

## TWO DARMARIOS MANUSCRIPTS OF SCHOLIA ON OPIAN'S *HALIEUTICA*

A manuscript tradition of scholia on Oppian's *Halientica*, independent of the poetic text, appears to have developed toward the end of the first half of the sixteenth century. It was in currency by 1552, when the earliest surviving witness (Matritensis 4715 or M, see below) was written. In 1577 the prolific scribe and manuscript dealer Andreas Darmarios discovered a copy of these scholia in the library of Cardinal Mendoza in Madrid. This exemplar, which has not been identified, was a productive find for Darmarios, for he copied at least four manuscripts from it: Salamanca

2730 (S)<sup>1</sup>, Escorial gr. 569 (E)<sup>2</sup>, Brussels 85 (Br)<sup>3</sup>, and Beinecke 269 (B)<sup>4</sup>. These four manuscripts were written in Madrid from 1577 to 1579; Br and B were subsequently taken by Darmarios to Salamanca in 1580, where they were supplemented with scholia from a second source. This second source also generated two other copies of *Halientica* scholia: part of Monacensis 134 (Mon) and Londinensis Royal Ms. 16 D XII (R). The scholia in all of the abovementioned manuscripts are ultimately derived from the scholia found in Laurentianus 31.3, or Z, one of the seven hyparchetypes of the *Halientica* text tradition<sup>5</sup>. The six Darmarios copies of unattached scholia all belong to one of two branches, what I refer to as the Madrid and Salamanca lines. The oldest surviving representatives of these lines are Matritensis 4715<sup>6</sup>, its complement Mon<sub>1</sub> (see below), and Salamanca M 31, or z<sub>1</sub><sup>7</sup>, respectively. Unlike the other manuscripts under discussion here, the scholia in z<sub>1</sub> accompanies the text of the *Halientica*; z<sub>1</sub> is, in fact, the closest surviving descendant of Z. Written by Johannes Calliandros in 1326, only thirty-five years after Z itself was written, z<sub>1</sub> reproduces in full the copious corpus of Z scholia. Manuscripts of the unattached scholia tradition that are more closely allied to z<sub>1</sub>, that is, those belonging to the Salamanca branch, possess a virtually complete rendering of Z scholia as well<sup>8</sup>. Those more closely allied to M, that is, manu-

1) Formerly Matr. Palacio gr. 39. For a description of Salamanca 2730 see C. Graux, *Notices sommaires de manuscrits Grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal* (Paris 1892) 105–106.

2) For a description of Escorial gr. 569 see G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los Codices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. 3 (Madrid 1967) 223–224.

3) For a description of Beinecke 269 see B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, Yale University (Binghamton, New York 1984).

4) For a description of Brussels 85 see H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits Grecs de la bibliotheque royale de Bruxelles* (Gand 1885) 27.

5) For a description of Z and its descendants see F. Fajen, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Halientica des Oppian* (Meisenheim am Glan 1969); D. Robin, *The manuscript Tradition of Oppian's Halientica*, *BollClass* 3,2 (1981) 28–94; F. Fajen, *Noten zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Halientica des Oppian* (Stuttgart 1995).

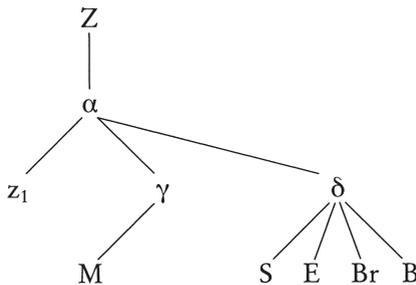
6) For a description of Matritensis 4715 see G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los Codices Griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid 1987) 283–286.

7) For a description of Salamanca M 31 see A. Tovar, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Universitatis Salamantinae*, I (Salamanca 1963).

8) The most complete exposition of scholia on Oppian's *Halientica* available is U. C. Bussemaker, *Scholia et paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum* (Paris 1849).

scripts of the Madrid branch, all have identically abridged assemblages of scholia.

