

# NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LIVY'S FOURTH DECADE<sup>1</sup>

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## I

### THE TRANSMISSION OF BOOKS 31-40

THE researches of Traube,<sup>2</sup> Billanovich<sup>3</sup> and McDonald<sup>4</sup> have established beyond doubt the main elements of the transmission of Livy's fourth decade. Our oldest extant manuscript, the Bambergensis<sup>5</sup> (B), is a direct copy of a fifth century uncial manuscript (F), fragments of which were discovered at Bamberg at the beginning of this century.<sup>6</sup> Of the more than ninety<sup>7</sup> other surviving manuscripts, the great majority are

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<sup>2</sup> *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen*, xxiv (1904), 1; *Sitzungsberichte*, 1907, 97 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xiv (1951), 137-208 (hereafter Billanovich I).

<sup>4</sup> *Titi Liui ab urbe condita, tomus v, libri xxxi-xxxv* (Oxford, 1965) (hereafter McDonald I).

<sup>5</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 35 a.

<sup>7</sup> McDonald lists 89. To these should be added Florence, Laur. Conv. Sopp. 263, Vienna, *Staatsbibliothek*, series noua 12758 (both mentioned by A. de la Mare, *Livy* (ed. T. A. Dorey, London, 1971), 198-9), Vat. Chigi vi. 191 (cf. E. Pellegrin et alii, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la bibliothèque Vaticane*, Paris, 1975, 340-1) and Vat. Lat. 5825 (I owe my awareness of these latter manuscripts to the kindness of Fraulein W. Schaub).

descendants of a manuscript found at Chartres by Landolfo di Colonna at the beginning of the fourteenth century. That manuscript ( $\chi$ ) was copied by Colonna and from his<sup>1</sup> text ( $\varphi$ ) were transcribed the three oldest Renaissance manuscripts, B.L. MS. Harley 2493 (A), Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 5690 (P), and the Escorial manuscript R 1.4 (E). The provenance of the few manuscripts which are not descendants of  $\varphi$  will be discussed further below.

The Chartres manuscript, like the Bambergensis, was also a descendant of F, but it was copied from a manuscript which had lost the whole of Book 33 and terminated at 40.37.3. These characteristics were shared by the now lost Codex Spirensis (Sp), a manuscript from Speyer used by Gelenius for the Basle edition of 1535. The Codex Spirensis is, however, independent of  $\chi$ , and not a copy of it, as argued by Billanovich.<sup>2</sup> The exact relationship between the two will be discussed further below. But a now lost manuscript from Mainz (Mg), beginning only at 33.17.6, and quoted both by Gelenius and by Carbach in the Mainz edition of 1518, was independent of F and its readings have as great a claim as those of the extant manuscripts to represent the transmitted text. (Though there is evidence to suggest that both F and Mg descend from a text of late antiquity which had already undergone deliberate alteration.<sup>3</sup>) For 34.36.6-39.2, 39.11-40.2 we also have the evidence of fragments of an uncial manuscript of the fourth or fifth century (Vat. Lat. 10696 = R) which represents a tradition unrelated either to F or to Mg.

## II

### THE CONJECTURES IN B.L. MS. HARLEY 2493

The importance of A was brilliantly established by Billanovich in an epoch-making article in 1951.<sup>4</sup> He showed that the texts of the three decades in this manuscript were written at widely

<sup>1</sup> For the possibility that the exemplar of A, P and E was not the work of Colonna see below p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> See McDonald I, xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Tränkle, *Gnomon*, xxxix (1967), 373.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit.

differing times between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. The codex belonged to Petrarch and in the first decade he added variants from the opposite side of the tradition to that followed by the text itself, a side represented among extant manuscripts only by the tenth century Medicean MS. Laur. plut. 63.19.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the third decade Billanovich showed that in Books 21-26 Lorenzo Valla had entered in the codex many of the conjectures which he subsequently published in *Emendationes in T. Livium*<sup>2</sup> and that in many cases emendations in the hand of Petrarch are referred to as Petrarch's in the *Emendationes*. For the second half of the decade Petrarch corrected and supplemented the text in the manuscript—derived from the normal Puteanus tradition<sup>3</sup>—on the basis of the Chartres manuscript, a direct copy of which is to be found in the text of these books in P.<sup>4</sup> Billanovich was able to show that for Books 26-30 the Chartres manuscript was closely related to the Codex Spirensis as reported by Beatus Rhenanus in the 1535 Basle edition; the readings of P and Sp, however, are not quite as close as Billanovich thought and, as in the case of Books 31-40, Sp cannot be regarded as a copy of  $\chi$ .<sup>5</sup>

The number of conjectures, both marginal and interlinear, in the text of the fourth decade in A is considerably less than in the first and third decades. Of their authorship McDonald says "dein Petrarcha (A<sup>2</sup>) textum statim correxit, pauca demum adnotavit Laurentius Valla".<sup>6</sup> Now our knowledge of the hand of Petrarch is extensive<sup>7</sup> and there can be no hesitation in assigning a large number of the conjectures to him. But the last conjecture in this category occurs at 36.1.7. All the conjectures

<sup>1</sup> See Billanovich, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, ii (1953), 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Laurentius Valla, *Opera Omnia* (Turin, 1962), i. 603 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, BN Lat. 5730. All the sources for the text of Books 21-25 derive from the Puteanus. See most recently T. A. Dorey, *Titi Liui ab urbe condita, libri xxi-xxii* (Leipzig, 1971), vii ff.

<sup>4</sup> The *siglum* P cannot, however, be used for the third decade, as it already designates the Puteanus. Dorey (edition of Book 29, Havant, 1968, 18) has christened it the *Landulfianus* (L).

