

STUDIA GRAECA ET LATINA GOTHOBURGENSIA LXXI

STAFFAN WAHLGREN

THEODORE METOCHITES'  
SENTENTIOUS NOTES  
*SEMEIOSEIS GNOMIKAI*  
61–70 & 72–81

A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION,  
TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND INDEXES



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG  
ACTA UNIVERSITATIS GOTHOBURGENSIS

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# Abstract

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Keywords: Sceptical philosophy, the ignorance of man, changes of fortune, the usefulness of mathematics and geometry, 'Live hidden', the duties of a good Christian, politics, marriage, war, peace

This volume contains a critical edition, with an English translation and notes, of chapters 61–70 and 72–81 of the *Semeioseis gnomikai* ('Sententious notes') of the Byzantine statesman Theodore Metochites (1270–1332).

The introduction gives an extensive, partly new, description and assessment of the manuscripts as physical objects and in their relationship to each other. The manuscripts discussed, and used in the edition, are the Par. gr. 2003 (P) and Marc. gr. 532 (M), both of the fourteenth century, and, wherever M is illegible, the Scor. gr. 248 (E), a sixteenth-century copy of M. In the edition, the reading of P (including the corrections by the main copyist, Michael Klostomalles, as well as a *manus secunda*) is generally adopted as the authoritative text.

The volume concludes with a bibliography, an index of passages, and an index of names.

The discussion in the essays touches upon several subjects, more or less related to each other. Among these are the ignorance of man and the difficulty of knowing anything, and the moral side of seeking an active life as opposed to 'living hidden.'



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# Preface

This volume contains an edition and a translation of the essays 61–70 and 72–81 of the *Semeioseis gnomikai* of Theodore Metochites. A theme common to all of these texts is hardly discernible. The essays from number 72 discuss the *vita contemplativa* vs. *the vita activa*, and at the beginning of this essay the theme is programmatically stated. Man's ignorance and inability to foresee the future seem to weigh permanently on our author's mind, and his thought proceeds by association.

My heartfelt thanks are due to Dr. Karin Hult, professor of Greek at Göteborg University. Karin is first and foremost the editor of *Semeioseis gnomikai* 1–26 & 71 and 27–60 (and of more essays to come), and my work has been made considerably easier by the existence of her books (Hult 2002 and 2016). It was Karin who, in her capacity of director of the Metochites project, entrusted me with the editing of the essays presented here in the first place, and I would like to thank her for constructive criticism and for preparing my manuscript for publication.

Also, I thank Prof. Dr. Gunhild Vidén, series editor in charge of the publication of this book in *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, and I extend my thanks to the anonymous referees for several helpful suggestions.

My deepest gratitude is due to Ms. Charlotte Lehmann, Universität zu Köln, for criticism and help with layout and, not least, for a great many contributions to the *apparatus fontium et parallelorum*.

I am grateful to Dr. Börje Bydén for his careful reading of parts of my edition and translation, and for his advice. I also thank Prof. Dr. Panagiotis A. Agapitos and Ms. Kalliope Pougiourou, Nicosia, and members of the Greek seminars of Lund and Göteborg universities, as well as my Trondheim colleagues, for various kinds of help and criticism. Further, I would like to thank Mr. Andreas Stiebe for technical support and help to prepare the manuscript for publication.

As always, I am indebted to my parents, Bengt and Inger Wahlgren, and to my sister, Dr. Lena Wahlgren-Smith.

Jon van Leuven† had the unenviable task of correcting my English. He suggested several improvements, and for this I acknowledge my lasting gratitude.

Thanks are also due to the staff of the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris, the Biblioteca Marciana of Venice, and the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, San Lorenzo del Escorial, for services rendered.

Inevitably there will be some differences between the policies adopted in the present volume and others within the project, although less so than we had reason to believe some time ago. Such lack of uniformity may seem like a disadvantage. However, since the principles to be applied when editing Byzantine texts are anything but universally agreed upon, this may eventually turn out to be in the interest of scholarship.

Trondheim in November 2018  
Staffan Wahlgren

# Introduction

## 1. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Apart from the MSS treated below, there are several apographs of the Parisinus gr. 2003; these are not discussed here nor used for the present edition.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 THE PARIS MANUSCRIPT (P: PARISINUS GR. 2003)

Collated from microfilm.<sup>2</sup> The MS was inspected *in situ* in May 2007.

Bibliography: Hult 2002, Agapitos & al. 1996, Omont 1888, 177. See also Bydén 2003, Lamberz 2000, Prato 1991, and Ševčenko 1962.

Parchment codex, I+287(6) folia, 265–270x195–200 mm., first half of 14th c. (see further below).

#### *Parchment*

The parchment is white-yellowish, of good to excellent quality and with little difference between the two sides; there are but few knuckle marks. The first leaves are somewhat darkened, and there are some signs of worm.

#### *Lines to the page, ruling, quires, foliation, etc.*

There are generally 33 lines to the page. There is a simple system of ruling: two vertical lines through the whole page within which the text is contained; further, one horizontal line for each line of text.

After one paper leaf, the MS consists of 36 quaternions of which the first is mutilated: there is a leaf missing between ff. 2 and 3. The last leaf of the last

<sup>1</sup> See Hult 2002, xxxiif., and Arco Magri 1982. I am much indebted to earlier work (especially Hult 2002 and the standard catalogues) for my descriptions of the MSS. All the three main MSS have been inspected *in situ* for the present volume, and there are several points on which it has been possible to make additions to previous knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> The MS can now be accessed at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8514389m/f1.image.r=Grec%202003>.

quire is glued to the back of the book. At the bottom of f. 7<sup>v</sup> there is a quire signature. Thereafter there are regular quire signatures at the bottom of the recto of the first leaf of each quire (quire signature nr. 20 appears one folio too early).

There are two sets of foliation, both with Roman numbers, above right on the recto. The first of these (1–278) is in a blackish-brown ink (P<sup>2</sup>?) and starts with the first essay, on the first leaf of the second quire; the last independent leaf bears no number of this kind. The second set of numbers (1–286), in blue ink, is more recent and starts from the first parchment leaf.

### *Contents*

On the first paper leaf there is some bibliographical information.

The first two parchment leaves, originally empty, are flyleaves. On f. 1<sup>v</sup> Andreas Darmarios has written: θεοδώρου μεγάλου λογοθέτου τοῦ μετοχίτου ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ σημειώσεις γνωμικαὶ διὰ κεφαλαίων ρκ' διηρημέναι.

Ff. 3–7 contain a pinax; for an edition of this see Hult 2002, 5–19.

The text of the first essay commences on f. 8<sup>r</sup>. The text of the last essay ends on f. 278<sup>r</sup>. At the bottom of f. 278<sup>r</sup> there is the monogram of the author, resolved as follows in the hand of Andreas Darmarios: τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου θεοδώρου τοῦ μετοχίτου.

For the essays edited here see ff. 111<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>v</sup> and 150<sup>r</sup>–171<sup>r</sup>.

### *Hands, ink, marginalia, etc.*

P was written in its entirety by Michael Klostomalles (Lamberz 2000, 157–59), a well-known writer of MSS of Metochites' works. Writing in the so-called Metochites style, he will be referred to here as P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup> has made several corrections of his own text and has also introduced some corrections in the margin. The ink used by him in the main text has faded to brown. Red has been used for rubrics, the numbering of each essay, and the initial letter of the text of each essay.

Apart from P<sup>1</sup>, at least one contemporary hand has been working on the MS.<sup>3</sup> The question of the identity of this scribe—if indeed we are dealing with just one additional hand—is a vexed one. The relevant facts are the following.

First, on f. 3<sup>r</sup>, above the pinax, we read: τοῦ σοφωτάτου μεγάλου λογοθέτου θεοδώρου τοῦ μετοχίτου. Further, there are three notes in the margin which have been believed to be Metochites' comments or second thoughts, pertaining to his own work: these are the so-called 'Metochites notes' (see the following).

There are also manifold corrections in the text, mostly in blackish ink, as well as additional punctuation in the same, or very similar, ink, suggesting that someone has read the MS through, pen in hand.<sup>4</sup>

The question to consider is whether one and the same hand has made all these interventions. If so, it must be that of Nikephoros Gregoras, since the authorship note on f. 3 is undoubtedly his.

It was Ševčenko 1962 who contended that the three notes in the margin, commenting upon the text, called the 'Metochites notes' ever since, must be a specimen of our author's hand. However, Agapitos & al. 1996 contested this view and suggested that the 'Metochites notes' were examples of an informal variety of Gregoras' hand.<sup>5</sup>

To the discussion on these notes there has been some more recent development. It has been suggested that the MS Par. gr. 1776, the MS containing Theodore Metochites' poems, exhibits, besides Gregoras' hand, a similar but shakier variety which could be identified as that of Metochites himself, and that this hand might be the one attested in the 'Metochites notes' of our MS P.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The hand, using red ink, named P<sup>3</sup> by Hult 2002, xviii, seems to me to be identical with P<sup>1</sup> (Hult 2016 does not mention P<sup>3</sup>). There are also interventions by one hand (or, possibly, more than one hand) as late as the 16th c., a hand (hands) which mix(es) Latin and Greek; for evidence of different hands in the margin see e.g. ff. 30<sup>r</sup> and 31<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> There are also interventions which are clearly by P<sup>1</sup> and can be disregarded here.

<sup>5</sup> The examination was carried out by Ole L. Smith†.

<sup>6</sup> This was suggested by Chr. Förstel and J. M. Featherstone, and I am indebted to them for sharing this information with me. The same view (i.e. that the interventions in Paris. gr. 1776 are by Metochites himself) was adopted by Polemis 2015 in his edition of Metochites' poems.

As mentioned already, there are also interventions in the main text of P. It seems certain that at least some of these have been made by the same hand as that of the ‘Metochites notes.’ This is notably the case when a word, or part of a word, has been written as a correction above the line.

So far, the facts and the paleographic interpretation by others. To this should be added a *caveat* on two points: I do not feel at all certain that, first, it is always possible to distinguish between P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup>, and secondly, that the corrections which are not by P<sup>1</sup> are all made by one hand.<sup>7</sup>

It would seem that some of the interventions have been made because the condition of the MS, and the faded state of the ink of P<sup>1</sup>, warranted this.<sup>8</sup> At the same time it seems quite strange that any intervention should have been necessary for this reason so soon after the completion of the MS as must be the case if Theodore Metochites, or, indeed, even Nikephoros Gregoras, made them.

Naturally, the question of hands is of importance for the exact dating of P, which remains unknown.<sup>9</sup> If interventions have been made by Metochites himself it is necessary to date P no later than 1332. If Metochites has not been involved, the duration of the careers of Gregoras and, in particular, of that of Klostomalles are the relevant factors for establishing a *terminus ante quem*. The question of the hands is also, and in particular, of importance for determining the authority to be accorded to P (for this see below, 3, p. li–lii).

## 1.2 THE VENICE MANUSCRIPT (M: MARCIANUS GR. 532

[COLL. 887])

Collated from microfilm. The MS was inspected *in situ* in January 2004, in November 2004, and in November 2007 (always by myself, in Novem-

<sup>7</sup> The general difficulty to distinguish between P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup> has been stressed by Hult 2002, who uses the sign P? for either P<sup>1</sup> or P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of this see below, 2.4 and 2.5.

<sup>9</sup> We do not know precisely for how long Michael Klostomalles was active as a scribe. The dating suggested by Hult for this particular MS is 1328–1334.

ber 2004 in conjunction with Karin Hult; on the legibility of this MS and its precarious state of conservation see further below).<sup>10</sup>

Bibliography: Hult 2002, Agapitos & al. 1996, Mioni 1985, p. 421, Zanetti/Bongiovanni 1740, p. 287.

It is almost certain that M belonged to Cardinal Bessarion's collection of MSS.<sup>11</sup>

Paper codex, III+396+III folia, 230x155 mm., first half of 14th c. (see further below).

### *Paper*

The paper is of a yellowish-brown-grey colour, without watermarks. It has been severely damaged by humidity. The paper has been restored in recent times; this has been done mostly, but not exclusively, at the edges. Occasionally the paper has been torn, and some folia have been cut so as to be reduced in size.

There seems to be no reason whatsoever to suspect anything but a uniform history of the MS, i.e. that the paper was taken from one source at one time, and the MS written and originally bound (or bound and then written, cf. the following) at one time.

There are signs which seem to suggest that the paper was in a bad state already at the time of the production of the MS, and consequently of poor quality originally. Of interest is the arrangement of the text on f. 203<sup>v</sup>, where almost the whole of the lower part of the page is without text, although no text is lost. Similarly, with the exception of some words on top of f. 291<sup>r</sup>, the pages 290<sup>v</sup>–291<sup>r</sup> are devoid of text: here one might ask if the

<sup>10</sup> For earlier inspections of the MS see Hult 2002 and Agapitos & al. 1996. During the January 2004 expedition the MS was examined with a UV-lamp (lampada di Wood). It became obvious that UV-light could indeed make more of the MS legible than is obvious from the microfilm or from an inspection of the actual MS with the naked eye. It was further suggested that the MS should be subjected to a broader spectrum of light, such as infrared, and at the same time be digitally photographed. However, so far it has not been possible to proceed with this line of investigation.

<sup>11</sup> See Mioni 1985, 421: 'Subscriptio Bessarionis una cum primo folio effluxit, sed in munere codex numero 309 designatus est'; cf. Hult 2002, xxi.

book can have been bound before it was written. Note also f. 95<sup>r</sup>, where the text has been filled in by the scribe (in red; see also below, p. xviii–xix, on the ink).

There are signs of mould in different colours: black, and also, quite often and throughout the MS, purple-red (the colour of red wine).

*Lines to the page, ruling, quires, foliation, etc.*

In the earlier part of M the number of lines to the full page varies from 22–26. From f. 45<sup>r</sup> there is a constant number of 26 lines to the full page.

There is no consistent system of ruling of the MS. Ruling occurs more often and with greater variation in the early part of the MS; in the later parts of the MS it is often totally abandoned, or at least invisible. In many pages there is a simple frame round the text (see e.g. ff. 21<sup>v</sup>, 22<sup>rv</sup>, 23<sup>rv</sup>, 24<sup>rv</sup>, 26<sup>rv</sup>, 27<sup>rv</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>), whereas the system is more elaborate in other cases (see e.g. ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>rv</sup>, 36<sup>rv</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>).

According to Mioni 1985, the MS (the 3 new leaves at the beginning and the end excepted) consists of 1 initial binion and 50 quaternions. This is an unsatisfactory description, since there can be no doubt that the MS once contained additional folia at the beginning. The proof of this is the fact that part of the table of contents, referring to Semeioseis 1–30(31), is missing: about two pages, i.e. one folio, are needed to accommodate the titles now lost. As far as can be made out, the most probable solution is that the original MS contained 51 quaternions, and that the first four folia are no binion in the technical sense, but leaves left over from an original quaternion, i.e. that four leaves are missing at the beginning (note in connection with this the empty folia at the end of the MS). There is no reason to believe that Mioni saw the MS unbound and therefore was able to pronounce himself with greater certainty than we can on how the folia belong together.<sup>12</sup> There are no quire signatures (*pace* Mioni, cf. footnote 14).

It is a matter of some interest that apart from one, or ca. one, folio belonging to the table of contents an additional three folia can be presumed

<sup>12</sup> No parts of the original binding are preserved. According to a note in the MS it was rebound in the year 1900, i.e. long before Mioni.

to have been lost at the beginning of the MS. Here there was obviously room for more information than that contained in the pinax. It is not impossible that information pertaining to the author as well as to owners of the MS has been lost to us here.

The folia are numbered 1–396 in pencil (Arabic numbering), mostly in the right-hand margin of the recto; there are also sometimes additional numbers by the same hand, also in pencil, in the top and bottom margins. This foliation has occasionally been done erroneously but has usually been corrected by the same hand (see e.g. f. 331<sup>r</sup>). There are also some examples, in another hand, of pencilled Arabic numbers (so f. 331<sup>r</sup>, the *manus secunda* giving the number as 289, and f. 392, the *manus secunda* giving the number, before correction, as 333).

The pencilled numbers are obviously very recent, and they were carried out after the restoration of the MS, when new paper was added (this is proved by the fact that it sometimes trespasses onto the new paper). Apart from this numbering, there are, in the early part of the MS, some traces of at least two different older systems of numbers: see, in the middle of the lower margin, in brownish red ink, ff. 13<sup>r</sup> (θ) and 14<sup>r</sup> (ι), and similarly, further to the right in the lower margin, ff. 25<sup>r</sup> (κα') and 26<sup>r</sup> (κβ').<sup>13</sup> See also, in the lower margin, ff. 7<sup>r</sup> (β') and 11<sup>r</sup> (γ'), the logic of which escapes me.<sup>14</sup>

### Contents

The main text begins on f. 5<sup>r</sup>; the folia 1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup> are occupied by a pinax, which is incomplete, starting with -ληψις, in the title of essay 31 (cf. above, p. xii, on the pinax in P). Ff. 392<sup>v</sup>–396 are empty.<sup>15</sup>

For the essays edited here see ff. 154<sup>v</sup>–200<sup>v</sup> and 210<sup>r</sup>–238<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> θ, ι, κα', and κβ' are found on the 9th, 10th, 21st and 22nd folia respectively of the actual text (the pinax not counted), so obviously they are the numbers of the folia.

<sup>14</sup> Mioni 1985, 421, states the following: 'Fasciculi 50, omnes quaterniones praeter primum binionem, in imo margine primae singulorum paginae olim subputati erant, sed tantum vestigia numerorum hodie manent.' Despite this statement, there are no visible traces of numbers corresponding to the quires.

<sup>15</sup> Also empty are the flyleaves at the beginning and the end of the MS.

*Hands, ink, marginalia, etc.*

The text is written in a ‘somewhat nondescript’ hand (so Hult 2002, xx) belonging to the earlier half of the 14th c.<sup>16</sup>

The ink is generally of a light brown, faded colour. However, on some folia it is extremely black. The difference in colour between e.g. ff. 32<sup>r</sup> and 32<sup>v</sup> is remarkable indeed (going from black to brown, and from distinct to blurred). F. 326<sup>r</sup> is a striking example of different colours coexisting in the same page, the ink being brown and often washed out in the lower part of the page, and very black and distinct above.

The reason for the difference in colour may lie in the state of preservation of the folia, although it may be that the extreme differences are due to the use of different kinds of ink.

The ductus is the same when the ink is black as when brown, and it is clear that one hand, and one hand only, has been responsible for the main text.

Further, there are initial letters etc. in red ink, often faded to brown, but often extremely red, very probably written by the same hand.

There are only few marginalia, of which the following occur in the essays here edited: f. 164<sup>v</sup> in mg. sup. (ad αἱ τῷθαι) *f* αἱ τροφοί; f. 166<sup>v</sup> (ad τὰ μάχιμα) γρ’ τὰ πολέμια.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the activity of the main scribe, discussed so far, there are signs of intervention of a *manus secunda*, a fact which, to my knowledge, has not been recognised before. In the essays here edited the following instances are, in my opinion, certain cases of this: f. 166<sup>v</sup> ο, η; f. 196<sup>v</sup> τὸ χρήσιμον s.l. 21; f. 197<sup>r</sup> τῆς s.l. 8. Here the ink is blackish-brown and bears a superficial resemblance to the main text at its blackest.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Mioni 1985, 421: ‘Scriptura elegans, perpaucis cum compendiis, litteris fere omnibus disiunctis.’

<sup>17</sup> See also the following minor corrections of the kind that sometimes occur *supra lineam*: f. 166<sup>v</sup> in mg. sup. ἐμοῦς (to be put between τοῦς and λογισμοῦς and having been forgotten in the text), and f. 221<sup>v</sup> (ad ξυμπιπτόντων) ξῦ. Also some numbers for the essays are found in the margin: ff. 161<sup>r</sup> ξγ; 172<sup>v</sup> ξς; 176<sup>r</sup> ξζ; 215<sup>r</sup> οδ.

<sup>18</sup> The correction of ξε into ξδ on f. 166<sup>v</sup>, l. 8, is possibly also done by the *manus secunda*: an argument in favour of this is the fact that this same hand also operates elsewhere on the same page.

I would also like to draw attention to f. 159<sup>v</sup>, l. 8 (α for ε), and 225<sup>v</sup>, l. 14 (-iv) and l. 16 (a stroke has been added): here the ink is quite dark (but brown rather than black), and obviously added afterwards. However, I do not feel certain that we are dealing with another hand than that of the main scribe. The strokes are less fine than, especially, in the interventions by the *manus secunda* on ff. 196<sup>v</sup> and 197<sup>r</sup>, and, as stressed, the ink is less black.

The *manus secunda* may tentatively be dated to the 16th c., and I would like to suggest that this might be that of the scribe of E, a manuscript which may very well be copied directly from M (for E see the following section, 1.3).

### *Legibility*

M is, as has been mentioned above, damaged by humidity. There is a distinct difference between, on the one hand, folia where the writing has been blurred but is still perfectly legible with a UV-lamp, though partly impossible to read with the naked eye on inspection *in situ*, or on the microfilm; and, on the other hand, folia where the result achieved with the UV-lamp is not much better than that which can be achieved by the naked eye, or by studying the microfilm. Regarding the degree of legibility when using a UV-lamp, the following can be said about the folia transmitting the essays of the present volume:

100–99%: 154<sup>v</sup>–168<sup>r</sup>; 175<sup>v</sup>–178<sup>r</sup>; 199<sup>v</sup>–200<sup>r</sup>; 201<sup>v</sup>–202<sup>r</sup>; 219<sup>r</sup>–238<sup>r</sup>

98%: 168<sup>v</sup>; 200<sup>v</sup>–201<sup>r</sup>

97–95%: 178<sup>v</sup>–179<sup>r</sup>; 196<sup>r</sup>; 197<sup>v</sup>–199<sup>r</sup>; 203<sup>r</sup>; 204<sup>v</sup>–205<sup>r</sup>; 206<sup>r</sup>

94–90%: 179<sup>v</sup>, 180<sup>r</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>; 195<sup>r</sup>; 197<sup>r</sup>; 202<sup>v</sup>; 203<sup>v</sup>–204<sup>r</sup>; 205<sup>v</sup>; 206<sup>v</sup>–207<sup>r</sup>

89–85%: 180<sup>v</sup>, 181<sup>r</sup>; 186<sup>r</sup>–194<sup>v</sup>

84–80%: 169<sup>v</sup>; 175<sup>r</sup>; 185<sup>v</sup>; 207<sup>v</sup>–209<sup>v</sup>; 212<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>r</sup>

79–70%: 169<sup>r</sup>; 170<sup>r</sup>–174<sup>v</sup>; 182<sup>v</sup>–185<sup>r</sup>; 210<sup>r</sup>–211<sup>v</sup>; 214<sup>v</sup>–218<sup>v</sup>

This is an approximation. The important difference, which is not necessarily distinguishable on the microfilm or with the naked eye, can be observed between the quite numerous folia with a legibility (I repeat, with a UV-lamp) of 100% or almost 100% and the also quite numerous folia with a legibility below 85%, often as low as ca. 70%; here, quite a lot of the text seems to have been washed away, and it seems doubtful whether any method at all could restore perfect legibility. It should be stressed that no folia, at least not in the part of M under consideration here, are legible to a lesser degree than ca. 70%.

1.3 THE ESCORIAL MANUSCRIPT (E: ESCORIALENSIS GR. 248  
[Y.I.9])<sup>19</sup>

Collated from microfilm. The MS was inspected *in situ* in April 2007.

Bibliography: Hult 2002, xxif., Agapitos & al. 1996, Arco Magrì 1982, de Andrés 1965, 89–92, Graux 1880, 184.

The MS once belonged to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to Venice 1539–47, and his name is mentioned at the bottom of f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Paper codex, ff. I+424 (- 345, 386)+II, 344x252 mm., mid-16th c.<sup>20</sup>

*Paper*

The paper is white, sometimes a little yellowish-brown, bright, shining, and typical of the age. It is of very good quality and generally in very good condition, although with some slight signs of mould and of wear and tear.

The flyleaves are brownish.

<sup>19</sup> Old signs: I.Z.3/I.I.11.

<sup>20</sup> A more precise dating is probably not possible (*pace* Agapitos & al. 1996, 21, and Hult 2002, xxii). However, the fact that Don Diego was ambassador to Venice 1539–47 may be relevant, supposing that this was when he ordered copies of Greek manuscripts available there. See also below on watermarks.

The paper looks very much the same throughout the MS. However, it seems to me that the folia of the scribe of the Metochites part (see below) are more shiny than the rest, possibly because of some process of preparation.

There are watermarks similar to Briquet 63; 3471; 6301, but no exact matches (cf. de Andrés 1965, 89).

*Lines to the page, ruling, quires, foliation, etc.*

There are normally 30 lines to the page, or sometimes fewer when an essay ends conveniently. There is a simple system of ruling, consisting of two vertical lines justifying the text, and one horizontal line for each line of text; the ruling seems to be the same throughout the MS. This general consistency as to number of lines and ruling may be a sign that the MS was written and put together on one occasion. It also seems that the paper was furnished from one source, since it has the same appearance throughout the MS (although, as mentioned above, it shines more brightly in the part written by the scribe of the Metochites text).

The MS consists of 54 quires, mostly quaternions, in some cases (quires 4, 17, 20, and 25) ternions; at the end there are 7 additional folia (i.e. folia not belonging to a quire). On ff. 133–184, at the bottom of the verso of the last folio of each quire, there are quire signatures.

Roman folio numbers are added above right on the recto (all done by one hand).

*Contents*

E is a *Sammelhandschrift* of mostly philosophical texts (for detailed contents, see de Andrés 1965, 89ff.); the *Semeioseis* are copied on ff. 204<sup>v</sup>–424<sup>r</sup> (ff. 201<sup>r</sup>–204<sup>v</sup> contain the pinax).

For the essays edited here see ff. 293<sup>v</sup>–319<sup>v</sup> and 324<sup>v</sup>–341<sup>r</sup>.

*Hands, ink, marginalia, etc.*

The texts contained in E have been written by a total of three hands. One of these is known also from Escorialensis gr. Y.I.2. A second one belongs to Petros Karnabakas. Finally, there is the scribe (of unknown identity) of the Metochites text (and of other works: this scribe has written ff. 1-76 and 201-424). The latter is a typical hand of the (mid-?)sixteenth c.<sup>21</sup> The ink is blackish-brown, with occasional red for initial letters and other adornments.

At least in the text of the essays studied here, there are no signs whatsoever of any intervention by another hand. There are corrections in the margin and also some interventions in the form of corrections in the main text. Still, although the ductus is somewhat different, and the ink mostly blacker, there is no reason to doubt that these corrections have been carried out by the main scribe, and without recourse to another MS. This opinion is confirmed by the very extensive marginalia on Damascius written by the same scribe (Damascius' Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον περὶ οὐρανοῦ are copied on ff. 31<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>): they prove that the main scribe had the habit of adding marginalia. There are, however, marginalia in another hand in other parts of the work of this main scribe (see e.g. f. 62<sup>r</sup>, where Greek is combined with Latin).

## 2. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS TO EACH OTHER

### 2.1 E

Earlier research, notably Hult 2002, has concluded that E is dependent on M, either through an intermediary or, quite likely, directly.<sup>22</sup> Hult, p.

<sup>21</sup> 'Letra fina y recta' (de Andrés 1965). Cf. above, 1.2, p. xix, where I have tentatively suggested that this hand may be the correcting hand of M, i.e. that the scribe of E took the opportunity to make some interventions in M when copying from it.

<sup>22</sup> For reasons of chronology M (14th c.) cannot be dependent on E (16th c.), although the

xxiif., presents the following arguments in favour of this: E was written in Venice, and M was probably the only MS containing the *Semeioseis* available there at the time (i.e., in Bessarion's collection); further, there are many conjunctive errors of M and E; and, finally, there are readings in E which reflect M's poor state of conservation.

Of these arguments those concerning the availability of MSS and M's state of conservation are probably the most cogent.<sup>23</sup> With regard to the remaining argument, the existence of conjunctive errors of M and E, some caution may be called for. The following questions must be answered before a definitive opinion can be formed. Are the relevant readings common to M and E necessarily errors? If so, are they of such a kind that they could not be corrected by an intelligent scribe? Is there any reason that they should be less likely to appear in an author's MS than in a copy?<sup>24</sup>

With this in mind it should, nevertheless, be mentioned that there are many readings that at least do not contradict the opinion that E is dependent on M. However, indisputable conjunctive errors would be a highly desirable proof of this. For readings in M, not shared by P but mostly present in E, see below, 2.2.

There are also many singular readings in E, which can be interpreted as cases where E represents a deterioration from the text in M, or at least a possible development from the text of M (or, since M and P usually agree with each other, from P or an unknown MS). Here follows a complete list of these readings.<sup>25</sup>

independence of M from E could also be argued from the list of singular readings (errors) in E presented on p. xxiv. For an overall analysis of the tradition and a discussion of what the evidence can tell us about Metochites' intentions and involvement in the production of the MSS, see also Wahlgren 2016.

<sup>23</sup> See also Hult's (Hult 2002, xxiii) convincing remarks on lacunae in E.

<sup>24</sup> As far as I know, there are no signs of contamination in E.

<sup>25</sup> See also: 67.9.1 ἀσωτίας (non leg. M): ἀσωτείας E; 67.15.3 ταῦτὰ: ταυτὰ M, ταῦτα E; 67.21.1 ἐναλλάξ (non leg. M): ἐναλλάξ E; 70.2.5 μαγκανεύματα (non certe leg. M, sed fort. μαγκ-): μαγγανεύματα E; 81.3.8 κρίνουσι: κοῖνουσι ut vid. M, κοῖνουσι E.

*Readings in E not shared by M or P*

61.5.3 προσέχει: προσέχει E; 61.5.4 τάναντί': τάναντία E; 62.3.3 ξυντυχίαις: συντυχίαις E; 63.1.2 ὄρων: ὄρων E; 64.2.2 τηνικαῦτ': τηνικαῦτα E; 64.3.4 ἀλλάξαιντ': ἀλλάξαιτ' E; 64.4.1 κοινωνοῖς: κοινωνοῖ E; 65.2.2 τίν': τίς E; 66.1.2 εἰσι: εἶναι E; 66.1.7 οἶον om. E; 67.4.2 κοινοπολιτικῆς (fort. -ῆς M, sed non certe leg.): -οῖς E; 67.4.4 ἀνθρωπίνους (fort. sic per comp. M, sed non certe leg.): ἀνθρώπους E; 67.2.1 προφέρειν καὶ καταριθμεῖσθαι: προφέρειν καταριθμεῖσθαι E; 67.7.5 Μαρίου: μαρτυρίου E; 67.11.5 κεκραμμένη (-μμ- fort. M, sed non certe leg.): κεκραμένη ut vid. E; 67.11.5 ἀλλὰ καὶ: ἀλλὰ E; 67.14.6 τοῖς (fort. τοῖς, sed non certe leg. M): ταῖς E; 67.20.1 κατεγελῶντο (sic ut vid. M): καταγελῶντο E; 68.2.6 οἱ δ': οἱ δ' E; 68.2.8 χωρεῖ: χωρεῖν E; 68.3.10 μόνως: μόνον E; 69.1.2 ἀνθαιρουμένους E (p.c., -οῦμ- cum accentu a.c.): non leg. M; 69.1.3 συνηθείας: συνηθείαις E; 69.2.2 ἔχουσι (sic ut vid. M, sed non certe leg.): ἔχοντες E; 70.3.2 ἔργον (non certe leg. M, sed fort. ἔργον): ἐνεργὸν E; 70.3.5 ἄττα (sic E): ut vid. ἄττα P et M; 70.5.3 πολιτεία: πολιτία E; 72.2.6 οἱ δ': οἱ δ' E; 73.1.3 ἐστί (sic ut vid. M): -ίν E; 73.1.7 περιγιγνόμενον: περιγιγνόμενον E; 73.3.5 πράττειν: πράττον E; 74.1.2 ἐλόμενοι: ἐλκόμενοι E; 74.2.3 κωμικὸν: κοσμικὸν E; 75.1.5 κοινοῖς: κενοῖς E; 75.1.7 αἰρεῖτο: αἰρεῖτο E; 76.3.4 ἀνενέργητα: ἀνενέργητα E; 78.2.7 κακῶς: καλῶς E; 79.1.3 ἐπὶ: ἐπεὶ E; 79.2.4 πνεύματ': πνεύματα E; 81.1.2 τὸν add. E; vide etiam 63.5.6 σεμνύνη (sic M): fort. -ῆ p.c. ex -ει P<sup>1</sup>, σεμνύνει E

In some of these cases the reading of E does not in itself seem to be inferior to the alternative of the other MSS. Examples of this are at least those of οἱ δ' instead of οἱ δ' (68.2.6 and 72.2.6), where E simply seems to be more modern. In the case of ἄττα: ἄττα (70.3.5) E has, at least from our point of view, the correct reading against M and P. But these are minor points of orthography or phonology. There are also other cases where the reading of E seems to be as good and plausible as that of M P.

As already said, the readings discussed so far, or most of them, do not prove that E is closer to M than to P. And since, as will be seen below (2.2), it is extremely difficult to say with any certainty what the relationship might be between M and P, and when the one is more correct than the other, it is difficult to prove the dependence of E on either M or P.

However, an indication of the very probable connection between E and M is furnished by those readings in E which may be interpreted as misreadings of M; see e.g. 64.4.1 κοινωνοῖς P M: κοινωνοῖ E, where the final -ς in M is not distinct and might easily be overlooked; see also 67.14.6 ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ τοῖς (τοῖς: ταῖς E, fort. τοῖς, sed non certe leg. M) βλακῶδεσι,

where M is not easily readable either and may thus have given rise to the error made in E. Particularly interesting is the following case:

81.3.8 κρίνουσι: κοίνουσι ut vid. M, κοίνουσι E

Here M really seems to have an ο after the initial κ, not a ρ—and E, too, has that same absurd ο. This is important evidence for E's dependence on M.

There are further some cases where M and E exhibit corrections in the same place; this could also hint at a close relationship:<sup>26</sup>

63.4.1 ἀνούσιόν: fort. ἀνούσιόν p.c. ex ἀνόσιόν M (fort. etiam add. ν s.l. M, i.e. ἀνν-),  
fort. ἀνόσιόν p.c. ex ἀνούσιόν E

63.4.5 αἱ τίτθαι: αἱ τίτθαι in textu et αἱ τροφοὶ in mg. superiore M, τροφοὶ in textu et γρ.  
τίτθαι in mg. E

64.1.1 μάχημα in textu et γρ. τὰ πολέμια in mg. M, πολέμια in textu et γρ. μάχημα  
in mg. E

To these arguments in favour of a close relationship between M and E should be added the possibility that the *manus secunda*, which may be discernible in M, could be identical with the *manus prima* of E (cf. 1.2, p. xix).

There are also three readings common to P and E, against M:<sup>27</sup>

61.2.5 ἐστιν: ἐστι M

61.5.6 εὐρίποις: εὐρίπποις M

65.3.1 ἄττα P et ut vid. E, ἄττα M

As can be seen, these are cases of very minor variation, and they could not by themselves be taken to disprove the pattern described above.

To sum up, there is no reason to doubt that E is dependent on M.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. with these the similar cases given by Hult 2002, xxiiif.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the similar case mentioned in Hult 2002, xxii, n. 40.

## 2.2 P AND M

Hult 2002 (see especially p. xxvi) arrives at the cautious conclusion that P and M independently of each other probably go back to a common ancestor. Because of the similar case of MSS Vat. gr. 182 and Vat. gr. 1365, investigated in Bydén 2003, she is also open to an alternative possibility, i.e. that M might be the exemplar of P.<sup>28</sup>

In my part of the *Semeioseis*, as elsewhere, the differences between MSS P and M are fairly minor, and it seems doubtful that anything conclusive could be said about the nature of their relationship to each other. As an attempt at shedding some light, I have compiled a systematic list of the differences between the MSS (see below). Limiting myself to the essays investigated here, I have divided the material into categories. First, I have made a distinction between, on the one hand, semantic, or potentially semantic, (and syntactic) differences between the MSS (2.2.1), and, on the other hand, differences with no such import (2.2.2). It is obvious, though, that my categories are anything but clear-cut. What looks like a semantic difference may be a trivial case of orthographical variation (so the variation ἄττα: ἄττα, or τίς: τις). By a similar token, a case such as 67.13.1 (γεγονότων P, γενομένων M) is probably an example of morphological rather than semantic variation, since I presume that the perfect has merged with the aorist and that the two forms mean exactly the same to a late Byzantine writer. Conversely, where word order is concerned, there might exist subtle differences of function or meaning that escape us today (for instance, topicalization and emphasis may be at stake).

Further, in section 2.2.1 I have made a distinction between omissions/additions and word forms/vocabulary, and in 2.2.2 between word order and phonology/orthography/morphology. It goes without saying that the last category in particular is anything but straightforward: this is where I put everything which does not neatly fit in anywhere else.

<sup>28</sup> Vat. gr. 1365 is a sister manuscript of P, belonging to the same deluxe edition of Metochites' works, and it is probably dependent on Vat. gr. 182 which, in its turn, was probably written by the same scribe as M; on this see Bydén 2003, 383ff., and Agapitos & al. 1996, 22.

## 2.2.1 DIFFERENCES WITH SEMANTIC/SYNTACTIC IMPLICATIONS

*Omissions/additions*

|         | P (P <sup>1</sup> if not otherwise stated)                                      | M (if not otherwise stated)            |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 61 tit. | καὶ ὅτι                                                                         | καὶ ὅτι καὶ                            |
| 64.1.5  | πρώτον τὸν Εὐρώταν                                                              | πρώτον Εὐρώταν                         |
| 65.4.4  | τε καὶ                                                                          | καὶ E, non leg. M                      |
| 66.4.1  | δὴ                                                                              | δὴ om.                                 |
| 67.1.4  | καὶ καθάπερ                                                                     | καθάπερ                                |
| 67.13.1 | ῥωμαίων                                                                         | τῶν ῥωμαίων                            |
| 67.14.2 | τῶν μαιφονιών                                                                   | μαιφονιών                              |
| 67.17.2 | τε καὶ                                                                          | καὶ                                    |
| 67.17.2 | τῶν πολλῶν                                                                      | πολλῶν                                 |
| 67.21.1 | δὴ                                                                              | om.                                    |
| 68.4.5  | οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν οὐ                                                                | οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν                          |
| 69.1.6  | ἀποφεύγοι: ἀπ- ut vid. P <sup>2</sup> ,<br>sed sic etiam ut vid. P <sup>1</sup> | ἂν φεύγοι                              |
| 70.1.3  | om.                                                                             | τῆς s.l. add. ut vid. M <sup>2</sup>   |
| 70.2.2  | om.                                                                             | καὶ                                    |
| 70.5.6  | τῆς                                                                             | om.                                    |
| 72.1.4  | om.                                                                             | καὶ                                    |
| 72.1.7  | τοῖς τοιούτοις                                                                  | τοιούτοις (τοῖς om. E et ut<br>vid. M) |
| 72.2.3  | om.                                                                             | καὶ                                    |
| 73.1.7  | om.                                                                             | γε                                     |
| 73.2.5  | τοῦ Χριστοῦ                                                                     | Χριστοῦ                                |
| 74.1.6  | συμφωνία                                                                        | ἡ συμφωνία                             |
| 74.4.1  | κατ'                                                                            | κατὰ τὴν                               |
| 74.4.2  | κατὰ τὰ (τὰ τὰ ut vid. per dittographiam)                                       | κατὰ E et ut vid. M                    |
| 76.3.1  | τε καὶ                                                                          | καὶ                                    |
| 79.3.4  | μὴ                                                                              | om.                                    |
| 80.2.2  | om.                                                                             | τὰ                                     |
| 80.2.2  | om.                                                                             | ἴσως                                   |

As can be seen, the differences between P and M are small.<sup>29</sup> The one retains an article missing in the other; particles and modifiers (γε, δὴ, ἴσως) and connectives may be present or not.

<sup>29</sup> To these cases should be added: 77.2.7 καὶ bis exhib. P (in fine lineae et in initio lineae sequentis).

Of some interest is 69.1.6 (ἀποφεύγοι: ἀπ- ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>, sed sic etiam ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, ἄν φεύγοι M), where an intervention by the *manus secunda* is found in P (although there is reason to believe that the reading before and after the intervention was identical, i.e. that P<sup>2</sup> filled in what P<sup>1</sup> had already written). The reading of M, ἄν φεύγοι, leaves us with a somewhat peculiar case of ὅταν with ἄν (the reading of M being ὅταν ἄλλους τίς εὐθύνων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄν φεύγοι κτλ.). It is not impossible for a writer to put this down, but it is equally plausible that it would be corrected on a second inspection, either by the original writer himself or by someone else (note, however, that the correction leaves us with ὅταν with the optative).

There are two cases of differences where negations are concerned:<sup>30</sup>

- 68.4.5    Καὶ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν οὐ (οὐ om. M) μικρὸν ἔργον ὁμόνοιαν ἐγγίνεσθαι  
κτλ.  
79.3.4    οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἄλλως σῶφρον εἴη, ὅτι μὴ (μὴ om. M) μετὰ τῆς θείας ἐλπίδος  
ἐπιχειρεῖν

In both cases the crucial word, i.e. οὐ or μὴ, is related to an earlier negation, and in both cases P is the manuscript with the double negation. In 79.3.4 the negation seems to me more of a necessity than in 68.4.5; i.e. I am prone to consider P to be right in one of the cases, and M in the other. I do not think it safe, however, to draw any conclusions from these cases as to the relationship between the MSS, and as to what is more likely to be the choice of a scribe as opposed to that of the author.<sup>31</sup>

#### Word forms/vocabulary

|        | P (P <sup>1</sup> if not otherwise stated)                     | M (if not otherwise stated) |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 61.1.2 | ἐξοστρακιστέον                                                 | ὀστρακιστέον                |
| 61.5.5 | ἄττα                                                           | ἄττα                        |
| 62.3.8 | ἀνθρωπεῖοις (-ει- add. P <sup>1</sup> vel P <sup>2</sup> s.l.) | ἀνθρωπίνοις                 |
| 63.4.1 | μάλισθ' οὕτως                                                  | μάλιστά πως                 |
| 63.4.2 | μόνην vel fort. μόνον                                          | μόνον                       |

<sup>30</sup> Cf. with this also the further case of negation discussed below, 2.5, p. xxxix–xl.

<sup>31</sup> In a similar case, Hult 2002, xxviii, speaks of an added negation as 'psychologically understandable' (8.2.3).

|         |                                                                                          |                                                          |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 63.4.5  | μήποτε                                                                                   | μήτε pr.                                                 |
| 65.1.2  | ἅττα                                                                                     | ἅττα ut vid. M (sic etiam E)                             |
| 65.2.1  | αὐτοῦ                                                                                    | αὐτοῦ                                                    |
| 66.3.1  | ἐμπομπεύοι                                                                               | ἐμπομπεύει E, non leg. M                                 |
| 66.5.3  | ἔχειν                                                                                    | ἔχοι                                                     |
| 66.5.7  | οἱ δ'                                                                                    | οἱ δ'                                                    |
| 67.1.1  | τίς                                                                                      | τίς                                                      |
| 67.1.5  | μήδ'                                                                                     | οὐδ'                                                     |
| 67.2.8  | πόλεων                                                                                   | πόλων                                                    |
| 67.4.4  | καὶ ( ' P <sup>2</sup> , non leg. acc. in P <sup>1</sup> ) τίνων                         | καὶ τίνων                                                |
| 67.10.2 | αἰρόμενον: spir. len. fort. P <sup>2</sup> , de P <sup>1</sup><br>non constat            | αἰρόμενον E, non leg. M                                  |
| 67.13.1 | γεγονότων                                                                                | γενομένων                                                |
| 67.14.1 | ἐνοχος                                                                                   | ἐνεχος E, non leg. M                                     |
| 67.15.5 | τὸ                                                                                       | τῷ                                                       |
| 67.15.8 | αἰρουμένους                                                                              | αἰρουμένους E (sic fort. etiam<br>M, sed non certe leg.) |
| 67.17.4 | ἄρ' ἄλυσιτελές                                                                           | ἄρα λυσιτελές                                            |
| 68.1.3  | ὁμονοοῦντες                                                                              | ὁμονοοῦντας E, non leg. M                                |
| 68.3.2  | τίς                                                                                      | τίς                                                      |
| 68.4.5  | ἅττα ut vid. P, sed non certe leg.<br>(fort. ἄ- P <sup>1</sup> et ἄ P <sup>2</sup> p.c.) | ἅττα ut vid. E, non leg. M                               |
| 69.1.6  | τίς                                                                                      | τίς                                                      |
| 69.1.6  | ἀποφεύγοι: ἀπ- ut vid. P <sup>2</sup> ,<br>sed sic etiam ut vid. P <sup>1</sup>          | ἄν φεύγοι                                                |
| 70.2.2  | μὴν (sic vel -ε- P <sup>1</sup> ): -η- P <sup>2</sup>                                    | ut vid. μὲν per comp. M,<br>μὲν E                        |
| 70.4.2  | τοῦ ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ                                                                    | τοῦ ῥωμαίου στρατηγοῦ                                    |
| 72.2.4  | αἰρόμενον                                                                                | αἰρόμενον E, non leg. M                                  |
| 73.1.5  | πολλοῖς                                                                                  | πολὺ                                                     |
| 73.3.8  | ἑαυτῷ                                                                                    | ἑαυτοῦ E, non leg. M                                     |
| 74.1.6  | κοινή                                                                                    | κοινή                                                    |
| 74.1.6  | μέλλοι                                                                                   | μέλλει                                                   |
| 74.3.1  | δεσπότας                                                                                 | δεσποτάτας                                               |
| 74.3.3  | δὲ τὰ P <sup>2</sup> , de P <sup>1</sup> non constat                                     | τά γε                                                    |
| 74.4.2  | ἀπέχεσθαι                                                                                | ἐπέχεσθαι                                                |
| 74.4.3  | βιοτὸν                                                                                   | βιωτὸν                                                   |
| 75.1.2  | ἅττα: " add. P <sup>2</sup> , de accentu sec. P <sup>1</sup><br>non constat              | ἅττα M                                                   |
| 75.1.5  | δέει                                                                                     | δέοι                                                     |
| 75.2.6  | αὐτοῖς                                                                                   | ἑαυτοῖς                                                  |

|         |                 |                                                         |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 75.3.5  | ἀντιτεινομένους | ἐντεινομένους                                           |
| 76.3.3  | ἀνόητος         | ἀνόνητος                                                |
| 76.3.4  | γραφὴ           | γραφικὴ                                                 |
| 76.4.6  | τίς             | τίς                                                     |
| 76.4.7  | ἐν σπουδῇ       | εὐ σπουδῇ                                               |
| 77.3.7  | ἦττω            | ἦττον                                                   |
| 78.2.1  | τίς             | τίς                                                     |
| 78.3.6  | σπουδάξῃ        | σπουδάξοι                                               |
| 80.1.7  | τίς             | τίς                                                     |
| 80.2.12 | ἄττα            | non certe leg. M, sed fort.<br>ἄττα (ἄττα E p.c. ex ἄ-) |
| 81.1.2  | ὅπῃ             | ὅποι                                                    |
| 81.3.1  | δύναιτ'         | δύναιντ'                                                |

In 63.4.2 (πλαττομένην μόνον ζώην) P probably had the erroneous reading μόνην before erasure. However, this is a very common kind of lapse by scribes: an ending is made to conform with that of neighbouring words. A similar case is 70.4.2 (τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ), where M has the reading Ῥωμαίου. I see 76.3.4 (φανταστικὴ γραφή (γραφικὴ M)) as a further parallel to this, the reading γραφικὴ presumably being influenced by the preceding word.

In 66.5.3 (ἔχειν P, ἔχοι M) the infinitive ἔχειν may depend on a following δέοι, but ἔχοι is a quite possible reading too.

In 68.1.3 (ὁμονοοῦντες P, ὁμονοοῦντας E, non leg. M) the reading of P is the correct one, in the sense of being the one which ensures grammatical congruency, although the accusative of E, close as it is to an infinitive, is quite understandable and could probably quite as easily be attributed to an author as to a scribe.

In 74.4.2 (ἀπέχεσθαι P, ἐπέχεσθαι M) the required meaning is something like 'keeping away from/refraining from/losing', and both readings are probably possible.

In 76.3.3 (ἀνόητος P, ἀνόνητος M) the reading of P seems, if not impossible, at least less probable (ἀνόνητος is fairly common; ἀνόητος occurs in the title of essay 34, see Hult 2002, 8). But the difference is small and an error might easily occur and just as easily be corrected. Indeed, in 81.1.7 such a correction has been carried out before our eyes (ἀνόνητα: ἀνόητα P<sup>1</sup>, -ν- inter ὁ et η add. P<sup>2</sup>).

In 77.3.7 ἦττω (P) as well as ἦττον (M) seem like possible readings; the reading of P may be considered the *lectio difficilior*.

In 81.3.1 the alternatives δύναιτ' and δύναιντ' are both possible, and it is perfectly understandable that anyone might hesitate between the singular and the plural.

In the following cases I most certainly incline to the reading in P: 74.3.1 (δεσπότης P, δεσποτάτας M), 76.4.7 (ἐν σπουδῇ P, εὖ σπουδῇ M). 67.2.8 (πόλεων P, πόλων M) the reading of M looks like a *lapsus calami*.

τίς (or τις) for the indefinite pronoun is the normal orthography in the MSS concerned (see 67.1.1, 67.4.4, 68.3.2, 69.1.6, 78.2.1, 80.1.7, 81.1.2). ἄττα and ἄττα (see 61.5.5, 65.1.2, 68.4.5, 75.1.2, 80.2.12) are easily confused. Also in cases such as αὐτοῦ: αὐτοῦ (65.2.1), αἰρόμενον: αἰρόμενον (67.10.2), we are most probably dealing with simple orthographical uncertainty because of the identical pronunciation.

## 2.2.2 DIFFERENCES WITHOUT SEMANTIC/SYNTACTIC IMPLICATIONS

### Word order

|        | P (P <sup>1</sup> )                   | M                                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 61.1.1 | γνώμη γνώμη τε                        | γνώμη τε γνώμη                                    |
| 61.3.4 | καὶ μέχρι                             | μέχρι καὶ                                         |
| 62.2.2 | Τὸν δ' αὐτὸν                          | Τὸν αὐτὸν δ'                                      |
| 62.2.6 | χαίρουσιν εὖ μάλα                     | εὖ μάλα χαίρουσι                                  |
| 63.4.2 | ἄρα φαίη τις ἄν                       | ἄν ἄρα φαίη τις                                   |
| 63.6.8 | γνώμης ῥώμη a.c. P                    | ῥώμη γνώμης (sic etiam p.c. P)                    |
| 64.5.1 | ἐπιδοξότατα φέρονται ἀνθρώποις a.c. P | ἐπιδοξότατ' ἀνθρώποις φέρονται (sic etiam p.c. P) |
| 65.1.4 | ἐαυτῷ ἴσως a.c. P                     | ἴσως ἐαυτῷ (sic etiam p.c. P)                     |
| 65.3.1 | ἐβούλεθ' ὁ λόγος                      | ὁ λόγος ἐβούλεθ'                                  |
| 65.3.5 | αὐτὸς πρῶτος                          | πρῶτος αὐτὸς                                      |
| 65.3.7 | βουλόμενον τῷ νόμῳ                    | τῷ νόμῳ βουλόμενον                                |
| 67.7.5 | παιζόμενος ἐφορεῖτο a.c. P            | ἐφορεῖτο παιζόμενος (sic etiam p.c. P)            |

|          |                                           |                                                   |
|----------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 67.12.5  | νεκρὸν καὶ (Αἰγύπτου)                     | νεκρὸν Αἰγύπτου καὶ M                             |
| 67.12.5  | ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆτος Αἰγύπτου a.c. P        | Αἰγύπτου ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆτος<br>(sic etiam p.c. P) |
| 67.15.1  | πλείω κατακαιρὸν                          | κατὰ καιρὸν πλείω                                 |
| 67.19.10 | φιλονεικίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας a.c. P         | φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλονεικίας (sic<br>etiam p.c. P)  |
| 68.3.6   | σχεδὸν πάντων                             | πάντων σχεδὸν                                     |
| 72.2.3   | πάση σπουδῇ                               | σπουδῇ πάση                                       |
| 73.3.1   | ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς                         | τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῖν                                 |
| 73.3.1   | τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις a.c. P                | τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις (sic etiam<br>p.c. P)         |
| 74.2.1   | δεσποτῶν ξυνέτυχε P                       | ξυνέτυχε δεσποτῶν (sic etiam<br>p.c. P)           |
| 74.2.3   | μετέχειν πάντως                           | πάντως μετέχειν                                   |
| 74.5.7   | ἔξω πάσης                                 | πάσης ἔξω                                         |
| 75.1.4   | εἰ γὰρ μὴ                                 | εἰ μὴ γάρ                                         |
| 75.3.7   | εὐγενῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴη (sic etiam p.c. M) | ἐν τούτοις εὐγενῆς εἴη a.c. M                     |
| 75.4.4   | ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν                            | ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων                                    |
| 76.4.4   | ζημιοῦντα πολλάκις μέγιστα                | μέγιστα ζημιοῦντα πολλάκις                        |
| 77.3.7   | πολέμου νεῦρα                             | νεῦρα πολέμου                                     |
| 78.3.3   | ἦν νῦν                                    | νῦν ἦν                                            |
| 79.2.3   | τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀμέλει a.c. P                  | ἀμέλει τοῦ σκοποῦ (sic etiam<br>p.c. P)           |
| 79.3.4   | εὐκταίας ἐκεῖθεν                          | ἐκεῖθεν εὐκταίας                                  |
| 80.3.1   | ἐξαιρέτων ἐκείνων                         | ἐκείνων ἐξαιρέτων                                 |

There is a considerable number of cases where the MSS differ as to word order. I have not been able to detect a reason for this or a clear tendency in one or the other to favour, or avoid, a certain phonological sequence, or a tendency to favour a certain order of syntactic or semantic units. Possibly the position of τε (61.1.1), δὲ (62.2.2), ἄρα (63.4.2), γὰρ (75.1.4), and ἀμέλει (79.2.3) hints at a more classicizing language in P.

A characteristic feature of P are the many corrections explicitly made, i.e. the many cases where the scribe has added letters above the line to indicate that the word order should be changed. In almost all of these cases the corrected reading is identical with that of M. This phenomenon is discussed further in 3, p. li–lii.

The same kind of explicit correction of the word order is met with once in M (75.3.7).

*Phonology/orthography/morphology*

|         | P (P <sup>1</sup> if not otherwise stated)                  | M (if not otherwise stated)              |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 61.4.2  | εῦρημένων                                                   | ἡύρημένων                                |
| 62.1.6  | γινόμενον                                                   | γινόμενον                                |
| 62.3.6  | ξυμπίπτοντες                                                | συμπίπτοντες                             |
| 62.3.8  | εἶδαρ                                                       | εἶδαρ                                    |
| 64.5.1  | ἐπιδοξότατα (φ-...)                                         | ἐπιδοξότατ' (ἀ-...)                      |
| 65.2.1  | Ἄκραγαντίνων                                                | Ἄκραγαντίνων                             |
| 65.2.4  | καταπιμπρωμένους                                            | καταπιμπραμένους                         |
| 65.2.6  | ἐνδικωτάτην                                                 | ἐνδικωτάτην E, non leg. M                |
| 65.3.1  | ἐβούλεθ'                                                    | ἡβούλεθ'                                 |
| 65.3.8  | Ἀθήνησιν                                                    | Ἀθήνησι E, non leg. M                    |
| 66.2.5  | σφόδρα                                                      | σφόδρ' E, non leg. M                     |
| 66.3.7  | ἀναβιώσ<ε>ως per comp.,<br>vel fort. ἀναβιώσως (cf. 68.3.6) | ἀναβιώσεως                               |
| 66.4.7  | ἐνσπόνδων                                                   | ἐνσπόνδων                                |
| 67.3.2  | ἐνεκμάζον                                                   | ἐνακμάζον                                |
| 67.9.4  | Κύννα                                                       | Κίinna                                   |
| 67.10.5 | στρατεύματα ἀντιταξάμενος                                   | στρατεύματ' ἀντιξάμενος E,<br>non leg. M |
| 67.11.1 | Σύλας                                                       | Σύλλας                                   |
| 67.11.3 | γίνεσθαι                                                    | γίγνεσθαι                                |
| 67.15.3 | συμπτώματα                                                  | ξυμπτώματα                               |
| 67.18.3 | δυοῖν                                                       | δυεῖν                                    |
| 67.18.6 | παρέδωκαν                                                   | παρέδοσαν                                |
| 67.19.4 | δρυμύτατον                                                  | δρυμύτατον                               |
| 68.3.6  | χρήσ<ε>ως per comp.,<br>vel fort. χρήσως (cf. 66.3.7)       | χρήσεως                                  |
| 69.1.2  | ὄναιντ' (vel -αιτ')                                         | ὄναιντ'                                  |
| 69.2.5  | κατωλιγώρουν                                                | κατωλιγώρουν                             |
| 70.3.7  | ἐβουλόμην                                                   | ἡβουλόμην (sic E) ut vid. M              |
| 70.4.2  | συρακουσῶν                                                  | συρρακουσῶν (sic E) ut vid.<br>M         |
| 70.4.5  | πάντα ἀήττητος                                              | πάντ' ἀήττητος                           |
| 70.5.1  | παραπλήσια                                                  | παραπλησία                               |

|        |                                                              |                 |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 72.1.3 | τηνάλλως                                                     | τηνάλλως        |
| 72.1.7 | fort. ῥλειπται P <sup>1</sup> (ῥληπται p.c. P <sup>2</sup> ) | εἴληπται        |
| 73.1.3 | συγχωρούμενον                                                | συγχωρούμενον   |
| 74.3.4 | συμπεπτωκότες                                                | ξυμπεπτωκότες   |
| 74.4.3 | βιοτὸν                                                       | βιωτὸν          |
| 75.1.5 | δέει                                                         | δέοι            |
| 75.2.6 | δεύτερα                                                      | δεύτερ'         |
| 75.2.7 | μεταβάλλοντα                                                 | μεταβάλλοντ'    |
| 78.2.1 | βιοτεύων                                                     | βιωτεύων        |
| 79.2.1 | περιγίνεσθαι                                                 | περιγίνεσθαι    |
| 80.3.3 | πομπηλίου                                                    | πομπιλίου       |
| 80.3.5 | συλλογίζεσθαι                                                | ξυλλογίζεσθαι   |
| 80.4.2 | κατεγλωτισμένον                                              | κατεγλωτισμένον |
| 81.2.2 | συνιδεῖν                                                     | ξυνιδεῖν        |

In most or all of these cases it is difficult to say which alternative is likely to be the more and which the less authentic.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that in the case of several recurring phenomena, such as συν- opposed to ξυν-, or γιγν- opposed to γιν-, there is no clear tendency for any of the MSS to favour the one alternative at the expense of the other.

### 2.2.3 SUMMARY

The categorization presented above has not yielded a clear result.

In an overwhelming number of cases there is no telling which is the more, which the less authentic reading.

I incline to the opinion that in some cases P, and in some cases M, contains an erroneous, or secondary, reading, and the natural explanation would be that the MSS, independently of each other, go back to a common ancestor.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> See also: 63.4.2 τοὺς: τοῦς P; 66.1.3 ἐξουρίου P, ἐξ οὐρίου E, non leg. M; 67.2.4 γραῖδια P, i.e. non exhib. trema; 67.13.1 ἐκποδῶν: ἐκποδῶν M; 67.14.4 ἴσα: ἴσα M; 67.15.3 ταῦτα: ταυτὰ M, ταῦτα E; 70.4.3 ῥωμαικῆς P, i.e. non exhib. trema; 70.5.3 ἐπαίειν P, i.e. non exhib. trema; 75.4.1 μετατῶν P; 76.4.6 ἐπαίοντα P, i.e. non exhib. trema; 77.2.6 ἀγιστείας: ἀγιστείας M; 81.3.8 κρίνουσί: κοῖνουσί ut vid. M (κοῖνουσί E). I have, from this list, also excluded several words where no accent is visible in P.

<sup>33</sup> This is also the opinion of Hult 2002, building on the essays 1–26 & 71, and of Hult 2016, building on the essays 27–60; cf. above, 2.2, p. xxvi.

However, this conclusion is permissible only if the nature and cause of the errors can be established with sufficient probability. Is it an error a scribe is more likely to commit than the author? Why does the other branch seem to be right: does it preserve an authentic reading, or has correction taken place? In sum, I am not confident that the evidence can be used to prove the actual relationship between the MSS.<sup>34</sup>

In spite of this almost total agnosticism some circumstantial evidence may be adduced.

Some very few readings may indicate that P uses a higher style: see e.g. 62.2.2 and the position of δέ. It is probably less likely that anyone would change from a higher to a lower style than the opposite.

In the already mentioned (above, p. xxviii) case of 69.1.6 (ἀποφεύγοι: ἀπ- ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>, sed sic etiam ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, ἄν φεύγοι M), the reading of M, ἄν φεύγοι, leaves us with a somewhat peculiar case of ὅταν with ἄν, and the reading of P could well be a correction of this (leaving us with ὅταν ... ἀποφεύγοι, which is noteworthy but, probably, unobjectionable Byzantine Greek).

I would also like to draw attention to a passage published in Hult 2016: in 57.7.3 the MS M (fol. 138r, l. 16) leaves a blank. This does not, to me, seem like a case where the paper would not allow the absorption of ink. A possible explanation of this could be that the scribe of M did not know what to put in the slot in question, and that the reading of P (ἀνεπιστρόφως ἔχοντες) is a second thought and the result of later activity (another explanation would be that the scribe of M copies from an exemplar with exactly this lacuna and leaves a corresponding blank).

The circumstantial evidence thus adduced would at least not contradict the picture of P being secondary as compared to M, either being a copy of M, or the copy of a MS similar to M. This would allow the view that M is, in fact, the original MS, or, to put it vaguely, at least very close to the process of creation of the work. This idea is attractive since it allows us to believe in as few MSS as possible. Indeed, if M is the original, there may never have existed any 14th c. MSS but those known to us. Further

<sup>34</sup> This is also my opinion about the evidence presented in Hult 2002 and 2016.

evidence compatible with this is that of the possibly somewhat preliminary character of M which is hinted at by the presence of folia not, or only partly, filled with text. Another piece of evidence, also pointing to a close relationship of the MSS to each other and, possibly, the existence of few MSS in circulation, is discussed in 2.7, p. xli, namely the presence of exactly the same corrections in P and M (and also in E).

As to the opposite, i.e. that M is secondary to P, no positive evidence has emerged.

### 2.3 CORRECTIONS BY THE MAIN SCRIBES

In 2.2 some examples were mentioned of how the main scribes correct themselves. Here the remaining cases of corrections by the main scribes will be displayed.

As already mentioned (2.2.2, p. xxxii), the tendency of P<sup>1</sup> to correct the word order is fairly common. Further corrections by P<sup>1</sup> are the following:

- 73.2.7    ὀλίγος ἐνταῦθα πόνος p.c. P et ut vid. M, ut vid. ὀλίγοις ἐνταῦθα πόνοις a.c.  
P  
74.1.4    νόμοι E et ut vid. M (et p.c. P), νόμοι τοι a.c. P  
75.3.3    ὥς M et p.c. P, fort. ὥσπερ a.c. P (lacunam fere 3 litt. exhib.)

See also 66.3.7 (λείποιτο (sic E, non leg. M), λοίποιτο a.c. P, corr. fort. P<sup>1</sup>), which is trivial. 75.3.5 (ἀνύττοντας a.c. P, corr. ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>) may be considered equally trivial, but ἀνύττ- seems to be the spelling of this word elsewhere in Metochites (see *Logos* 10).

Above, 2.2.2, p. xxxii, I mentioned a case of corrected word order in M (75.3.7: the correction has been carried out by the main scribe). There are also the following cases of correction by M's main scribe:

- 63.4.2    τοῦ: τὸ (ou s.l.) M, τοῦ E  
64.5.6    καὶ p.c. fort. ε καὶ M  
66 title    ζ fort. p.c. ε ζ M (etiam rubro add. in mg. ξς M)  
67 title    ζ fort. p.c. ex η M (etiam rubro add. in mg. ξς M)

There may occasionally be some doubt whether it is actually the main scribe or a *manus secunda* who has made these corrections. Problematic is further 62.2.3 ἀπαλλάξετε: fort. α (i.e. ἀπαλλάξατε) p.c. M, in which case M seems to have introduced a new reading on second thought. However, this new reading does not look like an improvement, if at all possible.

Corrections common to P and M (and E) are discussed below, see 2.7, p. xli.

#### 2.4 CORRECTIONS BY P<sup>2</sup>: P<sup>2</sup> = M

In the following cases an original reading in P has been corrected by a *manus secunda* (for this hand see also 1.1, p. xiii, and 3, p. li), and this has been done in such a way that P has been made to conform with M (E):

- 61.2.4 ἀσφαλές M et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, ut vid. ἀσφαλής P<sup>1</sup>
- 64.4.2 ἀνθαιρούμεθα M, -εθ- vel fort. -εν- (i.e. -μενα) P<sup>1</sup>, -εθ- p.c. P<sup>2</sup>
- 64.5.2 ἅττα E et p.c. fort. P<sup>2</sup> (non vid. M), ἄ- ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>
- 65.1.4 κακοπραγίας M et p.c. fort. P<sup>2</sup>, κακροπραγίας P<sup>1</sup>
- 67.5.4 ἐκτήσαντο M, ἐκτήσαν P<sup>1</sup>, το s.l. P<sup>2</sup>
- 67.6.6 καὶ M, om. P, add. P<sup>2</sup>
- 67.6.9 δρώην M, δρώη ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, -ν add. P<sup>2</sup>
- 67.18.9 καὶ bis, in fine lineae et in initio lineae sequentis, exhib. P<sup>1</sup>, καὶ<sup>1</sup> del. ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>
- 67.20.4 αὐτὸς M et s.l. P<sup>2</sup>, αὐτὰς P<sup>1</sup>
- 68.2.4 βελτίστων M, -ν add. P<sup>2</sup>, de P<sup>1</sup> non constat
- 68.3.10 βίᾱ M, -α P<sup>2</sup>, fort. -ο P<sup>1</sup>
- 70.1.3 ἐπιστήμη M, -πι- s.l. add. ut vid. P<sup>2</sup> (i.e. ἐστήμη exhib. P<sup>1</sup>)
- 70.3.1 μαθηματικῆς M, -μα- sub linea add. P<sup>2</sup> (i.e. μαθητικῆς exhib. P<sup>1</sup>)
- 74.1.7 οὖν M, om. P<sup>1</sup>, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>
- 75.1.2 τῆς E et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, fort. τοῖς P<sup>1</sup>, non leg. M
- 76.3.2 τοῦ M et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, fort. τῆς a.c. P<sup>1</sup>
- 78.3.6 αὐτῆς M et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, αὐτοῖς P<sup>1</sup>
- 80.2.4 καὶ αὐτὸς (sic M) bis, in fine lineae et in initio lineae sequentis, exhib. P<sup>1</sup>, primum expunxit fort. P<sup>2</sup>
- 81.1.7 ἀνόνητα M, ἀνόητα P<sup>1</sup>, -ν- inter ó et η add. P<sup>2</sup>
- 81.4.2 ἄττα P<sup>2</sup>M, fort. ἅττα P<sup>1</sup>

See also the following doubtful cases:

- 62.1.4 διαθελεύειν: διαθλεύειν a.c. P, -ε- (i.e. διαθελεύειν) add. P<sup>1</sup> vel P<sup>2</sup>  
 69.1.2 δναιντ': ὠναιντ' P<sup>2</sup>, ὠναιντ' vel fort. ὠναιτ' P<sup>1</sup>  
 70.1.2 καθότι: accentum posuit P<sup>2</sup>, de accentu in P<sup>1</sup> non constat  
 70.3.5 κατασυλλογιζομένους: -τ- P<sup>2</sup>, sic vel fort. -I- vel -Γ- exhib. P<sup>1</sup>  
 74.2.1 κέαρ: κέ (super)scripsit P<sup>2</sup>, aliquid illegibile et post hoc -ε- exhib. P<sup>1</sup>  
 78.1.2 αἰροῦνται: αἰ- P<sup>2</sup>, sed fort. sic etiam P<sup>1</sup>  
 80.3.4 πολυετεί: -λι- ut vid. a.c. P<sup>1</sup>, corr. fort. P<sup>2</sup>

Most of these corrections are quite trivial and could be performed without recourse to a MS with the correct reading. A possible exception is 74.1.7 (οὖν om. P, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>) in which case, perhaps, it is not self-evident that, even should one feel the need for a particle, one should choose οὖν and no other. Though hardly sufficient to convince anyone on its own, such a case might be evidence to the effect that P<sup>2</sup> had recourse to a MS with the properties of M.

## 2.5 OTHER CORRECTIONS BY P<sup>2</sup>

The following are readings in P<sup>2</sup> with no correspondence elsewhere in the tradition (with the possible exception of copies of P, which have not been taken into account):

- 61.5.1 καί: καὶ τὰ M et fort. a.c. P<sup>1</sup>, τὰ fort. erasit P<sup>2</sup>  
 62.1.3 κλήρον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>  
 63.6.7 ἀναδιδάσκειν: ἀναμανθάνειν P<sup>1</sup>M, γρ(άφετ)αι ἀναδιδάσκειν in mg. P<sup>2</sup>  
 64.1.5 διαπεράσαι p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, διαπερᾶσαι M et a.c. P<sup>1</sup>  
 65.1.6 οἱ ut vid. p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, οἱ M et fort. P<sup>1</sup>  
 68.1.1 ἢ ἕκαστος πρότερον: ut vid. ἕκαστος ad ἢ s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>, (ἕκαστος) om. P<sup>1</sup>M (i.e. exhib. ἢ πρότερον etc.)  
 70.1.1 τοι om. P<sup>1</sup>M, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>  
 74.1.2 μὴ om. P<sup>1</sup>M, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>  
 74.1.2 πλείστων: πλείστον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>  
 74.2.1 φύσιως: φύσεως fort. P<sup>1</sup> et -ε- corr. in -I- P<sup>2</sup>, fort. scrib. φύσιος, quod fort. exhib. M  
 76.3.2 ἐκίνησεν: ἐκίνησε καὶ M, -ν add. P<sup>2</sup>, fort. etiam exhib. καὶ P<sup>1</sup>, quod ut vid. erasit P<sup>2</sup>

- 77.2.2 ἀπειθεία P<sup>2</sup>, ἀπειθεία P<sup>1</sup>M  
 79.1.5 περιγίνοιτο: περιγένοιτο P<sup>1</sup>, περιγίνοιτο M, corr. P<sup>2</sup>  
 80 title ἐργασίαις: θεωρίαις P<sup>1</sup>M, expunxit θεωρίαις et add. ἐργασίαις in mg. P<sup>2</sup>  
 80.1.3 μὲν fort. P<sup>2</sup>, τε M et fort. P<sup>1</sup>  
 80.1.6 ἄττα p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, ἄττα P<sup>1</sup>M  
 80.2.10 ἔχουσι M et ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, ut vid. -ω- P<sup>2</sup>, i.e. corr. in ἔχωσι  
 81.4.3 τὸ: τῷ P<sup>1</sup>M, o s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>  
 81.4.4 ἄττα P<sup>2</sup>, ἄττα P<sup>1</sup>M

These corrections are of varying kind and consequence. Some are trivial (e.g. ἄττα: ἄττα). In some cases, both alternatives are plausible (e.g. 63.6.7, or 80.1.3). 64.1.5 (διαπεράσαι p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, διαπερᾶσαι M et a.c. P<sup>1</sup>) is a case similar to 79.2.2 (συμπεράναι PME pro συμπερᾶναι): it is not clear whether a 14th c. writer (or copyist) would have known when what kind of accent is due. In some further cases, P<sup>2</sup> is most certainly correct (e.g. 77.2.2).

In 62.1.3 (συνέχειαν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ κλήρων (κλήρων: κλήρον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>)) the correction of P<sup>2</sup> is surprising: a change from κλήρων to κλήρον would seem more natural. Also in the similar case of 74.1.2 (πλείστων: πλείστον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>) the reading of P<sup>2</sup> looks like a deterioration. In fact, in both instances the genitive plural of P<sup>2</sup> looks like an example of case attraction, making the words κλήρων and πλείστων conform with a neighbouring word also in the genitive plural.

Further, in 68.1.1 (ἡ ἕκαστος πρότερον: ut vid. ἕκαστος ad ἡ s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>, (ἕκαστος) om. P<sup>1</sup>M (i.e. exhib. ἡ πρότερον etc.)) the addition of P<sup>2</sup> should presumably yield the reading ἡ ἕκαστος; this gives a text which, while certainly possible, is hardly an improvement on a simple ἡ.

Also problematic is 81.4.3 (τὸ: τῷ P<sup>1</sup>M, o s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>), in which case we have an articular infinitive which would seem to be instrumental.

See also:

- 74.1.2 καὶ μὴ πολλοῖς παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ συμφέρεσθαι, μὴ (μὴ om. P<sup>1</sup>M, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>)  
 δίχα καμάτων κτλ.

This instance is similar to the other cases of added negations discussed above, 2.2.1, p. xxviii. The μὴ added here follows upon an earlier negation

and may, also, perhaps, through the closeness to δίχα, be ‘psychologically understandable’ (cf. above, 2.2.1).

There are also some cases where P<sup>2</sup> has intervened although it is more than doubtful that P<sup>1</sup> had another reading:

- 65.2.3 περινοίᾳ (sic M) partim (-ερινοί-) e manu altera quam P<sup>1</sup> (P<sup>2</sup>?) legi  
 67.16.1 Ἑλλήνων (sic M) partim e P<sup>2</sup> legi (i.e. non leg. P<sup>1</sup>)  
 69.2.5 ἄλλως E, -ω- P<sup>2</sup>, ut vid. -ου vel -ω- P<sup>1</sup>, non leg. M  
 75.1.2 ἀποτρεπτόν P<sup>2</sup>M, non leg. P<sup>1</sup>

See also:

- 73.3.5 μάταιον: -ν p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, de fine vocis sec. P<sup>1</sup> non constat (-ν vel -ς vel -ι),  
 μάταιος M

Considering P’s general state of preservation, which is very good, it is somewhat surprising that there should have been any need for all these interventions by P<sup>2</sup>. See also:

- 62.3.8 ἀνθρωπείοις: -ει- s.l. add. P<sup>1</sup> vel P<sup>2</sup>, ἀνθρωπίνους M

In the case of 74.2.1 (φύσιως: φύσεως fort. P<sup>1</sup> et -ε- corr. in -ι- P<sup>2</sup>, fort. scrib. φύσιος, quod fort. exhib. M), P<sup>2</sup> has corrected the -ε- in φύσεως into an -ι-; perhaps φύσιος (cf. M) is what P<sup>2</sup> had in mind.

## 2.6 CORRECTIONS BY M<sup>2</sup>

In the following cases I suspect the intervention of a *manus secunda* in M:<sup>35</sup>

- 64 title δ fort. p.c. ex ε M (corr. fort. M<sup>2</sup>)  
 64.1.2 ὥς P, ἢ E et fort. M<sup>2</sup>, de M a.c. non constat  
 70.1.1 πράγμασιν ... τις: πράγμασιν τὸ χρήσιμον (τὸ χρήσιμον s.l. add. ut vid. M<sup>2</sup>)  
 ὅψαιτ’ ἂν τις M, πράγμασι τὸ χρήσιμον E

<sup>35</sup> See also 77.2.2 πᾶσιν: iv fort. M<sup>2</sup> (also, there is a stroke in the following line, between the words ἀλογία and τάξεως, which may have been added by the same M<sup>2</sup>). As suggested above (see 1.2 and 1.3) the correcting hand, M<sup>2</sup>, may be that of the scribe of E.

Of these 64.1.2 may be an example of a problem in the archetype: before correction M may, like P, have had ὡς instead of ἥ (which, considering the fact that the sentence must be understood as a comparison, is troublesome).

## 2.7 MULTIPLE CORRECTION

The following cases have in common that one primary reading has been replaced by an identical secondary reading in more than one MS (for such cases in M and E only, see above, 2.1):

- 67.6.3 ὅσοις E, ὅσων in textu et -οις s.l. PM  
 67.19.4 μετεκίρνων p.c. P<sup>1</sup>ME, κατεκίρνων a.c. PME (i.e. in textu κα- et s.l. με- P<sup>1</sup>ME)  
 68.2.11 ἀτευξίαν: ἀταξίαν in textu et ευ s.l. P<sup>1</sup>M  
 79.2.2 τοῦτο: τοῦτω a.c. P, s.l. corr. in τοῦτο P<sup>1</sup>, τοῦτω et ᾗ et ο s.l. M, τοῦτο E (add. ᾗ s.l. E<sup>2</sup>)

See also:

- 76.1.3 αὐτῶν: αὐτ in textu et tam οἱς quam ὧν per comp. s.l. exhib. P, αὐτοῖς in textu et ὧν s.l. exhib. M

Since the same correction is carried out in the same place in more than one MS, it is not unreasonable to suppose that there is a close relationship between the MSS, and perhaps that there has been a direct contact between the MSS known to us—if the corrections are not of such a kind that they were bound to be made several times independently.

## 2.8 EARLIER EDITIONS: MÜLLER AND KIESSLING

On the editions of essay 61 by Bydén and of essay 80 by Marzi, see below, 3.3., p. lv.

Below follows a list of the divergences between the present edition and Müller & Kiessling's 1821 edition (M-K); the information here is not generally included in my *apparatus criticus*.

The list includes differences of orthography including that of the use of *ny ephelkystikon*. Unimportant differences in accentuation, especially that of enclitics, are not reported: one reason for such differences is that M-K's edition depends chiefly on a MS of the 16th c. (the Cizensis 64). I have, of course, reported differences of accent which seem worthy of note or which might be of interest for the interpretation. Potentially interesting cases of a differing use of the *iota subscriptum* are likewise mentioned.

An important difference between this edition (like that of Hult 2002 and Hult 2016) and that of M-K lies in the punctuation. With one notable exception (76.2.4), these differences are not reflected in the list below.

Remaining differences, however trivial (and often, no doubt, nothing but errors due to the printer), are reported.

Wherever I have considered it of interest, I have included information on the readings and comments to be found in M-K's apparatus.

|          | The present edition                 |        | Müller & Kiessling                                   |
|----------|-------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 61.1.2   | λέσχη                               | 371.4  | λέγχη (λέσχη exhib. in app.)                         |
| 61.2.1   | γε                                  | 371.19 | τε                                                   |
| 61.2.5–6 | καὶ μηδὲν – φανήσεται               | 372.22 | om. (καὶ μηδὲν – φανήσεται exhib. in app.)           |
| 61.2.6   | κόμπος – ἀμαθία                     | 372.23 | om. (fere eadem quae κόμπος – ἀμαθία exhib. in app.) |
| 61.2.6   | σὺν θράσει                          | 372.23 | συνθράσει                                            |
| 61.2.8   | ἀναμφίστονον                        | 373.10 | ἀναφόριστον (ἀναμφίστονον exhib. in app.)            |
| 61.2.10  | ἀνῦσαι                              | 374.4  | ἀνύσαι (ἀνῦσαι exhib. in app.)                       |
| 61.3.1   | προάγωνες                           | 374.7  | προαγῶνες (προάγωνες exhib. in app.)                 |
| 61.4.1   | τοῦ                                 | 375.8  | om.                                                  |
| 61.5.4   | τάναντί'                            | 377.7  | τάναντία                                             |
| 61.5.5   | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)          | 377.16 | ἄττα                                                 |
| 62.1.3   | κλήρων (κλήρον exhib. in app.)      | 378.20 | κλήρον                                               |
| 62.1.4   | ὀπιοῦν                              | 378.23 | ὀποιοῦν                                              |
| 62.1.4   | διαεθλεύειν (διαθλ- exhib. in app.) | 378.24 | διεθλεύειν (διαθλ-//διαεθλ- exhib. in app.)          |
| 62.1.6   | ὄσ'                                 | 379.14 | ὄσα                                                  |
| 62.1.7   | παρέχωνται                          | 379.19 | παρέχονται                                           |

|         |                                            |           |                                             |
|---------|--------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------|
| 62.1.8  | γέλωθ'                                     | 379.23    | γέλωτ'                                      |
| 62.2.1  | οὐ χαιρήσεις                               | 380.5     | οὐχ αἰρήσεις (οὐχαιρήσεις exhib. in app.)   |
| 62.2.1  | καταπιμπρώμενος                            | 380.5–6   | καταπιμπράμενος                             |
| 62.2.7  | φιλοδικοῦσι                                | 381.16    | φιλονικοῦσι (φιλοδικοῦσι exhib. in app.)    |
| 62.3.2  | ὄν                                         | 382.6     | ὄν                                          |
| 62.3.8  | ἀνθρωπείois                                | 383.11    | ἀνθρώποις                                   |
| 63.1.3  | συνηγορία                                  | 384.14    | συνηγορίαν (συνηγορία exhib. in app.)       |
| 63.1.5  | γνώμης                                     | 384.24    | γνώμη (γνώμης/γνώμην exhib. in app.)        |
| 63.1.6  | μέλλοντι                                   | 385.8     | μένοντι (μέλλοντι exhib. in app.)           |
| 63.2.4  | ἀπόμοτον                                   | 386.1     | ἀπότομον                                    |
| 63.2.8  | αὐταῖς                                     | 386.28    | αὐτοῖς                                      |
| 63.3.2  | ἐν                                         | 387.18    | om.                                         |
| 63.4.2  | μόνον (μόνην exhib. in app.)               | 389.3     | μόνην (μόνον exhib. in app.)                |
| 63.5.2  | διαεθλεύοντα                               | 390.20    | διαθλεύοντα                                 |
| 63.5.2  | περιγινόμενον                              | 390.20–21 | περιγινόμενον                               |
| 63.5.6  | φαῖνη                                      | 391.15    | φαῖη (an φαῖνη? exhib. in app.)             |
| 63.5.6  | τῇ                                         | 391.15    | om.                                         |
| 63.6.1  | πραγμάτων alt.                             | 392.15    | πλασμάτων                                   |
| 63.6.7  | ἀναδιδάσκειν (ἀναμανθάνειν exhib. in app.) | 393.21    | ἀναμανθάνειν (ἀναδιδάσκειν exhib. in app.)  |
| 64.1.1  | βιώσαντα                                   | 394.14    | βιώσαντας                                   |
| 64.1.3  | εἶναι – Λακεδαιμονίους                     | 394.20    | om. (εἶναι – Λακεδαιμονίους exhib. in app.) |
| 64.1.5  | διαπεράσαι                                 | 395.12    | διαπερᾶσαι                                  |
| 64.2.1  | οὐπω ποτὲ                                  | 395.24–25 | οὐ πώποτε                                   |
| 64.2.2  | Θηβαίους                                   | 395.28    | Θηβαίοις                                    |
| 64.4.1  | ἀηθεσι                                     | 397.23    | ἀηθέσι                                      |
| 64.4.2  | ἐπιτυγχάνοιμἐν                             | 398.1     | ἐπιτυγχάνοι μέν                             |
| 64.4.3  | κατὰ                                       | 398.3     | μετὰ                                        |
| 64.5.1  | ἐπιδοξότατ'                                | 398.18–19 | ἐπιδοξότατα                                 |
| 64.5.5  | ἥτις                                       | 399.7     | ἥ τις                                       |
| 65 tit. | δίκη                                       | 399.18    | δίκης (δίκη exhib. in app.)                 |
| 65.1.2  | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                 | 400.4     | ἄττα                                        |
| 65.1.2  | προκατασκευασάμενοι                        | 400.5     | προκατασκευασμένοι                          |
| 65.1.5  | προσποιοῦμενος                             | 400.22    | προποιοῦμενος                               |

|        |                                    |           |                                                       |
|--------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 65.1.6 | ῥᾶστ'                              | 400.25    | ῥᾶστα                                                 |
| 65.1.6 | οἷ                                 | 401.1     | ὄς                                                    |
| 65.2.1 | Ἀκραγαντίνων                       | 401.13    | Ἀκραγαντίνων                                          |
| 65.2.4 | καταπιμνωμένους                    | 402.4     | πιμνωμένους                                           |
| 65.2.4 | μηκνυμένους                        | 402.5     | μηκνυμένους                                           |
| 65.2.4 | γλυκυθυμίαν                        | 402.10    | γλυκυθυμίας                                           |
| 65.2.5 | βδελυζόμενον                       | 402.11    | βδελυζόμενον                                          |
| 65.2.6 | καὶ pr.                            | 402.17    | om.                                                   |
| 65.3.1 | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)         | 403.6     | ἄττα                                                  |
| 65.3.3 | λοιμῶ                              | 403.14    | λοιπῶ                                                 |
| 65.3.3 | ἀποβαλλόμενος                      | 403.14–15 | ἀποβαλλόμενος                                         |
| 65.3.7 | μονοφθάλμω                         | 404.15–16 | μονοφθάλμω                                            |
| 65.4.3 | τὴν                                | 405.11    | om.                                                   |
| 66.1.1 | ἀνοδεύτως                          | 406.6     | ἀνοδεύτων                                             |
| 66.1.2 | ἅμα – ἔχοντες                      | 406.7     | om. (fere eadem quae<br>ἅμα – ἔχοντες exhib. in app.) |
| 66.1.2 | καὶ πείθεσθαι                      | 406.10    | καὶ μὴ πείθεσθαι ...                                  |
| 66.1.3 | ἀπαντώσας                          | 406.12    | ἀπαντώσας                                             |
| 66.1.5 | περιγινομένην                      | 407.1–2   | περιγινομένην                                         |
| 66.1.6 | σφάλουσαν                          | 407.4     | σφαλοῦσαν                                             |
| 66.3.3 | πλείστη μὲν ἀηδία καὶ<br>δυσχερεία | 409.5–6   | πλείστη μὲν ἀηδία καὶ<br>δυσχερεία                    |
| 66.3.5 | βδελυροὶ                           | 409.16    | βδελυροὶ                                              |
| 66.4.3 | ναυαγοῦσιν                         | 410.16    | ναυαγοῦσι                                             |
| 66.4.7 | ἐνσπόνδων                          | 411.12    | ἐν σπόδων (ἐνσπόνδων exhib.<br>in app.)               |
| 66.5.2 | ρίπτειν                            | 411.23    | ρίπτειν                                               |
| 66.5.3 | κάειν                              | 412.4     | κάειν (κάειν exhib. in app.)                          |
| 66.5.6 | μέντ'                              | 412.18    | μέν τ'                                                |
| 67.2.6 | ἦ                                  | 415.16    | ἦ                                                     |
| 67.4.3 | ἐπιθεμένων                         | 418.20–21 | ἐπιτιθεμένων                                          |
| 67.4.4 | τίνων (τινων exhib. in app.)       | 418.23–24 | τινῶν                                                 |
| 67.5.6 | ἐθαυμάζοντο                        | 420.19    | ἐθαύμαζον                                             |
| 67.5.7 | σύνδεσμον                          | 420.21    | σύνδεσμων                                             |
| 67.5.7 | τῆς pr.                            | 420.23    | om.                                                   |
| 67.5.7 | ἐξέστησαν                          | 420.24–25 | ἐξανέστησαν                                           |
| 67.5.8 | Καὶ (pr.)                          | 421.1     | om.                                                   |
| 67.6.3 | ὄσοις (ὄσων exhib. in app.)        | 421.21    | ὄσων (ὄσοις exhib. in app.)                           |
| 67.6.3 | παραμένειν                         | 421.23    | παραμένειν                                            |
| 67.6.6 | καὶ δυσνοίαις καὶ                  | 422.10    | καὶ δυσνοίαις                                         |
| 67.6.9 | τὰ παρ' ἄλλοις                     | 423.5     | παρ' ἄλλοις                                           |

|          |                                   |           |                                                                |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 67.7.5   | Μαρίου                            | 424.2     | μακαρίου                                                       |
| 67.9.1   | πολέμους                          | 425.9     | πολεμίου (πολέμους exhib. in app.)                             |
| 67.9.4   | Κύννα (Κίννα in app.)             | 425.25    | Κίννα                                                          |
| 67.10.4  | τῆς ζωῆς                          | 427.4     | ζωῆς                                                           |
| 67.11.5  | καὶ πάσης                         | 428.3     | πάσης                                                          |
| 67.11.5  | κεκραμμένη (κεκραμένη in app.)    | 428.4–5   | κεκραμένη                                                      |
| 67.12.3  | τὸν ἄνδρα                         | 429.6     | ἄνδρα                                                          |
| 67.12.3  | ἀνονήτως                          | 429.9     | ἀνονήτων                                                       |
| 67.13.1  | Καίσαρ                            | 430.3     | Καίσαρ                                                         |
| 67.13.1  | ῥετο                              | 430.6     | ῥετο τὸ (ῥετο exhib. in app.)                                  |
| 67.14.5  | τὰ τιμώτατα                       | 432.8     | τιμώτατα                                                       |
| 67.14.6  | τοῖς (ταῖς exhib. in app.)        | 432.11    | ταῖς                                                           |
| 67.14.7  | γυναικωνίτιν                      | 432.14    | γυναικωνίτιν                                                   |
| 67.15.8  | αἰρουμένους (αἰρουμένους in app.) | 434.5–6   | αἰρουμένους                                                    |
| 67.15.9  | ἐντεῦθεν – ἀποτελευτήσεις         | 434.18    | om. (fere eadem quae ἐντεῦθεν – ἀποτελευτήσεις exhib. in app.) |
| 67.18.5  | ὥς                                | 437.9     | om.                                                            |
| 67.18.8  | Λακεδαιμονίοις                    | 438.5     | Λακεδαιμονίος                                                  |
| 67.19.4  | μετεκίρνων (κατεκίρνων in app.)   | 438.26    | κατεκίρνων (μετεκίρνων exhib. in app.)                         |
| 67.19.10 | Λακεδαιμονίων                     | 440.6–7   | Λακεδαιμονίους                                                 |
| 67.20.3  | καταστασιάζων καὶ                 | 440.23–24 | καταστασιάζων (καταστασιάζων καὶ exhib. in app.)               |
| 68.1.1   | ἢ ἕκαστος πρότερον                | 442.13–14 | ἕκαστος ἢ πρότερον                                             |
| 68.1.3   | τάναντίʹ                          | 442.23    | τάναντία                                                       |
| 68.2.11  | ἀτευξίαν (ἀταξίαν exhib. in app.) | 445.16    | ἀταξίαν                                                        |
| 68.3.4   | ἀνῦσαι                            | 446.7–8   | ἀνύσαι                                                         |
| 68.3.8   | ὥς                                | 447.2     | εἰς                                                            |
| 68.3.9   | χαιρήσει                          | 447.7     | χαιρήσουσιν                                                    |
| 68.4.2   | σμήχειν                           | 447.21    | σμήχειν                                                        |
| 68.4.6   | καὶ φύσει                         | 448.17    | φύσει (καὶ φύσει exhib. in app.)                               |
| 69.2.2   | φίλως                             | 451.6     | φίλος (φίλως exhib. in app.)                                   |
| 69.2.3   | κατηγοροῦντες                     | 451.14–15 | κατηγοροῦντες                                                  |
| 69.3.5   | ἦν                                | 452.26    | ἦ                                                              |
| 69.3.5   | βραχέαττα                         | 452.27    | βραχέα ἄττα (βραχέαττα                                         |

|        |                                                             |           |                                                         |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|        |                                                             |           | exhib. in app.)                                         |
| 69.3.5 | ἧ                                                           | 453.1     | ἧ                                                       |
| 69.4.1 | ἀξιοῦσι                                                     | 453.7     | ἀξιοῦ (ἀξιοῦσι exhib. in app.)                          |
| 69.4.2 | οὐχ'                                                        | 453.11    | οἶχ                                                     |
| 69.4.4 | αἰδούμενοι                                                  | 454.1–2   | ξυνορῶντας φειδόμενοι<br>(αἰδούμενοι exhib. in app.)    |
| 69.4.5 | τάναντί'                                                    | 454.4     | τάναντία                                                |
| 70.1.1 | τοι                                                         | 454.18    | τὸ                                                      |
| 70.1.4 | ἢ τῇδ' ἐπιστήμη                                             | 455.14    | τῇδ' ἐπιστήμη                                           |
| 70.1.4 | ἐναργείαις                                                  | 455.15    | ἐνεργείαις                                              |
| 70.1.5 | τὰ τοιαῦθ'                                                  | 455.21    | τοιαῦθ' (τὸ αὐθ' exhib. in<br>app.)                     |
| 70.2.2 | καὶ παντὶ                                                   | 456.23    | παντὶ                                                   |
| 70.2.2 | ἄρ'                                                         | 457.2     | ἄρα                                                     |
| 70.2.4 | Ὡς                                                          | 457.8     | καὶ ὡς                                                  |
| 70.2.5 | μαγκανεύματα (μαγκ-<br>exhib. in app.)                      | 457.14–15 | μαγγανεύματα (μαγκ- in app.)                            |
| 70.3.5 | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                  | 459.7     | ἄττα                                                    |
| 70.3.8 | κατασκαφᾶς                                                  | 459.23–24 | κατασφᾶς (κατασκαφᾶς<br>exhib. in app.)                 |
| 70.4.1 | λόγους                                                      | 460.10    | λόγοις                                                  |
| 70.5.2 | κατασυλλογίζεσθαι                                           | 461.19    | κατελλογίζεσθαι (κατασυλλο-<br>γίζεσθαι exhib. in app.) |
| 70.5.3 | τοῦ νοῦ                                                     | 461.26    | τοῦ (νοῦ exhib. in app.)                                |
| 70.5.7 | ἐκποδῶν                                                     | 462.24–25 | ἐκ ποδῶν                                                |
| 72.1.7 | ἤληπται (ἤλειπται et<br>εἴληπται exhib. in app.)            | 483.1     | ἤλειπται (an εἴληπται? exhib.<br>in app.)               |
| 72.2.1 | πλεῖστον                                                    | 483.4     | πλεῖστοι                                                |
| 73.1.7 | περιγινόμενον                                               | 486.10    | περιγινόμενον                                           |
| 73.2.4 | καὶ alt.                                                    | 487.6–7   | καὶ τῆς                                                 |
| 73.2.5 | συνοικίας                                                   | 487.17    | συνοικίσης (συνοικίας exhib.<br>in app.)                |
| 73.2.7 | θεοῦ                                                        | 487.25    | Χριστοῦ                                                 |
| 73.3.1 | τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις (τούτοις<br>τοῖς λόγοις exhib. in app.) | 488.9     | τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις                                     |
| 73.3.4 | τὰ                                                          | 488.26    | om.                                                     |
| 73.3.5 | παντάπασι                                                   | 489.9     | παντάπασι                                               |
| 73.3.6 | ἀντιπαλαῖσθαι                                               | 489.13    | ἀντιπαλαῖσθαι (ἀντιπαλαῖσθαι<br>exhib. in app.)         |
| 73.4.1 | εὐέλεκτον                                                   | 490.8     | εὐέλεκτον (εὐέλεκτον exhib.<br>in app.)                 |

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|--------|--------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73.4.1 | ἐστῶς                          | 490.8    | ἐστῶς                                                                       |
| 73.4.1 | ἐν ταῦτῳ – τυπούμενον          | 490.9    | ἐνταῦθα – τυπούμενον (fere eadem quae ἐν ταῦτῳ – τυπούμενον exhib. in app.) |
| 73.4.2 | ἀρτιουργὸν                     | 490.10   | ἀντιουργὸν (ἀρτιουργὸν exhib. in app.)                                      |
| 74.1.3 | ἐαυτοῖς                        | 492.2    | ἐαυτοῖς τοῖς                                                                |
| 74.1.7 | ἄλλους                         | 492.23   | ἄλλοις                                                                      |
| 74.2.1 | φύσιως (φύσιος exhib. in app.) | 493.14   | φύσεως                                                                      |
| 74.2.4 | ὀρώντας                        | 493.25   | ὀρώντα                                                                      |
| 74.3.2 | φιλοπρωτεῖαι                   | 494.28   | φιλοπρωτεῖαι                                                                |
| 74.4.3 | βιωτὸν                         | 496.3    | βιωτὸν                                                                      |
| 74.5.4 | βέλτισθ'                       | 496.26   | βέλτιστ'                                                                    |
| 74.5.5 | οὐκ – ἐπιβούλοις               | 497.1    | om. (fere eadem quae οὐκ – ἐπιβούλοις exhib. in app.)                       |
| 74.5.7 | διαδράς                        | 497.9–10 | καὶ διαδράς                                                                 |
| 74.5.7 | ἐπὶ λιμένος                    | 497.13   | ἐπιμελιμένος                                                                |
| 75.1.1 | ὅροις                          | 497.21   | ἔργοις                                                                      |
| 75.1.2 | ξυμπίπτουσιν                   | 498.3    | ξυμπίπτουσι                                                                 |
| 75.3.3 | νόμους                         | 501.20   | νόμοις                                                                      |
| 75.3.5 | παρρησί'                       | 502.6–7  | παρρησία                                                                    |
| 75.3.8 | διὰ λείας                      | 502.23   | δι' ἀλείας                                                                  |
| 75.3.9 | τὸν                            | 503.5    | τὸ                                                                          |
| 75.4.4 | τῇ ἀρετῇ                       | 504.1    | τῇ ἀρετῇ τῇ                                                                 |
| 76.1.3 | κουφότερον                     | 505.9    | κουφότερον (κουφότερον exhib. in app.)                                      |
| 76.1.3 | αὐτῶν (αὐτοῖς exhib. in app.)  | 505.11   | αὐτοῖς (αὐτῶν exhib. in app.)                                               |
| 76.2.2 | ἐρημία                         | 506.17   | ἐρημία                                                                      |
| 76.2.2 | ἄχθη                           | 506.21   | ἡχθη (ἄχθη exhib. in app.)                                                  |
| 76.2.4 | εὐφορία, λαμπρὰ                | 507.2    | εὐφορία λαμπρὰ,                                                             |
| 76.2.4 | κατάγχοντα                     | 507.4    | κατάγχοντα (κατάγχοντα exhib. in app.)                                      |
| 76.2.6 | ἐντεῦθεν                       | 507.12   | ἐντεῦθιν                                                                    |
| 76.3.5 | λύειν καὶ                      | 509.3    | λύειν                                                                       |
| 76.3.5 | τάκινητα                       | 509.6    | τὰ κίνητα (τ' ἀκίνητα exhib. in app.)                                       |
| 76.4.1 | εἰ                             | 509.18   | εἰς                                                                         |
| 76.4.1 | εἶχε                           | 509.18   | ἔχει                                                                        |
| 77.2.3 | ἰδί' – τρόποι πρὸς             | 513.3    | om. (fere eadem quae ἰδί' – τρόποι πρὸς exhib. in app.)                     |

|          |                                                           |            |                                                                |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 77.3.2   | ἄν                                                        | § 14.11    | κἄν                                                            |
| 77.3.3   | οὐτοσί                                                    | § 14.16    | οὐτωσί                                                         |
| 77.3.5   | θησαυρίζον – χρείας                                       | § 15.5     | om. (fere eadem quae<br>θησαυρίζον – χρείας exhib. in<br>app.) |
| 78.2.1   | περὶ τὸ                                                   | § 17.5     | περὶ                                                           |
| 78.2.1   | ἀσφαλοῦς – πολεμεῖν                                       | § 17.5–7   | bis exhib. sed alt. uncis<br>inclusum                          |
| 78.2.2   | ὠπλισμένους                                               | § 17.11    | ὠπλισμένοις (ὠπλισμένους<br>exhib. in app.)                    |
| 78.3.3   | περὶ ὧν ἦν                                                | § 19.18    | περιῆν                                                         |
| 78.3.4   | πολεμῆσιοντι                                              | § 20.4–5   | πολεμῆσιον τι                                                  |
| 79.1.5   | περιγίνοιτο                                               | § 21.24    | περιγίνοιτο (περιγίνοιτο<br>exhib. in app.)                    |
| 79.2.3   | ἀμέλει τοῦ σκοποῦ (τοῦ σκο-<br>ποῦ ἀμέλει exhib. in app.) | § 22.15–16 | τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀμέλει                                              |
| 79.2.4   | κάπῃ                                                      | § 22.23    | ἐπὶ                                                            |
| 79.2.4   | χειμῶνας                                                  | § 22.28    | χειμῶνα                                                        |
| 79.3.2   | δὲ                                                        | § 23.15    | δὲ τῶνδε                                                       |
| 79.3.5   | καὶ κατὰ                                                  | § 24.1     | καὶ τὰ                                                         |
| 80.1.4   | τε                                                        | § 25.16    | om.                                                            |
| 80.1.5   | τοῦ                                                       | § 25.18    | τοῦτο                                                          |
| 80.1.6   | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                | § 25.26    | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                     |
| 80.1.7   | ὥς                                                        | § 26.2     | om.                                                            |
| 80.2.1   | καλῶς                                                     | § 26.16    | κακῶς                                                          |
| 80.2.5   | ἀπαντᾷ                                                    | § 27.8     | ἐπαντᾷ (ἀπαντᾷ exhib. in<br>app.)                              |
| 80.2.5   | ἄττα                                                      | § 27.10    | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                     |
| 80.2.6   | καίρια                                                    | § 27.18–19 | καίρια, καὶ                                                    |
| 80.2.9   | τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν                                             | § 28.5     | ὑπόσχεσιν                                                      |
| 80.2.11  | ἐπιλυγάζεται                                              | § 28.18–19 | ἐπιλυγάζεται                                                   |
| 80.2.12  | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                | § 28.26    | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.)                                     |
| 80.3.1   | Ἀτάρ                                                      | § 29.2     | τὰ γάρ (Ἀτάρ exhib. in app.)                                   |
| 80.3.1   | τὸ                                                        | § 29.4     | om.                                                            |
| 80.3.4–5 | ἔχοντας – ὥς                                              | § 29.23    | om. (ἔχοντας – ὥς exhib. in<br>app.)                           |
| 80.3.6   | γ'                                                        | § 30.5     | om.                                                            |
| 80.3.6   | Ἄωνος                                                     | § 30.10    | Ἄωνος (Ἄωνος exhib. in<br>app.)                                |
| 80.4.2   | τελευτέρας                                                | § 31.3     | τελευτέρας                                                     |
| 81.1.2   | οἷ                                                        | § 32.14    | οὐ                                                             |

|        |                            |        |                                           |
|--------|----------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------------|
| 81.1.6 | μήθ'                       | 533.14 | μηδ'                                      |
| 81.2.3 | παντοί'                    | 534.8  | παντοῖα                                   |
| 81.2.5 | ῥάδιον – σύμφωνον          | 534.18 | om. (ῥάδιον – σύμφωνον<br>exhib. in app.) |
| 81.3.1 | τὸ alt.                    | 534.21 | om.                                       |
| 81.3.1 | καὶ γραφικῇ                | 535.2  | γραφικῇ                                   |
| 81.3.8 | ἥ                          | 536.4  | ἥ                                         |
| 81.4.2 | ἄττα (ἄττα exhib. in app.) | 536.16 | ἄττα                                      |
| 81.4.6 | τὸν – ζημιοῦντες           | 537.10 | om. (τὸν – ζημιοῦντες exhib.<br>in app.)  |

## 2.9 REMAINING ERRORS IN THE TRADITION

In this section I have collected possible remaining errors—errors in the archetype and perhaps also in the author's original (which may be the same).<sup>36</sup> Some of these are quite trivial examples of orthographical variation, and there is no reason to suppose that the author should be a better speller than any 14th c. scribe. There can further be some doubt as to what the author would consider the better spelling. Such are the following cases:

- 67.1.4 τεχνίται: sic PME pro τεχνίται
- 67.14.7 γυναικωνίτιν: sic PME pro γυναικωνίτιν
- 67.18.4 fort. scrib. Πελοποννήσου: Πελοπονήσου PME
- 68.3.8 τίς ut vid. pro τις PME
- 68.4.2 fort. scrib. σμήχειν sec. M-K: σμύχειν PE, non leg. M
- 70.5.7 ἐκποδῶν PME, fort. scrib. ἐκποδῶν (cf. 67.13.1 ἐκποδῶν P, ἐκποδῶν M)
- 73.1.7 ἄρα ut vid. pro ἄρα PME
- 73.4.1 ἐστῶς: fort. scrib. ἐστὸς
- 76.2.2 ἐρημία: ἐρημία PM, iota subscriptum addidi (i.e. I take ἐρημία as dative)
- 79.2.2 συμπεράναι PME pro συμπερᾶναι (cf. 64.1.5 διαπεράσαι p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, διαπερᾶσαι M et a.c. P<sup>1</sup>; see above, 2.5, p. xxxix)
- 80.2.9 τί pro τι PME

<sup>36</sup> The reader should keep in mind that, since this is just a list of errors common to P and M (and E), and since, as explained in section 3, I adhere very closely to P in my edition (i.e. even in those cases where P is likely to have errors on its own), the following should not be understood as a complete list of errors manifest in the edition (for this see further below, 3).

Of greater interest are:

- 61.1.4 ἡρεμία: ἐρημία scripsit Bydén  
 63.4.4 τὸ: fort. scrib. τῷ  
 63.4.5 κατὰ: fort. scrib. καὶ τὰ  
 63.5.5 an add. τε?  
 65.3.3 τοῖς αὐτοῖς: an scrib. αὐτὸς τοῖς vel αὐτοῖς τοῖς?  
 66.4.2 ἡ: fort. scrib. ὃ ἡ  
 70.2.1 παντὶ: an scrib. πάντα?  
 70.5.1 συγγραφῶν: an scrib. συγγραφέων?

61.1.4 (ἡρεμία : ἐρημία) is discussed in detail in a footnote to my translation (in short, I am not totally convinced that there is anything wrong with ἡρεμία). In 63.4.4 τὸ follows upon παραπλησίως, and perhaps τῷ is the expected reading; τὸ, however, is not inconceivable (a parallel of sorts is provided by 81.4.3: οἱοι τε βοηθεῖν τὸ καὶ ὁτιοῦν εἰσφέρειν τῷ βίῳ κτλ.). In 65.3.3 (ἡναγκάζετο περιπίπτειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ νόμοις καὶ γνώμῃ) αὐτὸς is, if correct, at least strangely placed.

### 3. THE PRESENT EDITION

In the present edition I almost always put the reading of P in the text with the corrections introduced by P<sup>2</sup>, whenever they occur. Accentuation and orthography are almost identical with that of P<sup>1</sup>+P<sup>2</sup>. The punctuation is my own. Below follows a more extensive description and discussion of the editorial principles thus summarised.

P is used throughout, M wherever legible. E is almost certainly dependent on M and is only used when the reading of M cannot be established (in no places where M can be checked does E contain any singular readings which seem to be of importance).

It has not been possible to establish the relationship between P and M conclusively.

As discussed above (see especially 2.2.3), P and M may go back to a common ancestor independently of each other. If they do not, then M is most probably the exemplar of P.

If M is the exemplar of P, M is either the original MS of the author or a more or less modified archetype.

Further, P has been corrected. There are many corrections by the *manus prima*, and there is a possibility that M, or another authoritative MS, has been used as the source of these corrections. Also, a *manus secunda* (or, possibly, several secondary, but more or less contemporary, hands) has introduced corrections into P, and there is some reason to believe that these corrections, or, at least, some of them, have been made on good authority, and that Nikephoros Gregoras, or perhaps, at least partly, even Theodore Metochites himself, may have been holding the correcting pen.

Thus it seems reasonable to consider  $P^1+P^2$  as a kind of second, authorised, edition of the *Semeioseis*.

If produced by anyone but the author himself there is, of course, no guarantee that a second edition would be in perfect agreement with the author's intentions and wishes. It depends upon the circumstances surrounding its production. Even if a second edition was produced by someone close to Metochites, such as Nikephoros Gregoras, we should not necessarily regard every single intervention by the latter as approved of by the former (it would be of vital importance to know whether Gregoras was checking the MS against an authoritative text or not). If the corrections are the work of several people, the question of authority is even more complex.

Thus, a measure of uncertainty must remain regarding the authority to be accorded to P in its corrected form, and regarding the degree of consent given by the author. The following should also be kept in mind.

The corrected P still contains problematic readings. There are cases in which the reading of  $P^2$  does not seem to be an improvement on  $P^1$ , indeed, cannot be considered anything but erroneous. I do not, however, consider these cases as evidence against the involvement of Metochites himself in the process of changing the MS, since even an author can produce new errors.

Further, there is an uncertainty as to how far the processes of correction that we can observe were meant to go.

This is illustrated by P<sup>1</sup>'s tendency to correct the original word order of P so as to conform to that of M. Does this mean that the intention of P<sup>1</sup> when going over the MS a second time was to correct exactly those, and only those, instances of this phenomenon where he in fact does so? Or should we rather follow M's word order also in other cases, as well as perhaps other features of M? This could be the correct procedure if we believe that P<sup>1</sup> is checking his text against M or a similar MS and that, whenever he does not correct a divergence, he is guilty of an oversight.

This concern of P<sup>1</sup>'s with word order is a special case of the more general problem concerning what we should think about all cases where the text of P has been left as it is: to what degree must we consider these readings as actively approved of by P<sup>1</sup> (or, for that matter, by any other subsequent reader of the MS, such as P<sup>2</sup>, wherever such a reader has not intervened)?

With all this in mind, I have chosen to almost always print the reading of P, i.e. P<sup>1</sup>+P<sup>2</sup>, as my text even when difficult and possibly wrong or at least, in my judgement, inferior to an available alternative (i.e. that of M (or E), or of an earlier edition, or of a modern critic such as myself), and perhaps left as it is by oversight. Alternative readings have been suggested in the *apparatus criticus*. In other words, as far as actual readings are concerned (less so, however, with regard to accents and orthography, and even less so with regard to punctuation (cf. on these matters below)), my edition is almost completely diplomatic (for some exceptions, see below). In following these principles I am very close to Hult 2002 and 2016 (although somewhat more diplomatic).<sup>37</sup> Finally, as pointed out by Hult (see, e.g., Hult 2002, xx), it should be stressed that the differences between the alternatives available are generally small and insignificant. All potentially interesting readings are to be found in either the text or the apparatus.

In sum, a complete list of problematic readings left in the text is to be had by combining the information of several of the sections above, especially 2.3 (corrections by P<sup>1</sup>—corrections which are not always improvements), 2.4–2.5 (corrections by P<sup>2</sup>—corrections which, likewise, are not always improvements), and the list of *Remaining errors in the tradition*

<sup>37</sup> For a summary of Hult's principles see Hult 2002, xxxi, and Hult 2016, xxiv.

(2.9, i.e. cases where P and M (and, in most cases, E as well) share an error). In addition, I would like to draw attention to the following cases:

- 65.2.1 Ἀκραγαγνίνων P, Ἀκραγαγνίνων M  
 66.4.7 ἐνσπόδων P, ἐνσπόνδων M  
 67.3.2 ἐνεκμάζον P, ἐνακμάζον M  
 67.11.1 Σύλας P, Σύλλας M  
 69.1.2 ὠναιντ' P<sup>2</sup>, ὠναιντ' vel fort. ὠναιτ' P<sup>1</sup> (i.e. -v- alt. add. fort. P<sup>2</sup>), δναιντ' M  
 72.1.7 ἤληπται (pro εἰληπται): fort. ἤλειπται P<sup>1</sup> et ἤληπται p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, εἰληπται M  
 74.4.2 κατὰ E et ut vid. M, κατὰ in fine lineae et τὰ in initio lineae sequentis P, ut vid. per dittographiam  
 74.4.3 ὡς οὐκ ὄν ὄλως βιοτὸν (βιοτὸν P, βιωτὸν M)  
 75.1.5 δέει P, δέοι M

Most of these cases are a question of orthography, and pronunciation, and I have accepted most of P's forms in acknowledgement of the fact that we cannot really know what Metochites himself would have preferred. However, in 74.4.2 I have ignored P's κατὰ τὰ, which is a case of dittography (τὰ and, on the following page, τὰ) and a genuine slip. On the other hand, I have, in 67.3.2, put P's reading ἐνεκμάζον in the text (although this may be a slip of similar kind). Further, in 67.11.1 I have not adopted P's spelling of the name Sulla (Σύλας P, Σύλλας M), since the name occurs another five times, always with -λλ- even in P.

### 3.1 ACCENTUATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

With regard to accentuation (including the use of spirits) E can be ignored, being a late MS and likely to reflect the conventions of a later age.<sup>38</sup> P and M, on the other hand, were both produced very close in time to Metochites himself, or even during his lifetime. As far as can be seen (M is not

<sup>38</sup> It can generally be observed that E's usage is closer to that of our time than to that of the 14th c. This is, of course, as expected. Here, too, what we observe in E is consistent with the view that it is dependent on an exemplar similar to the older MSS. The use of apostrophe in the case of οὐχ' is a telling example. E has this apostrophe but has sometimes (see 67.18.9 and 70.4.2) corrected it into οὐχ. This is likely to mean that the exemplar of E had the apostrophe as well, but that the 16th-c. scribe of E was aware of the fact that the sign has no justification.

always legible, and it has not always been possible to establish the accentuation of this MS), these two MSS do not differ from each other on many points, and they are both carefully produced.

In my edition, I almost always follow the accentuation of P, including the corrections by P<sup>2</sup>. The accentuation of M is occasionally reported in the apparatus.

With regard to orthography the edition almost always follows P, taking into account the corrections by P<sup>2</sup>; any divergences in M (these are very rare) are, if visible, reported in the apparatus. Iota subscript is added according to the principles adopted for editions of ancient texts.

### 3.2 PUNCTUATION

The punctuation is my own and should facilitate the modern reader's understanding of this difficult text. Like many other scholars, I sympathise with recent efforts to adhere to Byzantine practices as closely as possible.<sup>39</sup> However, there are several problems involved in doing so and it would certainly make the text more difficult to read and understand. Concerning the actual MSS, the following may be said.

For our purposes, the punctuation of E can be disregarded, because this is a 16th-c. MS. The two MSS of the 14th c. do not always agree with each other, although the differences between them do not appear great (it must be stressed that, because of its state of preservation, the punctuation of M is often very difficult to discern).

With P, as originally written by P<sup>1</sup>, as a basis, I have, like Hult 2002 and 2016, often subtracted marks of punctuation while adding as few as possible. What I am mostly inclined to add are parenthetical commas, in order to make the structure of the text clearer. Also, I have felt free to disregard what the punctuation marks of the MS look like, and to choose what kind

<sup>39</sup> This is a particularly natural procedure to adopt if there is an autograph and an autograph only. However, in our case we do not believe that this is what we have. If, indeed, we are in possession of Metochites' own original MS, this must be M. It should, perhaps, be mentioned that after the completion of most work on this edition there has been a significant increase in the number of editions actually adhering to Byzantine practices of punctuation. For a discussion of some of the issues involved see Reinsch 2009 and Bydén 2012.

of mark seems called for. In a couple of cases one may wonder whether a question is intended or not, and whether a question mark should be added or disregarded; in some cases this is commented upon in the apparatus.

A later hand, possibly identical with the corrector P<sup>2</sup>, has apparently read the text through and added punctuation marks. If we suspect a kind of definitive edition in P<sup>2</sup>, it would not be unreasonable to respect this new punctuation. However, there are reasons why I have refrained from doing so. First, we cannot be sufficiently certain as to the origin of this new punctuation. Secondly, the new punctuation is not complete. Thirdly, we cannot know to what extent we ought to take notice of it at all, and consider it as more authoritative than the earlier punctuation. After all, some people still read books with a pen in their hand (the act of adding something to the page, or so I would suggest, being more or less automatic and not intended for the benefit of others).

### 3.3 EARLIER EDITIONS

The edition by Müller and Kiessling is cited whenever this seems useful. Bydén's edition of essay 61 has been of great help and I give a complete account of the (small) differences between our editions. Marzi's edition of essay 80 is never cited.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.4 APPARATUS FONTIUM ET PARALLELORUM

The *apparatus fontium et parallelorum* is very limited. It has been my intention to include the earliest known source of quotations. Because of his obvious significance for Metochites, I have paid some special attention to Plutarch, and looked for parallels in his writings. Similarly, I have endeavoured to include at least some parallels to be found in authors to whom

<sup>40</sup> Only very recently I was made aware of the existence of this edition, and I would like to thank Börje Bydén for drawing my attention to it. As far as I can see, Marzi's edition is of no great help for my purposes. To mention two points, it does not give any independent analysis of the manuscript tradition, and no effort has been made to further our knowledge of the manuscripts. However, the editor's Italian translation and some of her interpretations may deserve attention.

Metochites was personally acquainted, as well as parallels in other works by Metochites himself. Quotations and parallels have mostly been collected by searching the TLG corpus.

THEODORE METOCHITES'  
SENTENTIOUS NOTES  
61–70 & 72–81

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES



## SIGLA ET ABBREVIATIONES

|                |                                      |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| P              | Parisinus graecus 2003               |
| P <sup>1</sup> | prima manus (Michael Klostomalles)   |
| P <sup>2</sup> | secunda manus (Nicephorus Gregoras?) |

|                |                                   |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| M              | Marcianus graecus 532 (coll. 887) |
| M <sup>2</sup> | secunda manus                     |
| E              | Escorialensis graecus 248 (Y.I.9) |

|       |                               |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| Bydén | editio Sem. 61, Bydén 2002    |
| M-K   | editio, Müller-Kiessling 1821 |

|         |                                    |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| a.c.    | ante correctionem                  |
| add.    | addit(-idit), addendum             |
| cf.     | confer                             |
| comp.   | compendium                         |
| corr.   | correxit(-erunt)                   |
| exhib.  | exhibe(n)t                         |
| fort.   | fortasse                           |
| i.e.    | id est                             |
| introd. | introductio(nem)                   |
| leg.    | legitur, leguntur                  |
| litt.   | littera(rum)                       |
| mg.     | (in) margine                       |
| om.     | omittit(-unt), omisit(-erunt)      |
| p.      | pagina                             |
| p.c.    | post correctionem                  |
| scrib.  | scribendum                         |
| sec.    | secundum                           |
| s.l.    | supra lineam                       |
| sq(q).  | (et quod/quae) sequitur, sequuntur |
| vid.    | videtur, vide                      |

## 〈ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΟΧΙΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ ΓΝΩΜΙΚΑΙ〉

“Οτι οὐκ ἔξω λόγου παντάπασι δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι τὰ τῶν  
ἐφεκτικῶν ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς πᾶσαν κατάληψιν, καὶ ὅτι  
Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης ἀρχὰς εἰς τοῦτ’ ἔδωκαν· ΞΑ’

5

1 Ἀλόγῳ παντὶ λόγος παλαίει, λόγος ἐστὶν εὖ εἰρημένος πρότερον· οὐκοῦν δὴ  
καὶ γνώμη γνώμη τε πάσῃ, καὶ δόξα δόξῃ, καὶ κρίσις κρίσει. “Οτε δὲ τοῦθ’  
οὕτως ἔχει, μήποτε προσμαρτυρία τις ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφεκτικοῖς κληθεῖσι  
τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐριστικῶς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ παντάπασιν  
ἀκαίρως ἢ σπουδῇ σφίσιν ἔχει. 2 Καὶ τοίνυν οὐδ’ ἐξοστρακιστέον ἐξ Ἑλλήνων 10  
371 τελείως τὸ δόγμα, οὐδ’ ἀπορριπτέον ἀνεπιστρό|φως πάντῃ, οὐδ’ ἡγητέον  
εὐπεριφρόνητον καθάπαξ ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει φιλονεικίας ἔργον ὃν καὶ ἀνήνυτος  
εἶττον ἀνόνητός τις αὐθάδεια κατὰ τῶν ὄντων καὶ λésχη καὶ τις ἀφρονεσάτη  
πρόθεσις ‘τύπτειν ἀέρα’ καὶ ‘λίθους ἔψειν’ καὶ τᾶλλ’ ὅσα ταῖς παροιμίαις

4 καὶ ὅτι: καὶ ὅτι καὶ Μ

7 γνώμη τε γνώμη Μ

10 ὁστρακιστέον Μ

6 Λόγῳ ... παλαίει] cf. Greg.Naz. *Carm.mor.* 10.977 λόγῳ παλαίει πᾶς λόγος, βίῳ δὲ τίς; et Ibid. 33.12 | S.E. *P.* 1.202.1 παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται | D.L. 9.74.9 παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται 10 ἐξοστρακιστέον] Th.Met. *Logos* 10.30.6 ἡδονὴν δὲ ὡς εἰκοιεν οὐ πᾶσαν οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ὁστρακιστέον οὐδ’ ἀποκηρυκτέον ἀνθρώπων 12 ἀνήνυτος ... ἀνόνητός] cf. Jo.D. *Laudatio sanctae martyris Barbarae* 17.4 πᾶσα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐπίνοια ἀνήνυτος καὶ ἀνόνητος ἀπεδείκνυτο | Th.Met. *Sem.* 75.1.4 14 τύπτειν ἀέρα] cf. 1 *Ep.Cor.* 9.26 ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων | Didym. *Trin.* (PG 39.616.38) καὶ ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀέρα τυπτόντων οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἔδοξας | Thdt. *ep. Paul.* 14 (PG 82.301.6) ματαιοπονῶ τῶν ἀέρα τύπτων λίθους ἔψειν] cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 278sq. ἀλλ’ ὅπότε ἀντιβολοίῃ τις, κάτω κύπτων ἂν οὕτω ‘λίθον ἔψεις’ ἔλεγεν | [Pl.] *Eryx.* 405b7sq. ὅπερ ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον λίθον ἐψηῇσαι | CPG I App. III 67 Λίθον ἔψειν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρούντων | Phryn. *PS* (epit.) 121.5F παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην τι ποιούντων, ὥσπερ εἰς πῦρ ξαίνειν, καὶ λίθον ἔψειν | Jul. *Paramytheticus Sallust.* 6.17sq. ἡ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ τέρας ἥδη καὶ προσόμοιον ... τῷ λίθον ἔψειν | Syrian. *Comm. in Hermog.* 37.15 εἰ γὰρ ἀπεράτα τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὑπάρχοι, λίθον ἔψειν δόξομεν | Th.Met. *Sem.* 46.2.1 καὶ λίθους ἔψων τῆς παροιμίας

## THEODORE METOCHITES' SENTENTIOUS NOTES

61. That<sup>1</sup> the Sceptics' opposition to the claim that anything can be understood is not totally without reason, and that Plato and Socrates laid the foundations<sup>2</sup> for the Sceptics' opinion<sup>3</sup>

1 *There is a word to contradict every word*,<sup>4</sup> is a well-founded saying from former times. Therefore there is also a thought to contradict every thought, and an opinion to contradict every opinion, and a judgement to contradict every judgement. Since this is so, it might perhaps be said in defence<sup>5</sup> of the so-called Sceptical philosophers that their endeavours do not only have a polemical purpose and are not altogether inappropriate. <sup>2</sup> And their creed should not be totally ostracized<sup>6</sup> from among the Greeks, nor inexorably rejected in every respect, nor considered as altogether despicable and a product of contentiousness and an endless or unprofitable<sup>7</sup> wilfulness against reality. Nor should it be considered mere malicious gossip and a most senseless attempt at *beating the air* and *boiling stones*<sup>8</sup> and what else

<sup>1</sup> This essay has been edited and discussed, especially from a philosophical point of view, in Bydén 2002. There are thematic similarities between essay 29 and the present essay.

<sup>2</sup> 'laid the foundations' (ἀρχὰς ... ἔδωκαν): or 'gave the impulse.'

<sup>3</sup> The titles of all the essays have been translated in Hult 2002 (for the essays edited here see pp. 11, 13 and 15), to whom I am indebted, even if I present my own translations.

<sup>4</sup> Bydén 2002: 'To every argument there is a counter-argument.' This expression seems to have been coined by Gregory of Nazianzus, although there are similar expressions in earlier literature (see app. font. et parall.).

<sup>5</sup> 'defence': or 'additional evidence'; the substantive προσημαρτυρία (see for this Lampe: 'additional witness') is missing from LSJ (see, however, LSJ s.v. προσημαρτυρέω).

<sup>6</sup> Metochites employs the word 'ostracize' in a similar way in his *Ethicus*—in the same form (δοτρακιστέον) as in MS M (see app. crit. and app. font. et parall.).

<sup>7</sup> 'endless or unprofitable': this looks like a wordplay in Greek (ἀνήνυτος – ἀνόνητος). However, it is not a widely used expression (see app. font. et parall. with references to John of Damascus and Metochites himself).

<sup>8</sup> 'beating the air' and 'boiling stones' are often used expressions for a pointless activity.

μελαγχολώντων ὡς εἶπεν ἔργα. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ἀληθείαις πολλὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένων ὄρᾱν ἐστίν, ὡς οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ πολλὰ γε τῶν ὄντων ἐπαμφοτερίζειν πέφυκε καὶ χώραν διδόναι ταῖς ἐναντίαις δόξαις καὶ λόγοις, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ τοι κατεπιχειρεῖν ἀκμαστικῶς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι μήτε μὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπιστεῖν ῥάδιον. <sup>4</sup> Ἄλλ' ὅ τι ἂν τις προσείτο, μάλ' ἐστίν <sup>5</sup> αὐθις ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ σείεσθαι καὶ ἀπόρως ἔχειν, καὶ μεγάλη τις ἐνταῦθα πίστεως καὶ βεβαιότητος ἡρεμία καὶ ἀμαθίας ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀκαταληψίας κρατοῦσα διάθεσις.

<sup>2</sup> Δοκεῖ μὲν γε καὶ ὄντως ὁ πάντα σοφὸς αὐτὸς Πλάτων καὶ πλείστον ἐνευδοκίμησας, καὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπιγνώσει <sup>10</sup> καὶ περινοῖα τῶν ὄντων, καὶ ἀδόλως κομιδῇ φιλοσοφήσας καὶ μετὰ σεμνοῦ <sup>372</sup> τοῦ ἡθους καὶ σχήματος, <sup>2</sup> καὶ πλείστον πεφρον|τικῶς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν προσήκοντος ἀξιωματικοῦ, καὶ ἀλλοτρίου παντάπασι σοφιστείας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀπλοϊκοῦ, <sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς δὴ μάλιστα δοῦναι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐφεκτικῶς φιλοσοφήσασι καὶ τῇ συνηγορίᾳ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας τοῖς μακροῖς ἐκείνοις <sup>15</sup> λόγοις καὶ συχνοῖς τοῖς περὶ ὅτουοῦν ἐκάστοτε μηδὲν περαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅς' ἂν καὶ προτείνοντο ταῖς διαλέξεσι, πάντ' ἀπελέγχουσιν ἄπορα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔξω. <sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐφεκτικῶν ἐν τούτοις, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐν ἀνθρώποις τῶν δοκούντων τὲ καὶ λεγομένων ἐκάστοις περὶ ἐκάστων ὡς μάλα τοι σαφῶς ληπτῶν, οὐδ' ἄσειστον λόγοις ἐναντίοις καὶ κραταιὸν μετ' <sup>20</sup> ἀληθείας ἀνόσου παντάπασι καὶ ἀτρέπτου. <sup>5</sup> Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα κομιδῇ τρανῶς εἰρήσθαι καὶ οἷς ἐστίν ἀπολυπραγμονήτως καὶ ἀβασανίστως τῶν λεγόντων ἔπεσθαι πονοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι καὶ βασα-

7 ἡρεμία: ἐρημία scripsit Bydén

18 ἀσφαλὲς P<sup>2</sup>M, ut vid. -ῆς P<sup>1</sup>

22 ἐστὶ M

<sup>9</sup> 'lack' or 'loss': Bydén changes ἡρεμία of the mss. into ἐρημία (see for a similar case LSJ, s.v. ἡρεμία 2, where the same emendation is suggested). It is, of course, possible that we have to do with a kind of spoonerism here—by a scribe or by Metochites himself. However, it should be noted that Trapp has an example of ἡρεμής meaning 'einsam', and Lampe of ἡρεμῶν with the meaning 'live in solitude, be a hermit.' One may also adduce the somewhat similar case of Latin *otium* which can mean 'absence from.' Thus: while Bydén's observation that 'lack' is the required meaning is correct, we cannot be quite sure that the text has to be changed.

<sup>10</sup> 'inability' etc.: this is a tentative rendering of the obscure expression ἀκαταληψίας κρατοῦσα διάθεσις.

is, according to the proverbs, typical of madmen. <sup>3</sup> For it is indeed obvious that much of that which is said by the Sceptics is not inappropriate; and many matters are by their very nature ambiguous and give reason to opposite opinions and arguments; and therefore it is very easy to attack them vigorously and express serious disbelief, not to say distrust, of one interpretation of a matter as well as of its opposite. <sup>4</sup> And even if one interpretation is accepted as truth, it is possible to feel unsatisfied and unsure and at a loss because of the arguments of the opposite side; and then a great lack<sup>9</sup> of faith and certainty, and a disposition of ignorance and inability<sup>10</sup> to comprehend, will necessarily follow.

2 But that all-wise Plato who, in comparison with the wise men before him as well as with those after him, is to the highest degree famous for knowledge and understanding of things being, and who has indeed speculated honestly and with noble character and style, <sup>2</sup> and who has thought very much about truth and about what is dignified and befitting philosophy and totally alien to every kind of sophistry or simplicity— <sup>3</sup> this Plato seems in truth more than anyone else to have laid the foundations for the Sceptic philosophers and to have given arguments for the opinion that it is impossible to understand things. This he did in those many long books on any theme which do not achieve anything but only serve to refute as uncertain and outside the realm of truth whatever anyone says in the dialogues. <sup>4</sup> And this is precisely in accordance with the doctrine of the Sceptics, namely that nothing is certain among men of those things which in every case are believed and talked about by everyone as if they could be understood very clearly; further, that nothing is unshakeable<sup>11</sup> and unsusceptible to opposite arguments and irrefutable in accordance with a totally solid and unchangeable truth.<sup>12</sup> <sup>5</sup> But even to describe the phenomena in a perfectly clear way and with words which anyone can follow without having to inquire closely about the speakers nor having to work hard on them

<sup>11</sup> 'unshakeable': for this meaning of ἀσείστος see Lampe. LSJ translates this only as 'unshaken'; there are, however, examples in LSJ which may be translated as here, and also the adverb 'unshakably.'

<sup>12</sup> I.e. that nothing (on earth/in philosophy) is irrefutably true and in accordance with a higher truth.

νίζουσι τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας μετὰ μεγίστου τοῦ θάρρους καὶ  
 τῆς πεποιθήσεως ὡς ἡκριβωκότας εὖ μάλα καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω καὶ πλέον  
 ὃν 6 φανήσεται πειρωμένοις καὶ προσέχουσι τοῖς λόγοις τὸν νοῦν κόμπος τὸ  
 373 πᾶν καὶ μακρὸς λῆρος καὶ ἀμαθία σὺν θράσει, καὶ πάντ' ἐν | ἀκαταληψίᾳ, καὶ  
 πάντ' ἐλέγχεται. 7 Τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ καθηγητὴς αὐτῷ πάσης τῆς σοφίας καὶ 5  
 τῆς ἀκριβείας τοῦ ἥθους καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς αὐτός φησι, πάντων Σωκράτης  
 διὰ παντὸς περιυὼν ἐφιλοσόφει τοῦ βίου καὶ διέτριβεν Ἀθήνησι κατελέγχων  
 ἅπαντας 8 ὡς μηδὲν ὀτιοῦν εἰδότας ἄξιον λόγου καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν εὖ μάλα  
 πιστόν, τοὺς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις μέγα φρονοῦντας οἷς προσεῖχον καὶ σπουδάζειν  
 ἡξίου, καὶ πίστιν ἀναμφήριστον πραττομένους τῶν προστυγχανόντων περὶ 10  
 ὧν φασὶ καὶ σεμνύνονται, 9 καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα' ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ πρῶτως  
 ὡς οὐδ' ἴσασιν ὅτι καὶ ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλέστατα καὶ ἀμαθέστατ'  
 ἔχοντας δοκοῦντας πλουτεῖν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν ἄκρα πενία καὶ ἀνενδεῶς ὅτου-  
 οῦν ἔχειν μάλιστα' ὄντας ἐν χρεῖᾳ καὶ μάλ' ἐρρωσθαι, δυστυχῶς ἔχοντας μάλα  
 15 τοὶ καὶ νοσοῦντας καὶ ἀνίατα, καθότι μὴδὲ νοσεῖν οἶονται μὴδὲ ζητοῦσι τοὺς 15  
 ἰωμένους. 10 Καὶ σχεδὸν ὁ πᾶς αὐτῷ βίος κινδυνεύει καὶ πόνος εἶναι, βάσανος  
 374 ἀπάντων καὶ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἔλεγχος, ὡς μηδὲν ἄρά ποτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὃν  
 καταλήψεως ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα κενῶς σπουδαζόμενα καὶ δοκοῦντα τιμῆς  
 ἄξια, μικρά τε καὶ μείζω, καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων ἀνῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα δευτέρας  
 τύχης τινὸς καὶ τάξεως. 20

3 Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰσὶν ὄντως, ἥπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἐφεκτικῶν λόγων τοῖς ὕστερον  
 ἀρχαί· ταῦθ' ὥσπερ δὴ τινες προάγωνες πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν σφίσι καὶ μελέται  
 τινες εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν γυμναστικαὶ καλλίστας ἐλπίδας πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὑπ-

4 ἀκαταληψία: ἀκαληψία P, -τα- s.l. add. ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>

19 ἀνῆσαι M-K et Bydén

22

προάγωνες PM et in app. M-K, in προαγῶνες corr. M-K et Bydén, de accentu vide autem Hdn.  
 Gr. 1.24, 2.729

and going into details about and scrutinizing what is said and those who speak; and to make this description of the phenomena with the greatest self-confidence and in the conviction of having done a sufficient study of the subject matter and that there is nothing further and more to be known about it— 6 even to claim that this can be done will, to those with experience and those who pay attention to logical argumentation in general, seem like vain boasting and great nonsense and like ignorance paired with insolence; for everything is uncertain and everything can be refuted. 7 In the same way Socrates, who was Plato's guide to all wisdom (Plato says so himself) and to the exact knowledge of ethics and all that is good, went around all his life and speculated and kept convicting all people in Athens of their being wrong. 8 He claimed that they did not know anything at all of importance, nor anything which really could convince sensible men—even though the kind of men he criticised are very proud of their achievement in each matter which they deal with and claim to make a serious study of, and even though they exact undisputed respect with regard to what they say and boast about from people they encounter. 9 This they do out of ignorance chiefly, and most of all because they are not even aware of their ignorance. And even though they seem to be rich, they are, to their own detriment, in a most precarious situation and in a state of great ignorance and the utmost poverty; and even though they do not seem to lack anything, they are very much in need; and even though they seem to be in good health, they are in an extremely unfortunate situation and very ill, in fact without any prospect of being cured; for they do not think that they are ill nor do they look for someone to heal them. 10 And the whole life of such a person is well-nigh in danger of being a useless toil and a trial in all respects; and it proves man's ignorance, showing that nothing can be well understood by men and that everything is studied in vain and only seems to be worthy of attention: small as well as greater matters, those in which it is of greater importance to achieve a result as well as those of secondary importance and order.

3 This, as has been said, is the actual beginning of later Sceptical argumentation, being, as it were, preliminaries for the purpose thereof and, as it seemed to these men, a kind of gymnastic exercises, giving the best

ανοίγουςαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδοξαν. 2 Ἐντεῦθεν ἄρ' ὥς ἀπό τινων εὐδιοικήτων  
καὶ γεννικῶν προοιμίῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ ἀξιολόγου πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὥρμηται·  
ἐντεῦθεν ἄρ' ἀπό τινων τόπων ἐπικαιροτάτων μετ' ἀσφαλείας κατέδραμον  
ἅπασαν ἀνθρωπίνην γνωστικὴν εὕρεσιν 3 καὶ τὸν παγκόσμιον κατὰ πάσης τῆς  
σοφίας καὶ λόγων ἀπάντων καὶ δογμάτων ἀπάντων ἀπηρυθρίασαν ἄρασθαι 5  
πόλεμον· καὶ πολλοῖς οὐ μάτην δοκοῦσι πονεῖν. 4 Καὶ πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ  
μέχρι νῦν προσήκαντο τὴν σπουδὴν ταύτην καὶ προσέχειν ἀξιοῦσι τὸν νοῦν ὥς  
ἀληθῶς πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω φερόμενα καθορῶντες καὶ μηδὲν ὅ τί ποθ' ἔστῳς  
ἐν μονῇ τινος οὐσίας καὶ γνώσεως ἄτρεπτον, 5 καὶ πᾶσαν ζήτησιν περὶ τῶν  
375 ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐν βίῳ πάντων | πολλῷ περιπίπτουσιν τῷ πλάνῳ καὶ δυσοδίᾳ 10  
καὶ δυσχερεῖα χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀνύτειν ἐπιτυχῶς καθάπαξ πρὸς ἀσφαλῆ τὴν  
εὕρεσιν, ἄνευ δὲ τῆς περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων μόνης σοφίας ἄνωθεν πάντως ἐξ  
ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς θεοφορήτου (ἢ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν, καὶ ποίας τῶν συλλογιστικῶν  
τρόπων καὶ τῶνδείξεων ἀνάγκης;).

4 Ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους πάνθ' ὅσα σοφία τινὶ χειραγωγούσῃ 15  
δι' ἀποδείξεων οἱ πρότερον ἐκείνοι τῇ ματαιᾷ γνώσει θαρροῦντες φθέγονται,  
οὐκ ἄσειστα οὗτ' ἀθῶα πάσης ἐπηρείας οὐδ' ἀζήμια παντάπασιν εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ  
πολλὰ πολλοῖς ἐλέγχους εὐθύνεται. 2 Καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους νέοι πρὸς τοὺς  
φθάσαντας καὶ ἡλικιώται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιταττόμενοι καταπολιορκοῦσι  
καὶ καταστρέφουσι τὰλλήλων, καὶ πάντα δόγματα καταστρέφουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν 20  
ἑῷσιν ἀνεπιτίμητον ἀληθῆσιν ἀποδείξεσι τῶν εὐρημένων καὶ δεδομένων ἀν-  
θρωπίνῃ, καθὼς ἔφην, σοφία. 3 Μόνα δὲ τὰ πάσης ἐπέκεινα σοφίας, ἐκ θεοῦ  
πάντως εἰλημμένα παρ' ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων, περιγίνεται τῷ  
κράτει τῆς ἀληθείας τίμια καὶ πάσης αἰδοῦς καὶ ἀσφαλείας πάσης δόγματα. 4  
376 Τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσ' | ἄνθρωποι σοφίζονται περὶ τῶν ἐν φύσει, περὶ τῶν κατὰ 25

6 καὶ μέχρι: μέχρι καὶ M 8 ἔστῳς PM pro ἔστῳς, in ἔστὸς corr. Bydén 21 ἡρῳμένων M  
23 post περιγίνεται exhib. lacunam (rasuram) ca. 2 litt. P (fort. exhib. a.c. τῷ bis, in fine lineae et  
in initio lineae sequentis)

<sup>13</sup> I.e. from the beginnings in the age of Plato.

<sup>14</sup> 'where ... concerned': this is difficult and vaguely put in Greek; it would seem to indicate a respect for theologians or, perhaps, rather a wish not to seem controversial in theological matters.

<sup>15</sup> 'unshakeable': cf. above, n. 11.

hope for the battle and for the achievement of their ultimate goal. <sup>2</sup> And from this they have rushed forth into battle as from some well-ordered and noble beginnings and considerable preparation; and safely, as from some most advantageous positions, they have swept down from there on every invention of the human mind. <sup>3</sup> And they have not blushed to start a total war on every kind of wisdom and all kinds of arguments and doctrines; and to many they do not seem to toil in vain. <sup>4</sup> Indeed, from that time<sup>13</sup> until now many have engaged in this kind of study and think it fit to pay sincere attention to it. For they see that everything is in a state of flux and that nothing at all stands immovably still so as to preserve any essence and meaning unchanged. <sup>5</sup> And they see that any inquiry into the things being and into everything which concerns life is bound to be subject to a great amount of deception and lead to situations which are difficult and troublesome to handle and difficult to bring to a fully successful end and an irrefutable conclusion. The only exception are cases where the wisdom regarding God and divine matters is concerned:<sup>14</sup> knowledge about this is assuredly given us by means of some divine inspiration from above—or from where else, and from what binding necessity of syllogistic methods and modes of proof?

<sup>4</sup> For even on this account, everything proffered by those earlier men, who trust to their vain insight and the guidance of some kind of wisdom based on logical deduction, does not seem to be unshakeable<sup>15</sup> or immune against all abuse nor liable to go unpunished, and a great deal of it is found out to be wrong when subjected to much scrutiny. <sup>2</sup> Thus many people array themselves against others—young people against the older, and people of the same age against each other—and they besiege and tear down the work of their opponents, and they tear down all doctrines and leave nothing uncensured by their true logical deductions and demonstration of facts which, as I said, are in accordance with human wisdom. <sup>3</sup> But only that which is beyond all wisdom and clearly has come to us from God, and deals with God and the divine, prevails by the power of truth; it even prevails over convictions which are worthy of respect and reverence and seem totally irrefutable. <sup>4</sup> In all other cases where people have formulated opinions: on nature, and on matters requiring any technical training, in

τεχνικὴν τιν' ἀσκησιν ἐκ φυσικῶν αὐθις λόγων ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πρακτέων καὶ ἅττα προσήκειν ἀξιώσειέ τις καὶ λυσιτελεῖν ἀνθρώποις, πάνθ' ὁμοῦ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπιδέχονται λόγους, ὅπως ἂν ἀμέλει καὶ νοοῖντο καὶ λέγοιντο. 5 Καὶ πλείστοι δὴ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τάναντία πείθοντες οὐκ ἔξω κατ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῦ καιροῦ σπουδάζοντες ὀρώνται· καὶ τοῦθ' ὅρᾱν 5 ἐστὶν εὖ μάλ' ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων καὶ διατριψάντων φιλοπονώτατα περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἔρευναν καὶ θεωρίαν, 6 μὴ μόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὰ πλείστα διατεινομένων τάναντιώτατα καὶ λόγων ἐκατέρωθεν εὐπορούντων, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ περιπιπτόντων οἷς ἐν ἄλλοις φθάσαντες εἰρήκεσαν.

5 Καὶ δῆλον γε ὡς τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν αἰρέσεων κατὰ 10 φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὰς ἀκηρύκτους καὶ ἀσπόνδους μάχας ἐδημιούργησε καὶ κατεστήσατο παλαισμάτα περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ θέατρα φιλοσοφίας, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ παγκρατιαστῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ὄντων ἐνοειδῆ γε οὖσαν, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, ἀδόλως πονούντων 2 καὶ μέντοι καὶ πάντων ἐπιτυχῶς ἔχειν τὴν περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν οἰομένων, καὶ οἰομένων γε τὰ πλείστον 15 ἀλλήλων διεστῶτα καὶ πολλάκις μάλιστ' ἀλλήλων μαχιμώτατα. 3 Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅρᾱν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱατρικῶν περὶ | τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστατούντων καὶ πάντων ἀξιούντων σφίσιν ἐκάστοις πείθεσθαι ὡς μόνοις ἱκανῶς τοῦ καιρίου καὶ λυσιτελοῦς ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς στασιαζόντων εἴ τις προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, 4 καὶ περὶ ὧν ἄρα χθὲς καὶ προτρίτης, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ δυοῖν 20 ἴσως ἢ τριῶν ὥρων, ἄλλως ἐφιλοσόφουν, τάναντί' ἐκάστοτε νῦν γε εἶναι τιθεμένων καὶ σπουδαζόντων. Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅρᾱν ἐστὶν ἔτι κατὰ πάσης τεχνικῆς ἀσκήσεως ὡσαύτως, εἰ καὶ ἦττον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τῶν βαναύσων μάλιστ' ἢ τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων. 5 Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅρᾱν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ βουλευτικῶν λόγων ἐπεικῶς, καὶ τεχνολογεῖται διάφορα πολλοῖς καὶ στωμύλλεται καὶ τάναντί' αὐθις τοῖς 25 πράγμασιν ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πάσης δικαστικῆς κρίσεως καὶ ψέγειν ἅττα

4 λεγοιντο sine accentu P  
erasit P<sup>2</sup>

10 γε s.l. add. P

12 καί: καὶ τὰ M et fort. a.c. P<sup>1</sup>, τὰ fort.

<sup>16</sup> I.e. the possibility to maintain different opinions.

<sup>17</sup> 'truceless' (ἀκηρύκτους): or 'unannounced.'

<sup>18</sup> 'put into a form of art' (τεχνολογεῖται): or 'treated systematically.'

which knowledge is derived from nature and by experience, and on what should be done in life, and what one should consider suitable and expedient for men—in all these cases the opposite interpretation is possible, and matters may be understood and described in opposite ways. <sup>5</sup> And very many people who express differing opinions about the same matters, do not, whatever stand they take, seem to be striving inopportunately. This is quite obvious with regard to those who engage in philosophy and spend a lot of energy on doing research on and contemplating the nature of reality: <sup>6</sup> about most things they do not only maintain views totally opposite to those of their opponents (and abundant argument is used on both sides), but also in some cases views in opposition to their own, and they stumble on what they have said before and on another occasion.

<sup>5</sup> It is obvious that it is this<sup>16</sup> that has created the different schools of philosophy, with their truceless<sup>17</sup> and implacable strifes; and it is this that has led to struggles on issues of life and to philosophical spectacles. It is as if those men were gladiators and boxers, who according to themselves were making a serious study of the true nature of reality, which is supposed to be one; <sup>2</sup> these are men who all think that they have successfully grasped the truth about everything, even though they [simultaneously] believe things which are very far from each other and often and to the highest degree in conflict with each other. <sup>3</sup> This can also be seen among those who deal with medicine. They express different opinions to each other on the same point, and they all claim that one should put trust in them since they are the only ones who know what is timely and to advantage, even though, if one studies them closely, they turn out to be in conflict even with themselves; <sup>4</sup> and concerning the matter about which they expressed certain opinions yesterday and the day before, or, perhaps, rather two or three hours ago, they now opt and strive for the opposite in everything. This is also to be seen in the same way with regard to every technical pursuit, though in fact less so with regard to the purely mechanical ones than to those held in comparatively high esteem. <sup>5</sup> This is also to be seen to a certain extent in the case of speeches in council, in which different subjects are put into a form of art<sup>18</sup> and talked about at length by many but turn out to be contrary to facts; this happens in every trial in court, where people set about

δὴ καὶ οὐστinas ἄν ἀμέλει προτιθεμένων 6 καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπαινεῖν ἀξιοῦν καὶ θαυμάζειν, καὶ ‘πάντ’ ἐν εὐρίποις’, καὶ πάντα λόγων ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα καὶ λεγόντων τυγχάνειν οἷα τ’ ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντ’ αὖθις εὐέλεγκτα δεικνυσθαι. 7 Καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων σχεδὸν καὶ περὶ ἃ πάντως οἱ λόγοι, ὃ μὴ οὕτω καὶ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας αἴτιον καὶ ἀπιστίας περὶ πᾶσαν γνώμην καὶ τοῖς ἐφεκτικοῖς ἀφορμὴν τῇ γνώμῃ 5 δίδωσιν, εἴτουν ταῖς ἀντιθετικαῖς καὶ μαχίμοις ἐνστάσεσι καὶ συνηγορίαις τῇ κατὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἀμαθίᾳ.

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| Περὶ τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων πράγμασι, τῶν μὲν διὰ  
φίλοπραγμον ἥθος φαῦλον, τῶν δὲ δι’ ἀμαθίαν καὶ  
ἀπρονόητον τὴν τύχην· ΞΒ’

10

1 Φαῦλον ὡς ἀληθῶς πράγμα, καὶ φαύλων καὶ δυστυχῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολὺ μάλιστ’ ἀμαθέστατον τοῦ βελτίστου, τὸ ποθεῖν πράγματα καὶ προστρέχειν ἐτοίμως καὶ πάσῃ ῥοπῇ καὶ ὠθεῖν καὶ ὠθεῖσθαι 2 καὶ μὴ μάλισθ’ ὡς οἶον τ’ ἀποδιδράσκειν καὶ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ οἷς ξυνέλαχέ τις συνεῖναι καὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀσκεῖν ὅπως ἄρα πονεῖν τε καὶ ἰδιοπραγεῖν καὶ προκόπτειν πάντως, ἢ 15 ἐρραστωνευμένως ἄγεσθαι, ἢ περὶ σοφίας ἐπιμέλειαν ἦντινα δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἦν ἄρα πέφυκεν, ἢ περὶ πάσας ἄλλας ὅσαι τοῦ βίου χρήσεις ἀνθρώποις. 3 Καὶ μερίζονται ταύτας ἄλλας ἄλλοι, πάντες δὲ πάσας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ βίου συντέλειαν καὶ συνδιαγωγὴν καὶ ἀρμονίαν κατ’ ἔθιμον ἀγωγὴν, καὶ

2 εὐρίποις M

10 τὴν: τινὰ in tabula, i.e. indice, ante textum exhib. M

2 πάντ’ ἐν εὐρίποις] cf. Pl. *Phd.* 90c3sq. ὅτι οὔτε τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδὲ βέλαιον οὔτε τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐν Εὐρίπῳ ἄνω κάτω στρέφεται καὶ χρόνον οὐδένα ἐν οὐδενὶ μένει | Th.Met. *Sem.* 29.1.1; 57.2.1; 60.32 et Id. *Carm.* 15.199 ἅτ’ ἐνὶ γ’ εὐρίποισι στρουφαλίσμας’ ἀπαυστα et Id. *Logos* 10.51.54 ἄλλ’ ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταχωρεῖ τε καὶ τρέπεται ἀτεκμάρτοις τισὶ παντάπασι καὶ ἀορίστοις εὐμεταβόλου φύσεως καὶ λογισμῶν εὐρίποις

criticising anyone on any account <sup>6</sup> or, conversely, think fit to praise and admire anyone; and *all this is on unstable grounds*,<sup>19</sup> since it is possible in every matter to find arguments in either direction and speakers willing to maintain any position. For everything can be shown to be easily refuted. <sup>7</sup> In fact, practically nothing exists about which there is any talk at all, which does not in this way cause much obscurity and discredit any opinion about itself and thus gives the Sceptics reason for their frame of mind. This happens because of the contradictory and opposing opinions which indicate a complete ignorance of everything.

62. On those who become engaged in public matters by accident,<sup>1</sup> some because of their meddlesome and base character, some because of ignorance and since they have not foreseen Fate

1 It is in truth a base thing, and characteristic of base and ill-fated people, to strive for political office and be ready to use every effort in order to accede to it, and to use pressure in this and allow oneself to be pushed around; more than anything else this behaviour shows a complete ignorance of what is best. <sup>2</sup> Instead a man should shun office as much as possible and keep to and deal with those private matters which have fallen to his share; and he should somehow train himself in this and toil for it and go about his own business and always make progress therein, and so either live a carefree life, or bestow some attention on wisdom of whatever kind comes natural to him, or on any other activity in private life. <sup>3</sup> Different people take a different share in<sup>2</sup> all these activities; however, all people engage in all of them, and they do so in order to achieve the common goal

<sup>19</sup> 'on unstable grounds' (ἐν εὐρίποις): or, more exactly, '(as in waters) in a narrow strait' (transl. Hult). For a discussion of this expression see Hult 2016, 25 (Th.Met. Sem. 29.1.1).

<sup>1</sup> 'become ... by accident' (ἐμπιπτόντων): other possible translations are 'stumble into,' or (so Hult 2002, 11) 'throw themselves into.'

<sup>2</sup> 'take a ... share in': for this meaning of μερίζομαι see Lampe s.v. μερίζω 2a.

συνέχειαν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ κλήρων ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἢ καθ' αἵρεσιν ἦντιν' ἄρα. 4  
 Ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ οἴκοι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη συμπεφυκτότα οἱ καὶ σύστοιχα  
 πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ὀπηθοῦν καὶ ῥᾶον χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ διαεθλεύειν  
 379 τοῖς | μὴ προσήκουσι καὶ ὧν ἔστι παρακερδαίνειν, εἰ ἄρ' ἔστιν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ  
 ἀηδία καὶ φροντίσι καὶ κινδύνοις οὐκ εὐπεριφρονήτοις, καὶ ἀδίκως ἔστιν ὅτε 5  
 νικᾶν, εἰ ἄρα νικῶν, καὶ κρεῖττον φέρεσθαι, 5 εἰ δὲ μὴ, διαπαλαμώμενον καὶ  
 ἀντιστατοῦντα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ξυμπίπτοντα μὴδ' ἀνεμεσήτως ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι  
 καὶ πράττειν κακῶς περιεργαζόμενον ὡς μὴ ὠφελεν, οὐδὲν δέον μὴδὲ πρὸς  
 ἀνάγκην τινὰ παραβαλλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκόντα γε ὄντα, 6 καὶ τελευτῶντα  
 γ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄκοντα κακῶς ἑαυτῷ καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον γιγνόμενον καὶ ταῖς 10  
 παροιμίαις ἢ ἀφορμῇν διδόντα ἢ λοιπὸν ἐνεχόμενον· 'πῦρ σκάλλειν', καὶ ὡς  
 αἰξ τὴν μάχαιραν', καὶ 'κινεῖν τὸν ἀνάγυρον' καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πολυπράγμονας καὶ κακοπράγμονας καθ' ἑαυτῶν χαριέντως εἴρηται,  
 7 ὡς ἄρ' ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἦν μὴ πᾶσιν, εἰ οἶον τ' ἔστιν,  
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς παρέχωνται πράγματα καὶ ὁμοσε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις 15  
 καὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι χωρεῖν ἐπείγονται καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τὰλλότρια καὶ μὴ

1 κλήρων: κληρον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. P<sup>2</sup> (vide introd. 2.5, p. xxxix) 3 διαθελεύειν a.c. P, -ε- (i.e. διαεθλεύειν) add. P<sup>1</sup> vel P<sup>2</sup> 10 γινόμενον M 12 μαχαιραν sine accentu P

6 διαπαλαμώμενον] cf. Hsch. Δ 1612 διεπαλαμήσατο· διεπράξατο 11 πῦρ σκάλλειν] cf. Phot. *Homil.* 11.109.6 οὐδὲ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ πῦρ ἀνασκάλλων | *Areth. Script. Min.* 71.107.8sq. μαχαίρα πῦρ σκάλλοντες, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ καπνὸν φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι | *Th.Met. Sem.* 12.5.4 πῦρ χερσὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν σκαλλόντων et *Id. Logos* 10.7.26 σκάλλειν πῦρ ταῖς χερσὶ ὡς ... μάχαιραν] cf. *PCG VIII* (K.-A.) 483 = *com.adesp. Fr.* 47 Dem. (Mette) αἰγὸς τρόπον μάχαιραν ἐσκάλευσά <μοι> | *Clearch. Fr.* 63 (Wehrli) αἰξ ποττᾶν μάχαιραν | *CPG I Zen.* I 27 αἰξ τὴν μάχαιραν· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶς τι καθ' ἑαυτῶν ποιούντων, ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τοιαύτης· Κορίνθιοι θυσίαν τελούντες Ἦρα ἐνιαύσιον, τῇ ὑπὸ Μηδείας ἰδρυνθείσῃ καὶ Ἀκραίᾳ καλουμένῃ, αἶγα τῇ θεῷ ἔθουον. τινὲς δὲ τῶν κομισάντων μισθωτῶν ἔκρυψαν τὴν μάχαιραν, καὶ σκηπτομένων [ἐπιελήσθαι] ἔνθα ἀπέθεντο, ἢ αἰξ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀνασκαλεύσασα ἀνέφηνε, καὶ τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν διήλεγξεν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῆς σφαγῆς αἰτία ἐγένετο et *Id.* II 55 | Phot. *Homil.* 11.109.6 οὐδὲ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ πῦρ ἀνασκάλλων | *Suda* AI 235 Αἰξ, αἰγὸς. καὶ παροιμία· Ἡ αἰξ δοῦσα τὴν μάχαιραν | *Th.Met. Logos* 10.7.26 ὡς αἶγα φέρειν τὴν μάχαιραν 12 κινεῖν ... ἀνάγυρον] cf. *Ar. Lys.* 68 ὁ γοῦν Ἀνάγυρὸς μοι κεκινήσθαι δοκεῖ et *Schol. in Ar.* (Hangard) 68 παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν 'κινεῖν τὸν ἀνάγυρον'. ἔστι δὲ πᾶσα δυσώδης | *Lib. Ep.* 80.6.2 ὁρᾶς, ὅτι κρεῖττον ἦν σοι μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνάγυρον; | Phot. *Lex.* α 1432.9sq. ὅταν οὖν ἐπὶ οἰκεῖοις κακοῖς πράσῃ τις, λέγεται 'κινήσεις τὸν Ἀνάγυρον'. Ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν· τὸ φυτὸν τὸν ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν. ἔστι δὲ ἀλεξίκακον καὶ δυσῶδες | *Th.Met. Sem.* 10.1.6 ἐκίνησαν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνάγυρον τῆς παροιμίας et *Id. Logos* 10.7.24sq. τὸν δ' ἀνάγυρον ὄντως εἵπομι' ἂν αὐτὸν κινεῖν παροιμιακῶς

of fulfilment and to be able to lead a harmonious life according to their personal habits and the tradition inherited from their forefathers and according to their inheritance,<sup>3</sup> so to speak, or according to some kind of personal choice. 4 But if someone flees from himself and from his home, with which he is grown together and which is somehow essential to his life and to an easier living, and if he gets entangled and struggles through life involved in alien affairs from which only an unjust profit, if any at all, is to be had—this is of necessity only possible at the cost of unpleasantness and worries and dangers not to be disdained; and victory, if this man is to be victorious, and success are then only to be achieved by unjust means. 5 And if he is not victorious, he will continually have to struggle with and resist Fate adroitly;<sup>4</sup> and if he stumbles, it is only just that he should be ignored and fare badly, since he has been exposing himself without any obligation or necessity whatsoever but of his own free will. 6 This man will then end up in a way truly against his will and bad to himself, and he will be the cause of evil, and either give cause for, or be liable to, the predicament described in proverbs such as *stirring of the fire*,<sup>5</sup> and *as the goat the knife*,<sup>6</sup> and *touching the bean-trefoil*,<sup>7</sup> and what other witticisms have been coined by the ancients about busybodies and those doing evil to themselves. 7 For some people are not satisfied if they cannot, if possible, create problems for everyone else as well as for themselves, and they strive to come in close contact with all people and meddle with all matters, and they have ambi-

<sup>3</sup> 'according to their inheritance': P<sup>2</sup> changes κληρον into κλήρων, for which see discussion in the introduction, 2.5, p. xxxix.

<sup>4</sup> 'resist (Fate) adroitly': διαπαλαμάομαι is missing in LSJ and Lampe; see Trapp, with reference to this occurrence ('ankämpfen') and to Hesychius (cf. app. font. et parall.).

<sup>5</sup> This and the following two expressions are similar to that of *letting sleeping dogs lie*. They occur in conjunction with each other also in Metochites' *Ethicus* (*Logos* 10.7: cf. app. font. et parall.).

<sup>6</sup> The story told is that of a goat finding a hidden knife and thereby assisting in its own slaughter.

<sup>7</sup> 'bean-trefoil': a smelly plant.

διαφέροντα σφίσιν εἶναι, δραστικώτατοι καὶ διαρκεῖς καὶ πανδέξιοι,<sup>8</sup> ἢ γέλωθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄφλοντες κακοὶ κακῶς τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀηδῶς ἅμα, ἢ κινδύνους ἑαυτοῖς ἢ ἄλλοις καὶ φροντίσματα πάσης ἀνίας καὶ χαλεπότητος ἐμποιοῦντες, καὶ τελευτῶντες οἱ πλείους ἐν μεταμέλῳ γιγνόμενοι.

380 2 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν σάτυρον ὁ μῦθος φησὶν ὡς εἶδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ πῦρ 5  
ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθεὺς γενόμενον μάλ' ἠσθέντα τῇ θεᾷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς  
αὐτῷ προστρέχοντα βουλόμενον κατασπάσασθαι, τὸν Προμηθεᾶ φάναι· οὐκ-  
οὖν τράγος οὐ χαιρήσεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταπιμπρώμενος τὸν πῶγωνά·<sup>2</sup> Τὸν  
δ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπον πρὸς γε τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἔξεστι φάναι προστρέχοντας  
ὅλη φορᾶ τῇ πραγματειῳδεὶ ταύτῃ χρήσει, καὶ μάλισθ' ἡδέως ὑπὸ τῆς 10  
ἀμαθίας ἔοικε τῶν ἐν τῷ πράγματι κινδύνων· ὧ μάταιοι, ποῖ φέρεσθε; τί  
καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπείγεσθε μὴ προειδότες, ὡς οὐ λυσιτελήσει γ' ὑμῖν;<sup>3</sup> Οὐ  
δ' ἑάσει γε προσιόντας τὰ φαινόμενα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἡδισθ' ὑμῖν μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
φεύγειν αὐτῶν ἀζημίως, ἀλλὰ κακοὶ κακῶς ἐμπεπτωκότες οἷς οὐκ ᾤθητε,  
τελευτῶντες εἴτ' ἀπαλλάξετε.<sup>4</sup> Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀψαμένων ἡδέως 15  
καὶ προσδραμόντων ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας δὴ τινος καὶ φαύλης ἔξεως καὶ πόθου  
τυφλοῦντος περὶ τὸ ποθοῦμενον, μετὰ τὴν πείραν ἀηδῶς κοιμιδῇ χρώμενοι  
καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες, εἴπερ οἷον τ' ἦν παλιννοστήσαι καὶ λαβέσθαι τῶν ὀπι-  
σθεν ἐκ τινος αὐθις τρόπου καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡδιστ' ἠλλάξαντ' ἄν,  
381 5 καὶ λειποταξίου γραφὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀπώκησαν, οὐδὲ μικροψυχίας δὴ | τινος 20  
ἔλεγχον καὶ γνώμης ὀλίγης καὶ ἀνικάνου φύσεως, καὶ μάλιστ' ἀπολίτευτο καὶ  
ἀνάγωγοι δόξαί τινες εἴλοντ' ἂν ἢ τοσαύταις ἀεὶ κατατρυχεσθαι καὶ ἀεθλεύειν

9 αὐτὸν δ' M 10 πραγματειῳδεὶ: -ει- in linea add. P<sup>1</sup>, -ῳδῃ M 15 ἀπαλλάξετε: fort. -α-  
(i.e. ἀπαλλάξατε) p.c. M

5 Πρὸς ... πῶγωνα] cf. A. Fr. 208 (Radt) = Fr. 40D 455a (Mette) apud Plu. *De cap. ex inim. util.*  
86F.2 τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενθήσεις σύ γε

<sup>8</sup> 'very skilful': πανδέξιος is rare (it is missing from LSJ and Lampe; see, however, Trapp, 'sehr geschickt'). In *Metochites*, the word occurs three more times (*Logos* 1.47.12, 1.53.14, *Carm.* 4.239).

<sup>9</sup> This is part of the story told in Aeschylus' lost play *Prometheus Pyrrphoros*. *Metochites*' source is likely to be Plutarch (cf. app. font. et parall.).

<sup>10</sup> I.e. to public office.

tions with regard to that which does not belong to nor concern them, and they are very active and persistent and very skilful<sup>8</sup> in this. <sup>8</sup> And if they turn out to be bad and if they subject themselves or others to danger in a base and stupid and unpleasant way, and if they make themselves or others subject to grievous and difficult thoughts, and if, at the end of their life, they feel regret, as is the case with most of them, they are in truth much to be derided.

2 About the satyr the myth says that he saw when the fire was first introduced by Prometheus, and that he took much delight in viewing it, and that Prometheus said to him, when he joyously ran forth wishing to embrace the fire: 'since you are a goat you will not be glad to have your beard burnt by it.'<sup>9</sup> <sup>2</sup> Similarly you might, I think, say to those who run forward full of energy to this laborious activity,<sup>10</sup> and who do so very gladly, apparently out of ignorance of the dangers involved: 'Oh, senseless men, where are you going? Why do you so eagerly do this to yourselves? Do you not foresee that it will not benefit you?' <sup>3</sup> If you proceed, what now seems glorious and most sweet to you soon will not release you unhurt, but being base yourselves you have fallen badly upon the unexpected, and you will be set free only by death.' <sup>4</sup> Indeed, many people who have engaged in public matters enthusiastically and who have entered upon these through some kind of fatuity or base attitude, and with a desire which makes blind with regard to its object, would with the greatest pleasure have withdrawn<sup>11</sup> from public matters after having had the experience, since this turned out to be utterly unpleasant and disgusting to them; and they would indeed have withdrawn, had it been possible for them by some method to do so and to turn back to their former circumstances and go back to their original condition. <sup>5</sup> And they would not have shrunk from being indicted for desertion nor from being reproached of meanness of spirit and limited intelligence and insufficient character; and some of them would have

<sup>11</sup> The examples of the aorist with ἄν, expressing an unreal condition, in §§ 4–5 ('would have withdrawn', 'would not have shrunk', 'would have preferred') may refer to the present time, or to a general condition, and not only, as my translation indicates, to the past (cf. to this below, chapter 3, § 3: 'and they would run away' as a translation of καὶ ἀπέδρασαν).

δυσχερείαις τῆς ἀπροόπτου προθέσεως τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον. 6 Πολλοὶ δέ γ' αὐθις χαίρουσιν εὖ μάλα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τρίβουσιν ὡς ἥδιστα σφίσιν αἰεὶ καταναιδευσάμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀφροντιστοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν συνιέντας ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς μολυσμοῖς καὶ τοῖς βορβόροις ἐμφυρόμενοι χοῖροι, ἢ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν κοντῶν ὠθοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀκαίρῳ φιλονεικία καθ' ἑαυτῶν 5 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῖς ἀμιλλώμενοι. 7 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν γε πλεῖστοι κατὰ τὸν βίον φαῦλοι φαύλως αἰροῦνται πράττειν κακῶς, αὐτοὶ γ' ἐκόντες ὄντες, καὶ φιλοδικοῦσι καὶ φιλονεικοῦσι καὶ παραβάλλονται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνστατικῶς 8 καὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι κρατερῶς τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν τοῦ βίου, καὶ πάσης ἀντιπράξεως καὶ πάντων καμάτων εὖ μάλ' 10 ἄτρεπτοι, καὶ πάσης κακεντρεχείας νικηφόροι καθ' ἑαυτῶν.

3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν γε οὕτως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ γε μὴν ὅμως τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετρίων ἄκοντες καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησιν καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐμπίπτουσιν 382 ἀηδέστατα τῇ τοιαύτῃ διαθέσει τοῦ βίου, καὶ | φεύγοντες ὅλη προθέσει γνῶμης καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχοντες βιάζονται καὶ δυστυχοῦσιν οἷς οὐκ οἰκείως 15 εἰσὶ, 2 καὶ πράγματ' ἔχουσι κομιδῇ πλεῖστα δυσχεραίνοντες, καὶ ἀμιλλῶνται πρὸς ἀντιπράττοντας, καὶ διαπληκτίζονται συσχεθέντες, οὐ μάλα τοι κατασκοπὸν ὃν ἐν τούτοις πονεῖν, καὶ νικῶσι καὶ νικῶνται. 3 Καὶ φέρονται τισιν ἐπηρείαις καὶ ξυντυχίαις αἷς οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ᾤθησαν οὐδ' ἐχρήσαντ' ἂν αὐτοὶ καθ' αἴρεσιν πράττοντες καὶ ἀπέδρασαν ὡς ἤψαντο καὶ συνέσχοντο (καὶ τοῦτ' 20 εὐκταῖον ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς, εἰ οἷον τ' ἦν) 4 ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινων τυμβωρύχων καὶ ληστῶν ἢ βαρείας τινὸς νόσου καὶ δεινῆς διαδράντες, ἢ κλύδωνος τινός, καὶ διασωθέντες ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς γενόμενοι· ὁ πάντων ἐστὶν ἐργωδέστατον, τὸ παρελθεῖν τὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιθέσεις ἢ μὴ ξυλλαχεῖν τοιοῖσδε πράγμασιν ἐν βίῳ γενόμενον. 5 Καὶ πολλοὺς γέ τις μαρτύρῃται ἂν ἐνταῦθα, οἱ πεῖρά τι κατ' 25

2 εὖ μάλα χαίρουσι M      12 Ἀλλὰ etc.: ad haec add. ἀληθεύω. θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος; ἔγωγ' ὁ ξυγγραῶν, οὕτω δὴ βεβίωκα· in mg. ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>

<sup>12</sup> What is probably the *manus secunda* of P (= P<sup>2</sup>) adds the famous comment on this in the margin: 'As God is my witness, I, the author, am right in this. For I have lived it' (translation according to Hult 2002, xix); for a discussion of the problems concerning this note see the introduction, 1.1, p. xiii, with references.

<sup>13</sup> 'moderate people' (μετρίων): apparently of a humbler station in life than the high-born, but still good people in comparison with those discussed in Chapter 2, §§ 6–8.

preferred seeming very much unpolished and uneducated to being always worn out and during all their life having to fight against so many difficulties, befalling them because of an undertaking which had proved to have unforeseen consequences. <sup>6</sup> On the other hand, many people are very fond of life and live in a way most pleasant to themselves while behaving impudently in public matters and paying no attention to any observers from the outside, being like swine immersed in dirt and filth, or like those who, to their own detriment, push themselves with untimely zeal towards the stake and fight so as to bring about their own destruction. <sup>7</sup> Most of these live a bad life, and out of baseness and by their own free will they choose to fare badly, and they show fondness of litigation and strife, and stubbornly <sup>8</sup> and forcefully do they match their daring and rashness and shameless way of life against all people, and they are completely undeterred by any opposition and all the trouble they have to take; and so, because of all their mischievous activity, they emerge as victors over themselves.

<sup>3</sup> So much for these. However,<sup>12</sup> also many of the high-born as well as moderate people<sup>13</sup> become engaged in such a life by accident; and they do so unwillingly and in spite of their inclination and character, and in a way which brings a great lot of unpleasantness to people of their sort; and although they try to avoid it by every conscious effort of the mind, and although they are, by nature, totally differently disposed, they are forced into this kind of life; and they meet with an untoward fate in situations not natural to them. <sup>2</sup> And, having very many matters to deal with, they feel disgust, and they fight against those who oppose them, and they wrangle when caught, even though it is not very much to the purpose to take pains under these conditions; and sometimes they prevail, and sometimes not; <sup>3</sup> and if not, they are subject to different kinds of insulting treatment and untoward incidents which they could not have imagined nor would have made themselves subject to, had they been acting according to their own wishes; and they would run away from these matters at the moment when they came into contact with and were constrained by them (this is what they would wish for most, if possible), <sup>4</sup> and they would do this as if they had been running away from grave-robbers and pirates, or from some serious and violent illness, or a storm, and thus had been saved and

383 ἐαυτῶν, ὡς μήποτ' ