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John M. Moore

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THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION  
OF POLYBIUS

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# THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF POLYBIUS

BY

JOHN M. MOORE



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## PREFACE

The work on which this study is based was originally undertaken as a Ph.D. thesis at Cambridge University; the following pages are an expurgated version of that thesis. All manuscripts referred to were collated on the spot, microfilm only being used for a preliminary collation of A and F, and for subsequent checking of a number of readings. I am indebted to the authorities of all the many libraries which I visited for placing the manuscripts at my disposal, and to many of them for the kindness with which they welcomed me and generously supplied me with information on the manuscripts which I was studying. My research period, and in particular the year which I spent travelling in Europe, involved considerable expense, and I am grateful to the Administrators of the George Charles Winter Warr Scholarship and Fund, to the Master and Fellows of Clare College, Cambridge, and to a State Research Studentship for the financial help which made this study possible.

To Dr A. H. McDonald my debt is great; his help, encouragement and criticism, both as my research supervisor and since, have been of great value. I am also grateful to Professor Sir Roger Mynors, Mr R. M. Ogilvie and Miss R. Barbour for help and encouragement while producing this book. I would like also to take this opportunity to thank the Editors of the Cambridge Classical Studies for their help, and for making the publication of this book possible. The officers of the Cambridge University Press have throughout been extremely helpful, and their care and vigilance have saved me from many slips. Finally, I owe a great deal to my wife, both for help in checking the manuscript and proofs, and also for her patience and understanding on the frequent occasions when Polybius interfered with family activities.



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PREFACE

I have on occasion differed from my advisors; for the views expressed, the conclusions of the study, and for its shortcomings I am solely responsible.

J.M.M.

*Radley*  
*April 1965*

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I am grateful to the Prefect of the Biblioteca Vaticana for permission to reproduce Plates I–III, and to the Director of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, for permission to reproduce Plate IV.

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## INTRODUCTION

It is necessary that there should be a study which attempts to demonstrate the relationship between all the extant manuscripts of any classical author; such a study provides a sound basis for establishing the text, and is particularly important for a historian, so that those who study his writings as a source may know the exact state of the tradition, and therefore the weight to be placed on variant readings where there is any conflict. The present work discusses all the traceable manuscripts of Polybius, and attempts to establish their relationship; this has not been done before.

The tradition falls into three main parts; the manuscripts containing Books I–V complete, those containing the *Excerpta Antiqua* from Books VI–XVIII, and the manuscripts of the various titles of the *Excerpta Historica* made under the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century: these will form the main sections of the study. The possible reasons for the survival of Polybius in this form will be discussed in part IV.

In order to undertake this study, a list of all the traceable manuscripts was compiled, on the basis of published catalogues if available, and otherwise by direct communication with libraries. To undertake a complete collation of all these manuscripts would have been not merely a task of enormous size, but one which would not be justified by the results; it is possible to achieve a proven division of the manuscripts into their families, and demonstrate their interrelation, on the basis of selective collation. For this purpose a carefully selected list of over six hundred passages was prepared in each section of the tradition, and these passages were collated. They were chosen on the basis of previous editions as likely to provide the evidence required to establish the relation between the manuscripts. As far as possible a greater proportion of examples was drawn from passages which were included in manuscripts containing short portions of the text as well as those which contain the full text of the section in question;

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thus, in the *Excerpta Antiqua* a considerable proportion of the passages collated were drawn from Book vi and those parts of Books xviii and x which appear in the manuscripts H2–15. Similarly, weight was given to passages where there is an overlap between the Constantine excerpts and either of the other two sections of the tradition.

As a preliminary to the study, previous works on the manuscript tradition were examined, and a complete collation of A and F was undertaken; previous editions are faulty in technique, only cover a proportion of the extant manuscripts, and also contain numerous misreadings of A and F: they will be examined in detail in ch. I. All readings given are drawn from the collation undertaken, except in a very few cases where the work of previous editors is referred to; such cases are clearly marked. The collation has provided sufficient evidence of the independence of manuscripts not derived from other extant exemplars; where a manuscript appears to be derived from another extant exemplar, it is reasonable to assume that if this were not the case, evidence to contradict the hypothesis would have appeared in such a large and carefully selected number of passages. In the following pages, therefore, the statement that one manuscript contains all the errors of another is to be taken as referring to the passages collated.

It may be objected that, if there is emending in the course of copying, it is not possible to produce a valid stemma. As far as possible the manuscripts have been placed on the basis of omissions; while errors may be eliminated by emendation, it is most unusual to find an omission restored; interpolations can also provide useful evidence. There is a certain amount of emendation in the course of the tradition, and this must render some of the conclusions tentative, but in most cases the positions of emended manuscripts can be established on the basis of omissions. The degree of emendation will be discussed, and where the conclusions must be tentative, this will be clearly indicated. In certain cases the conclusions must be rendered tentative because the manuscripts in question only contain very small parts of the text; where this is the case, some of the argument will inevitably be supported

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by a smaller number of examples than is desirable, and the tentative nature of the conclusions will be emphasised.

