

The Manuscript Tradition of Aelian's *Varia Historia* and Heraclides' *Politiae*

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Aelian's *Varia Historia* (*VH*) is a collection of miscellaneous anecdotes, and Heraclides' *Politiae* (*Pol.*), a brief epitome of Aristotle's *Politiae*. Although these works are quite unrelated to one another, they do have a common manuscript tradition, for in the two main branches of the tradition (*V* and *x*) *Pol.* follows *VH* like a suffix! In this article I shall describe and classify all existing manuscript copies of *VH* and *Pol.*¹

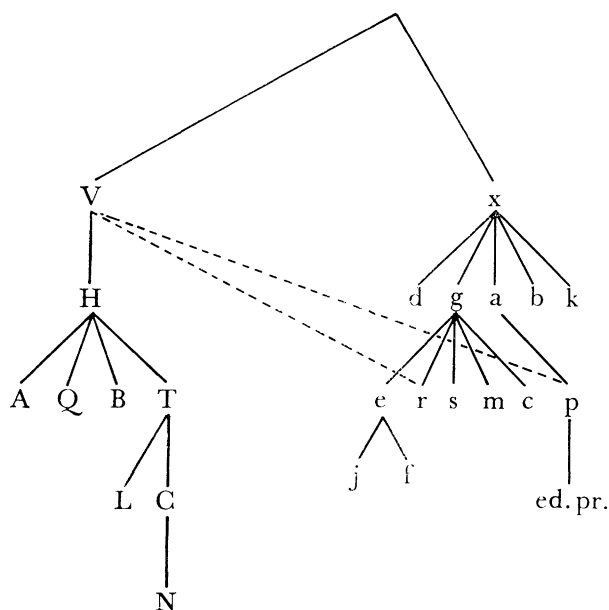
Previous investigation of this subject has been limited to editions of *VH* and *Pol.*, which extend from the *editio princeps*, edited by Camillo Peruschi in 1545, to Rudolf Hercher's Teubner text of 1866.² Prior to Hercher, editors relied heavily on Peruschi's text

¹ With the co-operation of European librarians, I have obtained microfilm copies of all manuscripts, except codices *c* and *m*. This article is derived from my doctoral dissertation, *The Manuscript Tradition of Aelian's Varia Historia and Heraclides' Politiae with a Text of Heraclides* (Indiana University 1964), published by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan (see *Dissertation Abstracts* 24 [1965] 6605). For his generously given time, advice, and guidance at every stage of my work, I am indebted to Professor Aubrey Diller.

² The following works will be cited only by the author's last name: M. Bertòla, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican 1942); K. A. de Meyier, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis: Codices manuscripti*, Vol. 6: *Codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei* (Leiden 1955); E. L. De Stefani, "I manoscritti della 'Historia Animalium' di Eliano," *St. Ital.* 10 (1902) 175–222; M. R. Dilts (as above, note 1); A. Gronovius ed., *Claudii Aeliani varia historia* (Leiden 1731); R. Hercher ed., *Aeliani de natura animalium, varia historia, epistolae et fragmenta, Porphyrii Philosophi de abstinentia et de antro nymphaeum, Philonis Byzantii de septem orbis spectaculis* (Paris 1858), and *Claudii Aeliani de animalium natura libri XVII, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. II (Leipzig 1866); B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova* (Paris 1739); H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris 1886–1898); J. Perizonius ed., *Claudii Aeliani sophistae varia historia* (Leiden 1701); C. Peruschi, ed., *Aeliani variae historiae libri XIII, ex Heraclide de rebus publicis commentarium, Polemonis physionomia, Adamantii physionomia, Melampodis ex palpitationibus divinatio, de nevis* (Rome 1545); V. Rose ed., *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta* (Leipzig 1886); M. A. Schepers ed., *Alciphronis Rhetoris epistularum libri IV* (Leipzig 1905); F. G. Schneidewin ed., *Heraclidis politiarum quae extant* (Göttingen 1847).

and occasionally used incomplete and inaccurate collations of one or two primary manuscripts of the x family and collations of third or fourth generation manuscripts of the V family.³ Hercher used V and one primary manuscript of the x family (a). In 1886 Rose based his edition of *Pol.* entirely on V, assuming that V is the source of both families of manuscripts. Herbert Bloch has pointed out the error of this theory and indicated the need for a new edition of *Pol.*⁴

STEMMA CODICUM



Clearly an investigation and classification of the manuscripts of *VH* and *Pol.* is still virgin territory since previous editors made little or no attempt to distinguish primary manuscripts and usually based their texts on secondary apographs. Also there are nine

³ The notable exception is Schneidewin, who had collations for all the primary witnesses of x.

⁴ H. Bloch, "Herakleides Lembos and his *Epitome* of Aristotle's *Politeiai*," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 27-39.

manuscripts not cited by editors.⁵ In the following pages, I consider each manuscript as it belongs in the stemma.

V. Codex Parisinus graecus supplementi 352,⁶ formerly Vaticanus graecus 997, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains 182 leaves, of which 1–4 are parchment and 5–182, paper. The main part of codex V consists of folios 23–134 containing Aelian's *Historia Animalium* (*HA*), *VH*, and *Pol.* These folios are fourteen quaternions,⁷ and their size (33 × 25 cm. untrimmed) shows that they are of oriental paper, which was commonly used in Byzantium during the thirteenth century.⁸

A single scribe copied the whole of *VH* and *Pol.*, and there are no corrections in a second hand. The pages are closely written with between 35 and 40 lines of text and narrow margins. This hand has no claim to beauty: letters and accents are uneven in size and there is a great deal of tachygraphy in the form of suspensions and contractions at the ends of words. Sometimes this is carried so far as to obscure the sense.

