



CHAPTER 1

Livian Manuscript Tradition

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Liuius ingens, Martial's famous metonymy (14.190), shows how ancient readers were impressed by the immensity of Livy's work, of which only Books 1–10 and 21–45 are available today. The bulk of the work,¹ which from late Antiquity probably caused both its fragmentation and the disappearance of most of it, accounts for its being circulated in various forms adapted to the different types of readership²: one could read Livy complete, in groups of books, or in a reduced form, excerpts (*Excerpta*) or summaries³ (*Periochae*).

The only attestation in late Antiquity regarding the whole of the work is to be found in a letter by Symmachus (9.13), the famous orator, written in 401, about the delay in his revision of the whole of Livy's work (*totius Liuiani operis*), and does not tell us how many books there were altogether.⁴

At the end of the fifth century, Priscianus, the grammarian, makes numerous allusions to the historian in his *Institutiones grammaticae*, but they do not go further than Book 118 (fr. 58 Jal), and none of them proves that Priscianus still had a complete Livy.

During the sixth century, there is nothing in Cassiodorus (485–580) to prove that he had direct access to Livy (Aricò 1986, 167). Recent research questions the hypothesis according to which our oldest manuscripts of Livy were at Vivarium (Troncarelli 1998, 40 n. 1).

As for Pope Gregory I's (540–604) responsibility in the destruction of Livy's *History*, it is merely a groundless allegation that comes from a legend spread in the twelfth century by John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1.142 and 8.19), and taken up in the sixteenth century by Machiavelli (*Discorsi*, 2.5.1).

The surviving parts go back to late antique exemplars, some of which are still extant (Cameron 2011, 466–467), while others have to be reconstructed from their descendants.



The transmission of the work was complex in the Middle Ages, taking the form of independent units, “Decades” (groups of 10 books), or perhaps sometimes “Pentads” (groups of five books). One cannot be sure of the link between Livy’s method of composition and this form of transmission, nor of how much of his work circulated in separate Decades in Antiquity. The *Periochae* as well as Lucan’s scholia testify, for example, to a separate circulation of a group of eight books under the title *The Civil War* (Fr. 37 Jal).

Still, Decades seem to have been the most common form of transmission for Greek and Roman historians (Irigoin 1997, 128–129), but the only attestation in Antiquity of such circulation of Livy’s work occurs late, at the end of the fifth century, in a letter traditionally attributed to Pope Gelasius I⁵ (492–496), which mentions the second Decade (lost today).

The only Decades that circulated in the Middle Ages are the First, the Third, and the Fourth. They were available in Bamberg in the eleventh century (Reeve 1987a, 146). They appear together in a single volume in Italy from the end of the thirteenth century.⁶ The beginning of the Fifth Decade (Books 41–45) only reappeared in the sixteenth century. There is also a fragment of Book 91 discovered in the eighteenth century in a palimpsest⁷ and a fragment of Book 11 (fifth century) that reappeared in Egypt in 1986.⁸

The abundant research done in the past 30 years makes it necessary to update Reynold’s excellent synthesis (1983). It concerns two main domains: first, the census of Livy’s manuscripts copied from the ninth to the twelfth centuries (Munk Olsen⁹ 1982–2009, II, 1–16 and III, 2, 88–91, with complements in Munk Olsen 1991–2007) and of inventories of medieval libraries (Munk Olsen 1982–2009, III, 1); and second, a much deeper examination of the many *recentiores*, whose interest had been stressed by Giuseppe Billanovich (1951 and 1981).

Still, the investigations into the jungle of *recentiores* have led to a reevaluation of what Billanovich thought was Petrarch’s prime role in the transmission of Decades, notably for the Third and the Fourth (Reeve 1986 and 1989b). They have also revealed that the brilliant conjectures that Billanovich had attributed to Petrarch were in fact prior to him (Reeve 1987b, 424–430). He had above all a remarkable knowledge of manuscripts on which obscure readers had relentlessly made a critical work. To reach his conclusions, Michael Reeve benefited from progress on dating the illuminations in Italian manuscripts of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries (Avril et al. 1984, 139–142; de la Mare 1985). Indeed, the confrontation of data on the dating of the text and those concerning the illuminations permits a much stricter control of the dating of the volume itself.

Therefore, we now have a precise inventory of the Livian tradition, with lists of manuscripts for the First (Reeve 1996c, 89–90) and Third (de Franchis 2000, 34–40) Decades. With the resources of libraries being gradually made available online, it is easier now to update these inventories and consult manuscripts. We shall limit ourselves to presenting the essential aspects of the transmission of the text, for each surviving Decade or part of one.

Books 1–10

Stephen Oakley (1997, 152–327; 2005, 494–501) has devoted a large study to the transmission of the First Decade. He shows how effective the stemmatic method¹⁰ is for going back rigorously to a lost late antique archetype, even within a contaminated tradition, that is, one in which manuscripts frequently change affiliation (Oakley 1997, 154).



His investigation embraces all the manuscripts of the First Decade (about 200) available today.¹¹ This Decade was transmitted in one piece, without any distinction between Pentades,¹² between the fourth and fifteenth centuries, by manuscripts, a large majority of which consist of *recentiores*.

Only 24 witnesses are from time periods earlier than the thirteenth century. One must straightaway isolate two late antique ones, which did not play any part in the transmission, because they have no known descendants, but one of which helps us to understand the mechanisms of that transmission.

The first witness of the two (= \mathfrak{B}), is a papyrus from the fourth–fifth century, discovered in Oxyrhynchus (Egypt) at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ It contains a tiny fragment of Book 1, far too small to be of any significance (Lowe 1934–1971, 2, n. 247; Funari 2011, 229–237).

The second (=V) is a palimpsest.¹⁴ Fragments of Books 3–6 written in uncials at the beginning of the fifth century, probably in Italy, were identified by Karl Blume in 1827 and published by Mommsen in 1868 (Lowe 1934–1971, 4, n. 499). This publication has revealed unsuspected corruptions in the other manuscripts, which all go back to a lost late antique exemplar.

This lost model [N] resulted from a revision of Livy's text made at the turn of the fourth–fifth century by two senatorial families, the Nicomachi and Symmachi (Cameron 2011, 498–526; Paschoud 2012, 361–363). The medieval manuscripts have kept traces of this exemplar, in the form of subscriptions (*subscriptiones*), that is, notes mentioning this revision and the names of its authors (Pecere 1986, 59–69; Cameron 2011, 498–516). It is traditionally referred to as *Symmachean*, by reference to Symmachus, who had meant to do it for the whole of the work,¹⁵ or *Nicomachean*, by reference to the two Nicomachi, whose intervention seems to have been limited to the First Decade.¹⁶

This revision, which integrated numerous variants in the text itself (Oakley 1997, 167 and 316–320), has nothing to do with modern critical editions (Zetzel 1980, 42–49; Cameron 2011, 502).

Hypotheses about the reconstruction of the lost Nichomachean archetype [N] have made enormous progress in the twentieth century. The first graphic representation of the genealogical classification of manuscripts (stemma) is by Jean Bayet (ed.), *Livre I*, Paris, 1940. He had combined the genealogical principle with Andreas Frigell's appealing hypothesis of a geographical classification of manuscripts, now obsolete with our improved knowledge of medieval *scriptoria*. Frigell had suggested in 1875 (reference in Reeve 1996c, 75, n. 3) distinguishing between the witnesses, which went back to an Italian model (cisalpine) as opposed to a Gallic one (transalpine). Bayet's genealogical classification was later reconsidered by Robert Ogilvie (1957), and then simplified in his edition (1974). S. Oakley (1997, 325) proposes a new configuration, apparently more complicated, with a new edition of Books 6–10 in prospect. The complication is due to the fact that he introduces several witnesses that are of use only for part of the text, because they are either fragmentary or contaminated. In the latter case, they can only be used episodically, in passages where they are the sole survivors of a lost model.

My simplified version (Figure 1.1) of Oakley's stemma aims at making its access easier.

The first innovation lies in the hypothetical reconstruction of the lost Nichomachean archetype [N]. Oakley (1997, 321–324) adopts Reeve's suggestion (1996c, 87) and presents a three-branched stemma instead of two. He attributes the same value to the testimony of each of the three families μ , Λ , and Π ,¹⁷ because he did not find evidence

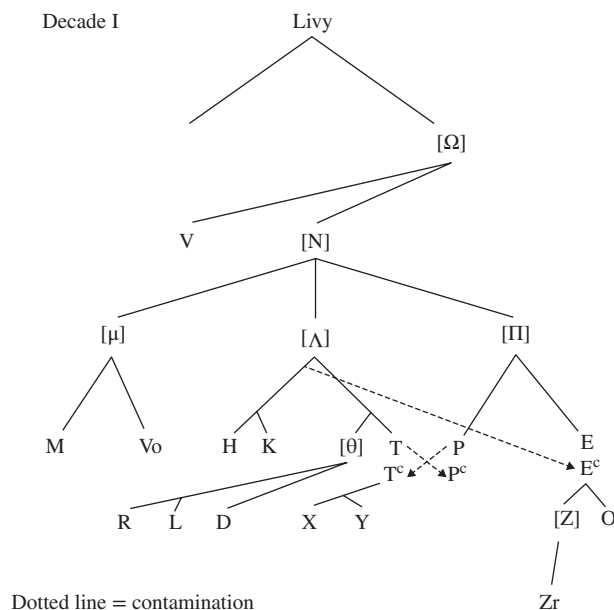


Figure 1.1 Stemma for the First Decade

that the binary division previously retained was well-founded. Indeed, Bayet and Ogilvie considered, on the one hand, the μ family, represented by the two manuscripts coming from cathedrals, and, on the other, a hypothetical common ancestor (Δ), from which the two families Λ and Π are supposedly derived, represented by the numerous manuscripts that had spread essentially in monasteries.

The second innovation, which concerns the choice of witnesses, results from the systematic use of a fundamental principle in textual criticism, the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. Oakley, on the one hand, eliminates several manuscripts retained by previous editors, either *vetustiores* or *recentiores*, because they derive from extant manuscripts. On the other hand, he introduces several *recentiores*, because they are necessary to establish certain parts of the text. Last, he sets many *recentiores* aside because they derive from incunables, especially from the *editio princeps* (=Zr).¹⁸ He thus reveals why and how, after centuries in which the μ and, above all, the Λ families had dominated in Italy, the Π tradition imposed itself, through the *editio princeps*, until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

He therefore suggests reconstructing the Nicomachean archetype from the following manuscripts, which I shall describe by families, generally respecting the position of witnesses in the stemma.

The μ Family

This family consists of only two witnesses. The first is complete (M^{19} or *Mediceus*) and, therefore, particularly precious; the second, the *codex Vormaciensis* (Vo), has been lost, except for a few readings kept by the humanists. Oakley thus eliminates the third



witness retained by Ogilvie (1974), the variants introduced by Petrarch in his own manuscript (A²⁰ or *Aginnensis*), very important for Decades 3 and 4: they either come from M or correspond to previous conjectures (Reeve 1996a, 122–124; Oakley 1997, 180–184).

M was copied in North Italy by five scribes in the middle of the tenth century. Ratherius Veronensis' involvement in the process, as suggested by Billanovich, is disputed (Reeve 1996a, 114). It includes important marginal notes, some of which presumably go back to its exemplar.

The *codex Vormaciensis*, named after the Worms Cathedral, where it was discovered in the sixteenth century, was used by Beatus Rhenanus (Books 1–6) and probably by Gelenius (Books 7–10) for the second edition of Livy published by Froben, Erasmus' famous printer (Basle, 1535 = Froben 2). The fact that we can only have indirect and incomplete access to it makes it particularly difficult to exploit (Reeve 1995a. Oakley 1997, 169–180).

Family Λ

This family is the most complicated, for its primary witnesses are either incomplete or fragmentary, or else they need to be reconstructed from several manuscripts (group θ). It contains:

- H²¹ or *Harleianus*, copied in Germany at the end of the tenth century, containing Books 1–8 almost entirely.
- Two fragmentary witnesses found in bindings in the twentieth century and introduced by Ogilvie (1974): they are notably²² some badly damaged fragments of Book 2 (=K²³), copied in Corbie at the end of the ninth century.
- T or Thuaneus,²⁴ which only contains Books 6–10 (now up to 10, 46, 6). It is the oldest witness of the Decade, copied at Tours at the beginning of the ninth century. We do not know whether the (lost) Books 1–5 and T as it stands were bound together or not (Reeve 1996b, 101). T enables us to control the value of H in Books 6–8, for, contrary to what Conway (Oxford, 1914, xxvi–xxvii) and Bayet (1940, civ) thought, T is not H's twin. Moreover, T presents the advantage of having been annotated and corrected by Lupus,²⁵ the great Carolingian scholar, thanks to a manuscript (P²⁶ or *Parisiensis*) belonging to the Π family (von Büren 1996, 64–68).
- Thus corrected, T (=T^c) generated a series of contaminated manuscripts that have a role to play in the reconstruction of the text where T is not extant, that is, for Books 1–5 and for the last chapter of Book 10 (Reeve 1995b, 503–505, 1996b, 100–101). Oakley (1997, 191–217) classified this series and selected the most important witnesses—two Italian manuscripts whose dating was changed back to the late thirteenth century (Reeve 1996b): X,²⁷ and, to a lesser extent, Y.²⁸
- And finally, the Λ family contains a hypothetical manuscript θ, reconstructed from three complete ones:
 1. R²⁹ (or *Romanus*), copied in France at the end of the tenth century, but disfigured by numerous fourteenth-century corrections that hide the original text.
 2. L³⁰ (or *Leidensis*), copied in Italy in the eleventh century.



3. D³¹ (or *Dominicanus*), the most important manuscript of the group, copied in the South of France in the eleventh century. D generated the primary stream of the tradition of the first Decade in Italy,³² to which belongs Petrarch's famous manuscript, A³³ (or *Aginnensis*). A therefore no longer needs to appear in the stemma.

The manuscripts of this group had been wrongly excluded by Ogilvie (1974) (Briscoe 1977; Zetzel 1980, 41). Because of the fragmentary character of K, and of the existence of a single continuous witness for Books 1–5 (H) as well as Books 9–10 (T), this group is absolutely necessary for the reconstruction of Λ in these two portions of the Decade. For Books 6–8, the simultaneous presence of H and T makes the evidence of θ less crucial.

Family II

This family is represented by two primary witnesses,³⁴ only one of which is complete. It is therefore necessary to use contaminated manuscripts to reconstruct it. I have only included in the stemma the hypothetical ancestor [Z] of the numerous witnesses of the fifteenth century whose acronym begins in “Z,” and about which Oakley (1997, 270–294) showed that they were non-eliminable for several portions of their text.

P³⁵ (or *Parisiensis*) is the only complete primary witness. It was copied in France in the middle of the ninth century (von Büren 1996, 72), under Lupus's control and corrected by him, in Books 6–10, with the help of his other copy, T (Λ family), which only contained this Pentade. Heiric, Lupus's pupil (von Büren 1996, 64–73, 2010, 375–378 and 395–396), also corrected and annotated Books 1 and 2 with a manuscript of the Λ family and supervised the copy of P (corrected by Lupus) into two manuscripts, F³⁶ (or *Floriacensis*) and B³⁷ (or *Bambergensis*), used by Conway-Walters and Bayet and rightly eliminated by Ogilvie (1974) (Reeve 1996c, 77–79; Oakley 1997, 314–315).

Finally, the second primary witness E³⁸ (or *Einsiedlensis*), copied in Germany, probably at the end of the tenth century (Munk Olsen 1991–2007, 2007, 76), is today reduced to two long fragments (from Books 1 and 4–6). It was corrected at an earlier date from a manuscript of the Λ family.

E being so incomplete, it is necessary to use another witness, O³⁹ (or *Oxoniensis*), written in the East of France at the beginning of the eleventh century. In fact, O comes from E after correction (=E^c; Oakley 1997, 273–274, *contra* Ogilvie 1974, xii). O stops in 10.22.2, and has inherited from its exemplar a big lacuna (4.30; 14–57.11), which was not present in E. Moreover, there are leaves missing in Books 8 and 9.

Oakley (1997, 294–295) strongly questions the value of O, overestimated according to him by Conway and Walters. He wonders about the suitability of replacing it by the reconstruction of the hypothetical ancestor of the [Z] family, from nine witnesses of the fifteenth century, non-eliminable in definite portions of their text. His study of group Z, whose ancestor is an Italian-contaminated descendant of North European manuscripts (E and O), reveals its interest: many of the manuscripts that compose the group come from incunables. A descendant close to that lost ancestor (= [Z]) has indeed been used as the basis for the *editio princeps* (=Zr, Rome 1469 or 1470). The text of this edition enjoyed a wide currency—despite its numerous errors—because it soon became a habit to give printers a printed edition rather than a manuscript as basic text.⁴⁰



The intervention of the printing revolution into the manuscript tradition therefore explains the supremacy gained by the Π family in the transmission of the first Decade between the middle of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth.

Books 21–30

More than 170 manuscripts that transmitted the Third Decade between the fifth and the fifteenth century are still extant (de Franchis 2000, 19–22 and 34–40). This transmission has not been uniform: one branch, stemming from a surviving late antique archetype (the *Puteaneus*), transmits Books 21–30. The other branch, traditionally referred to as “Spirensian,” only intervenes from the last third of Book 26 onward (26.30.9). The archetype of this second branch, which probably transmitted Books 26–40, has been lost, and we do not have any complete witness. Furthermore, we do not know how much is missing at the beginning of the Spirensian tradition, nor when Books 26–30 and 31–40 have been joined together (Reeve 1987b, 422 and 1989b, 108–109).

Numerous manuscripts of the *Puteaneus* tradition have been completed or corrected, in Books 26–30, by this second tradition. Reeve’s researches (1986, 1987a, and 1987b) have largely contributed toward clarifying the history of this complex transmission. He notably questioned Billanovich’s hypotheses (1951 and 1981) regarding, on the one hand, the importance in the Spirensian tradition of a lost Chartres manuscript (known as *uetus Carnotensis* since Fraenkel’s review of Billanovich 1951), and, on the other hand, the pseudo leading role of Petrarch in the transmission of the Decade: the synthesis of the two branches took place before him.

The Puteaneus Tradition (21–30)

The *Puteaneus*⁴¹ (P), after the name of its owner, the humanist juriconsult Claude Dupuy (1545–1594), which transmits the whole Decade, is the ancestor of the most widely spread tradition. This uncial codex was written in southern Italy in the fifth century, from the subscriptions of an anonymous reader who revised it at Avellino shortly after it was finished (Lowe 1934–1971, 5, n. 562, 1971, 54; Condello 1994, 31–36). Its text, highly corrupted or lacunary, very soon needed to form conjectures, especially in the first Pentade, which rests entirely on it. The most famous are the *Emendationes in Titum Livium*⁴² (Books 21–26) of Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457). In Books 26–30, the Spirensian tradition has allowed limiting those conjectures and filling lacunae, two of which are important (26.41.18–43.8 and 27.2.11–3, 7). Moreover, Books 21 and 30, situated at the beginning and end of the volume, have lost leaves over the centuries.

To reconstruct P where it is now missing, editors must resort to its descendants, which all derive from copies written in France in the ninth–tenth centuries, when it was still complete.

