

Four Manuscripts of Unattached Scholia on Oppian's *Halientica* by Andreas Darmarios

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A MANUSCRIPT TRADITION of scholia on Oppian's *Halientica*, separate from the text of the poem, appears to have developed during the second or early third quarter of the sixteenth century in Spain.¹ Andreas Darmarios, the disreputable but preeminent scribe and manuscript dealer of his day, discovered such a Ms. late in the 1580s at Madrid and exploited the relatively novel nature of its content; he is responsible for six of the eight extant MSS. of unattached *Halientica* scholia. After he had emigrated from Greece to settle in Venice as a young man during the 1560s, Darmarios also spent a good deal of time in Spain, particularly in the seventies and eighties, selling MSS. to and copying from the libraries of prominent Spanish humanists and collectors. In fact, all of the surviving copies of Darmarios' Oppianic scholia were written in either Madrid or Salamanca, derived from exemplars that have not survived. Of the four such MSS. to be considered here, the earliest copy, *Salamanca* 2730 (previously *Palacio gr.* 39), is dated in Darmarios' colophon to 24 July 1577.² We may view this as the time of his introduction to this corpus of scholia. It was evidently a fruitful discovery, for Darmarios returned to the source at least three times to make virtually identical copies of the text. At the termination of his second oldest copy, *Escorial gr.* 569, dated in

¹ For the fullest available exposition of scholia on Opp. *Hal.* see U. C. Bussemaker, *Scholia et paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum* (Paris 1849).

² In translation the colophon reads, "The end has been reached with the help of God by Andreas Darmarios the Epidaurian on July 24, 1577 in Madrid." For a full description of this codex see C. Graux, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits Grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal* (Paris 1892).

his colophon to 21 October 1578,³ Darmarios identifies the location of his source as the library of the Cardinal of Bourgos, Francisco de Mendoza. As I shall demonstrate, all four of Darmarios' Mss. discussed here are derived from the same source, and we may thus assume that the source of all four was housed in that library in Madrid. The four Mss., *Salamanca* 2730 (S), *Escorial gr.* 569 (E), *Brussels* 85 (Br), and *Beinecke* 269 (B), each described in turn below, were written between 1577 and 1579. *Brussels* 85 and *Beinecke* 269 (formerly *Saragossa Pilar* 2097) were subsequently taken to Salamanca in 1580, where Darmarios augmented them with scholia from a second source. In these two codices converge the two lines of descent in this Ms. tradition of independent *Hal.* scholia, one from Madrid, the other from Salamanca.

Darmarios' second source, as we shall demonstrate, was a lost sibling of *Salamanca* M 31, or z1 (described below), a codex in which the scholia accompany the text of the *Hal.*⁴ z1 is closely allied not only to the second layer of scholia in Br and B, but also to Darmarios' two other copies of unattached scholia that contain the entire Z corpus (see below). These two Mss., *Monacensis* 134 (Mon) and *Londin. Royal* 16 D XII (R), together with the later of sections of Br and B constitute the Salamanca branch of the tradition, which is separate from that of the four Darmarios works originating in Madrid. The Salamanca branch of the scholia tradition, central to a future discussion, will be treated here only as it impinges on the Madrid Mss. One of the Salamanca group, *Monacensis* 134, bears mention at this point, as it represents a unique conflation of the two camps in this tradition. *Monacensis* 134 is a composite: its core layer, not written by Darmarios, is the precise complement (down to the word in mid-entry) of the truncated assemblage of scholia in *Matritensis* 4715 (described below). The fragmented state of *Matritensis* 4715 (M) will prove influential in providing evi-

³ Darmarios' colophon in E reads very much like the one in S: "The end has been reached with the help of God by Andreas Darmarios the Epidaurian on October 21, in the year 1578 in Madrid, Spain." For a full description of *Escorial gr.* 569 see G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los Codices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* III (Madrid 1967); also E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliotheque de l'Escorial* (Amsterdam 1966).

