

Escorialensis Ω.I.12

Casey Dué

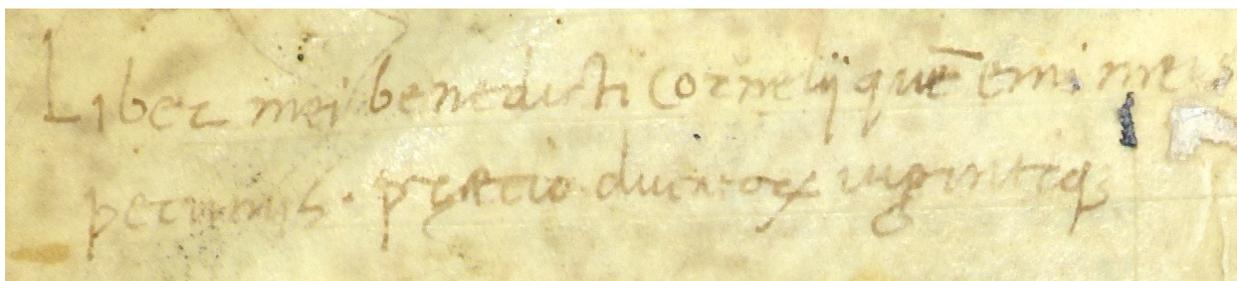
Escorialensis Ω.I.12 (= Allen E4; West F), is not a manuscript that has received much scholarly attention, despite its antiquity and despite the fact that the layout and the organization of its text and scholia set it apart from the other tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Iliad* with scholia. And yet these distinctions immediately raise many fascinating questions about the manuscript's history and sources. Where was this manuscript constructed? Why was it acquired for Philip's library, in addition to the *Iliad* manuscript known as Escorialensis Y.I.1? Are the two manuscripts related in any way, or is it simply a coincidence that they were both for sale in Venice in 1572 and both were purchased for Philip's library? Is the unusual layout of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reflective of a separate channel of transmission for its text and scholia? What kind of scholia does it contain and how do they relate to those of other manuscripts?

This essay will attempt to find answers to some of these questions, and to demonstrate why Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is worthy of further study by scholars and students alike. I will give a basic description of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and discuss how it relates to other manuscripts in the Homer Multitext as well as the several features that distinguish it. We'll examine the manuscript piece by piece in order to see how all of the interconnected texts and signs and different colored inks and styles of handwriting fit together to form one of the most comprehensive scholarly editions of the *Iliad* ever to be constructed. Understanding how the text, scholia, paraphrase, and editorial formatting relate to one another visually will lay the foundation for our consideration, in future work on these manuscripts, of the editorial role of the scribe in the

construction of manuscripts like Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and of the importance of publishing individual manuscripts as a complete unit.

Preliminaries

We cannot say for certain where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 was constructed, but scholars agree that it was made in the eleventh century CE, and like most deluxe Greek manuscripts of this kind it was probably made in Constantinople. It seems to have been acquired at some point in its history in Venice for the price of 25 ducats, according to a subscription on the last folio (*liber mei Benedicti Cornelii quem emi meis pecuniis pretio ducatorum viginti q*).¹



Detail from folio 216v of Escorialensis Ω.I.12

Eventually the manuscript came to be in the collection of a Venetian named Nicolás Barelli, who sold it to Philip's ambassador in Venice, Guzmán de Silva, in 1572 (de Andrés 1967: 135 and 1971).² It is a parchment codex, thought by Allen and other scholars to be later than Escorialensis Y.I.1 (which is also from the eleventh century). It consists of 219 folios, containing a complete text of the *Iliad*, a commentary with lemmata, lives of Homer, the summary of the *Cypria* attributed to Proklos, the *Batrachomyomachia* ("Battle of Frogs and Mice"), substantial excerpts from the "Homeric Questions" (Ὀμηρικά ζητήματα or *Homērika*

¹ For a concise account of how some manuscripts came to be in Venice after the fall of Constantinople, see Blackwell and Dué 2009.

² For more on the history of the Escorial library see the Introduction, above.

Zētēmata) of Porphyry, and other scholia, both “exegetical” and “D” scholia. Individual books are preceded by hypotheses and a one-verse metrical summary (the same one-verse summaries that you find in Venetus A, on which see further below).³ As we will see, much of the scholia of this manuscript overlap with those in the family of manuscripts known as bT (“b” being the hypothetical archetype of B, Escorialensis Y.I.1, and C), but Escorialensis Ω.I.12 also shares several features with the manuscripts that independently transmit the “D” scholia and with the Venetus A.⁴ In other words, Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is the product of multiple channels of transmission, and cannot be made to fit easily into a conventional stemma.

The copious scholia of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 are written in two different, but contemporaneous hands, which may or may not be the work of different scribes.⁵ The text of the poem, the metrical summaries, the hypotheses, and the scholia with lemmata are written in one “hand” or style of writing, while the remainder of the scholia and selections from Porphyry have been written in another style of writing in the remaining available space.⁶ It is difficult to determine whether the two styles of writing are a deliberate variation on the part of a single scribe for the purpose of differentiating between different groups or sources of scholia, or whether the second style is indeed the work of another scribe.

³ The folios were given numbers at some point in the top outside corner of each page, but some folios were evidently skipped and had to be labeled “bis,” with the result that the last folio is labeled 216. The “bis” folios are 122 bis, 123 bis, 143 bis, and 190 bis. There is no folio 66. (That number was apparently skipped by mistake.)

⁴ For a proposed stemma of the “b” family of manuscripts, see the introduction to Erbse’s print edition of selected Homeric scholia (Erbse 1969-1988). On the various sources for the scholia and their transmission see Nagy 2004, as well as Allen 1931b, Erbse 1960, Van der Valk 1963-1964, Nünlist 2011, and (for scholia preserved on papyrus), McNamee 2007.

⁵ Both Allen (1931a) and Erbse (1969:XX) perceive the hands to be contemporaneous. Bethe (1893:359) asserts that the vast majority of the scholia are written in one hand.

⁶ For the catalogue description of this manuscript see de Andrés 1967:133-135. A much more detailed description can be found in Bethe 1893.

Let us now proceed through the manuscript piece by piece, in order to examine its contents and features in more detail. Ideally, the rest of this essay will be read in close conjunction with viewing the images of the manuscript on-line at www.homermultitext.org. By the end of the essay we will have an understanding of how each piece fits into the larger whole, and an at least plausible idea of the order in which each came to be added to the manuscript.

Prolegomena

The front matter of Escorialensis Ω .I.12, or prolegomena, occupies the first six folios. Like that of the Venetus A, the front matter of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 has been a source of confusion and speculation for scholars.⁷ In 1931, Allen simply wrote of these folios “The object is not plain” (1931a:17). I will briefly describe each of the six folios here, and once again I recommend viewing the on-line images of each folio published at www.homermultitext.org along with each description.⁸

Folio 1r is the first page of the manuscript, which never seems to have had any kind of title page (Bethe 1893:367). It contains verses of the *Iliad* with scholia. If you look at the page as a whole, you will notice first *Iliad* 1.1-12 in bold ink with scholia all around, and the scholia are keyed to the text with Greek numbers. In the bottom third of the page *Iliad* 1.13-14 are written in the bold ink, with scholia all around, then 1.18-19 with scholia, then 1.27 with scholia. The scholia in this section are keyed to the text with sigla. All of the scholia on folio 1r are also in B, and many are in C and/or T as well. (The first seven folios of Escorialensis Y.I.1 are later, replacement folios, so I have not compared them here.) The very first scholion on the page is also in A (as well as in B, C, and T).

⁷ For the Venetus A, see Allen 1899 and Hecquet 2009.

⁸ See also Bethe 1893:367-372, Allen 1931a:16-17, and Severyns 1953:41-43.

The Homeric verses that are on the folio are only the ones commented on, hence they may be called (as Allen does) “lemmata.” But the question arises: why is the system that keys text and scholia necessary, if the scribe has only copied out the verses that the scholia comment on? These scholia may well have been taken from an edition containing a complete text of the *Iliad* with scholia in the margin, keyed to the text with numbers and/or sigla (as in the Venetus B manuscript of the *Iliad*). The scholia in this presumed exemplar must have been virtually identical to those in the numbered scholia of the Venetus B. The initial block of 12 verses matches folio 1r on B, where there are exactly 12 verses surrounded by scholia, keyed to the text using numbers. The numbered scholia in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 seem to match those of B exactly, and use the same number as B for each note.

After verse twelve, however, the lemmata of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 (and hence the associated scholia) become selective. For this reason, continuing the numbering system of our presumed exemplar no longer makes sense, and indeed, we find only symbols linking the lemmata and scholia in the prolegomena to Escorialensis Ω .I.12 after this point. A plausible scenario is that the scribe of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 found himself with two extra blank folios sides as well as the margins of other pages in the front matter of his manuscript. He decided to copy on to those blank folio sides and in the margins material from an exemplar that was very similar to the Venetus B. The scribe copied the first twelve verses and their scholia (ie, the material on the first folio of his exemplar) exactly. But because he did not have enough room to copy everything in his exemplar in the available space in the prolegomena, he began to be selective. At this point, instead of copying the numbers that we find in B, he began to use a set of sigla. Although these sigla are similar to those used in the second, later set of scholia in B, the scholia that the scribe copied continued to be from the earlier, numbered set of scholia in B.

On the next folios, this commentary with lemmata continues, but only in the margins. Instead of verses from the poem, as on 1r, other prolegomena take up the main part of the page. Interestingly, the scholia on these pages maintain the system of sigla (begun on folio 1r for verse 1.13 and following) that would normally key them to a separate text of the *Iliad*. There is no text of the *Iliad* on these pages, but the scholia are generally preceded by a lemma. These lemmata may have been copied directly from the main text of the poem in the exemplar. Symbols link each lemma and scholion, even though in almost all cases the commentary immediately follows upon the lemma. As on folio 1r, the commentary in the margins of folio 1v and following can be found in the numbered set of scholia in the Venetus B.

An additional feature of the scholia in the margin on these folios is that each note is numbered sequentially, beginning with the number 16 in the top left corner of folio 1v and continuing through the remainder of the prolegomena. (It is not entirely clear why the numbering begins at 16; the scholia on 1r are numbered up through 20 and contain quite a few scholia linked with symbols beyond that. Bethe [1983] suggests that the first number on folio 1v should be 18 rather than the 16, counting the lemmata of the *Iliad*—17 in total—that have been copied onto 1r, and that the scribe has simply made a mistake.) This numbering system does not seem to have anything to do with linking text and commentary, but rather keeps track of the total number of scholia in the commentary in the prolegomena.

On folios 1v-2r we find an excerpt from a work entitled τρύφωνος περὶ παθῶν λέξεων. Tryphon was a first-century BCE grammarian and poet working in Alexandria during the time of Augustus.⁹ The περὶ παθῶν λέξεων discusses linguistic phenomena, dialects, and other

⁹ See Wendell (1939), Dickey 2007: 83–84, and De Jonge 2011:475–477. The Suda entry for Tryphon is available at the Suda On-line project: <http://www.stoa.org/sol/>.

irregularities of language.¹⁰ As we have noted, scholia surround this excerpt from Tryphon in the margins, continuing the set that began on folio 1r. The excerpt ends approximately two thirds of the way down the page, at which point we find a new title: ἐξήγησις τῆς ἰλιάδος καὶ ὀδυσσεΐας ὁμήρου. This text may also be found in other manuscripts, most notably in the manuscript family that Allen calls *p* (described at Allen 1931a:142).¹¹ The exegesis ends in the middle of folio 2v, after which there is a blank space, and then a second exegesis begins, with no title (ἃ δέ ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς ὁμήρου ποιήσεως εἰς τὴν ὄλην διήγησιν λῦσαι νῦν ῥητέον...). This second exegesis (but with a title) may also be found in the *p* manuscripts.¹² The second exegesis ends near the bottom of the folio. As on 1v and 2r, scholia surround the exegeses in the top, outer, and bottom margins.

On folio 3r we find another folio that resembles 1r with verses of the poem written in bold ink followed by scholia. The numbering in the margin of each lemma continues from previous folios. As on 1r, numbers and symbols link the verses and their corresponding scholia, even though the scholia immediately follow the quoted text. It is not clear why, approximately

¹⁰ See Dickey 2007: 84. The only available edition of this work is Schneider 1895 (also in this edition in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*). Escorialensis Ω.I.12 preserves only a portion of it. According to Dickey 2007 (307), a new edition of the surviving fragments of Tryphon will be published by S. Matthaios.

¹¹ Five of the six manuscripts in this family share nearly the same prolegomena as Escorialensis Ω.I.12, including the *Batrachomyomachia*, the Proklean life of Homer and to other lives, the Proklean summary of the *Cypria*, the hypothesis for the *Iliad*, and a hypothesis for book 1. (The *p* manuscripts contain a second hypothesis for the *Iliad* [περὶ τῆς μηνίδος] that Escorialensis Ω.I.12 does not. The *p* manuscripts do not contain the excerpt from Tryphon.) Digital images of one of the manuscripts in this family, Harley 5601 (= Allen Bm6), are freely available on-line from the British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5601. All the manuscripts in the family are from the fifteenth century according to Allen (1931a:142). Although they share prolegomena with Escorialensis Ω.I.12, their texts of the *Iliad* itself are not related. (See Allen 1931a:142 and 148 as well the blog post at <http://homermultitext.blogspot.com/2012/02/exegesis-of-iliad-and-odyssey-of-homer.html>.)

¹² The text of this second exegesis may be found in Wagner's 1891 *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, (pp. 297–298) to which he has added the prolegomena from a fifteenth century Neapolitan manuscript (*codex Neapolitanus bibliothecae Borbonicae* II C 32). This book is available on-line through google books: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.FIG:001709073>.

halfway down the page, the scribe begins to use numbers to link the lemmata and commentary, after using sigla in the first half of the page. As on 1r, all of the scholia on this page may be found in the numbered set of scholia in the Venetus B (that is to say, they are what is often called “exegetical scholia,” on which see further below) and they presumably all come from the same source.

On folio 3v we find a hypothesis for the whole *Iliad* (with a title in red ink).¹³ Next comes a hypothesis for book 1.¹⁴ Unlike the other books in Escorialensis Ω.I.12, there is only one hypothesis for book 1 in Escorialensis Ω.I.12, and it is not in the usual place—as we will see, hypotheses usually appear on the verso page facing the recto page on which the text of the book begins. But just as on other folios on which a new book of the *Iliad* begins, scholia with crimson lemmata follow the hypothesis. Much of the scholia on this particular folio seem to derive primarily from material of the genre of *Zētēmata*. Four of the notes begin with a question followed by a sign that looks like a capital upsilon above a lambda with a slash. Here is how each of the four notes begins:

1. ζητοῦσι, διὰ τί ἀπὸ τῆς μήνιδος ἤρξατο...
2. διὰ τί εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων τοῦ πολέμου ἤρξατο...
3. διὰ τί ὁ Χρύσης οὐ κατ’Αγαμέμνονος ηὔχετο τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἑλλήνων;
4. διὰ τί δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων, ὁ λοιμὸς ἤρξατο, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ, οὐδὲ ἀπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ζώου;

Each of these scholia is in fact a question or problem of interpretation, which is followed by the lambda upsilon sign and then the answer to that question. Question 1, for example, asks

¹³ The text of this hypothesis may also be found in the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript Li (Lipsiensis 32), on which see Maass 1884. See also Wagner 1891 (297; with note 12, above) and Severyns 1950–51:147.

