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## Thoughts on Editing Greek Scholia: The Case of the Exegesis to the *Odyssey*

**Type of text and textual material** Commentary on the Classics: Various authors, mostly anonymous, Greek marginal scholia to Homer's *Odyssey*

**Date** from the Hellenistic through the Byzantine age

**Witnesses used in case study** Byzantine manuscripts with marginal notes and a handful of papyri containing glossaries, *hypomnemata* etc.

**Methodological problems**

- How to organize different exegetical materials, making use of both the indirect and the direct tradition
- How to present a complete *recensio* of the direct tradition

**Proposed solution** A synoptic edition of different witnesses, with an extensive critical apparatus giving variants to both the direct and indirect tradition

**See also** Cullhed; Iversen; O'Sullivan; Thomsen Thörnqvist

### *Introduction*

We normally understand as “scholia” the bulk of exegetical material to ancient authors handed down to us in the margins of medieval codices, i.e. that often inextricably stratified conglomerate of notes and comments that, while found in witnesses mainly dating from the ninth to the sixteenth century CE, represents a mixture of bits and pieces from ancient Hellenistic or imperial *hypomnemata* and of more recent commentaries and *marginalia*, or sometimes new recastings of older stuff.<sup>1</sup> One peculiar though essential task in editing Greek scholia is therefore to unbundle the different categories, and to distinguish ancient from less-ancient material. Another no-less-daunting difficulty is to work out a thread in a tradition that does not proceed according to any usual “Lachmannian” criterion. This is because the very substance of the text is slip-

1 Nigel G. Wilson, “Scolia e commentatori,” *Studi classici e orientali* 33 (1983): 83–112 (then “Scolia and Commentators,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 [2007]: 39–70).

perly and unstable, inherently exposed to accretions – above all from lexical or grammatical sources – or willful omissions, and is non-authorial to the point where almost every redactor and every scribe can feel free to adjust it to his own interests and purposes, or even to the material *facies* of the specific book he is planning or producing.<sup>2</sup>

Several factors intervene in a proper appraisal of scholiastic *corpora*. These include the possible existence of fragments from papyrus commentaries to a given text, to be compared more-or-less directly with the medieval tradition of the scholia;<sup>3</sup> the mechanism by which marginal commentaries arose in their present form, whether we date this phenomenon to the end of antiquity or to the early Middle Ages;<sup>4</sup> the degree of philological and exegetical activity devoted to a given work, and thus its relative complexity or obscurity, its “canonicity”, its circulation and popularity among schoolboys and erudites throughout late antiquity and the Middle Ages;<sup>5</sup> the codicological layout of every single witness, and its purpose both in the intellectual context in which it was produced and in later decades or centuries;<sup>6</sup> and finally, and perhaps most

- 2 Ole Langwitz Smith, “Medieval and Renaissance Commentaries in Greek on Classical Texts,” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 47 (1996): 391–405, esp. 399–404; William G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation, being Scholia Aristophanica III* (London 1905); James Zetzel, “On the History of Latin Scholia,” *Classical Philology* 79 (1975): 335–54; Georgios Xenis (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis “Electram”* (Berlin and New York, 2010), 15–18.
- 3 Herwig Maehler, “Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholien-corpora der Handschriften,” in *La philologie grecque à l’époque hellénistique et romaine*, ed. Franco Montanari (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1994), 95–127; Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* (Chippenham and Wiltshire, 2007).
- 4 An extreme view, but also an excellent *status quaestionis*, is found in Fausto Montana, “The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora,” in *From Scholars to Scholia*, ed. Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani (Berlin and New York, 2011), 105–189. For a different view see e.g. Kathleen McNamee, “Missing Links in the Development of Scholia,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 36 (1995): 399–414.
- 5 Some aids on the Greek side: Rafaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 2001); Hartmut Erbse, “Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen klassischen und hellenistischen Literatur,” in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung*, ed. Herbert Hunger et al. (Zürich, 1961), 1: 207–283.
- 6 E.g. Guglielmo Cavallo, “Una mano e due pratiche: Scrittura del testo e scrittura del commento nel libro greco,” in *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Paris, 2000), 55–64; Marilena Maniacci, “La serva padrona: Interazioni fra testo e glossa nella pagina del manoscritto,” in *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, ed. Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù and Silvia Rizzo (Messina, 2002), 3–35. Louis Holtz, “Glosse e commenti,” in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo* 3, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Rome, 1995), 59–111.

importantly, the influence of the exegesis to a given work on grammatical and lexicographical studies, and the extent to which glosses or commentaries have been exploited in vocabularies, handbooks, or even in the scholia to other literary texts – in a word, from an editor’s perspective, the extent and the weight of the indirect tradition.

All these worries have haunted modern editors of ancient scholia over the last few decades, and they have done so to different degrees. Earlier scholars often looked into the exegetical material in order to unearth the gems it contained, such as otherwise unknown variant readings, or quotations from other non-extant literary works.<sup>7</sup> Only after the development of a lively interest in the history of ancient and medieval education, in the techniques of ancient literary criticism, and in the intellectual practice of reading and commenting texts did a new sensibility develop that led to some outstanding achievements concerning the most complex, but at the same time most rewarding, exegetical traditions.

To narrow down our focus to Greek poetical texts, this was the background to the Dutch edition of the Aristophanes scholia,<sup>8</sup> or to the *Iliad* scholia published by Hartmut Erbse over the span of a lifetime<sup>9</sup> – whereas in previous decades, Drachmann’s excellent Teubner text of the Pindar scholia, or even Schwartz’s Euripides scholia, were the exception rather than the rule.<sup>10</sup> However, in none of these cases (and the same could be said for other instances, such as Smith’s Aeschylus scholia, or Pertusi’s scholia to Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, or even Martin’s excellent text of the Aratus scholia)<sup>11</sup> did the editorial work result in a full publication of the entire exegetical heritage. Scholars have almost always chosen to differentiate the bulky material according to a chronological criterion, i.e. identifying, either on a codicological or on a critical basis, the so-called *scholia vetera*, and leaving the *scholia recentiora* to their fate, or – in the case of some of Aristophanes’s plays – to separate editions in the same series.

7 See Smith, “Medieval”: 394–395.

8 *Scholia in Aristophanem*, ed. varii (Groningen, 1969–2007). An overview of this edition is provided by Rob Tordoff at <http://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-09-24.html>.

9 Hartmut Erbse (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin and New York, 1969–88), to be consulted with Hartmut Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich, 1960).

10 Anders Björn Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig, 1903–1927); Eduard Schwartz (ed.), *Scholia in Euripidem* (Berlin, 1887–91).

11 Ole Langwitz Smith (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia* (Leipzig, 1976–82); Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi opera et dies* (Milan s.d., [1956]); Jean Martin (ed.), *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (Leipzig, 1974).