⁴ For a description of z1 see A. Tovar, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Universitatis Salamantinae* I (Salamanca 1963); for a description of the Mss. comprising the voluminous and convoluted *Hal.* tradition see D. Robin, "The Manuscript Tradition of Oppian's *Halientica*," *BollClass* SER. 3 2 (1981).

dence for that Ms.'s relationship to the Madrid group of Damar-ios' Mss. M and its complement, the anterior sections of *Monacensis* 134, are the only non-Darmarios copies of unaffixed *Hal.* scholia we possess.

The importance of M is twofold: it is the earliest witness in this tradition of unattached scholia and the closest extant relative to Darmarios' Madrid quartet. Rather than bearing a close relationship to z 1 like the Salamanca branch of the tradition, M and the Darmarios group are by comparison only distantly connected to it. z 1 bears the same unclar relationship to M as M does to the Darmarios foursome, *i.e.*, z 1 was a sibling of M's (lost) exemplar, as M was a sibling of the (lost) exemplar for the Darmarios group. Each of the two branches of Mss.—those closely affiliated to z 1, and those related more distantly to it—has features that distinguish it from the other. The Salamanca line includes a *Life of Oppian* and a brief discussion of heroic meter as preface to the scholia, and a paraphrase of *Opp. Cyn.* follows the scholia. These are z 1 properties. On the other side, the Madrid line has its idiosyncracies too, such as the epigram to Plato (omitted in Br), the Orphic hymn, and the closing hexameter verses that are appended to the end of the text. And, most distinctively, all the Madrid Mss. possess an identically abridged collection of the scholia. Hybrid members of both branches of the tradition (Br and B in this paper, also *Monacensis* 134), inherited features of each. And all members of the tradition, of either line of descent, written by Darmarios or not, share one essential characteristic: they are all comprised of Z scholia, and they all exhibit Z-family features, such as the two epigrams between Books 1 and 2 (εἰς ἀρχιστράτηγον and εἰς ἄγγελον), and the cosmological diagrams that occur in the middle of Book 1.

Laurentianus 31.3 (Z) is one of the oldest archetypes in the *Hal.* tradition, as well as one of the most scholiated. Written by Manuel Spheneas in 1291, it has proved to be a bountiful exemplar, with seven surviving descendants and seven other Mss. bearing its scholia independently. Of the former seven, z 1, written by Johannes Calliandros in June, 1326, is by far the closest to its archetype—originating only thirty-five years after Z—and it reproduces the entire corpus of Z scholia. Any Ms. that has a Salamancon derivation has also inherited the full set, for the source of its exemplar was also z 1's source. The scholia reveal what the very faithfully rendered poetic text in z 1 does not, that z 1 is not an apogram of Z. The first two sets of

readings below imply an intermediary between Z and two sibling descendants, z1 and the putative parent of M, grandparent of the Darmarios group. All six Mss.—z1, M, and the Darmarios tetrad—share the following set of readings against Z, indicating a common ancestor, written sometime between 1291 and 1326, that is closer to Z.

- 1.29 ordo partium mutatus:
 (a) post μονῶ hab. ὅτι ... συλλαμβάνουσιν
 (b) post συλλαμβάνουσιν hab. ὁ μέλλων ... αὐλίζεται
 z1, M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.47 post ὄμματα1 om. βολαὶ ... ὄμματα2 z1, M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.51 ποῦν/ νοῦν z1, M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.68 τάχος/ τάχους z1, M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.70 post παρὰ add. τὸ z1, M, S, E, Br, B

The following separative readings eliminate z1 as a potential source for M and the Darmarios group. As z1 precedes the others by two-and-a-quarter to two-and-a-half centuries, none of the other five Mss. could have served as exemplar for z1.

- 1.1 ἰδιάζουσαι/διάζουσαι z1
- 1.1 post πόνος om. πόντος z1
- 1.17 post δαλοῖς om. καὶ τοῖς κλάδοις z1
- 1.18 post τρία om. τὴν κοίτην z1
- 1.43 post παπταίνω om. cetera z1
- 1.417 post ὅ1 om. ἀήρ z1
- 1.424 post στονόεντα om. λέγει τὰ z1

Scores of conjunctive readings shared by M and the Darmarios group against z1 confirm a common source for those Mss. The following list is but a representative sample.