¹⁴ So also Li (on which see again Maass 1884:266 and Bethe 1893:369).

why the poet began with the word “wrath,” which is such an “ill-famed” word. We then find the crimson sign, followed by the answer: “For two reasons. First, because...” This question and answer combination is in fact the same one that begins the scholia in the Venetus A, where there too it is distinguished by a red symbol. In the Venetus A that symbol looks more like ερώ άπ and seems to be an abbreviation for έρώτησις άπόκρισις (“question” and “answer”).¹⁵ The sign in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 must likewise be an abbreviation, but instead of άπόκρισις it is almost certainly λύσις, which is the word used in the scholia and elsewhere for a “solution” to a “Homeric Question.” Therefore what we see here on folio 3v in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is a set of “Homeric Questions” and answers within the body of scholia that have been marked explicitly as such. We find this same sign/abbreviation elsewhere in Escorialensis Ω.I.12, including, for example, on folio 27r, where we find not only two signs for λύσις in crimson ink, but also two examples of a crimson άπό alongside the accompanying Questions. The άπό is no doubt an abbreviation for άπόρημα, another common way (in addition to ζήτημα) of referring to problems of Homeric interpretation in antiquity.

Because Escorialensis Ω.I.12 contains so many excerpts from Porphyry, it is only natural to assume that these four questions on folio 3v are derivative of Porphyry’s work, but we cannot be certain, because these particular questions do not survive in the one independent manuscript containing a portion of Porphyry’s Όμήρικα ζητήματα. These questions may have a different source altogether. As we have seen, the first question in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is the very first scholion on the Venetus A (folio 12r), and also survives in the “D” scholia manuscripts such as Ve1 (= West Z, *Bibl. Naz. Centr. Gr. 6 + Matrit. B. N. 4626*), which is a ninth-century manuscript containing “D” scholia (also known as the scholia minora) that is

¹⁵ On the Venetus A’s marking of Homeric Questions see the blog post of Stephanie Lindeborg at <http://homermultitext.blogspot.com/2012/03/investigating-red-marginal-notes-of.html>.

older than any of our minuscule manuscripts of the *Iliad* itself. Another version of this same question and answer survives in the Venetus B (folio 1r), where it is attributed to Zenodotus. The second question in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 also survives among the “D” scholia and is written in the harp that decorates the top right corner of folio 12r of the Venetus A (adjacent to where question 1 is written.)



Detail of folio 12r of the Venetus A showing a “Homeric Question”

Interestingly, another version of this same question (but with a different answer) survives in the Venetus B and T. Question 3 is not in A, but it too is preserved in the “D” scholia manuscripts. Question 4 can be found written as part of a decorative column on folio 12v of the Venetus A, and is also preserved in the “D” scholia. It is likely that there was a tradition of composing and answering such questions in schools and/or among scholars, and there may

have been multiple scholarly works in antiquity devoted to these types of questions. In fact we know that Aristotle composed such a work. (See Nagy 1996b: 1–3.)

Beginning with folio 4r the prolegomena of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 begin to closely resemble those of other manuscripts, including the late family of manuscripts called *p* by Allen.¹⁶ On 4r we find three short Lives of Homer. The first two are those conventionally labeled Lives 4 and 5, and the third is the Life attributed to Proklos (ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ).¹⁷ This life ends on 4v, where it is followed by the Proklian summary of the *Cypria* (ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ).

On folio 5r the *Cypria* summary ends, and the so-called “Battle of Frogs and Mice” (*Batrachomyomachia*) begins, in two columns. The *Batrachomyomachia* ends at the bottom of folio 6v, and the text of the *Iliad* proper begins on folio 7r. As on all the folios of the prolegomena except for 1r and 3r, exegetical scholia with lemmata for the *Iliad* are written in the margins all around on folios 4r–6v. The commentary with lemmata reaches verse 2.300 in the poem, at which point the prolegomena come to an end and the *Iliad* begins.

The Folios: Design and Layout

According to Allen (1931:148), Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is not related to any of the other early minuscule manuscripts. The layout of the text of the *Iliad* in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reflects this theory. Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is quite different from Venetus A, Venetus B, Escorialensis Υ.I.1, T, and C (the other early manuscripts of the *Iliad* with scholia). These manuscripts employ a “frame” layout, in which the main text of the poem is written in the central portion of the

¹⁶ See above, note 11.

¹⁷ For Lives 4 and 5 see the editions of Westermann 1845 and Allen 1912 and on the Proklian life see that of Severyns 1953.

page and surrounded on all sides by scholia.¹⁸ Escorialensis Ω .I.12, by contrast, has two columns of equal-sized text on each folio, and these columns are surrounded by scholia. The left columns contain the text of the poem and the right columns consist of a paraphrase. This same paraphrase (with minor variations) can be found in other manuscripts, and the tradition of paraphrasing the *Iliad* for school texts has been documented as far back as the fourth century BCE.¹⁹ Escorialensis Ω .I.12 was designed so that the text of the *Iliad* and the paraphrase of it could be read side by side. B and Escorialensis Y.I.1, whose scholia are related to those of Escorialensis Ω .I.12, do not contain this paraphrase. But a thirteenth century manuscript, Genavensis 44, does contain it (only up through book 12, line 455). In the Genavensis the scribe has alternated between lines of the *Iliad* and lines of the paraphrase, so that, as in Escorialensis Ω .I.12, they can be read together.²⁰ The prominent inclusion of this paraphrase may indicate that Escorialensis Ω .I.12 was designed for a reader with less competency in reading Homeric Greek—Greek that predated the manuscript’s construction by nearly two thousand years. Likewise, as we will see, its accompanying scholia are more interpretive in nature than philological.

Each book of the *Iliad* in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 begins with one or more (usually two) brief prose summaries, or *hypotheses*.²¹ These hypotheses are transmitted in a variety of

¹⁸ See Maniaci 2006a on the “frame” layout of these five manuscripts, as well as an overview of the different layout strategies employed in ancient manuscripts for text and scholia. Genavensis 44 (13th century) likewise has a frame layout, though it differs from the other manuscripts in having a running paraphrase that alternates with the lines of the poem, up through book 12 line 455.

¹⁹ See Plato, *Republic* 393d-394a and Makrinos 2011. School texts on papyrus containing paraphrases date back to the 3rd century BCE. (See Spooner 2002.) The Appendix to Bekker 1825 contains an edited text of the paraphrase, based primarily on Parisinus Graecus 2690.

²⁰ The Venetus A manuscript contains an interlinear paraphrase up through book 2, line 288, which resembles the paraphrase that we find in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 and Genavensis 44 very closely. It was not written simultaneously with the main text (10th century). Allen (1899: 180) dates the paraphrase to the 13th century.

²¹ The exception is book 1. The hypothesis for that book is on folio 3v.

manuscripts, including the 9th-century manuscript containing “D” scholia known as Ve1 (*Rom. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 6 + Matrit. 4626*) and the Leiden codex known as Le1 (*Leidensis Voss. Gr. 64*, 15th century).²² The fact that two sets of hypotheses are preserved in our oldest Homeric manuscript (that is, Ve1), and that many manuscripts (including Escorialensis Ω.I.12) preserve both, is very interesting. It suggests that prior to the creation of any of the Medieval manuscripts of the *Iliad* that have survived, compilations of a variety of texts related to the *Iliad* were already in existence.²³ While it is not likely that Escorialensis Ω.I.12 contains material directly copied from Ve1, it *is* likely that they were both drawing on a similar compilation of sources.