<sup>5</sup> Billanovich I, 161, 175 ff.; Dorey, *Euphrosyne* n.s., ii (1968), 177-81.

<sup>6</sup> McDonald I, xxii. McDonald's reference to Billanovich I, 141 n. 7, on Valla's hand is irrelevant.

<sup>7</sup> See particularly A. Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca* (Vatican City, 1967).

after this,<sup>1</sup> and many of those before it, are in a different hand. That hand has no resemblance to any known hand of Petrarch. And at 34.33.8 (fo. 256<sup>r</sup>) where Petrarch had proposed in the margin *comparata denominatione*, the second hand writes *comparata dominatione firmiorem futurum autore*.<sup>2</sup> It is, moreover, this latter hand which is responsible for the notes correcting the view expressed by Petrarch that the books of the fourth decade were in fact those of the fifth decade (fo. 222<sup>v</sup>)<sup>3</sup> and for a long note demonstrating the omission of Book 33 (fo. 247<sup>r</sup>).<sup>4</sup> These last two notes Billanovich assigned to Valla. The hand is, however, quite unlike the notes of Valla in the third decade—both those signed by him and others which are demonstrably in the same hand<sup>5</sup>—or any other known writing of his. It does, though, occur occasionally in the first and third decades, and at 23.16.16 (fo. 124<sup>r</sup>), where the manuscript, with the whole of the Puteanus tradition, has *uincetibus* Valla proposes *uinci solitis*, and there follows, in the same hand as is found in the fourth decade, *uel consuetis uel uincere sueto*.<sup>6</sup> If we turn to Valla's *Emendationes in T. Livium*<sup>7</sup> we find

opinor legendum non uinci enim ab Hannibale, uinci solitis siue uinci suetis, uel uincere solito siue sueto.

The natural inference, of course, is that all the conjectures in the margin of A on folio 124<sup>r</sup> are by Valla, and, therefore, that on some occasions, including the whole of the fourth decade, he used writing which was quite different from his normal hand. It is possible that this is indeed the case, but it may equally well be that a person who had acquired the manuscript after Valla's death had compared it with the *Emendationes* and added in the manuscript the alternative suggestions which he found there.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to determine whether the interlinear correction of *aditum* to *aditu* at 36.9.3 (fo. 279<sup>r</sup>) should be attributed to Petrarch or the later hand.

<sup>2</sup> Plate 1a.                      <sup>3</sup> Plate 1b. Billanovich I, 169 and n. 3, plate 32 C.

<sup>4</sup> Plate 1c. Billanovich I, 169 n. 1.                      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 139 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Plate 1d.                      <sup>7</sup> *Opera Omnia*, i. 611.

<sup>8</sup> On fo. 57<sup>r</sup> (8. 16. 11) the initials L.V. appear in the margin underneath *c<sup>o</sup> cos. ex s.c.*, written in the hand found in the fourth decade. Inspection of the ink, however, suggests that Valla was claiming authorship for the interlinear alteration of *extriumphavit* to *s.c. triumphavit*, and that the marginal conjecture was added later.

**J.**

al. opata denotatioe .  
 r. comparata dominatio  
 firmitate futurorum

(a)

Inter bellū punicū secundū et bellum  
 macedonicū intercessit bellū punicū  
 tertium. scriptū in decē libris.  
 quod nō habetur. Et sic unū i. bellū  
 belli macedonica est quadragesi  
 primus in ordine operis universi  
 videt hic abesse. in dicitur. Tamen in  
 in dicitur. Venit et ubi quod scriptū est in libro  
 pugnae punicæ macedonicæ

(b)

Definitur. q. lib. huius dicitur. in p. m. s. a. videtur. Tamen. C. S. r. r. o. i. s. b. a. l. i. s. p. l. a. n. s.  
 e. i. g. c. o. l. l. e. g. e. r. e. p. o. s. s. e. q. u. e. a. l. i. e. r. u. m. m. a. g. i. s. t. r. u. m. q. u. i. a. m. p. l. e. t. e. r. e. t. u. r. i. v. r. a. m. o. r. i.  
 p. e. b. a. r. i. p. o. s. i. d. i. n. e. e. r. i. t. d. e. s. i. g. n. a. t. o. p. p. o. s. i. t. u. r. i. n. e. a. d. d. e. s. t. o. r. i. a. n. e. e. r. i. t. h. i. c.  
 i. n. b. e. l. l. u. m. p. o. s. s. e. i. n. v. e. l. i. t. u. m. p. a. n. c. i. a. m. a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.  
 u. r. i. n. p. u. n. i. c. i. m. a. p. p. e. l. l. i. b. r. o. s. N. i. l. o. u. n. i. c. i. u. m. v. e. r. b. e. p. a. n. n. o. t. a. t. a. e. s. t. a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.  
 H. i. c. a. u. t. e. m. q. u. e. h. i. c. e. r. i. t. e. r. i. t. u. m. p. l. e. t. e. r. e. a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.  
 a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s. p. a. n. c. i. a. m. a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.  
 d. i. v. i. d. i. t. u. r. e. g. o. p. r. i. m. u. s. e. r. i. t. u. m. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. e. t. u. r. a. l. i. q. u. e. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.  
 t. a. m. e. n. n. o. n. o. r. i. s. p. r. o. c. e. d. e. n. t. i. u. m. s. e. n. t. i. a. d. e. c. e. m. l. i. b. r. o. s.

