

THE TURIN MANUSCRIPT OF OPPIAN'S *HALIEUTICA*

The Turin manuscript containing the first three books of Oppian's *Halieutica* was almost completely destroyed in the fire of 1904,¹ but a collation of it has recently come to light. In 1811 the noted classical scholar and Orientalist Vittorio Amedeo Peyron collated the manuscript against Schneider's first edition of the poem (Strasbourg, 1776) and also transcribed the scholia.² He sent his results to Schneider for use in the preparation of his second edition (Leipzig, 1813), but they apparently arrived too late. Although the original plan of this second edition called for the inclusion of the scholia, Schneider published only a text of the poem and turned over his materials on the scholia to G. H. Schaefer, including no doubt Peyron's collation of the Turin manuscript.³ Schaefer never did manage to produce his edition of the scholia and in some unknown way Peyron's collation and some of the other material came on to the open market in 1969.⁴

¹ *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii taurinensis athenaei*, rec. Josephus Pasinus (Turin, 1749): 'CODEX CCXXXV b. VI. 16. Chartaceus, foliis constans 56. saeculi XVI. rudiori scriptus caractere, tres priores complectitur OPPIANI libros *de piscatione*, cum brevibus in margine scholiis, atque inter lineas explanationibus. Pauca praemittuntur de OPPIANI genere. Fol. 46 Sunt THEOGNIDIS sententiae, deficientes tamen. Fol. 53. PHOCYLIDIS *poema admonitorium*.' The correct numbering is b. VI. 15 and in the revised system C. VII. 1. The Director of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Professor Stelio Bassi, informs me by letter, 'del manoscritto C. VII. 1 si é salvata dall'incendio del 1904 un'unica carta, ora restaurata.'

² For the work of Peyron cf. J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, iii. 241 f. and *The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*.

³ Schneider's second edition includes the *Cynegetica* as well as the *Halieutica*. The title-page proclaims, 'Accedunt versiones latinae metrica et prosaica, plurima anecdota et index graecitatis', but aside from the Greek text of both poems the volume includes only a metrical version of the *Cynegetica*, to which Schaefer appends a few paragraphs by way of explanation. On p. 98 he says, 'Praeterea Weigelius altero volumine, quod, meae curae, non nolente Schneidero, traditum, mox publicavit, versionem utriusque carminis prosaicam, eamque accommodatam novae recensionis, plurima quantivis pretii Anecdota ad Oppianum illustrandum et emendandum, Indicemque Graecitatis plenum complectetur. Anecdota debet par-

tim ipsius Schneideri, partim Peyroni eximiae raraeque liberalitati: eiusdem Peyroni, qui eum donavit (omnem enim operae mercedem vir egregius magnifice respuit) Euripideis Collationibus Codicum Taurinensium.' (The Euripides of Matthiae was printed at Leipzig, beginning in 1813.)

⁴ The material was purchased by the Library of the University of California at Davis. I am indebted to the Librarian, Professor Richard Blanchard, for permission to publish the results of my study of the material. Included in the purchase was a collection of scholia to the *Halieutica* drawn from a manuscript in Copenhagen and dated 1817 and a second contribution from Peyron to Schneider, consisting of excerpts from a Turin manuscript (C. V. 31) containing a *Vita Oppiani* and scholia to the *Halieutica*. Peyron concludes with the following remarks:

Plura exscribere non vacat. Tu, optime Schneidere, vide quid statuas. Hoccene Scholiasta editionem tuam ditare vis, aut prorsus a Scholiis abhorres? Si tibi lubet, et si Typographo non piget aliquot addere folia, id mihi significes velim. Seligam enim ea Scholia quae Oppiano aliquam lucem affundere possint, eaque, quantum per multas quibus distineor occupationes licebit, emendata ad te mittam. Tamen neque mihi iniucundum, neque Scholiastae inutilem operam navaveris, si a me exscripta attentius pensaveris, atque aliquot Scholia deleveris, statui enim potius in eis exscribendis abundare, quam charta et atramento parcere.