The presentation of the text is crowded. Chapters and even books begin immediately after the preceding book or chapter. There are no subscriptions, not even after the last book of *VH* or at the end of *Pol.* The headings of chapters in *VH* are erratic. Often a heading is omitted; sometimes there is a heading in the middle of a chapter, that is, a chapter as established in the other family (x) or in the editions. In *Pol.* constitutions lack headings, except the first, where the scribe thought *Athenaiōn* was part of the title of *Pol.*

There are two kinds of omissions in codex V: brief scribal omissions and omissions of large units of thought. These seem to be the result of intentional abridgement.⁹

⁵ Codex Veron. 132, formerly 121, in the Biblioteca Capitulare, Verona, came to my attention only recently. This seventeenth-century manuscript containing *Pol.* with a Latin translation is doubtless of no importance. See E. Mioni, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* (Rome 1964) 507.

⁶ See F. Jacobs ed., *Aelianū de natura animalium libri XVII* (Jena 1832) xiv f., xviii, lxxxiv f.; Hercher (1858) pp. i, viii f.; Omont, 3.252 f.; A. Colonna ed., *Himerii Declamationes et orationes cum deperditorum fragmentis* (Rome 1951) xxviii f.

⁷ The signature α' appears on 110^v, τβ' on 118^v, and εγ' on 126^v, and *Pol.* ends on 134^r with 134^v blank.

⁸ See J. Irigoin, "Les premiers mss. grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 194–204.

⁹ Page and line references here and elsewhere refer to Hercher's edition of *VH* (1866, pp. 3–172) and Rose's edition of *Pol.* (pp. 370–386).

94.12–18 ὅτι-τὸν βίον, 96.1–10 ὅτι-οῦσα, 101.31–32 καὶ αὐτὸς-πάσχειν, 113.26–28 Μελήσανδρος-ἔγραψεν, 127.3–5 Λέγεται-αἰτίας, 127.10–11 ὑφωρᾶτο-Πείθωνος, 127.12–19 (xii ch. 17), 132.25–26 Ἀλκμάν-τοσοῦτους, 133.19–22 φασὶ-ἐφρόνει, 135.9–21 (xii ch. 44), 136.21–24 (xii ch. 48), 157.12–15 Στρεπτῶ-δήπου, 158.23–28 (xiii, ch. 44), 169.31–170.2 (xiv, ch. 38), 170.29–30 ὁπόστος-δεῖ.

Codex V appears in the Vatican catalogue of 1533, but not in those of 1518 and earlier years. The scribe Joannes Severus Lacedaemonius, active in Rome from 1519 to 1525, copied *HA* from V twice, in codex b and in Vatic. Barber. gr. 271. Peruschii had V on loan while preparing his edition of *VH*, published in 1545.¹⁰ V was one of the Vatican codices taken to Paris in 1797, but it was not returned with the others in 1815 and so it still remains in Paris.

H. Codex Palatinus graecus 155¹¹ in the Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, parchment, 133 leaves, contains *VH* (1^r–90^r), *Pol.* (90^r–97^r), *et alia*. Folios 1–90 are signed quinternions. At one time the sixth and seventh quires (*VH* 98.13–116.31 and 116.31–138.18) were transposed, for codices A, Q, and B preserve this transposition.¹²

Codices H, a, and g are in the same hand, which is doubtless that of Caesar Strategos.¹³ Unfortunately little is known about Strategos other than that he copied several manuscripts in Florence during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Like many other manuscripts copied by Strategos, H is a codex *de luxe*, written on parchment with regular lines and wide margins. H does not regularly have subscriptions at the end of a book. *Pol.* is presented as part of *VH*, and the following misleading

¹⁰ Bertòla 64, lines 12–15 and note 8.

¹¹ See W. Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur gr. Palaeographie mit zwölf Schrifttafeln* (Leipzig 1867) taf. 11; H. Stevenson, *Codices Manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti* (Rome 1885) 83 f.

¹² Later the transposition was noticed and notes were added (see folio 70^v) to facilitate reading the quires in proper sequence, which was restored when H was rebound.

¹³ See H. Omont, *Facsimilés des mss. grecs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris 1887) pl. 7. Doubtless on information from Jean Boivin, Perizonius (1701) stated that Caesar Strategos was the scribe of codex a. On the characteristics of Strategos' hand, see P. Conart, "Scribes grecs de la Renaissance," *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 81.

¹⁴ See M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 224 f.; E. Mioni, *Bibliotheca Divi Marci Venetiarum: Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in VI, VII, VIII classe includuntur* (Rome 1960) 176.

subscription appears at the end of *Pol.*: τέλος τοῦ αἰλιανοῦ ποικίλης ιστορίας.

Hercher (1858) and Schepers state that H is an apograph of V. This is true since H has all the errors of V as well as separative errors such as the following omissions of H: 10.29 ὑπέρ, 11.17 βούλεται, 121.25 βασιλικῶς, 122.1 βασιλικοῖς, 145.32 τὰ ἔδνα.