The manuscripts of the Constantine excerpts present a different problem from that treated in the remainder of the study; only in the *de Legationibus* is there more than one extant exemplar containing Polybius. Since this study was designed to establish the manuscript tradition of Polybius, only the Polybius excerpts in the *de Legationibus* were collated; on this basis it has proved possible to produce a reasonable demonstration of the tradition, but there is presumably much confirmatory evidence in the excerpts from other authors found in these titles. Where such evidence was available in the work of previous editors it has been used; otherwise, conclusions justified by the evidence in the Polybius excerpts have been stated.

The results of the argument have been demonstrated from time to time in stemmata; they are a convenient method of representing the relationship established between manuscripts, and are used for this purpose. They can only indicate lines of descent, and cannot be an exact representation of the process of descent; it is scarcely ever possible to be sure how many copies now lost there were between one manuscript and another which is clearly derived from it. It is not the purpose of the stemma to represent this; it only shows the lines of descent established and any lost intermediary copies whose position may be deduced from the evidence available.

The sigla used by Büttner-Wobst in his introduction to the first edition have been retained for all the manuscripts which he discussed, to avoid confusion; the letters which he used to refer to groups of manuscripts (R S Y Z) are not so used in the present study, since such compendium signs serve no useful purpose in the present work, and can lead to confusion, particularly when used as by Hulstsch in his apparatus to represent 'codices omnes vel complures'. In the section dealing with the group of manuscripts containing excerpts from Books VI, XVIII and X the sigla have been adapted from those of Büttner-Wobst; he only refers to one of the fourteen manuscripts in this group, his 'H'. It will

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be seen that this manuscript is in fact probably derived from another extant exemplar; therefore his 'H' has been abandoned, and the siglum 'H' used for the whole group, with numbers to distinguish the individual members; to avoid confusion 'H' itself is not used.

The sigla for the *Excerpta de Legationibus* are also adapted from those of Büttner-Wobst; in only one case does he refer to two manuscripts in the same library each of which contains one title of the *de Legationibus*, and here the manuscripts are of different formats. In many cases the manuscripts of the two titles are of identical format, and appear to be a single unit. The two volumes which he refers to as 'U' and 'U\*' (now bound as *Vaticanus Gr. 1418* and *Neapolitanus Gr. III B 15*) clearly form a single unit, and appear under the siglum 'U'. It will be seen that, although it is necessary to make a separate study of each title of the *de Legationibus*, the volumes containing both titles which appear to form single units fall in similar positions on the stemmata, and therefore appear to have been copied as unities containing both titles. In these cases, therefore, the sigla used by Büttner-Wobst to refer to one title have been extended to the other title; thus 'V', used by Büttner-Wobst to represent *Scorialensis R III 14* (*de Legationibus Romanorum*), is here also used for *Scorialensis R III 21* (*de Legationibus Gentium*). This need cause no confusion in the present study; it will usually be clear which title is being referred to, and if it is not, the manuscripts of the *de Legationibus Gentium* in such a set will be referred to by their siglum followed by the letter 'a', and those of the *de Legationibus Romanorum* by their siglum followed by the letter 'b': thus, the Escorial manuscript of the *de Legationibus Gentium* will appear as 'Va', and that of the *de Legationibus Romanorum* as 'Vb'. The two exemplars in the *Vaticani Palatini Graeci* are of different formats, and therefore they have been allotted separate sigla. This arrangement of sigla would cause no more confusion in an edition, since it will be shown that all other extant manuscripts of the *de Legationibus Gentium* are derived from an extant exemplar, X, which has no companion volume containing the other title.

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Within each section the manuscripts will be described briefly, and the manuscript tradition will then be established. The manuscripts will be discussed in families, and described in the order in which they are considered in the establishment of the tradition. A list of all the manuscripts in chronological order together with references under which they are discussed in other works will be found at the end of the volume, while a short conspectus of sigla for easy reference is given at the beginning of each part.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All references to the work of previous editors will, unless otherwise stated, be to the first edition of any edition; the references will consist of the name of the editor followed by the page number; 'Hultsch, I, xv' thus refers to p. xv of the first edition of vol. I of Hultsch's edition. All references will be made to the chapters and sections as numbered in the first edition of Büttner-Wobst's text.

For the purpose of dating certain manuscripts, reference will be made to their watermarks; they will be cited according to their numbers in C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, in the form 'Briquet 7889'. Briquet gives the dates of documents or manuscripts which are written on paper with the watermark which he is discussing, and these dates will be given. This cannot give a precise date for a manuscript; it probably indicates that the paper was not made much more than ten years before the date given by Briquet, but it is impossible to tell how long the paper may have been stored before it was used; therefore the date is a better guide for the *terminus post quem* than *ante quem*.

The following abbreviations will be used:

*C.R.* = *The Classical Review*.

*Fleckeisen* = *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, herausgeg. v. A. Fleckeisen.

*R.E.G.* = *Revue des Études Grecques*.

*Sitz. Akad. Wien* = *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Akademie in Wien*.

*Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* = *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*.

*Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* = *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.

*T.A.P.A.* = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.