- 1.2 τινι/ τῆ M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.4 ἄχι/ ἄχρι M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.5 λιπαίνω/ λίπω M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.17 συνδένδροις/ συνέδροις M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.20 post δὲ om. τὸ M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.29 post γεννῶσι om. καὶ ἐν τὸ ἀέρι M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.425 ἀλαιεταί/ ἀλαιετον M, S, E, Br, B
- 1.793 ζηνοῖ/ ζῆν ὅς M, S, E, Br, B

We are thus compelled to posit a second lost exemplar, a sibling of z1, as the source of the M matrix of Mss. Mark Sosower has suggested *Escorial desp.* 286 as that source.⁵ This

⁵ A brief description of the lost *Escorial gr.* 286 appears in G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los Codices Griegos Desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Escorial 1968).

codex contained scholia on all five books of the *Hal.*, scholia on Aesch. *PV*, *Sept.* and *Pers.*, Eust. *ad* Dionys. *Per.*, and scholia on an assortment of epigrams. The proposal is cogent for a number of reasons. First, *Escorial* 286 contained scholia on the same Byzantine school trilogy of Aeschylean tragedies as those whose scholia also appear in M.⁶ Secondly, it was associated with the Mendoza library in Madrid, as were M and Darmarios' Mss. Thirdly, its scholia on the *Hal.* were attributed to the Byzantine polymath John Tzetzes, as they were by Camillus Gianetos in M in 1552 and Darmarios a quarter-century later in his copies of the scholia.⁷ And finally, from its description as containing scholia without the *Hal.* text, it is an attractive consideration that *Escorial desp.* 286 could represent the inception of this tradition of independent scholia that culminated with Darmarios (Sosower 299).

Whatever the identity of this lost codex, it produced three abridged offspring: *Matritensis* 4715, its complement, the antecedent layer of *Monacensis* 134, and the lost exemplar for Darmarios' four Mss. M would seem to be the obvious candidate for Darmarios' source.⁸ The codex comprises scholia on the *Anth. Plan.* (also found in S), scholia on the same Aeschylean triad contained in the lost *Escorial gr.* 286, scholia on the *Hal.*, commentary and scholia by Proclus Diadochus on various works of Plato, and an anonymous paraphrase of Arist. *Eth. Nic.* Camillus Gianetos wrote the greater portion of M (including the *Hal.* scholia) in 1552 according to a subscription in

⁶ Sosower has pointed out the possibility of a relationship between the M-family and the lost *Grimani* 230, owned at one time by Domenico Grimani, Cardinal of Venice. The codex disappeared in a conflagration that destroyed Grimani's library in 1687. Sosower notes that in addition to the scholiated *Hal.*, Grimani 230 also featured the three plays of Aeschylus whose scholia were featured in *des. Escorial* 286 and appear in M as well. As the scholia to all these works accompanied the poetic texts in *Grimani* 230, that Ms. was not a member of the independent scholia tradition with which we are concerned here, but it may have formed a link in the chain of Mss. preceding it. It is not, however, a necessary component of the stemma here, and without readings the evidence is too sparse to assign a definite affiliation. See M. SOSOWER, "A Forger Revisited: Andreas Darmarios and Beinecke 269," *JÖBG* 43 (1993: hereafter 'Sosower') 298. For a description of *Grimani* 230 see G. Tomasinus, *Bibliotheca Venetae manuscriptae* (Utini 1650), where it is catalogued as *Plut.* 21.6.

⁷ The question of Tzetzes' authorship of *Hal.* scholia is complex and controversial and will be treated in a future discussion.