Codex H is one of seventy-three Greek manuscripts purchased in Venice in 1553 from the library of Giovanni Battista Egnazio (1478–1553) for Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg (d. 1584).¹⁵

A. Codex Parisinus graecus 1657,¹⁶ paper, 220 folios, contains *VH* (125^r–210^v) and *Pol.* (211^r–217^r). Folios 125–220 are twelve quaternions.¹⁷ A is an apograph of H since it has a big transposition in the text of *VH* corresponding to misplaced quires in H and has the omissions of H as well as separative errors against H, Q, and B: 14.15 τῶν ἡδῆ om. A, hab. HQB; 25.23 χρώμενοι om. A, hab. HQB; 372.10 οἱ ἐξ A, ἡ ἐξ HQB; 375.16 εὐτελής om. in fen. A, hab. HQB.

A belonged to Charles de Montchal, Bishop of Toulouse (d. 1651), whose codices came to the Royal Library about 1700.¹⁸

Q. Codex Coislinianus 321¹⁹ in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, paper, 23.5 × 16.8 cm., contains *VH* and *Pol.* (1–107^v). Folios 1–116, actually 108 leaves,²⁰ are eighteen signed ternions, of which the fifteenth (ff. 100–105) and the sixteenth (ff. 94–99) are transposed. Q is an apograph of H, since it also has a big transposition in the text of *VH* corresponding to misplaced quires in H and has the omissions of H as well as separative errors against H, A, and B: 373.3 ἀνεροῦσι Q, ἀναιροῦσι HAB; 373.5 ἐπίστανται Q, ἐπανίστανται HAB; 375.22 περιερῶν Q, περιαιρῶν HAB; 379.11 ἱκανὸς ἱππεῖν Q, ἱκανὸς εἰπεῖν HAB.

B. Codex Vossianus graecus oct. 4²¹ in the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, paper, I + 142 folios in octernions, 16 × 10 cm., contains *VH* (1–128^r) and *Pol.* (128^r–137^v). B is an apograph of

¹⁵ Cited by K. Christ, "Zur Geschichte der gr. Handschriften der Palatina," *ζΒΒ* 36 (1919) 30, 49–53.

¹⁶ See Omont, 2.117.

¹⁷ Folio 124^v is blank, and catchwords appear on 132^v, 140^v, 148^v, etc.

¹⁸ Montfaucon 891bB, no. 30; Omont I.xxii.

¹⁹ See Omont 3.182; R. Devresse, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits: Catalogues des manuscrits grecs*, Vol. 2, *Le fonds Coislin* (Paris 1945) 308 f.

²⁰ There are two mistakes in numbering (47 bis, 70–79 desunt), and a blank leaf follows folio 116.

²¹ See de Meyier, pp. viii, 202 f.

H since it has a transposition in the text of *VH* corresponding to misplaced quires in H and has all the omissions of H as well as separate errors against H, A, and Q: 147.32 ὁ βασιλεὺς om. B, hab. HAQ; 375.8 καλεπὸν B, χαλεπὸν HAQ; 375.15 τὸ om. B, hab. HAQ; 380.18 Θρακῶν om. B, hab. HAQ; 385.8–9 διὸ–βοῦν mg. B, text. HAQ. The last of these errors corresponds to a whole line in H (96^r10), which the scribe of B omitted in his text and added in the margin.

Codex B was in the library of the Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius (1611–1689), which was purchased by the University of Leiden in 1690.

T. Codex Parisinus graecus 1774,²² paper, A–M + 355 folios, 21 × 14 cm., contains *VH* (19^r–114^v) and *Pol.* (114^v–121^v). Folios 19–158 are fourteen quaternions. T is an apograph of H since it has a fenestra of one half line at *VH* 166.31, caused by the sign '/. in the text and margin of H at this point. Also T has all the omissions of H as well as separate errors against H, A, Q, and B: 375.14 πρῶτον T, πρότερον HAQB; 377.11 δειπνεῖν T, πνεῖν HAQB; 379.22 ἐκ om. T, hab. HAQB; 381.16 πεφυκυῖαν T, περιπεφυκυῖαν HAQB; 382.9 ὥς om. T, hab. HAQB. T introduces a new element into the title of *VH*: αἰλιανοῦ <πρενεστοῦ τῆς ἰταλίας> ποικίλης ἱστορίας. This was probably derived from the notice on Aelian in the *Suda*.

Codex T appears as no. 63 in a list of manuscripts belonging to Antonius Eparchus, dated in Venice, 15 February 1537. Most of these codices were purchased for Francis I in 1540 by G. Pélicier, French ambassador in Venice. Codex T is no. 528 in the Fontainebleau catalogue of 1550.²³

L. Codex Lugdunensis Bibl. Publ. Graec. 33f²⁴ in the Universiteits-bibliotheek, Leiden, paper, 19 × 28 cm., 78 folios, contains *VH* (1^r–63^r) and *Pol.* (63^r–67^r). L is an apograph of T since it has all the errors of T as well as separate errors, which need not be listed since one omission (168.3–6) corresponds to three full lines in T (102^r 23–25).

²² See Omont 2.140; A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits d'Onésandros* (Paris 1930) 12, 71–76.

²³ H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris 1889) 175, no. 528.

