# John A. MacPhail Jr. Porphyry's *Homeric Questions* on the *Iliad*

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# Porphyry's Homeric Questions on the Iliad

Text, Translation, Commentary

by

John A. MacPhail Jr.

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#### The Life of Porphyry

What little we know about the life of Porphyry is what he says about himself. Porphyry was born in Tyre in 234 CE. He spent his early adulthood in Athens, where he studied with the grammarian Apollonius, the mathematician Demetrius, the rhetorician Minucianus, and the preeminent critic of his age, Cassius Longinus. Eunapius records the story that Longinus named the young man Porphyry, adjusting his Syrian name, which meant "King," to the color of royal attire. In the summer of 263 CE Porphyry left Athens and went to the Neoplatonist school of Plotinus in Rome. After five and half years he become severely depressed and went to Sicily at the urging of Plotinus.

See Eunapius Vitae Sophistarum 4.1.4, Bidez 1913, and Smith 1987, 719-23. Eunapius says that so far as he knew, no one had written a biography of Porphyry before him. He gathered information "reckoning from signs given in his reading", ἀναλεγομένω δὲ ἐκ τῶν δοθέντων κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν σημείων (3.1.5). Smith notes that much of Bidez' biography is based on probable assumptions rather than certain facts.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαλιήνου βασιλείας [i.e. 264 CE] ἐγὼ Πορφύριος ... αὐτὸς ὢν τοτὲ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα (Vita Plotini 4.1-9). Πορφύριον Τύριον ὄντα (Plot. 7.49-50).

<sup>3</sup> Απολλώνιος ... ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν (ΗΟ Ι 111.9-10).

<sup>4</sup> Δημήτριος ὁ γεωμέτρης μὲν, Πορφυρίου δὲ διδάσκαλος (Proclus in Rep. II 23, 14-15)

<sup>5</sup> See Heath 1996, 69-70 and 2003, 143.

<sup>6</sup> τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς κριτικωτάτου γενομένου (*Plot.* 20.1-2). Heath 1999 argues that Cassius Longinus is the author of *De sublimitate*.

<sup>7</sup> Eunap. Vit. Soph 4.1.4: Πορφύριον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνόμασε Λογγῖνος, ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος παράσημον τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποτρέψας.

<sup>8</sup> See Goulet 1982a, 210f and Smith 1987, 719 n.3.

<sup>9</sup> συγγεγονώς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτό τε ἔτος καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε (*Plot.* 5.1).

<sup>10</sup> καί ποτε ἐμοῦ Πορφυρίου ἤσθετο ἐξάγειν ἐμαυτὸν διανοουμένου τοῦ βίου· καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστάς μοι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ διατρίβοντι καὶ εἰπὼν μὴ εἶναι ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἐκ νοερᾶς καταστάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ μελαγχολικῆς τινος νόσου,

was caused by the corporeal state of his soul:<sup>11</sup> "overcome by his discourses he hated his own body and the fact that he was human".<sup>12</sup> Late in his life Porphyry married the widow of a friend.<sup>13</sup> The last date that he mentions is 301 CE, when he wrote the biography of Plotinus.<sup>14</sup>

Most scholars assume that Porphyry wrote the *Homeric Questions* before he joined the school of Plotinus because it does not have any Neoplatonic allegorizing. In the dedicatory letter of Book One, Porphyry says that he is "deferring greater studies on Homer to the appropriate time" and presenting the *Homeric Questions* "as though it were a preliminary exercise". Besides the *Homeric Questions*, the only Homeric studies of Porphyry that remain are *On the Cave of the Nymphs* and *On the Styx*. In these two essays Porphyry reads the *Odyssey* as an allegory of the soul's struggle to be liberated from the body. Lamberton rightly stresses that the assumed dating is based solely on probability and that other chronologies are theoretically possible. <sup>16</sup>

The *Homeric Questions* belongs to a genre that defends Homer against the criticism of detractors. The questions (ζητήματα, προβλήματα, ἀπορίαι) are focused on inconsistencies, contradictions, illogicalities, improbabilities, and violations of propriety, ranging from the moral objections of Xenophanes and Plato to the pettifoggery of Zoilus of Amphipolis, the "socalled scourge of Homer". <sup>17</sup> In chapter 25 of the *Poetics* <sup>18</sup> Aristotle outlines five types of criticism and twelve types of solution (λύσις) that formed the theoretical basis of his six lost books of *Homeric Problems*. <sup>19</sup> Although Aristotle does not mention allegory per se, Porphyry says this type of defense originated "from Theagenes of Rhegium, who first wrote

άποδημῆσαι ἐκέλευσε. πεισθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀφικόμην (Plot. 11.11-16).

<sup>11</sup> In the first sentence of Porphyry's biography of Plotinus, he says "he looked like was ashamed that he was in a body", ἐψκει μὲν αἰσχυνομένῳ ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἴη (Plot. 1.1-2).

<sup>12</sup> ύπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν λόγων νικώμενος, τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἐμίσησεν (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 4.7).

<sup>13</sup> See the Letter to Marcella 4.

<sup>14</sup> έτος ἄγων ἐξηκοστόν τε καὶ ὄγδοον (Plot. 23.13).

<sup>15</sup> τὰς μὲν μείζους εἰς Ὅμηρον πραγματείας ὑπερτιθέμενος εἰς καιρὸν σκέψεως τὸν προσήκοντα, ταυτὶ δὲ οἶον προγύμνασμα τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγώνων (HQ I 1.24-7).

<sup>16</sup> Lamberton 1986, 110.

<sup>17</sup> See Friedländer 1895. Porphyry says that Zoilus "wrote against Homer for training, as rhetoricians were accustomed to practice on poets" (HO K 274.1).

<sup>18</sup> See Carroll 1895 and Rosenmeyer 1973, 231-52.

<sup>19</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.26.7.

about Homer" and categorizes it in Aristotelian terms as a "solution from diction"  $^{20}$ 

#### Book One of the Homeric Questions

Book One is preserved on a continuous manuscript.<sup>21</sup> Extracts of the *Homeric Questions*, copied on the margins of the manuscripts of Homer, supply the remainder of the text. The style of Book One is uniform; that of the extracts, varied.

The *Homeric Questions* is often labeled "philological", and that is true of Book One. In the dedicatory letter to Anatolius, <sup>22</sup> Porphyry cites the Aristarchan maxim that "Homer explains himself", <sup>23</sup> adding that "many [subtleties] of speech are not recognized and escape the notice of the majority". <sup>24</sup> Book One concerns the meaning of Homeric words and phrases and the poet's artistry in using them. In two questions Porphyry gives a close philological reading of an image in the text on which ancient scholars disagreed: one is the siege depicted on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.509-34); <sup>25</sup> the other is the movement of the fish that Achilles says will eat the

<sup>20</sup> οὖτος μὲν οὖν τρόπος ἀπολογίας ἀρχαῖος ὢν πάνυ καὶ ἀπὸ Θεαγένους τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, ὂς πρῶτας ἔγραψε περὶ Ὁμήρου, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως (HQ Y 67.7). The Homeric Problems of Heraclitus Rhetor, the only other example of the genre that survives from antiquity, also defends the poet by means of allegory.

<sup>21</sup> Vaticanus 305 (14<sup>th</sup> BCE). The Homeric Questions are written on ff. 171<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup> with the heading "Book One of the Homeric Questions of the Philosopher Porphyry". The codex also contains Nicanor's Theriaca (ff. 139<sup>r</sup>- 170<sup>v</sup>), roughly half of Heraclitus Rhetor's allegorical Homeric Questions (ff. 184<sup>v</sup> to 190<sup>r</sup>), and Porphyry's On the Cave of the Nymphs (ff. 190<sup>r</sup> - 208<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>22</sup> For Anatolius, see Eunapius (Vit. Soph 5.1.2).

<sup>23</sup> αὐτὸς μὲν ἑαυτὸν τὰ πολλὰ "Ομηρος ἐξηγεῖται (HQ I 1.12-13). Although there is no proof that Aristarchus said this dictum, the idea is uncontestably Aristarchan: ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ἡξίου ... μηδέν τι τῶν παρὰ τῆ ποιήσει μυθικῶν περιεργάζεσθαι ἀλληγορικῶς ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων (Eust. II. 2.101.14-15). Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιοῖ τὰ φραζόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ μυθικώτερον ἐκδέχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν φραζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ περιεργαζομένους (Σ<sup>D</sup> ad II. 5. 385). In this connection it is interesting to note that Porphyry says Aristarchus "excuses his interpretation from Homer", παραμυθεῖται δὲ ἐξ Όμήρου (HQ M 258.2)

For intimations of this idea in Aristotle's *Poetics*, see J. Porter 1992, 115-33. For similar expressions in other writers, see Schäublin 1977, 221-27. Also see Pfeiffer 1968, 225-27; Wilson, 1971, 172 and 1976, 123; Lee 1975, 63-64.

<sup>24</sup> ἀγνοεῖται μὲν πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν φράσιν, λανθάνει δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς (HQ I 1.28-30).