(c)

Non hunc enim ab Hannibale vincenab  
 difficilius fuit. qm postea vincere. Ha  
 nibal spe potuinde nolle accepta. cum

(d)



McDonald claims<sup>1</sup> that most of the corrections in A are also to be found in the margin of B.L. MS. Burney 198, a manuscript of the late fourteenth century, and this, of course, would be inconsistent with my argument that many of these corrections are the work either of Valla, who died in 1457, or of someone later than Valla. I have, however, collated Burney 198 for all those passages of the fourth decade where there is a correction in A, and in fact very few of those corrections, whether those of Petrarch or those of the later hand, are to be found in the later manuscript. There are, it is true, a few of the corrections of the later hand but they are very small in number and easily explained either as taken from other manuscripts—there is no reason why their author should have restricted himself to his own ideas—or are so obvious that they could easily have occurred to him independently. We may, of course, exclude cases where idiosyncratic errors in A are corrected both by our hand and the correct reading is found in the text of Burney 198. For it is clear that Burney 198 is not a direct copy of A<sup>2</sup> and in these cases is simply following the rest of the tradition.

If the author of the fourth decade conjectures, whom I shall refer to simply as A<sup>z</sup>, was not Valla, his identity must remain a mystery. His date would lie after Valla's death but before the publication of the Mainz edition in 1518, as he can only guess about the contents of Book 33. But in any case he was a learned man, as the following selection of his proposals will show. (The procedure is, of course, rather misleading: he makes a number of other suggestions which show him in a less flattering light.) In order to be as sure as possible that we are dealing with genuinely original conjectures, I have restricted myself to passages where, as far as I can discover, the proposal of A<sup>z</sup> is not found in any printed edition before the Paris edition of 1513, since in such cases he may have derived his reading from such an edition or from one of the manuscripts on which the early editions were based. I have, however, collated only the principal manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> McDonald I, xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxvii.

together with Burney 198, and so cannot guarantee that none of the readings is to be found in any of the later manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

- 31.32.4 *ut perinde ius ratumque sit*, Milan edition of 1505, om. *sit* B $\chi$ , *sit perinde ius ratumque* A<sup>z</sup>.  
 32.30.8 *etiam* B Sp A<sup>z</sup>, *ut iam*  $\chi$ .  
 34.3.1<sup>2</sup> *per quaeque* A<sup>z</sup>, *perquamque*  $\chi$ , *per q̄*. B.  
 34.21.5<sup>3</sup> *potitus* A<sup>z</sup>, *potiti* B, *potius*  $\chi$ .  
 34.32.10 *si audire* B A<sup>z</sup>; *sicut ire*  $\varphi$ , *si aut ire* NV, *sit aut ira* L.  
 34.54.6 *promiscuo* Mg A<sup>z</sup>; spat. B; *praemisu* AE, *praemissis* PA<sup>2</sup>, *praemiscuum* LV, *primiscuum* N.  
 35.25.7 *praefatus* B Mg A<sup>z</sup>, *praefectus*  $\chi$ .  
 36.14.4 *ioco* B A<sup>z</sup>, *loco*  $\chi$ . (*ioco* is first printed in the Paris edition of 1513.)  
 36.17.3 *inexsuperabilior* Mg A<sup>z</sup>, *inexsuperabilis* B $\chi$ , *inexsuperabilis magis* edd. vett.  
 36.32.7<sup>4</sup> *sunt* A<sup>z</sup>, *est* B $\chi$ .  
 37.53.2 *quod ea* Mg A<sup>z</sup>, *quod*  $\psi$ , *quidem* A, *qui* PE.

### III

#### THE $\psi$ GROUP OF MANUSCRIPTS

It was the achievement of McDonald<sup>5</sup> to show that, though the vast majority of the Renaissance manuscripts were descendants of  $\varphi$ , a small number preserved readings which showed derivation from an exemplar other than  $\varphi$ . This exemplar,  $\psi$ , was, however, closely related to  $\varphi$ ; closer, indeed, than the Codex Spirensis, which on several occasions appears to have preserved the reading of F when  $\varphi\psi$  are in common error.<sup>6</sup> The importance of the existence of the  $\psi$  manuscripts is that they enable us to see the extent of the critical operation of Landolfo di Colonna in  $\varphi$ . On many occasions we can now see that what is clearly the correct reading in  $\varphi$ , and has in fact been the un-

<sup>1</sup> Drakenborch, in his variorum edition of 1738, reports that the second hand of his *codex Gaertnerianus* had *per quaeque* at 34.3.1, but with *subiecere* instead of *subiecerint* following. That manuscript is now destroyed (McDonald, op. cit. xxvii). At 34.21.5 the corrector of L has *potitus*.

For the sigla not previously explained see Section III.

<sup>2</sup> McDonald ascribes the reading to Gelenius.

<sup>3</sup> McDonald ascribes the reading to Sabellicus.

<sup>4</sup> Weissenborn—Müller (commentary on Books 35-36, 3rd edn., 1906) ascribe the reading to the Basle edition of 1531.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. xv ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ibid. xxxvi.



challenged text since the first printed editions, is not the transmitted reading, corrupted in the Bambergensis, but a conjecture of Colonna. This can be illustrated from a short section of Book 37 :

- 12.2 *regii*  $\varphi$ L,<sup>1</sup> *regi* BNV.  
 12.6 *Rhodiis*  $\varphi$ , *Rhodi* B $\psi$ .  
 15.4 *habeat*  $\varphi$ , *habebat* B $\psi$ .  
 21.2 *redeundi*  $\varphi$ , *redeunt* B $\psi$ .  
 23.10 *praepropere*  $\varphi$ , *praepore* B $\psi$ .  
 27.6 *Myonnesum*  $\varphi$ , *Myonnetum* B $\psi$ .  
 28.8 *opprimere*  $\varphi$ , *opprimeret* B $\psi$ .  
 30.3 *unum iis*  $\varphi$ , *unus is* B $\psi$ .  
 30.8 *passuum*  $\varphi$ L, *passus* BV, *passu* N.

On other occasions the fact that the reading of  $\varphi$  can be shown by the agreement of B $\psi$  to lack authority is of great importance for the establishment of the correct reading. Thus at 37.21.8, where B has *eam diuisis inter se partibus cum oppugnarent et uideretur sine operibus, armis scalisque capi posse, missum ab Antiocho praesidium trium milium armatorum cum intrasset urbem, extemplo oppugnatione omissa . . .*,  $\varphi$  and  $\psi$  have *uideret* for *uideretur* but  $\varphi$  adds *non* before *posse*. The existence of  $\psi$  enables us to see that *non* is an addition by Colonna, who did not realize that Livy was saying that, though the allies could begin the siege without siegeworks, the arrival of the garrison forced them to desist. At 37.24.1 editors print *itaque iam haud dubie dextrum cornu hostium in fugam inclinabat*. *iam* is the reading of  $\varphi$ , omitted in B $\psi$ : it clearly has no authority and should be deleted.<sup>2</sup>

McDonald assigned five manuscripts to the  $\psi$  group,<sup>3</sup> though he utilized only three of them for the establishment of the reading of  $\psi$ . Of these three only two, Oxford, New College 279 (N) and Vat. Lat. 3331 (V) are "pure" representatives of  $\psi$ . The Medicean manuscript plut. 89 inf. 3<sup>3</sup> (L) has a text which, though essentially derived from  $\psi$ , shows contamination from later

<sup>1</sup> On L see below.

<sup>2</sup> Note also McDonald's discussion of 38.38.4 in *Journal of Roman Studies*, lvii (1967), 4.

<sup>3</sup> For later manuscripts with some  $\psi$  readings but heavily contaminated from the  $\varphi$  tradition see McDonald I, xxxi. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, series noua 12758 (cf. p. 311, n. 7) belongs to this group.

manuscripts of the  $\varphi$  tradition. Of the two other manuscripts, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 36 (D) is a direct copy of L (L, written on paper, is perhaps a bookseller's copy).<sup>1</sup> The Medicean manuscript plut. 63.6 (C) is also regarded by McDonald as representing the  $\psi$  tradition, emended, to a greater extent than L, from later representatives of the  $\varphi$  tradition. This appears to be true for the first part of the decade but from the middle of Book 34 onwards C is in fact better described as a manuscript of the  $\varphi$  tradition with occasional examples of  $\psi$  readings.<sup>2</sup> The striking thing about these five manuscripts is that they belong to the fifteenth century, by which time the manuscripts of the  $\varphi$  tradition were hopelessly corrupted and contaminated.<sup>3</sup> As it happens, the earliest, written in 1413, is C, the manuscript most removed from the text of  $\psi$  itself. N was probably copied in the 1430s,<sup>4</sup> L in the 1440s,<sup>5</sup> and V is dated to 1453, only sixteen years before the first printed edition, published at Rome in 1469. McDonald reasonably assumed that  $\psi$  was another apograph of the Chartres manuscript, copied at about the same time as  $\varphi$ . It may be, however, that  $\psi$  was a considerably older manuscript. A pointer in this direction is the fact that both N and V exhibit an amazing amount of false word-division, often resulting in sheer gibberish. Some of these errors are common to both N and V, but others occur in one of the two manuscripts alone. I take some examples from the beginning of Book 35.

- 1.5 *pro praetore Lusitanos : pro p'to relus ita nos N.*  
 2.4 *ea se legione : eas e legione V ; eas elegione N.*  
 4.2 *praedatum : praeda tum V.*  
*sua impune : suam Pune NV.*

<sup>1</sup> A. de la Mare, *op. cit.* 179, calls it a scholar's copy, but she has kindly told me that she would no longer regard this as the case: for its affiliations with manuscripts produced by Vespasiano da Bisticci cf. P. L. Schmidt, *Die Überlieferung von Cicero's Schrift "De Legibus"* (Munich, 1974), pp. 319, 334.

<sup>2</sup> It would be better to classify it with the manuscripts referred to in p. 317, n. 3 (cf. Tränkle, *op. cit.* 368). I imagine that McDonald was led by its date (see below) and by its fine quality (it was written by Giovanni Arretino and belonged to Cosimo de' Medici: cf. de la Mare, *op. cit.* 180 ff.) to include it with the principal  $\psi$  manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> McDonald I, xxxi ff.

<sup>4</sup> de la Mare, *op. cit.* 178.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 179.

- 5.12 *conisi : eo nisi* NV.  
 6.1 *Minuci a Pisis : Minucia Pisis* NV.  
 8.5 *auctoribus : aut coribus* NV.  
 10.7 *noua et recentia : nouem trecentia* NV.  
 10.9 *Pessinunte uenientem : peis sint euenientem* V, *peissi'nt euenientem* N.  
 10.11 *Centumalus : centum aliis* V.  
*L. Valerius Tappo : Liuius Valerii Astappo* V.  
 10.12 *campum iter : eam pun iter* V.  
 11.3 *Caudinaeque : caudi neque* NV.  
 11.4 *utra uellet : ut rauellet* V.  
 11.10 *adequitare dein refugere : adequita redere fugere* NV.  
 14.9 *in ea terra : in ect'na* N.

The errors which occur in N or V alone, but not, of course, those common to both manuscripts, are rather unexpected in manuscripts which were transcribed from a copy made in the fourteenth century. Both groups of errors, however, would be quite intelligible if  $\psi$  were an older manuscript, difficult to read, like the Chartres codex itself,<sup>1</sup> and itself incorporating false word-divisions. If that is so,  $\psi$  could either be a twin, rather than an offspring of  $\chi$ ,<sup>2</sup> or a copy of  $\chi$  made at a much earlier date than  $\varphi$ . If the former is the case, it would follow that  $\varphi$ ,  $\psi$  and Sp cannot all share a common exemplar, as this would be incompatible with the passages where Sp is correct and  $\varphi\psi$  have a common error. Rather we should have to assume that the common exemplar of  $\varphi$  and  $\psi$  was a twin of Sp. The two possible stemmata are illustrated on p. 320.

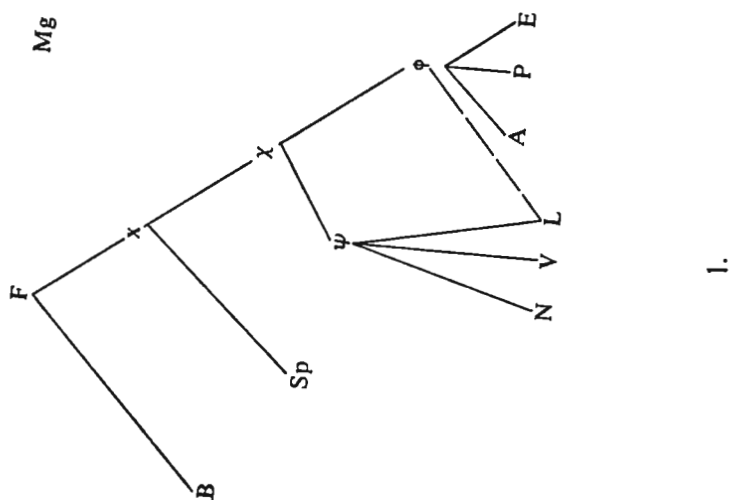
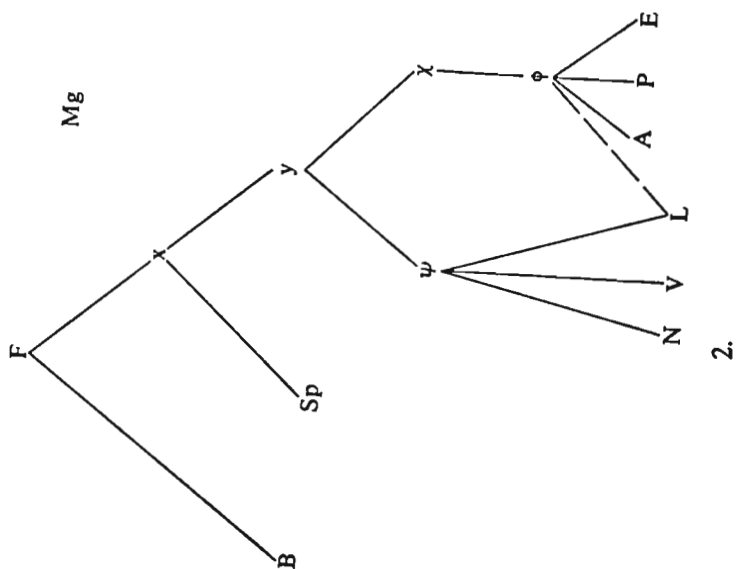
All the  $\psi$  manuscripts were copied in Florence<sup>3</sup> and it would be reasonable to assume that  $\psi$  had been in Italy for some time.<sup>4</sup> It is, in fact, clear that, although it was Colonna's discovery at Chartres which provided the impetus for the rapid dissemination of the fourth decade in the early Renaissance, it was not at Chartres that the text of these books was first rediscovered. They were known to the circle of Lovato Lovati at Padua in the thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McDonald I, xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> de la Mare, op. cit. 177, suggested, though without argument that this might be the case.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Billanovich (I, 185 ff.) argued that the Chartres manuscript was written in Italy and for the possibility that Sp was an Italian manuscript of the eleventh century cf. McDonald I, xxxvii; H. Testroet, *Euphrosyne*, n.s. vii (1975-76), 63-71.



century<sup>1</sup> and utilized by Gervasio Riccobaldo in the early years of the fourteenth.<sup>2</sup> And Billanovich has recently indicated that he has discovered that Petrarch had acquired, in addition to the copy of the Chartres codex made by Colonna, a text which had previously belonged to Lovato. Billanovich states that Petrarch "mescolò insieme per questa decade la lezione di Chartres e la lezione Padovana".<sup>3</sup> It is not at present clear precisely what Billanovich intends by this. The supposition that the combination of the Chartres and Padua traditions occurred only in the text of A would be incompatible with the close affinity of the text of A, P and E. It may be, though, that Billanovich means that the immediate exemplar of these three manuscripts was the work of Petrarch, and not of Colonna, as has hitherto been assumed. Full discussion will have to await Billanovich's promised treatment in the forthcoming facsimile edition of A. Meanwhile, though, I would draw attention to three passages in Book 31 where Petrarch makes far from obvious emendations in A, which accord with the clearly correct reading as preserved in B $\psi$ . At 31.8.8 *id praesidii Siciliae prouinciae esset*, omitted in all three  $\varphi$  manuscripts, but found in B $\psi$ , is added by Petrarch. McDonald suggests that Petrarch found the words in the margin of  $\varphi$ , but in that case one would have expected at least one of the scribes of A, P and E to have noticed and added them. At 31.21.15 he adds *in* before *omni parte*. Livy normally writes *omni parte* and this is the only example of *in omni parte* in the whole of his work.<sup>4</sup> And at 31.26.13 he correctly replaces *haec* with *materia*.

In addition, at 32.1.6  $\varphi$ , N and L have *L. Sergio, V Li. Sergio* and Petrarch *Lisergio*. At 32.3.3 Petrarch adds *duo milia*, found in B, V and Sp. It is omitted in P and E, while A and N leave a space. At 34.4.16 B,  $\psi$  and Petrarch have *quae de suo,  $\varphi$  quod de suo*. At 34.5.8 B,  $\psi$  and Petrarch have *nonne,  $\varphi$  non sine*. And at 34.52.5 B,  $\psi$  and Petrarch have *ducentum*, omitted in A; PE have *ducenta*. Some of these latter passages may well not be significant. The agreement of Petrarch and V alone at 32.1.6 is

<sup>1</sup> Billanovich I, 208; *Atti dei convegni lincei*, x (1976), 195-7 (= *Petrarca e Padova*, Padua, 1976, 23-27); A. Perosa, *Atene e Roma*, xiii (1954), 26.

<sup>2</sup> T. Hankey, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxi (1958), 220.

<sup>3</sup> Billanovich, *Atti dei convegni lincei* x, 197 = *Petrarca e Padova*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Commentary on Livy, books xxxi-xxxiii* (Oxford, 1973), 114.

probably fortuitous, the alterations at 34.4.16 and 34.5.8 could easily have occurred to Petrarch independently and at 34.52.5 the numeral clearly stood in  $\varphi$ , and it may be pure chance that Petrarch wrote *ducentum* rather than *ducenta*. But the evidence as a whole, together with the discoveries of Billanovich, makes it very probable that Petrarch had access to a text of the fourth decade which was independent of the manuscript of Chartres, and the possibility that this text was identical with  $\psi$  can by no means be excluded.

## IV

## GELENIUS, MG AND SP

We have seen that Mg began only at 33.17.6, while Sp, like  $\varphi\psi$ , lacked Book 33 and broke off at 40.37.3. From the beginning of Book 34 until 40.37.3, therefore, Gelenius had both Mg and Sp available, and on occasions he refers to his manuscripts in the plural. Unfortunately, on at least six occasions the evidence makes it clear that the reading cited cannot in fact have stood in both Mg and Sp.

- (i) 35.33.10 *aliud in neutro inventum Gel., primo aliud, B $\varphi\psi$ .*
- (ii) 36.7.7 *qui : quid B $\varphi\psi$ , qui in nostris archetypis Gel.*
- (iii) 36.22.8 *et regione mella quoque B, et regionem mellea quoque  $\varphi\psi$ , a sinu Maliaco, quae . . . Moguntinus et Spirensis codices Gel.*
- (iv) 36.25.3 *posita in tumulo est B $\varphi\psi$  ; posita est in tumulo ex fide archetyporum Gel.*
- (v) 36.24.5 *qua progressi erant B $\varphi\psi$ , in qua aedificia extra urbem erant in nostris exemplaribus legitur Gel.*
- (vi) 37.23.3 *ad Aspendisiam B $\varphi\psi$  ; ab Aspendis ad Sidam iam in MSS. legitur Gel.*

Since the affinity of Sp and  $\varphi\psi$  is demonstrated by their common lack of Book 33 and 40.37.3 ad fin., the agreement or virtual agreement of B $\varphi\psi$  in these passages makes it impossible to believe that the reading quoted by Gelenius really stood in the Codex Spirensis and they must therefore be regarded as being in Mg alone.

This conclusion, moreover, must effect our estimation of the reliability of Gelenius' citations in general. He uses a wide range of phrases—apart from those mentioned we find *antiqua lectio*, *sincera lectio*, *uetus lectio*, *antiqua scriptura*, *uetus scriptura*, *uetusta scriptura*, *manuscripti codices*, *uetusti codices*, *scripta uolumina*, *scribo*, *scribitur*, *illic est*, *illic legitur*, *lego*, *legendum*, *reposuimus*, *restituimus*. In many of these cases it is very probable that the reading in question did indeed stand in Mg or Sp, but except in those cases where a reading is explicitly cited from Mg by Carbach in the 1518 edition, it would be prudent for editors to list readings given by Gelenius simply as "Gel." and indicate exactly what Gelenius says about them.<sup>1</sup>

## V

## PROCONSUL AND PROPRAETOR

The user of Packard's *Concordance to Livy*<sup>2</sup> will assume that though the technical term for a man possessing *imperium* when not actually a magistrate is *pro consule* or *pro praetore*, Livy regularly used, as we do, *proconsul* and *propraetor* as declinable nouns.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript evidence for the occurrence of these terms in the fourth decade, however, makes that assumption far less certain. I have examined all the instances in the fourth decade where Packard lists any form of *proconsul* or *propraetor* and the results are as follows:

*proconsul*. There are twelve occurrences. At 38.49.12 and 39.4.2, where B and A are not extant,<sup>4</sup> PE $\psi$  have *pro* in the first passage and omit the word altogether in the second. At 40.39.1 no manuscript is extant. In the other nine instances (31.49.7, 32.26.2, 34.46.1, 35.22.6, 38.44.9, 39.29.4, 39.56.1, 39.56.2, 40.34.7) B has *procos.* on all four occasions on which it is extant, and the Renaissance manuscripts have *proconsul* throughout.

<sup>1</sup> See also Tränkle, *op. cit.* 369.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

<sup>3</sup> As I myself stated (*op. cit.* 61).

<sup>4</sup> B now terminates at 38.46.4, A at 38.24.11.

*proconsulem* occurs at 33.25.9, 36.37.6, 36.39.10, 39.54.2 and 40.25.7. On the three occasions when it is extant B has *procos.* The Renaissance manuscripts alternate between *consulem*, *proconsulem*, *proconsul*, and abbreviations for *proconsulis* (*proconsul'* and *proconsul'*).

*proconsulis* occurs at 36.38.2, 37.46.7 and 40.16.8. B has *procos.* on the two occasions on which it is extant, while the Renaissance manuscripts vary between *procos.*, *proconsul*, *proconsulis*, abbreviations (as above) for *proconsulis*, and (E at 36.38.2) *consul'*.

*proconsuli.* All manuscripts have this form at its only occurrence (37.2.5).

*proconsule* (including instances of *pro consule*). B has the full form at 31.20.1, 31.20.4, 38.37.1, *pro coss.* at 31.50.11, and *procos.* at 32.1.12 and 36.2.8. The Renaissance manuscripts present *proconsul*, *proconsulem*, *proconsul*, *proconsuli*, and *proconsule*.

*proconsules* (37.46.2) is omitted in the manuscripts.

*propraetor* occurs at 31.3.3, 37.57.3, 37.57.5 and 38.36.3. On all four occasions B has *pro pr.* At 37.57.3 and 5 the Renaissance manuscripts have the same, except that L has *propraetor* on the first occasion. At 31.3.3 they have *proconsul PR* or *proconsul populi Romani* and at 38.36.3 simply *pro*.

*propraetorem* occurs at 36.8.6 and 38.36.2 as *pro pr.* in all manuscripts, except that P and L have *propraetorem* on the latter occasion.

*propraetoris* occurs at 39.21.4 and 40.2.5, when B is not extant. The Renaissance manuscripts vary between *pr.*, *pro pr.*, *praetoris* and *propraetoris*.

*propraetori* occurs twice in 37.50.13 and appears as *pro pr.* in all manuscripts, except that P has *propraetori* on both occasions and L on the first one only.

*propraetore* and *pro praetore.* B has *pro pr.* at 31.5.5, 31.8.10, 32.1.11, 37.4.1 and 37.48.6, *pro praetore* at 35.1.5 and *pro p.r.* at



36.2.11. The Renaissance manuscripts exhibit *pro pr.*, *pro praetore*, *pro p.r.*, and *pro populo romano*.

*propraetores* occurs at 40.47.1 where no manuscripts are extant.

We can thus see that on only one occasion does B exhibit a case of the nouns *proconsul* and *propraetor* other than the ablative, that in the case of *proconsulem* and *proconsulis* the Renaissance manuscripts have a wide variety of forms, and that with the cases of *propraetor* most of the Renaissance manuscripts have the abbreviated forms. All this suggests that in most instances only the abbreviations *procos.* and *propr.* stood in F, to be transcribed as they stood in B and interpreted in various ways by Renaissance scribes. As far as the fourth decade is concerned, then, there are no valid grounds for attributing the use of *proconsul* and *propraetor* as nouns to Livy. That is not, of course, to say that the evidence shows that he did not use them.

#### APPENDIX

I list here a number of additions and corrections to McDonald's text and apparatus for Books 34-35, derived from my collation of the principal manuscripts. For simplicity I here use, as McDonald does, the siglum  $\chi$  to indicate the agreement of  $\varphi$  and  $\psi$ , despite my argument above that  $\psi$  may not have been a twin of  $\varphi$ . I do not include instances where McDonald does not mention a false reading in  $\varphi$  when B $\psi$  present the correct reading, or a false reading in  $\psi$  when B $\varphi$  preserve the correct reading.<sup>1</sup>

#### Book 34

- 3.1 *per quaeque* : see above p. 316.  
 3.9 TEXT: read *et captis et ereptis*.  
 5.1 *ab nobis* : *a nobis*  $\chi$ .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the principle involved cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *Titi Liui ab urbe condita, tomus i, libri i-v* (Oxford, 1974), xvi. McDonald's own practice in the matter is inconsistent.

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that statistics derived from Packard for such matters as Livy's usage of *a*, *ab*, *e*, and *ex*, as, e.g., by E. D. Kollmann, *Rheinisches Museum*, n.s., cxix (1976), 14 ff., may be unreliable. Kollmann's assumption (14 n. 1) that if an apparatus notes variants of *a*, *ab*, *e*, and *ex*, all such variants have been recorded is grossly over-optimistic.