²⁴ See J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt* (Leiden 1852) no. 59; *Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae. Catalogus, deel XIV, Inventaris van de Handschriften* (Leiden 1932) 90.

Codex L is no. 130 in the list of manuscripts acquired by G. Pélicier about 1540.²⁵

G. Codex Vaticanus graec. 998, paper, contains *VH* (1^r–97^r) and *Pol.* (97^r–105^r). Between folios 84 and 85 the text of *VH* 139.4–151.17 is missing. This lacuna, equivalent to eight leaves, doubtless represents a missing quaternion. C is an apograph of T since it preserves the title of *VH* peculiar to T; along with T it omits *VH* 10.30–31 ὁ Α.–ὑστερον in the text and preserves these words in the margin; and C has all the errors of T as well as separative errors against T and L: 371.9 ἀπόσασθαι C, ἀπώσασθαι HTL; 374.13 ὑπάγουσι C, ἀπάγουσι HTL; 378.14 τὴν om. C, hab. HTL.

Codex C was purchased for the Vatican Library by Cardinal Cervini from Antonius Eparchus in 1551.²⁶

N. Codex Scorialensis graec. Ω 1 11,²⁷ in the Biblioteca de El Escorial, Spain, paper, 353 folios, contains *VH* (1–67^v) and *Pol.* (67^v–72^v). N is surely an apograph of C, since it omits the text of *VH* contained in the quire missing from C.

A long colophon on folio 72^v says that this manuscript was written by Andronicus Nuccius of Corfou for Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador of Charles V. The colophon is dated in Venice, 12 March 1543. After Mendoza's death in 1575, his manuscripts became part of the Biblioteca de El Escorial.

The manuscripts described above, derived from V through H, constitute the V family. The remaining manuscripts are shown to be derived from a single exemplar by conjunctive omissions such as the following:

4.31 αὐταῖς, 5.10 αὐτοῖς, 5.20 ἐπ'–ῥρεσιν, 11.17 καρποῦσθαι, 12.30 τούτῳ, 14.3 τῷ παρόντι, 14.6 ἐστιν, 20.22–23 τούτου–Σατυρικῶ, 29.23 φασί, 40.8 ἔτι, 151.3 πόαν, 152.31 ταῦτα, 157.24 τινός, 160.13–14 καὶ τὰ κοινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐνεχειρίζον, 160.24 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, 371.16 καὶ, 372.14 ἐν τῷ, 373.3 κρύπτονται, 374.9 αὐτοῖς, 376.9 ὥς, 377.10–12 παρὰ–ἐτησίας, 377.13 καὶ, 377.15 ἐν ἀνδράσι, 377.24–378.1 τὰς–φησί, 378.25 μὴ κωλύειν, 379.9–12 Φεῖδων–πολιτείαν, 380.14 Οἱ δέ, 380.16 ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου, 380.23–24 κλαίω θαλασσῶν οὐ, 382.1–6 ἐγένοντο–ἔτυχεν, 383.13 ἐξ Ἑλυμνίου ὥς μὲν μυθολογοῦσιν.

²⁵ See Omont (above, note 23) pp. vi f., 412; G. Studemund and L. Cohn, *Codices ex Bibliotheca Meermanniana Phillipici Graeci nunc Berolinenses* (Berlin 1890) p. x.

²⁶ See P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V* (Paris 1890) 115–130, no. 180.

²⁷ See E. Miller, *Catalogue des mss. grecs de la Bibl. de l'Escorial* (Paris 1848) 460–62.

Although this exemplar no longer exists, its text can be determined from its four primary derivatives, which date from about the middle of the fifteenth century (d), about 1500 (g and a), and about 1520 (b).

x. Codex x *deperditus*, known to be in the Vatican Library from 1475 to 1522, is probably this lost exemplar. There are two descriptions of x in Vatican catalogues, one dating from 1475²⁸ and the other from 1518,²⁹ as well as seven loan references from 1483 to 1522.³⁰ Although the catalogue entries do not entirely agree, they clearly refer to the same codex.³¹

The following facts show that codex x is the exemplar of d, g, a, and b: (1) d has Aristotle's *Mirabilia* and g has *Mirabilia* and *Physiognomonica*, and both works are attested in x. (2) Codex b was copied in Rome about 1520, and x was in Rome at that time. (3) The loan record of 1483 describes x as a *liber vetustus*. Since x is also a paper manuscript, I conclude that it was a fourteenth or late thirteenth century manuscript, that is, old enough to be the parent of d, g, a, and b.

The earliest reference to x is in the 1475 catalogue. Since x is not mentioned in the catalogue of 1455, it was probably acquired by the Vatican Library between 1455 and 1475. Since there are no references to x after 1522, it may have been lost in the sack of Rome in 1527.

d. Codex Laurentianus LX 19³² in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence, parchment, 252 leaves,³³ 21 × 15 cm., contains *VH* (66^r–209^v), *Pol.* (209^v–220^r), *De Nili incremento* (220^v–222^r), and Aristotle's *Mirabilia* (222^v–252). Folios 63–212, which I have in my microfilm copy, are signed quinternions, all by the same hand, with 26 lines per page.

Codex d has a heading and subscription for each book of *VH*, except Books I and III, which lack subscriptions. There are

²⁸ E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle* (Paris 1887) 232.

²⁹ Bertòla 52, note 2.