They have devised the following stemma (Figure 1.2):

R⁴³ (or *Romanus*), the oldest known descendant, was transcribed from P at Saint-Martin de Tours in the first half of the ninth century (Busonero 2004). It is now even more damaged than P and therefore useless for reconstructing the text, but it is important for the history of its transmission, because most of the other descendants have been copied from it before its mutilation.

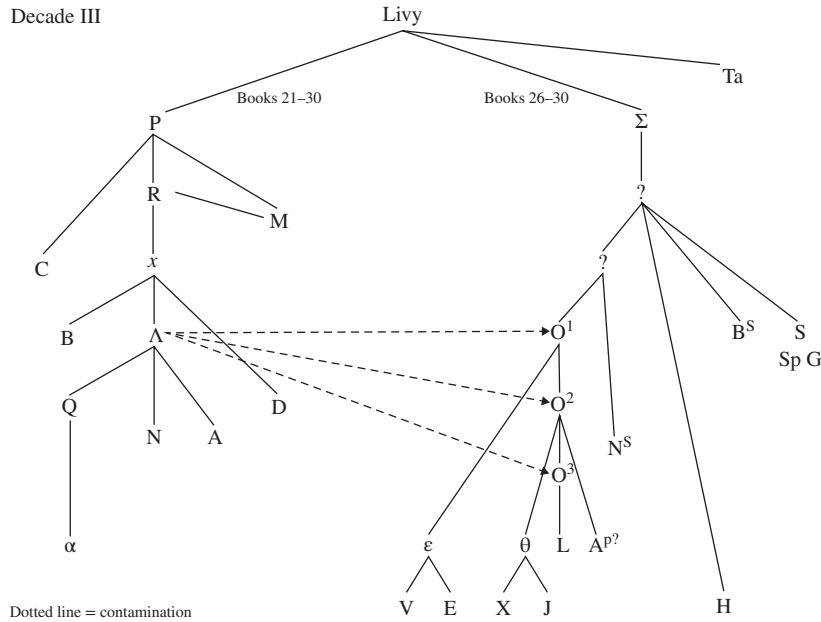


Figure 1.2 Stemma for the Third Decade

M⁴⁴ (or *Mediceus*) was copied at Corbie, or at Tours for Corbie (von Büren 1996, 60), at the end of the ninth century, first directly from P and then from R (Reeve 1996c, 88 n. 53; Busonero 2004, 34). It never went further than 30, 26, 10 (Reeve 1987a, 160).

C⁴⁵ (or *Colbertinus*), copied at Cluny at the end of the tenth century (von Büren, 1996, 59–63), is the only known manuscript that derives from P independently from R and transmits all the Decade. It is therefore particularly important for Book 21 and for the end of Book 30.

A lost intermediary (x) then produced three manuscripts, all of which stop before the end of Book 30.

B⁴⁶ (or *Bambergensis*), copied by numerous hands, contains two distinct elements, of different dates and origins (Reeve 1987a, 150): at the beginning, an incomplete Fourth Decade, written in Bamberg in the eleventh century, and then a Third Decade from 24, 7, 8. This second part has been copied in France from the P tradition, at an earlier date than the first one, at the beginning of the eleventh century, up to 30.42.21 (Reeve 1986, 154). It was later completed from a Spirensian source.

D⁴⁷ (or *Cantabrigiensis*), copied in the twelfth century, between 1164 and 1170, near Paris, contains the Decade up to 30.41.3. Reeve (1987a, 136–137) identified several members of its family, which would permit reconstructing its ancestor (Δ).

The third manuscript, lost (Λ), transmitted the Decade at least up to 30.41.6. It is the ancestor of P's Italian descendants (Reeve 1987a, 138–152). The *Puteaneus* tradition thus reappears in Italy, but only from the twelfth century (Reeve 1987a, 151), and will be prolific between the middle of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.



Editors traditionally retain:

- N⁴⁸ (or *Laurentianus Notatus*). Copied around Rome at the turn of the twelfth–thirteenth century, it contains Spirensian additions and corrections.
- A⁴⁹ (or *Aginnensis*). This manuscript, which groups together the three Decades in a single volume, originally contained only the third up to 30.41.6. This part, written, similar to N, in the twelfth–thirteenth century, was corrected and completed from a Spirensian source in Books 26–30 in the fourteenth century.

The *Aginnensis* was made famous by Billanovich's research (1951). According to him, Petrarch was the one who, in his youth, had corrected and complemented and also supplemented it with copies of the first and fourth Decades, in order to possess the most complete Livy of his time (Billanovich 1951, 145–151; 161–163; 203–205). Billanovich was thus reducing the number of A correctors to two: in the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Valla, whose hand had been identified by Walters in 1917 (de Franchis 2000, 29, n. 66), and in the fourteenth century, Petrarch. The identification of the main fourteenth-century annotator as Petrarch is disputed today (lastly, Fiorilla 2012, 106–122). It confirms Reeve's doubts (1987b, 430–436) as to the place (Avignon) and strangely precocious familiarity of Petrarch with Livy's text, as assumed by Billanovich.

A new witness of this Italian branch, Q⁵⁰ (mid-twelfth century), containing the First and Third Decades, permits reconstructing with C the testimony of P for a few chapters at the end of Book 30.

Billanovich (1981, 227–229 and 308–309) found that Q was the ancestor of a large family of fourteenth–fifteenth-century manuscripts belonging to the α group brought to light by McDonald (1965) for the Fourth Decade, whose oldest members also transmit the Third, following the *Puteaneus* tradition (Reeve 1987a, 141). Their particularity is that they go as far as 30.44.6, that is, nearly the end of the decade (30.45.7), with a lacuna between 30.41.6 and 30.42.15. Now, Billanovich found in Q the passage 30.42.15–44.6 put back at the end of Book 30 after 30.41.6, while it appeared in the First Decade within Book 5 (Oakley 1997, 233–237). Q therefore offers a text more complete than the other descendants of Λ . It is necessary then to determine whether the text of the last chapters of Book 30 in the Italian manuscripts comes from the *Puteaneus* tradition via Q or from the Spirensian one (Reeve 1987a, 141–149; de Franchis 2000, 25–26). Thus, in A, Valla's corrections on the last chapters of Book 30, which have been copied (by Petrarch?) from a Spirensian source, come from the α group (Reeve 1986, 155–163 and 1987b, 428 n. 2).