In a recent paper I discussed the Madrid line of manuscripts<sup>9</sup>. This branch comprises six manuscripts, four written by Darmarios – S, E, Br, and B – and two not. One of the latter two is Mon<sub>1</sub>, to be discussed below; the other is the aforementioned M, which was written by Camillus Gianetos<sup>10</sup> in 1552, a quarter-century before Darmarios produced his first copy of the scholia in 1577. Like Darmarios' four Madrid manuscripts, M presents a truncated version of Z scholia, but it is a very different abridgement from the one found uniformly in Darmarios' renditions. The disparity in content between M and the Darmarios group is one source of evidence demonstrating that M was not Darmarios' exemplar in Madrid. The other definitive evidence resides in the readings. I have previously demonstrated through a hierarchical series of separative readings from z<sub>1</sub> and M that the Darmarios group of Madrid manuscripts was not derived from either of them, but is more closely related to M than to z<sub>1</sub>. Moreover, conjunctive readings in all four of Darmarios' manuscripts – the Madrid group – evince a common source for all of them, the unidentified manuscript that Darmarios found in the Mendoza library in 1577<sup>11</sup>. I have proposed the following stemma codicum for the Madrid branch of the tradition.



9) L. Leverenz, Four Manuscripts of Unattached Scholia on Oppian's *Halientica* by Andreas Darmarios, GRBS 37,1 (1996) 101–114.

10) Identified by both de Andres and Sosower as Camillus Venetus. See de Andres (n. 6, above) 285 n.; M. Sosower, A Forger Revisited: Andreas Darmarios and Beinecke 269, JÖByz 43 (1993) 290.

11) While the content of these manuscripts consists entirely of Z scholia, none of the seven surviving descendants of Z possesses a body of scholia that corresponds to the peculiar assemblage that appears in the Darmarios group.

What I designate here as the Salamanca branch of the independent scholia tradition comprises four manuscripts, in three of which the Salamancan material constitutes only a (albeit substantial) portion of the composite corpus of scholia. Br and B initially consisted of the truncated ensemble of Madrid scholia. Darmarios wrote them both in 1579; he then appended B to another, unidentified codex, and paginated it accordingly with the numerals 205–263, while leaving Br unattached to any other codex. In 1580 Darmarios took B and Br with him to Salamanca, where he discovered a manuscript containing the full corpus of Z scholia. He supplemented both B and Br with the balance of scholia not included in the Madrid collection, that is, scholia on Books 1.74–405, 432–783, and 4.204–692. Darmarios simply appended the newly found material to the end of the first layer in Br, with the result that the order of presentation is skewed. However, he went to some lengths to emend many of the original Madrid readings with variants from his Salamancan source, which he clearly considered the more authoritative. While Darmarios did not emend the Madrid text so rigorously in B, he did take greater pains in arranging the material, integrating the two sets of scholia to accord with their natural sequence as found in the Z manuscripts. He detached B from its adopted codex and repaginated it in its newly construed order; there are thus alternating sections of B showing double then single pagination<sup>12</sup>. In my earlier analysis of the Madrid group I demonstrated the tandem provenance of B and Br with alternating M and z<sub>1</sub> conjunctive readings. B and Br readings will be employed below in evincing a Salamancan derivation for two other Darmarios copies of independent *Halientica* scholia, Londin. Royal Ms. 16 D XII (R), and part of Monacensis 134 (Mon<sub>2</sub>).

Royal Ms. 16 D XII<sup>13</sup> comprises three manuscripts, the third of which was written by Darmarios (ff. 37–272). All three manuscripts date to the sixteenth century, but were not bound together until the eighteenth century. The Darmarios portion of the codex commences with scholia on the *Halientica* (ff. 37–156), which is prefaced by the Life of Oppian that is a standard feature of Z family manuscripts in the *Halientica* tradition, and a definitive feature of the Salamanca branch of manuscripts in the independent

12) For a description of B's composition in some detail see D. F. Jackson and L. Leverenz, *The Sources of Beinecke Manuscript 269*, RHT 22 (1992) 289–291.

