

Polybiana

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THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION aims to amplify and in some respects to correct, in the light of the evidence obtained from a full collation, the relationships suggested earlier between the various primary mss of Polybius, Books I–V; mss eliminated as derived from extant exemplars by the selective collation are disregarded.¹ The second and third sections below will list and attempt to explore the information which may be derived from the format and structure of surviving mss.

The following mss will be discussed:

- A** *Vaticanus Gr.* 124, X cent. (A.D. 947?)
- C** *Monacensis Gr.* 157, XV cent.
- D** *Monacensis Gr.* 388, XV cent. (also *Excerpta Antiqua* from VI–XVIII)
- E** *Parisinus [BN] Gr.* 1648, XV cent.
- Z** *Vaticanus Gr.* 1005, XIV/XV cent.
- J** *Vindobonensis Phil. Gr.* 59, XV cent. (contains I.1.1–70.5; V.94.9–111.10; rest lost)
- F** *Vaticanus Urb. Gr.* 102, X/XI cent. (*Excerpta Antiqua* from I–XVIII)
- G** *Mediceus Laurentianus Plut.* 69.9, XVI cent. (*Excerpta Antiqua* from VI–XVIII)

From the Constantine Excerpts:

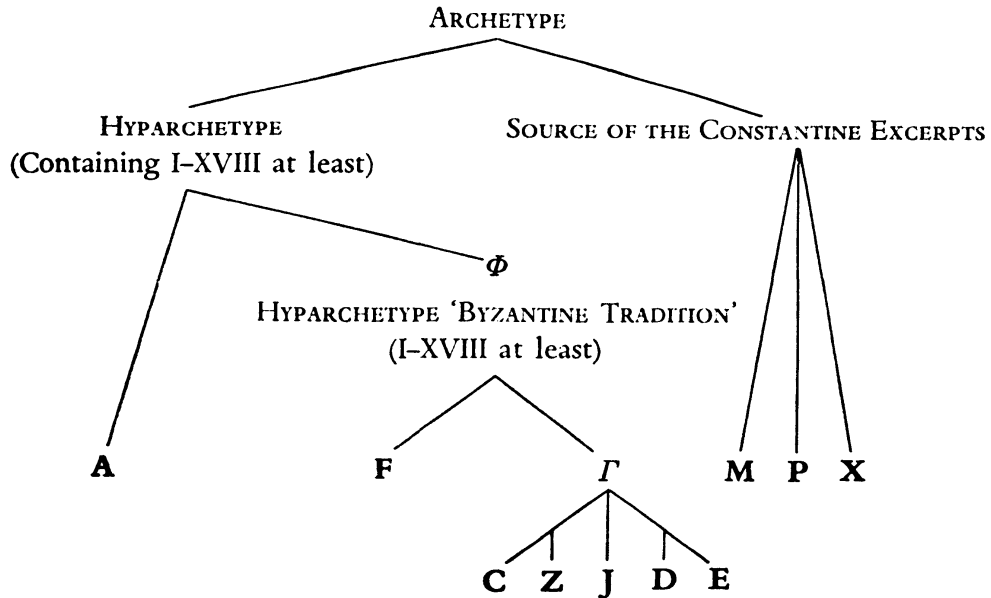
- M** *Vaticanus Gr.* 73, *de Sententiis*, X cent.
- P** *Turonensis* 980, *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, X cent.
- X** *Ambrosianus Gr.* N 135 Sup., *de Legationibus Gentium*, A.D.1574

¹ See J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (Cambridge 1965) [hereafter MTP]; for descriptions of the mss involved see MTP 10–20, 56–60, 130–33, 140; the analysis which the present discussion supplements and corrects is MTP 22–35, 40–45. I am grateful to Professor D. C. C. Young for detailed discussion of a draft of this paper, and also to Professors B. M. W. Knox and F. W. Walbank and Mr N. G. Wilson for helpful comments and criticisms.

I

The Tradition of Books I–V

The conclusions on Books I–V which were drawn from the selective collation may be schematically summed up in the following stemma; there is no attempt here to indicate dates or intermediate hyparchetypes, except that each ‘fork’ in the stemma implies the existence of a common parent for the branches in question.²



The division of the tradition of Books I–V into branches has been amply confirmed; from nearly 300 errors noted in **A** and not found in the ‘Byzantine Tradition’, the following may be cited:

<i>Omissions</i>	<i>Errors</i>
I.38.5 δὲ omitted (before <i>καθάπαξ</i>)	III.1.7 <i>τυχῆς</i> A for <i>ψυχῆς</i>
79.5 τὰς omitted	46.9 <i>πᾶν</i> A for <i>πάντα</i>
II.35.3 τὸ omitted (before <i>πλείον</i>)	72.1 <i>πολέοις</i> A for <i>πολεμίοις</i>
40.5 εἰ omitted	V.20.3 <i>ἀρπαγίας</i> A for <i>Ἀργείας</i>
III.33.17 εἰ omitted	93.2 τοὺς A for <i>τούτους</i>
44.7 <i>πορείαν</i> omitted	
IV.16.9 δὲ omitted	
V.62.2 τῶν omitted	

² For more detailed stemmata, see *MTP* 40, 171.

In addition, at V.88.5 *γὰρ* has been omitted by **A** after *Ἰέρων* and inserted six lines further down in the ms after *τὰ μὲν*; this error does not appear in the 'Byzantine Tradition', and probably arose from the omission of *γὰρ* in the text of **A**'s parent, a note in the margin, and a misinterpretation by **A** of where it should have been re-inserted. There are therefore decisive separative errors in **A**, which dispose of the theory that the 'Byzantine Tradition' may be based on the text of **A**.³ Such a thesis would have to posit extensive editing in Φ ; while there has clearly been some editing in the construction of the 'Byzantine Tradition', it is only at an elementary level, and there are numerous uncorrected errors in all manuscripts which are even more trivial and obvious than any of those cited above.⁴

That **CZDE** form a single group was amply demonstrated in the previous study by their coincidence in common errors not found in **A**, to which may be added the following common omission:

I.15.5 *τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Συρακοσίων om.* **CZJDE**

That **J** shares this omission confirms the slender evidence linking it to this group, which emerged from the selective collation. Similarly, the evidence linking the excerpt ms **F** to the group may now be reinforced by a decisive example of a shared omission:

IV.12.11 *ἐπὶ τὰς — πόλεις om.* **FCZDE** (**J** missing)⁵

Similarly, it has been demonstrated adequately that the text of **F** is drawn from a stage in the tradition prior to the common parent of **CZJDE**; a further piece of evidence is:

III.84.14 *Μάαρβα AF: Μάαρκα CZ³DE* (on **Z³** see *infra* p. 415)

Within the group **CZJDE**, the positions of **J** and **Z** need further discussion. That **J** is independent of **CDE** was adequately demonstrated and has been amply confirmed; however, a considerable body of evidence has emerged to show that the text of the section of Book I surviving in **J** is linked to the same source as **Z**:

I.25.2 *πολὺ ACDE: om.* **ZJ**

³ *Contra* A. Diller, *CJ* 62 (1967) 179.

⁴ For editing in the 'Byzantine Tradition', see *MTP* 32ff.

⁵ The evidence linking **F** and the common parent of **CZJDE** is the more impressive since **F** only contains about one-fifth of the text of Books I–V. **FCZJDE** must be derived from a single manuscript (Φ) which was a *gemellus* of **A**; this rules out the theory of F. Lasserre, *AntCl* 35 (1966) 287, that the excerpts in **F** were selected at a stage before the copying of the common parent of **ACZJDE**.

- 34.2 *συναλαλάξαν* **A^{pc}DE**: *om.* **ZJ** (*συναλαλάξαν** A^{ac}, συναλαλάξαντες edd.*)
- 24.12 *Καμαριναίων* **ACDE**: *Μακαριναίων* **ZJ**
- 27.13 *κατὰ τούτους* **ACDE**: *καὶ αὐτοὺς* **ZJ**
- 46.5 *κατὰ τὸν* **ACDE**: *κατ' αὐτὸν* **ZJ**

There are a considerable number of passages where **ZJ** have readings not found in **ACDE**, the majority of which appear to be errors rather than corrections; they show that in Book I **Z** and **J** are derived from a common parent. This conclusion was also reached by A. Díaz Tejera,⁶ but needs reinforcement since the key section of his proof of the relationship is based on five passages, two of which are classic omissions *ex homoeoteleuto* and cannot therefore be used as conjunctive errors (I.5.5; 20.14), and two of which are omissions of the article—one (I.46.5) shared by **DE**—evidence on which I would hesitate to base a case; the fifth is good evidence, the convincing omission of *συναλαλάξαν* at I.34.2 (not 34.3), for which corrected readings of **ADE** are cited above.

The remainder of Díaz Tejera's argument definitely tends to support a common parent (e.g. the confusion in **ZJ** at I.5.2–3), but he also relies in part on a number of good readings; they can never be used in this sort of demonstration, and cannot on the basis of his own stemma⁷ prove “la conservación de la tradición en contraste con la alteración de los demás manuscritos”⁸—his stemma shows conclusively that they must be conjectural corrections.

Díaz Tejera then lists individual peculiarities of **Z** and **J** to demonstrate that they are *gemelli*, not derived one from the other. Of the passages he cites for **Z**, *βοήθησιν* for *βοηθήσειν* (I.10.2) is insignificant as a very frequent type of iotacism; the change of order at I.24.2 (not 3) *εἶλον κατὰ κράτος* for *κατὰ κράτος εἶλον* was corrected immediately by the first hand in **Z** by adding β and α over the relevant words, and at I.28.11 **Z** reads *πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλεισαν* with all the other mss. This leaves only the omission of *τὸ* (or *τι*) at I.2.1, and of *ἦν* at I.3.7; it is as well, therefore, in confirmation to recall the unique reading of **Z** at

⁶ A. Díaz Tejera, “Análisis de los manuscritos Polybianos *Vaticanus* Gr. 1005 y *Vindobonensis* Gr. 59 y de sus aportaciones al libro I de las *Historias*,” *Emerita* 36 (1968) 121–47 [hereafter, *DÍAZ TEJERA*]; for this particular point see 127ff.

⁷ Díaz Tejera 136.

⁸ Díaz Tejera 128.

I.26.12: ἐπιτάττεντε **Z** for ἐπιτάττοντες, where **J** has ἐπιταχθεῖσα,⁹ and to add the less probative instance at I.17.3: ὑπέβαλον **Z** only for ὑπέλαβον. **J** cannot have been derived from **Z**. Equally, the individual readings of **J** quoted by Díaz Tejera demonstrate clearly that **Z** cannot have been derived from **J**; to his list add the most convincing of all, **J**'s omission of ἢ τὰς ὑποθέσεις — ψεύδεις at I.15.9; this is an omission *ex homoeoteleuto*, but is, of course, excellent separative, as opposed to conjunctive, evidence. (The abbreviation 'ex hom.' will in future be used to describe all omissions which may well have been caused by the similarity of two groups of letters.)