This solution makes good sense historically, since it proceeds from a thorough examination of the manuscript tradition and it mirrors each editor's idea of how the exegetical tradition was shaped through the centuries. It is also by far preferable to the comfortable but problematic habit of printing separately the scholia of every single witness, as was the case most conspicuously with the editions of the *Iliad* scholia by Bachmann, Cramer, Dindorf and Maass, and Nicole – a practice that still creates some confusion down to our own day among inexperienced readers, because it silently allows for repetitions and intersections, does not highlight what is peculiar to each manuscript, and mostly overlooks or conceals useful clues that would allow us to discern the different layers of exegesis.<sup>12</sup>

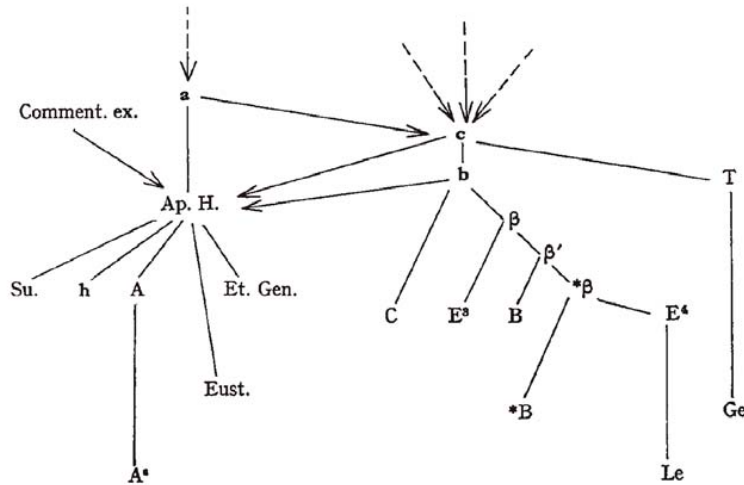
However, the chronological partition of the scholia also creates some difficulties, for it gives a reader the illusion of having at his or her disposal the entire exegetical heritage in one book, while in reality he or she ought to look up the same passage in two or more editions. This becomes a difficult operation if one does not have a firm knowledge of the relationship among the different *corpora*. Recent tools, such as Eleanor Dickey's invaluable guide to *Ancient Greek Scholarship*,<sup>13</sup> have certainly improved matters, easing the way of the neophyte into an often-intricate maze. However, one can wonder how many students or, for that matter, scholars remember to compare the *scholium vetus* to a given line in the *Clouds* with its counterpart in the twelfth-century commentary of the Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes, and in the notes attributed to the early fourteenth-century philologists Thomas Magistros and Demetrius Triclinius; or how many Hellenists are familiar with Abel's and Semitelos's editions of the Byzantine scholia to Pindar;<sup>14</sup> or with Gaisford's 1820 edition of the *Poetae Minores Graeci*, where the most recent text of John Tzetzes's exegesis to the *Erga* can be read.<sup>15</sup>

12 An extract from Dindorf's edition is displayed below, p. 319. A brief survey of the editions of the *Iliad* scholia from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries can be found in Filippomaria Pontani, "Gli scoli omerici e il senso del mondo," in *I classici greci e i loro commentatori*, ed. Guido Avezzi and Paolo Scattolin (Rovereto, 2006), 201–233, at 214–218. On the issue of "minority scholia" (scholia that are unique in terms of content, diction, or syntax) see Georgios Xenis (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis "Electram"* (Berlin and New York, 2010), 17–18.

13 Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford, 2007).

14 Eugen Abel (ed.), *Scholia recentia in Pindari epinicia* (Berlin, 1891); Demetrios Semitelos (ed.), *Πινδαρόρου σχόλια Πατμιακά* (Athens, 1875).

15 A new edition is currently being prepared by Marta Cardin (Venice).



**Figure 1:** The tradition of the *Iliad* scholia according to H. Erbse’s *recensio* (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* I, p. lviii)

The case of Homer is particularly instructive in this respect. Hartmut Erbse’s progress over earlier editions has been immense. For the first time he has given a reliable, comprehensive, and synoptic edition of the *scholia vetera* to the *Iliad* by founding his selection on an accurate *recensio* of the material, and chiefly on the venerable manuscripts Veneti A and B (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. 454 and 453) and Townleyanus (T) (London, British Library, Burney 86) – the keystones of Iliadic exegesis ever since the early nineteenth century – as well as on a handful of other witnesses of what he has called the “bT-corpus.” Other scholars before him had already named this the “exegetical” *corpus*, as opposed to the *corpus* carried by Venetus A alone, which is chiefly centered on textual criticism dating back to the Hellenistic age<sup>16</sup> (see figure 1). It is no coincidence that since Erbse’s achievement, editorial work on the *Iliad* has been greatly enhanced,<sup>17</sup> and new light has been

<sup>16</sup> Pontani, “Gli scoli omerici,” 203–218.

<sup>17</sup> Most significantly through two outstanding, if very different, editions: Helmut van Thiel’s (Hildesheim, 1996) and Martin Litchfield West’s (Leipzig, 1998–2000). But see also the interest of the Nagy school: Casey Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy* (Cambridge MA, 2009), and the very useful site <http://www.homermultitext.org>.

shed on the place of scholia in the framework of ancient and medieval Greek culture.

However, even Erbse decided not to publish everything. He did include the fragments of the papyrus *hypomnemata* which, since the publication of his edition, have increased in number, although he sensibly confined them to the introductory sections of each book rather than to the lines to which the explanations actually belonged. But he also omitted from the outset both the fragments of Porphyry's *Quaestiones Homericae*,<sup>18</sup> and two such important *corpora* as the so-called D-scholia, an invaluable repository of glosses and mythographical *historiai* with deep roots in the learning of the Hellenistic and imperial age,<sup>19</sup> and the so-called h-scholia, a still somewhat foggy *corpus* datable to the Byzantine age. This latter is also clearly indebted to ancient learning, as can be proved by the excerpts given by Erbse himself in the first four books, and this is why h appears in the stemma as partly deriving from manuscript a.<sup>20</sup> Readers wishing to consult those collections are referred to other often rather uncommon publications. This uncomfortable state of affairs has prompted Franco Montanari and others to envisage a new project of a synoptic edition of the entire exegetical material to the *Iliad*, which is currently planned for De Gruyter.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, this still leaves out not only the commentaries by Eustathios of Thessalonica and John Tzetzes, which have understandably received autonomous editions,<sup>22</sup> but also more material to be found in hitherto almost unexplored Byzantine manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> For a sample of the consequences of Dindorf's and Erbse's choices for the layout of the editions of the *Iliad* scholia, see the example below:

- 18 Hermann Schrader (ed.), *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem / Odysseam pertinentium reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1880–82 and 1890); see most recently John A. MacPhail (ed.), *Porphyry's "Homeric Questions" on the "Iliad": Text, Translation, Commentary* (Berlin and New York, 2011).
- 19 Currently available as a proekdosis by Helmut van Thiel; see [http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/digital/fachinfos/altertum/volltexte/index\\_ger.html](http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/digital/fachinfos/altertum/volltexte/index_ger.html).
- 20 See e.g. Filippomaria Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse* (Rome, 2005): 145–48 and 181–182; Elisabetta Sciarra, *La tradizione degli scholia iliadici in Terra d'Otranto* (Rome, 2005).
- 21 More on this on the website [www.aristarchus.unige.it](http://www.aristarchus.unige.it).
- 22 Marchinus van der Valk (ed.), *Eustathius archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis, Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem pertinentes* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1971–87); Manolis Papathomopoulos (ed.), *Εξήγησις Ἰωάννου γραμματικῶ τοῦ Τζέτζου εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα* (Athens, 2007).
- 23 I treated one peculiar case in Filippomaria Pontani, "The first Byzantine Commentary on the *Iliad*: Isaac Porphyrogenitus and his Scholia in Par. gr. 2682," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006): 559–604.