After the hypothesis of each book, on the facing page and above the main text of the poem and its paraphrase, comes a title line (e.g., “rhapsody 10 of the *Iliad* of Homer”) followed by a one-verse summary of the plot of the book in dactylic hexameter. There must have been a tradition in the ancient world of such summaries, and in our early manuscripts we find two different sets.²⁴ There are those included at the beginning of each book in the Venetus A, and another set that we find at the beginning of each book in the Venetus B. But other manuscripts contain these summaries as well, and they do not always perfectly match. Escorialensis Ω.I.12’s metrical summaries are nearly identical to those of the Venetus A, but there are a few minor variations. For example, we find at the beginning of book 6:

VA - ζῆτα· δ ἄρ· Ἀνδρομάχης τὲ καὶ Ἑκτορός ἐστ’ ὀαριστύς· (folio 80v)

Ε Ω.I.12 - ζῆτα· δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἑκτορός ἐστὶν ὀαριστύς· (folio 52r)

²² On the Leiden codex see Maass 1884 and de Meyier 1955:75.

²³ See Allen 1931b.

²⁴ See Christopher Blackwell’s discussion on the Homer Multitext blog, with accompanying images, transcription, and analysis at <http://homermultitext.blogspot.com/2011/09/metrical-book-summaries-on-two.html>. The summaries of the Venetus B closely resemble those of A for most books, but they differ for books 18–24.

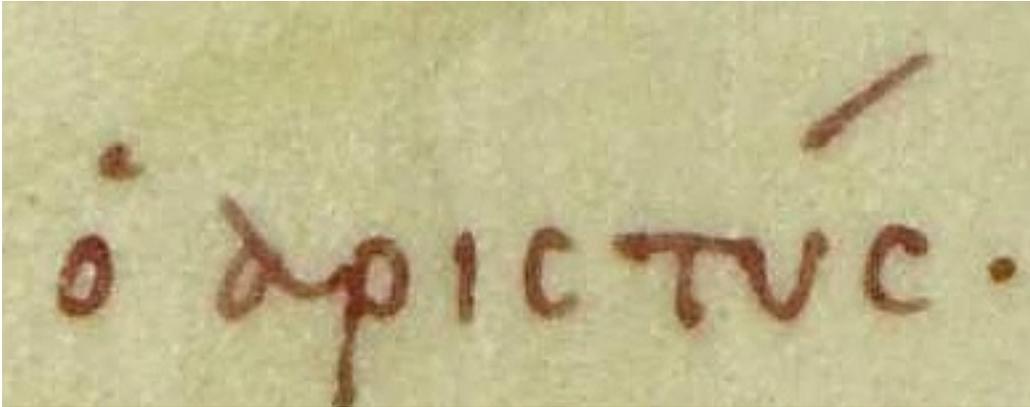
(“And then Zeta is the fond discourse of Andromache and Hektor.”)

There is just a slight difference of wording. The τὲ is absent in Escorialensis Ω.I.12. Instead, the iota of ἔστι is not elided. Because there are several such variations among the summaries of the two manuscripts, we can surmise that Escorialensis Ω.I.12’s summaries are not directly copied from A, but are in fact an independent witness to the tradition that transmitted this group of summaries.

The Venetus B and Escorialensis Υ.I.1 have a different set of summaries from that of A and Escorialensis Ω.I.12, but for quite a few of the books (the first seventeen in fact) they are almost identical. B reads here (folio 81v): ζῆτα· δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἑκτορός ἐστιν ὁ ἀριστύς. Note that this version matches neither that of A nor that of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 perfectly. There seems to have been some confusion about the word ἀριστύς (“fond discourse”; see *Iliad* 14.216), which has a smooth breathing in Greek. Both the scribe of the Venetus B and that of the Venetus A seem to have believed the omicron to be a definite article (ὁ), and the noun to be ἀριστύς (which does not exist, though it could be mistaken for a form of ἀριστεύς).²⁵ In this image from the Venetus A, we can see that there is a gap between the ὁ and ἀριστύς, which suggests that the scribe of A originally conceived of it as being two separate words, as it appears in B. He must have thought better of it, however, because he did not in the end add a breathing over the alpha of ἀριστύς.²⁶

²⁵ Indeed, my fellow editors and I have done this. Much to our embarrassment, in our first publication of the metrical summaries of the Venetus A, we translated the one for book 6 “And then Zeta is the best book of Andromache and Hektor.”

²⁶ See again the blog post of Christopher Blackwell cited above.



Detail from folio 80v of the Venetus A manuscript of the *Iliad*

For book 22, however, the metrical summaries of A/Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and B are entirely different. Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads:

χι δ'αρά τρις περὶ τεῖχος ἄγων κτάν' Ἑκτορ' Ἀχιλλεύς

("Chi. And leading him around the walls three times, Achilles kills Hektor.")

This is the same summary as in Venetus A. But B's summary is as follows:

χι Θέτιδος γόνος ὠκύς ἀπώλεσεν Ἑκτορα δῖον

("Chi. The swift offspring of Thetis kills brilliant Hektor.")

Here we can see quite clearly the metrical summaries of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 have been drawn from a source like that of A rather than that of B.

Folios 187v–188r

Following the metrical summary for each book, we find the two columns of text and paraphrase. Surrounding these columns on all sides and often between the lines of paraphrase we find scholia. I would now like to use the beginning of book 22 (folios 187v-188r) to illustrate in more detail the organization of text and paratexts in Escorialensis Ω.I.12.

In Escorialensis Ω.I.12, the facing folios 187v and 188r mark the beginning of *Iliad* book 22.²⁷ Folio 188r, on the right side, contains the first 37 lines of book 22 in the left column and their paraphrase on the right, with scholia all around. Folio 187v, on the left side, is taken up by a hypothesis, a large selection from Porphyry, and scholia, both with and without lemmata, including comments on the text of the *Iliad* that is written on 188r. Let's examine more closely how the two pages work together.

At the top of folio 187v is the excerpt from Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*. The comment is part of a larger discussion of the meaning of the word κλίσις in Homer, and *Iliad* 22.1-4 is cited along with several other passages.²⁸ The scribe of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 saw that this passage in Porphyry was relevant to the opening lines of 22 (in which the Trojans rest by "leaning" on the walls), and so he copied it here.²⁹ He links the excerpt from Porphyry to the text of the poem (on folio 188v) by means of a graphical sign, or *siglum*, which is reproduced in the appropriate

²⁷ Cf. Venetus A folio 282r, Venetus B folio 292r, and Escorialensis Y.I.1 283r.