On this evidence, Díaz Tejera proceeds to deny my suggestion that **Z** and **C** were derived from a common parent which was in its turn derived from the hyparchetype of the 'Byzantine Tradition', *Γ*. He is correct for Book I, where it is abundantly clear that **ZJ** are *gemelli* whose parent must be independently derived from *Γ*. However, the evidence which I advanced¹⁰ came from III.92.3 and from Book V. I had missed the significance of a change of hand in **Z**, which has also eluded him. **Z** is largely copied by one hand (**Z**¹), but a second hand (**Z**³) has copied two short passages, III.66.2–67.8 and III.80.4–92.8;¹¹ the rest of the manuscript is all in the first hand. The first passage by **Z**³ is clearly added in a space left by **Z**¹ since at the end there are nine lines blank, marked by **Z**³ with a diagonal line and 'οὐδὲν λείπει'. The second passage, also added in a space left by **Z**¹, appears to fill the space fairly accurately, though the individual letters of the last half of the last line are slightly larger than usual, perhaps in order to fill up the page. However, the end of the passage (III.92.8), falls in the only gathering of **Z** which is of seven folia; all the rest are of eight. There is nothing to indicate the removal of one folium, but it is plausible to suggest the possibility that **Z**³ found the space left by **Z**¹ more than the text demanded and that a leaf left blank after the added text has been removed. **Z**³ is a much neater hand than **Z**¹, and looks more like a XV than a XIV-century hand; it presumably cannot be later because of the overwhelming evidence that shows that the source of **Z** from III.66.2 to the end of Book V was the same, whichever hand was copying.

Just as **ZJ** are clearly *gemelli* in I.1.1–70.5 (where the preserved section of **J** breaks off), and **Z** shows no significant affinity with **C**, **D**

⁹ Cited in another context by Díaz Tejera 129.

¹⁰ *MTP* 26.

¹¹ I use the *siglum* **Z**³ because **Z**² must be reserved for the contemporary corrector of **Z**.

or **E** in I.1.1–III.66.1, so in III.66.2–V.111.10 **CZ** share a mass of readings, some of which are errors and some corrections; the presence of corrections is not surprising, since it has long been known that **C** has more readings which are apparently the result of conscious editing than **ADE**. The evidence of **Z** shows that some of these changes were made in the common parent of **CZ**, and the presence of corrections in **Z** as well as **C** is to be expected from III.66.2 onwards in view of the close link between the two manuscripts there. I cite errors and some corrections to prove the existence of a common parent of **CZ** independent of **ADE**, concentrating on the part of Book III where the changes of hand take place in order to demonstrate where **Z** changed the source of its text, and for the same reason on occasion citing evidence which is less decisive than is ideally desirable because that is all that is available in the passage in question.

From III.66.2–67.8:

66.7 γὰρ *add.* **CZ**³ **A**^r, *om.* **ADE**

67.4 τὰς αὐτῶν **A**: τὰς αὐτῶν **DE**: τὰς ἑαυτῶν **CZ**³

From III.67.8–80.3:

68.10 ἀποστάσεως **ADE**: ἀποκαταστάσεως **CZ**¹

69.7 περιβαλομένων **A**: περιβαλλομένων **DE**: περιλαβομένων **CZ**¹

70.4 ἀλλὰ — ἐκείνων **ADE**: *om.* **CZ**¹

From III.80.4–92.3:

83.6 τῶν πολεμίων **ADE**: τοῖς πολεμίοις **CZ**³

84.11 ἰδίους **ADE**: οἰκείους **CZ**³ (an intrusive gloss?)

87.5 ἐπικουρεῖν καὶ τοῖς: καὶ in **ADE**, *om.* **CZ**³

After III.92.3:

102.5 πελάζοντας **ADE**: λάζοντας **CZ**

107.9 χωρὶς τῶν συμμάχων **ADE**: *om.* **CZ**

There are many other errors and corrections linking **C** and **Z** after III.92.3, including those cited in *MTP*.

In the section in which **C** and **Z** derive from a common parent, each has errors not found in the other or in **ADE**, proving that neither is a copy of the other. For **Z** examples are:

III.84.15 τὸν τρόπον *om.* **Z**³

85.1 δὲ *om.* **Z**³ (after **Αννιβας*)

IV.71.5 ποριορκίαν **Z** for πολιορκίαν (a mistake which recurs in **Z** but is absent from **ACDE**, at IV.80.11)

V.5.8 *συνεβούλευον* **ACDE**; *συνευούλευον* **Z**
 V.76.7 *ὄρμης* **AC**; *πόλεως* **DE**; *om.* **Z**

For **C** there are manifold examples; the point may be proved by referring to the omissions of **C** not shared by **AZDE** listed in TABLE II.vii (p. 439).¹²

Therefore **Z** used two sources in copying Books I–V, and in the light of the evidence cited above much the most plausible suggestion is that the change of **Z**'s source occurred at the change of hand at III.66.2, since there is no significant evidence linking **Z** and **C** before that point and a profusion thereafter; nothing suggests a different conclusion despite the subsequent changes of hand in **Z**. **C** and **Z** are *gemelli* from III.66.2 onwards, and their common parent was in its turn derived from the common parent of the 'Byzantine Tradition'. In view of this, it is not surprising that there is no evidence to connect **J** and **Z** in the fragments of Book V which survive in **J** (V.94.9–111.10); here the text of **J** is clearly derived from *I* but shows no affinities with any particular ms.

Finally, Díaz Tejera suggested that **ZJDE** were derived from a common parent which was a *gemellus* of **C**.¹³ In ordinary circumstances the evidence which he adduces for this common parent would be clearly decisive, since he demonstrates a significant body of common error in **ZJDE** which is not found in **C**. He goes on, however, to use the common *good* readings of **AC** to justify his analysis further, and this, for all his protestations that good readings can 'cast light on the intricacies' of the tradition, in fact undermines his position seriously. It might be possible that he is right about the position of **C**, but there is so much editing behind **C**'s text that any form of certainty is out of the question.¹⁴ The following statistics may be of interest. In Book I **ZJDE** have 32 errors not found in **AC**; **C** has 5 readings accepted by editors which are not found in **AZJDE** and has 37 readings which give every appearance of being corrections rather than errors and which are not found in **AZJDE**.¹⁵ Further analysis is even more

¹² Again, many of these omissions are *ex hom.*, but are excellent separative evidence.

¹³ Díaz Tejera 134ff.

¹⁴ *MTP* 34f; Díaz Tejera 135ff.

¹⁵ All these statistics disregard codicologically insignificant errors such as iotacism. In classifying readings as corrections rather than mistakes I have erred on the side of caution—where reasonable doubt existed, I have treated the reading as an error, not a correction. Naturally, where **J** is included in a group of *sigla* in a discussion of an extended area of text, this should be read as referring only to those portions of the text which survive in **J**.

instructive. It is difficult to find definite evidence in the passage III.66.2–V.94.9 because the absence of **J**, combined with the derivation of **CZ** from a common parent, makes it difficult to deduce anything useful along lines parallel to Díaz Tejera’s argument—errors in **DE** could as easily have arisen in their immediate common parent as in the putative parent of **ZDE(J)**. However, in II.1.1–III.66.1 **ZDE** have only 12 errors not found in **AC**, while **C** alone contains 19 corrections which are accepted by editors and another 88 readings which are to be classed as corrections rather than errors. Finally, in a sample investigation of III.66.2–118.12, 30 readings were found in **C** which are not in **AZDE**, 12 of which are accepted by editors, and 31 readings in **CZ** which are not in **ADE**, 8 of which are accepted by editors. A similar picture emerges from the rest of the text.

The scope of the editorial work which lies behind the text of **C** emerges from the above analysis. On the whole, the changes are of word order or the correction of relatively minor slips, though there are a few passages where a word or two has been added or an obvious lacuna in the text filled with an obvious supplement.¹⁶ The most common additions are of the article—a point on which the compiler of **C**’s text clearly felt strongly. In the light of this evidence, although, as stated above, Díaz Tejera may be right in suggesting that **C**’s text is derived from the ‘Byzantine Tradition’ at a stage anterior to a putative parent of **Z** (I.1.1–III.66.1) **JDE**, it seems more plausible to ascribe to editorial activity the absence from **C** of some of the common errors of **ZJDE**. It is notoriously difficult to place mss where there is any significant editing in the course of their production, but the stemma position of **CZJDE** as all derived from a single hyparchetype, *T*, is supported by solid evidence of shared omissions of such extent that they are very unlikely to have been cured by conjecture, whereas the theory that there is a common parent of **ZJDE** later than the origin of the **C** branch is supported by no such evidence. Any conclusion must remain extremely tentative, but the balance of probability rests with the position illustrated in the following stemma, which summarises the whole argument:

¹⁶ Díaz Tejera illustrates the editing of **C** on pp.135f; the reference to I.17.7 should read I.17.6, and for III.6.1 read II.16.1; at II.31.5 the reading of **C** is correctly given, but the other mss read *περὶ τὸν πράχηνον*; they have not got *καὶ τὰς χεῖρας* at all, an addition which is presumably a deliberate correction by the editor whose work lies behind **C**’s text.

These examples are selected from some 60 passages where readings are found in **E** which are not in **ACZD(J)**. In view of the fact that a certain amount of editing affected the text of **D** alone (as opposed to the manifest editing in the common parent of **DE**),¹⁸ none of these individual readings of **E** can singly be taken as proof that **D** could not have been derived from **E**, since each could have been corrected fairly easily; when they are taken together, however, the best tentative conclusion is that **D** and **E** are *gemelli*; **E** manifestly cannot have been copied from **D**.¹⁹

The second doubt concerns the opening chapters of Book I. In **F** they are preserved by a later hand (**F^r**), the first quaternion of **F** having apparently been severely damaged.²⁰ In this passage occur the following readings:

I.1.3 δόξαι **ACDE**: δόξῶ **F^r**: δόξω **ZJ**

1.3 ταυτολογεῖν **ACDE**: παλλιλογεῖν **F^r ZJ**²¹

2.7 (in the major lacuna) *κιναν ὑπε* **ACDE**: *om.* **F^r ZJ** (*add. Z*²)

6.3 *συναυξήσεως* **ACDE**: *συντάξεως* **F^r ZJ**

F^r breaks off at I.7.11 and **F**'s next excerpt begins at I.75.4. These readings suggest a connection between **F** and the **ZJ** sub-branch of the 'Byzantine Tradition'. However, the omission at I.2.7 is perhaps not very significant; where mss are copying meaningless groups of letters in a severely damaged piece of text, an omission may well occur twice independently. The reading δόξω at I.1.3 could well occur twice by independent conjecture or error, and δόξαι was in the parent of **F^r**, whether as the only reading or as a variant; similarly, I.6.3 is not a very difficult conjecture or slip. The second variant at I.1.3 is of a different order; however, the evidence for deriving **F** from a stage of the 'Byzantine Tradition' prior to the copying of the common parent of **CZJDE** is strong, and the most plausible explanation is that this reading of **F^r ZJ** represents a marginal or interlinear variant which was in the tradition at an early stage.²² There is also slight evidence

¹⁸ MTP 34.

¹⁹ **D** was not all copied by one hand; a second hand took over at V.23.10 (fol. 78^r, line 2), and copied the remainder of Book V; the first hand returned at the beginning of Book VI. As with **Z**³, the hand appears to be XV century. There is not a shred of evidence to suggest a different source for the text copied by this hand from that used by the main copyist. This note corrects the description of **D** in MTP 16f, 59.

²⁰ MTP 19f.

²¹ Not *παλλογεῖν* as Díaz Tejera 133.

²² cf. MTP 174f; for a possible alternative source, cf. MTP 20.

linking **F** and **CZ** after the change of source of **Z** at III.66.2.²³ A conceivable explanation of these readings could be contamination between **F** and two separate branches of the 'Byzantine Tradition', and this must be borne in mind as a remote possibility;²⁴ it is much more likely that the agreement in these particular readings arose independently, whether from error or conjecture.