<sup>25</sup> HO I 25.25-35.6.

corpse of Lycaon (*Il.* 21.122-27).<sup>26</sup> The dictum that "Homer explains himself" recurs through the book.<sup>27</sup> Porphyry notes in particular that "sometimes Homer explains himself immediately (παρακειμένως), but at other times elsewhere (ἐν ἄλλοις)".<sup>28</sup> When showing that Homer has supplied an explanation, his verb of choice is ἐπάγειν.<sup>29</sup> The preposition ἐπί and the genitive, "with reference to x", is the usual way that Porphyry indicates the person or thing to which he refers.<sup>30</sup> Often the participle "saying" (λέγων or εἰπών) precedes quotations.<sup>31</sup>

The first sentence of each *zētēma* in Book One is a statement or indirect question but never a direct question. E.g.:

- Q. 3: I don't know on what basis some of the grammarians deem fit to understand *aiolos* in Homer as referring to "variegated" (*HQ* 12.10-12).<sup>32</sup>
- Q. 4: One shouldn't get annoyed if some of the Homeric [subtlties] escape the notice of the majority of students nowadays, seeing that the difference that *harmatrochia* has with *hamatrochia* even escaped the notice of Callimachus who's reputed to be very precise and learned (*HQ* 15.7-14).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> HQ I 39.17-46.10.

<sup>27</sup> αὐτὸς μὲν ἐαυτὸν τὰ πολλὰ Ὅμηρος ἐξηγεῖται (HQ I 1.12-14); ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσατο εἰπών (HQ I 12.18-19); τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐξηγουμένου (HQ I 15.20); ἀξιῶν δὲ ἐγὼ Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν (HQ I 63.3-4); ἐαυτὸν ἐξηγεῖται (HQ I 63.14-15); αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσε (HQ I 98.8); αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως ἑρμηνεύει (HO I 132.8-9).

<sup>28</sup> αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπεδείκνυον ποτὲ μὲν παρακειμένως, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν ἄλλοις (HQ I 56.4-6). The latter phrase is common in Book One: 3.7, 9.20, 10.5, 16.7, 18.7, 19.9, 22.24, 37.6, 59.18, 64.8, 92.23, 94.5, 94.15, 97.13, 126.4.

<sup>29</sup> *HQ* I 18.17, 23.5, 23.8, 23.20, 24.22, 25.13, 33.15, 40.22, 44.6, 52.17, 59.15, 61.4, 61.12, 70.17, 74.19, 75.19, 77.10, 77.16, 78.22, 80.16, 86.10, 88.8, 89.3, 92.19, 93.9, 94.3, 113.21, 115.20, 118.7, 120.9, 133.14.

<sup>30</sup> *HQ* I 3.4, 4.6, 13.3, 14.10, 15.22, 16.8, 20.15, 21.7, 21.13, 21.23, 22.15, 23.11, 23.17, 24.14, 24.24, 25.11, 27.18, 27.21, 28.19, 30.19, 32.3, 33.3, 33.21, 34.15, 40.15, 42.11, 46.5, 47.15, 48.10, 48.14, 49.9, 52.15, 52.23, 57.10, 59.18, 62.8, 64.15, 65.11, 66.22, 66.25, 70.16, 72.17, 73.10, 76.4, 77.17, 85.3, 85.7, 85.8, 89.6, 90.10, 92.14, 95.5, 98.8, 100.10, 100.11, 116.10, 116.12, 117.13, 117.17, 118.8, 118.15, 121.14, 123.4, 123.6, 123.8, 123.9, 123.23, 125.6, 125.7, 125.11, 125.20, 125.23, 130.10.

<sup>31</sup> λέγων: HQ I: 3.5, 4.7, 15.22, 16.22, 70.16, 70.21, 75.14, 98.9, 98.13, 132.14, 132.22. εἰπών: HQ I: 12.19, 13.17, 21.13, 22.15, 23.14, 25.13, 30.17, 33.15, 49.5, 52.16, 62.9, 62.11, 74.17, 77.18, 80.15, 81.18, 93.22, 98.11, 126.4, 132.10,

<sup>32</sup> τὸ "αἰόλον" οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν τῶν γραμματικῶν τινες ἐπὶ τοῦ "ποικίλου" παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἀκούειν ἀξιοῦσιν (HQ 12.10-12).

<sup>33</sup> οὐ δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν, εἰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν νῦν παιδευτῶν λανθάνει τινὰ τῶν Όμηρικῶν, ὅπου καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἀκριβέστατον καὶ πολυμαθέστατον.

- Q. 14: Ridiculously Apion explained *hippokorystas* as those who have helmets adorned with horsehair.<sup>34</sup>
- Q. 20: Against those who accuse Homer of lacking ability on the ground that he depicts both those sending [messengers and heralds] and the messengers and heralds who are sent saying the same speeches or setting out in detail actions or words said before, it is fit to point out that by varying [his words] he expresses himself in different ways masterfully (*HQ* 131.14-132.10).<sup>35</sup>

The beginning of a question sometimes alludes to the conversations with Anatolius from which the book developed.<sup>36</sup> E.g.:

- Q. 1: We were inquiring into the sense of this.<sup>37</sup>
- Q. 5: Reading this you were puzzled.<sup>38</sup>
- Q. 9: As we were closely observing the subtlety of the poet in all matters, I was thinking fit that we also trace his consistency in names.<sup>39</sup>
- Q. 11: Seeing fit to elucidate Homer from Homer, I was pointing out.<sup>40</sup>

Twice Porphyry returns to the topic of a previous question and expands his point:

- Q. 6: Since we mentioned a comparison, consider the poet's practice here. 41
- Q. 17: We were saying about comparisons that he often applies the proper name for the matter at hand to the resemblance in the

Καλλίμαχον ἔλαθεν ή διαφορὰ τῆς ἀρματροχίας, ἢν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ή διαφορὰ τῆς ἀρματροχίας, ἢν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν χωρὶς τοῦ ρ λεγομένην ἀματροχίαν.

<sup>34</sup> γελοίως ὁ ᾿Απίων ἰππορυστὰς ἀποδέδωκε τοὺς κόρυθας ἔχοντας ἰππείαις θριξὶ κεκοσμημένας (ΗΟ Ι 83.16-84.3).

<sup>35</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἀδυναμίαν 'Ομήρου κατηγοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις τὰς αὐτὰς ῥήσεις ποιεῖν λέγοντας τούς τε ἐκπέμποντας καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους ἀγγέλους καὶ κήρυκας ἢ διηγουμένους πράξεις ἢ λόγους ῥηθέντας πρότερον, ἄξιον σημήνασθαι ὅπως ποικίλλων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως έρμηνεύει διὰ δύναμιν.

<sup>36</sup> πολλάκις μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαις Όμηρικῶν ζητημάτων γινομένων (HO 1.9-11).

<sup>37</sup> εζητοῦμεν τὸν νοῦν τὸν τούτων (ΗΟ Ι 2.16-17).

<sup>38</sup> ταῦτ' οὖν ἀναγινώσκων ... ἠπόρεις (ΗΟ Ι 17.31-32).

<sup>39</sup> ήξίουν ήμᾶς, παρατηροῦντας τὴν ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεπτουργίαν, ἰχνεύειν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαν (HQ I 46.11-13).

<sup>40</sup> άξιῶν δὲ ἐγὰ Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν αὐτὸν ἑξηγούμενον έαυτὸν ὑπεδείκνυον, ποτὲ μὲν παρακειμένως, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν ἄλλοις (HQ I 56.3-6).

<sup>41</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ παραβολῆς ἐμνήσαμεν, σκέψαι τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐνταῦθα χρῆσιν (HQ I 20.13-15).

comparison, but in many [he does] the reverse. For proof of this let these [examples] be cited.<sup>42</sup>

Whenever possible, Porphyry mentions additional problems that can be solved with the solution he just applied. E.g.:

- Q. 1: From that you will also solve "pressed on by the wind of Zeus it hit upon Pherae" (*Od.* 15.297).<sup>43</sup>
- Q. 2: From this you will also solve what is said about the Phaeacians. 44
- Q. 3: From "helmet-shaking" you will also solve "hair-waving Dorians" (*Il.* 2.11). 45
- Q. 15: From this it is possible to solve much of what has been overlooked by the grammarians. 46

The text ends after the twentieth question with a scribal note: "here end Porphyry's zetemata" (hic desinunt Porphyrii ζητήματα).  $^{47}$ 

#### The Extracts of the *Homeric Questions* on the *Iliad*

After the original was published, the questions were copied on the margins of the manuscripts of Homer. Occasionally the same question was copied onto the margins of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or repeated it at different points in the same poem. The scribes also copied epitomes of the *Homeric Questions* on the margins of the manuscripts of Homer. 48

Fifty questions on the *Iliad* are written in the same style as Book One, save its allusions to Porphyry's conversations with Anatolius.<sup>49</sup> The rest diverge from Book One in the following ways:

<sup>42</sup> ἐλέγομεν περὶ τῶν παραβολῶν ὅτι πολλάκις τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα παρατίθησι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς ὁμοιώμασιν, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἔμπαλιν. εἰς δὲ πίστιν τούτου παρακείσθω καὶ ταῦτα (HO I 122.7-12).

<sup>43</sup> λύσεις ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὸ "ἡ δὲ Φερὰς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὕρῷ (HQ I 5.13-6.4).

<sup>44</sup> ἐκ τούτων λύσεις καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Φαιάκων εἰρημένον (ΗΟ Ι 11.15-16).