13) See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London 1921) 191–192.

scholia tradition. R, Mon, Br, and B all contain the Life (as does  $z_1$ ), while neither M nor any of the Darmarian Madrid manuscripts that are not contaminated with Salamancan material (S or E) do. Following the *Halientica* scholia are a paraphrase of Oppian's *Cynegetica*, scholia on the *Images* of Philostratus, and a commentary on Hermogenes.

Monacensis 134<sup>14</sup> is a manuscript of 57 folios comprising only scholia on the *Halientica*, preceded by the abovementioned Life of Oppian. Mon consists of two strata, only the latter of which was written by Darmarios. The earlier stratum, which Darmarios found sometime in 1580, comprises the large tracts of scholia missing from M. Darmarios supplemented these scholia with the balance of Z scholia from another source, creating the second layer of the codex, or Mon<sub>2</sub>. The circumstances of the division and subsequent transmission of the scholia to M and the antecedent layer of Mon remain a mystery. However, M's exemplar had evidently been dissected by the time Gianetos wrote  $\bar{M}$  in 1552, for in a couple of instances he unwittingly began to copy what were incomplete scholia in his exemplar, only to proceed confusedly to the middle of a different scholion following a lacuna of hundreds of entries<sup>15</sup>. The scholia that are missing in M are precisely the scholia, down to the word, that constitute the older sections of Mon not written by Darmarios. (The antecedent sections of Mon will be referred to as Mon<sub>1</sub>, those portions that were written by Darmarios as Mon<sub>2</sub>.) Mon<sub>1</sub> may, in fact, have been the other half of M's missing exemplar. The alternation between the tandem parts of Mon and M runs as follows: M and Mon<sub>2</sub> contain scholia on Books 1.1–797, and 2.6–167, ending with the first word of 2.173, at which point Mon<sub>1</sub> commences on f. 29r with that initial word of 2.173, ἀγκοίνησιν. This section of Mon<sub>1</sub> continues through 2.333, where it ends mid-entry with the word βλέπειν on f. 30v. M and Mon<sub>2</sub> pick up here with the last six words of 2.333 following

14) See I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, vol. 2 (Munich 1806–1812) 96–97.

15) On f. 153v Gianetos initially wrote ἀγκοίνησιν in the bottom right hand margin as an indication of the first word to appear on the next page. This was the first word in the scholion on 2.167 (and as it happened, the only word from that scholion in his exemplar). When Gianetos realized that there was a gap between ἀγκοίνησιν and the next words in his exemplar, which were the last six words of 2.334 beginning with καὶ οἶονεῖ, he inserted ἀγκοίνησιν at the end of the last line of the text, and wrote καὶ οἶονεῖ next to ἀγκοίνησιν in the bottom margin of f. 153v. Both postscripts are discernible from the discrepancies in alignment and writing angle. καὶ οἶονεῖ are then the opening words on f. 154r.

βλέπειν, and continue through 2.416, where a second lacuna intervenes in M. Mon<sub>1</sub> begins anew on f. 32r with the next scholion, 2.419, and proceeds through 2.615 on f. 33v. Here again M and Mon<sub>2</sub> pick up the thread with the next scholion on 2.634, and follow through to the end of Book 2. A third and lengthy lacuna ensues in M, consisting of Book 3 in its entirety and Book 4.1 through all but the last eight words of 4.58, which is precisely the material that comprises the third segment of Mon<sub>1</sub>. This section begins on f. 35r at the start of Book 3 and ends on f. 43v with ἔνδον καὶ in 4.58. M and Mon<sub>2</sub> resume here one final time with the last eight words of 4.58, and continue to the end of the book at 4.692. Scholia on Book 5 are missing altogether from M, and make up the last portion of Mon<sub>1</sub> on ff. 53r–57v.

