Wobst based his work on the manuscripts on false principles. In vol. I is the following statement (p. xxxvii): ‘Quae cum ita sint, quicquid per omnes libros quinque primos in reliquis codicibus recentioribus Bavarico (C) Augustano (D) Regio (E) boni reperitur, id omne est eius modi ut non ex integriori ductum esse appareat exemplari, sed a correctoribus excogitatum. . . .’ This suggests strongly that had there been very good readings in C D E he would have argued for the independence of the tradition they represented on the basis

* Büttner-Wobst, ‘Die Polybios-handschrift im alten Serail zu Constantinopel’, *Fleckeisen*, XLIII (1897), 887 ff.

† In the second edition of vol. I he refers to Z2 as Σ, although this clashes with the siglum he used for the parent of G H K L in the stemma reproduced above. His siglum (Ξ) has been abandoned, since it is against modern practice to use Greek majuscules where Latin are still available.

‡ For the sigla of the manuscripts of Books VI–XVIII, see pp. 53 f.

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of such readings. Good readings can never establish the independence of manuscripts.

In vol. II (p. lviii) he argued that the manuscripts of the *Excerpta Antiqua* had a common ancestor on the basis of the common omission at VII, 12 (11), 5 of τοῦ τόπου τούτου συμβουλεύω κρατεῖν: this is an omission *ex homoeoteleuto*, and cannot therefore be valid evidence to prove that they are derived from a common ancestor.

Hultsch based his views on C D E on the same grounds as Büttner-Wobst, and Schweighäuser, apart from the inevitable limitations of the period at which he was writing, shows in his introduction that he also uses the same false principles.

The work of previous editors on Books I–XVIII is based on false principles in its approach to the classification of manuscripts, comes to wrong and inadequate conclusions, and is not exhaustive, in that none of them refers to all the extant manuscripts.

The study of the *de Legationibus* published by Schulze does not cover all the extant manuscripts, and is not satisfactory;* it will be demonstrated that his conclusions are wrong.

De Boor's study of the *de Legationibus Gentium ad Romanos* contains useful material, but tends to be unsystematic.† He establishes adequately the grouping of W O R, and the fact that they are derived from X, but produces no sound evidence for the relationship he suggests between them. His discussion of U and V is obscure, and he does not give enough evidence to justify his conclusions. His study of the *de Legationibus Romanorum ad Gentes* is much less full than that of the other title, and contains little material of value.

Brief mention should be made of two other works. The article of K. Ziegler in Pauly–Wissowa on Polybius (1952) contains a section on the manuscripts; he repeats the conclusions of Büttner-Wobst, and is even slightly regressive, in that he says that C D E may in fact be derived from A. There is no new material on the

* E. H. F. Schulze, *De Excerptis Constantinianis Quaestiones Criticae*.

† C. de Boor, 'Byzantinische Studienreise', *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* (1899), 921 ff., (1902), 146 ff.

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problem. A recent Budé edition of Book XII has a section in the introduction which considers the manuscripts.* The editor says (p. xli) that it is beyond the scope of his work to study the relationship of F and the other manuscripts containing Book XII with the Archetype, and their interrelation among themselves. He does offer a few observations, but this is not, and does not set out to be, a scientific classification of the available manuscripts.

* *Polybe; Histoires, Livre XII*; texte établi, traduit et commenté par Paul Pédech.

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CHAPTER 2

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION
OF BOOKS I–V

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The following manuscripts contain Books I–V, and form a single group: any significant omissions will be noted. Notes are appended to this list containing any points of importance for the establishment of the tradition, and the history of the manuscript where it is known.

A. *Vaticanus Gr. 124* (*olim 126*). Biblioteca Vaticana.

This is a tenth-century manuscript; it may perhaps be dated to A.D. 947. It was written by a monk, Ephraim, and the subscription runs as follows: πολυβίου ἰστοριῶν ε' | εὐτυχῶς χ|ρ|ῶ | ἐγρά<φη> χειρὶ ἐφραίμ | μο<να>χ<οῦ> | μ<η>νι ἀπριλλίω ε' ἰνδ ε'. (fo. 304r).^{*} Thus Ephraim gives the day of the month and the indiction, but not the year. There are three other known manuscripts by Ephraim, of which *Venetus Marcianus Gr. 201* (780) (Aristotle) is dated 954, and *Athous Vatopedi* 949 (747) (Gospels) is dated 948; *Athous Laura B64* (184) (Acts and Epistles) is not dated. The Aristotle and the Acts and Epistles are everyday working copies, but the Gospels and the Polybius are more sumptuous manuscripts.

Diller,[†] working on the similarity of the hand between the Gospels and the Polybius, dates the Polybius to 947, which accords with the indiction given in the subscription. This is quite probable, and is accepted by Ziegler.[‡] It is, however, open to question, on the grounds that the Polybius and the Gospels are clearly written with a different purpose from the other two

* Subscriptions are quoted exactly, with only normal abbreviations expanded.

† A. Diller, 'Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century', *T.A.P.A.* LXXVIII (1947), 184 ff.

‡ Pauly–Wissowa, s.v. 'Polybius'.