⁸ For a description of *Matritensis* 4715 see G. de Andres, *Catolog de los Codices Griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid 1987).

another hand.⁹ It belonged to Francisco de Mendoza's library, from which Darmarios would find his exemplar for *Hal.* scholia twenty-five years later. Nonetheless, two sets of evidence demonstrate that *M* could not have been Darmarios' source. First, there are broad discrepancies between the constitutions of *M* and the Darmarios group. The latter possesses a sequence of scholia that is peculiar to and shared by all four Mss. It is ordered as follows: 1.1–73, 406–31, 784–97 (end); 2.6–688 (all); 3.1–647 (all); 4.1–203; 5.1–621 (in entirety, except in *E*, where 5.460–601 are omitted). Over three-quarters of the *Z* scholia from Book 1 and two-thirds from Book 4 are absent. This assemblage of scholia diverges in order and content from that of *M*, whose material is arranged as follows: 1.1–237, 265–471, 564–785, 471 (continued)–563, 237–61, 779–end; 2.6–167, 333 (in part)–416, 634–end; Book 3 omitted entirely; 4.58 (in part)–end; Book 5 omitted entirely. One sees that *M* comprises a very different set of scholia from that of the other four Mss. In fact, the two sets overlap only in the portions of Book 1 that are contained in the Darmarios group, in the sections of Book 2 that are found in *M*, and in 4.58–203, amounting to roughly one fifth of the *Z* corpus. There is no evidence that material was removed from *M* after its original composition; rather, *M* was copied from an exemplar from which parts had been extracted, specifically, those sections of the scholia that surface as the nucleus around which Darmarios wrote *Monacensis* 134. The disparity in contents would in itself eliminate *M* as Darmarios' source; the separative readings that follow corroborate its ineligibility. *M* here deviates from the standard readings, while the other four Mss. (except at 1.42) concur with *Z* and *z* 1.

1.7	μ/μη	<i>M</i>
1.42	α/σ	<i>M, B</i>
1.73	συναθροίζω/ συναναθροίζω	<i>M</i>
1.end	(ὁ ταξίαρχης) φέρων/ ἀφέρων	<i>M</i>

The close relationship between Darmarios' Mss. and their disjunction from *M* is implied not only by the uniform sequence of their contents, but by pervasive conjunctive readings. The ubiquity of such variants, which can only be fractionally represented here, underscores a provenance for the Darmarios group that is separate from *M*. We must posit as this source a third missing exemplar.

⁹ Identified as Camillus Venetus by de Andres (*supra* n.8: 285); Sosower (292f) concurs.

- 1.12 post ἐστὶν om. ἐπὶ S, E, Br, B
 1.20 ἀλεωραὶ/ ἐλαφραὶ S, E, Br, B
 1.28ff post ἀλιευτικὴν om. τέχνη S, E, Br, B
 1.417 post ἰστέον add. δὲ S, E, Br, B
 1.417 ὁμοιοῦται/ὁμοιοῦνται S, E, Br, B
 1.425 ἔχει/ ἔχειν S, E, Br, B
 1.784 ante ἐκατόν om. τὰ S, E, Br, B
 2.396 αὐλος/ ἀλλ' αὐτὸς S, E, Br, B
 4.185 post ὡς³ om. τό S, E, Br, B

Another piece of evidence from which a common source for the Darmarios group can be inferred lies in a recurrent variant reading of *περί* for *παρά* found in Darmarios' four MSS. At these loci M shows the standard Z reading *παρά*, but in tachygraphical form. The scribe of M used the same abbreviation, but with a pair of dots added beside the superscript *epsilon*, to designate the preposition *περί*. M's exemplar probably had the same abbreviated forms of these words, which Gianetos then repeated in M. But the copyist of Darmarios' exemplar evidently wrote these prepositions without differentiating the two abbreviations and transmitted them all as *περί*, which is how they appear in the four Darmarios copies. Instances of this syncretism occur in all four MSS. at 1.12, 17 (*bis*), 26, 45, 73. Where *παρά* is spelled out in M, and thus presumably in its immediate source (also the source of Darmarios' exemplar), Darmarios' MSS. do not have the *περί* error. The discrepancy is well illustrated at 1.17, a scholion that includes three *παρά*'s. The first two are abbreviated in M; accordingly they appear as *περί* in Darmarios' works. The third *παρά* is spelled out in M, therefore the correct reading was transmitted into the Darmarios group as well.