Thus, the segments of Mon that Darmarios wrote to complement Mon<sub>1</sub> duplicate the scholia that constitute M, with a few differences in the arrangement of scholia in Book 1, and the inclusion of scattered entries that are omitted in M. But Darmarios used neither M nor the Madrid exemplar that he had employed for his Madrid group to augment the scholia in Mon. Whereas he had resorted to the same truncated exemplar in Madrid four times in the years 1577 to 1579 to produce the Madrid quartet, when Darmarios found the attenuated Mon<sub>1</sub> he took it to a Salamancon exemplar he discovered sometime in 1580, one that he also employed to supplement the Madrid manuscripts B and Br. Darmarios was clearly using a more replete exemplar in Salamanca than the one he had utilized for his Madrid manuscripts, for in a couple of instances he started to copy scholia in Mon<sub>2</sub> that were already written in Mon<sub>1</sub>, until he realized what he was doing and crossed the redundant words out<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the scholia Darmarios needed to complement the anterior core of B and Br were a very different set from the one he needed for Mon<sub>1</sub>. Therefore if, as we shall demonstrate below, Darmarios used the same Salamancon exemplar to supplement the Madrid manuscripts B and Br as he used for Mon, he would have needed a virtually complete as-

16) This happens twice. On f. 28v Darmarios ended the page prematurely, leaving off with the first word of 2.167, ἀγκοίνησι, and the first letter of the second word, ᾠ. Evidently Darmarios then realized that this was where Mon<sub>1</sub> began, and therefore left the bottom portion of f. 28v empty. On f. 34r Darmarios began with the last few clauses (twenty-three words) of the scholion on 2.615, but then recognized that these words comprised the final lines of this segment of Mon<sub>1</sub>. He thus crossed out the redundant words and moved on to the next scholion on 2.634.

semblage of Z scholia to complement all three manuscripts. The chart below elucidates the relationship of the two layers of Monacensis 134 to the Madrid and Salamanca branches of the tradition, the former represented by M and the anterior layers of B and Br, the latter by the posterior layers of B and Br.

Book/Line	Beinecke 269/ Brussels 85	Monacensis 134	Matritensis 4715
1.1-73	1st Layer (Madrid Source)	2nd Layer (Darmarios' hand, Salamanca source)	Present
74-405	2nd Layer (Salam. Source)*	2nd/Salamanca*	Present
406-431	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
432-783	2nd/Salam.*	2nd/Salamanca*	Present
784-end	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
2.6-167	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
173-333 (in part)	1st/Madrid**	1st Layer (Not Darmarios' hand, Madrid Source)**	Missing
333 (con- tinued)-416	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
419-615	1st/Madrid**	1st/Madrid**	Missing
634-688	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
3.1-647	1st/Madrid**	1st/Madrid**	Missing
4.1-58 (in part)	1st/Madrid**	1st/Madrid**	Missing
58 (con- tinued)-203	1st/Madrid	2nd/Salamanca	Present
204-692	2nd/Salam.*	2nd/Salamanca*	Present
5.1-621	1st/Madrid**	1st/Madrid**	Missing

I have previously demonstrated an uncular relationship of M to S, E, Br, and B, Darmarios' Madrid quartet. Since the antecedent layer of Mon is unmistakably the complement of M, it too should show an M-like affinity to Darmarios' group. Accordingly, one would expect, in the sections of scholia wherein Mon and B/Br share a Madrid provenance (doubly asterisked on the chart above), that those three manuscripts would frequently concur in their readings, together with the other two members of the Madrid tetrad. (Obviously, there are no M readings to compare here.) And this is indeed the case; the preponderance of Mon variants stands in agreement with B, Br, S, and E throughout Books 3 and 5 and two sections of Book 2. The brief catalogue that follows is but a representative fraction of these conjunctive readings.

- 3.7–8 ἔπεμψαν] πέμψαι Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 3.40–41,65–80 om. Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 3.113 post κεχαπητότα om. καὶ κεχαρηότα Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 3.161 post ῥέω om. ῥεθάμιξ . . . εἰς α Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 3.164 ἔτυμολογεῖται] ἔτυμολογεῖσθαι Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.end (περιοχαὶ . . .) post πῶς om. κήτη Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.6–9 μετὰ] τῶν Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 post τραυματισθέντας om. ἐκ τοῦ αἵματηροῦ Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.21 χεῖρα] χεῖρονα Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.37,62–90 om. Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.119 ante καταλαβεῖν om. καταβαλεῖν . . . σπουδάξουσιν Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.126 βέλουσ] βάρους Mon, Br, B, S, E  
 5.132 κάλοις] καλάμοις Mon, Br, B, S, E