²⁸ The following is a transcription, based on visual inspection of the manuscript images and Schrader's (1880-1882) edition: ἠγνόησαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἡ κλίσις παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τὴν περιοχὴν σημαίνει, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐσηματισμένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ῥήματα. <ὡς οἱ μὲν κατὰ ἄστῳ πεφυζότες ἠύτε νεβροὶ ἰδρῶ ἀπεψύχοντο πῖον τ' ἀκείοντό τε δίψαν, κεκλιμένοι καλῆσιν ἐπάλλεσιν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ τεῖχος ἄσσον ἴσαν, σάκε' ὤμοισι κλίναντες> (*Iliad* 22.1-4)· λέγει γάρ· περιεχόμενοι τῷ τείχει οἱ Τρῶες, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὰ σάκη περιέχοντες τοῖς ὤμοις. Οὕτω λύσεις καὶ τὸ <οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης κυκλίατο> (*Iliad* 16.67-68)· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι περιεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Τρῶων ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης συνηλάθησαν. καὶ τὸ <ἠέρι δ' ἔγχος ἐκέκλιτο καὶ ταχέ' ἵππω> (*Iliad* 5.356) δηλοῖ περιείχετο. καὶ τὸ <κεῖθ' ἀλὶ κεκλιμένη ἐριβώλακος ἠπειρίοιο> (*Odyssey* 13.235), κέῖται περιεχομένη. καὶ πάλιν <ὅς δ' ἐν ὕλῃ ναίεσκε μέγα πλούτοιο μεμηλῶς λίμνη κεκλιμένος> (*Iliad* 5.708) δηλοῖ περιεχόμενος. καὶ <ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι> (*Iliad* 3.135)· περιεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσπίδων. ἀπὸ τοῦ κλείω· τὸ γὰρ ἀποκλεισθὲν περιέχεται· <οὐδὲ πύλῃσιν εὗρ' ἐπιεκεκλιμένας σανίδας> (*Iliad* 12.120). τὸ δ' αὐτὸ παρίστησι καὶ τὸ <ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ Τρῶων πεδίῳ πύκα θωρηκτῶν πόντῳ κεκλιμένοι ἐκάς ἤμεθα> (*Iliad* 14.739-40), ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πόντου περιεχόμενοι.

²⁹ A shortened version of this same excerpt from the *Homeric Questions* appears on folio 137v of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 (ad *Iliad* 16.68 κεκλίατο). The full excerpt appears in two places on the Venetus B as well: folio 214v (ad *Iliad* 16.68 κεκλίατο) and folio 292r (ad *Iliad* 22.3 κεκλιμένοι, as here). Differences among the versions suggest that scribes felt free to edit the text, leaving out or including the cited examples in accordance with the space allowed.

place on the other folio. Next follow several scholia, written across the full length of the page. These too are connected to the text of the poem by means of sigla.

After these scholia, the hypothesis for book 22 begins, with a title written in crimson ink: ὑπόθεσις τῆς χι ὁμήρου ῥαψωδίας:

Τῶν Τρώων ἐγκλεισθέντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μόνος Ἔκτωρ ὑπομείνας Ἀχιλλέα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φεύγει, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνθίσταται, Ἀθηναῖς αὐτὸν πεισάσης καὶ ἀναιρεῖται. Ἐξάψας δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ ἄρματος Ἀχιλλεὺς, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ἔλκει. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀδύρονται ταῦτα ὀρῶντες.

Most books of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 actually have two hypotheses, and so we find here a second hypothesis, preceded by ἄλλως in crimson letters:

Τῶν λοιπῶν Τρώων εἰς τὴν Ἴλιον ἀναχωρούντων μόνος Ἔκτωρ εἰς τὰ ἔξω ὑπομένει παρακαλούντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν γονέων εἰσελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀπαρνεῖται. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἀπομέμφεται αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπεναντίον Ἀχιλλέως ἐλθὼν διώκεται τρὶς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη. Ζεὺς δὲ ταλαντεύει ἀμφοτέρων τὰς μοίρας καὶ αἱ μὲν τοῦ Ἔκτορος ἐπὶ γῆς χωροῦσιν, αἱ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἄνω φέρονται. καὶ οὕτως Ζεὺς κελεύει Ἀπόλλωνι ὑποχωρεῖν τῆς μάχης καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποχωρεῖ, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνα εἰκασθεῖσα τῷ Πριάμου παιδί Δηϊφόβῳ παρορμᾷ Ἔκτορα ἀντιτάξασθαι Ἀχιλλεῖ· ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς συνίσταται τε καὶ ἀναιρεῖται· δεθεὶς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ προειρημένου σύρεται.

Both hypotheses may be found in the early manuscripts of the “D” scholia, including the one known as Ve1. They are not present, however, in the earliest manuscripts of the *Iliad* with scholia. That is to say, they are not in A, B, C, Escorialensis Y.I.1, or T.

These hypotheses are followed by more scholia, which are contained within the same text block as the hypotheses. These scholia differ from the surrounding scholia in that they have

crimson lemmata, and they are written in the same hand as the hypotheses. We find scholia of this type on very many of the folios in Escorialensis Ω.I.12, and in fact they may have been conceived of originally as the primary intended commentary for this manuscript. They are written in the same hand as the text of the poem and the hypotheses and metrical summaries, and on the folios where they are included they are placed in the most important marginal space. (They do become less numerous, however, as the poem proceeds, leaving plenty of available space for other scholia.) Very significantly, both of the scholia with lemmata recorded in this text block on folio 187v can also be found in A in some fashion. Let's look at them more closely.

First, we find the lemma **ὄν τε κύν' ὠρίωνα** followed by a lengthy mythological note, whose content is attributed to Eratosthenes, the third head of the library of Alexandria (c. 235–c. 270).³⁰ This note with some variations is also found on the Venetus A manuscript, though it is not included in Erbe's edition of the scholia (because he excludes the mythological scholia or "D" scholia from his edition). It is also found in the Venetus B, but in the later, 12th or 13th century set of scholia on that manuscript. (Hence it postdates the construction of Escorialensis Ω.I.12.)

³⁰ On Eratosthenes, see Dickey 2007: 5 and Geus 2002. The following is a transcription of the note, for which I have worked closely with the images of the manuscript folio, as well as the editions of Heyne (1834) and Van Thiel (2000): Τὸν ἀστρῶον κύνα οὕτως ἔφη. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τόνδε τὸν κατηστερισμένον κύνα, οὐκ ὠρίωνος, ἀλλὰ Ἑριγόνης ὑπάρχειν, ὃν κατηστερισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἰκάριος γένει μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ἔσχε δὲ θυγατέρα Ἑριγόνην, ἣτις κύνα νήπιον ἔτρεφε. ξενίσας δέ ποτε ὁ Ἰκάριος Διόνυσον, ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον τε καὶ ἀμπέλου κλῆμα. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποθήκας, περιήει τὴν γῆν προφαίνων τὴν τοῦ Διονύσου χάριν, ἔχων σὺν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸν κύνα. γενόμενος δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως, βουκόλοις οἶνον παρέσχε. οἱ δὲ ἀθρόως ἐμφορησάμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰς βαθὺν ὕπνον ἐτράπησαν, οἱ δὲ περιλειπόμενοι νομίσαντες θανάσιμον εἶναι τὸ πόμα πλήσσαντες ἐφόνησαν τὸν Ἰκάριον. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ νηψάντων αὐτῶν καταγρόντες ἑαυτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. ὁ δὲ κύων ὑποστρέψας πρὸς τὴν Ἑριγόνην, δι' ὠρυγμοῦ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῇ τὰ γενόμενα. ἡ δὲ μαθοῦσα τὸ ἀληθές, ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε. νόσου δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις γενομένης, κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε Ἰκάριον καὶ τὴν Ἑριγόνην ἐνιαυσιαίαις ἐγέραιρον τιμαῖς. οἱ καὶ καταστερισθέντες, Ἰκάριος μὲν Βοώτης ἐκλήθη, Ἑριγόνη δὲ παρθένος. ὁ δὲ κύων τὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔσχε. Ἰστορεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καταλόγοις.