- 5.5 for *cum* read *-cum* (i.e. *publicum*). A has *publico*.  
 6.16 *inopia . . . miseria* is in E.  
 7.4 *iniustam* : insert P<sup>2</sup> (i.e. Colonna) before Frob.  
 11.2 AV have *Romani misissent*, L *Romanus misissent*.  
 16.5 read *dimisit* B $\chi$ , *remisit* Mg.  
 16.10 *uenere*  $\chi$ .  
 17.1 *Ap. Claudi* B, *a proconsule Claudio*  $\chi$ .  
 19.1 *praetori* BPA<sup>2</sup> (i.e. Petrarch), *populum Romanum praefecto* AE $\psi$ .  
 21.4 *meminisse et* B; *occuparet*  $\chi$ .  
 21.5 *potitus* : see above p. 316 and n. 3.  
 22.10 read *agros* B $\chi$ . ( $\chi$  also has *agros* at 23.10.)  
 25.6 *agenda haec*  $\chi$ .  
 28.7 read *ducere* BL Frob. 2.  
 29.7 read *ut* B $\chi$  Gel.  
 32.5 *Bargyllis* BAP, *Bargillis* E $\psi$ .  
 32.10 *si audire*: see above p. 316  
 32.18 *Romanos* B, *Romuleus*  $\varphi$ , *Romuleos*  $\psi$ .  
 33.3 *auditisque*  $\varphi$ , *auditis quae* B $\psi$ .  
 37.8 *iusta* B, *iuxta*  $\chi$ .  
 38.5 *adici tyranneo* B.  
 42.1 *et a* B, *et Appio*  $\chi$ .  
 42.5 *et Busenium* L, *ex Buxenium* B, *ex Busenium*  $\varphi$ NV.  
 43.7 *sunt duobus*  $\chi$ .  
 44.8 *Busentumque* is the marginal reading in AP.  
 45.3 *Arpanorum*  $\chi$ .  
 46.1 B $\chi$  repeat *circa Mediolanium* after *transgressi erant*.  
 46.13 *portae iecerunt* B, *portae iecere*  $\chi$ .  
 47.4 *portae irrupit*  $\varphi$ , *portae rupit*  $\psi$ .  
 48.2 *depremerent*  $\chi$ .  
 48.3 *circumfusa* B $\chi$ .  
 48.1 TEXT: for *quod* read *quoad*.  
 50.9 *iis* B, *duos*  $\chi$ .  
 54.6 *promiscuo* : see above p. 316.  
 56.11 *plebi* BNV.  
 57.9 *uictoris et om.* B.  
 58.4 *Chersonesi urbibus* : *Chersones turbibus* B, *thersones urbibus*  $\varphi$ L  
*thersones turbibus* NV.  
 59.8 *Vilium*  $\chi$ .  
 61.13 *commeante uenturum* B $\psi$ .

## Book 35

- 1.8 *fudissent cecidissentque*  $\varphi$ L, *fudissent cecidissetque* NV.  
 2.4 *pedites equites* L, *equites pedites* B $\varphi$ NV.  
 4.1 *constitisset* E $\psi$ .  
 5.3 *Minucios* B<sup>1</sup> LV.  
 5.4 *ab*  $\chi$ .  
 5.11 *paululum* Mg N.  
 6.2 *sine om.*  $\chi$ , add A<sup>2</sup>P<sup>x</sup>L<sup>2</sup>.

- 6.5 *G. Scriboni* χ (*Cn. Scribonis* L).  
 8.1 TEXT: for *comitorum* read *comitiorum*.  
 9.8 *quadragena* φ, *XL* BL, *quadraginta* NV.  
 10.11 *Libo*: *Lino* B, *Liuio* χ.  
 11.5 *spe praemiorum onerat* is the correction of Petrarch in P.  
 11.8 *deformes* Bχ.  
 12.3 read *cogit-* φ (i.e. *cogitandum*).  
 13.3 *Citheum* Bχ.  
 14.12 *e grege se* A<sup>z</sup>  
 15.3 *id enim iam* B, *denimiam* V, *denim iam* P, *deminiam* E, *de nimia* LV.  
 16.12 *Demetriadem et Thessalorum* BP, *Demetriadem ethessalorum* AE,  
*Demetriade methessalorum* NV, *Demetriadem in Thessalorum* L.  
 18.8 *de is tringentos* ψ.  
 20.9 L has *plebei*.  
 21.3 L has *terra*.  
 22.2 *tuendos socios* B, *socios tuendos* χ.  
 22.5 *Corribilonem* χ, *Conribilonem* B.  
 25.2 for 27.12 read 27.2, 12.  
 25.5 *exemplo* χ.  
 26.2 in *ut nouarum tum* Bχ delete *tum*.  
 26.5 *ab Naupacto* Bχ.  
 26. *nobilem* Bχ (*nobile* D).  
 27.2 *Cythei* χ.  
 27.10 *Gythelo* AP, *Githelo* EN, *Gypthei* L, *agithelo* V.<sup>1</sup>  
 28.2 *quopiam* φ, *copiam* Bψ.  
 28.3 *inconditum*: for *dett.* read φmg.  
 30.9 *credebant* χ.  
 31.13 TEXT: after *perfidi* insert *animi*.  
 32.13 *tristia* L, *tristitia* BφNV.  
 35.5 *Alexameno* L.  
 38.3 *Caristiorum* χ.  
 38.4 *Eretryenses* χ; *Carytheisque* B, *Caristheosque* χ.  
 38.3 TEXT: for *graue* read *graues*.  
*abituros* BP, *habituros* AEψ.  
 39.4 *ad Demetriadem* B, om. *ad* P; *admetriadem* A, *a Demetriadem* Eψ.  
 40.3 *ui* is a numeral in B.  
 41.5 *nouos* χ.  
 41.7 om. *milia* B.  
 41.8 *Purpureo* Bχ.  
 46.3 for *sic* B sed post *nauibus* read *constratis* Bχ Gel., *rostratis* Mg, PE mg.  
 47.4 *Philopoemenem* P, *Philopoemenen* BAEψ.  
 48.1 *Aegei* B, *Egei* χ.  
 48.6 *Sydonios* Bχ; *Pamphilia* Bχ.  
 48.9 *interponerent* χ.  
 49.8 read *uideretis* (*uix*) edd. uet.  
 50.2 read *gentes fidos* χ.  
 51.1 *proxima Euboeae* A mg, *proximam Euboeae* PE mg.  
 51.10 *annuerent* χ.

<sup>1</sup> See McDonald's apparatus on 35.25.2.