The most economical model for our hypothetical stemma would posit one member of the quartet as the source of the other three. Each of the MSS., however, possesses variant readings that disqualify it as a potential exemplar for the others. *Salamanca* 2730 is, according to Darmarios' colophon on f. 300v, the oldest of the four, completed in Madrid on 24 July 1577. The codex, 448 folios in length, comprises scholia on Maximus Planudes' *Anthologia*, Oppian's *Halientica*, Julius Africanus' *Kestoi*, and a letter to Philo. As the first of Darmarios' copies, S would be the most logical candidate for internal intermediary; the readings that follow, however, reveal that S could not have served as the source for the other three MSS.

- 1.9 ante θανάτου om. εἶναι S
 1.18 εὐδαίνω/ εὐδαίω S
 1.28ff ἀγρεύουσα/ ἀγρεύσασα S
 1.42 post τοῦτο 2 add. δὲ S
 1.793 ante τικτόμενος om. τὸ S
 5.20 ἔλκυστήρα/ ἔλκυστήρια S

Escorial gr. 569, ninety-three folios in length, comprises only scholia on the *Hal.* with the addition of the epigram to Plato, Orphic hymn, and closing gnome at the end of the text that is one of the earmarks of Darmarios' Madrid productions. E is the second oldest of these copies, written in Madrid, according to Darmarios' colophon on f. 92r, on 21 October 1578 and obtained from the library of the Cardinal of Bourgos (f. 93v). The following separative readings demonstrate that E could not have been the exemplar for any of the other three.

- 1.41 ἄω/ ὄω E, M
 1.42 πλάνη 1/ πλόνη E, M
 2.238 ἐξεφάνησαν/ ἐξεφάνησαι E
 3.8 ἀδύταξ/ ἀδυνάτοις E ἀδύτοις z12, S, Br1, B1 ἀδύτου z1, Br2, B2
 5.460–601 om.

The third Madrid copy, *Brussels* 85, is a codex consisting of 176 folios containing scholia on the *Hal.*, preceded by a *Life* of the poet, and a paraphrase of Opp. *Cyn.*¹⁰ The *Hal.* scholia were written in two stages; the first layer, comprising the Madrid 'core' of scholia, was completed in 1579, as Darmarios' colophon on f. 64v states. The following readings reveal that Br could not have been the prototype for any of the other Darmarios copies.

- 1.2 post τη1 om. θηλυκῶν ... τη2 Br
 1.47 σοβαρῶς/ βλαβερῶς Br, E
 5.6–9 post ἀναφῦναι add. τοὺς Br
 5.21 ante κοινῶ add. τῶ Br
 5.203 ἐκάτερθεν/ ἐκατέρωθεν Br
 5.259 om. βριαρὴ γένυς ἢ τοῦ σιδήρου Br1

Finally, *Beinecke* 269 is a codex of 176 folios with the same composition as Br. A *Life of Oppian* precedes and a paraphrase of his *Cyn.* follows the *Hal.* scholia—features that characterize

¹⁰ For a description of *Brussels* 85 (11329-31) see H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles* (Gand 1885).

Mss. closely related to z 1.¹¹ Like Br, B was written in two stages. The first phase of composition, which presumably took place in Madrid, resulted in the same corpus of *Hal.* scholia found in Darmarios' other three copies. Darmarios apparently appended this Ms. to another codex and paginated it accordingly with the numbers 205–63. We do not have a date for this part of the Ms. because the end of the text of the scholia (f. 118r), where Darmarios' colophon, together with the standard Madrid features of epigram, hymn, and hexameters, normally appears, was probably altered by Darmarios in the process of integrating the material from his two sources (see below), and is now missing in B. But it seems reasonable to surmise that the first stratum of B was written in 1579 along with Br, as the second phase in the composition of the two Mss. is so closely allied. Moreover, Sosower has observed (296) that the watermarks in a large portion of the antecedent layer of B (ff. 80–117) match those from *Monacensis* 162, a Ms. that Darmarios wrote in Madrid in 1579. The following separative readings eliminate B as a potential exemplar for any of the other Darmarios works.