<sup>46</sup> ἐκ τούτων δὲ πολλὰ ἔνεστι λύειν τῶν παρεωραμένων τοῖς γραμματικοῖς (HQ I 90.7-9).

<sup>47</sup> Sodano notes that the manuscript might not contain all of Book One since the sign that usually indicates the end of a question is missing (1965, 97-98).

<sup>48</sup> Sixteen extracts on the *Iliad* have a corresponding epitome: A 138-9, B 8-12, B 305-29, B 827,  $\Gamma$  65-6,  $\Gamma$  306,  $\Delta$  297-9, Z 113, Z 129-34,  $\Theta$  1, I 186, K 561, M 10, M 25, O 189, Y 259-72.

<sup>49</sup> A 104, A 169, A 225b, A 340, A 486, B 423, B 447, B 467-8, B 423, Γ 197, Δ 1, Δ 434, E 137-8, E 453, E 695, E 770, Z 15, Z 488-9, Z 491, Θ 1, Θ 2, Θ 39-40, Θ 53-

- i. The focus is not narrowly philological but encompasses any type of question. <sup>50</sup>
- ii. The first sentence of the extract is a direct question, usually beginning with  $\delta i \hat{\alpha} \tau i$ . The first sentence of the extract is a direct question, usually beginning with  $\delta i \hat{\alpha} \tau i$ .
- iii. The problem is phrased "it is illogical" (ἄλογον), <sup>52</sup> "impossible" (ἀδύνατον), <sup>53</sup> unfitting (ἀπρεπές), <sup>54</sup> "contrary" (ἐναντίον), <sup>55</sup> or "it conflicts" (μάχεται). <sup>56</sup>
- iv. The solution begins "one most say that" (ἡητέον δὲ ὅτι). 57
- v. The question is solved from diction (λύεται δ' ἐκ τῆς λέξεως), from custom (ἐκ τοῦ ἔθους), from time (ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ), or from character (ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου).58...
- vi. Porphyry cites anonymous sources: some say x, others y, others z etc. (οἱ μέν φασιν ... οἱ δὲ ... οἱ δὲ vel sim.). <sup>59</sup>
- vii. After rehearsing the solutions in his sources, Porphyry suggests his own by saying "perhaps ..." (μήποτε). 60

<sup>4,</sup>  $\Theta$  58,  $\Theta$  70, I 90, I 378, K 67-9, K 167, K 413,  $\Lambda$  354,  $\Lambda$  786, M 122, M 258, 358-603, N 443, N 824, O 128,  $\Pi$  67-8,  $\Pi$  161-2, P 143, P 608, T 108, T 389,  $\Phi$  563, X 431,  $\Omega$  22,  $\Omega$  117,  $\Omega$  221,  $\Omega$  221b.

<sup>50</sup> In a *zētēma* suspected to have begun another book (see Dindorf 1875, xii-xiii and Van der Valk 1964, 104 n. 75), Porphyry says "The gathering of questions is already in the works of others. But we, taking the problems from those who have inquired, consider the solutions that they proposed for the questions. Some of them we approve, some we deny, others we invent ourselves, and others we attempt to revise and elaborate, as will be clear to the reader" (HO K 252-3.1-3).

<sup>51</sup> E.g. A 225.1, A 524.1, B 73.1, B 257-77.1, B 370-74.1, B 478.1, B 649.1,  $\Gamma$  281.1,  $\Gamma$  306.1,  $\Gamma$  441.1 etc.

<sup>52</sup> Ept. A 138.1; ept. A 420.1; ept. B 73.1; ept. Γ 369.2; ept. K 194.1; M 25.2; ept. M 25.1 etc.

<sup>53</sup> Ept. Γ 144; Γ 379.2; ept. Δ 491.2; ept. H 8-10.1; E 7.1; ept. N 3.1; ept. K 11.1; ept. K 447.1; ept. N 3.1.

<sup>54</sup> Ept. A 211.1; ept. B 1-2.1; ept. B 12.1; B 183.1; ept. B 480.1; ept. Z 433.1; ept. I 187.1; ept. I 203.1; ept. I 452.1; ept. I 591.1.

<sup>55</sup> A 3.1; ept. Ξ 434.1.

<sup>56</sup> E 576.1; ept. Y 329.

<sup>57</sup> A 524.2, B 370.3, B 478.3, Θ 322-29.3, I 382.4, M 25.3, Ξ 238, X 71.2.

<sup>58</sup> λύσις ἐκ τῆς λέξεως (Combellack 1987, 202-19): ept. A 211.2; ept. B 12.2; ept. Γ 121.3; ept. Γ 144.3; ept. E 576.2 λύσις ἐκ τοῦ ἔθους: B 12.4; Γ 379.3; Δ 297.3; ept. I 203.3; ept K 447.2. λύσις ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ: ept. A 420.2; ept. Γ 315.2; ept. Γ 144.3; ept. Γ 365.2; ept. E 576.2. λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου (Dachs 1913): ept. Γ 121.3; ept. M 25.4; ept. Ψ 71.4. Several can be applied to the same question: ept. B 12.2-4; ept. Δ 297.3-4; E 7.3-4; ept. I 203.2-3; Y 232-5.2-5.

<sup>59</sup> Ept. Γ 121.3; Δ 297.6-7; Z 113.2-4; ept. M 25.2-4; Y 67-75.8-9.

<sup>60</sup> μήποτε: B 649.7; Z 200.3; M 127.9; Ξ 200.37; Ξ 304.10; T 221.17. Cf. E 576.5 (τάχα) and ept. I 203.4 (ἴσως).

Six extracts on the *Iliad* Book are identical in style to Book One but for one exception in each.<sup>61</sup> The epitomes have the highest concentration of stylistic divergences with Book One. The remaining extracts commingle the divergences with traits of Book One in varying degrees.

If Book One is complete, the extracts on the *Iliad* that cohere with it stylistically would fill at least two more books. The less stylistically consistent extracts, roughly three books.

#### The Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts of the *Iliad* with extracts of the *Homeric Questions* are *Venetus Graecus* 821 and *Escurialensis* 509, <sup>62</sup> followed by *Leidensis Graecus* 64 and *Lipsiensis Graecus* 32. <sup>63</sup>

The Venetian manuscript (B) (11<sup>th</sup> CE), formerly called *Marcianus* Graecus 453, contains 338 folios, each  $40.5 \times 31.5$  cm. <sup>64</sup> Folios 68-9 (II. 5.259-355) and 145 (II. 11.167-217) fell out and were replaced by a more recent hand. 65 Each folio has twelve, twenty, or twenty-four lines of the Iliad. surrounded by marginalia on the top, outer and lower margins. Each scholium is assigned a number from 1 ( $\alpha'$ ), 2 ( $\beta'$ ), 3 ( $\gamma'$ ) etc. indicating the verse to which it refers. The first line of poetry on every *verso* is counted 1  $(\alpha')$ , the second 2  $(\beta')$ , the third 3  $(\gamma')$ , and so on until the last line of verse on the *recto*, which is 24 ( $\kappa\delta'$ ), 40 ( $\mu'$ ), or 48 ( $\mu\theta'$ ). A more recent hand (\*B), assigned to the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> CE, filled up empty marginal space with scholia minora (=  $\Sigma^{D}$ ), glosses from lexica and the *Epimerismi Homerici*, and excerpts from Porphyry's *Homeric Ouestions* and Heraclitus Rhetor's Homeric Allegories. At the top left hand corner of the first leaf, \*B inscribed a thin cylinder pointing to one o'clock (one of several symbols used interchangeably) and "of Porph[yry]", giving the source. 66 The subsequent extracts are preceded only by a symbol. Nevertheless, \*B wrote "of Aristotle" in the margins whenever Porphyry cited him. Some time after the initial excerption, the same hand added more extracts preceded by symbol in red ink (\*\*B).

<sup>61</sup> In Ξ 200.1 the first sentence is a direct question. In M 10-12.13, M 127-32.9, and in T 221-4 μήποτε precedes Porphyry's suggestion. At Y 259-72 Porphyry cites anonymous sources. At X 71.2 he says ὑητέον.

<sup>62</sup> West (1998, xi, lix) changed the siglum of this manuscript from E<sup>4</sup> to F.

<sup>63</sup> Seen on microfilm.

<sup>64</sup> See Dindorf 1877, i-xvi; Schrader 1880, iii-vi; Allen 1931, 11-12; Erbse 1969, xvii-xviii; West 1998, xi.

<sup>65</sup> See Erbse 1960, 26-28.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Schrader 1880, 357.

Escurialensis 509 ( $\Omega$  I 12, F) is an 11<sup>th</sup> CE manuscript of 216 folios. each  $35.3 \times 31.5$  cm. <sup>67</sup> The manuscript has two central columns. The left contains the text of the *Iliad*, usually 39 lines apiece; the right, a prose paraphrase. In the margins around the two columns, a second hand (\*F) copied scholia minora ( $\Sigma^{D}$ ), signalled by asterisks, circles, and diplai. A contemporaneous hand copied exegetical scholia  $(\Sigma^{bT})$  and excerpts from the *Homeric Ouestions* in the margins. I have renamed the second hand \*F to be analogous with \*B, who copied excerpts of the HO in B's margins. Unlike the Venetian manuscript, \*F indicates the source "of Porphyry"  $(\Pi \circ \varphi \circ \varphi \circ \varphi \circ \varphi) = \Pi$ .) before every fragment, along with an asterisk or other symbol, which is usually followed by the prepositional phrase εἰς τό and the lines which are under discussion. Colons mark the end of both scholia and extracts, and separate individual entries in the same margin. This hand routinely misaccentuates enclitics. Since it is unlikely that this type of mistake would be repeated wholesale, one has grounds to suppose that \*F was copied from an unaccented uncial exemplar.