**Four different editions of the exegesis to *Iliad* 2.2**

a. Dindorf's 1875 edition of the full text of the D-scholium in manuscript A:<sup>24</sup>

\* ὕπνος] ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ παννύχιοι.  
 Πῶς ἐν τῇ Α εἰπὼν τὸν Δία καθεῦδειν νῦν φησὶ “Δία δ’ οὐκ ἔχε νῆδυμος ὕπνος;” λέγομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ὅτι ἐκάθειδε μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἐκαθεύδησε, καὶ οὐ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι, μεριμῶν. 30

b. Erbse's 1969 synoptic edition, where the D-scholium is not fully edited (only incipit and explicit), but there is a direct comparison with the bT-tradition:<sup>25</sup>

10 2. παννύχιοι: πῶς ἐν τῇ Α εἰπὼν ——— τῆς νυκτός, ὡς οἱ Δ ἄλλοι, μεριμῶν. Α  
 a. Δία δ’ οὐκ ἔχε: καὶ πῶς φησιν „ἐνθα καθεῦδ’ ἀναβάς“ *Porph.* (Α 611); λυοίτο δ’ ἂν κατὰ λέξιν· τὸ γὰρ εὔδειν, ἰαύειν, κοιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ψιλῆς ἀνακλίσεως λαμβάνει, οἶον „πολλὰς μὲν ἀϋπνοὺς νύκτας 15 ἴαυον“ (I 325) καὶ „Εὐρυνόμη δ’ ἄρ’ ἐπὶ χλαῖναν βάλει κοιμηθέντι. / ἐνθ’ Ὀδυσσεὺς μνηστῆρσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ / κείτ’ ἐγρηγορόων“ (υ 4—6). ἢ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παννύχιοι εὔδον, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς οὐ παννύχιος. b(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>) T

1 deest signum ante versum in A, fort. error scribae a ad K 1 (Ariston.). Λ 636 (Hrd.), cf. sch. Ap. Rh. 1, 998—9. 1081, Ap. Dysc. synt. 6, 1—6 (Zen. ab Aristarcho refutatur), 53, 10 b τὸ πᾶν γένος vide Aristot. poet. 25, 1461 a 19 c — πρόνοιαν aliter D, Ap. S. 92, 14, Porph. 1, 21, 27, Eust. 163, 41. Vide ad Π 287 (T) 2 a Porph. 1, 22, 17—23, 2 (E<sup>4</sup>, ubi textus integrior); — λαμβάνει cf. h(Ag Ge, cf. A. G. 452, 21 Matr.), Eust. 163, 35 ἢ οἱ μὲν sq. cf. D, Ge (fort. ex h) b/c cf. Porph. 1, 22, 1—16. 1, 23, 2, 2, 49, 1 ἡδύς cf. Serv. auct. Verg. A. 4, 185

Scholia classis h, nisi ceteris verba plura vel meliora perhibent, in libris B—Ω neglexi (praef. LXXVI 2)  
 1 (le.) μὲν ρα del. Bk. ὅτι Α, fort. ἡ διπλῆ περιστιγμένη, ὅτι 2 ἐκφέρει vide ad B 3 5 θεῶν E<sup>3</sup> ὁ ἀνθρώπος b 6 τὸ λοιπὸν γένος ἅπαν b 7 le. T, ἱπποκορυστάς φησιν b 7 sq. ἀγρ. ἔξει post πρόνοιαν b 8 ἤκουσαν BCE<sup>3</sup>, om. E<sup>4</sup> 9 le. addidi 13 κοιμᾶσθαι T (cf. Porph.), κείσθαι b 14 λαμβάνονται b οἶον om. T νύκτας ἀϋπν. E<sup>4</sup> 15 εὐρυνόμη — κοιμηθέντι om. b 16 ἐνὶ θυμῷ om. C 17 ὁ δὲ ζεὺς T, ζεὺς δὲ b (fort. rectius)

24 Wilhelm Dindorf (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, vols. 1–2 (Oxford, 1875).

25 Hartmut Erbse (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin and New York, 1969–88), I.175.10–25.

c. van Thiel's 2000 preliminary edition (see note 19) of the D-scholion, where all manuscripts of the D-tradition are cited, but no direct comparison with the rest of the tradition is attempted:

B 2/Z<sup>s</sup>+Q<sup>s</sup>+U<sup>s</sup> παννύχιοι: δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός. ΖΥQXΙ<sup>s</sup>Ι | πῶς ἐν τῇ A εἰπὼν τὸν Δία καθεύδειν (A 611) νῦν φησὶ 'Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος'; λέγομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς, ὅτι "ἐκάθευθε μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐκαθεύδησεν" καὶ οὐ "διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καθεύδουσιν". QXAU1~G, cf T, Porph. 85,4 et A 472<sup>o</sup> | ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἐκοιμᾶτο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ σιωπῶμενον ἀνεπαύετο· Θέτις γὰρ αὐτὸν παρεκάλεσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγουσα 'Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ ποτε δὴ σε μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ὄνησα' (A 503) καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. UI cf G  
2 ἡμεῖς (καὶ ἐροῦμεν) ὅτι UI || 4 καθεύδουσιν QX : μερμιν(ῶν) AUI || 7 ὄνησα UI ||

d. MacPhail's edition of Porphyry's *Quaestiones Homericæ* (on *Il.* 2.1-2), based on the manuscripts of Porphyry's text, but with no comparison with either the D- or the A- scholion:<sup>26</sup>

**B 1-2** [1] ἐναντία δοκεῖ ταῦτα  
ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἵπποκορυσταὶ  
εὐδον παννύχιοι: Δία δ' οὐκ εἶχε νήδυμος ὕπνος (*Il.* 2.1-2)  
τῷ "ἐνθα καθεύδ' ἀναβάς πάρα δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη" (*Il.* 1.611). [2]  
λύοιτο δ' ἂν κατὰ λέξιν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ "καθεύδειν" ἐνίστε δηλοῖ τὴν ψιλὴν  
κατάκλισην ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς, εἴπερ καὶ τὸ κοιμηθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἰάσθαι. [3] οὐ γὰρ  
ἂν ἔλεγεν· "ὧς καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἴαον" (*Il.* 9.325), καὶ  
πάλιν·  
Εὐρυνόμη δ' ἄρα οἱ χλαῖναν βάλε κοιμηθέντι.  
(ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μνηστῆρσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
κεῖτ' ἐγρηγορόων) (*Od.* 20.4-6).  
[4] τὸ δὲ "παννύχιοι" ἐστὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτός, ὥστ' ἐγχωρεῖ τὸν μὲν διὰ  
μέρους ὑπνώσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ δι' ὅλης. [5] τὸ δὲ "νήδυμος ὕπνος" ἐστὶ βαθύς  
ὥστε δύναται ἂν ὑπνώσασθαι μὲν μὴ βαθεῖ δὲ ὕπνῳ.  
Cf. Σ *Il.* 2. 2a  
fontes: \*B 19<sup>R</sup>, \*F f. 15<sup>R</sup> (II), Le f. 24<sup>V</sup> (II)  
[1] ἐναντία \*FLc: ἐναντίον \*B δοκεῖ ταῦτα \*FLc: δὲ δοκεῖ τὸ \*B ἄλλοι usque ad  
παννύχιοι om. \*B μὲν ῥα Le: μὲν ῥά \*F πάρα usque ad Ἥρη om. \*B [3]  
ἀύπνους om. \*F (ἔνθ' usque ad ἐγρηγορόων) add. Schr.

Let us turn now to the other Homeric poem. When I first toyed with the idea of editing the scholia to the *Odyssey*, I immediately realized that in this case the reader had to be spared such difficulties, and to a certain extent could be. Dindorf's 1855 edition,<sup>27</sup> which is the last complete one to date, can be regarded as

26 MacPhail, *Porphyry's Homeric Questions on the Iliad*, 32. On this edition see the review by W. Slater, *Exemplaria Classica* 16 (2012): 325-330.