³⁰ Bertòla, page 27, lines 21–22 (cf. p. 122); 35.18–22 (cf. 123); 83.20–24; 107. 1–5; 64.4–8; 52.1–6; 77.28–30.

³¹ The 1475 catalogue omits Stobaeus, but this is certainly an error since Stobaeus is attested in 1494, 1503, and 1518. The 1518 catalogue omits *Pol.*, which is conceivable in the case of such a short work.

³² See A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* 2 (1768) 609 f.; G. Vitelli, "I manoscritti di Palefato," *St. Ital.* 1 (1893) 245.

³³ Bandini states that there are 244 leaves, but his count is eight less than the correct numbering toward the end of the codex.

headings for chapters of *VH*, probably composed by the scribe of d, for there are no headings in the other primary witnesses of x and the headings of d differ from those in codex V. In *Pol.* there are headings for constitutions, and paragraphs within each constitution are indicated by capitals. There are numerous marginal indices in the first hand in both *VH* and *Pol.*

Codex d is an independent apograph of x since it has the conjunctive omissions of g, a, and b as well as separative errors against the same manuscripts, such as the following: 5.17 βρωθῆναι d, βρωθείς gab; 7.10 δεῖ d, χρῆ gab; 12.20 τυρέα d, κρέα gab; 14.8 Ἀρταξέρξης om. d, hab. gab; 375.15 δεσμώνων d, δεσμωντηρίων gab.

There is no trace of d in the 1495 inventory of the Medicean Library,³⁴ but since d is assigned a *pluteus*, it must have been in the new Laurentian Library when it was inaugurated in 1571, or soon afterwards.

g. Codex Ambrosianus C 4 supra (gr. 164)³⁵ in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, parchment, iv + 247 + vi folios, 19.7 × 11.5 cm., contains *VH* (1^r–151^r), an epigram on Homer and fourteen anonymous verses on the labors of Heracles (151^v),³⁶ *Pol.* (152^r–161^v), Aristotle's *Mirabilia* (161^v–196^r) and *Physiognomonica* (196^v–217^r). Folios 1–160 are signed quinternions.

Codices H, g, and a were written by Caesar Strategos.³⁷ Codex g was written before 1509, the date of r, an apograph of g. Like many other manuscripts copied by Strategos, g is a codex *de luxe* with wide margins and uniform lines, 20 per page. Each new book of *VH* is set off by a heading in red letters and a large capital. There are no headings for chapters. Codex g has headings for the constitutions of *Pol.* and paragraphs within each constitution are indicated by red minuscule initials. There are subscriptions at the end of *VH* and *Pol.*

³⁴ Published by E. Piccolomini in *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 3, 20 (1874) 51–94.

³⁵ See A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* 1 (Milan 1906) 178.

³⁶ These short poems are found in both g and a and were probably derived from x. The epigram, here ascribed to Lucian, is ascribed to Leonidas of Tarentum in *Anth. Palat.* 9.24. The verses on Heracles are also found in the *Planudean Appendix* to the *Anthology* (16.92 Dübner).

³⁷ See above, p. 60. Also Strategos probably derived the *Epitome* of Athenaeus from x. See Omont l.xxxvi and Clara Aldick, *De Athenaei Dipsosophistarum Epitomae Codicibus Erbaciensi Laurentiano Parisino* (Münster 1928) 15.

Codex g is an independent apograph of x since it has the conjunctive omissions of d, a, and b as well as separative errors against the same manuscripts, such as the following: 5.25 ἦδη om. g, hab. dab; 8.29 καὶ om. g, hab. dab; 11.2 ἐμπίπτοντα νικῇ g, ἐμπίπτει νεανικῇ dab; 36.17 δοθεῖς om. g, hab. dab; 42.23 ὁμοία om. g, hab. dab; 371.22 Ἰππαρχος ἀπέκτεινε g, Ἰππαρχον ἀπέκτειναν dab.

Codex g has been in the Ambrosian Library since it was founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in 1609.

a. Codex Parisinus graecus 1693,³⁸ parchment, 60 leaves in six signed quinternions, 36 lines, contains *VH* (1–56^r), an epigram on Homer (56^r), fourteen anonymous verses on the labors of Heracles (56^r), and *Pol.* (56^v–60^v).

Like g, codex a was copied by Caesar Strategos. a is also a codex *de luxe* with the same kind of ornament as g except that the capitals at the beginning of each book have not been finished and there is only one subscription, at the end of *VH*.

Codex a is an independent apograph of x since it has the conjunctive omissions of d, g, and b, as well as separative errors against the same manuscripts, such as the following: 19.12 φειδίαν a, φειδώ dgb; 32.23 καὶ οἱ a, οἱ dgb; 135.15 καὶ βόας ἐλαννομένους om. a, hab. dgb; 158.5 συντά (fen.) a, συντάξαι dgb; 164.18 ποτε om. a, hab. dgb.

a was included in the Fontainebleau catalogues of 1549 and 1550.

b. Codex Parisinus graecus 1694,³⁹ paper, 287 leaves, 33.1 × 22.7 cm., 30 lines, contains *VH* (1^r–66^v), *Pol.* (66^v–71^v), and *HA* (73^r–286^r). Folios 1–72 are nine quaternions.