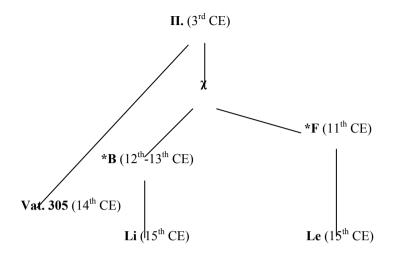
Leidensis Vossianus Graecus 64 (Le) is a  $15^{th}$  century manuscript with 492 folios, each  $28 \times 21$  cm. Folio 1 recto contains an argumentum of Iliad A; its verso, a life of Homer and metrical explanations. Folios 2 recto to 493 preserve the Iliad up to  $\Omega$  17 with scholia. Each page has up to 20 lines of verse with a supralinear paraphase in dark red ink. Le often agrees with \*F against \*BLi but corrects diacritical errors in the earlier manuscript.

Lipsiensis Graecus 32 (Li) contains 339 folios, each measuring 33.5 x 23 cm. 68 On folios 1-50 a hand assigned to the 15th century copied two lives of Homer, some epigrams falsely attributed to Homer, an aetiology of the Trojan war, John Tzetzes' exegesis of *Iliad* A, and a Herodotean life of Homer. A 14th century hand copied *Iliad* A 1 to P 89 on folios 52 recto to 268 verso. With the exception of the first page of each book, each folio has 25-27 lines of verse along with exegetical scholia. On the remaining leaves a 15th century copyist filled in the rest of the *Iliad* and the *Batrachomyomachia*. Li usually agrees with \*B against the other manuscripts, but rarely offers an independent reading of any value. In addition to the extracts from Porphyry, Li also preserves excerpts from a scholar named Σεναχηρ(ε)(μ. 69

<sup>67</sup> See Erbse 1969, xx-xxi; Severyns, 1953, 41-43; Allen 1931, 16-17; Bethe 1893, 355-79; Ludwich 1889, 130.

<sup>68</sup> See Valkenaer 1807-09, 1-151.

<sup>69</sup> For extracts in *Venetus Graecus* 822 (see Erbse 1977-83, xiii-xvi), *Victorianus* (ibid. xvi, xxix-xxx), or *Etonensis* 139 (see Noehden 1797, 1-2; 30ff.), I rely on the readings of previous editors.



#### Scholarship on the Homeric Questions

Scholarship on the *Homeric Questions* begins with Valckenaer's work on the Leiden codex of the *Iliad* (Le). <sup>70</sup> He divided the extracts in two general categories, [i] problems and solutions (ἀπορίαι τε καὶ λύσεις) and [ii] explanations (ἐξηγήσεις) of words and passages. <sup>71</sup> Concerning the transmission of the text, Valckenaer postulated that one continuous manuscript preserved Porphyry's allegorical works on Homer and HQ I, which he thought someone had reconstituted from the extracts. <sup>72</sup> According to his theory the same person forged the preface of HO I.

Basil Gildersleeve established the internal consistency between the text and the preface, adducing the subsequent references to the addressee Anatolius and the principle that "Homer interprets Homer". Gildersleeve rejected Valckenaer's hypothesis that one MS contained Porphyry's *Homerica* because, as he argued, the combination of different genres (i.e.

<sup>70</sup> See Valckenaer 1807-09, 95-152. Also see Noehden's dissertation *De Porphyrii scholiis in Homerum* (Göttingen 1797).

<sup>71</sup> ibid. 142-45.

<sup>72</sup> ibid. 145-46: credere malui serie continua codicem ista [sc. Homerica] subministrasse.

<sup>73</sup> ibid. 146: has [i.e. HQ I] si quis nunc iudicaverit e scholiis Homericis a quopiam descriptas, qui de more Porphyrii libellum suis verbis Anatolio inscripserit, poterit ... sententiam roborare.

allegory and philology) would not have been possible.<sup>74</sup> Gildersleeve collated the text of HQ I with the extracts.<sup>75</sup> He reassigned certain excerpts to other titles ascribed to Porphyry, namely *On the Names Omitted by the Poet*,<sup>76</sup> *On Divine Names*,<sup>77</sup> *On the Benefit for Kings from Homer*,<sup>78</sup> and *On Images of Gods*.<sup>79</sup> Gildersleeve's last chapter turns to the allegorical *Homeric Questions* by Heraclitus Rhetor<sup>80</sup> and the Plutarchean *Life of Homer*, which Rudolph Schmidt had assigned to Porphyry.<sup>81</sup>

Like Valckenaer, Kammer also distinguished two types of Porphyrian scholia. One type, he said, was meant to show off vain knowledge. The other type was long, serious, and necessary. Kammer noted that these longer investigations usually had their own preface. He assigned all the extracts of the second category to HQ I.

In 1880 Schrader published his edition of Porphyry's Homeric Questions on the *Iliad*, followed ten years later by the questions on the *Odyssey*. Following Römer, Schrader took Venetus 453 B as his principal manuscript, inter eos codices, quod ad Iliadem attinet, locum ... primum Venetus 453 (B) tenet, quem in Porphyrianis summae auctoritatis esse ipse Roemerus, censor eius paullo severior, concessit. 82 Schrader assigned to Porphyry all marginal notes in the manuscripts of Homer written in the form of a question: omnia, quaecumque quaerendi forma utantur vel certas ob rationes e zetemate aliano repetenda sint ... Porphyrio vindicemus. 83 Since the original order was unrecoverable, he chose to place Book I in Vaticanus 305 after the text of the extracts: nobis, quoniam quemnam ordinem secutus sit non constat, quaestiones illae secundum textum homericum edendae errant.84 Following Gildersleeve, Schrader argued that Porphyry originally composed a separate work, entitled On the Names Omitted by the Poet, which was excerpted into the marginal commentary on Book Two of the Iliad<sup>85</sup>

<sup>74</sup> ibid. 7-8. His point is refuted by *HQ* T 221-4. Also see N. Richardson 1975, 67-68 and R. Lamberton 1986, 109-10.

<sup>75</sup> ibid. 10-13.

<sup>76</sup> Περὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων τῷ ποιητῆ ὀνομάτων ...; see  $\Sigma^{D}$  ad II. 3.250.

<sup>77</sup> Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων, see Suda s.v. Πορφύριος.

<sup>78</sup> Περὶ τῆς ἐξ ὑμήρου ἀφελείας τῶν βασιλέων (ibid).

<sup>79</sup> Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ed. Bidez 1913.

<sup>80</sup> See Buffière 1956 and Russell 2003.

<sup>81</sup> On the Plutarchean *Life of Homer*, see Hillgruber 1994; Keaney and Lamberton 1996.

<sup>82</sup> Schrader 1880,

<sup>83</sup> See Schrader 1890, 139.

<sup>84</sup> ibid. iv.

<sup>85</sup> See Schrader 1879, 231-52.

Erbese showed that Schrader had overestimated the debt of the bT scholia to Porphyry. <sup>86</sup> Following Gildersleeve, Erbse argued that *Vaticanus* 305 preserved HQ I in its original form as a monograph. He assumed economically that there was only one excerption of the original, from which the transmitted extracts descend in varying degrees of completion and fidelity. With regard to the alleged title *On the Names Omitted by the Poet*, Erbse suggested that the phrase ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων τῷ ποιητῷ ὀνομάτων referred to a single *zetema* (i.e. ἐν τῷ περί ... [sc. ζητήματι]). <sup>87</sup> Erbse excluded the extracts of the *Homeric Questions* from his landmark edition of the *Iliad* scholia.

Van der Valk investigated Eustathius' use of the *Homeric Questions*. He argued that Eustathius did not have the work in its original sequence but rather a redaction of *Porphyriana* that had been resequenced into a running commentary. Sommenting on the difference between an ancient *hypomnema* and a running medieval commentary, Van der Valk cited Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales*, in which different topics are treated in random order.

Before publishing his important edition of Book One, Sodano wrote articles on the *Vaticanus* 305, <sup>89</sup> Porphyry's sources, <sup>90</sup> and the Aristotelian concepts of "the impossible" (τὸ ἀδύνατον) and "the illogical" (τὸ ἄλογον). <sup>91</sup> Sodano prints facing recensions of the Vatican manuscript and the extracts. The English translation of Book One by Robin Schlunk follows the text of Sodano. <sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> See Erbse 1960, 17-77.

<sup>87</sup> See Erbse 1960, 73-76.

<sup>88</sup> See Van der Valk 1963 (pt.1), 104.

<sup>89</sup> See Sodano 1965, 7-122 and 1967, 1-38.

<sup>90</sup> See Sodano 1964, 1-90.

<sup>91</sup> See Sodano 1966a, 1-43; 1966b, 1-60.

<sup>92</sup> See Schlunk 1993.