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| 3.210 | κυρολεξία/ κυριολεξία S, E, Br κυρολεξία B |
| 3.291 | post διάλεκτον 2 add. πρόσκειται ἢ μὴ ἐν διφθόγγῳ διὰ τὸ ἦοῦς B |
| 3.308 | ἀποβολῆ 2/ ἀπολῆ B |
| 5.6–9 | post ἀναφῦναι add. τοὺς S, E, Br om. B |
| 5.146 | ἀτελέστως/ ἀτελεύστως B |

Whatever the identity of Darmarios' exemplar, it was a considerably reduced rendering of the Z corpus as presented in *Escorial desp.* 286 or its equivalent, a Ms. that evidently underwent dissection before it disappeared altogether. Although in addition to falsifying dates and authors Darmarios has been indicted for abridging bodies of commentary, it seems unlikely that he did so here with the *Hal.* scholia, for the truncation is identical in four Mss. written over a span of two to three years. Darmarios apparently did not work from a master copy of his own but from a prototype in the Mendoza library in Madrid, and it is unlikely that he would have curtailed the text so uniformly in all four copies. Moreover, Darmarios seems to have been eager to reproduce whatever scholia on the *Hal.* he

¹¹ For a description of *Beinecke* 269 see B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Binghamton [NY] 1984).

could find, an inference afforded by the second chapter in the genesis of both Br and B.

In 1580 Darmarios took these two MSS. with him on a trip to Salamanca. Whereas B had been annexed to another codex, Darmarios evidently left Br unattached to any other codex. While in Salamanca Darmarios discovered a Ms. closely related to z 1, with that codex's replete corpus of Z scholia, large portions of which the MSS. he carried with him already had. He copied the balance of the scholia from the z 1 sibling and simply appended it to the end of Br. Because Darmarios did not integrate the scholia from the two sources in their natural sequence, the order of presentation is skewed. The arrangement of material in Br is: 1.1–73 (with a note by Darmarios at the end of this section informing the reader that he will find additional scholia, beginning with ἀύχην, at the end of this portion of the codex), 406–31 (with another marginal note on the last folio announcing the continuation of this scholia at the end of the Ms., starting with χελιδών), 784–end; 26–end; 3.1–end; 4.1–203 (with a third note added at the end to the same effect as the previous two, this time commencing with the scholion on τύρρης); 5.1–end. After the usual epigram, hymn, and gnome that conclude the Madrid MSS. the second series of scholia, the Salamanca repertory, ensues, consisting of 1.66–406, 428–783 and 4.204–end. Darmarios also copied from the z1 relative the *Life of Oppian* that precedes the scholia and the *Cyn.* paraphrase that follows it in z 1-related MSS. In addition, he emended marginally and interlineally many of the original readings from his Madrid exemplar with z1 readings. These emendations occur most frequently in Book 1 and more sporadically in the books that follow. Darmarios obviously regarded this Ms. as the higher authority of his two sources, justifiably in view of its greater volume and probably its greater antiquity. The following set of tandem readings taken from Madrid portions of Br demonstrate the alternation of sources in operation. The other Madrid MSS. share the first tier of readings (Br1); the second, emended set (Br2) corresponds to z1 readings.

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| 1.1 | ante γένους add. τοῦ Br1 om. z1, del. Br2 |
| 1.2 | γεννώ/ γενεῶ Br1 γεννώ Br2 |
| 1.5 | λιπαίνω/ λίπω Br1 λιπαίνω Br2 |
| 1.17 | post τόποις et post ἄλος om. κνώδαλα Br1 add.
κνώδαλα bis Br2 |
| 1.29 | αὐλίζεται/ ἀλίσκεται Br1 αὐλίζεται Br2 |
| 3.1 | ἄλιέα/ βασιλέα Br1 ἄλιέα Br2 |

- 3.7f ἔπεμψαν/ πέμψαι Br1 ἔπεμψε z1, Br2
 3.16 Πανός/ παντός z1, Br2

Darmarios sold the completed Ms. to Andreas Schott on 10 November 1580. About this time he separated **B** from its adopted codex and manufactured for it another copy of complementary scholia from z1's sister Ms., together with the *Life* and *Cyn.* paraphrase. But this time Darmarios interwove the scholia from the two sources to agree with the sequence that is found in z1 and its lost sibling, inserting the supplementary segments from his second source within the antecedent layer in three places and paginating the entire corpus according to the new order.¹² As a result, the older sections have two sets of pagination, while the later segments are singly paginated. With few exceptions, he did not, however, bother to emend the original readings in the first layer of the Ms. with z1 readings. Darmarios probably did not wish to take the time to do so, for he was taking the Ms., now represented as a unified work, away from Salamanca, and potential buyers elsewhere would not be expected to discern any such omissions. Darmarios' colophon appears at the end of the *Cyn.* on f. 176r; it is dated 17 November 1580 at Salamanca, one week after Darmarios sold **Br** to Andreas Schott.