On the basis of the evidence discussed, it becomes clear that, in addition to **AFCDE**, used by previous editors, **Z** and **J** are important evidence for the reconstruction of the text. **Z** is of particular importance for I.1.1–III.66.1, since it has not apparently here been subjected to the editing which has affected both **C** and the common parent of **DE**, nor to that shown in **J** for the short section which survives.²⁵ From III.66.2 onwards, however, the value of **Z** is less since it contains the results of some of the editing which is in evidence throughout **C**; nonetheless, it is not as heavily edited as **C** and contributes a large number of useful readings.²⁶

II

Textual Archaeology, I

Athenaeus preserves three words that have been lost from our surviving mss of Polybius at IV.20.7 (see TABLE II.i.1), and **FCZJDE** have the lacunae at I.2.7–8 and I.3.3 which are so carefully reproduced

²³ MTP 31f.

²⁴ Because **Z** drew its text from two sources, the contamination would have to affect two branches, which makes the hypothesis all the more unlikely; see the stemma above, p.419.

²⁵ See Díaz Tejera 131.

²⁶ It is a pity that P. Pédech, ed. *Polybe, Histoires, Livre I and Livre II* (Paris 1969–70), chose to use **J** but not **Z**. For a detailed discussion, see *Gnomon* (forthcoming).

It may be useful to list the following amplifications or corrections to readings cited by Díaz Tejera; a number of the discrepancies no doubt arise from his relying on readings cited by Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst (or assumed from their silence about variants). Unfortunately, this can be inaccurate or misleading, particularly where they use compendium signs for a group of mss. The readings quoted in the present article are all drawn from my own collation of microfilm of the various manuscripts.

Díaz Tejera 141: I.22.4, the mss read *πρώρραις* **ADZE**^{ac}: *πρώραις* **CJE**^{pc}. I.27.9 *ἀπέεπαστο* **A**²**C**: *ἀπέεπαστο* **AZJDE**. I.33.9, for *γραφσομάχους* read *γροσφομάχους*; **C** has *γροσφομάχους*, which implies a dittography of *-μάχους* (*lin.*) and *-μάθους* (*sup.lin.*), not *-μάχθους*. I.45.7, *ἐβοήθουν* **AZJDE**: *παρεβοήθουν* **A**^r**C** only (presumably contaminated into **A**^r from **C**; MTP 41ff). I.58.2, **Z** reads *τῆς ῥίλης* after correction, apparently from *τὴν ῥίλην*. I.59.12, **Z**

in **A**.²⁷ It has been plausibly argued not only that **A** tried to represent the exemplar he was copying with great care (a supposition which is amply confirmed by his practice *passim*) but also that the line length of **A** was the line length of the common ancestor of **A** and the ‘Byzantine Tradition’, ω . The further step that this was the source from which all our surviving text of Books I–V is derived seems very probable, since **M** after omitting the first lacuna starts a new excerpt awkwardly in the middle of a sentence immediately at the end of it, and contains a modified version of the second, emended to give some sort of sense—exactly the behaviour one would expect of the compiler of a set of excerpts when faced with a defective passage.²⁸

The tentative suggestion has been made that ω was an uncial codex.²⁹

reads ἀπετέλεσε, not -εν; **A** has ἀπετέλεσαν, in which the ε is added by **A**², but it is not clear whether the corrector intended ἀπετέλεσεν or -λεσε.

Díaz Tejera 142: for I.4.6 read I.4.11, where **Z** has ἄμα λαβεῖν like **AJE** (λαβεῖν, om. ἄμα **CD**; *Constantinopolitanus*, *Top Kapu*, 25 (my **Z**²) has ἀναλαβεῖν). I.26.7, εἴκοσι **ZJDE**: εἴκοσι **AC** only. I.32.7, πρότερον is in **A** already; a later hand has added the alternative thus: πρότερον. I.39.12, σταδίου **ACDEZ**^{pc}**J**^{sup.lit.}; σταδίου **Z**^{8c}**J**¹ only; this puts Casaubon’s alteration in a still less favourable light.

Díaz Tejera 143: I.38.5, **ZJ** have βουλευόμενοι, as do **ACDE**; βουλόμενοι must remain an unsupported conjecture, however convincing. I.51.9, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι **AC**: ἐπιφέρεσθαι **JDE**: ἐπιφαίρεσθαι **Z**; ἐπιφέρεσθαι was clearly in the common parent of **CZJDE**. I.52.5, εὐταρκίας is also in **E**. I.54.8, μηδὲν is the unanimous reading of **ACZJDE**; the variants cited by Díaz Tejera are variants of μηδὲ three words earlier, where, for what it is worth, **ACZJ** all have μη δέ, a very common accentuation of the word, particularly in **AZ**.

Díaz Tejera 144: I.58.8, **J** reads καὶ ραδίως as **Z**. I.36.1, **J** has ἀπάντων; the “autor desconocido” of the correction mentioned is presumably Angelus Vergetius, who copied the ms; *MTP* 20f, 38. I.37.4, πλάγιον is in **Z** as well as **J**.

Díaz Tejera 145–46: I.50.7, παραγγεῖλαι **ZJDE**: παρήγγειλε **CA**^{pc} (probably **A**²); there is virtually no doubt that the reading of the first hand in **A** was παραγγεῖλαι; therefore παραγγεῖλαι was the reading of the archetype, παρήγγειλε is a correction, and παραγγεῖλας has no ms support at all.

Díaz Tejera 146–47: I.63.3, ἡ μείων **ACZDE**: οὐ μείω **J**. The ms authority makes it clear that **J**’s reading cannot be anything but a conjecture, and the conjecture is not supported by the second statement of the terms of the treaty at III.27.2–9, where the period for payment is given (27.5) as ten years—the halved period correctly restored by Scaliger’s emendation at I.63.3. The two accounts of the treaty are not totally identical, but to suggest a period of 20 years in the first account and 10 in the second is to introduce an inconsistency of a totally different order from all the others and is not a tenable emendation, particularly when such a convincing alternative exists. On the details of the treaty see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957) ad III. 27.

²⁷ See J. Schweighäuser, ed. *Polybii historiarum quidquid superest* V (Leipzig 1792) 124; F. O. Hultsch, *Quaestiones Polybianae* II (Progr. Dresden 1869) 3; *MTP* 173f and plates 2–4.

²⁸ See the stemma above, p.412; if **AMF** are affected, the lacunae must have been in the common source of all three major branches of the tradition.

²⁹ Most recently by Díaz Tejera 125.

One can support this, and suggest that **A** was a direct transliteration of this uncial codex in the light of the following readings:

- III.61.4 ἀεὶ **A**^{1pc}: δεῖ **A**^{ac} (misreading of A/Δ)
 III.98.9 πόλεις **A**^{1pc}: πόδ.ς **A**^{ac} (A/Δ)
 V.14.12 ἀλλὰ **A**^{1pc}: ἄμα **A**^{ac} (A/M)
 V.67.6 κτήρεις **A**^{1pc} κνήρεις **A**^{ac} (T/Y)

There are numerous errors shared by **A** and the 'Byzantine Tradition' which apparently sprang from incorrect readings of uncial letters, but this is to be expected in any tradition; the four cases cited, however, show the scribe of **A** making a mistake of transliteration, and then noticing and correcting it.

If **A** was a direct transliteration of ω , what of Φ , the common parent of **FCZJDE**?³⁰ It must have been separately derived from ω since there are errors in **A** not found in Φ , and errors in Φ not found in **A**. Since the whole tradition derived from Φ has demonstrably undergone some degree of correction, it is only to be expected that some of the more obvious misreadings of letter forms will have been eliminated from extant mss; the following passages, however, are suggestive:

- V.15.3 αὐθίσης **A**: ἀφθίσης **E**: ἀφθείσης **ZCD** (ἀ- **D**); λυθείσης *ed.*

The apparent uncial transcription error Φ for Υ is not in **A**, though the iotacism and the other transliteration error of A for Δ suggested by the emendation may have made the change more likely.

- IV.78.5 μεγαλομερεστάτων **A**: μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων **CZDE**

By no means a certain example, but if this really is an error rather than the substitution of a commoner word by Φ or Γ , the mistake may well have originated from a misreading of Π for M .

On the contrary, there are numerous errors which appear to have arisen from misreading of early forms of minuscule letters, for example:

- III.61.10 ἐξώρκει **A**: ἐξώρμιε **ZDE**: ἐξώρμηε **C**
 III.85.2 Μαάρβας **A**: Μαάρκας **CZDE**
 V.2.6 κεχαρηότας **A**: κεχαρκότας **CZDE**

None of the passages cited is included in the selections preserved in **F**, and the errors could therefore have arisen in Γ or Φ ; it would

³⁰ Only the excerpts from Books I–V in **F** are considered at this stage.

therefore be theoretically possible to argue that Φ was an uncial ms derived from Ω , and that the minuscule errors arose in Γ , which on this hypothesis would have been a minuscule copy of a minuscule transcription intermediate between Φ and Γ . This is a complex supposition, and is rendered unlikely by the following evidence. In the *Excerpta Antiqua* from Books VI–XVIII³¹ there are naturally a significant number of errors in all mss which may be ascribed to uncial mistakes or errors in transliteration from uncial to minuscule, but there are also the following errors which appear to arise from confusions between minuscule letter forms:³²

VII.15.6 ἀφυλακτούμενον *edd.*: ἀφύλακτον μένον **FDG**

VIII.5(7).2 ἐμβελῆς *Suda* and *edd.*; ἐμμελῆς **FDG**

There are other passages where mistakes may have arisen from misreadings of minuscule letters, but they are more dubious. Since the mistakes quoted were in the common parent of the *Excerpta Antiqua*, it appears that in Books VII and VIII this common parent was copied from a minuscule manuscript. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that the *Excerpta Antiqua* were selected from a single set of volumes, and the evidence of **F** in Books I–V shows that the excerpts from these books were taken from Φ , a copy intermediate between Ω and Γ ; the *Excerpta Antiqua* would then have been selected from Φ and companion volumes now lost. The stemma position and the evidence suggesting that Φ was a minuscule ms combine to suggest that the *Excerpta Antiqua* were selected in the IX or X century. Excerpts were very popular at the time, witnessed most dramatically by the 53 titles of the *Excerpta Historica* made by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and usually referred to as the Constantine Excerpts. If the project resulting in the *Excerpta Antiqua* was to make a selection from eighteen or more books of Polybius, and there is evidence that some of the text was selected from a minuscule exemplar, it is likely that a complete minuscule transcription (or copy of a transcription) was used as the source, particularly at a time when so many old

³¹ Book XVII was probably missing by the X century; see *infra*. p.432.

³² In this section readings of **F** are quoted from my own collation, those of the remaining manuscripts of the *Excerpta Antiqua* from the apparatus of Hultsch's edition except where otherwise stated; the latter readings should therefore be treated with a certain degree of caution. It may reasonably be hoped that further evidence will emerge from a full collation of these manuscripts. The agreement of **FDG** shows the reading of the hyparchetype of the *Excerpta Antiqua*; cf. stemma, MTP 171.

codices were being sought out and transcribed because of the re-awakened interest in classical authors.³³

The evidence of errors, then, which shows decisively that **A** and **Φ** were *gemelli*, combined with the signs that **A** was a direct transliteration from ω , entails the conclusion that there were two minuscule transliterations made from ω in the IX or X century, **A** of books I–V, and **Φ** with lost companion volumes containing Books I–XVIII at least. A transliteration of the whole of the surviving text of Polybius must remain for the moment strictly unproven, but is likely to have existed. It is more than probable from evidence preserved on the rare occasions where two titles overlap that the compilers of the surviving titles of the Constantine Excerpts all derived their text from the same branch of the tradition.³⁴ Evidence in Book XIV suggests that their text was more complete than that used by the *Excerpta Antiqua*,³⁵ which implies a source different from **Φ** at least in Book XIV, and probably therefore different throughout. This conclusion is supported by errors found in **ADE** and **F** which are not shared by **M** or **P**.³⁶ It is more probable that the compilers of the Constantine Excerpts (whose surviving titles contain material from all but five of the original forty books of Polybius) would have used minuscule transliterations rather than uncial mss, especially in view of the suggestion that the compilers ‘marked up’ a copy of the work to be excerpted and passed it to the scribes to have the selected sections copied in accordance with the instructions written in the margins. Accuracy would be more likely to emerge from using a minuscule ‘master copy’, and it seems intrinsically more likely that they would have used such a copy than a probably ancient uncial codex. I have found no convincing uncial transliteration or minuscule errors in the mistakes of the Polybian text in the Constantine Excerpts from Books I–V. The only passage worth citing is:

IV.30.2 *συνεπεκύρωσαν* **ACZ**: *συνεπηύρωσαν* all mss of *Excerpta de Legationibus Romanorum*

This appears to be based on a clear example of misreading of early

³³ On the whole question of transliteration from uncial to minuscule see A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits* 2 (Paris 1964) 126–45.