Like its other half M, Mon<sub>1</sub> shares the errors of the Madrid quartet so consistently as to suggest a close alliance. But the same types of evidence that have previously been elicited to discount M as a parent or sibling to the Darmarios group apply to Mon<sub>1</sub> as well. First, there is the obvious disparity in constituent parts. Secondly, there are disjunctive readings that demonstrate separate sources for Mon<sub>1</sub> and the Darmarios group.

- 2.319 ἀψύχου<sub>1</sub> Br, B, S, E ἀψύχον Mon  
 post πλεονασμῶ om. τοῦ υ καὶ Br, B, S, E hab. Mon  
 3.107 χάσω Mon χάσωμαι Br, B, S, E  
 3.113 καπήσω Mon πήσω Br, B, S, E  
 3.210 κυρολεξία Mon κυριολεξία Br, B, S, E  
 3.238 παρὰ Mon περὶ Br, B, S, E  
 3.398 γένος Br, B, S, E μένος Br, B, S, E  
 4.7 παρασχοῦσαι] παρέχουσαι Mon παρέπουσαι Br, B, S, E  
 4.18 σκοτίσαι Mon ἀντίσαι Br, B, S, E  
 4.33 κόψω] κόπτω Mon om. κόψω Br, B, S, E  
 4.46 μέρω Mon μόρω Br, B, S, E  
 ἀμαρῶ Mon ἀμερῶ Br, B, S, E  
 5.293 πεπλησμένος Mon πεπληρωμένος Br, B, S, E  
 5.434 διώκουσι Mon διώκου Br, B, S, E

None of the above Madrid readings is shared by R, the only one of Darmarios' Salamanican manuscripts whose composition is unified, or by z<sub>1</sub>, the earliest representative of the Salamanca branch. In fact, as the following readings show, z<sub>1</sub> and R often share errors where Mon<sub>1</sub> concurs with the standard Z reading, a situation that attests the bifurcation of R and z<sub>1</sub> from Mon<sub>1</sub> and the Madrid group.

- 3.80 ἦ[ωσ] ἦ z<sub>1</sub>, R  
 3.129 post καὶ τὸ om. διεχῆς ὅτι τὸ z<sub>1</sub>, R  
 3.145 ἔτι] τι z<sub>1</sub>, R

- 3.291 post παρακειμένου om. ἔοικα z<sub>1</sub>, R  
ante ἔοικυα<sub>2</sub> om. εἰκῶς . . . ἦ z<sub>1</sub>, R  
3.33 post μὲν add. γὰρ z<sub>1</sub>, R  
3.362 post νοῦν add. ἔχοντες z<sub>1</sub>, R  
5.1 post ἀνεπιχείρητον om. εἰς z<sub>1</sub>, R  
5.20 post Ὀμηρον add. πόνον ἔλκυστήρα z<sub>1</sub>, R  
5.74 post θῆρ add. ὁ z<sub>1</sub>, R

We have previously demonstrated an intermediary between z<sub>1</sub> and the *Halientica* hyparchetype Z. The separative readings that follow indicate that R was ultimately descended from this intermediary, for it cannot be derived from z<sub>1</sub>.

- 3.13 post γὰρ om. πάντας z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
3.31 χαλῶν] λαχῶν z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
3.211 post εἰ δις om. ἀποβολῆ . . . ἴδις z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
3.246 post ἐσθίω om. ἐδῆ z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
3.522 post τις om. πνοῆ z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
4.49 post ἰχθύς om. ὁ . . . ταχῦς z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
5.215 post Ἰονίου om. δὲ z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
5.296 post νόμον om. ἄδειν z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.  
5.417 post φίλος om. θεοῖς z<sub>1</sub> hab. R rell.

Vestiges of the intermediary between Z and z<sub>1</sub> are found in readings common to z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, and B, which do not appear in Z. (S and E, which were not augmented with second-source Salamancan material, do not possess these scholia.) These readings are relatively infrequent.