Contrary to initial impressions, the second stratum of **Br** and **B** are not derived directly from z1, although, as the foregoing and following sets of readings imply, they are closely related. Each of the errors below is shared by z1, **Br**, **B**, and the other two Salamancan branch Mss., *Monacensis* 134 (**Mon**) and *Royal ms.* 16 D XII (**R**). These readings are pervasive throughout the pertinent sections of the Mss. (1.74–405, 432–783, 4.204–692), and can only be fractionally represented here. In no instance does **M** agree with these variants. In fact **M**, the sole representative of the Madrid branch for these segments of the scholia (obviously, **S** and **E** do not contain them), is peppered with singular readings throughout these parts, underscoring its disjunction from **Br** and **B** here.

- 1.185 post αὐτός om. ἐκεῖ ... εἰσι z1, **Br**, **B**, **Mon**, **R**
 1.208 ὅταν/ ὅτι z1, **Br**, **B**, **Mon**, **R**

¹² For a more detailed description of the composition of *Beinecke* 269 see D. F. Jackson and L. Leverenz, "The Sources of Beinecke Manuscript 269," *RevHistTextes* 22 (1992).

- 1.215 post καὶ add. ἐν z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.238 τάχος/ τάφος z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.287 ἐπιζητούντες ἐπιθυμούντες/ ἐπιθυμούντες ἐπιζητούντες
 z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.296 λογιστικοῦ/ λογικοῦ z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.360 post οἰονεῖ om. τῷ Ὁρίωνι ἥως z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.367 post βλοσυρὸς1 om. δι' ἐνὸς σ z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.438 post καθολικῶς add. νῦν; post ἰχθύων om. νῦν z1, Br,
 B, Mon, R
 1.450 post ψάμμον om. ἀμᾶσθαι z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.461 post σημαίνει om. κυρίως z1, Br, B, Mon, R
 1.475 post ἐριβρύχην om. ὁ ... μεγαλοβρύχην z1, Br, B, Mon,
 R

Perhaps even more pervasive than the foregoing class of error, however, are readings shared by Br, B, Mon, R, to the exclusion of z1. These variants, together with the separative z1 readings that follow them, demonstrate that z1 was not the exemplar of the others. This situation forces us to posit yet another anonymous Ms. in the stemma and confirms a growing suspicion that there were, as recently as the late sixteenth century, more copies of this material at large than one might have supposed.

- 1.180 post ἐταῖρος2 add. ὁ Br, B, Mon, R
 1.228 πλεῖ/ πλεῖν Br, B, Mon, R
 1.249 post τῆς om. αὐτῆς Br, B, Mon, R
 1.252 δαψιλῶς/ δαψιλῶν Br, B, Mon, R
 1.296 ὡς4/ ὥστε Br, B, Mon, R
 1.349 ἐπιφραστικῶς/ ἐπιπεριφραστικῶς Br, B, Mon, R
 περιφραστικῶς M
 1.362 κορυθημένος/ κεκορυθημένος Br, B, Mon, R
 1.374 κοιτῶν/ ταλαιῶν z1 γαλαιῶν Br, B, Mon, R κητῶν
 M
 1.374 ante ἐξ αὐτοῦ add. οὐκ Br, B, Mon, R
 1.383 ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τοῦτο/ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ζεὺς Br, B, Mon, R
 1.447 δοῦπος/ δῆ Br, B, Mon, R

The set of readings that follows is found only in z1 among the MSS. under discussion here.