³⁴ For such evidence as exists of common error in **F** and the various titles of the Constantine Excerpts, see *MTP* 172f, and P. Pédech, *Polybe XII* (Paris 1961) xl f and xlvi n.1.

³⁵ See *infra* p.433.

³⁶ *MTP* 22.

minuscule; all these manuscripts, however, are derived from a copy made from the lost ms I Θ 4 of the Escorial Library by Darmarius in the XVI century; his first copy is also lost, and we cannot be sure that the minuscule error was in I Θ 4.³⁷

Scanty as is our evidence for anything which lies behind **A**, **F** and the extant manuscripts of the Constantine Excerpts, it is possible to make a few tentative observations. First, there is no indication in **A** which could lead one to suppose that it was the first volume of a set; there is no note such as *τόμος α'*, and Ephraim signs the subscription at the end with every appearance of having completed his task. This implies that Books I–V comprised the first volume of Ω and that any indication that there were more to come was either missing or omitted by Ephraim. The existence of further volumes is proved by the existence of **F** and its position in the stemma.

F itself is more informative than **A**. The titles of individual books usually consist of the following formula with the appropriate numeral inserted: *πολυβίου ** τοῦ Δ λόγου*;³⁸ *πολυβίου* is omitted for Books III and VI, the erasure in the title of II is approximately 7 letters long (*ἐκ* has normally been restored, but is clearly too short—perhaps *ἱστοριῶν*?). The titles of I and XIII are missing, the former lost with the initial few folia,³⁹ the latter apparently missing in the exemplar from which **F** was copied. The title of XIV, where all excerpts from the book are copied by **F**², is in the margin and abbreviated. In addition to these titles, there is a large *Β* in the margin in the first hand at the beginnings of Books VI, XI, XV and XVI.⁴⁰ The *Β* at VI is followed by an erasure large enough for an uncial letter, in which the traces of *Β* may probably be seen; that at XI has a sign after it, *~*, which may have an erasure under it; there is certainly an erasure after the *B* of XV and XVI, and the second has a bar over it—the normal way **F** indicated a numeral; compare the titles for the individual books above.

It is perhaps not implausible to suggest that the *Β* in the margin in

³⁷ *MTP* 152–61.

³⁸ In the erasure (**) restore *ἐκ*; one can only surmise that the *ἐκ* was erased at some time with the purpose of representing the text of **F** as complete.

³⁹ A recent hand in **F** has added the title *τῆς πολυβίου ἐπιτομῆς λόγος α^ος*; there is no means of knowing now much authority (if any) this title should be allowed.

⁴⁰ In discussing excerpt mss “beginning” and “end” should be read as referring to the beginning and end of the passages selected from a book for inclusion in a particular set of excerpts.

F, perhaps short for *βιβλίον* or *βιβλος*, indicates the start of a new volume in the exemplar from which the text was taken, particularly in view of the traces of \dot{B} , which would imply the equivalent of 'Volume 2', at the beginning of the excerpts from VI. The normal Byzantine word for a volume was *τεῦχος*, while *βιβλίον* referred to the whole work, but it is hard to see any other interpretation for the \dot{B} . These possible indications of volumes can hardly apply to **F** itself or to the common parent of the *Excerpta Antiqua* since the resultant volumes would be too short. Therefore they were presumably noted by the common parent from its source, and copied by **F**. The titles of Books XV and XVI pose a problem; either one \dot{B}^* must be wrong—a volume consisting of only one book is almost unthinkable—or the original excerptor switched sources from one exemplar which started a volume at XV to another which started at XVI. The latter hypothesis is implausible in that there is nothing to indicate such a change of source, and it therefore seems likely that the second entry is an error. It may have arisen because the \dot{B}^* was correctly placed at the beginning of XV, and the scribe copying **F** or an intermediate exemplar remembered the entry when he got to the beginning of the next book and wrongly added it to the regular title, thinking it had been omitted by mistake in his exemplar. There is a third remote possibility. There is evidence of damage in the manuscript from which the *Excerpta Antiqua* derived their text in XII, XIII and XIV; conceivably, Book XV had become detached from the volume of which it originally formed a part, and so constituted a separate 'volume' at the time when the *Excerpta Antiqua* were selected.

Whatever the truth on this detailed point, such signs as there are suggest that Polybius Books I–XVIII formed four volumes in Φ in the IX or X century; the volumes contained Books I–V, VI–X, XI–XIV and XV–XVIII. The suggestion that the second pair of volumes only contained four books each, while the first pair contained five each, need not undermine the hypothesis; even assuming the volumes to have been of approximately the same physical size, we do not know the extent of the original text of any of the fragmentary books, and Polybius would not have been the first writer whose books became longer as he got further into his subject. It does seem necessary to assume that a volume ended with Book XVIII. As in **A**, so there is no indication in **F** or any other surviving ms of the *Excerpta Antiqua*

that it is the first volume of a set; one must therefore tentatively conclude that the excerpts ceased at the end of XVIII. No satisfactory hypothesis has so far been advanced as to why they should have ended at this point, but consideration of content suggests the following as a possibility. By the end of XVIII the excerpts had not merely covered the history to the end of the Second Punic War, but had also dealt with the conflict with Philip V which was an almost inevitable result of relations between Rome and Philip during the Second Punic War, and had brought the narrative down to a suitable climax with the battle of Cynoscephalae and the Isthmus declaration of 196 B.C. The presence of some material dealing with other areas would be natural, granted Polybius' method of writing history. This does not, of course, rule out the idea that the compilers may either have projected a second volume to include the rest of the period covered by Polybius but never completed it, or conceivably that the selection was made but lost, though the latter suggestion is inherently much less likely.

Something more may be deduced from information preserved in the surviving titles of the Constantine Excerpts. Polybius is unusual amongst the authors included there in that some excerpts are preceded by the number of the book from which they come, while occasionally there is a note marking the end of a book. This is not the normal practice of the copyist of **P** (to take one example), who only has books of a work numbered eight times in the excerpts from Josephus and once in Appian; there is nothing to help the identification of the individual books from which extracts come in Thucydides, an example where the relative brevity of the excerpts might have led to more precise identification of sources than elsewhere, nor yet in Dio, where the massive amount of text excerpted might equally have made the compilers feel that some form of reference would be useful. On the other hand, the notes of book numbers are scattered throughout Polybius in **P** and in both titles of the *de Legationibus*: they are missing from **M**, but the present state of that codex makes it impossible to draw any sort of conclusion from this. The excerpts preserved from Polybius under other titles are so brief as to make their information valueless for the present inquiry.

P marks both the end of Book X and the beginning of XI, the beginning and end of XX, and the beginnings of XXVII, XXVIII and XXXI, and the end of the Polybius excerpts (τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας πολυβίου μεγαλοπολίτου) at the end of XXXIX. Some or all of the extant copies of

the *de Legationibus Romanorum* note the following: ια' (XI) wrongly for ιε' at the beginning of XV, the beginning of XXI and XXVII, the end of XXX (the note standing in fact at the end of XXIX, but no excerpts are included from XXX), and the beginning of XXXVIII. The manuscript **X**, which is Darmarius' copy of the lost Escorial I @ 4 and the parent of all other extant copies of the *de Legationibus Gentium*, marks the beginning of XXVII (minutely misplaced, though clearly not a significant error), and the beginning of XXXIII and XXXVI. The only information in **M** is in the final subscription to the Polybius section which states that the scribe has reached the end of Book XXXIX, with the comment ζήτει τὸν Μ λόγον. Therefore XL may well have been lost at the time the note was written, though it could merely mean "Look elsewhere for Book XL."

Thus there are a surprisingly large number of notes, but at irregular intervals. A possible explanation is that the book number was only noted by the excerptor at the beginning or end of a volume of the text which he was using. If one examines the information listed above in the light of this hypothesis, the following emerges. The division suggested above by **F** at XI is confirmed in **P**, and that at XV in the *de Leg.Rom.*, for the number given must surely be emended—it is the sort of careless mistake widespread in Darmarius' mss. A division at XXVII is confirmed by **P**, **X** and the *de Leg.Rom.*, the end of XXX is marked in the *de Leg.Rom.* at the end of XXIX, but the absence of excerpts from XXX makes the entry all the more significant; it is a full line in the text, reading τέλος τοῦ λ' λόγου, not a brief marginal note with an obvious emendation available like the note at the beginning of XV; it is all the more likely that the excerptor took the essence of the subscription to the volume. **P** marks the beginning of Book XXXI, **X** marks the beginning of XXXIII and XXXVI, and the *de Leg.Rom.* the beginning of XXXVIII. In addition, **P** marks both the beginning and the end of XX and the beginning of XXVIII.

The firmest indications are thus for breaks at the end of XXVI and the end of XXX, shown by **P**, **X**, the *de Leg.Rom.*, and **P** and the *de Leg.Rom.* respectively. The one which may probably be the least significant is the numbering of XXXVIII in the *de Leg.Rom.* since XXXVIII is the only book represented in this title of the Constantine Excerpts from the group XXXIV–XL; granted that it was the practice of the excerptor to mark any book numbers at all, he might number such isolated excerpts whatever their position had been in the original volumes

which made up the full text at his disposal.⁴¹ It was noted above that a volume probably ended at the end of XVIII; most or all of XIX was apparently lost by the X century, and this could explain the numbering of XX in **P**, and of XXI in *de Leg.Rom.* where no excerpts were included from XX. One may therefore suggest, so far, a hypothetical complete text of Polybius I–XXX whose volumes ran originally as follows: I–V, VI–X, XI–XIV, XV–XVIII, XIX–XXII, XXIII–XXVI, XXVII–XXX. In this sequence the only break totally without evidence is that at the end of XXII, but the suggestion that there was one is supported by the sequence of four-book volumes from XI onwards. It is an interesting point that two of the three suggested division points in **F** are supported here. Further, **F** was only evidence for the division of Φ , whereas the Constantine Excerpts, apparently springing independently from ω , reflect the volumes of a different complete text: this supports the idea that Φ and the copy used by the Constantine Excerpts reproduced the volume divisions of ω . Corroboration may perhaps be seen also in **A**, which gives every appearance of being a copy of a single volume, which fits with the evidence for the start of a new volume at VI in **F**.