# Abbreviations and Sigla

*B	Venetus Graecus 821	Schr.	Schrader
*F	Escurialensis 509	Dind.	Dindorf
Le	Leidensis Graecus 64	*	scripsi
Li	Lipsiensis Graecus 32	D-K	Die Fragmenta der Vor-
A	Venetus Graecus 822		sokratiker, ed. H. Diels,
Et	Etonensis 139		revised by W. Kranz 6 <sup>th</sup>
Vict.	Victorianus		edn. (Berlin 1961)
f.	folio	FGrH	Fragmenteder griechi-
R	recto		schen Historiker, ed. F.
V	verso		Jacoby (Berlin1923-).
Π.	Πορφυρίου	GP	J. D. Denniston, The
$\Sigma$	scholia		Greek Particles, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn.
<b>〈</b> 〉	addenda videntur		(Oxford 1954)
{}	interpolata videntur	K-A	Poetae Comici Graeci,
††	corrupta videntur		ed. R. Kassel and C.
<b>(***</b> )	lacuna		Austin (Berlin 1983-).
[***]	textus periit	LSJ	H. G Liddell, R. Scott,
evan.	evanuit		H. S. Jones, and R.
coll.	collocavit		McKenzie, A Greek
om.	omisit		English Lexicon, 9 <sup>th</sup>
ras.	in rasura		edn. (Oxford 1940)
marg.	in margine	TrGF	Tragicorum Graecorum
Eust.	Eustathius		fragmenta, ed. B. Snell,
Vill.	Villoison		R. Kannicht, S. Radt
Bekk.	Bekker		(Berlin 1975-85)
Kamm.	Kammer		

# Text and Translation

Α3 [1] τὸ "πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄιδι προΐαψεν" (Il. 1.3) ἐναντίον ἀποφαίνεται τῷ "μοῖραν δ' οὕτινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν" (Il. 6.488), ἔτι δὲ καὶ "ἡύ[τ' ὄνει]ρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται" (Od. 11.222) ⟨τῷ⟩ Ἄιδος εἰσῆλθεν· [2] εἰ γὰρ "προΐαψεν" ἐστὶ "προδιέφθειρεν", οὕτε ἡ μοῖρα [\*\*\*] οὕτε ἡ ψυχὴ μένει [\*\*\*] γὰρ [\*\*\*]. [3] λύεται δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν· τὸ "προΐαψεν" ἀποδιδόασί τινες ἀντὶ ⟨τοῦ "ἐπέμψε"⟩. [4] τὸ γὰρ "Ἅιδι προΐαψεν" (Il. 1.3) ⟨\*\*\*⟩

Cf.  $\Sigma$  *II*. 1.3c (Erbse) fons: \*B f. 1<sup>R</sup> ( $\Pi$ .)

[1] Πορ[φυρ]ίου praemittitur post ἐναντίον usque ad ἔμμεναι om. \*Β  $\langle \tau \tilde{\varphi} \rangle$  Schr. ἡύ[.....]ρος legit Schr.:  $\langle \psi \nu \chi \dot{\eta} \rangle$  ὁ ἡύτ ὄνειρος $\rangle$  Dind.  $\pi \epsilon \pi \acute{\sigma} \tau \eta \tau \alpha \iota$  "Β [3]  $\langle \tau \sigma \tilde{\nu} \rangle$  Schr. [4] detritissimus fit textus. legit autem Schr.: ο τερα μεν (?) |  $\lambda \sigma \acute{\sigma} \sigma \alpha \iota$  | έβαλ ... ὅτι δὲ | εβαλετο τινες (?) | 5 lineae prorsus desperandae |  $\alpha \pi \sigma \tau \rho \sigma \tau$  |  $\pi \acute{\sigma} \theta \sigma \sigma \sigma \iota$  |  $\tau \acute{\sigma} \sigma \iota$  |  $\tau \acute{\sigma} \sigma \sigma$ 

Α 104 [1] προεβλήθη ποίου γένους τὸ "ὄσσε" (ΙΙ. 1.104, 200 etc.) καὶ τίς ἡ ἑνικὴ εύθεῖα. [2] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ "θῆρε" τοῦ δυϊκοῦ κατ' ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ε τὸ ένικὸν γίνεται θήρ, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ "ὄσσε" τὸ ένικόν έστιν ὄςς διὰ δύο ςς. [3] ἐλέγχονται δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων ταὐτὸ γίνεται. [4] ίδου γαρ ἀπο τοῦ "δμῶε" οὐ γίνεται το ένικον "δμῶ" οὐδὲ ἀπο τοῦ "φῶτε" "φῶζτ)", οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ "ὄσσε" "ὄςς". [5] ἡ δὲ αἰτία ἐπεὶ τὸ ρ καὶ τὸ ν τῶν ἀμεταπτώτων κατά γε τὸ πλεῖστον, προσεβλήθη καὶ τῶ "θήρ" καὶ τῷ "χήν" τὸ ξ καὶ δυϊκὰ γέγονεν. [6] οὐδέποτε δ' ἂν εὕροις τοῦτο συμβαῖνον ἐφ' ὧν ἔσγατον ἦν τὸ ς. [7] τῷ γὰρ "Κρής" εἰ προστεθείη τὸ ξ δυϊκὸν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο Κρῆσε, οὐδὲ τῷ "χρώς" καὶ "παῖς." οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶ "ὅςς". [8] ἔτι καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι συλλαβὴν μίαν εἰς δύο  $\overline{c}$ ς λήγειν. [9] οὐδὲ μὴν δύναται "ὄς" εἶναι δι' ἐτέρου ς τῶν γὰρ εἰς ος ληγόντων ονομάτων τὰ δυϊκὰ εἰς Φ λήγει. [10] ρητέον οὖν ὅτι τὸ "ὄσσε" οὐκ ἔστιν άρσενικὸν δυϊκόν. [11] φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ποιητής "τὰ δέ οἱ ὄσσε | πὰρ ποσὶν αίματόεντα χαμαὶ πέσον" (ΙΙ. 13.616-7), οὐχ αίματόεντες. [12] οὐδετέραν οὖν ληπτέον εὐθεῖαν καὶ ἔσται τὸ "ὄσσος", ὡς ἔρκος βέλος τεῖχος, τὸ δὲ πληθυντικόν κατά Άθηναίους μεν έρκη βέλη τείχη, κατά δε τούς Ίωνας ἔρκεα βέλεα τείχεα καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ὅσσεα.

fontes: \*B f.  $148^V$ ,  $5^R$  (inc. a [10]= \*B^A), \*F f.  $97^V$  (Π.), Le f.  $235^V$  (Π.) [1] εἰς τὸ "ὄσσε" inc. \*FLe ποίου \*B\*F: τίνος Le τὸ Schr.: τὰ codd. [2] τοῦ Vill.: τὰ \*B\*FLe ὄcc \*FLe: ὄcc \*B δύο \*B\*F: τὰ δύο Le [4] φῶ⟨τ⟩ Bekk.: φῶ codd. [5] προσεβλήθη Vill.: ἐπροσεβλήθη codd. [6] εὕροις \*FLe: εὕρης \*B [7] εὶ προστεθείη Schr.: προσθείη \*B\*F: εὶ μὴ προσθείη Le [8] δύο Schr.: β΄ codd. [9] ἐτέρου c Le: ἐτέρουcc \*B\*F [10] τὸ ὄσσε Bekk.: τὰ ὄσσε codd. αἰματόεντα \*B\*FLe: αἰματόεντε \*B^A [12] οὐδετέραν \*B\*F: οὐδετέρας \*B^A: οὐ δευτέραν Le

17 A 3 - A 104

[1] "He sent forth (proïapsen) many mighty souls of men to Hades" (Il. 1.3) A 3 seems contradictory to "I say that no one has escaped his destiny" (II. 6.488), and "like a dream [sc. the soul] flutters as it flies away" (Od. 11.222) <to> "it entered the house of Hades. [2] For if proïapsen means "he had destroyed", neither does destiny [\*\*\*] nor does the soul remain, [\*\*\*] for [\*\*\*]. [3] It is solved in accord with the word itself. Some explain proïapsen as the equivalent [of "he sent"]. [4] For "he sent to Hades" (Il. 1.3).

[1] Of which gender is "[a pair of] eyes" (osse) and what is its nominative A 104 singular were [the questions] put forward. [2] Now then, some claimed, just as singular "beast" (ther) comes from a dropping of the epsilon from the dual "[a pair of beasts" (there), so too the singular of "[a pair of] eyes" (osse) is eye (oss) with two sigmas. [3] But they are proved wrong, for the same thing does not take place in the case of all duals. [4] Look, the singular "slave"  $(dm\bar{o})$ does not come from "[a pair of] slaves" (dmōe), nor "light" (phōt) from "[a pair of lights" (phōte), nor in this way is "eye" (oss) from "[a pair of] eyes" (osse). [5] And the reason: since for the most part rho and nu are among the unchanging [letters], the epsilon was added to "beast" (ther) and to "goose" (chēn), and they became duals. [6] But you would never find this happening among those in which a sigma is last. [7] For if epsilon were added to Cretan (Krēs). Krēse would not be dual, nor [if it were added] to "skin" (chrōs) and "child" (pais), nor thus to "eye" oss. [8] In addition, it is impossible that a single syllable ends in two sigmas. [9] "Eye" (os) certainly not can be spelled with another sigma. For among the words ending in -os the duals end in omega. [10] Now one must say that "[a pair of] eyes" (osse) is not a masculine dual. [11] For the poet says: "his [two] eyes (osse) fell bloody (haimatoenta) to the ground by his feet" (Il. 13.616-7), not haimatoentes. [12] So one must understand a neuter nominative, and the [singular] will be ossos, just as fence (herkos), missile, (belos), city-wall teichos, and the plurals, according to Athenians, [are] herkē belē teichē, but according to Ionians, herkea belea teichea and clearly ossea.

[13] τῶν δὲ εἰς απληθυντικὸν τὰ δυϊκὰ οὐδέτερα εἰς ε̄ τελευτᾳ, οἶον ὅμματα ὅμματε, γράμματα γράμματε, καὶ Εὐριπίδης "οὐκ ὰν δύ' ἤστην ταὕτ' ἔχοντε γράμματα" (Hipp. 386), καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Πλούτῳ (454) "γρύζειν δὲ καὶ τολμᾶτον, ὧ καθάρματε". [14] σαφὲς οὖν ὅτι καὶ τείχεε λέξουσι δυϊκὰ καὶ ὄσσεε, εἶτα κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν ὅσσε ἐγένετο.

[12] τοὺς Ἰωνας \*FLe δὲ om. \*B<sup>A</sup> δυϊκὰ \*FLe\*B<sup>A</sup>: δυϊκὰ καὶ \*B [13] καὶ usque ad γράμματα om. \*B\*FLe δὲ καὶ B\*FLe et codd. Aristophanis: δὲ \*B<sup>A</sup> [14] εγένετο om. \*B<sup>A</sup>

Α 138-39 [1] διὰ τί δὲ συνεχῶς ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα διαπληκτίσεσιν Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσέως μνημονεύει καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν τιμῶν·

η τεὸν η Αἴαντος ἰὼν γέρας η Ὀδυσῆος

ἄξω έλών (Il. 1.138-39),

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφεξῆς, ὅτε δεῖ πέμψαι τὴν Χρυσηίδα, φησίν

[2] εἷς δέ τις ἀρχὸς ἀνὴρ βουληφόρος ἔστω,

η Αἴας η Ίδομενεύς η δῖος Όδυσσεύς

ηὲ σύ, Πηλείδη, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν (ΙΙ. 1.144-146);

[3] καὶ γὰρ ἀτιμάσειν ἀπειλῶν συγκαταλέγει Αἴαντα καὶ Ὀδυσσέα τῷ Ἁχιλλεῖ, καὶ ἀποστελεῖν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἐξ Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Ἁχιλλέως φησὶν ἕνα ἀποστελεῖν, [4] ὅτε μὲν ἀτιμάσειν ἀπειλεῖ, προθεὶς τὸν Ἁχιλλέα μετὰ ὕβρεως: "ἢ τεὸν ἢ Αἴαντος ἰὼν γέρας ἢ Ὀδυσῆος" (ΙΙ. 1.138): ὅτε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θύειν ἔδει ἀπελθόντα:

η Αἴας η Ίδομενεὺς η δῖος Όδυσσεὺς ηὲ σύ, Πηλείδη" (ΙΙ. 1.145-46).

[5] ⟨ἡ δὲ⟩ λύσις ὅτι οὖτοι ἐδόκουν μάλιστα φίλοι εἶναι Άχιλλέως. [6] διὸ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ αὐτὸς καταλέγων πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Άχιλλέα τούτους αἰρεῖται, καὶ Άχιλλεὺς εὐμενέστατα ὁρῷ ἐλθόντας τούτους καὶ δεξιοῦται αὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὸ προϋπάρχον φίλτρον·"οἵ μοι σκυζομένω παρ' Άχαιῶν φίλτατοί ἐστον" (Π. 9.198) καὶ "χαίρετον, ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον" (Π. 9.197). [7] συνατιμάζει οὖν τούτους καὶ συγκαταλέγει ὡς φίλους ὄντας τῷ Άχιλλεῖ τὰ μάλιστα.

Cf. *HQ* ept. ad *Il*. 1.138 fons: \*B f. 6<sup>V</sup>

[1] praemittit ἀ $^{\pi p'}$  \*B ΄ Όδυσῆος ω: Όδυσσῆος \*B [3] Άχιλλεῖ ω: ἀχιλεῖ \*B ἀποστελεῖν $^1$  \*: ἀποστελλειν $^1$  \*B ἀποστελεῖν $^2$  \*: ἀποστελλειν $^2$  \*B [4] ἀτιμάσειν \*: ἀτιμάσαι \*B ΄ Όδυσῆος ω: ὀδυσσῆος \*B [5] ⟨ή δὲ⟩ \*

[13] The neuter duals of the plurals ending in  $\bar{a}$  end in  $\bar{e}$ , for example, *ommata ommate*, *grammata grammate*, and Euripides: "there would not be two having (dy < o > ... echonte) the same letters", (*Hipp*. 386), and Aristophanes in *Wealth*, "you even have the nerve to grumble, you scum (*katharmate*)?" (454). [14] So it is clear that they will say *teichee* and *ossee* as duals, then it became *osse* by the removal [of a letter].

[1] Why, in his sparring with Achilles and his depriving him of honors, does A 138-39 Agamemnon consistently mention Ajax and Odysseus too:

either going to your prize of honor or [the one] of Ajax or Odysseus,

I shall take and lead her off (*Il.* 1.138-39),

and a bit further on, when he must send Chryseis, he says:

[2] may there be one council-bearing man to lead, either Ajax, Idomeneus, godly Odysseus,

or you, Peliades, most terrible of men (Il. 1.144-46)?

[3] For indeed, threatening that he would dishonor them, he names Ajax and Odysseus with Achilles, and promising to send an embassy to the god, he says that he is sending one of Ajax, Odysseus, and Achilles: when he threatens [4] to dishonor them, placing Achilles first in an insulting way: "either going to your prize of honor or [the one] of Ajax or Odysseus" (*Il.* 1.138); but when they had to go off and sacrifice on behalf of the Hellenes:

either Ajax, Idomeneus, godly Odysseus, or vou, Peliades (*Il.* 1.145-46).

[5] The solution is since these men seemed to be friends of Achilles most of all. [6] On this account, Nestor himself chooses them when he lists the ambassadors to Achilles, and Achilles sees them coming in a very kindly way, offers his right hand, and acknowledges their preexisting bond of affection: "you who are dearest of the Achaeans to me when I sulk" (*Il.* 9.198) and "Hail! Indeed, you are friends who arrive" (*Il.* 9.197). [7] So he names and dishonors them with Achilles since they are his friends most of all.

Α 169 [1] "φέρτερον" (*Il.* 1.169, 186, 281 etc.) τὸν κρείττω λέγει, "τὸν φέρειν ἱσχύοντα", ποιήσας τοὕνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ "φέρειν δύνασθαι μᾶλλον" τὰ προσπίπτοντα. [2] τούτου οὖν ἐν εἴδει ὁ ὁπλότερος ὁ "φέρειν μᾶλλον ὅπλον δυνάμενος". [3] ἀντιφερίζει δὲ ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας τῷ φέροντι ἀντιφέρων τὸ ἴσον (*Il.* 21.357, 488). [4] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἰσοφαρίζει (*Il.* 21.194) λέγει, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῶν φερόντων ἐναντία ὅπλα ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων· "ῆλικες ἰσοφόροι" (*Od.* 18.373). [5] ἀπὸ τοῦ φέρειν δὲ καὶ τὸ "ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε κρατερὸν μένος" (*Il.* 10.479), ὡς εἰ ἔλεγε τὸ "ὅπλον", καὶ "μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης" (*Il.* 3.64).

fontes: \*B f.  $139^R$ , \*F f.  $91^R 9$  (Π.), Le f.  $219^V$  (Π.) [1] είς τὸ "ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε κρατερὸν μένος" (*II.* 10.479) inc. \*FLe post λέγει ins. \*FLe ἤτοι [3] ἐναντία \*B: ἐναντ΄ \*F: ἐναντίον [5] ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ \*B \*F: ἀλλά σε δὴ Le

- Α 225 [1] διὰ τί ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς λοιδορησάμενος Ἀγαμέμνονι τρία ταῦτα, "οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὅμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο" (Π. 1.225), οὕτε τῷ οἰνοβαρεῖ ἐπιμένει οὕτε τῷ "κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο", ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τῷ "κυνὸς ὅμματ' ἔχων", ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιφέρων "ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε" (Π. 1.149), ποτὲ δὲ "ἀλλὰ σοί, ὧ μέγ' ἀναιδές, ἐσπόμεθα, ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης" (Π. 1.158), αὖθις δὲ "τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάω σοί τε, κυνῶπα" (Π. 1.159);
  - [2] ή δὲ λύσις ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία πρὸς τὸν Κάλχαντα, ἐνδειχθεισῶν τῶν τῆς ὀράσεως φλογώσεων· ἔφη γὰρ "ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐίκτην" (ΙΙ. 1.104). [3] τῆς γὰρ ἐμφανῶς πᾶσι γενομένης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μαρμαρυγῆς ἀναιδοῦς ἐχόμενον τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως πάθος συνεχῶς ἐπιφέρεται, εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν τούτου πρὸς τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια ὁρῶντας ὡς πρὸς μάρτυρας.
  - [4] Τσοκράτης μὲν οὖν τρία περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑπάρχειν ἀγαθὰ μαρτυρεῖ κοινὰ λέγων· "ὸς ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς Ελλησιν, ἐμπειρότατος δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων" (Panegyricus 142). [5] Όμηρος δὲ κατηγορῶν τὰς ἐναντίας ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταύταις κακίας τοῦ Ἁγαμέμνονος ἐνθεάζει. [6] ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν "οἰνοβαρῆ" πολλὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ὀνειδίζει—τί γὰρ ἐν μέθη ἐπιμελές;—ἐν δὲ τῷ "πάντων ἀναιδέστατον" τὴν ἀπιστίαν· [7] ἡ δὲ ἀνανδρία πάντων μέγιστον ἐμπόδιον εἰς ἡγεμονίαν.

