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

# TEXTE UND KOMMENTARE 

Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Siegmar Döpp, Adolf Köhnken, Ruth Scodel

Band 36

De Gruyter

# Porphyry's <br> Homeric Questions <br> on the Iliad <br> Text, Translation, Commentary 

by
John A. MacPhail Jr.

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-019543-9
e-ISBN 978-3-11-021680-6
ISSN 0563-3087

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

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Porphyry, ca. 234-ca. 305.
    [Questiones Homericae. English & Greek]
    Porphyry's Homeric questions on the Iliad : text, translation, commentary /
by John A. MacPhail Jr.
    p. cm. -- (Texte und kommentare. Eine altertumswissenschaftliche reihe ; bd. 36)
    Text in ancient Greek with facing English translation, and commentaries in English.
    Includes bibliographical references and index.
    ISBN 978-3-11-019543-9 (hardcover: alk. paper)
    1. Homer. Iliad. 2. Homer--Criticism, Textual. 3. Porphyry, ca. 234-ca. 305.
Questiones Homericae. I. MacPhail, John A., 1970- II. Title.
    PA4035.P7Q47132010
    883'.01--dc22
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Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

© 2011 Walter de Gruyter GmbH \& Co. KG, Berlin/New York<br>Typesetting: Michael Peschke, Berlin<br>Printing: Hubert \& Co. GmbH \& Co. KG, Göttingen<br>$\infty$ Printed on acid-free paper<br>Printed in Germany<br>www.degruyter.com

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## Introduction

## The Life of Porphyry

What little we know about the life of Porphyry is what he says about himself. ${ }^{1}$ Porphyry was born in Tyre in $234 \mathrm{CE} .{ }^{2}$ He spent his early adulthood in Athens, where he studied with the grammarian Apollonius, ${ }^{3}$ the mathematician Demetrius, ${ }^{4}$ the rhetorician Minucianus, ${ }^{5}$ and the preeminent critic of his age, Cassius Longinus. ${ }^{6}$ 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. ${ }^{8}$ After five and half years ${ }^{9}$ he become severely depressed and went to Sicily at the urging of Plotinus. ${ }^{10}$ Eunapius insinuates that his depression

1 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",
 notes that much of Bidez' biography is based on probable assumptions rather than certain facts.
 ôv $\tau \circ \tau \varepsilon ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̇ \tau \omega ̃ v ~ \tau \rho ı \alpha ́ к о v \tau \alpha ~(V i t a ~ P l o t i n i ~ 4.1-9) . ~ П о р \varphi u ́ \rho ı o v ~ T u ́ p ı o v ~ o ̋ v \tau \alpha ~(P l o t . ~ 7.49-~$ 50).

 15).

5 See Heath 1996, 69-70 and 2003, 143.
 Cassius Longinus is the author of De sublimitate.


8 See Goulet 1982a, 210f and Smith 1987, 719 n. 3.




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

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". ${ }^{15}$ 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. ${ }^{16}$

The Homeric Questions belongs to a genre that defends Homer against the criticism of detractors. The questions ( $\zeta \eta \tau \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha, \pi \rho o \beta \lambda \eta \dot{\mu} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, $\left.\dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \rho i^{\alpha} \alpha\right)$ 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". ${ }^{17}$ In chapter 25 of the Poetics ${ }^{18}$ Aristotle outlines five types of criticism and twelve types of solution ( $\lambda$ v́бıs) that formed the theoretical basis of his six lost books of Homeric Problems. ${ }^{19}$ Although Aristotle does not mention allegory per se, Porphyry says this type of defense originated "from Theagenes of Rhegium, who first wrote
 11.11-16).

11 In the first sentence of Porphyry's biography of Plotinus, he says "he looked like
 (Plot. 1.1-2).
 غ̇цíбךбєv (Eunap. Vit. Soph. 4.7).
13 See the Letter to Marcella 4.