The so-called Spirensian Tradition (26–30)

The second tradition (Σ), which only intervenes from the Second Pentade, but we do not know exactly where, was brought to light as early as the sixteenth century by the humanist Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547): he had found in Speyer Cathedral (Germany) a manuscript that contained Books 26–40 (with numerous gaps), and had used it with Gelenius for the edition Froben 2 (1535). Since the manuscript later disappeared, one



had to wait for the German philologists' research work in the second half of the nineteenth century to accept the authenticity of this tradition, which was then named "Spirensian," in memory of Beatus Rhenanus' manuscript (Reeve 1987b, 405; de Franchis 2000, 17–18). Yet, this denomination, now currently used, is improper, for the *Spirensis* turned out to be a mere witness of this tradition, and not its archetype. Moreover, this second tradition is not easily accessible, for it is known only sporadically or indirectly (Reeve 1989b, 107).

The first critical edition of Books 26–30 taking the two branches into account is that of August Luchs (1879). It remains decisive for the choice of the Spirensian witnesses because Luchs had dared defy the ostracism against *recentiores* since Lachmann by retaining several contaminated manuscripts (Timpanaro 1981, 87–88).

The stemma of the Spirensian branch (Figure 1.2) is particularly difficult to draw due to the fragmentary or contaminated nature of witnesses. I have based mine on Luchs' (1879, vii and lviii–lviii), and taken into account Reeve's conclusions (1987b, 416–424) on recent discoveries of fragments.

Editors consider that the oldest witness consists of seven folios of a palimpsest once kept in Turin (=Ta or *Taurinensis*), and destroyed in the fire of the library in 1904. It contained fragments of Books 27 and 29, written in the fifth century. The only survivors are the collations published in 1873 by Studemund, who had established the old age of the Spirensian tradition by showing that the palimpsest provided readings agreeing (in the truth) with the *Spirensis* against the *Puteaneus*. Yet, this witness is not the ancestor of the Speyer manuscript, unlike what some editors sometimes give to understand (de Franchis 2000, 20–21).

Because of Reeve's questioning (1986, 152–153 and 1987b, 406) that the Turin fragments and the *Spirensis* belong to the same family, I have isolated it in the stemma. It could be the only late antique witness of a third branch.

According to Beatus Rhenanus, the *Spirensis* (S) "seemed to have been copied discontinuously from fragments of very old manuscripts" (*ex fragmentis vetustissimorum codicum saltuatim descriptum videbatur* [Froben 2, 33]). The two surviving leaves permit to date its writing, probably Italian, from the eleventh century (Munk Olsen 1991–2007; 1997, 57). The first, a fragment of Book 28 (=Folium Monacense⁵¹), was identified in 1869; the second, a fragment of Book 30,⁵² only some 30 years ago (de Franchis 2000, 18 and 30).

One must add the readings of the manuscript transmitted in Froben 2. They are of two kinds, both difficult to interpret: those quoted by Beatus Rhenanus in his notes (=Sp), which stop without any explanation at the third of Book 30, in 30.16.1 (Pfeifer 2000), and those printed by Gelenius (=G), who supervised the edition (Oakley 1997, 169–170). The latter are obtained from the collation of differences between the two Froben editions and confrontation of the results with the readings of other witnesses.

In B, the end of Book 30 (from 30.42.21) has been added, probably in Bamberg in the eleventh century (=B^s), by one hand (or two?) very close to those that copied the Fourth Decade (Reeve 1987a, 149–150).

Luchs had happily spotted in H,⁵³ copied in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century, that a long passage of Books 29 and 30 (between 29.3.15 and 30.21.12) presented pure Spirensian text, derived from a model close to S (Luchs 1879, XXXIII–XXXVIII; de Franchis 2000, 32). Being the only known manuscript that transmits the Spirensian tradition in a continuous way and on such a long portion of



text, without any sign of contamination, H is the most important witness of the branch. In the rest of the manuscript, the text belongs to the P tradition (Reeve 1989b, 110).

In N, Reeve (1987b, 408–409) has established against Billanovich that the Spirensian corrections and additions (=N^s) are almost contemporary with the copy of the manuscript on the P tradition. They are dated at the latest 1225 (Reeve 1989b, 100), and therefore prior to Petrarch (Reeve 1987b, 408–409). N^s fills in the original P lacuna in Book 27, but not that in Book 26, and complements Book 30 from 30.41.6.

O,⁵⁴ discovered in 1985, helped to specify the links between the witnesses (=Y in Reeve 1987b, 416–424). They are fragments of Books 27, 29, and 30 written in Italy in the eleventh century. They have undergone numerous corrections—difficult to date (Reeve 1989b, 103)—which come from the P family, and have often erased or made illegible the first text portions.

Its lost descendant ε derives from O in its least corrected state (=O¹). One must reconstruct it with two contaminated manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century: V,⁵⁵ copied in Rome, whose interest had been acknowledged by Luchs (1879), and E,⁵⁶ a new witness indicated by Reeve (1989b, 107–108).

In A, the complements and corrections introduced in the fourteenth century by an annotator identified as Petrarch since Billanovich's publication in 1951 (=A^{p2}) are assumed to derive from a later state of O (=O²), more corrected on the tradition of P (Reeve 1987b, 422). A^{p2} notably fills in the two original P lacunae (Book 26, Reeve 1986, 147–149, Book 27), and the end of Book 30.

The θ family (=Luchs' R) is believed to have come from the same state of O (=O²) as A^{p2}, but is independent from Petrarch, unlike what Billanovich thought. Its ancestor must be reconstructed from five contaminated manuscripts of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. The most important witnesses are X⁵⁷ and J.⁵⁸

L⁵⁹ (or *Codex Landulfianus*) is a very fine manuscript written and decorated around 1310 (lastly Ciccuto et al. 2012, with an edition of Landolfo's annotations by Giuliana Crevatin, 59–173, and of Petrarch's by Enrico Fenzi, 203–546). L contains an historical anthology and, notably, the three Decades. It has been produced for Landolfo Colonna, a rich Italian prelate, canon of the Chartres cathedral, and uncle of Giovanni Colonna, Petrarch's patron and friend. Petrarch bought it in 1351.

L clearly derived from the most largely corrected state of O (=O³), which makes it less interesting than V and the θ family (Reeve 1987b, 409–413). The comparison with O confirms the early datation of the historians of art (very beginning of the fourteenth century; Ciccuto et al. 2012, 175–176) against Billanovich, who thought that L had been made in Avignon for Landolfo Colonna, one generation later, from a copy, in Books 26–40, of the *vetus Carnotensis*, the mythical ancestor of the *Spirensis*. Chartres and Livy's illegible manuscript, which Landolfo Colonna had consulted in that place, are therefore a wrong track to reconstruct the Spirensian tradition (Reeve 1989b, 98–99). L is not its most important witness, but an Italian-contaminated manuscript, a further sign of the circulation of the Spirensian tradition in Italy before Petrarch.