Si per easdem occupationes licebit

Along with his collation Peyron included the following letter to Schneider :

Descriptio Codicis
ad clarissimum Schneiderum

Codex chartaceus saeculi XVI. rudi scriptus caractere praeter Theognidis fragmentum, et Phocylidis integrum poema. tres priores complectitur Oppiani libros de piscatione cum brevibus scholiis in margine, atque glossis interlineas. Notam praefert B. VI. 15, et describitur in Catalogo impresso in tom. I, pag. 318.

Scholia omnia exscripsi, ut tu, facto delectu, Oppiani Scholiastas in nova quam paras, editione repraesentare incipias; inde fortasse alii subinde editores excitati alia atque alia Oppiani scholia in Bibliothecis adhuc delitescencia exquirent, atque inventis addent. Glossas interlineares praecipuas tantummodo adnotavi; sin alias in locis difficilioribus a me praetermissas desideras per Weigelium mihi significes velim. Quod ad textum attinet, eum perquam diligentissime contuli, itemque variam nonnullorum verborum orthographiam e Codice adnotavi. Codex nondum a quoquam collatus fuerat, uti plerique Bibliothecae nostrae. Vale et me ama.

Taurini VI id. octobris 1811.

Amedeus Peyron

The Weigel in question is presumably Schneider's publisher, J. A. G. Weigel.

It would be pointless to reproduce the complete collation,¹ but it is worth while to discuss the place of the manuscript in the textual tradition of the *Halieutica* now that F. Fajen has published a study of all the extant manuscripts of the poem.² We are concerned only with his collations of 1. 53-101, 1. 252-304, the whole of the second book, and 3. 1-51. In addition we can draw upon the work of the Hungarian scholar R. Vari, who managed to collate the first 322 verses of the first book of the Turin manuscript before its destruction.³

atque tibi gratum acceptumque sit nonnulla addam de Paraphrasi Cynegeticorum Eutecnii sive alterius, etc., cuius a nomine inscribatur ea apud Arnoldum Paraxylum. Incipit *Σοὶ τοὺς περὶ κυνηγεσίῳ ἀνατίθῃμι* prorsus ut in Codice Laurentiano; vid. Schneiderum in Praefat. pag. XVII. sq. Hanc enim Paraphrasim manuscriptam possidet Bibliotheca nostra. Vale, vir optime de Oppiano meriture

Peyron

The Flemish scholar Arnoldus Arlenius, known also as Peraxylus or Paraxylus (for his career cf. Charles Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial*, pp. 185-9), produced several *éditiones principes* (Josephus, Lycophron, the *editio Hervagiana* of Polybius) and also served as librarian to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza while the latter was in Venice as the ambassador of Emperor Charles V (1538-46). Arlenius was a friend of Conrad Gesner, who reports (in the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, s.v. Eutecnii), 'Eutecnii sophistae paraphrasim graecam in *Alexipharmaca* et *Thiaca* Nicandri, et in

quaedam Oppiani, videlicet *De piscatione et venatione* libros, vidi Venetiis (apud Arnoldum Paraxylum Arlenium, in aedibus illustri viri Diegi Hurtadi Caesarei legati) in uno volumine, adscripto ubique, si bene memini, Eutecnii nomine: praeterquam in paraphrasi eiusdem Oppiani poematis *De aucupio*, quam propediem (Deo volente) inde nactus descriptam in lucem dabo, dubius interim an Eutecnio auctori attribuenda sit.' When Otto Tüselmann finally produced the *editio princeps* of the entire Paraphrasis in 1900 (*Die Paraphrase des Euteknios zu Oppians Kynegetika*), he made use of three codices, Laurentianus 31. 3 and two descendants, but not the Turin manuscript.

¹ Anyone who wishes a Xerox copy of the collation should write to me.

² *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Halieutica des Oppian*, especially pp. 51-5.

³ He says in *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.* cxlvii (1893), 410, that he collated l. 1 through l. 322 of the Turin manuscript and he gives his results in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino*, p. 442.

Fajen shows that three fourteenth-century manuscripts (f, h, and r₃) are derived from the same hyparchetype, which he labels ζ. Of eleven readings which distinguish this group from the rest of the tradition the Turin manuscript (t) has ten. The one exception is meaningless since it results from a correction of t by a second hand: 2. 580 ἐφ- ζ ᾠρ' Vulg. t². Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Peyron could read the original version of t.