- 1.180 ante τάφω om. τοῦ z1
 1.236 ἀσυνταξίαν/ συνταξίαν z1
 1.259 ἢ εὐθείαι/ εὐθειῶν z1
 1.361 post ἀπὸ om. τοῦ z1
 1.374 ἐναρίθμιον/ ἐναρίθμον z1
 1.504 ante τῶν add. ἡ z1

The next small batch of readings typifies the variants in **M** that are ubiquitous in these segments of the corpus. To exemplify their plentitude, five errors from a single scholion are presented, none of which are shared by any of the other **Mss.**

- 1.186 post ἄγγελος add. ὁ **M**
 post μετὰ om. τοῦ **M**
 θυμιάματα/ θυμιάσματα **M**
 πομπεύει/ πομπεύειν **M**
 πομπίνος/ πομπτίνος **M**

As the next readings demonstrate, neither **Br** nor **B** could have been the source of the other.

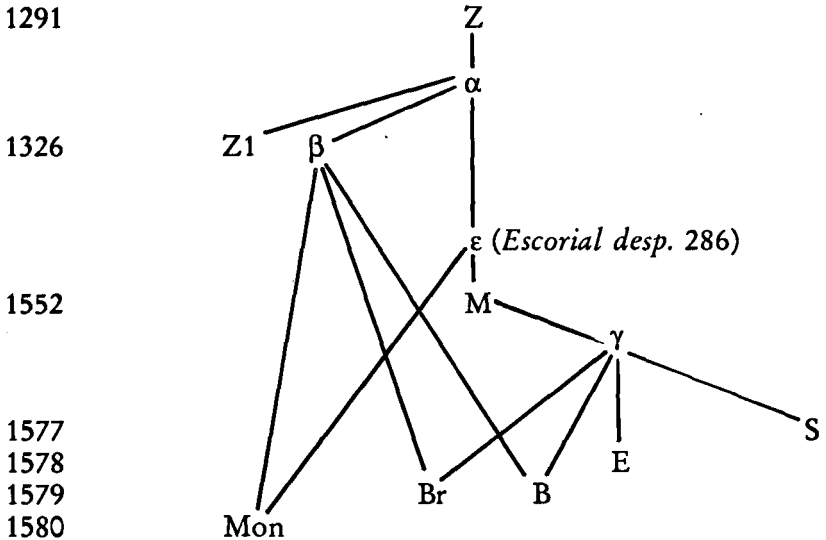
- 1.86 ἕτερος/ ἕτερον **Br**
 1.114 κυνηγετῶ/ κυνηγετῶν **Br**
 1.147 ἴφθιμοι/ ἴφθίμιοι **Br**
 1.163 post ὡς om. καὶ **Br**
 1.252 βοῶν/ βοτανῶν **Br**
 1.275 ἐνὶ/ ἔνιοι **Br**
 1.170 ἔχειν/ ἔχει **B**
 1.209 ἄγειν/ ἄγει **B**
 1.292 οὐδὲ/ οὐ **B**
 1.296 post λέγεται add καὶ **B**
 1.374 post λίθῳ om. τὸ **B**
 1.459 post καὶ 3 om. τὸ **B**

Finally, as the readings that follow indicate, neither **Mon** nor **R** could have served as exemplar for the latter segments of **Br** or **B**.

- 1.163 εὔδειν/ εὔδειον **Mon**
 1.209 τρόποι/ τόποι **Mon**
 1.215 post ἔνερθεν 2 add. νέρθεν **Mon**
 1.475 post ὅ σοι 1 add. γὰρ **Mon**
 1.505 post γὰρ om. καὶ **Mon**
 1.640 ἀποξεομένης/ ἀποξεομένη **Mon**
 1.76 κατακλυσμὸν/ κλυσμὸν **R**
 1.100 ἀβληχρόν/ ἀβλησχρόν **R**
 1.152 ante ἀντιστάτην om. τοῦ **R**
 1.459 post μετέφρασαν add. καὶ **R**
 1.569 post εἰς α om. λήγοντα ... τὸ α **R**
 1.581 ante ἀπὸ add. σημαίνει μήδεα **R**

In conclusion, we propose the following stemma to account for Darmarios' four **Mss.** of unattached scholia on *Opp. Hal.* in their various parts, all of the copies originating in Madrid, and

two of them contaminated with material from a Salamanca sibling of z1.



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