If the *Puteaneus* tradition is better known today, the transmission of the Spirensian one remains largely mysterious, mainly because the witnesses are so exiguous. It seems always to have held its ground in Italy, without ever replacing the P tradition though. In passages for which editors can use the two branches, the differences often turn out to be minute: different word order, absence or presence of a prefix, use of synonyms.



The Spirensian tradition has therefore mainly helped to fill in lacunae of the *Puteaneus*, original or acquired, and to limit conjectures in Books 26–30.

Books 31–40

The history of the transmission of Books 31–40 abounds in new developments. This Decade has survived in about 100 manuscripts, mainly Italian *recentiores* minus Book 33 and the end of Book 40. They are the ones on which the *editio princeps* was based. The missing Books have been partly restored by Nicholas Carbachius in the edition he published with Wolfgang Angst (Mainz, 1519), thanks to his discovery in Mainz cathedral of a manuscript lost today, the *Moguntinus* (=Mg), which transmitted the text of the Decade from 33.17.6. Readers could only have access to the whole of Book 33 in the edition of Gaspar Lusignanus (Rome, 1616), which restored the beginning of this book, thanks to a manuscript just found in Bamberg (*Bambergensis* = B⁶⁰).

Following Billanovich's brilliant hypotheses (1951), already mentioned for the third Decade, McDonald (1965) investigated in depth the very numerous *recentiores* and organized them into families. His distribution was questioned by Billanovich's later research (1981), which set off the early circulation, as early as the thirteenth century, of the three Decades in the north-east of Italy without giving up the idea, though, that Petrarch had played a decisive part in the Livian manuscript tradition. The difficulties that appeared then in the reconstruction suggested by Billanovich were at the origin of M. Reeve's research, which led to two fundamental conclusions: first, the impossibility to localize and date the archetype from which the families identified by McDonald come, which amounts to giving up the hypothesis that the *vetus Carnotensis* played any part in the transmission of Books 26–40; and second, the setting off, for the fourth Decade, of the independent authority of one of these families—the α group which I mentioned in connection with the Third Decade.

I shall therefore present the manuscript tradition from Reeve's stemma (1989b, 99), which has been confirmed by later editions (Figure 1.3).

We know three modes of transmission for the Fourth Decade, but only the one that led to *recentiores* was widely spread.

One tradition is acknowledged by a single, badly mutilated late antique witness: fragments of Book 34 (Chapter 34–39), written in uncials in Italy in the fourth or fifth century, R⁶¹ (*Fragmenta Romana*), and found in Rome in 1906 in the basilica of St. John of Lateran. They had been wrapped around relics of the Holy Land since the eighth century. They offer a text without word separation, highly corrupt and independent of all the other manuscripts.

A second tradition, also known through a single manuscript (lost), the *Moguntinus* (=Mg), allowed Nicholas Carbachius to partly restore the missing parts of the Decade. His edition is our only source for the text of the last third of Book 40 (from 40.37.3). The *Moguntinus* was again collated by Gelenius for the Froben 2 edition where he noted some misreadings of Mg by Carbachius.

It has been assumed since Traube that the manuscript was copied in the ninth century in insular writing, difficult to read for humanists (McDonald 1965, xxxix, n. 1). It is admittedly an independent witness, but Tränkle noted, in his review of McDonald's edition (1965, 373), that Mg agreed in error with B, a member of the third tradition.



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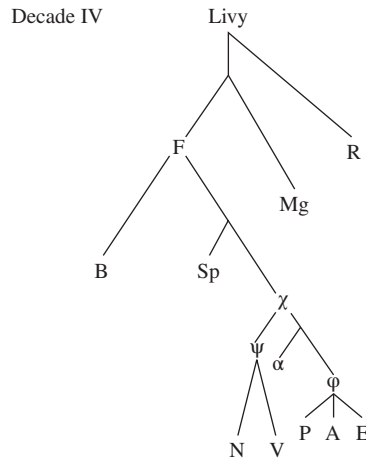


Figure 1.3 Stemma for the Fourth Decade

The branch of Mg and that of B therefore descend from a common archetype (Briscoe 1991, xix).

The third tradition, to which B belongs, is totally dominant, since it groups together all the manuscripts except R and Mg. It descends, as shown by Traube (McDonald 1965, xi, n. 1), from a late antique archetype (*Fragmenta Placentina* or *Bambergensia* = F),⁶² which reappeared in Bamberg at the beginning of the twentieth century, reduced to fragments of Books 33, 34, 35, and 39 found in bindings.⁶³ They are what is left of an uncial manuscript copied in Italy in the fifth century. Emperor Otho had obtained it at Piacenza and bequeathed it to his successor, Henry II, who gave it to the Bamberg cathedral in the eleventh century.

B transmits the decade up to 38.46.4. It was copied from F in Bamberg in the eleventh century and read at that period by a few readers who mention Book 33 (Billanovich 1951, 185, n. 2). When it was rediscovered in 1615, it only helped to restore the beginning of that book. It will really be fully exploited only in the nineteenth century, notably by J. Kreyssig, who includes in his edition of Book 33 (Meissen, 1839) his collations of the rest of the Decade.

F also produced another manuscript—lost—from which the *Spirensis* and χ , the ancestor of Italian manuscripts, descend.

The *Spirensis* is not as important for the Fourth Decade as in Books 26–30, where it represents another tradition than the dominant one of the *Puteaneus*. Indeed, we know, thanks to Gelenius (Froben 2), that it contained the same books as the Italian manuscripts (absence of Book 33 and end in 40.37.3). With Books 31–40 completely lost, it is known only through the readings (Sp) quoted by Gelenius in his notes and, with less certainty, as for Books 26–30, by the collation of differences between the two Froben editions.

Within this third tradition, almost all witnesses, apart from B and Sp, are then those Italian manuscripts, mostly *recentiores* of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. Their complicated history was gradually made clearer in the twentieth century.

The lost ancestor of these *recentiores* (=Traube's ϕ) was named χ by McDonald (1965), for he identified it with the *vetus Carnotensis* revealed by Billanovich (1951). According to



the Italian scholar, this lost Chartres codex (χ) had presumably been the exemplar of a copy (φ)—also lost—which Landolfo Colonna was assumed to have brought to Avignon in the late 1320s. Landolfo had presumably had Books 26–40 transcribed from φ for his own volume (named L in the Third Decade, and P in the Fourth). Petrarch had presumably corrected and complemented from φ Books 26–30 in his A manuscript and had Books 31–40 transcribed from the same source, to finish gathering the three Decades then available in his manuscript, which originally contained only the third.