In a marginal note (folio 40^r) the scribe of b identifies himself as Joannes and Rome as the place of writing. De Stefani, who quotes this note,⁴⁰ found that the same scribe copied *HA* in b and again in Barber. gr. 271, both times directly from V. Fortunately, I have been able to identify this scribe. In the loan registers of the Vatican Library there are six records of codices borrowed by Joannes Severus Lacedaemonius, dated from 1519 to 1523.⁴¹ These loans are recorded in a hand that is clearly the

³⁸ See Omont 2.125 f.

³⁹ See Omont 2.126.

⁴⁰ De Stefani 182–85. In addition to the notes cited by De Stefani, I have found notes on folios 1^r and 14^r.

⁴¹ Bertola, page 78, line 13: 20 Dec. 1524; 78.16: 27 Dec. 1525 (pl. 63); 95.29: 31 Mar. 1525; 95.31: 24 Oct. 1525 (pl. 85); 103.27: 19 Dec. 1519; 104.1 (pl. 99).

same as the hand of codex b. Also Joannes may be the same scribe referred to by Scipione Ammirato (d. 1601).⁴²

Codex b has a heading for each book of *VH*. Chapters lack headings. There are headings for constitutions in *Pol.*, and paragraphs within each constitution are set off by capitals. The only subscription in b is at the end of *VH*.

b is an independent apograph of x since it has the conjunctive omissions of d, g, and a as well as separative errors against the same manuscripts such as the following: 4.21 ἀλιέα b, ἀσπαλιέα dga; 7.22 οὐν εἶναι b, οὐν dga; 13.12 αὐτοῦ om. b, hab. dga; 372.25–373.1 καὶ 2°–κατέστησε om. b, hab. dga; 374.16 πάντες om. b, hab. dga.

Codex b was no. 29 in the collection of Charles de Montchal (see above, note 18).

e. Codex Laurentianus LXX 26,⁴³ parchment, 162 leaves, contains Appian's *Iberica* and *Hannibalica*, *VH* (65^r–155^v), and *Pol.* (156^r–162^v). Folios 65–154, nine quaternions, are in the same hand as folios 60–64 of Appian.

Codex e is an independent apograph of g, since e has all the errors of g as well as separative omissions against g, s, and r: 21.23 εὐδαιμονίας–οὐ πάνυ τι om. e, hab. gsr; 49.19–21 ἐκείνοι–εὐραντο om. e, hab. gsr; 135.17 ἐκεῖ om. e, hab. gsr.

j. Codex Salamantinus M. 295,⁴⁴ formerly 1–2–21, in the Biblioteca de la Universidad, Salamanca, paper, 120 folios, 21 × 15 cm., contains *Pol.* on folios 106–119 (a quaternion and a ternion), written by Fernando Núñez de Guzman (Pintianus, 1471–1552).⁴⁵

j is derived from e since it has the errors of e as well as separative errors against e and f: 373.8–9 Λακεδαιμόνιοι–ἐκέλευε om. j, hab. cf; 373.16 τούτων j, τούτου ef; 376.1–2 τὰς–δὲ om. j, hab. ef.

Codex j was copied by Pintianus, probably in Italy between 1490 and 1510.

f. For his edition of *VH* (1701), Perizonius used a “Codex Sluiskianus,” which belonged to Frederic Sluiken, “Curiae Hollandiae praeses.” Perizonius prepared a collation of f and

⁴² S. Ammirato, *Opusculi* (1637) quoted in *La Bibliofilia* 31 (1929) 183, note 3.

⁴³ See Bandini (above, note 32) 685 f.

⁴⁴ A. Tovar, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Universitatis Salamantinae* = *Acta Salamanticensia, Filosofía y letras*, 15, no. 4 (Salamanca 1963) 9 f., 70 f.

⁴⁵ See A. Tovar, “Aún sobre el texto de los Bucólicos,” *AFC* 4 (1949) 15–89; pages 69–89 contain plates of folios 45–56 of this manuscript.

L,⁴⁶ which shows that f agreed with e against d, g, a, and b: 4.1 καὶ 2° om. ef, hab. dgab; 4.12 λάπτονταις ef, λάπτοντες dgab; 49.19–21 ἐκείνοι–εὔραντο om. ef, hab. dgab; 371.10 λαών ef, λαβών dab, lâ g; 371.15 δράσαντας ef, δράσαντας dgab. For his edition of *VH* (1731), Gronovius also used f, which had then become the property of Peter Bardon. In his preface, Gronovius gives the contents of f as follows: “Aeliani varia historia, Enchiridion, Epicteti, Excerpta ex M. Antonino, Heraclides, quaedam ex Aeliani libro I. de Nat. Anim.” Codex f next appears in the sale catalogue of Dr. Anthony Askew (1722–1772), divided into two codices:⁴⁷ no. 543 Aeliani Historiae variae, Graecé, corio russo, 4 to.; no. 574 Heraclides et Epictetus, Graecé, corio russo, 4 to.