27 Wilhelm Dindorf (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxford, 1855).



a collection of exegetical materials made available by previous scholars who had devoted their efforts to single manuscripts, from Alter in 1794 to Mai in 1819 and on to Cramer in 1841; Dindorf, building on the memorable 1821 edition by Philipp Buttmann – itself largely based on earlier editions – added little that was new, and that mostly in the appendix and the preface, which are hardly ever consulted by the hasty reader. But he did digest all the material along the lines of the Homeric text – a practice he himself would not follow in the case of the *Iliad* manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> For the consequences to the layout of the editions of the *Odyssey* scholia, see the example below:

### Three different editions of the exegesis to *Odyssey* 4.228

1. Cramer's edition of manuscript H (brachylogic, and with no account of the scholia to Thon's name and wife):<sup>29</sup>

<p>228. πολὺδαμνα—om. κύριον· ἐπεὶ καὶ Εὐφορίων ἐν Διονύσῳ φησὶ <span style="float: right;">25</span></p> <p style="text-align: center;">βλαψίφρονα φάρμακα χεῖν ἅσα' εἰδὰη Πολυδαμνα Κυταιῆς ἢ ἅσα Μηδεία.</p> <p>Ib. μητιόντα—δραστήρια ἢ ὑπὸ συνέσεως εὐρεθέντα.</p>
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2. Dindorf's edition of the scholium (from the manuscript Q, actually an apograph of H, and a wrong collation of the manuscript Vind.):<sup>30</sup>

<p>Θῶνος παράκοιτις] ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶνος. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Θῶνιν. οὗτός ἐστιν εὐρετῆς τῆς ἰατρικῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίους, οὔτι- 15 νος καὶ φερώνυμός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος μῆν. Q.T.Vind. ὁ Θῶνος βασι- λεὺς ἦν τοῦ Κανώβου καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου στόματος, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἰδεῖν Ἑλένην ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο Μενέλαον, ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπεχείρει βιάζεσθαι ὁ γνοὺς Μενέλαος ἀναιρεῖ αὐτόν. ὅθεν ἡ πόλις Θῶνις ἀνόμασται, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος. Q.Vind. <span style="float: right;">20</span></p>
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28 The complete story of the editions is told in Pontani, *Sguardi*, 527–534, and more succinctly in Pontani, “Gli scoli,” 218–220.

29 John Anthony Cramer (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, III, (Oxford 1841), III.440.24–28. The omitted words refer to Buttmann's 1821 edition.

30 Wilhelm Dindorf (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxford, 1855), I.195.14–20.

3. Pontani's synoptic edition of the scholia to *Od.* 4.228:<sup>31</sup>

f1. Θῶνος παράκοιτις: ἀπὸ τοῦ "Θόωνος". τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι 50  
 τῷ Θῶθ, ὅς ἐστιν εὐρετῆς παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις τῆς ἰατρικῆς, οὔτινος καὶ  
 φερώνυμός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος μῆν. HM<sup>a</sup>T  
 f2. Θῶνος] καθάπερ "χθῶν χθονός", οὔτω καὶ "Θωνός". "Θόων" δὲ  
 "Θῶν", "Θόωνος" "Θῶνος". s  
 g. Θῶνος παράκοιτις: ὁ Θῶνις βασιλεὺς ἦν τοῦ Κανόβου καὶ τοῦ 55  
 Ἡρακλείου στόματος, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἰδεῖν Ἑλένην ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο Μενέλαον,  
 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπεχείρει βιάζεσθαι· ὁ γνοὺς Μενέλαος ἀναιρεῖ αὐτόν.  
 EHM<sup>1</sup> ὅθεν ἡ πόλις Θῶνις ὠνόμασται, HM<sup>a</sup> ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος  
 [FGrHist 4F153 = fr. 153 Fowler]. H

et A. Dihle in RE 23/2, 1959, 1861 *f1*) hinc (et e schol. g) Eust. in Od. 1493, 55-58; ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Θόωνος; de forma nominis vide ad schol. f2; Θῶθ: inventor scripturae et protector  
 magorum, sed etiam medicorum apud Aegyptios (cf. Lex. der Agyptologie VI, Wiesbaden  
 1986, 507), cui primus mensis inscribitur *f2*) scil. illustrat, cur genetivus non oxytonus  
 sit (debuit enim nom. Θῶν gen. Θωνός habere); de declinatione huius nominis vide Eust.  
 in Od. 1493, 54 (κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς), qui etiam alteram decl. praebet, scil. Θῶνις Θῶντος  
 et syncopa Θῶνος, ab Herodiano et (partim aliis de causis) a Choerobosco praelatam: de  
 re cf. Theod. can. 37, 10 et Choer. in Th. can. 1, 373, 4-29 (EM 460, 1 = Hrd. παθ. 249, 1,  
 ubi vide adn. Lentz); vide etiam Arcad. 148, 4 et Theogn. can. 794 (p. 132, 1 Cramer, ubi  
 etiam de χθῶν χθονός); nomen Θῶν praebet etiam Suid. θ 430 et Zon. 1066, 3 et St. Byz.  
 320, 26; aliter Θῶν Θῶντος Hrd. καθ. προσ. 395, 23; 410, 9; κλ. ὄν. 721, 5 etc.; vide Lobeck,  
 Paralip. 73 *g*) de urbe Θῶνις (vide Diod. Sic. 1, 19) et de Θῶν sive Θῶνις apud delta  
 Canobicum vivente cf. etiam Strab. 17, 1, 16 (800, 30-33 C.); St. Byz. 320, 26; vide Jacoby  
 ad Hecat. FGrHist 1F307-309; A. Ballabriga, Les fictions d'Homère, Paris 1998, 60; de  
 Θῶνις, qui Helenae pharmaca dedit, cf. Ael. Nat. anim. 9, 21; schol. Nic. ther. 313a; aliter

corregxi 50 Im. om. M<sup>a</sup>: Σιθῶνος παρ. Im. T Θῶνος; θῶν M<sup>a</sup> 51 τῷ Θῶθ scripsi:  
 τῷ Θῶν T: τὸν Θῶνιν H: τῷ θεῷ M<sup>a</sup> ὅς: οὔτος H ἔστιν εὐρετῆς: εὐρετο καὶ ἐστὶν  
 T τῆς ἰατρ. παρ' Αἴγυπτ. H 52 φερώνυμος: ὁμωνύμως T 53 Θόωνος: Θαωνός  
 s, corrigxi 55 Im. H: scholio cl subiungit E ὁ Θῶνις βασιλεὺς ἦν (deinde  
 lac. praebet) T: ὁ δὲ Θῶν βασ. ἦν E (rec. Fowler): ὁ Θῶνος βασ. ἦν HM<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
 Κανόβου M<sup>1</sup>: Κανόβου E 56 ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ci. Fowler: ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο mss. (legit  
 etiam Eust.): ἐξένιζε Y<sup>2</sup> Μενέλαον: μεγάλως E 58 Θῶνις: Θεῶναι M<sup>a</sup>

The tradition of the *Odyssey* scholia is rather less bulky than the Iliadic one and, for the second poem, no equivalent exists of such illustrious "touchstone-manuscripts" as Venetus A and Townleyanus T; this means that no manuscript guarantees *in and of itself* the antiquity of the scholia it carries. Therefore, it seemed clear to me that the only reasonable solution was to edit together all the materials to every single line while, at the same time, attempting to assess their nature, their age or, when applicable, their authorship through specific notes

<sup>31</sup> Filippomaria Pontani (ed.), *Scholium Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 3 vols. (books 1–6) (Rome, 2007–2015), II.248.48–59.

or sigla to be placed in the apparatus or in the margins of the edition. This would give to the reader an immediate bird's-eye view of what sort of exegesis has been produced about that line, and, if possible, when.

Of course, in the absence of a sure thread directing us towards the reconstruction of a stemma, and with very few witnesses pre-dating the thirteenth century (the oldest extant complete *Odyssea cum scholiis* is ms. Pal. gr. 45 [P] [Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek], an Otrantine manuscript dated to the year 1201), genealogies of manuscripts can only be very partial, as my synoptic table attempts to show,<sup>32</sup> and thus the origin of many scholia remains

IX

X

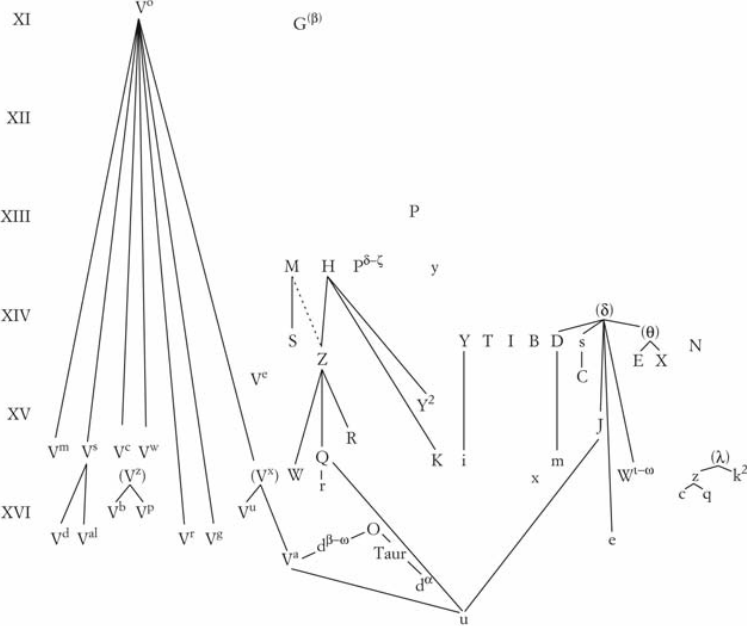


Figure 2: A tentative *stemma codicum* for the scholia to Homer's *Odyssey*

32 Pontani, *Sguardi*, 21.

uncharted and undatable. This is why categorizations and sigla such as “ex.” (“exegetical”) or “Did.,” “Nic.” “Hrd.,” or “Ariston.” – i.e. “Didymus,” “Nicanor,” “Herodian,” or “Aristonicus,” the four grammarians of the early centuries CE who mediated the doctrine of Hellenistic philology into their own times, and to whom we owe much of what we know about Aristarchus and Alexandria – normally emerge from the typology of each note, a matter of *iudicium*, rather than from each note’s actual attestation in manuscripts. Still, with the help of a substantial *apparatus fontium et testimoniorum*, as well as of brief discussions in the critical apparatus, the reader can get a glimpse of the reasons for each ascription and of the place held by each note in the history of exegesis, and at least he or she is not forced to look it up in another book.

I thus decided to include in my synoptic edition all the material found in papyri, i.e. annotations, glossaries, *hypomnemata*, etc. (this is not relegated to introductions or appendixes but critically merged with the medieval material), as well as in the medieval and humanistic manuscripts, starting from the most important ones, namely the thirteenth-century codices H = London, British Library, Harley 5674, M = Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. 613, B = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambr. B 99 sup., E = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambr. E 89 sup., T = Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 56 in scrin., X = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 133, Y = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 56, and s = Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 915. These can hardly be classified into families, although a rough distinction can be drawn, also from the philological standpoint, between provincial (chiefly southern Italian) and Constantinopolitan witnesses (H, P, Y, M vs. E, X, s, and T). Also included are the excerpts from Porphyry of Tyre’s *Quaestiones Homericae*, scattered in the form of scholia in several medieval codices, and the Odyssean equivalent of the D-scholia (“V-scholia,” whose extant archetype is manuscript V<sup>o</sup> = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. Auct. V.1.51). This choice naturally entails the inclusion of clearly Byzantine scholia, with the obvious exception of the excerpts from the commentaries by Eustathios of Thessalonike, which represent a work of their own.<sup>33</sup> This choice also implies some degree of potential confusion because explanations dating back to very different centuries come to be juxtaposed, or sometimes indeed superposed. Even if the boundaries between different layers are thus blurred, as long as only really comparable scholia are edited together (and by comparable I mean with respect to the degree of

33 See Eric Cullhed, “The Autograph Manuscripts Containing Eustathius’ Commentary on the Odyssey,” *Mnemosyne* 65 (2012): 445–461, and the case study in the present volume.

analogy between their texts), and as long as each item is sorted out and discussed on the page on which it occurs, I believe the gain in readability and *Anschaulichkeit* is far greater than the potential for confusion.

### Examples

As will have become clear by now, the choice of what to edit, and how, is not just a matter of layout. A synoptic edition, which means editing simultaneously different pieces of exegesis and providing them with a full *apparatus comparandorum*, can also help establish a sounder text of single scholia, and can yield interesting insights into the fate of texts and commentaries. The examples that follow fulfill the primary goal of showing the rationale behind some editorial choices I have made, and particularly the benefit to be drawn from a unified presentation of scholia (even when they show some important vagaries), from a more thorough analysis of the *recensio*, and from a sensible use of the indirect tradition – namely, from the comparison with other related lexical or exegetical material.

On the methodological level, I do not advocate any revolutionary approach. I just wish to show that even when the direct tradition of a scholium provides an acceptable text, which may in no way seem to need a correction, the comparison with the indirect tradition can suggest significant improvements, or can be used in order to evaluate more attentively variant readings among different manuscripts of the direct tradition. With one exception, examples will be drawn from the scholia to book 5, which is the first of two just edited in my third volume.<sup>34</sup>

1. The exception concerns a gloss on the difficult adjective διπετήης which appears in the genitive in *Odyssey* 4.477.<sup>35</sup> A frequent explanation of this term is “filled by Zeus,” in the sense of “swollen by rain,” for rain of course comes from heaven. The V-scholium to *Odyssey* 4.477 (schol. d2 in my 2010 edition) presents a present participle, which would imply a meaning like “which is being filled up by Zeus.” It runs:<sup>36</sup>

34 The first two volumes are Filippomaria Pontani (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Rome, 2007 and 2010).

35 See Pontani, *Scholia Graeca*, 2: 315.

36 For the sake of brevity, here and elsewhere I shall not give *in extenso* the references to the manuscripts' shelfmarks: the most important ones are mentioned above in the text, p. 324; the others can be found in the *conspectus siglorum* to the editions mentioned in note 31. For the same reason, I refrain from explaining here in detail my often-different choice of independent manuscripts with respect to Dindorf's edition: see Pontani, *Sguardi*, 535–555. Underlined words are those worthy of particular attention and comment.

d2. διπετέος: τοῦ ὑπὸ Διὸς πληρουμένου. h<sup>9</sup>BGM<sup>b</sup>PVYy

82 τοῦ om. h<sup>9</sup>GM<sup>b</sup>P πεπληρωμένου h<sup>9</sup>G

in Il. 1197, 45 (de Xantho) dI-2) τοῦ - πληρουμένου: hinc Hsch. δ 1783 (vide 1785; Suid. δ 1044) necnon Ap. Soph. 58, 33 (qui πεπληρωμένου, sicut papyrus h<sup>9</sup>); de adi. cf. etiam Strab. 1, 2, 30 (36, 24 C.; vide 17, 1, 5 [790, 20 C.]); schol. η 284; schol. D et T Π 174b; schol. D Φ 326; schol. A et bΓ P 263a et c; EGud 364, 13 Stef. (de διειπ.); Tz. exeg. Il. p. 359, 17 Paphth.; vide infra ad schol. e; ἢ τοῦ διαπεπετασμένου (l. 79; cf. schol. f): cf. schol. D

Dindorf's edition presents the same scholium in this form, but credits it to the manuscript B alone, thus not making it clear that this is in fact a V-scholium, nor that it enjoyed such a wide popularity in Greek manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages. As apparent from the *apparatus criticus*, the perfect participle occurs only in two witnesses, but these are also the oldest ones, both unknown to Dindorf. G is the manuscript Laur. 32, 24 (late tenth century), probably the oldest codex of the *Odyssey*, whose sporadic glosses and short scholia have never been examined, much less transcribed by scholars; while h<sup>9</sup> is a papyrus glossary of the mid-second century CE (PHamb 3, 200), and the number corresponds to that given by the Center for Hellenic Studies project on "Homer and the Papyri" at <http://www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl>.