Cf. Σ *Il*. 1.225b (Erbse)

fons: \*B f. 9<sup>V</sup>

[1] ἄμ' ante ἐσπόμεθα ω  $\,$  [5] ἐνθεάζει Janko: ἐκθειάζει \*B

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[1] He calls the stronger "more capable" (pherteron) (Il. 1.169, 186, 281 etc.). "one who has the strength to bear", having created the name from being more (-teron) able to bear (pher-) what befalls. [2] So by a type of this [formation] "younger" (hoploteros) [is] "one who is more [-teros] able to carry a weapon [hoplon]". [3] One who equally matches his opponent measures himself against (antipherizei) him, (Il. 21.357, 488). [4] To be equal to (isopharizei) means the same (Il. 21.194), i.e. from them bearing opposing weapons or from beasts of burden: "of the same age bearing equal weights" (helikes isophoroi) (Od. 18.373). [5] From "to bear" (pherein) is also "but come, bring forth (prophere) mighty force", as if he were saying "[bring forth] a weapon" and "please do not bring forward [i.e. cite] (prophere) the lovely gifts of Aphrodite [sc. as a reproach]" (*Il.* 3.64).

- [1] Why does Achilles, after using these three reproaches, "heavy with wine, A 225 with the eyes of a dog and a heart of a deer" (Il. 1.225), dwell on neither "heavy with wine" nor "heart of a deer", but very much on "with the eyes of a dog", at one time adding "clothed in shamelessness" (Il. 1.149), at another "we attend you, exceedingly shameless one, so that you may take delight" (Il. 1.158), and again "winning honor for Menelaus and you, dog-faced one" (Il. 1.158)?
- [2] The solution is from what had previously been said [by Agamemnon] to Calchas in the assembly, when the glare of his vision was pointed out. he said "his eyes looked like a shining fire" (Il. 1.104). [3] For Achilles' passion bursts forth continuously sticking to the gleam of his eyes, which had been plainly shameless to all, to reproach him to those who had seen the same kind of glares, as though to witnesses.
- [4] Now then Isocrates attests that there are three general virtues concerning a general, when he says: "[sc. Conon] who was the most careful of the generals, most loyal to the Hellenes, and most experienced in the dangers of war" (Panegyricus 142). [5] Condemning Agamemnon for the vices opposite to these virtues.<sup>2</sup> Homer is divinely inspired.<sup>3</sup> [6] For in saying "heavy with wine", he rebukes him for much neglect—for what is cared for in a state of drunkeness?—and in saying "most shameful of all", for his unreliability. [7] But cowardice is the greatest impediment with regard to leadership.

Cf. HO I 46.11-53.19.

Cf. HQ I 73.5: κατηγορεῖ δὲ [sc. ὁ ποιητής] τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἀγριότητος [sc. χόλος].

The MS reading, ἐκθειάζω, i.e. "worship", does not fit in the context. The sense is restored by the simplex θειάζω or the complex ἐνθεάζω. "to be inspired".

Α 225b [1] ζητοῦσι {δὲ} πότερον διὰ ὕβρεως ἐξηνέχθη ὁ Ἁχιλλεὺς ὀργιζόμενος εἰς τοιαύτας λοιδορίας· "οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὅμματ' ἔχων κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο" (Π. 1.225), ἢ ἀπὸ τίνος αἰτίας προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς εἰς τοιαῦτα ἐμπέπτωκεν. [2] οἰνοβαρῆ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν προήχθη εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται σπουδάζων περὶ πολλὴν οἴνου κτῆσιν. [3] μόνφ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Μενελάφ χίλια μέτρα οἴνου Εὕνεως πέμπει (Π. 7.470-71)· [4] ὅ τε Νέστωρ, ἐκ τῶν πραττομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδὼς τῆς τοῦ οἴνου συναγωγῆς, φησί·

πλεῖαί τοι οἴνου κλισίαι, τὸν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

ήμάτιαι Θρήκηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα πόντον ἄγουσιν (ΙΙ. 9.71-72):

[5] αὐτός τε ὁ Αγαμέμνων προτρεπόμενος ἐπὶ πόλεμον προφέρει ἣν φέρει τιμὴν διὰ τοῦ "σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας ἀεὶ | ἔστηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ πιέειν" (II. 4.262-63). [6] ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιστρεφέστερον ὀνειδίζων εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα πῆ μὲν λέγει "πῆ ἔβαν εὐχωλαί" (II. 8.229) καὶ ἐπάγει "πίνοντες κρατῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἴνοιο" (II. 8.232), καὶ πάλιν εἰκόνα λαμβάνων τὴν ἐκ τῶν συμποσίων "εἴπερ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν Άχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε" (II. 2.123) ὁρκωμόσια ποιησάμενοι. [7] εἶτα ἐπάγει·

Τρώων δ' αὖτε ἕκαστον έλοίμεθα οἰνοχοεύειν,

πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἰνοχόοιο (ΙΙ. 2.127-28).

[8] καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐν Ἅιδου ἀφηγεῖται ὡς "ἀμφὶ κρατῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας" (Od 11.419) ἀπώλετο. [9] τὸ δὲ "κυνὸς ὅμματ' ἔχων" ἐλέγομεν ὅτι, ἐξ ὧν εἶδεν, αὐτὸν ὀργιζόμενον·

όσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐίκτην

καὶ Κάλχαντα πρώτιστα κακ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπεν (Il. 1.104-5), "κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο" ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπίφορον εἶναι εἰς τὸ λέγειν "φεύγωμεν". [10] καὶ τρὶς ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι (Il. 2.140, 9.27, 14.75-76) φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο εἰρηκότα.

fontes: \*B f. 10<sup>R</sup>, Li f. 57<sup>R</sup>

[1] ἀπορία praemittit codd. {δὲ} \* ὕβρεως \*Β: ὕβριν Li [2] λύσις ante οἰνοβαρῆ codd. [6] κρατῆρας \*ΒLi: κρητῆρας ω [7] αὖτε \*ΒLi: ἄνδρα ω οἰνοχοεύειν \*Β: οἰνοχορεύειν Li [8] ἐν \*ΒLi: ἐξ ab alia, ut videtur, manu inter lineas postea addita Li

A 225b 23

[1] They inquire whether Achilles became angry and burst into insults like these, 4 "heavy with wine, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer" (*Il.* 1.225), because of insolence, or from what cause, provoked by anger, he fell into such [insults]. [2] Now, he was drawn to call him "heavy with wine" since [Agamemnon] was obviously zealous about a massive acquisition of wine: [3] Euneos sends 1,000 measures of wine to himself and Menelaus alone (*Il.* 7.470-71); [4] and knowing the size of his wine-collection from those who were taxed by him, Nestor says

your huts are full of wine, which the ships of the Achaeans bring daily from Thrace over the wide sea (*Il.* 9.71-72);

[5] and Agamemnon himself, giving an exhortation to war, brings up the privilege which he provides with the verse "your cup is always full just like mine to drink" (*Il.* 5.262-63). [6] Hence, reproaching in a more modulated way for such [vices], he says somewhere "where have the boasts gone" (*Il.* 8.229) and adds "when you were drinking mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine" (*Il.* 8.232), and again taking an image from the symposium: "Were we, Achaeans and Trojans, to consent" (*Il.* 2.123) to perform an oath-swearing ceremony. [7] Then he supplies:

and we each should choose a man from the Trojans to pour wine, many companies of ten would lack a libation pourer (*Il.* 2.127-28).

[8] And lastly, he explains in Hades about his death, that he perished "around a mixing bowl and full tables" (*Od.* 11.419). [9] But "having the eyes of a dog" (*Il.* 1.225), we were saying that [it was] from what [Achilles] saw,<sup>5</sup><namely> that he was angry:

his eyes looked like a shining fire

first looking he addressed Calchas with an evil look (*Il.* 1.104),<sup>6</sup> "having the heart of a deer" is from his propensity to say "let us flee". [10] He clearly says this three times in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 2.140, 9.27, 14.75-76).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For the omission of the article after a preposition, see Goulet-Cazé 1992, 90.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς γὰρ ἐμφανῶς πᾶσι γενομένης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μαρμαρυγῆς ἀναιδοῦς ἐχόμενον τὸ τοῦ Ἁχιλλέως πάθος συνεχῶς ἐπιφέρεται, εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν τούτου πρὸς τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια ὁρῶντας ὡς πρὸς μάρτυρας. For P.' s tendency to renew earlier topics of his discussion, cf. HQ I 9.15,122.7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. HO I 95.19-98.6, where -οσσ- in κακοσσόμενος means divine voice.