- 1.74 post ὅτι add. ὁ z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, B  
1.76 ἀπὸ λίθου] ἀπολιθοῦντι z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, B  
1.78 ὅτε] ὅταν z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, B  
1.256 ante ἰχθύες add. οἱ z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, B  
4.232 post ἰστέον add. δὲ z<sub>1</sub>, M, Mon, R, Br, B

Singular readings in M are pervasive in the singly asterisked sections of scholia, wherein M is the sole witness to the Madrid tradition. Never does Mon<sub>2</sub>, R, Br, or B agree with M against the other three in these sections of scholia. These readings provide evidence for the disjunction of Mon<sub>2</sub>, R, and the second layers of Br and B from the Madrid branch of the tradition.

- 1.74 ante εὐκτιχοῦ add. τοῦ M  
1.76 post ὄν om. τὸ M  
1.95 post εἶναι om. τῆς ἀλὸς M  
1.100 post ἀσθενὲς om. καὶ M  
1.121 post γὰρ add. πρὸς M  
1.129 λέπρα<sub>2</sub>] πέτρα M  
1.150 πρώτην] τύχην M  
1.155 post πεφροντικῶς om. τοῦ . . . ἔχον M

- 4.238 post ἀπό add. τὸν M  
 4.243 γαλεοί] λευγαλέοι M  
 4.257 post ὑπομνήσκοντα om. ἐνταῦθα M

Conversely, there is a large number of conjunctive errors among  $z_1$ , Mon<sub>2</sub>, R, Br, and B. M does not share any of the following readings.

- 1.96 ἦγουν] ἦως  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 1.107 ὄν] ἐν  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.232 post ἐστι<sub>1</sub> om. – ὁ γάρ . . . ἐστι<sub>2</sub>  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.257 post τάφοις add. τὰ  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 post κυκλίδας om. χρυσᾶς  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.272 ante οἱ ὀκτάποδες add. ἦν  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.329 ante ὄλος om. ὅτι  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.343 post δάκρυα om. φαίη  $z_1$ , Mon, R, Br, B

However, the separative errors that follow demonstrate that  $z_1$  was not the source of Mon<sub>2</sub>, R, or the second layers of Br or B.

- 1.361 post ἀπό om. τοῦ  $z_1$   
 1.504 ante τῶν add. ἦ  $z_1$   
 4.239 post μὴ om. ἀκούοντι  $z_1$   
 4.302 βάθος] βάρος  $z_1$   
 4.343 ἐστὶ] ἐπὶ  $z_1$   
 4.353 καταγομέναις] καταγομένη  $z_1$

By far the most common constellation in these sections of the corpus comprises variant readings shared only by the descendent manuscripts Mon<sub>2</sub>, R, Br, and B. I have in the past demonstrated a Salamanca origin for the latter strata of Br and B. From the many conjunctive readings among these four manuscripts we may infer a common source for them that is separate from the immediate sources of  $z_1$  or M.

- 1.78 post γράφεται add. δὲ Mon, R, Br, B  
 1.103 τύπος] τόπος Mon, R, Br, B  
 1.126–27 post Ἀγησιλάου add. οὐ Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.204 δύο] δι' ὄν Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.204 πολλαῖς] πολλαὶ Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.239 post αἰοντι om. μὴ ἀκούοντι Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.293 μολεῖν] μαλεῖν Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.311 ἀλλήλους] ἀλλήλοις Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.325 και] ἐν Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.329 χρόνος] χορός Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.343 ἀνομοίως] ἀνομίαις Mon, R, Br, B

In the unmarked sections of the chart wherein Mon is assigned a Salamanca and Br/B a Madrid provenance, one would expect predominantly disjunctive readings between Mon and Br/B, the former inclining toward  $z_1$ , the latter two toward M var-

iants. Br and B agree almost unanimously with one another and with their sibling Madrid manuscripts, and frequently with M. They concur infrequently with  $z_1$  variants, and never against each other or M. Mon and B are more ambivalent, with variants allied to both sides of the tradition. A number of readings shared by both  $z_1$  and M reveal once again that Darmarios' source had an ancestor in common with both of them – the intermediary between Z and  $z_1$ .

- 2.51 φλεβίδων] φλεβιδίων  $z_1$ , M, Mon, R, Br, B  
 2.67 ἀκὴν] ἀκοὴν  $z_1$ , M, Mon, R, Br, B  
 2.153 ἦωσ] ἦγουν  $z_1$ , M, Mon, R, Br, B  
 2.412 παραλλήλων] παραλλήλου  $z_1$ , M, Mon, R, Br, B  
 4.122 post ἀκολουθῶσι om. σοι  $z_1$ , M, Mon, R, Br, B

Mon<sub>2</sub> and R together share readings alternately with  $z_1$  or with M to the exclusion of the other, a circumstance that proves Darmarios' source was separate from the exemplars of either of those two manuscripts. Neither Mon<sub>2</sub> nor R share readings against the other with  $z_1$  or M. In some instances joint Mon<sub>2</sub> and R readings coalesce with those of  $z_1$ :

- 2.62 ὄημα] ὄηματικὸν  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 2.111 ante ἥσυχάζει om. φησιν  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 2.370 post τροχοῦ om. ἡ δάεθριος  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 2.398 post εἰπεῖν add. ὅτι  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 4.103 post δρόμου om. τὸ τέλος  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 4.122 ὅμοιον συνεργόν] συνεργὸν ὅμοιον  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 post ἦγουν add. τῆς  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 4.175 ante λέγεται om. ἀμαρύη  $z_1$ , Mon, R  
 4.194 post κιλῶν om. ἡ  $z_1$ , Mon, R

In other cases Mon<sub>2</sub> and R together concur with M, Br, and B:

- 2.25 ante θεὸς add. ἡ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 ἐμφωνεῖν] φωνεῖν Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 2.67 post ὡσπερ om. παρὰ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 ante ἀκὴν<sub>2</sub> add. τοῦ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 2.82 post ὀνειῖρου add. οὐ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 2.111 ἀγρυπνώσ] ἀγρυπνοὶ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 2.156 ante χάσκων add. ὁ Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 4.62 ὀκτῶ] ὁ κάτω Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 4.132 ἴνγγα λέγουσι] λέγουσιν ἴνγγα Mon, R, M, Br, B  
 4.196 τοῖς γονοῖς] τῆς γονῆς Mon, R, M, Br, B

When either Mon<sub>2</sub> or R agrees with only one other manuscript in these sections of scholia, it is almost invariably the other. A common source for Mon<sub>2</sub> and R is implied by conjunctive readings like the following that are exclusive to them.

- 2.25 πτολίπορθος] πολύπορθος Mon, R  
 2.67 ante σιγή add. τὸ Mon, R  
 post οὕτως add. καὶ Mon, R  
 2.73 post γίνεται<sub>2</sub> add. ἐκ τοῦ Mon, R  
 post ἡνίκα<sub>2</sub> add. καὶ Mon, R  
 2.351 post καὶ om. κατὰ Mon, R  
 2.379 ὄξυκόμοις] ὄξυνόμοις Mon, R  
 2.396 ante κελεύθους om. μετὰ τὰς Mon, R  
 2.398 post τοῦτο om. δὲ Mon, R  
 4.75 post ἀλιεῖς om. εἰς Mon, R  
 4.103 post πρὸς add. τὸν Mon, R  
 4.132 post κυρίως om. δὲ Mon, R

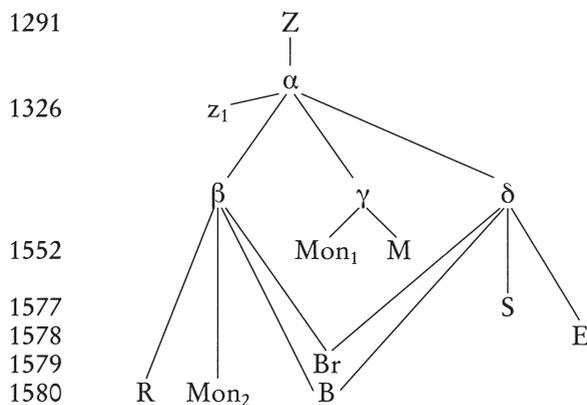
Mon and R each possesses a myriad of readings which make it apparent that neither was the other's exemplar. A representative sample follows.