Askew manuscript no. 543 was purchased by Michael Wodhull (1740–1816). Wodhull left his collection to his sister-in-law Mary Ingram, who in turn left it to Samuel Amy Severne in 1824. In 1886 J. E. Severne sold the collection by auction, and the London book dealer Bernard Quaritch bought *VH* (lot no. 14, 11 January 1886) for Prince Mavrocordato.⁴⁸ Here the record ends, for although the Mavrocordato manuscripts became part of the National Library in Athens, there seems to be no manuscript of *VH* among them.⁴⁹

Askew manuscript no. 574 was purchased by Charles Burney (1757–1817), whose library was sold to the British Museum after his death. This codex, Burney 80, contains all the works ascribed to f by Gronovius, except *VH*.⁵⁰ Furthermore it has the readings of f quoted by Perizonius and is clearly derived from e, since it has all the errors of e as well as separative errors against e and j: 375.11 πολιδίκους f, πολυδίκους ej; 376.5 ἐκτεμὸν f, ἐκτεμῶν ej; 377.20 ἐξάγουσιν f, ἐξάγουσι ej; 378.2 ἄκραι f, ἄκρου ej.

m. Manuscript m in the Biblioteca di Casa Mordini,⁵¹ Barga, Tuscany, consists of six paper leaves in seven pieces, 18.5 × 15.2

⁴⁶ Preserved in Leiden, ms. Periz. oct. 6.

⁴⁷ *Bibliotheca manuscripta Askewiana* (London 1785) 33, 35.

⁴⁸ I owe this information to the kindness of E. M. Dring of Quaritch.

⁴⁹ See M. Richard, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1958) 34, 41. Dr. L. Vranoussis, Director of the Medieval Archives of the Academy of Athens, was kind enough to search for this manuscript.

⁵⁰ See J. Forshall, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, New Series, vol. 1, part 2, *The Burney Manuscripts* (London 1840) 35 f.

⁵¹ A. Mancini, “Frammenti di un codice di Eliano,” *Athenaeum* n.s. 2 (1924) 58–61; cf. *BPW* 44 (1924) 280 f.; E. Mioni (above, note 5) 13.

cm., from a sixteenth-century copy of *VH* (viz. 6: 62.22–63.32; 4: 66.25–68.6; 5 and 7: 86.23–88.3; 2: 89.20–91.2; 1: 131.6–132.19; 3: 141.3–142.14). A collation of leaves 1 and 3, the text of which is included in all my microfilm copies, shows that *m* shares the errors of *g*, *s*, *e*, and *r*: 131.18 *χωρίου* *mgser*, *χώρας* *dab*; 132.15 *τέσσαρες* *mgser*, *δ'* *dab*. Also *m* is shown to be derived from *g*, since it omits several words in 89.30–31 which are not omitted in *g*.

r. Codex Parisinus graecus 1757,⁵² paper, 101 folios, contains *VH* (1^r–94^v) and *Pol.* (94^v–101^v). Codex *r* was written by three scribes. *r*¹ copied the text of *VH* and at the end wrote the date 23 January 1509 (folio 94^v). The text of *VH* was derived from codex *g*, since *r*¹ has all the errors of *g* as well as separative omissions against *g*, *e*, and *s*: 9.24–25 *ὁ καὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσκομίζων* om. *r*, hab. *ges*; 25.9–10 *καὶ-ἐρωμένη* om. *r*, hab. *ges*; 138.29–30 *τοῖς ὕμνοις* om. *r*, hab. *ges*; 169.26–27 *ἡ-ὠπλισμένας* om. *r*, hab. *ges*. Later the scribe *r*² collated the text of *VH* with a manuscript of the *V* family and made numerous corrections. Then using the same *V* manuscript, *r*² copied *Pol.* 371.8–23, and *r*³ copied the rest of *Pol.* Readings in *r* peculiar to *V* show that *V*, not *H* or one of its apographs, was the exemplar used by *r*² and *r*³: 372.7 *φ* *Vr*, *πεντακοσίους* *H*; 381.12 *Μακίστω* *Vr*, *κακίστω* *H*; 385.22 *αὐτὸν* *Vr*, *αὐτοὺς* *H*.

Codex *r* belonged to Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (d. 1549),⁵³ Pietro Strozzi (d. 1558), and Catherine de Medici, Queen of France (d. 1589).

s. Codex Scorialensis graecus Σ III 1,⁵⁴ paper, 203 leaves, 27.6 × 19.8 cm., contains *VH* (72^v–139^v). Folios 72–141, numbered originally 1–70, were once part of a separate manuscript. Since folios 140 and 141 are blank, this manuscript doubtless lacked *Pol.* *s* is in two hands of the sixteenth century (*s*¹: folios 72–101, *s*²: folios 102–139).

Codex *s* is an apograph of *g* since it has all the errors of *g*, but does not contain *Pol.*

On folio 72^r there are the initials of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who also owned codex *N*.

⁵² On this manuscript, see Omont 2.135.

⁵³ Montfaucon 772aE (Ridolfi vi 2).

⁵⁴ See P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* 1 (Madrid 1936) 337–42.

c. Codex Basilensis F vi 29,⁵⁵ in the University Library, Basel, paper, 10 unbound folios, 21.3 × 14.3 cm., contains the fourteen anonymous verses on the labors of Heracles (1^v) and *Pol.* (2^r–10).

Codex c is shown to be derived from g by the following facts:

- (1) The contents of c derive from g, not one of its apographs.
- (2) Schneidewin reports numerous readings which show that c and g have conjunctive errors: 371.22 *Ἰππαρχος* cg, *Ἰππαρχον* dab; 375.10 *κατεπόντησαν* cg, *κατεπόντισαν* dab; 377.14 *αἱ* cg, *καὶ αἱ* dab; 377.19 *πρωθῆναι* cg, *πηρωθῆναι* dab. c formerly belonged to Boniface Amerbach (1495–1562).

k. Codex Vossianus graecus qu. 18⁵⁶ in the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, paper, is made up of various manuscripts, of which folios 24–53, 23 × 16 cm., contain excerpts from *Pol.*: 370.30, 371.19–372.20, 373.22, 386.5–7 (folio 24^r), poems of Anacreon (29^r–35^r and 40^v–51^v), *et alia* copied by Henr. Stephanus (1532–1598).