<sup>7</sup> In the last example, Agamemnon says "let us drag [the ships] ... to sea".

Α 287-9 [1] "ἀλλ' ὄδ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς μέχρι τοῦ "πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν" (ΙΙ. 1.287-9). [2] τί τὸ πολλάκις τὴν αὐτὴν κυκλοῦν διάνοιαν; [3] χαρακτηριστικόν ἐστιν ὀργῆς. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αχιλλέως ὀργιζομένου τὸ αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν·

[4] ἄλλοισι(ν) δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο· μὴ γὰρ ἔμοιγε σήμαιν'· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε τί σοι πείσεσθαι ὀίω (Π. 1.295-6).

[5] οἱ γὰρ ἐν ὀργῆ, κἂν πολλάκις εἴπωσί τι, οὕπω δοκοῦσιν ἱκανῶς εἰρηκέναι.

Cf. Σ *Il*. 1.287-89a (Erbse)

fontes: \*F f.  $10^{V}(\Pi_{\cdot})$ , Le f.  $11^{V}(\Pi_{\cdot})$ 

[1] είς τὸ ante ἀλλ΄ ὄδ΄ \*F [2] τὴν αὐτὴν κυκλοῦν Le: τὸ αὐτὸ διακυκλοῦν \*F [3] χαρακτηριστικόν \*F: χαρακτηρικόν Le

Α 340 [1] οι Πυθαγόρειοι, καθὰ θεῖον καὶ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὅλον τρίτον ἐτίθεντο, σεβάσμιον {τὸν} βασιλέα ἢ σοφὸν ἄνδρα, Ὁμήρου πρώτου μεταξὺ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων θέντος τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάλιν τὸν βασιλέα προτιμῶντα ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα. [2] καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τοιαῦτα λέγει·

τὼ δ' αὐτὼ μάρτυροι ἔστων

πρός τε θεῶν μακάρων πρός τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος (ΙΙ. 1.338-40).

Cf. Σ *Il*. 1.339-40a (Erbse)

fontes: \*B f.  $12^{R}$ , \*F f.  $11^{R}$  ( $\Pi$ .), Le f.  $14^{R}$  ( $\Pi$ .), Li f.  $59^{V}$  ( $\Pi$ .)

[1] οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι \*B\*F: οἱ Πυθαγόριοι Le: Πυθαγόρειοι Li καθὰ θεῖον \*: κατὰ θεὸν \*B\*FLiLe καὶ ἀνθρώπειον \*: κατὰ ἀνθρώπειον \*B\*FLi: κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώποιον Le: ⟨καὶ⟩ κατὰ ἀνθρώπειον Vill. {τὸν} del. Janko Όμήρου πρώτου \*B\*FLi: Όμήρου δὲ πρώτου Le θεῶν τε καὶ \*B\*FLi: θεῶν καὶ Le αὐτοῦ Le: αὐτοῦ \*B\*F: αὐτοὺς Li [2] καὶ περὶ \*BLi: περὶ \*FLe

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- [1] "But this man wishes to surpass all others" (Il. 1.287) and the rest up to "and to give orders to all" (Il. 1.289). [2] Why does he repeat the same thought many times? [3] It is characteristic of anger. 8 Therefore he has also represented the same symptom applied to Achilles' anger:
  - [4] give these commands to others; do not order me. For I do not think I shall obey you in any way (Il. 1.295-6).
- [5] For the enraged, even if they say something many times, still believe they have not said enough.9

[1] Just as [they posited] the divine and the human, the Pythagoreans posited a A 340 whole third stock, the venerable king or wise man, though Homer first placed the king in between gods and men and, moreover, represented the king as preferring the wise man to himself. [2] Concerning the king, he says such things as:

May these two themselves be witnesses in the name of the gods, in the name of mortal men and in the name of the king (Il. 1.338-40).

The Greek in the first two sentences after the quote is awkward. It would be explained if a scribe had tacked on the interrogative \(\tau\) to change a declarative statement, the standard opening in the zetemata of HQ I, into a question. This alteration would have necessitated that the predicate of the original sentence, "is a characteristic of the angered", be shifted back to become the solution to the makeshift ques-

Cf. Ps. Longin. De subl. 22, 1: ώς γὰρ οἱ τῷ ὄντι ὀργιζόμενοι ἢ φοβούμενοι ἢ άγανακτοῦντες ἢ ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας ἢ ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς ... ἑκάστοτε παραπίπτοντες άλλα προθέμενοι πολλάκις έπ" άλλα μεταπηδώσι, μέσα τινά παρεμβάλλοντες άλόγως, εἶτ" αὖθις ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀνακυκλοῦντες καὶ πάντη πρὸς τῆς ἀγωνίας, ὡς ύπ" ἀστάτου πνεύματος, τήδε κάκεῖσε ἀγγιστρόφως ἀντισπώμενοι τὰς λέξεις τὰς νοήσεις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν είρμοῦ παντοίως πρὸς μυρίας τροπὰς ἐναλλάττουσι τάξιν, οὕτως παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις συγγραφεῦσι διὰ τῶν ὑπερβατῶν ἡ μίμησις ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα φέρεται.

<sup>10</sup> On Homer as a proto-philosopher, see HQ I 53.7-10: καὶ οὐχὶ φιλόσοφοι πρῶτοι τὸ λευκὸν ἀφωρίσαντο τὸ διακριτικὸν ὄψεως, άλλὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν Όμηρος and HQ I 69.8-12: πρῶτος δοκεῖ Πλάτων λύπας ἡδοναῖς μιγνυμένας δεικνύναι ἐπ' ὀργαῖς καὶ πένθεσιν, Όμήρου πρότερον τουτὶ συνεωρακότος καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα διδάξαντος.

[3] τὸ δὲ "ἀπηνέος" (ΙΙ. 1.340) προσέθηκε διὰ τὴν ὀργήν. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ μεταπέμπεται Νέστορα σκοπούμενος περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄπεισιν·

ήδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή,

Νέστορ' ἔπι πρῶτον Νηλήιον ἐλθέμεν ἀνδρῶν (ΙΙ. 10.17-18).

- [5] παρ' Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἵπερ εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι, λόγος τοὺς βασιλέας ἀπαντῶντας προσκυνεῖν.
- [3] τὸ δὲ ἀπηνέος προσέθηκε διὰ τὴν ὀργήν \*BLi: προσέθηκε δὲ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τὸ ἀπηνέος \*FLe [4] μεταπέμπεται \*B\*FLe: μεταπέμπει Li σκοπούμενος \*FLe: σκοπούμενον \*BLi ἥδε \*B\*FLi: ἤδη Le [5] Ἰνδοῖς δὲ Janko: Ἰνδοῖς τε codd.
- Α 486 [1] "ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν" (Π. 1.486) ἐξηγοῦνται τὰ "ὑπερείσματα". [2] οὐκέτι δὲ πόθεν γέγονεν λέγουσιν. [3] ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ "ἐνεῖρθαι καὶ ἐρηρεῖσθαι" τῆ γῆ γέγονεν. [4] οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐλλόβια "ἔρματα" εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἐνεῖρθαι· "ἐν δ' ἄρα ἕρματα ἦκεν ἐυτρήτοισι λοβοῖσι" (Π. 14.182). [5] καὶ "ἑρμὶς" ὁ κλινόπους, {τὸ} οἶον "ἕρμα" καὶ ἐρηρεισμένον κατὰ τῆς γῆς.
  - [6] καὶ "ἡμεῖς δ' ἔρμα πόληος ἀπέκταμεν" (Od. 23.121), τὸ "ἔρεισμα καὶ θεμέλιον", ἐκ τοῦ ἐρηρεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἔρᾳ. [7] καὶ ὅρμος δὲ ὁ περιδέραιος κόσμος "χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων" (Od. 15.460). [8] εἶτ' ἐτυμολογεῖ· "μετὰ δ' ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο" (Od. 15.460).

fontes: \*B f.  $16^R$ , \*F f.  $13^R$  (Π.), Le f.  $19^R$  (Π.), Li f.  $62^V$  [2] οὐκέτι δὲ πόθεν γέγονεν λέγουσιν \*F: om. cett. [3] ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἐν. καὶ ἐρ. τῆ γῆ γέγ. \*FLe: γέγ. γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν. καὶ ἐρ. τῆ γῆ \*BLi [4] τὰ ἐλλόβια \*B\*FLi: ἐλλόβια Le ἕρματα \*BLiLe: ἕρματα \*F ἄρα \*BLe\*F: ἄρα δ' Li ἕρματα \*BLiLe: ἕρματα \*F [5] ἑρμὶς \*BLe: ἐρμὶς \*F: ἕρμα Li τὸ del. Janko ἕρμα \*BLiLe: ἔρμα \*F τῆς γῆς \*BLi: γῆς \*FLe [6] ἕρμα \*BLiLe: ἔρμα \*F πόληος \*B\*FLi: πόλιος Le post ἀπέκταμεν abiud. Kamm. [7] ὅρμος \*BLi: ὅρμος \*F: ἕρμα Le περιδέραιος \*B\*FLi: περιδόραιος Le ὅρμον \*B\*FLi: ἔρμα Le [8] δ' ἡλέκτροισιν \*BLe: δὴ λέκτροισι \*FLi ἕερτο \*B\*FLi: ἔορτο Le