After XXX the situation is more difficult; ten books have to be divided, though XL, which was a summary, may have been short; the only available evidence is the noting of the beginning of XXXIII and XXXVI in **X**. If this were accepted, it would imply one volume of two books (XXXI, XXXII), one of three (XXXIII–XXXV) and probably one of five. It is possibly more likely there were two of five each, breaking at the end of XXXV; this would fit the noting of XXXVI, and the noting of XXXIII in **X** might be accounted for by the fact that there are no excerpts from XXXIV. However, in the absence of even the tenuous agreements on which the rest of the hypothesis has been based, nothing can be suggested with any firmness.

One final point which may be taken in confirmation of parts of the hypothesis is the resultant physical positions in their volumes of the books which were probably severely damaged or completely missing by the X century. Since the excerptors drew nothing from them, the

⁴¹ There is nothing to suggest that the *de Leg.Rom.* were not compiled from a text as complete as that available to the compilers of the other titles of the Constantine Excerpts. Indeed, since it is plausible to suppose that the two titles on embassies were compiled at the same time, the existence of excerpts from Books XXX–XXXIII, XXXV and XXXVI in **X** argues that the omission of books in the *de Leg.Rom.* merely shows that they contained no material suitable for inclusion in that title.

suggestion that they were damaged to such an extent that they could find nothing useful to excerpt is virtually inescapable; except in the case of XL, it is scarcely credible that the books contained nothing of interest to any of the preserved titles of the Constantine Excerpts. The books are XVII, XIX, XXVI, XXXVII and XL; of them XIX, XXVI and of course XL would have stood at the beginning or end of volumes, in which position it would have been easier for them to be severely damaged or lost completely if the binding were in bad condition or had disintegrated. There is considerable evidence of damage to XIII and XIV (the second half of a volume), and other indications that the text of Polybius which reached the X century was in a very poor state.⁴²

Whatever else emerges from this speculation, it is clear that in later antiquity the text of Polybius was not copied or bound in units corresponding to the hexads in which some think he composed his work.⁴³

The evidence of damage to the archetype is most clearly seen in Book XIV. The great majority of the surviving part of this book is preserved in the *Excerpta Antiqua*; it is copied by the second hand in **F** in a self-contained quaternion, and the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence at XIV.10.11; **D** and **G** break off at the same point. The *Suda* preserves another three lines of text not found in **FDG** (XIV.10.11–12). At the beginning of the fragment preserved by **M** from the opening of XIV (1a.1) there is a marginal note: ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ προοίμιον μόνον διεσάφει [διεσώθη Bekker] τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτου λόγου· τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐνέλειπεν μέχρι λ' φύλλων. At the end of XIV.12.3, in an excerpt preserved only in **P**, there is a note in the margin by the first hand in **P**: ζήτησις ἐνέλειπε γὰρ φύλλα μὴ ἐν οἷς περὶ τοῦ πτολεμαίου ἐνεφέρετο καὶ περὶ ἀρσινόης. It is scarcely credible that anything is

⁴² See *infra* pp. 431ff. Fragments from the books apparently lost in the X century are preserved in the indirect tradition; e.g., Athenaeus preserves two quite extensive excerpts from Book XVII, the first of which is specifically said to come from that book.

⁴³ See H. Nissen, *RhM* 26 (1871) 280; the theory involves considerable difficulties, not least over possible changes consequent on the extension of the history beyond Book XXX. It goes without saying that my proposed physical structure applies only to the one copy of Polybius which apparently survived until the X century; other copies may have been differently arranged. However, suggestions such as that made by Lasserre, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 286, that Books XIX–XL composed the second volume of the archetype are physically out of the question. If the volume had been of the same format as **A**, and each book of approximately the same size as I–V, the suggested codex would have consisted of something over 1300 folia.

missing at the point where the note is placed in **P**, and the annotator presumably refers back to the passage referred to in the last few words of 12.3: *τοιούτων οἶον ἀρτίως διεληλύθαμεν*. Thus it may well be that the notes in **M** and **P** apply to the same piece of damage, despite the fact that they differ on the number of folia lost, 30 (**M**) or 48 (**P**). That there was damage early in the book accords well with the fact that at the end of XIII **F** leaves nearly half of fol. 219^r and the whole of fol. 219^v blank; similar gaps are left in **D** and **G**, proving that the damage affected at least the ms from which the *Excerpta Antiqua* were selected, **Φ** and its accompanying volumes.⁴⁴ The evidence of **P** and **M** suggests that the damage already affected the archetype.⁴⁵

There is also evidence of major damage to the common parent of the *Excerpta Antiqua* in the absence of Book XVII⁴⁶ and in the following passages. The text breaks off at XII.28.9 at the top of fol. 215^r in **F**, and the remainder of 215^r and the whole of 215^v are blank; the passage continues in **M**. The excerpts from XIII then begin without a title (2.2), while **M** and **P** both preserve 2.1.⁴⁷ In the middle of XIII.5.6 **F** breaks off at the end of fol. 217^r in the course of a sentence, the rest of which is preserved in **M**; fol. 217^v is blank. **F** and **P** both restart with XIII.6.1, **F** at the beginning of fol. 218^r. **F** stops just over half way down fol. 219^r at the end of 7.11, and the remainders of 219^r and 219^v are blank; the text continues in **P**, and, while it is possible that the compiler of the *Excerpta Antiqua* did not wish to include the material which **P** preserved, it is clear that he realised that something was

⁴⁴ This also shows that the fact that **F**² copied the excerpts from Book XIV in **F** in a self-contained quaternion does not mean that the damage occurred in the immediate parent of **F**.

⁴⁵ No evidence is available on this point from either title of the *de Legationibus*; **X** begins in Book XVIII, and it is clear that the first part of Escorial I **Θ** 4 was lost by the XVI century; the *de Leg.Rom.* contain nothing from Book XIV. In any case, the compiler of a set of excerpts is unlikely to include mutilated text if he can avoid it, and even less likely to draw attention to mutilation unless he is forced to do so. **P** clearly had to: the decline of Ptolemy IV Philopator was so obviously germane to the *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* that a reader was bound to wish to know why only a summary was included, not the main description. **P** has a similar note of damage to his exemplar at XVI.17.7, though the extent is not stated.

⁴⁶ It would be very surprising if the *Excerpta Antiqua* had deliberately included nothing from Book XVII; it would be the only book not used from the sequence I–XVIII, and the material it apparently contained does not suggest any reason for its omission. The suggestion that the book had been badly damaged or lost by the X century is supported by the absence of any material drawn from it in the surviving titles of the Constantine Excerpts.

⁴⁷ **F** preserves part of XIII.1a.1, but this excerpt is one of the short “pithy” quotations included in **F** in the margin alongside the main text; the compiler may have deliberately included only the one sentence.

missing. All the above blank spaces appear also in **D** and **G** (though the amount of space left blank varies), except that there is no space in **G** at XII.28.9.

The evidence of damage to the common source of both sets of excerpts is overwhelming. The evidence of the passage preserved in the *Suda* after **F** breaks off in mid-sentence at XIV.10.11 *init.* is vital. It has been demonstrated by de Boor that the *Suda* drew its text of Polybius from the Constantine Excerpts,⁴⁸ from which it follows not only that this passage was included in one of the lost titles of those excerpts but also that the compiler of the excerpts had access to a copy of Book XIV which was not so severely damaged as that used for the *Excerpta Antiqua*. It seems unlikely that the compiler of the latter excerpts would have broken off in the middle of a sentence unless the rest was missing, and one is led to surmise that the surviving page of the common source was at this point so severely damaged that a portion was lost between the copying of the parent of the Constantine Excerpts and the parent of the *Excerpta Antiqua*.

Apart from this evidence, there are a number of places where Books I–V, the *Excerpta Antiqua* or the Constantine Excerpts leave blank spaces in the text they copy, indicating damage on a smaller scale to the exemplar which they were copying which had either destroyed the text or made it illegible; the evidence is set out in TABLE I.

TABLE I
BLANK SPACES LEFT BY SCRIBES IN EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

Reference	Text (approx. number of letter spaces indicated by figures in parentheses)	Mss Affected	Gap/Damage/ Illegibility Deduced in
I.2.7–8	Seven lines variously affected in	ACZJDEF	ω
I.3.3	A in both places, presumably one cause; v. MTP 172ff	ACZJDEF(M?)	ω
I.5.2	ταύτη (4 A) γῆ πρῶτον ἔπε (7 A) τῶν ἐκτὸς τόπων (3 A) Ἰταλίας ταύτη γὰρ τῆ (6 Z) γῆ πρῶτον ἐπέβησαν (12 Z) τῶν ἐκτὸς τόπων (10 Z) τῆς Ἰταλίας	A Z	ω

⁴⁸ C. de Boor, *BZ* 21 (1912) 381ff, 23 (1914–19) 1ff.

TABLE I—continued

Reference	Text (approx. no. of letter spaces indicated by figures in parentheses)	Mss Affected	Gap/Damage/ Illegibility Deduced in
I.83.1	κυμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐλπίδας <i>om.</i> A Z (no gap A ; one page blank Z)	A Z	ω
II.8.11	ἐφε (3/4 A ; 6/7 DE ; 9 Z) καὶ (<i>om.</i> F , <i>de Leg. Rom.</i>)	A ZDE	ω
II.48.3	δεῖ (5 AE ; 8 D ; 10 Z) διότι	A ZDE	ω
III.101.2	περὶ τὸν Ἄννιβαν DE ; <i>pro quo</i> <i>Καρχηδονίους CZ</i> ; <i>om. A</i> (space 14)	A	? space in ω, alterna- tive marg- inalia in ω, Φ or Γ
III.101.2	ἀκρωρείων <i>om. A</i> (space 8)	A	ω
III.101.10	πρόθεσιν μητὲ τὴν (2/3 A) λείαν (μητὲ <i>add. A</i> ¹ or <i>A</i> ² <i>in marg.</i>)	A	ω
III.107.10	προχειρο (3) A (<i>προχειροῦσι τὸ δὲ</i> <i>στρατόπεδον corr. CZ</i>) ^a	A	ω
IV.45.2	τ' εἰς(ν) <i>om. A</i> (space 5)	A	ω ^b
IV.81.7	τινων καὶ (6 A ZDE) πων	A ZDE	ω
V.14.12	προχωρούντων (1 line = <i>ca.</i> 20 A ; 20 E) (ἀθυμοῦντες μὲν <i>add. A</i> ⁴ E <i>in space</i>)	AE	ω ^c
V.15.6	ἀπηλλάττετο (11 A ; 12 E) χιας (ἀπηλλάττετο τῆς κακουχίας CZDA ^{4E} ^{pc})	AE	ω ^c
V.15.8	οὐχ οἶον (13/14 A ; 3 Z ; 11 D ; 8 E) ἐμέτρησαν	A ZDE	ω
V.50.6	ἰμάτιον (8 A)	A	ω ^d

^a If the supplement in **CZ** is correct, it is noteworthy that the length is 26 letters, which could be 1 line+3 letters in **A**, and **A**'s 3-letter space is at the end of a line. One may logically suspect that the three spaces at III.101.2 and 10, and also the three at V.14.12–15.8, have linked mechanical causes, but the disposition of the lines on the pages of **A** does not suggest a deduction similar to that which can be made for I.2.7–8+I.3.3.

^b Either ω was legible when Φ was copied, but not for **A**, or Φ corrected.

^c **CZD** adopt a supplement from Γ which may also have been in Φ and perhaps ω.

^d Something must be missing here, but only **A** actually has a space.

TABLE I—*continued*

Reference	Text (approx. number of letter spaces indicated by figures in parentheses)	Mss Affected	Gap/Damage/ Illegibility Deduced in
XVIII.18.7	καὶ ταύτας (13 F ; 7 D ; 6 G) ἔχοντες λαμβάνονται (9 FD ; 4 G) οὐκ	FDG ^e	Hyparch. of <i>Exc.</i> <i>Antiqua</i>
XVIII.20.5	Ἐρετρίαν τῆς φ (10 F ; 6 D ; 5 G) ς ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος	FDG	
XVIII.26.8	ταῖς μὲν (17 F ; 14 D ; 7 G) ἔπεστι	FDG	
XXIV.12(14).1 (XXV.9a.1)	ποιεῖν (36 M) ὁ Φιλοποίμην—τολ- μᾶ (24 M) καιροῖς	M ^e	Source of Constant- ine Ex- cerpts
XXIV.13(15).2	τελέως (10 M) κᾶν ἐπιτάττωσιν (8 M) καὶ τούτων	M	
XXXVI.9.5 (XXXVII.1.5)	φάσκοντες οὐ τῆς (11 M) τοὺς τὴν προαίρεσιν	M	

^e Readings of **FDG** my own from microfilm; those of **M** taken from *Excerpta Historica* . . . IV, *Excerpta de Sententiis*, ed. U. P. Boissevain (Berlin, 1906).

From these pieces of evidence a picture emerges. The text of Polybius appears to have survived into the IX or X century fairly complete apart from the probable loss of most or all of five books available in antiquity. It is more than probable that only one copy survived, since wherever we can check any two of the three main sources of our text against each other there is every indication that they had a single ultimate source, and from I.2.7–8 and I.3.3 it appears to have been the uncial codex from which **A** was a direct transliteration. There is ample evidence of damage or illegibility, which argues that the codex was not produced after the end of the Iconoclast controversy in the revival of Hellenism; this would hardly have left time for the volumes to become as decrepit as the evidence suggests they were. We are therefore led to infer that this one vehicle for the survival of

Polybius was probably copied some time between the II century, the earliest plausible date at which one may posit the use of the codex rather than the papyrus roll as the format, and the VII century, when the Byzantine 'Dark Age' began. If it was a single set and not a collection of volumes which originally were part of a number of complete copies of the *Histories*, it is probable that it was all copied in two fairly narrow columns to a page,⁴⁹ and that it was supplied with a small number of explanatory marginalia. Some of the surviving notes can now be shown to have been in ω ; some are glosses and variants, while others are explanations of geographical details, including in some cases notes of the later names of the places mentioned in the text; unfortunately it has not as yet proved possible to use these geographical notes to date the addition of the scholia to the text. On the other hand, the theory that the selection now known as the *Excerpta Antiqua* was of very early date—the extreme proposal known to me is that of Isaac Casaubon, which ascribed their selection to Brutus during the campaign leading up to Pharsalus⁵⁰—must be dismissed; they were selected from a transliteration of the surviving uncial text in the IX or X century.

III

Textual Archaeology, II

The length of passages omitted in the surviving mss of Polybius can provide further information on the transmission of the text. The following analysis concentrates almost exclusively on Books I–V; the omissions are listed in TABLE II. My basic hypothesis is that omissions of more than the odd word or two are more likely to occur by the omission of complete lines or groups of lines than at random, and that, while omissions arising from the similarity of groups of letters (*ex hom.*) may occur at any time because a scribe's eye jumps from one group to the succeeding one, it is intrinsically more likely that this should occur where the words are close to each other on the page. If the proximity is horizontal, the omission will be short; if vertical, it will consist of one or more lines of the exemplar which is being copied.

⁴⁹ Although **A** almost certainly reproduces the line length and for the most part the actual line division of ω , the disposition of the lines on the page must be slightly different; see *MTP* 172.

⁵⁰ Cf. Plut. *Brutus* 4.3–4.

Further, the omission of passages of significant length not *ex hom.* is more likely to occur because a scribe has omitted a complete line of the exemplar which he was copying than for any other reason.⁵¹ Omissions of less than 16 letters (that is, those below the minimum line length of **A**, which is the shortest of Polybius) of any extant mss have not been included in the tables; there were very few examples which were not omissions of single words, and none suggested anything but pure chance or 'horizontal' *homoeotes* as the cause. All other omissions in Books I–V have been listed, together with some other instructive passages in the notes to the tables. It would be remarkable if every instance could be explained on the hypothesis that the omitted text represented a complete line or lines of the exemplar that was being copied; the interest centres on what proportion of the total will fit a series of plausible hypotheses.⁵²

For purposes of comparison, the line lengths of the extant mss discussed are as follows:

- A**, normally 19–21, rarely 18–22, very occasionally 17, 23 or 24
- F**, normally 37–39, normal outside range 35–42
- P**, normally 45–49, normal outside range 42–51
- C**, normally 68–78
- D**, normally 80–90
- E**, normally 95–105
- Z**, normally 39–51
- J**, normally 46–54

In general, the earlier a manuscript, the narrower the range of variation in number of letters to a line; with **CDE** in particular, their date and the tendency to use suspensions and ligatures lead to wider divergences.

The line length of ω seems to have been the same as that of **A** from the omissions at I.2.7–8 and 3.3. The omission whose text is preserved

⁵¹ For three examples, see *MTP* 29. It is perhaps worth noting that a typist copying a draft of this paper made four omissions; three were *ex hom.*, two of one line and one of three lines length in the draft, and all three beginning and ending in the middle of a line; the fourth omission was not *ex hom.* but was a complete line. The only other omissions in typing were of single, short words.

⁵² This method was applied *in extenso* by A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford 1918), amongst others. It cannot be a substitute for many other techniques in discussing mss but is not an invalid aid when used with proper caution and a due realisation that statistics are not always what they seem to be. For a hostile discussion of the subject, see E. T. Merrill's review of Clark's book in *CJ* 14 (1918–19) 395–400.

TABLE II

OMISSIONS OF TEXT BY MANUSCRIPTS

Number	Reference	Text omitted	<i>ex</i> <i>hom.</i>	Text pre- served in	Length ^a
i Text omitted by ω					
1	IV.20.7	τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν	no	Athen. 14.22	21
2	I.42.9	κατέβαλον τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς	no	A²C	22
3	I.48.5	διακαλευούσης τὰς βάσεις	no	A^rC	22
ii Text omitted by FCZ DE					
1	IV.12.11	ἐπὶ τὰς — πόλεις	no	A	24
iii Text omitted by CZ DE					
1	I.15.5.	τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Συρακο- είων (also omitted by J)	no	A	27
2	II.65.3	Ἀχαιῶν — τριακοσίους	yes	A	56
3	III.29.6	ἐκατέρων — τότε καὶ τοῖς	yes	A , <i>de Leg. Rom.</i>	39
4	IV.40.6	κατὰ — χρόνῳ (γὰρ <i>om.</i> ω , <i>add.</i> Bekker)	yes	AF	36
5	V.45.2	καὶ τῶν — ὄρμαῖς	no	A	38
6	V.86.6	τῶν δὲ παρὰ — ἀπέθανον	yes	AF	117
iv Text omitted ^b by F					
1	III.115.2	πρὸ[ς — προσπεπτωκότας] ^c	no	ACZDE	31
2	V.104.3	ἐάν τε Ῥωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίων	yes	ACZJDE	23
v Text omitted by ZJ					
1	I.5.5	ἧ καὶ νῆ Δία ἀμφιβητουμένης	yes	ACDE	23
Text omitted by CZ					
2	III.70.4	ἀλλὰ — ἐκείνων	no	ADE	34

^a The column headed '*ex hom.*' indicates whether the omission is likely to have arisen because of the similarity of the beginning or end of the omitted passage to the end or beginning of the surrounding text. Lengths are given in numbers of letters in the text as printed. All omissions were also analysed in terms of the length of the text as written in the mss which preserve it (listed in col. 5), but since throughout this analysis what matters is the proportion of one omission to another, and the analysis where the text survives produced virtually the same *relative* lengths, nothing was to be gained by listing the lengths in a particular exemplar or exemplars; in fact, that could be misleading if a heavily abbreviated ms had been used. The length stated must not be taken as absolute; generally, there is more abbreviation in **CZDE** than in **F**, and very little in **A**.

^b Note also: V.65.4 *φάλαγγος* <εἰς *διεμυρίους*> **F**; εἰς *διεμυρίους* is repeated from below, the interval being 64 letters.

^c The omitted portion marked by brackets.

TABLE II—continued

Number	Reference	Text omitted	ex hom.	Text pre- served in	Length
Text omitted by Z (added by Z ¹ in margin)					
3	III.117.6	<i>Ἰβηρες δὲ — διακοσίους</i>	yes	ACDE	64
vi Text omitted ^d by J					
1	I.15.9	<i>ἢ τὰς ὑποθέσεις — ψευδεῖς</i>	yes	ACZDE	34
vii Text omitted ^e by C					
1	I.19.5–20.4	<i>καταλαβόμενοι — χειρίζειν τὰ</i>	yes	AZJDE	2059
2	I.41.1	<i>ὡς ἐπὶ — κεκρατηκότας</i>	no	AZJDE	53
3	II.20.5	<i>ἡττηθέντες δ' — πρὸς Ῥω- μαίους</i>	yes	AZDE	115
4	III.55.9	<i>διὰ τὸ — χειμῶνος</i>	no	AZDE	49
5	III.103.8	<i>ἀλλήλων — σταδίους</i>	no?	AZDE	32
6	IV.47.7	<i>παρακαλοῦντες — Προυσίαν</i>	yes	AZDE	55
7	IV.78.7	<i>πᾶσι — προσβαίνειν</i>	yes	AZDE	24
8	V.62.3	<i>ἐν οἷς — τετρήρους</i>	no	AZDE	28
9	V.82.7–8	<i>ἐτέτακτο — προέστησε (added by C¹ in margin)</i>	no	AZDE	132
viii Text omitted ^f by DE					
1	I.50.2	<i>τῶν δὲ — οὔσας</i>	no?	ACZJ	46
2	I.60.4	<i>τῶν περὶ — ἐπίνοιαν</i>	yes?	ACZJ	44
3	II.5.4	<i>ἐξέβησαν — πόλεως</i>	yes	ACZ	54
4	II.17.10	<i>ἔτι δὲ — ἀσκεῖν</i>	yes	ACZ	51
5	II.48.4–5	<i>οὔτινες — Μεγαλοπολίταις</i>	yes	ACZ	101
6	II.49.10	<i>ὁμοίως — ὑποδείξειν</i>	no?	ACZ	51
7	II.56.10	<i>λόγους — ὑποκειμένους</i>	yes	ACZ	43
8	III.11.8	<i>μὲν ἂν τι — πιστεύειν</i>	no	ACZ	55
9	III.22.11	<i>Ἀντιατῶν — Ταρρακινιτῶν</i>	yes	ACZ, de	39 ^g
					<i>Leg. Rom.</i>

^d Note also: I.34.7, after *πανταχόθεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων — τούτους* (I.34.6) repeated in **J**; passage length 34, interval 227 letters. I.56.9, after *πολεμίους* a garbled version of I.56.6 is inserted; length of passage 47, interval 293 letters.

^e Note also: I.72.3, *οὐ τοὺς πράως — χρωμένους* twice in **C**; length of repeat 42. V.65.6, *πλήθος* omitted after *ἱππέων, τὸ πλήθος* added after *ὄντας*; interval between 47. V.50.9, *φίλους <τοῦ βασιλέως> διὰ τὸν **C***; the addition apparently comes from the line above; interval 39.

^f Note also: V.66.5, *ἀπολιπὼν δὲ φύλακας* repeated from above after *Σελευκείαν*; interval length 120.

^g Length adjusted to take account of errors in all mss.

TABLE II—continued

Number	Reference	Text omitted	ex hom.	Text pre- served in	Length
10	III.24.16	Ἄρδεάτας — Ταρρακινίτας	no	ACZ	38
11	III.30.1–2	πρότερον — ἤδη	yes	ACZ	230
12	III.33.15–16	Λεργητῶν — πεντήκοντα	yes	ACZ	157 ^g
13	III.39.6	ἐπὶ μὲν — τριςχιλίου	yes	ACZ	54
14	III.48.6	οὐδὲ δις — πάλαι	no	ACZ	41
15	III.102.11	οἱ δὲ — θαρραλεώτερον	yes	ACZ	32
16	IV.23.1	ταῦτα δὲ — Φίλιππον	yes	ACZ	92
17	IV.23.8	ἐπιβεβλήσθαι — Λακεδαιμο- νίου	yes	ACZ , <i>de</i> <i>Leg. Rom.</i>	92
18	IV.30.3	τὸ δὲ — πείραν	no	ACZ	46
19	IV.44.6	ἄν τε γὰρ — πόλεως	yes	ACZ	118
20	IV.52.7	τοῦ πολέμου — καταληφθέντα	yes	ACZ	33 ^g
21	IV.56.4	ἃ καὶ — ἐπανήλθον	no	ACZ	42
22	IV.61.5–6	περὶ τὸ — Ἀμβρακίαν	yes	ACZ	81
23	V.21.7–8	ποτὲ δὲ — διαφοραῖς	no	ACZ	80
24	V.50.5	οὐκ ἦν — εἴκων	no	ACZ	39
25	V.111.10	βραχέα — βύβλω	yes	ACZJ	39
ix Text omitted ^h by D					
1	III.111.1	μάχεσθαι — προγεγονότος	no	ACZE	87
2	V.65.7–8	αὐτῶν δὲ — τριςχιλίου	yes	ACZE	90
3	V.78.5	διὸ — διάβασιν	yes	ACZE	94
4	V.99.5–6	ἐποιοῦντο — μεγάλην	yes	ACZE	95
x Text omitted ^l by E					
1	IV.52.3–4	Πολεμοκλήν (<i>sic</i>)—Βυζαντίου (omission added by E ¹ in the margin)	yes	ACZD	121
2	I.74.13–14	ἐπιθέσεως — ὑπεναντίων compressed, apparently added by E ¹ in a space originally left blank			56

^g Length adjusted to take account of errors in all mss.

^h Note also: V.86.2, τῶν δὲ πλείστων — πεποιημένων added after ῥαφίαν in **D**; the addition (length 35) comes from V.86.3, interval 94 below. V.90.1, παραπληγία δὲ τούτοις (length 19) added after Ὀλύμπιχον; repeated from above, interval 98.

^l There is only one omission of significant size peculiar to **E**, but on a number of occasions text has been added in a space or erasure, and there are two repetitions.

TABLE II—*continued*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Text omitted</i>	<i>ex hom.</i>	<i>Text pre- served in</i>	<i>Length</i>
3	III.37.7–8	[παρήκουσα — ὄλοςχ]ερέστερον passage in brackets E ^{1pc} in erasure			51
4	III.93.5	ὑπερβολὴν — στένων δι' E ^{1pc} in erasure; more than usual abbreviation			62
5	III.99.7	καὶ μεγαλοφυχίαν — βαρύτητα copied twice			52
6	III.115.2–3	ἄμα δὲ — κίνδυνος copied twice			154
7	IV.26.3	εἴ τι λέγειν — ἔτι E ^{1pc} in erasure; written large to fill the space; space <i>ca.</i> 52.			45
8	V.37.3	διὸ — Ἀρχίδαμον E ^{1pc} in erasure			81

only by Athenaeus (TABLE II.i) is confirmatory evidence, and it is of interest that the omission occurs only one letter from the end of a line in **A**. Since **A** and Φ are independently derived from ω , it is possible either that both here independently omitted a line of ω or that the line was already omitted in ω ; on the generally accepted hypothesis that omissions which are not *ex hom.* are unlikely to occur twice, the latter is the more plausible suggestion, and entails the further tentative hypothesis that the parent of ω , which may be called the archetype, had the same line length as ω and **A**. This is not a difficult hypothesis, since something close to the line length of **A** and the format of two columns to a page are normal for uncial codices. The omission at IV.12.11 by **FCZDE** (TABLE II.ii.1) is confirmatory evidence for the line length of ω , since it implies an omission of a line of ω by the scribe of Φ . The omission by **CZJDE** (**F** missing) (TABLE II.iii.1) is dubious; it may be that, with an abbreviation for $\kappa\alpha\lambda$, it could have been a line of 25 letters, and even shorter with suspensions for $-\omega\nu$, but one cannot be sure; the omission must have occurred at the latest in the copying of Γ from Φ , and since the length is very close to that of ω but not to that which will be suggested below for Φ , it is more likely to go back to the copying of Φ from ω .

In the light of this, one must look more carefully at TABLE II.i.2 and 3; both these passages have been condemned as spurious. The first, however, is added in the margin by **A**², the hand which apparently went through **A** correcting Ephraim's copy against ω , as well as adding a few easy corrections of his own.⁵³ Text which is found in **C** and **A**² was presumably in the margin of ω , and omitted by the other mss. The hand of the second passage is more difficult to determine since the phrase is inserted in a narrow space between the lines; it is normally ascribed to the hand of **A**^r (and would hence be an example of contamination from **C** to **A**^r),⁵⁴ but may in fact have been added by **A**². It is remarkable that both passages are the same length, and that this is the line length of **A** and ω . From this it does not necessarily follow that they are not spurious additions to the text, perhaps added at a very early date, but it is surprising that the putative corrector twice matched the line length so accurately.

⁵³ The readings of **A**² were very fully analysed by Th. Büttner-Wobst, ed. *Polybii Historiae* (BT, Leipzig 1882–89) I.vi ff and II.ix ff; cf. *MTP* 40f. **A**² was not in the habit of adding significant phrases when emending, as opposed to correcting copying mistakes or omissions.

⁵⁴ *MTP* 41ff.

Two further passages need notice at this point. TABLE II.iv.2 is an omission strongly *ex hom.*, omitted only in **F**. It will be shown below that the line length of Φ was almost certainly 31+ , and so one cannot posit the omission of a line of Φ as the cause; it is possible that Φ omitted a line of ω *ex hom.*, and then added the omitted text in the margin, Γ restored the text to the right position (hence its inclusion in **CZJDE**), but the compiler of the *Excerpta Antiqua* or **F** did not, and also omitted it in the margin. Secondly, there is the omission of ἀλλὰ εὐσεβῶς μᾶλλον by **FCZ** at V.11.5, which is 19 letters, and exactly one line long, though not a complete line, in **A**. This has normally been taken as a case of coincidental omission in two manuscripts, **F** and the common parent of **CZ**, since it is hardly possible to support a common origin for **FCZ** independent of the source of **JDE**. This explanation may well be right, but it is within the bounds of possibility that we have here an example similar to TABLE II.iv.2, and that only the common parent of **DE** restored the marginal text to its proper position. This would entail the supposition that these three words were in the margin in Φ and Γ . Conceivably the omission at III.107.10 should also be considered here, but it is very doubtful evidence; see *supra* p.434, TABLE I with note a.

The evidence supporting the thesis that **A** reproduces the line length of ω is widespread in the tradition and cogent.

Turning to a later stage of the tradition, TABLE II.iv.1 is very important because it is not an omission *ex hom.*, and is all the more significant since it starts in the middle of a word; it looks like the omission of a line of Φ by the compiler of the *Excerpta Antiqua*, or of a line of the hyparchetype of the excerpts by **F**. Further evidence comes from TABLE II.iii.3, 4, 5 and 6 (reading 6 as 3×39); example 5 is not an omission *ex hom.*, and was presumably therefore omitted in the common parent of **CZDE**, and the other omissions would have occurred there if they did not happen more than once independently. The presence of the text of omissions 4 and 6 in **F** shows its presence in Φ . The repetition cited in note b to TABLE II.iv is also relevant here; it presumably occurred because φάλαγγος εἰς διςμυρίους is the correct text at the second point; if the line length of Φ were about 32, the two occurrences of φάλαγγος would have been directly above each other, two lines apart, which would greatly facilitate the error. Thus we arrive at a hypothetical line length of 31–39 for Φ .

Confirmation of the line length may be seen in the following

passages from the *Excerpta Antiqua*:⁵⁵ (1) VII.12(11).5 τοῦ τόπου — κρατεῖν om. **FD**; length 31 letters. (2) At VI.23.11 ἦ has been omitted by all manuscripts after πρότερον, and wrongly added after ἀναχλασθη- ναι. The interval is 35 letters, and it looks as if ἦ slipped down one line.

The omission in TABLE II.iii.2 is a very strong case of *homoeotes* (τριακοσίους precedes the passage omitted). This may be the sole reason for the omission, which could also easily have occurred on a number of occasions independently. If the mss had the letter τ' for the numeral, however, the length of the omission becomes 46 letters, and could therefore be a case of the omission of two lines of Ω by Φ. Letters for numerals are not found in **A**, which perhaps makes it less likely that they were used in Ω; but it is not impossible that they were, and were eliminated in **A** in the course of transliteration. For what the evidence is worth, a number of Polybian mss, including **P** and those of the *de Legationibus*, use letters for numerals from time to time. The length of the omission cannot in any event be connected with the suggested line length of Φ.

Turning to TABLE II.v and vi, we can rule out immediately v.1. It is an extreme case of *homoeotes*, and its length is only reconcilable with Ω and **A**; the established stemma, however, rules out any direct connection between **ZJ** and either manuscript. The omission of 34 letters not *ex hom.* by the common parent of **CZ** (v.2) looks important, and fits remarkably well with the evidence from **J**, which is independently descended from *Γ*; **J** has an omission of 34 (vi.1), and the repeated passage at I.34.7 (vi, note d) is also of 34 letters; the interval between the two occurrences of this passage is too long to be useful evidence, but is not inconsistent with a line length in the thirties—it would probably imply an interval of seven lines. The second interpolation in **J** is included in the table for completeness, but is not usable evidence since the text is garbled, and the interval too long to be useful. This leaves v.3, where the first hand in **Z** has copied an omitted passage in the margin; at this point **Z** is clearly derived from *Γ* via an intermediate exemplar which was the common parent of **Z**

⁵⁵ The argument assumes that the format of Φ remained standard throughout, as is likely if it were produced as a single copy of the books in question. The readings of **D** given here have all been checked on microfilm; in fact, Hultsch says that the omissions are shared by all the manuscripts of the *Excerpta Antiqua*, though this is in a sense immaterial in the present discussion, since the stemma shows that an omission in **FD** must spring from an omission in either the hyparchetype of the *Excerpta Antiqua* or an intermediate copy made before the tradition split into its surviving branches.

and **C**. It may be that **Z** made a slip and corrected it, or that about 32 or 64 was the line length of the common parent of **CZ**. On the other hand, **Z** appears to be careful to preserve the marginalia in the exemplar he is copying, and at one point preserves three consecutive marginal glosses with different symbols to mark their proper place in the text; they are now on different pages, but the distinction of symbol argues that they were all originally on facing pages at least, if not on the same page. If **Z** was as meticulous as this, it is possible to suggest cautiously that this omission, which fits so well as two lines of *Γ*, was perhaps a mistake made by the common parent of **CZ** and rectified in the margin, and that **C** restored the passage to the main body of the text while **Z** copied it where he found it. So one may reach the preliminary conclusion that the line length of *Γ* was in the region of 32–34 letters.

Leaving aside **C** for the moment, **DE** furnish by far the fullest body of evidence (TABLE II.viii). Where so many passages are omitted, the possibility of the same error being made independently more than once must always be borne in mind, but a significant number are not omissions *ex hom.* Those marked ‘?’ are cases where the similarity of letter groups is only a matter of a couple of letters or so, and where suspensions might well have virtually eliminated it.

The first of two startling groups of omissions in **DE** is the sequence 16, 17 and 18 in TABLE II.viii, where two omissions of 92 are followed by one (which is not *ex hom.*) of 46; this suggests a line length of $46 \pm$. In fact, if one takes a range of length of 44–55, which is wide but not unreasonable in view both of the increasing use of suspension as minuscule developed and of the fact that omissions *ex hom.* can easily arise if the similar letter groups fall approximately one line apart (absolute precision is not essential), half of all the examples in TABLE II.viii fall in the range. They are: 1–6 (taking 5 as two lines), 8, 13, 16–18, and the doubtful cases 11 and 12, which must surely be a multiple of lines but are both *ex hom.* and long enough to fit many possible patterns; in addition, 7 is only one letter away from fitting. Of these examples, two are definitely not *ex hom.* and two more probably not. On the other hand, almost equally striking is the sequence of 21–25, of which 23 and 24 are not *ex hom.*; they suggest a line length of $40 \pm$. A bracket of 38–42 includes examples 9, 10, 14, 19 (3×40), 21–25 (22 and 23 $\simeq 2 \times 40$), and 7 is only one outside this group also. Of these passages, five are not *ex hom.* Since the body of both

groups falls towards the middle of the length bracket, it seems difficult to reconcile the evidence and suggest that a single line length lies behind these omissions; it seems more likely that we are dealing with two lost exemplars, one with an approximate line length of 44–55, the other of 38–42. The omissions found in **DE** would then have been made in the course of copying from these two exemplars.

It was argued above on the basis of the evidence of **CZ** and **J** that the possible line length of Γ was 32–34 letters. This fits remarkably with the two passages of **DE** not so far discussed (TABLE II.viii.15 and 20), both, granted, omissions *ex hom.*, but of 32 and 33 letters respectively.

Since the common parent of **DE** (Δ) apparently contained a large number of mistakes of omission, it would be surprising, though possible, to suggest that the line of descent was of three stages: Γ to a ms with a line length of 38–42 letters, and from there to δ with a line length of 44–55, which would account for the common omissions of **DE** (*i.e.* those which were in their common parent Δ). It is surely more plausible to suggest that the line length of Γ was of the range 32–42, and thus account for the omissions in **C**, **Z** and **J**, and the group of shorter omissions in **DE**, in addition to TABLE II.viii.15 and 20, by one hypothesis; δ would then have made the omissions of 38–42 (better supported by examples which are not *ex hom.*) in copying Γ , and Δ those of 44–55, the line length of δ .

The position of **Z** after III.62.2 proves conclusively the existence of an intermediate stage between Γ and **C**; the omissions of **C** (TABLE II.vii) are of widely varying lengths and provide little useful information. Example 1 must presumably be of one or two pages since it is an omission *ex hom.* of considerable size,⁵⁶ but the evidence of all the other passages is inconclusive because there is such a degree of editing behind the present state of the text of **C** that any omission may have been deliberate; the passage at V.65.6 (TABLE II.vii, note e) is a good case, where the change may have been a slip, but is more likely to have been a deliberate correction.⁵⁷ For what it is worth, the repetition of

⁵⁶ For a parallel omission of one page see *MTP* 62.

⁵⁷ Similarly, because of the degree of editing involved in making a set of excerpts, and the demonstrable fact that the excerptors were willing to modify what Polybius wrote, the mss of the Constantine Excerpts have not been included in this analysis; all their omissions of more than an odd word in the first five books appear to be complete sense units, and could well have been left out deliberately; therefore, however well they fit any theory, they cannot be used as evidence.

I.72.3 suggests a line length of $42\pm$, which is close to TABLE II.vii.4 (not an omission *ex hom.*); possibly the common parent of **CZ** had a line length in the region of 42–49.

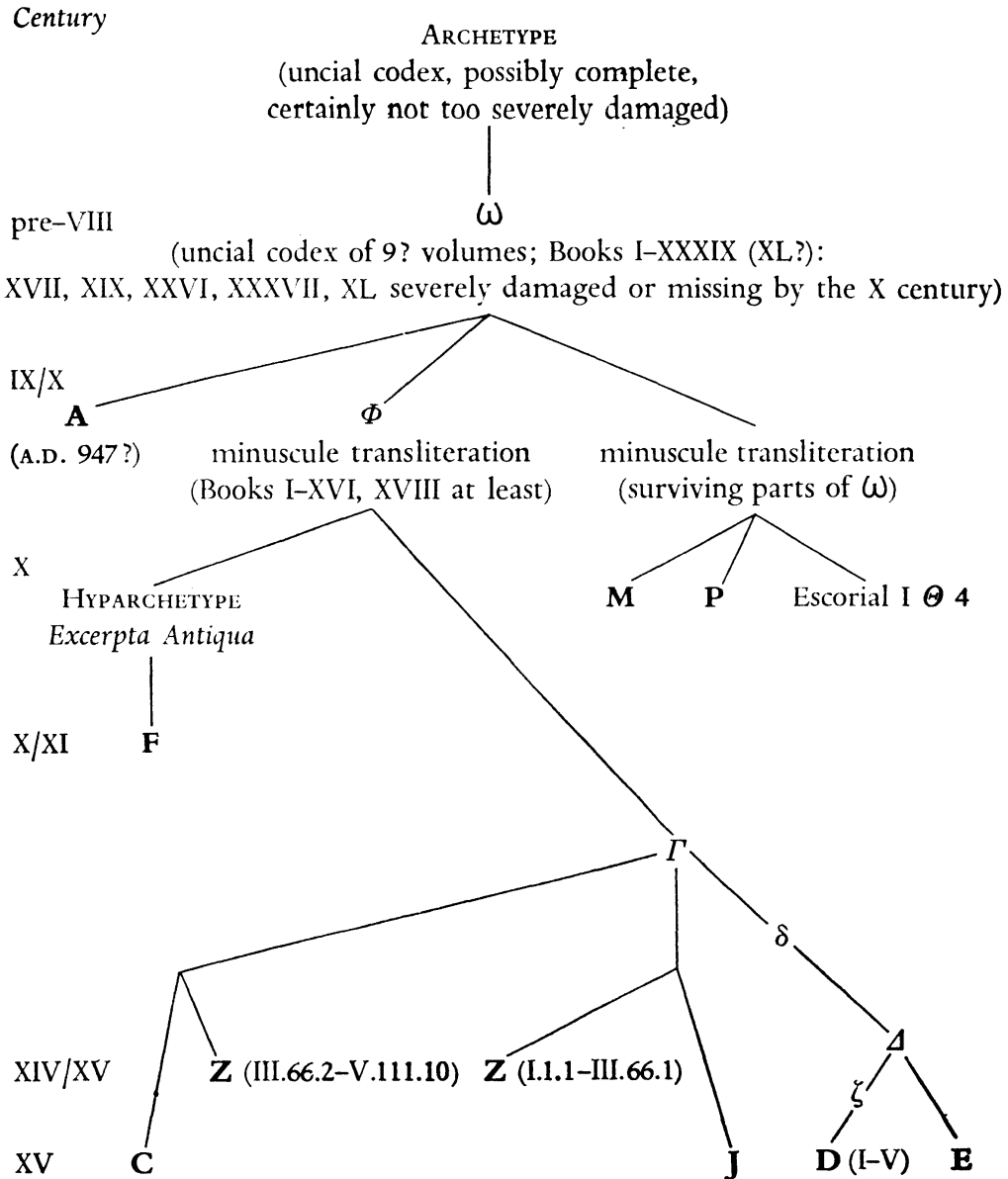
The omissions of **D** fall within the range 87–95, and the repetitions are at intervals of 94 and 98 letters (TABLE II.ix); this suggests a common line length behind them. The evidence for **E** (TABLE II.x) is different. There is only one omission, and **E** added the omitted text in the margin. The other passages all consist of instances where **E** has a number of words copied by the first hand in an erasure, or has copied a section twice. The lengths of the passages in question fall all but one in the range 51–62; it is possible that **E** omitted a line when copying, realised his mistake, and corrected by erasing the section he had copied too soon and adding the omitted passage in the erasure, rather than following the more normal practice of adding the omitted text in the margin. The length of the text in the erasure is, then, not so much an indication of the length of the omitted passage as of the interval before the scribe realised his mistake. Since the lengths tally so well with those of the repeated passages (which are presumably one and three lines respectively), it looks as if he realised his mistake after copying the succeeding line. The point is equally valid if he had in fact copied the preceding line twice and realised his mistake. The one erasure which does not fit the suggested pattern (TABLE II.x.8) would then be accounted for by the hypothesis that he did not realise his mistake after one line but at the end of the phrase, and the actual omission (TABLE II.x.1) would be of two lines.

The discrepancy in length between the omissions of **D** and the evidence of **E** means that they cannot both reflect the line length of Δ ; further, the figures are such that one cannot posit one line for **E** and two lines on every occasion for **D**—in any case, it would be implausible to suggest that every one of **D**'s omissions involved two lines of his exemplar's text. There must, then, be an intermediate copy on at least one of the two branches. **E**'s text, while clearly showing that it is part of the 'Byzantine Tradition', is surprisingly often in agreement with **A**, showing the transmission of genuine tradition from ω via Φ and Γ , while **D** is frequently on its own with some strange readings and mistakes. One may therefore suggest that it is more likely that the intermediate exemplar (ζ) was between Δ and **D**. Thus the line length of Δ would have been in the range 51–62, and the intermediate copy ζ would have had a line length of 87–98.

I am well aware that I have wrung a great deal out of the available evidence, and that a lot of what has been deduced must be very tentative. The evidence is there, however, and the coincidences of lengths of omissions are often too close and too striking to be put down solely to chance. The hypotheses offered do in fact account for the evidence except in the case of **C**, where one can very rarely be sure that one is dealing with mistakes, not deliberate corrections; leaving aside the examples from **C**, only two passages out of 63 have to be ascribed to pure chance rather than the hypothetical line lengths suggested. If the argument is accepted, it has made it possible to suggest something about a manuscript earlier than ω , and to add precision to our knowledge of the descent of the 'Byzantine Tradition'; in particular, one would have expected evidence to emerge if there had been significantly more exemplars intermediate between Γ and the extant manuscripts. $\Delta \rightarrow \zeta \rightarrow \mathbf{D}$ is a clear case where the evidence of line lengths requires an intermediate exemplar which was not necessarily implied by the other evidence, and $\Gamma \rightarrow \delta \rightarrow \Delta$ is another. Analysis of omission lengths cannot supplant standard methods of reconstructing lines of descent, but, after a stemma has already been constructed, it may be able to suggest something about the number of lost exemplars which lie behind our text, at least in some areas of the tradition. The knowledge of this line length may be an aid to detecting corruption, and even more to discovering solutions and justifying them. The line length of ω will have a particular bearing on suggested restorations of passages where there are clearly lacunae in all surviving manuscripts which are not actually shown as gaps in the text as copied; it will in no way dictate what is restored, but will be a factor in weighing the plausibility of one restoration against another.⁵⁸ It is possible that there are other traditions where such analysis could provide even more interesting results.

In summary, the results demonstrated by this entire study may be illustrated in the following stemma:

⁵⁸ Hulstsch applied the method extensively; see for example, *NJbb* 13 (1867) 292f; *op.cit.* (*supra* n.27) II.6f.



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