A careful collation of these excerpts shows that while k belongs to the x family, it was not copied from any one of the extant apographs of x:

- 370.30 *ἥρακλείδ* V, *ἥρακλείδους* d, *–δου* gab, *ἥρακλ* k
 371.23 *πικρότατα* V, *πικρότερον* dgabk
 372.7 *ἐλάσσους* V, *ἐλάττους* dk^a, *ἐλάττω* g, *ἐλάττ* ak^c, *ἐλάτους* b
 372.11 *ἐδύναντο* Va, *ἐδύναντο* dgbk
 372.14 *ἐνδεκα* V, *ια'* dgabk
 372.15 *ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ* V, *δεσμωτηρίων* gabk, *δεσμώτων* d
 ἐννέα Vd, *θ'* gabk
 372.18 *διοικεῖ* Vdak, *διοικ'* g, *διοικῶν* b
 πολέμια Vda, *πολέμ* g, *πολέμου* bk
 373.22 *κρητικὴ* gabk, *κρητῶν* d, om. V
 386.6 *γεωρ* V, *γεωργίας* dbk, *γεωργίαν* ga

Since k was probably copied from x itself, it is a problem to determine when and where Stephanus found this precious manuscript, which seems to have disappeared from the Vatican Library about 1527. Although Stephanus went to Italy in 1553 to copy texts there for future editions,⁵⁷ the Anacreontea, which follow

⁵⁵ See Schneidewin. p. lx, and Omont in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886) 411.

⁵⁶ See de Meyier 114–17.

⁵⁷ See V. Rose, *Anecdota graeca et graeco-latina* 1 (Berlin 1864) 1.

Pol., were copied from the famous codex of the Palatine Anthology in Louvain in 1551.⁵⁸

p. Codex Vaticanus graecus 1375, paper, 258 folios, contains *VH* (1^r–238^r) and *Pol.* (239^r–258^v). Camillo Peruschi copied this manuscript and used it as a printer's copy for the *editio princeps* of *VH* and *Pol.*⁵⁹

The text of p is derived from codex a since p has all the errors of a as well as separate errors: 17.14 *θεασάμενος* om. p, hab. a; 375.14 *Ἐφύρας* p, *Ἐφύρα* a; 376.20 *πέλεκυς* p, *πέλεκυς* a; 378.8 *δὲ* 1° om. p, hab. a.

About 1545, Peruschi borrowed V from the Vatican Library, "quia dictus liber erat imprimendus."⁶⁰ At this time he collated p with V and made numerous additions and emendations.

Codex p was acquired by Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), who left his manuscripts to the Vatican Library.

The classification of the manuscripts of *VH* and *Pol.* is now complete, barring the discovery of an unknown codex. Codices V and x were probably products of the Planudean Renaissance in Byzantium at the end of the thirteenth century. Later V and x were brought to Italy, probably late in the Italian Renaissance, for the earliest reference to *VH* in Italy is in the Vatican catalogue of 1475, listing x. Between this date and the *editio princeps* (1545), twenty-one apographs were derived from V and x. Unfortunately x disappeared about 1527, thus making it necessary to reconstruct this branch of the tradition from codices d, g, a, and b.

The text of *VH* that is now standard is Hercher's Teubner edition of 1866, which is actually an abridgement of his Didot edition of 1858. Hercher collated two manuscripts, V and a, which are fortunately primary manuscripts of the two families. Had these manuscripts been collated thoroughly, they would have provided a nearly satisfactory basis for the text. However, Hercher's account of readings is unsatisfactory: he omits trivial variants and does not record many important ones. According to modern standards, Hercher's text is far from satisfactory.

⁵⁸ C. Preisendanz ed., *Anacreontea* (Leipzig 1912) pp. v f., viii–x; G. Mercati, "Sopra Giovanni Clement e i suoi manoscritti," *La Bibliofilia* 28 (1926) 81–99, reprinted in *Stud. Test.* 79 (1937) 292–308.

⁵⁹ Schneidewin pp. lxi f.; P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887) 173.

⁶⁰ Bertòla 64, line 13.

Likewise the standard text of *Pol.*, V. Rose's Teubner edition of 1886, is unsatisfactory. This text is based on a faulty classification of the manuscripts. Rose thought that V was the source of all the manuscripts and that the x family was derived from V through codex p! Thus he merely prints the text of V and occasionally notes the readings of x in his apparatus. It is hoped that the foregoing classification will contribute to sounder texts.⁶¹

⁶¹ One further requirement for a new text of *VH* is a discussion of the testimonia, which range from Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum* (third century A.D.) to Politian's *Miscellanea* (1498). The most extensive testimonia are contained in the excerpt codex Vatic. gr. 96, which represents a third witness to the archetype (see Diltz, 49–56). I have reserved a discussion of these excerpts and other testimonia for a later article. Also I hope to publish a text and translation of *Pol.* in the near future.