Within this group there can be no doubt about the close affinity of t and h, which share the following readings against f, r₃, and the rest of the tradition:

	f, r ₃ , Vulg.	h, t
1. 89	οὐδ'	οὐτ'
1. 252	περὶ	παρὰ
1. 270	νομόν	νομήν
1. 272	-πλοοι	-στονοι
1. 275	γάνος	βέλος
2. 82	ιεμένοιο	ιομένοιο
2. 214	έλων	ἐλθών
2. 347	ὀξείησιν	ὀξείοισιν

On the other hand, t has none of the readings which Fajen records as peculiar to f or r₃.

Where h disagrees with t, the latter is usually correct:¹

	t	h
1. 97	ἐρυθῖνοι	ἐριθῖνοι
2. 103	προγέν.	προυγέν.
2. 326	ἴσος	ἴσοςος
2. 384	ἐκφυγε	ἐφυγε
2. 391	ὑπὸ	περὶ
2. 433	μίσγεται	σμίγεται

but t has some insignificant errors of its own:

	t	h
2. 157	ἔστησε	ἔστησεν
2. 213	πιφάσκω	πιφάσκω cum v suprascr.
2. 366	-σιν περι-	-σι περι-

From his own smaller sampling Vari noticed the close connection between h and t and went one step further: 'Attamen unum ab altero vel binos ex eodem fonte derivare noli! I 278 enim βίον t recte habet in textu, glossam πόνον male h, 305 in t ἐν αὔλοις legitur, in h vero ἐναύλοις ut alia omittantur, e. gr. I 54 παλιγνάπτοιο in t, παλιγνάπτοιό in h, 98 κιθάρη in t, κιθαρή in h, μελάνουργοι t, μελάνουροι h, 113 παλαμύδες t, πηλαμύδες h, 116 τε t, δὲ h, 126 κίχλαι t, κίχλαι (nomen piscis!) h etc. E duabus ergo copiis, factis e ms. quodam τ, repetunt originem h et t.'²

The divergences between h and t cited by Vari and those drawn from Fajen's sampling above certainly show that neither h nor t is copied directly from the other. However, they involve such simple errors that they do not require us to

¹ In each instance the manuscripts p₂¹ and j¹ agree with h against t, and Fajen is correct in concluding that these two are derived from h.

² *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino*, p. 442.

posit an intermediate stage between τ and h or t. On the contrary, there is a crucial reading in the second book, which Vari did not collate, which weighs heavily against his theory of intermediaries. In h and t we find the following reading at the beginning of line 492:

$\nu \gamma$
τύμματι

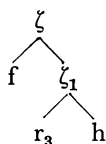
This reading is not found elsewhere and must be drawn from τ . It seems pointless to multiply the number of manuscripts with this unlikely combination by positing intermediaries between h and/or t and their ultimate source, τ .

The scholia in h and t afford further evidence of the close connection between the two manuscripts, for they are almost identical in wording and completely unlike those in the standard edition of Bussemaker.¹ The Turin manuscript has a few scholia which h lacks,² while h has many that t lacks. The scribe of h apparently copied almost all the scholia of τ , while the scribe of t was content to include only a generous selection of them.

The exact relationship of τ , f, and r_3 must be determined by an analysis of conjunctive errors. The problem is complicated by the fact that τ and presumably ζ contained numerous interlinear variants.³ Aside from the places where we know for a fact that h or t offers variants, Fajen lists the following conjunctive errors:⁴

	h, r_3 male	f	t
2. 284	-τέρησιν	-τόμοισιν	-τέρησιν
2. 366	-σι περι-	-σιν ἐπι-	-σιν περι-
2. 384	ἔφυγε	ἐξέφυγε	ἔκφυγε recte
2. 391	περὶ	ὑπὸ	ὑπὸ
	f, h male	r_3	t
2. 82	φοβέεσθαι	φέβεσθαι	φοβέεσθαι
2. 103	προυγέν.	προγέν	προγέν.