The identification of χ with the *vetus Carnotensis* has been abandoned since Reeve (1986–1987). It must be admitted that its date and origin are unknown.

The best witnesses to reconstruct φ remain those used by McDonald (1965), namely P, A, and E, a manuscript kept in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R. I. 4. They group together the three decades in a single volume, and all date from the fourteenth century.

P, which was copied at the beginning of the fourteenth century and not in 1328–1329, was abundantly annotated and corrected by Landolfo Colonna, and then by Petrarch, who acquired it in 1351.

A is extant only to 38.24.11. It has been first annotated (maybe by Petrarch?), then, in the fifteenth century, by Valla and by a reader contemporary of Valla (Briscoe 1991, xi).

In his classification of the numerous *recentiores*, which was reshaped by Reeve (1986), McDonald had distinguished three groups (α , β , and γ) among the descendants of φ . The α group derived, according to McDonald, from φ and from Landolfo Colonna's and Petrarch's corrections in P and A.

Besides, McDonald had isolated another family (ψ) older than φ , notably because five manuscripts of the fifteenth century agreed in error with B against φ (Briscoe 1980, 316–318). The old age of ψ is confirmed by an amazing amount of false word-division in its descendants, a sign that the exemplar was in continuous writing (Briscoe 1991, xii). Its family is composed of manuscripts that were all copied in Florence during 1412–1413, and presented the three Decades in sets of three volumes (de la Mare 1971, 177–179, and 185–186).

McDonald therefore considered that χ had two descendants: ψ , older, even though it is represented by more recent witnesses, and φ . The best witnesses of ψ are N⁶⁴ and V⁶⁵ (Briscoe 1991, xi–xiii).

M. Reeve has shown the necessity to reconsider both the position of α in relation to φ and that of φ in relation to ψ : the α group does not descend from φ , but, though highly corrupt, it has its own authority (Reeve 1986, 138–143). As to φ , it is not ψ 's twin, unlike what McDonald thought. It descends from a lost manuscript, which led to α and φ (Briscoe 2008, 14).

Indeed, the α family contains a text known before Landolfo Colonna and Petrarch, which Lovato Lovati (1241–1309) would read in the region of Padua in the second half of the thirteenth century (Billanovich 1981, 6–10). This Paduan notary had access to the three surviving Decades.⁶⁶ Actually, it had already been known since 1914 that the Fourth was read in Italy in 1320 (Reeve 1986, 138).

The place of α in the stemma has been disputed: some consider it to be independent of the source of φ and of ψ (Walsh 1999, XII–XIV and XIX; Mineo 2003, XLI–XLIII and XLV), but this objection was turned down by Briscoe (2008, 14, n. 38), who supports Reeve's position (1989b, 99), as reproduced in the stemma shown in Figure 1.3.

The best witnesses of α are Holkham Hall 344, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Rep. 1. Paris, Bnf, lat. 5740, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca g. I. 8, and Leiden, Vossianus Latinus



F. 66 (Reeve 1986, 140–142). They date from the fourteenth century, but for Holkham Hall 344, perhaps from late thirteenth century (Reeve, 1986, 140, n. 2).

The independent authority of α is important for the last books of the Decade, when B disappeared, namely after 38.46.4, for the agreement of ψ α against φ allows us to know the text transmitted before corruption (Briscoe 2008, 14).

All the other manuscripts are only useful for their conjectures, namely McDonald's groups β and γ that descend from φ (Briscoe 2008, 14, n. 40).

The investigation of *recentiores* has therefore been particularly fruitful for the Fourth Decade, since it revealed the part that the manuscripts of the fourteenth–fifteenth century had to play to reconstruct Livy's text.

Books 41–45

The Fifth Decade is only partially known to us (Books 41–45) and, apart from a few lines (41.18.16) in Priscian, through a single manuscript, V,⁶⁷ written in uncials in Italy at the beginning of the fifth century (Lowe 1934–1971, 10, n. 1472; 1971, 65). The presence of the *incipit* of Book 46 just after the *explicit* of Book 45 shows that V originally contained the whole of the Decade. A note of possession from the eighth century, which appears in the same place, reveals that Books 46–50 were already lost at that date.

The manuscript had by then crossed the Alps and was in Holland. It belonged to a Theutbert, who claimed to be bishop of Dorostat, a village near Utrecht (Briscoe 2012, 3). This owner had noticed the muddle and lacunae in his copy and attempted to remedy the situation by numbering the quires. The manuscript then passed into Germany, in the Lorsch abbey, where it was only found in 1527, still more damaged, by Simon Grynaeus, who gave out the *princeps* edition in 1531 (=Froben 1; Marrone 2009). V finally reached Vienna in 1665, with its second quire missing this time, which contained the first nine chapters of Book 41 (according to today's numeration). The text of these chapters therefore depends only on Froben 1. Actually, the Froben 1 edition served as the basis of studies on this part of Livy's *History* for nearly four centuries. Not until the end of the nineteenth century was it deemed useful to re-examine the manuscript whose text is often very difficult to interpret.

Thus, if the history of the transmission of this Decade is much simpler than that of the preceding ones, it is far more difficult to edit its text: on top of the muddle and losses that affected V over the centuries, it contains or transmits numerous errors and corruptions, particularly difficult to elucidate. Some of them are even thought to have been inherited from the transcription of a model in early cursive script, known to have been used until the third century for literary texts (Zelzer 1972; Paschoud 2012, 362).

My thanks go to Clara Auvray-Assayas, Pierre Petitmengin, Stephen Oakley, and Michael Reeve for their most useful comments on the first part of this chapter and on drawing the Third Decade stemma. I am also greatly indebted to Josette Florent for having translated this chapter.

NOTES

- 1 It only compares with the contemporary Greek historian Nicolaus of Damascus' 144 books (Parmentier-Prometea Barone 2011, xxiv).