16 Lamberton 1986, 110.
17 See Friedländer 1895. Porphyry says that Zoilus "wrote against Homer for training, as rhetoricians were accustomed to practice on poets" (HQ K 274.1).
18 See Carroll 1895 and Rosenmeyer 1973, 231-52.
19 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. ${ }^{21}$ 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, ${ }^{22}$ Porphyry cites the Aristarchan maxim that "Homer explains himself", ${ }^{23}$ adding that "many [subtleties] of speech are not recognized and escape the notice of the majority". ${ }^{24}$ 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. 18.50934); ${ }^{25}$ the other is the movement of the fish that Achilles says will eat the

 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.
21 Vaticanus 305 ( $14^{\text {th }}$ BCE). The Homeric Questions are written on ff. $171^{\mathrm{r}}-184^{\mathrm{V}}$ with the heading "Book One of the Homeric Questions of the Philosopher Porphyry". The codex also contains Nicanor's Theriaca (ff. 139r-170v), roughly half of Heraclitus Rhetor's allegorical Homeric Questions (ff. 184 ${ }^{\mathrm{V}}$ to $190^{\mathrm{r}}$ ), and Porphyry's On the Cave of the Nymphs (ff. 190r-208 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ).
22 For Anatolius, see Eunapius (Vit. Soph 5.1.2).
23 av̉тòs $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} v \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha v \tau o ̀ v \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi 0 \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha}$ "O $\mu \eta \rho \circ \varsigma \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \eta \gamma \gamma \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha \alpha$ (HQ I 1.12-13). Although there is no proof that Aristarchus said this dictum, the idea is uncontestably Aristarchan: ó



 Il. 5. 385). In this connection it is interesting to note that Porphyry says Aristarchus "excuses his interpretation from Homer", $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \mu v \theta \varepsilon \tau \tau \alpha ı ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \dot{\varepsilon} \xi{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{O} \mu \eta \rho \rho 0 v(H Q \mathrm{M}$ 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.
 30).
$25 H Q$ I 25.25-35.6.
corpse of Lycaon (II. 21.122-27). ${ }^{26}$ The dictum that "Homer explains himself" recurs through the book. ${ }^{27}$ Porphyry notes in particular that "sometimes Homer explains himself immediately ( $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \varepsilon v \omega \varsigma)$, but at other times elsewhere ( $\dot{\varepsilon} v \alpha \ddot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o t \varsigma){ }^{\prime 2}$. 28 When showing that Homer has supplied an explanation, his verb of choice is $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \alpha \dot{\gamma} \gamma \varepsilon{ }^{2}{ }^{29}$ The preposition $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \dot{i}$ and the genitive, "with reference to $x$ ", is the usual way that Porphyry indicates the person or thing to which he refers. ${ }^{30}$ Often the participle "saying" ( $\lambda \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \omega v$ or $\varepsilon i \pi \omega ́ v)$ precedes quotations. ${ }^{31}$

The first sentence of each zētèma 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). ${ }^{32}$
Q. 4: One shouldn't get annoyed if some of the Homeric [subtlies] 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 ( $H Q$ 15.7-14). ${ }^{33}$

26 HQ I 39.17-46.10.



 (HQ I 132.8-9).
 $\ddot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ ors (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.

29 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.
$30 H Q$ 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.
$31 \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \omega v: H Q$ I: $3.5,4.7,15.22,16.22,70.16,70.21,75.14,98.9,98.13,132.14$, 132.22. દícóv: $H Q$ I: $12.19,13.17,21.13,22.15,23.14,25.13,30.17,33.15,49.5$, $52.16,62.9,62.11,74.17,77.18,80.15,81.18,93.22,98.11,126.4,132.10$,
 ג̀кои́عıv à گ̌๐ṽбıv (HQ 12.10-12).


Q. 14: Ridiculously Apion explained hippokorystas as those who have helmets adorned with horsehair. ${ }^{34}$
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 131.14132.10). ${ }^{35}$

The beginning of a question sometimes alludes to the conversations with Anatolius from which the book developed. ${ }^{36}$ E.g.:
Q. 1: We were inquiring into the sense of this. ${ }^{37}$
Q. 5: Reading this you were puzzled. ${ }^{38}$
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. ${ }^{39}$
Q. 11: Seeing fit to elucidate Homer from Homer, I was pointing out. ${ }^{40}$

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
 $\dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \alpha \tau \rho о \chi i ́ \alpha$, , $̄ v$ ह̈ $\chi \varepsilon 1 \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \chi \omega \rho i \varsigma ~ \tau о v ̃ ~ \rho ~ \lambda \varepsilon \gamma о \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta v ~ \dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha \tau \rho о \chi i ́ \alpha v . ~$
 кєкоб $\mu \eta$ и́vац (HQ I 83.16-84.3).




 (HQ 1.9-11).






 20.13-15).
comparison, but in many [he does] the reverse. For proof of this let these [examples] be cited. ${ }^{42}$
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). ${ }^{43}$
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 $\eta \tau \eta \dot{\mu} \alpha \tau \alpha) .{ }^{47}$

## 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. ${ }^{49}$ The rest diverge from Book One in the following ways:

[^0]i. The focus is not narrowly philological but encompasses any type of question. ${ }^{50}$
ii. The first sentence of the extract is a direct question, usually beginning with $\delta i \grave{\alpha} \tau i{ }^{51}{ }^{51}$
iii. The problem is phrased "it is illogical" ( $\alpha \lambda \mathrm{o} \gamma \mathrm{ov}$ ), ${ }^{52}$ "impossible" ( $\alpha \delta v ́ v \alpha \tau o v),{ }^{53}$ unfitting $(\dot{\alpha} \pi \rho \varepsilon \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon \varsigma),{ }^{54}$ "contrary" (Ėvavtíov), ${ }^{55}$ or "it conflicts" ( $\left.\mu \alpha ́ \chi \varepsilon \tau \alpha u\right) .{ }^{56}$
iv. The solution begins "one most say that" ( $\dot{\rho} \eta \tau \varepsilon \in \delta v \delta \grave{\varepsilon}$ ő $\tau) .{ }^{57}$
v. The question is solved from diction ( $\left.\lambda v \varepsilon^{\varepsilon} \tau \alpha 1 \delta^{\prime} \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \tau \eta{ }_{\tau} \varsigma \lambda \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \varepsilon \omega \varsigma\right)$,
 from character (غ̇к 兀ои̃ $\pi \rho о \sigma \dot{́} \pi \circ v)^{.58} \ldots$
vi. Porphyry cites anonymous sources: some say x , others y , others z etc. (oi $\mu \varepsilon ́ v \varphi \alpha \sigma \iota v \ldots$ oi $\delta \grave{\varepsilon} \ldots$ oi $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ vel sim.). ${ }^{59}$
vii. After rehearsing the solutions in his sources, Porphyry suggests his own by saying "perhaps ..." $(\mu \eta \dot{\tau} \sigma \tau \varepsilon) .{ }^{60}$
 358-603, N 443, N 824, О 128, П 67-8, П 161-2, Р 143, Р 608, Т 108, Т 389, Ф 563, X 431, $\Omega 22, \Omega 117, \Omega 221, \Omega 221 \mathrm{~b}$.
50 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" ( $H Q \mathrm{~K}$ 252-3.1-3).
51 E.g. А 225.1, А 524.1, В 73.1, В 257-77.1, В 370-74.1, В 478.1, В 649.1, Г 281.1, Г 306.1, Г 441.1 etc.
52 Ept. A 138.1; ept. A 420.1; ept. В 73.1; ept. Г 369.2; ept. K 194.1; M 25.2; ept. M 25.1 etc.

53 Еpt. Г 144; Г 379.2; ept. $\Delta 491.2$; ept. H 8-10.1; E 7.1; ept. N 3.1; ept. K 11.1; ept. K 447.1; ept. N 3.1.
54 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.

55 A 3.1; ept. $\Xi 434.1$.
56 E 576.1; ept. Y 329.
57 A 524.2, B 370.3 , B 478.3, © 322-29.3, I 382.4, M $25.3, ~ \Xi 238$, X 71.2 .
 121.3; ept. Г 144.3; ept. E 576.2 גv́бıs غ̇к то̃̃ हैӨou̧: В 12.4; Г 379.3; $\Delta$ 297.3; ept.

 M 25.4; ept. $\Psi$ 71.4. Several can be applied to the same question: ept. B 12.2-4; ept. $\Delta$ 297.3-4; E 7.3-4; ept. I 203.2-3; Y 232-5.2-5.
59 Ерt. Г 121.3; $\Delta$ 297.6-7; Z 113.2-4; ept. M 25.2-4; Y 67-75.8-9.
$60 \mu \eta\{\pi о \tau \varepsilon:$ B 649.7; Z 200.3; M 127.9; $\Xi 200.37$; $\Xi$ 304.10; T 221.17. Cf. E 576.5 ( $\tau \alpha \mathfrak{\alpha} \chi \alpha$ ) and ept. I 203.4 (îซ $\omega \varsigma$ ).

Six extracts on the Iliad Book are identical in style to Book One but for one exception in each. ${ }^{61}$ 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, ${ }^{62}$ followed by Leidensis Graecus 64 and Lipsiensis Graecus $32 .{ }^{63}$

The Venetian manuscript (B) ( $11^{\text {th }} \mathrm{CE}$ ), formerly called Marcianus Graecus 453, contains 338 folios, each $40.5 \times 31.5 \mathrm{~cm} .{ }^{64}$ Folios $68-9$ (Il. 5.259-355) and 145 (Il. 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 $1\left(\alpha^{\prime}\right), 2\left(\beta^{\prime}\right), 3\left(\gamma^{\prime}\right)$ etc. indicating the verse to which it refers. The first line of poetry on every verso is counted 1 $\left(\alpha^{\prime}\right)$, the second $2\left(\beta^{\prime}\right)$, the third $3\left(\gamma^{\prime}\right)$, and so on until the last line of verse on the recto, which is $24\left(\kappa \delta^{\prime}\right), 40\left(\mu^{\prime}\right)$, or $48\left(\mu \theta^{\prime}\right)$. A more recent hand $(* B)$, assigned to the $12^{\text {th }} / 13^{\text {th }} \mathrm{CE}$, filled up empty marginal space with scholia minora $\left(=\Sigma^{\mathrm{D}}\right)$, glosses from lexica and the Epimerismi Homerici, and excerpts from Porphyry's Homeric Questions 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 preceeded by symbol in red ink (**B).

61 In $\Xi 200.1$ the first sentence is a direct question. In M 10-12.13, M 127-32.9, and in T 221-4 $\mu \dot{\eta} \pi 0 \tau \varepsilon$ precedes Porphyry's suggestion. At Y 259-72 Porphyry cites anonymous sources. At X 71.2 he says $\dot{\rho} \eta \tau \varepsilon ́ \sigma$ v.
62 West (1998, xi, lix) changed the siglum of this manuscript from $E^{4}$ to $F$.
63 Seen on microfilm.
64 See Dindorf 1877, i-xvi; Schrader 1880, iii-vi; Allen 1931, 11-12; Erbse 1969, xvii-xviii; West 1998, xi.
65 See Erbse 1960, 26-28.
66 Cf. Schrader 1880, 357.

Escurialensis 509 ( $\Omega$ I 12, F) is an $11^{\text {th }}$ CE manuscript of 216 folios, each $35.3 \times 31.5 \mathrm{~cm} .{ }^{67}$ 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 $\left({ }^{*} \mathrm{~F}\right)$ copied scholia minora ( $\Sigma^{\mathrm{D}}$ ), signalled by asterisks, circles, and diplai. A contemporaneous hand copied exegetical scholia ( $\Sigma^{\mathrm{bT}}$ ) and excerpts from the Homeric Questions in the margins. I have renamed the second hand *F to be analogous with $* \mathrm{~B}$, who copied excerpts of the $H Q$ in B 's margins. Unlike the Venetian manuscript, *F indicates the source "of Porphyry" (Поррирíov $=\Pi$.) before every fragment, along with an asterisk or other symbol, which is usually followed by the prepositional phrase cis tó 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 $64(\mathrm{Le})$ is a $15^{\text {th }}$ century manuscript with 492 folios, each $28 \times 21 \mathrm{~cm}$. 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 $* \mathrm{~F}$ against $* \mathrm{BLi}$ but corrects diacritical errors in the earlier manuscript.

Lipsiensis Graecus 32 (Li) contains 339 folios, each measuring 33.5 x $23 \mathrm{~cm} .{ }^{68}$ On folios $1-50$ a hand assigned to the $15^{\text {th }}$ 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 $14^{\text {th }}$ 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 $15^{\text {th }}$ 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 $\Sigma \varepsilon v \alpha \chi \eta \rho(\varepsilon){ }^{\prime} \mu .{ }^{69}$

67 See Erbse 1969, xx-xxi; Severyns, 1953, 41-43; Allen 1931, 16-17; Bethe 1893, 355-79; Ludwich 1889, 130.
68 See Valkenaer 1807-09, 1-151.
69 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 $(\mathbf{L e}) .{ }^{70}$ He divided the extracts in two general categories, [i] problems and solutions ( $\dot{\alpha} \pi о \rho i ́ \alpha ı ~ \tau \varepsilon ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \lambda v ́ \sigma \varepsilon ı \varsigma) ~ a n d ~[i i] ~ e x-~$ planations ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \eta \gamma \dot{\eta} \varepsilon 1 \zeta)$ of words and passages. ${ }^{71}$ Concerning the transmission of the text, Valckenaer postulated that one continuous manuscript preserved Porphyry's allegorical works on Homer and $H Q$ I, which he thought someone had reconstituted from the extracts. ${ }^{72}$ According to his theory the same person forged the preface of $H Q \mathrm{I}$. ${ }^{73}$

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.

70 See Valckenaer 1807-09, 95-152. Also see Noehden's dissertation De Porphyrii scholiis in Homerum (Göttingen 1797).
71 ibid. 142-45.
72 ibid. 145-46: credere malui serie continua codicem ista [sc. Homerica] subministrasse.
73 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. ${ }^{74}$ Gildersleeve collated the text of $H Q$ I with the extracts. ${ }^{75}$ He reassigned certain excerpts to other titles ascribed to Porphyry, namely On the Names Omitted by the Poet, ${ }^{76}$ On Divine Names, ${ }^{77}$ On the Benefit for Kings from Homer, ${ }^{78}$ and On Images of Gods. ${ }^{79}$ Gildersleeve's last chapter turns to the allegorical Homeric Questions by Heraclitus Rhetor ${ }^{80}$ and the Plutarchean Life of Homer, which Rudolph Schmidt had assigned to Porphyry. ${ }^{81}$

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 $H Q$ 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 aliquo 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. ${ }^{85}$

74 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.
75 ibid. 10-13.
76 Пєрі̀ $\tau \tilde{\omega} v \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \mu \mu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega v \tau \tilde{̃} \pi о \llbracket \tau \tilde{n}$ ỏvo $\mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega v . . . ;$ see $\Sigma^{\mathrm{D}}$ ad Il. 3.250.
77 Пєрì $\theta \varepsilon i ́ \omega v$ òvouá $\tau \omega v$, see Suda s.v. Пор甲úpıos.

79 Пєрі̀ $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \lambda \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega v$, ed. Bidez 1913.
80 See Buffière 1956 and Russell 2003.
81 On the Plutarchean Life of Homer, see Hillgruber 1994; Keaney and Lamberton 1996.

82 Schrader 1880,
83 See Schrader 1890, 139.
84 ibid. iv.
85 See Schrader 1879, 231-52.

Erbese showed that Schrader had overestimated the debt of the bT scholia to Porphyry. ${ }^{86}$ Following Gildersleeve, Erbse argued that Vaticanus 305 preserved $H Q$ 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 $\dot{\varepsilon} v \tau \varrho ๊ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ \tilde{\imath} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \mu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \nu \tau \varrho$
 $\zeta \eta \tau \eta \mu \alpha \tau 1]) .{ }^{87}$ 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. ${ }^{88}$ Commenting 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, ${ }^{89}$ Porphyry's sources, ${ }^{90}$ and the Aristotelian concepts of "the impossible" ( $\tau$ ò ódv́vatov) and "the illogical" (ò $\left.\alpha \alpha^{\prime} \sigma^{\circ} \sigma v\right) .{ }^{91}$ 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. ${ }^{92}$

It remains to thank the following people: Sabine Vogt, Robert Renehan, Benjamin Acosta-Hughes, Ruth Scodel, Richard Janko, Mira Seo, Netta Berlin, Laura Russello, and Todd Marcus.

[^1]
## 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 $6^{\text {th }}$ |
| Vict． | Victorianus |  | edn．（Berlin 1961） |
| $\stackrel{\text { f．}}{\text { R }}$ | folio | FGrH | Fragmenteder griechi－ |
| R | recto |  | schen Historiker，ed．F． |
| $\checkmark$ | verso |  | Jacoby（Berlin 1923－）． |
| П． | Порфирі́ои | GP | J．D．Denniston，The |
| $\Sigma$ | scholia |  | Greek Particles， $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn． |
| 〈＞ | addenda videntur |  | （Oxford 1954） |
| \｛\} | interpolata videntur | K－A | Poetae Comici Graeci， |
| $\dagger$ | corrupta videntur |  | ed．R．Kassel and C． |
| 〈＊＊＊〉 | 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， $9^{\text {th }}$ |
| 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






 ＂＇Аїठı $\pi \rho о$ ö́ $\alpha \psi \varepsilon v "(I l .1 .3)\langle * * *\rangle$

Cf．$\Sigma$ Il．1．3c（Erbse）
fons：＊B f． $1^{\mathrm{R}}$（П．）

 ［3］〈то⿱̃兀 غ̇лદ́ $\mu \psi \varepsilon\rangle$ Schr．［4］detritissimus fit textus．legit autem Schr．：o $\tau \varepsilon \rho \alpha \mu \varepsilon v(?) \mid$
 $\pi \alpha ́ \theta o \varsigma ~ \omega ̈ \sigma \tau \varepsilon|\nu \eta ̃ \varepsilon \varsigma ~ . . . ~ \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho| \pi \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \varsigma \mid \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon$

A 104 ［1］$\pi \rho о \varepsilon \beta \lambda \eta ́ \theta \eta \pi$ oíov $\gamma \varepsilon ́ v o v \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ " o ̋ \sigma \sigma \varepsilon " ~(I l . ~ 1.104, ~ 200 ~ e t c). ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau i ́ \varsigma ~ \grave{\eta} \dot{\varepsilon} v ı \kappa \eta ̀ ~$












 $\alpha i \mu \alpha \tau o ́ \varepsilon v \tau \alpha \chi \alpha \mu \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \varepsilon ́ \sigma o v " ~(I l . ~ 13.616-7), ~ o v ̉ \chi ~ \alpha i \mu \alpha \tau o ́ \varepsilon v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma . ~[12] ~ o v ̉ \delta \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha v ~$
 $\pi \lambda \eta \theta \nu v \tau \iota \kappa o ̀ v ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ A ~ A \eta \nu \alpha i ́ o u s ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \varepsilon ̌ \rho \kappa \eta ~ \beta \varepsilon ́ \lambda \eta ~ \tau \varepsilon i ́ \chi \eta, ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ \tau о u ̀ \varsigma ~ " I ~ \omega v \alpha \varsigma ~$

fontes：＊B f． $148^{\vee}, 5^{\mathrm{R}}$（inc．a［10］$=$＊B $^{\mathrm{A}}$ ），＊F f． $97^{\mathrm{V}}$（П．），Le f． $235^{\mathrm{V}}$（П．）



 غ́tépov c̄Le：$\dot{\varepsilon} \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho o u c c ~ * B * F ~[10] ~ \tau o ̀ ~ o ̋ \sigma \sigma \varepsilon ~ B e k k .: ~ \tau \omega ̀ ~ o ̋ ~ б \sigma \varepsilon ~ c o d d . ~ \alpha i \mu \alpha \tau o ́ \varepsilon v \tau \alpha ~$

[1] "He sent forth (prö̈apsen) many mighty souls of men to Hades" (Il. 1.3) seems contradictory to "I say that no one has escaped his destiny" (Il. 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 singular were [the questions] put forward. [2] Now then, some claimed, just as singular "beast" (therr) 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" (the$r$ ) and to "goose" (chenn), 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.



 $\lambda \varepsilon ́ \xi$ оvбı $\delta v і ̈ \kappa \alpha ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ o ̋ \sigma \sigma \varepsilon \varepsilon, ~ \varepsilon і ̃ \tau \alpha ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \alpha ̀ \varphi \alpha i ́ \rho \varepsilon \sigma ı v ~ o ̋ \sigma \sigma \varepsilon ~ \varepsilon ̇ \gamma \varepsilon ́ v \varepsilon \tau о . ~$
 ad $\gamma \rho \alpha ́ \mu \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ om. *B*FLe $\quad \delta \grave{\varepsilon}$ к $\alpha \grave{~ B * F L e ~ e t ~ c o d d . ~ A r i s t o p h a n i s: ~} \delta \grave{\varepsilon} * \mathrm{~B}^{\mathrm{A}} \quad$ [14] غ่̇ $\varepsilon$ ह́vยтo om. *B ${ }^{\mathrm{A}}$



व̋ ${ }^{\prime} \omega$ غ́ $\lambda \omega ́ v$ (Il. 1.138-39),



$\eta$ ŋ̀ $\sigma ט ́, ~ П \eta \lambda \varepsilon i ́ \delta \eta, \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega v ~ \varepsilon ̇ \kappa \pi \alpha \gamma \lambda o ́ \tau \alpha \tau ’ ~ \alpha ̀ v \delta \rho \tilde{\omega} v$ (Il. 1.144-146);






$\eta$ ŋ̀ $\sigma$ v́, Пך $\lambda \varepsilon i ́ \delta \eta " ~(I l . ~ 1.145-46) . ~$
 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ o ́ ~ N \varepsilon ́ \sigma \tau \omega \rho ~ \alpha v ̉ \tau o ̀ \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \omega v ~ \pi \rho \varepsilon \sigma \beta \varepsilon v \tau \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~ \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ ' A \chi ı \lambda \lambda \varepsilon ́ \alpha ~ \tau о v ́ \tau o v \varsigma ~$



 А $\chi \downarrow \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \tau ̃ \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \alpha ́ \lambda 1 \sigma \tau \alpha$.

Cf. $H Q$ ept. ad $I l .1 .138$
fons: *B f. $6^{V}$



[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 ( $d y<o>\ldots$ 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 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 you, 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.

A 169 [1] " $\varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \tau \varepsilon \rho o v " ~(I l .1 .169,186,281 ~ e t c). ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \kappa \rho \varepsilon i ́ t \tau \omega ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon ı, ~ " \tau o ̀ v ~ \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \varepsilon ı v ~$






 סॉ̃ $\rho^{\prime} \varepsilon ่ \rho \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \rho o ́ \varphi \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon ~ \chi \rho v \sigma \tilde{\varsigma ~ ’ А \varphi \rho о \delta i ́ \tau \eta \zeta " ~(I l . ~ 3.64) . ~}$
fontes: *B f. $139^{\mathrm{R}},{ }^{*}$ F f. $91^{\mathrm{R}} 9$ (П.), Le f. $219^{\mathrm{V}}$ (П.)

 $\sigma \varepsilon \delta \grave{\eta} \mathrm{Le}$

A 225 [1] $\delta 1 \dot{\alpha} \tau i ́$ ó A $\chi \downarrow \lambda \lambda \varepsilon v ̀ \varsigma ~ \lambda o t \delta o \rho \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \varepsilon v o \varsigma ~ ’ A \gamma \alpha \mu \varepsilon ́ \mu v o v ı ~ \tau \rho i ́ \alpha ~ \tau \alpha v ̃ \tau \alpha, ~ " o i v o \beta \alpha \rho \varepsilon ́ \varsigma, ~$









 $\pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \mu \alpha ́ \rho \tau \nu \rho а \varsigma . ~$

 "E $\lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota v, ~ \dot{\varepsilon} \mu \pi \varepsilon \imath \rho o ́ \tau \alpha \tau \circ \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \tau \tilde{v} v \pi \rho o ̀ ̧ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \varepsilon \mu \circ \vee ~ \kappa ı v \delta u ́ v \omega v " ~(P a n e g y r i c u s ~$



 عìs $\dot{\eta} \gamma \varepsilon \mu$ оví $\alpha$ v.

Cf. $\Sigma$ Il. 1.225b (Erbse)
fons: *B f. $9^{V}$

[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, 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: ${ }^{1}$ 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, ${ }^{2}$ Homer is divinely inspired. ${ }^{3}$ [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.

[^2]






$\pi \lambda \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha i ́ ~ t o t ~ o i ̂ v o u ~ \kappa \lambda 1 \sigma i ́ \alpha 1, ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ v \tilde{\eta} \varepsilon \varsigma ~ A \chi \alpha \ldots \check{v} v$










 $\kappa \rho \alpha \tau \eta ̃ \rho \alpha \tau \rho \alpha \pi \varepsilon ́ \zeta \alpha \varsigma ~ \tau \varepsilon \pi \lambda \eta \theta о v ́ \sigma \alpha \varsigma "$ (Od 11.419) $\dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{\omega} \lambda \varepsilon \tau о$. [9] tò $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ "кvvòs






fontes: *B f. $10^{\text {R }}$, Li f. $57^{\mathrm{R}}$

 oivo ópev́cıv $\mathrm{Li} \quad[8] \dot{\varepsilon} v * B L i: ~ \dot{\varepsilon} \xi$ ab alia, ut videtur, manu inter lineas postea addita Li
[1] They inquire whether Achilles became angry and burst into insults like these, "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, ${ }^{5}<$ namely> that he was angry:
his eyes looked like a shining fire
first looking he addressed Calchas with an evil look (Il. 1.104), ${ }^{6}$
"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). ${ }^{7}$

[^3] тоṽ " $\pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \iota$ סغ̀ $\sigma \eta \mu \alpha i ́ v \varepsilon เ v " ~(I l . ~ 1.287-9) . ~[2] ~ \tau i ́ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \kappa ı \varsigma ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \alpha v ̉ \tau \eta ̀ v ~$




 єịŋЋкє́vaı.

Cf. $\Sigma$ Il. 1.287-89a (Erbse)
fontes: *F f. $10^{\mathrm{V}}$ (П.), Le f. $11^{\mathrm{V}}$ (П.)
 $\chi \alpha \rho \alpha к \tau \eta \rho \iota \sigma \tau ı к о ́ v ~ * F: ~ \chi \alpha \rho \alpha к \tau \eta \rho ı к о ́ v ~ L e ~$





$\tau \omega ̀ \delta^{\prime} \alpha v ̉ \tau \omega ̀ \mu \alpha ́ \rho \tau v \rho o t ~ \varepsilon ̌ \sigma \tau \omega v$
$\pi \rho o ́ \varsigma ~ \tau \varepsilon ~ \theta \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} v \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha ́ \rho \omega v \pi \rho o ́ \varsigma \tau \varepsilon \theta v \eta \tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\alpha} v \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega v$

Cf. $\Sigma$ Il. 1.339-40a (Erbse)






[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 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. ${ }^{10}$ [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).

8 The Greek in the first two sentences after the quote is awkward. It would be explained if a scribe had tacked on the interrogative $\tau$ í 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 question.






 $\tau \tilde{ŋ} \varsigma \varphi v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \varsigma$ ह̌p $\gamma \alpha \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \varepsilon \tau \alpha$.
10 On Homer as a proto-philosopher, see HQ I 53.7-10: кגì oủxì $\varphi$ i入óбочoı $\pi \rho \tilde{\sim} \tau 0$ tò


 $\delta ı \delta \dot{a} \xi \alpha v \tau 0 \varsigma$.
 $\beta \alpha \sigma ı \lambda \varepsilon v ̀ \varsigma ~ o v ̉ ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \pi \varepsilon ́ \mu \pi \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ N \varepsilon ́ \sigma \tau о \rho \alpha ~ \sigma \kappa о \pi о и ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \tilde{v} \sigma \cup \mu \varphi \varepsilon \rho o ́ v \tau \omega v$, à $\lambda \lambda$ ' $\alpha v ̉ \tau o ̀ \varsigma ~ \alpha ̈ \pi \varepsilon \iota \sigma ı v . ~$

そ̋ठє $\delta \varepsilon ́$ oi $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \theta u \mu o ̀ v ~ \alpha ̉ \rho i ́ \sigma \tau \eta ~ \varphi \alpha i ́ v \varepsilon \tau о ~ \beta о v \lambda \eta ́, ~$










 $\dot{\varepsilon} \rho \eta \rho \varepsilon \iota \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma ~ \gamma \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$.


 ŋ̀ $\lambda \varepsilon ́ \kappa \tau \rho о \iota \sigma \iota$ हैє $\rho \tau$ "" (Od. 15.460).
fontes: *B f. $16^{\text {R }},{ }^{* F}$ f. $13^{\text {R }}\left(\Pi_{\text {. }}\right)$, Le f. $19^{\mathrm{R}}\left(\Pi\right.$.), Li f. $62^{\mathrm{V}}$






 $\lambda \varepsilon ́ к \tau \rho о \iota \sigma \iota ~ * F L i ~ \varepsilon ̌ є \rho \tau о ~ * B * F L i: ~ \varepsilon ̌ o \rho \tau о ~ L e ~$


[^0]:    
    
    
     6.4).
    
    
     90.7-9).

    47 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).
    48 Sixteen extracts on the Iliad have a corresponding epitome: A 138-9, B 8-12, B 305-29, В 827, Г 65-6, Г 306, $\Delta$ 297-9, Z 113, Z 129-34, Ө 1, I 186, К 561, М 10, M 25, O 189, Y 259-72.
    49 A 104, A 169, A 225b, A 340, A 486, B 423, B 447, B 467-8, B 423, Г 197, $\Delta 1, \Delta$ 434, Е 137-8, Е 453, Е 695, Е 770, Z 15, Z 488-9, Z 491, $\Theta 1, \Theta 2$, $\Theta$ 39-40, $\Theta$ 53-

[^1]:    86 See Erbse 1960, 17-77.
    87 See Erbse 1960, 73-76.
    88 See Van der Valk 1963 (pt.1), 104.
    89 See Sodano 1965, 7-122 and 1967, 1-38.
    90 See Sodano 1964, 1-90.
    91 See Sodano 1966a, 1-43; 1966b, 1-60.
    92 See Schlunk 1993.

[^2]:    1 Cf. HQ I 46.11-53.19.
    
    3 The MS reading, $\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \theta \varepsilon \neq \alpha ́ \zeta \omega$, i.e. "worship", does not fit in the context. The sense is restored by the simplex $\theta \varepsilon ı \alpha ́ \zeta \omega$ or the complex $\dot{\varepsilon} v \theta \varepsilon \alpha ́ \zeta \omega$, "to be inspired".

[^3]:    4 For the omission of the article after a preposition, see Goulet-Cazé 1992, 90.
    
    
     discussion, cf. HQ I 9.15,122.7.
    6 Cf. HQ I 95.19-98.6, where -обб- in какоббо́ $\mu \varepsilon$ vo̧ means divine voice.
    7 In the last example, Agamemnon says "let us drag [the ships] ... to sea".