This is, therefore, one of several cases in which I have decided to blend the medieval glosses and scholia with their ancient counterparts on papyrus without distinguishing them in separate entries. No textual gain is made here. But, as elsewhere, the advantage is that one can see at first glance the fundamental continuity of the tradition of this *interpretamentum* throughout the centuries and, at the same time, thanks to the *apparatus testimoniorum* and to the *apparatus criticus*, become aware that the papyrus's perfect participle πεπληρωμένου is in fact carried not only by G, but also by the oldest extant Homeric lexicon, which goes under the name of Apollonius Sophista (first century CE).<sup>37</sup> This, of course, does not mean that the perfect is "better" than the present (which, incidentally, also occurs in Hesychius's lexicon and elsewhere in the indirect tradition), but rather shows that within the aforementioned continuity, the version with a perfect participle can boast the oldest witnesses on its side.

2. Let us move to a no less arid grammatical note concerning the orthography of rough and smooth breathings on particular words. Here is the scholium to *Odyssey* 5.38 in Dindorf's edition:

<sup>37</sup> See Michael W. Haslam, "The Homer Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista," *Classical Philology* 89 (1994), 1: 1-45; 2: 107-119.

38. ἐσθῆτά τε δόντες] ψιλωτέον τὸ ἐσθῆτα. πᾶν γὰρ φωνῆεν τὸ σ ἔχον ἐπιφερομένου δασέος ψιλοῦται, ἀσχάλλων, ἄσθμα, ἐσθλός, ὄσχος. B.H.P.

22. ἐπιφερομένου δασέος H. ἐπιφερομένου μετὰ δασέος B.P.  
23. ὄσχος] ὄσχος H. ἐσθῆς B.

*giving a dress: “dress” (esthes) must have a smooth breathing, for every vowel having a sigma with added aspiration receives a smooth breathing: “aschallon,” “asthma,” “esthlos,” “oschos.”*

The sense of this note is more-or-less clear, but the formulation “having a sigma with added aspiration,” while not impossible, is rather odd. It apparently refers to the combination of vowel + sigma + aspirate consonant (θ, φ or χ), but it implies an unorthodox use of the verb *echo* “to have” (maybe in the sense of “having after itself”), and an absolute genitive of a somewhat strained nature (what would the “aspiration” be added to?). This is now the scholium in my edition, with full *apparatus criticus* and a brief *apparatus testimoniorum*:<sup>38</sup>

ἐσθῆτά τε δόντες: ψιλωτέον τὸ “ἐσθῆτα”. πᾶν γὰρ φωνῆεν τὸ “σ” ἔχον ἐπιφερομένον μετὰ δασέος ψιλοῦται: “ἀσχάλλων”, “ἄσθμα”, “ἐσθλός”, “ὄσχος”. BHM<sup>a</sup>P<sup>1</sup>

1 τε in lemmate om. M<sup>a</sup> ἐσθῆτα lemma HP<sup>1</sup> ἐπιφερομένον μετὰ δασέος (δασέως mss.) BM<sup>a</sup>: ἐπιφερομένου δασέος HP<sup>1</sup>

2 ἀσχαλῶ HP<sup>1</sup> ὄσχος M<sup>a</sup>: ὄσχος (vel αἴσχος) HP<sup>1</sup>: ἐσθῆς B

est doctrina Herodiani: vide schol. A Ω 94b

*giving a dress: “dress” (esthes) must have a smooth breathing, for every vowel having after it a sigma with an aspirate consonant receives a smooth breathing: “aschallon,” “asthma,” “esthlos,” “oscheos.”*

The reading of mss B and M, respectively rejected and ignored by Dindorf (M also yields *in cauda* the right ὄσχος “scrotum” instead of an almost unattested ὄσχος “bough”<sup>39</sup>), offers a much better text, and above all one that matches perfectly the one other passage in which Herodian deals with the same issue, namely a scholium of Venetus A to *Iliad* 24.94 (5.538.81–82 Erbse): τὰ γὰρ

38 The sigla M<sup>a</sup> and P<sup>1</sup> refer to hands of the mss M and P, respectively the main hand of the scholia in the manuscript M and the thirteenth-century Salentine hand that added scholia in books 4–8 of the manuscript P.

39 M actually has ὄσχος. Dindorf’s ὄσχος was the fruit of a wrong reading of H.

φωνήεντα ψιλοῦσθαι θέλει ἐπιφερομένου τοῦ σ μετὰ ἑνὸς δασέος, “the vowels receive a smooth breathing when they are followed by a sigma with one rough consonant.” It is only through a wider *recensio* and through an examination of the *comparanda* that one gains a decisive argument in favour of one or other of the two readings.

3. As we have seen above with διπετηής, lexical issues are of course very frequent in Homeric scholia, especially when exegetes are confronted with rare words or uncommon meanings of current words. The line *Odyssey* 5.124 οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιομένη κατέπεφνευ, “she came and killed him with her mild arrows,” also transmitted as οἷς ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν, relates Artemis’s punishment of Orion for his intercourse with a divine being, in this case, Eos, or Dawn.

The goddess’s darts are termed ἀγανά, an adjective otherwise employed for “mild” characters or judgements. It is applied to Apollo’s arrows in *Iliad* 24.759, Hekabe’s dirge on Hector, and in *Odyssey* 3.280, the death of Menelaus’s steersman, while in *Odyssey* 11.173 and 199 the use of these ἀγανά βέλη by Artemis herself is hypothetically envisaged and then denied in the exchange between Odysseus and his mother Antikleia in the Netherworld. In ancient belief, Apollo and his sister were considered responsible for sudden deaths, and their arrows directed against human beings were seen as “mild” or “benign” on the grounds that “sudden deaths are without pain,” ἀνώδυνοι γὰρ οἱ ὀξεῖς θάνατοι, as the D-scholium to *Iliad* 24.759 puts it. Similar explanations are to be found elsewhere, e.g. in schol. BHT to *Odyssey* 11.173.

Now, in *Odyssey* 5.124, two problems arise. First, the idea of Artemis killing a male character is unique in Homer; she is generally responsible for women and Apollo for men, which is why some ancient critics proposed simply to athetize lines 123–124 (schol. HP<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 5.124d). Second, it is hard to see how the adjective ἀγανός could be applied to an arrow designed to punish a human being for an impious passion, all the more so because the character speaking here is Calypso, who is complaining about the cruelty of the gods, and thus has every incentive to present their deeds as peculiarly cruel. The scholium to *Odyssey* 5.124a comes to grips with this second problem and it suggests a different etymology for the adjective at issue. Here is Dindorf’s text:



124. οἷς ἀγανοῖς] ἢ τοῖς ταχυστάτοις παρὰ τὸ ἄγαν, ἢ τοῖς μὴ γάνος ἐμποιοῦσιν. P.

*with her mild (aganois): either very fast, from the word “greatly” (agan), or not producing “joy” (ganos).*

First of all, no such scholium can be found in manuscript P. As mentioned above, this is the Salentine codex Pal. gr. 45 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek), the oldest extant manuscript with scholia. Dindorf has simply confused the sigla, with the somewhat dangerous effect of attributing this explanation to the Otrantine manuscript of 1201, which is endowed with a remarkable amount of “ancient” scholia, rather than to four codices of the Palaeologan age (late thirteenth–early fourteenth centuries), which often display learned interventions in the text. Worse still, Dindorf’s text has created a clumsy etymology of ἀγανός from ἄγαν, “very,” “too much.” Why this adverb should elicit for the adjective under examination the sense of “very fast,” “very quick,” is hard to see. That ἀγανός should indeed derive from ἄγαν is largely agreed upon by ancient exegetes, but the normal etymology in lexica is from ἄγαν αἰνετός, “very laudable” (see Apollonius Sophista 7.30 Bekker; *Etymologicum Genuinum* α 12 Lasserre-Livadaras; probably the same is implied by the scholium A *Iliad* 2.164a), in the standard sense of “mild, benign, positive,” but this is not the case here. Had Dindorf re-examined the tradition of this note (see, above all, the manuscript X = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 133 in image 1 above), he could have given a more convincing text:

οἷς ἀγανοῖς] ἢ τοῖς ταχυστάτοις παρὰ τὸ ἄγαν νεῖσθαι, ἢ τοῖς μὴ γάνος ἐμποιοῦσιν. EFXs  
 1 ἢ τοῖς: καὶ s νεῖσθαι om. E: νέεσθαι F ἐμπ. γάνος hoc ordine s  
 de adi. cf. schol. γ 279b, 280a; μὴ γάνος ἐμποιοῦσιν: ex eodem verbo, sed aliter Eust. in Il. 199.46

*with her mild (aganois): very fast, from the verb “to run very much” (agan neisthai), or not producing “joy” (ganos)*

As becomes clear from the *apparatus testimoniorum*, the derivation from ἄγαν νεῖσθαι matches perfectly the one suggested in schol. B *Odyssey* 3.280a3, and it can be compared to other scholia to ll. 279 and 280 of book 3 (pp. 99–100 Pon-

tani), where this etymology, along with the similar one from ἄγαν ἴεσθαι (both νεῖσθαι “to return” and ἴεσθαι “to rush,” are to be read as simple verbs of movement, “to go”), is juxtaposed with other, less-unusual possibilities. We are faced once more with a case in which a more precise, combined examination of the direct tradition and of the *comparanda* yields a better text.

4. The second part of the scholium to *Odyssey* 5.79 contains a reference to the following line 5.80: “for the immortal gods are not unknown / to each other, even if one lives far away.” This is Dindorf’s text of the relevant sentence:

αὐτὸν ἑώρακει. τὸ δ’ “οὐδ’ εἴ τις ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίει,” πρὸς τὰ  
περὶ τῶν θεῶν οἰκητήρια συμβάλλεται. ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ ὑποκειμένων τό-  
πων τὰ τῶν διαστημάτων λαμβάνει. P.Q.

*The sentence “even if one lives far away” contributes to the dwellings about the gods, for the poet considers distances as referring to underlying places.*

The gist of this scholium is quite clear, but how should a line “contribute” or “be compared” (*sumballetai*) to the “dwellings about [of?] the gods”? Here is the text in my edition:<sup>40</sup>

τὸ δ’ “οὐδ’ εἴ τις ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίει” [ε 80] πρὸς τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεῶν  
οἰκητηρίου συμβάλλεται ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ ὑποκειμένων τόπων τὰ τῶν διαστημάτων  
λαμβάνει. HOP<sup>1</sup>

1 περὶ om. P<sup>1</sup>: παρά O:del. Polak τῶν scripsi: τῶν mss.

2 οἰκητηρίου HP<sup>1</sup>, correxi: οἰκητήρια O ὡς: οὐ O

τὸ δ’ κτλ. (ll. 4–6): de re vide iam schol. ε 50a cum app. test. et Schmidt, Erkl. 82–83

*The sentence “even if one lives far away” contributes to the debate concerning the dwelling of the gods, for the poet considers distances as referring to underlying places.*

The *recensio*, the *usus scribendi* and the *comparanda* all push the editor towards this solution. HP’s οἰκητηρίου looks like a corruption from an original genitive singular, the singular being much more in keeping with the occurrences of the

40 Manuscript Q has been detected as an indirect apograph of H, and thus eliminated from the *recensio* to the benefit of its model, whereas there is a good chance that the sixteenth-century manuscript O, written by the learned scribe Arsenios Apostolis, may in several cases carry a genuine, independent tradition.

noun οἰκητήριον “dwelling” in literature and exegesis, from Aristoteles *De mundo* 391b15 down to Chrysippus, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 528 von Arnim, and to scholium D *Iliad* 1.353 van Thiel. The *iunctura* συμβάλλεται πρὸς is frequent in scholia to indicate a “contribution” to the solution of a problem or to a philological discussion. See, for instance, scholium A *Il.* 5.798 συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, “it contributes to the Homeric text,” and scholium bT *Il.* O 90b συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν, “it contributes to the athetesis.” Here too, line 80 contributes to τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεῶν οἰκητηρίου, in which the neuter plural τὰ indicates “the debate about the dwelling of the gods” – the same debate about which something had been said in the scholium to l. 50 of the same book 5, as well as in other passages collected and discussed by Martin Schmidt in his vast treatment of the relationship between Mt. Olympus and the sky in Homer’s verse.<sup>41</sup>

5. How many vertebrae does the human spine comprise? A long and remarkable scholium of anatomical content on *Odyssey* 5.231 presents us with a precise partition between ἰξύς, ὀσφύς and τραχήλος. Here is Dindorf’s text. I omit his rather confusing apparatus criticus.

231. περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ] ῥάχει ὄλη. ἰξύς δὲ τὸ ἄνω, ὀσφύς τὸ κάτω. ἰξύς οἶον ἀξυστίς οὔσα, ἣν οὐχ οἶόν τε ξύσαι καὶ κνήσασθαι τῇ χειρὶ, ἣν ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει ἀκνηστίν. καὶ ἐρμηνεύων τὴν λέξιν φησί, κατ' ἀκνηστίν μέσα νῶτα. ῥάχισ δὲ καλεῖται ἡ σύμπληξις τῶν τριάκοντα τεσσάρων σπονδύλων, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἑπτὰ συμπληροῦσι τὸν τράχηλον, οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι δεκαπέντε τὴν ὀσφύν, οἱ δὲ μέσοι δώδεκα ὄντες τὸν νῶτον, ὃν νῦν ἰξύν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ ποιητής. B.E.Q.

waist (ixys): all the spine. “Ixys” is the upper part, “osphys” the lower one. “Ixys” as if it were “axystis”, which you cannot scratch or tickle (knesasthai) with your hand, the part he elsewhere calls “aknestis”. And interpreting the word he says “on the aknestis, in the middle of the back”. “Spine” he calls the compages of the 34 vertebrae, the first 7 building up the neck (trachelos), the last 15 the loins (osphys), the middle ones, 12 in number, the back, which the poet now calls “ixys.”

Dindorf’s text as it stands implies a couple of contradictory statements. Why should *ixys* mean “all the spine” if it represents, in fact, just its upper part? And

<sup>41</sup> Martin Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias* (Munich, 1976), 75–105.

are there actually thirty-four vertebrae? A fresh examination of the manuscript tradition changes and enlarges the manuscript basis for the edition of this scholium and brings to light some interesting variants. Apart from the replacement of Q with H, for which see note 40, the scholium has been spotted in several other manuscripts with their origins in southern Italy or Constantinople. My edition, including a large *apparatus criticus*, will accordingly give:

a1. ἰξυῖ: ῥάχις ἢ ὅλη, ἰξὺς δὲ τὸ ἄνω, ὀσφύς τὸ κάτω. / “ἰξὺς” οἶον ἀξὺς τις οὔσα, ἦν οὐχ οἶόν τε ξύσαι καὶ κνήσασθαι τῇ χειρὶ, ἦν ἀλλαχοῦ λέγεται “ἄκνηστιν”. καὶ ἐρμηνεύων τὴν λέξιν φησὶ “κατ’ ἄκνηστιν μέσα νῶτα” [κ 161]. “ῥάχις” δὲ καλεῖται ἢ σύμμηξις τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων σπονδύλων, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἑπτὰ συμπληροῦσι τὸν τράχηλον, οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι πέντε τὴν ὀσφύν, οἱ δὲ μέσοι δώδεκα ὄντες τὸν νῶτον, ὃν νῦν “ἰξὺν” ἐκάλεσεν ὁ ποιητής. BEHM<sup>a</sup>P<sup>1</sup>X<sub>s</sub>