Writing without knowledge of t, Fajen quite reasonably concludes that the extant manuscripts descend from ζ in two branches, as follows:



¹ U. Cats Bussemaker, *Scholia et Paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum*; the scholia in the first four books of h are published by Vari in the *Egyptisches Philologisches Kōzōn*, xxxiii (1909), 17-32.

² The following scholia appear in t but not in Vari's publication of those in h: 1. 136 αὐτῶν Ἀττικῶν· αὐθις δὲ κοινόν. 1. 172 γρ. ῥαφίδες τ' ἐπὶ τῇσι. 1. 617 Ἔστι καὶ ἔτερος βόσπορος ὁ κυμμερικὸς. 1. 776 ἀφρίτιδες ἀπὸ τοῦ α στερητικοῦ μορίου, καὶ τοῦ φύω, τὸ γεννῶ. 2. 288 ποιφύσσοντα· Κυρίως ποιφύσσειν τὸ φύσαν. 3. 48 Σείριος οὐ μόνον ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ

καὶ ὁ κύναστρος. In addition t preserves the text of one scholium where h is now damaged; on 1. 390 where Vari prints τὸ δαμάζω κυρίως ἐπὶ <τοῦ δάμνημι> λέγεται, ὅθεν καὶ δάμεν <ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ δαμνῶ>, t has Τὸ δαμάζειν κυρίως ἐπὶ γυναικῶν λέγεται, ὅθεν καὶ δάμαρ ἢ γυνή.

³ The Turin manuscript has all the variants which Fajen records for h plus hundreds of others.

⁴ I omit 2. 95, where r_3 has apparently erased αψ after τήνδε.

However, the evidence of t weakens his case and suggests the possibility that the descent is *dreispaltig*:



The reading of f at 2. 384 is probably a conflation of variants, and that of t at 2. 366 may be another. In 2. 391 I suggest that both prepositions were found in ζ. This would leave us with only one conjunctive error in r and τ against f (2. 284) and one of f and τ against r (2. 82), hardly enough evidence to determine how these three descend from ζ.

As Fajen suggests, ζ probably received its variant readings from a manuscript representing a different branch of the tradition. There is now some evidence to indicate the identity of that manuscript. With only two exceptions the errors cited by Fajen from the various descendants of ζ are simple mistakes. The only noteworthy errors are βέλος for γάνος in τ and ἔδουσιν for δαίνυνται in r₃. It happens that ἔδουσιν is one of five readings which distinguish a group of three manuscripts, M, m₂, and p.¹ Of the remaining four two are found in t:

	M, m ₂ , p, t	Vulg., t interlineas
2. 405	λαρὸν	λαρὸν
2. 411	ἐδόκησε	ἐλόχησε

Yet of the sixteen readings which distinguish m₂ and p from the rest of the tradition² none is found in the manuscripts descended from ζ. Thus it appears a strong possibility that ζ drew many of its variants from M (Mediceo-Laurentianus, 31. 39), which is the oldest extant codex of the *Halieutica*, written in the twelfth century.³

One final point should be made. The first thirty-four lines in h are in a different hand from the rest of the work (h₂), and Vari has demonstrated that the readings of h₂ are especially close to those of e, a fifteenth-century manuscript derived from the hyparchetype which Fajen labels ε.⁴ In this section of the poem t does not agree with h and so presumably is based on ζ not ε:⁵

	e, h ₂	t
1. 11	διαμέτρα	διὰ μέτρα
1. 14	δαμάσαι	δαμάσσαι
1. 24	ἀένναοι	ἀένναοι
1. 24	ταμείαι (h ₂ corr. ex ταμίαι)	ταμίαι
1. 24	χλοάζουσι	χλοάουσι
1. 27	versus deest	versus adest
1. 32	ἐπέσπασαν	ἀπέσπασαν

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¹ Fajen, op. cit., p. 48.

² Ibid. 46.

⁴ Vari, *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino*, p. 440; Fajen, op. cit., pp. 48–50.

³ This manuscript is also one of the hyparchetypes of Hesiod's *Erga*; cf. Alois Rzach, *W. St.* xx (1898), 99–107.

⁵ In this section t also has some scholia not found in h.