I must digress here to point out a potentially very significant variation recorded in this note on Escorialensis Ω.I.12. What is significant about this note is not actually its content, but its lemma. The reading ὄν τε κύν' ὠρίωνα does not match the corresponding text of the poem on folio 188v of Escorialensis Ω.I.12, nor is it found in any other manuscript, all of which read κύν' ὠρίωνος (“the dog of Orion”). In fact κύν' ὠρίωνα does not make much grammatical sense, though we could take the two accusatives, somewhat awkwardly, to be in apposition to one another (“the dog, Orion”). The Venetus A scholia, however, record another discussion of this phrase, this one about the proper division of the words:

ὄν τε κύν' ὠρίωνος ὁ Σιδώνιος ὕφ' ἔν ἀναγινώσκει. ἄμεινον δὲ κατὰ παράθεσιν, ὅτι οἱ κύνες πολλάκις ὀνομάζονται μετὰ τῶν κτητόρων, οἷον Κέρβερος Ἄιδου, Ὁρθρος Γηρυόνου, Ἄλκαινα Ἀκταίωνος· οὕτως κύνα ὠρίωνος. τῷ δὲ κυνηγετικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πλησίον κατηστέρισαν τὸν κύνα.

“The dog of Orion”: The Sidonian reads it as one [word]. But it is better to read it as two, because dogs are often named with their owners, such as Kerberos of Hades, Orthros of Geryon, Alkaina of Aktaion; likewise the dog of Orion. Inasmuch as he was fond of hunting they also made his dog in the constellation next to him.

Dionysius Sidonius was an Aristarchean scholar who seems to have been very familiar with the methods and scholarship of Aristarchus. (See Nagy 2009: 151–152.) This comment suggests that he argued for a reading, perhaps known to Aristarchus, that represents κύν' ὠρίωνος as one word. The only way that such a one-word reading could work grammatically would be if the word were in the accusative case: that is to say, something like κυνωρίωνα. Is it possible that the source from which the scribe of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 was copying his scholia with lemmata had this other reading? Could such a reading have been corrupted by the influence of the

genitive in other sources, so that instead of κυνωρίωνα we find in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 κύν'ώριωνα (divided into two words)? If so, Escorialensis Ω.I.12's lemma here would be the sole witness to preserve what seems to be an ancient variation that was being discussed in antiquity.

The other scholion recorded in this text block, also with a lemma in crimson ink, likewise has an interesting link to the A manuscript.

Εἴσι τὴν ἑώαν ἀνατολὴν. ἄνεισιν ἀνατέλλει.

A version of this comment is also found in several other manuscripts of Homeric so-called “D” scholia, including the 9th century manuscript Ve1, but it is not in B, T, C, or Ge. In the Venetus A, however, ανεισιν ἀνατέλλει is written here in semiuncial script above εἴσιν. This link is now a second indication that the scholia with lemmata in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 are drawn from a tradition with ties to the scholarship that we find in the Venetus A. And in fact, examination of other examples from other books confirms that the red scholia with lemmata that we find throughout Escorialensis Ω.I.12 derive from a source of “D” scholia like what we find in A. These scholia have not been copied from A directly; like the metrical summaries, they must derive ultimately from a source of “D” scholia that predates both manuscripts.

In the margin and at the bottom of the folio, surrounding the central text block containing the hypotheses and the scholia with lemmata, are additional scholia. These additional scholia, like those above the hypotheses, do not contain lemmata, and are clearly drawn from other sources, and they are likewise written in what appears to be a second hand. The first two of these scholia are preceded by a siglum in the outer margin, while the final three are preceded by Greek numerals (in the form of letters of the alphabet). The numbered scholia in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 usually correspond to the numbered scholia in B, Escorialensis Υ.Ι.1, and C (often called the “exegetical” scholia, because they contain explanatory notes about context,

poetics, and rhetoric). The scholia connected to the text with sigla generally contain material from the “D” scholia—brief notes about the meaning of words and other basic information.³¹ These scholia can also often found in the Venetus B, but in the second, later hand of B. They are also transmitted independently of the text of the poem in a variety of manuscripts, including the one known as Ve1.³²

The page that faces 187v is folio 188r, on which the text of *Iliad* 22 begins. As we have noted, there is a metrical summary of the book in crimson ink that spans the width of the two text blocks. It is placed just under a decorative border across the top, also in crimson ink. A large omega in crimson comprises the first letter of the main text of the poem in the left column. The initial omicron of the paraphrase text in right column is also in crimson, and somewhat larger than the rest of the paraphrase text, set in the margin to the left of the text block. Occasionally the initial letters of the line in both the left and the right columns are highlighted in a similar way. (Generally the first letter of a verse that serves as a speech introduction will be in crimson.)

The folio contains *Iliad* 22.1-37 in the left column, and a paraphrase in the right. There are 37 lines of the poem on folio 188r, considerably more than would be found on a typical folio of A, B, or Escorialensis Y.I.1. (Most folios in fact have 39 verses, but the space taken up by the title necessarily results in fewer verses on this folio.) For this reason Escorialensis Ω.I.12 consists of only 219 folios, whereas the Venetus A has 327 and the Venetus B has 338. There are scholia—both from the numbered set of the Venetus B and the set with sigla— in the top and

³¹ We have, however, found many exceptions to this general rule. The scribe of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 seems to have only selectively included comments from his source of exegetical scholia. For this reason, he could not always maintain the numbering system of his source, and used sigla to link them to the text of the *Iliad* instead.

³² For more on the different classes of scholia, their sources, and their content see especially the detailed studies of Erbse 1960 and van der Valk 1963–1964, as well as the more brief overviews of Richardson 1980, Snipes 1988, Nagy 2004: 3–24, Dickey 2007: 18–22, and Nünlist 2011.

outer margins and between the lines of the paraphrase. The numbered set of scholia on folio 188r start with the number 4 (δ) because they are continuing the numbering that begins on 187v. (The Venetus B and Escorialensis Y.I.1 follow this practice as well. The scholia are numbered sequentially from the top of the left page to the bottom of the right for each two-page spread.) Numbers and sigla likewise link the text of the *Iliad* to the corresponding scholia on 187v.

The final text group to consider on folio 188r is the scholia written between the lines of the paraphrase. These do not have lemmata. Those on this folio, as on other folios, can all be found in either the exegetical scholia of B,C, and Escorialensis Y.I.1, or in the “D” scholia (such as you find on Ve1 and A). The longer notes are generally exegetical, scholia, while the “D” scholia are short glosses, as we would expect in such a compressed space. The exegetical notes are often quite abbreviated versions of the corresponding comments in the Venetus B, and often their syntax has been altered to allow for further compression. In one instance on this folio, however, Escorialensis Ω.I.12 seems to preserve a longer version of a comment than what we find in other manuscripts. In the paraphrase at 22.13 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads:

οὐχ ὑπόκειμαι μοίρα ὡς Ἔκτωρ· ἐπεὶ θεὸς εἰμὶ· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὁ Ἔκτωρ φονεύσιμος εἰμὶ,
ὄν ἧλπισας διώκειν :-

Whereas B reads:

οὐκ εἰμι φησὶ φονεύσιμος· οἷον οὐχ ὑπόκειμαι μοίραι ὡς Ἔκτωρ ὄν ἧλπισας διώκειν :-

This is by no means the only example we have found where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 preserves a longer version of a comment than can be found anywhere else in any published source.³³

³³ For another example, see our blog post at <http://homermultitext.blogspot.com/2012/05/discovery-in-e4-scholia.html>.

We have seen that the scholia with crimson lemmata on folio 187v are also present in the Venetus A. The scholia with lemmata, however, comprise only a portion of the total scholia in Escorialensis Ω.I.12. A large percentage of the scholia that we find on Escorialensis Ω.I.12 are the scholia written in the second hand and linked to the text with numbers and signs, or else placed between the lines of the paraphrase, usually without lemmata. These can also be found in the Venetus B (and not, for the most part, in the Venetus A). But they do not have the same layout as in B, and their associated numbers and symbols often do not correspond with those in B. As we have seen, the two sets of scholia in in the Venetus B, those connected by numbers (the “exegetical” scholia) and those connected by symbols (the “D” scholia), are in different hands separated by two or more centuries. (See above.) The later scholia, that is those connected by symbols, are not present in Escorialensis Υ.I.1 at all. But in Escorialensis Ω.I.12, both sets of the “B scholia” are present, and both are contemporaneous with the writing of the manuscript (11th century).