- 1.1 διὰ τί] διὰ τὸ R  
 1.18 ἄγκυραν] ἄγκυρα R  
 1.42 post τοῦτο<sub>1</sub> add. δὲ Mon  
 1.54 post θεοῖξω add. ἢ θεοῖσω R  
 post θριῖξ add. καὶ θριῖσι R  
 1.68 ῥίφα] ῥίμφα R  
 1.417 ὄμοφροσύνης] ὄμοφροσύνη Mon  
 2.67 ante ν om. τὸ Mon  
 2.117 συνδῶν] συνοδῶν R  
 2.351 ἐστῶτας] ὄρῶντας Mon  
 2.398 ἀήρ] ἀνήρ Mon

We can deduce that Darmarios had completed all four Salamanca line manuscripts – Mon, R, Br, and B – by 17 November 1580, the date entered in his colophon on f. 176r at the end of the *Cynegetica* in B. We also know that he sold Br to Andreas Schott one week earlier in Salamanca on 10 November 1580. Darmarios must have come upon Mon<sub>1</sub> after he had discovered the Salaman-can source with which he augmented the original Madrid scholia in Br and B, for he did not return to his erstwhile Madrid source to complement the incomplete corpus in Mon<sub>1</sub>. Instead, he went back to the replete volume of scholia he had discovered in Salamanca, from which he obtained the balance of Z scholia for Mon, and from which he made another full copy in R. One may also conclude that as he was completing these manuscripts Darmarios had on hand representatives from both sides of the tradition, for he provides marginal and interlinear emendations and alternate readings in all four, copiously in R and Br, and far more sporadically in Mon and B. The alternate readings are a promiscuous lot, but for the most part they are derived from the branch of the tradition opposite to the one from which the original read-

ing issues. Thus the alternate readings in R are usually derived from the Madrid branch, and agree with Mon<sub>1</sub> or with Br and B. Conversely, the numerous emendations that are found in the core layer of Br are of Salamanca line provenance; they normally agree with either z<sub>1</sub>, R, and/or Mon<sub>2</sub>. Likewise, most of the very few emendations in B occur in the Madrid stratum; they are all Salamanca readings, usually concurring with z<sub>1</sub> and often R. Emendations in Mon are very few as well, and their affiliation depends on which section of the codex one is looking at. Collectively they reveal that Darmarios must have employed at least two exemplars, one representing each branch of the tradition, in the final stages of preparing the manuscript. Corrections in Mon occur most frequently in the Mon<sub>1</sub> portions of the codex; the original readings are all *singulares lectiones*, which are emended to z<sub>1</sub> readings. Conversely, a couple of Salamanca branch readings in Mon<sub>2</sub> are provided with Madrid branch alternatives.

On the basis of the readings presented here in their shifting alliances I propose the following stemma codicum for all of Darmarios' manuscripts of unattached *Halientica* scholia. Since three of the four Salamanca codices share space with Madrid scholia, the Madrid line is included in the stemma for clarification. I am presenting the most economical model possible, while noting the possibility of an additional intermediary between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , or between  $\beta$  and any one of its offspring. Although additional manuscripts are not required to account for the readings, we cannot discount the possibility of their existence at one time, since none of the immediate sources of Darmarios' manuscripts has



been identified. Moreover, since we can assign neither a scribe nor a date more specific than the sixteenth century to Mon<sub>1</sub>, it is possible that Mon<sub>1</sub> itself was the complement of M's lost exemplar, rather than the offspring of a lost complement. Regardless of the number of intermediaries that once existed, one additional conclusion emerges as certain from this analysis – that we have underestimated the interest in this material and the profusion of manuscripts which that interest yielded in the sixteenth century.

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