- 2 On Livy's first readers, see de Franchis (2012 and forthcoming).
- 3 The individual practice of *excerpta* is attested by Pliny the Younger, 6.20.5. On *Periochae*, see Chapter 33.
- 4 One of the first to mention 142 books is Petrarch (1304–1374), *Rerum memorandarum libri*, I, 18, 1 (written in 1343–1345), and *Familiars* 24, 8, 2 (written in 1351). He seems to have deduced it from the *Periochae* (Reeve 1991, 462–463). The oldest manuscripts transmit the summaries up to Book 142, except those of Books 136–137. Their *explicit* indicates: *titi liui periochae omnium librorum ab urbe condita*.
- 5 Or perhaps his predecessor, Pope Felix III (483–492). See Paul Jal (ed.), *Fragments*, Paris, 1991², 211 and 245.
- 6 These Italian manuscripts transmit neither Book 33 nor the end of Book 40. Holkham Hall 344 is perhaps our oldest witness of a practice of which Petrarch is only a famous example, not its initiator (Reeve 1987a, 146).
- 7 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (=BAV), Palatinus Latinus 24* (*refers to manuscripts available online). Livy's text (a passage from the war against Sertorius) is dated in the fourth century (Fohlen in Pellegrin et al. 1982, 20; Ogilvie 1984).
- 8 Funari (2011, 239–258). Pseudo-discoveries of lost parts of Livy have regularly been in the news till the middle of the twentieth century (Ullman 1973; Freller 2005).
- 9 To be absolutely consulted.
- 10 This method, which is based on the genealogical classification of manuscripts from shared errors, permits building families by eliminating the manuscripts whose ancestor survives (*eliminatio codicum descriptorum*). See Reeve (1989a).
- 11 A few complements to Reeve's list in Oakley (2005, 494). On his method, which combines whole and partial collations, according to witnesses, see Oakley (1997, 153 n. 3, 2005, 494).
- 12 V transmits fragments of Books 3–6, which proves that it originally contained the whole Decade.
- 13 Oxford, Bodl. Lat. class. f 5 = P. Oxy. XI 1379.
- 14 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XL (38).
- 15 Symmachus, Letters, 9.13: *Munus totius Liuiani operis quod spopondi etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur* ("The present I promised you—the whole of Livy's work—is delayed again today, its revision requiring particular care"). The manuscripts only transmit the indication of this revision for the first Decade through the signature, at the end of Books 1–9, of a certain Victorianus, who made it for the Symmachi (*emendabam domnis Symmachis*).
- 16 The manuscripts transmit, along with Victorianus' signature, that of Nicomachus Dexter in Books 3–5, and that of Nicomachus Flavianus in Books 6–8.
- 17 The Greek sigla (which by convention refer to lost manuscripts) are borrowed from previous editors (Oakley 1997, 162), but converted into capitals, except for the μ family, obviously to avoid any confusion with the sign of an extant manuscript (M). They are in square brackets, only in the First Decade, for the same reason.
- 18 Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469 or 1470 (ISTC number il00236000). It contained Decades 1, 3, and 4, but for Book 33 and the end of Book 40.
- 19 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (=BML), Plut. 63, 19*.
- 20 London, British Library (=BL), Harley 2493*.
- 21 London, BL, Harley 2672. It stops a few words before the end of the book, in 8, 40, 5 *scriptor*.
- 22 I leave fragments of Books 5 and 6 aside, Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Waldecker Handschriftenreste 147 (=W), not significant enough (Oakley 1997, 265).
- 23 København, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Fragm. 2813–2814* (olim Kapsel 19/IX).

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- 24 From its owner's name, the humanist juriconsult Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (=Bnf), lat. 5726.
- 25 His hand was identified in 1929–1930 (Oakley 1997, 157, n. 14).
- 26 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5725*.
- 27 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus Latinus F. 21.
- 28 Valencia, Archivo Catedral 173.
- 29 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3329.
- 30 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 6A.
- 31 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 326.
- 32 Oakley (1997, 219–263) classified into families its very numerous descendants.
- 33 London, BL, Harley 2493*. Through D's oldest Italian descendant, Q (Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindobonensis Lat. 33–1), copied in mid-twelfth century (Oakley 1997, 219–220). On the importance of Q in the circulation of the Third Decade in Italy, see p. 11.
- 34 U (Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C.908) can be eliminated (Oakley 2005, 499–500).
- 35 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5725*.
- 36 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5724*.
- 37 Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Class. 34*. One must also exclude another descendant of P, S (or *Sorbonicus* = Paris, Bnf, lat. 16023) retained by Bayet 1940, LXXXV–VI (Reeve 1996c, 79).
- 38 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 348.
- 39 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.24.
- 40 Kenney 1974, 18–19. On the genealogy of Livian incunables, see Oakley (1997, 284–285).
- 41 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5730*.
- 42 = *Antidotum in Facium*, IV (ed. Regoliosi 1981).
- 43 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reginensis Latinus 762.
- 44 Firenze, BML, Plut. 63.20*.
- 45 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5731.
- 46 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Class. 35*.
- 47 Cambridge, Trinity College 637.
- 48 Firenze, BML, Plut., 63.21*.
- 49 London, BL, Harley 2493*.
- 50 Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindobonensis Lat. 33.
- 51 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29224(2)*.
- 52 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen A. II. 16.
- 53 London, BL, Harley 2684.
- 54 Nancy, Archives départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, I F 342 n. 3.
- 55 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 876*.
- 56 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Lat. 385.
- 57 Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z 364.
- 58 London, BL, Burney 198.
- 59 Paris, Bnf, lat. 5690 (=P in the Fourth Decade).
- 60 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Class. 35*. It also contains part of the Third Decade.
- 61 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 10696. Lowe 1934–1971, 1, n. 57 and 1971, 44.
- 62 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Class. 35a*.
- 63 Lowe (1934–1971, 8, n. 1028 and 1971, 60). New fragments of Book 34 have been published in 2000 (Briscoe 2008, 14, n. 39).
- 64 Oxford, New College 279.
- 65 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3331.



- 66 Several manuscripts of this group change their allegiance from one Decade to another (Oakley 1997, 222, n. 229).
 67 Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 15*.

CROSS-REFERENCES

See CHAPTER 31: THE PERIOCHAE; CHAPTER 32: LIVY'S RECEPTION

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FURTHER READING

Reeve (2011) collects several fundamental articles on the principles and aims of the stemmatic method. The easiest access to the transmission of the First Decade is Reeve (1996c), and for the Third and Fourth Decades, Reeve (1989b). For the Fourth, Briscoe's synthesis (1993, updated

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in Briscoe 2008, 13–16) can also be used, and, for Books 41–45, his latest (2012, 3–4). Billanovich’s fascinating presentation 1951 (aptly reviewed by Fraenkel 1952) succeeded in arousing Livy’s editors’ interest in *recentiores*. It remains as stimulating as ever and is still essential for understanding subsequent research, even though his results have been questioned. Reeve (1986, 132, n. 1) helpfully selects, among Billanovich’s many publications until 1985, those that regard Livy’s transmission. Lastly, Oakley (1997, 152–327 and 2005, 494–501) offers the most complete presentation of the transmission of the First Decade. He can also be profitably consulted for the other Decades and for the history of the reception of Livy’s text.