Comparison between Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and the corresponding scholia on B and Escorialensis Υ.I.1, moreover, definitely reveals differences. For example, we find this comment at the top of folio 188r of Escorialensis Ω.I.12, linked to the text by means of a siglum:

ἀκέοντο· ἐθεραπεύοντο· κυρίως ἀκεῖσθαι τὸ ἄχος ἰᾶσθαι· καὶ τὸ ὃ δὴ ποτε θεραπεύειν·
ὄθεν Φρύγες ἀκεστὴν τὸν ἰατρόν· καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκέστριαν.

Most of this comment, but not the whole, is in the *numbered* scholia of B and in Escorialensis Υ.I.1 (with no lemma however in B or Escorialensis Υ.I.1), while the whole, with the exception of ἐθεραπεύοντο, is also in T and in some “D” scholia manuscripts. So for this scholion, Escorialensis Ω.I.12 resembles T more closely than B, but matches none of them perfectly. The scholia for Escorialensis Ω.I.12 will be examined in further detail below. For now let us note simply that while there is substantial overlap in scholarly material preserved in B,

Escorialensis Y.I.1, and Escorialensis Ω.I.12, the differences are also substantial, and it is clear that Escorialensis Ω.I.12 is not a descendent of either B or Escorialensis Y.I.1.

Text

I'd now like to talk about the text of the *Iliad* itself in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and how it relates to what we find in other manuscripts. Allen describes Escorialensis Ω.I.12 as having few true *variae lectiones* (1931a:148).³⁴ If we once again use folio 188r as an arbitrary test case, we can make some preliminary observations. Below are line numbers of the poem followed by a brief commentary on what we find there in Escorialensis Ω.I.12.

22.12 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads δεῦρ' ἐλιάσθης (with A, T, and several other mss.) whereas several papyri and B read δεῦρο λιάσθης.

22.18 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and the codex Ambrosianus read ἀφείλαο where most manuscripts read ἀφείλεο.

27 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads ὀπώρηις along with A (the text of A appears to have been corrected here) where most mss. read ὀπώρης.

30 Escorialensis Ω.I.12, A, and one other manuscript read ὁ δ' where others and the papyri read ὁ γ'.

33 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads γ' ἐκόψατο where most other manuscripts and the papyri read γε κόψατο.

³⁴ There is no single vulgate from which all other Homeric manuscripts derive; there were multiple channels of transmission from antiquity. The texts that were transmitted by these channels resemble one another very closely, but there are enough distinct variations among them to demonstrate that they are not descendants of one or even just a few sources. The Venetus A, our oldest complete text of the *Iliad*, often serves as a convenient stand in for a vulgate for editors. (See especially the edition of Van Thiel 1996.)

36 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and A read ἔσθήκει where most manuscripts read εἰσθήκει.

Escorialensis Ω.I.12's text of the *Iliad* on this particular folio seems to resemble A more closely than B, though there are places where they differ. The value of such a brief comparison is necessarily limited, however. The variations manifested here are relatively minor examples of the kind of variations in orthography and punctuation that one finds throughout all manuscripts, which are handwritten and by nature prone to variation of this kind. A much more thorough investigation is needed before we can make any solid claims about the relationship between the text of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and that of A or any other manuscript. On the one hand, we can observe that random sampling by other editors, such as by Bethe (1893:360), has yielded similar results. For example, at *Iliad* 13.12 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς, an Aristarchean reading discussed in the A scholia and present in most manuscripts, whereas the bT family of manuscripts reads ἀκροτάτηι κορυφῆι. But a closer look shows that there are many places where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 agrees with with the Venetus B against A and other manuscripts.

I have tested my initial observations on folio 188r in more detail by closely investigating the whole of the text of book 3 of the *Iliad* in Escorialensis Ω.I.12 against that of A and other manuscripts. The results of this investigation will be discussed more thoroughly in a future work, in which my co-editor Mary Ebbott and I plan to discuss the notion of the scribe as an “editor.” I’d like to note already here that it is clear that the text of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 was collated by the scribe against one or more other manuscripts, it would seem after the initial writing of the text was complete. There are numerous places in the text of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 where there have been corrections made in a darker ink (but in the same hand as the rest of the text). These corrections correspond with significant divisions among our extant manuscripts. In other words, wherever the manuscripts are divided between readings, it very

often possible to detect that a correction has been made in Escorialensis Ω.I.12. But there is no single overarching pattern that we have discerned thus far to the corrections. In many places where there is division among manuscripts, Escorialensis Ω.I.12 agrees with the b family (that is, the manuscripts B, Escorialensis Υ.I.1, and C). A very important example of this can be found at 3.78, where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and the b family (and indeed most manuscripts) contain a verse that the manuscripts Ve1, A, Genavensis 44 and several papyri omit. But there are other places where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 agrees with most manuscripts against B. Finally there are places, we have seen, where Escorialensis Ω.I.12 agrees with A against B and other manuscripts.

Here are just a few examples from book 3 that demonstrate the eclectic nature of Escorialensis Ω.I.12's text:

3.35 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 agrees with most manuscripts in reading παρειάς. A and B have the dual form παρειά (which also happens to be discussed in both the A and B scholia).

3.99 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 has the reading πέπασθε, whereas virtually all manuscripts, including Ve1, A, and B, read πέποσθε. The A scholia attribute Escorialensis Ω.I.12's reading of πέπασθε to Aristarchus, and, intriguingly, the T scholia report that "all" read likewise (πέπασθε οὕτω πᾶσαι).³⁵

3.262 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads βήσετο with A and Genavensis 44, whereas B and others have βήσατο. The A and T scholia tell us that Aristarchus preferred βήσετο, but did not change the text and kept βήσατο, which seems to have been the majority reading of the texts he had available to him:

³⁵ Note that West does not record Escorialensis Ω.I.12 as reading πέπασθε, but West does print this reading in his text of the *Iliad*.

προκρίνει μὲν τὴν διὰ τοῦ <ε> γραφὴν, <βήσετο,> πλὴν οὐ μετατίθησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ <α> γράφει ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος (A scholia)

ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἄμεινόν φησι τὸ <βήσετο,> οὐ μεταποιεῖ δὲ τὴν γραφὴν. (T scholia)

3.270 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads ἔχευαν with Ve1, A, and Genavensis 44, but most manuscripts read ἔχευον, which was the preferred reading of Aristarchus, according to the A scholia.

3.295 Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads ἀφυσσόμενοι, which was Aristarchus' preferred reading according to the A scholia and the reading of most manuscripts, whereas Ve1, A, and Genavensis 44 all have ἀφυσσάμενοι (a reading attributed to "others" in the A scholia).

3.301 Here several papyri, A, Escorialensis Υ.I.1, and T read δαμεῖεν. Escorialensis Ω.I.12 reads μιγεῖεν, which is also found in Ve1, written in superscript T, and in the text of most mss (except those cited). B has been corrected here and reads μιγεῖεν after correction, but seems to have read δαμεῖεν before correction.

3.436 Ve1, A, Genavensis 44 have δαμασθης, whereas Escorialensis Ω.I.12 and most manuscripts (including B) have δαμείης.

These examples appear to confirm the assessment of Allen, that the text of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 can be related to no one other manuscript family. In a future work I plan to explore the notion that Escorialensis Ω.I.12's seemingly unique text is in fact the result of its having been collated against a variety of other sources, possibly including the lemmata that have survived along with the "D" scholia, a text in the family of B (perhaps a text with accompanying exegetical scholia, which may have been the source of such scholia in Escorialensis Ω.I.12), and just possibly an Aristarchean text that may have resembled A, with or without accompanying

“D” scholia. Indeed, as we will now explore in more detail, the scribe has drawn on at least three if not four sources of textual commentary when compiling the scholia of Escorialensis Ω .I.12. Each of these may well have been a source against which the scribe likewise collated his text of the poem.³⁶

Scholia

My conjecture about the types of exemplars against which the scribe of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 may have collated his text brings me to the final piece of the puzzle that is Escorialensis Ω .I.12. Our look at the prolegomena of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 as well as folios 187v and 188r revealed that there are multiple groups of scholia in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 that derive from different sources and that are distinguished from one another visually. Close visual examination of the folios leads me to suggest that the manuscript was constructed as follows with the following groups of scholia:

The prolegomena were written first, but seem not to have been carefully planned, given the somewhat hodge-podge gathering of material. It seems possible that pages were allocated for the prolegomena without prior planning, and that the scribe then selected texts for these pages from more than one exemplar. Even so, several blank pages remained after had copied the selected texts. On one of those pages, the scribe decided to copy the hypothesis to the *Iliad* and the hypothesis to book one from one of his sources, and he began copying a set of “D”

³⁶ A question unanswered by our discussion thus far is how Escorialensis Ω .I.12 came to have certain Aristarchean readings, of which we have cited two here. These may be simply coincidence, or they may go back to a source against which the scribe of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 was collating his text. (We should note, however, that the two examples discussed here do not appear to be corrections.) The A scholia that name Aristarchus explicitly seem to be among the oldest scholia that we have, transmitted as they are in semiuncial script (see Nagy 2009). It is certainly possible that the scribe of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 was familiar with and had access to this scholarship, even though there are no scholia of this type in Escorialensis Ω .I.12. Might the source of the “D” scholia with crimson lemmata in Escorialensis Ω .I.12 (scholia, that as we have seen, often appears in A as well) have been a manuscript containing text and commentary, one related ultimately, however distantly, to the Venetus A?

scholia with crimson lemmata (including several “Homeric Questions” marked as such) on this page.

I believe that the scribe next wrote the main text of the poem and its accompanying paraphrase, together with the titles, metrical summaries, and hypotheses for each book. The text was planned in such a way that each book would end on the verso side of a folio. On that same verso side, the scribe would write the hypothesis for the next book. If there was room, he continued the commentary with crimson lemmata for that book immediately following the hypothesis. That commentary would then be continued in the margins of the folios along with the text and paraphrase as the book continued.

Next, the same scribe, or possibly a second scribe, working from a different source, wrote a set of exegetical scholia in a different style of handwriting wherever there was space to do so. He began this commentary on folio 1r, which must have been left blank when the prolegomena were written. He then continued it in the margins of the prolegomena and the whole page of folio 3r, and in the margins of the remaining folios where space allowed. Once he reached folio 7r, where there was considerably less room in the margins due to the presence of the “D” scholia that had already been written alongside the text of the poem, he dispensed with the lemmata and became very selective. When he was able to follow the numerical linking system of his exemplar he did so; where this was not possible, he used symbols to link text and scholia.

At the same time selections from Porphyry were also included in the same style of handwriting, and again where space allowed. These selections often occupy a fairly prominent space at the top or bottom of the folio and are often labeled as being from Porphyry, sometimes in crimson ink. Sometimes the text of the *Iliad* is visually linked to the Porphyry excerpt that discusses it by the use of crimson brackets or by other means.

Clearly, the scribe had access to far more material than he had space for, however. And so he copied the briefest comments from the exegetical scholia between the lines of the paraphrase on the right side of each folio, often further compressing each note in order to fit it there. An exception to this scarcity of space for the exegetical scholia is in book 2, where the absence of a paraphrase for the Catalogue of Ships leaves an abundance of room for the exegetical scholia, and it is used accordingly.

Still another source of commentary was at hand, however. On many folios there are comments linked to the text with symbols that derive not from the exegetical scholia that we find also in B, Escorialensis Y.I.1, and C, but rather the “D” scholia. This particular set of “D” scholia is different from the “D” scholia that we find with crimson lemmata in Escorialensis Ω.I.12. These comments are very similar to those which we find written the second, 13th-century hand of B. There is little space for such material in the early books, but the scholia thin out as the poem progresses, and by the time we get to folios 187v and 188r, discussed above, there is plenty of room for them. In these later folios where they appear in great numbers, the only visual distinction between them and the exegetical scholia is that they are linked to the text with sigla rather than numbers. Often they interrupt the sequence of the numbered scholia: there is no sense that the numbered scholia were copied first, followed by the sigla scholia. This arrangement could indicate that Escorialensis Ω.I.12’s source for the exegetical scholia also contained a set of sigla (i.e., “D”) scholia. As we have noted, the two sets of scholia in B were written in different centuries, but the source from which the scribe of Escorialensis Ω.I.12 was working may well have looked as B does now, with “D” scholia intermingled with exegetical scholia. If so, it makes sense that the scribe would have copied them in the order that they appeared in his source, rather than separately.

Preliminary observations

Now that we have considered Escorialensis Ω .I.12 (Escorialensis Ω .I.12) as a whole and have explored, by way of example, the layout and content of folios 187v and 188r in some detail, we can make some preliminary observations. Escorialensis Ω .I.12's layout differs somewhat from that of the Venetus A, the Venetus B, and Escorialensis Y.I.1, where there is a central block of *Iliad* text with scholia surrounding it in the top, bottom and outer margins, as well as, to a much less extent, in the inner margin. In addition to extensive excerpts from the work of Porphyry that are often explicitly labeled, Escorialensis Ω .I.12 contains scholia of both the "exegetical" and "D" scholia types, as well as another contemporaneous set of "D" scholia with crimson lemmata. This last set of scholia seems to be the one that was written first, as it is in the same hand as the hypotheses and the text of the poem, and it is written in the "prime real estate" of the top, left, and bottom margins. The exegetical and "D" scholia of the bT family of manuscripts are written wherever there is additional space, including the very cramped space between the lines of the hypotheses. These different sets of scholia resemble scholia that we find in B, Escorialensis Y.I.1, A, and T, but match none of them perfectly, and are clearly not derivative of those manuscripts. We can also already see that Escorialensis Ω .I.12 has many features that distinguish it from the other manuscripts with scholia, including those of comparable date. It contains a running paraphrase of the poem, and its metrical summary at the start of each book matches the tradition that we find in A, not B. The hypotheses at the start of each book of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 are not found in A, B, or Escorialensis Y.I.1.

This preliminary overview of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 has shown that this manuscript brings together many different sources, which are used selectively and in combination. This is significant because it shows us that the Homeric scholia and other Homeric paratexts cannot be easily defined or placed in a neat stemma. The scribe(s) clearly had a variety of sources

available to choose from when constructing this manuscript. Not only did he copy commentaries from multiple sources, he very likely collated his text of the *Iliad* itself against these same sources. While many scribes in antiquity may have simply copied an exemplar when constructing a manuscript of the *Iliad*, we know that they often compared what they were copying to other exemplars and made changes, or else recorded variations in the margins. This practice is especially clear in the Venetus A (on which see Allen 1899), but it seems to be true for Escorialensis Ω .I.12 as well. What this preliminary analysis of Escorialensis Ω .I.12 suggests is that we should not be thinking of scribes as unthinking copyists, but as editors in their own right.

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