1 lemma BH: περὶ – ἰξυῖ lemma EX ῥάχει ὅλη B: ῥάχις ὅλη M<sup>a</sup> ῥάχις – κάτω tamquam alterum scholium (ἢ omisso) praebent HP<sup>1</sup> ἰξὺς – κάτω habet etiam N τό: τὲ M<sup>a</sup> ὀσφύς τὸ κάτω post νῶτα (l. 3) conl. s ἀξὺς τις cl. Etymol. scripsi: ἄξυστις mss., praeter ἄκνηστὶς τις HP<sup>1</sup>

2 καὶ – χειρὶ om. M<sup>a</sup> κνήθεσθαι P<sup>1</sup> ἄκνηστιν: ἄξυστιν M<sup>a</sup>: ἄκνηστις X  
3 μέσα: μέγα X ῥάχις: ἰξὺς ῥάχις, ῥάχις δέ (scil. novum lemma et novum scholium) HP<sup>1</sup>: ῥάχις ῥάχις δέ M<sup>a</sup> σύμμηξις: σύνταξις HP<sup>1</sup>

4 εἰκοσιτεσσάρων HP<sup>1</sup>: λδ ’ BM<sup>a</sup>: τριάκοντα τριῶν E: λγ ’ X<sub>s</sub>  
σπονδύλων EM<sup>a</sup>X ἑπτὰ: ζ ’ BM<sup>a</sup>s

5 πέντε HP<sup>1</sup>: δέκα καὶ πέντε M<sup>a</sup>: ιε ’ Bs: δεκαπέντε EX<sub>s</sub> δώδεκα: ἔνδεκα E: ια ’ X<sub>s</sub> ἐκάλεσεν ἰξὺν hoc ordine s

a1) hinc Eust. in Od. 1530, 63 – 1561, 3; ἰξὺς οἶον – νῶτα: hinc Or. 75, 16 (vide Melet. nat. hom. 91, 31); EGud 279, 36–38 Sturz; EM 472, 6–9; vide schol. Arat. 28, 6; σύμμηξις: cf. Gal. de usu part. 4, 65, 3 Helmtr., sed v. l. σύνταξις minime spernenda, cf. Gal. in Hipp. de artic. 18a, 493, 2 K.; de 24 vertebrae (ergo 7 / 12 / 5, sicut habent HP<sup>1</sup>: mirus error in cett. mss.) cf. Aristoph. hist. anim. 2, 9, 1; Gal. de oss. 2, 755, 7–18 K.; Ps.-Gal. introd. 14, 722, 13 K.; Orib. coll. med. 25, 9, 1; Theoph. Prot. corp. hum. fabr. 5, 5 Greenh.; de tribus partibus columnae cf. EM 636, 25; vide Poll. 2, 183; Ps.-Gal. introd. 14, 707, 10 K.; ἰξὺς = ῥάχις cf. Melet. nat. hom. 91, 30 Cramer; Choer. prol. Th. Alex. can. 231, 25

*waist (ixys): “spine” is the whole thing, “ixys” the upper part, “osphys” the lower one. “Ixys” is called as if it were a sort of “axys”, the part you cannot scratch and tickle with your hand, which he elsewhere calls “aknēstis”. And interpreting the word he says “on the aknēstis, in the middle of the back”. “Spine” he calls the compages of the 24 vertebrae, the first 7 building up the neck (trachelos), the last 5 the loins (osphys), the middle ones, 12 in number, the back, which the poet now calls “ixys”.*

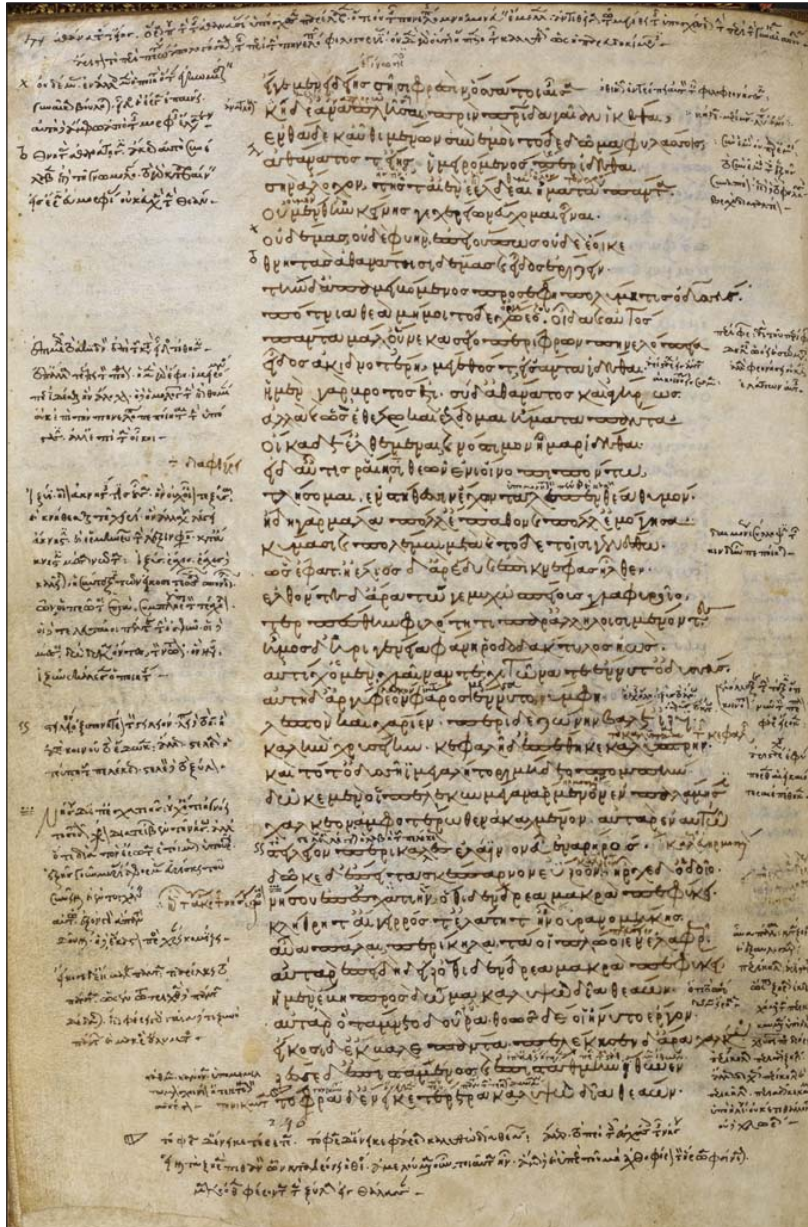


Image 2: London, British Library, Harl. 5674 (H), fol. 32v: Homer, *Odyssey*, 5.206–246 with scholia. Published by kind permission of the British Library, London.

A better *recensio* based above all on a better evaluation of the manuscript H (see image 2), and a comparison with passages in Galen and in other medical writings, enables us to see that in the first part of our scholium the term “ixys,” the waist as the central section of the spine, was not regarded as a metonymy for the entire spine, and that the mention of 34 vertebrae instead of 24 does not proceed from any recondite medical doctrine, but probably from a scribal mistake perhaps prompted by the easy misreading of ε' (preceded by iota) as ιε' in line 5. Furthermore, the testimony of the *Etymologica* guarantees the reading ἄξυς τις (etymologically much more convincing) rather than ἄξυσ τις in l. 1. However, even if the preeminence of H and P is certified by all these cases, one can say that Galen's *loci paralleli* might actually be invoked to support both σύμπηξις, perhaps a *lectio difficilior*, and σύνταξις in line 3.

It has been my intention to show through these few examples how little “methodological” progress I advocate for my editorial practice on the scholia to the *Odyssey*. Most of what I do is simply to expand the *recensio*, and to collect parallels from other sources, chiefly erudite ones. This approach easily yields new pieces of exegesis, but it also helps with a sounder critical reconstruction of known ones. In cases in which the intricacy of the manuscript transmission does not bring us beyond the recognition of small, loose families, the indirect tradition can thus prove of paramount importance for the reconstruction of such fragmented and fragmentary texts.

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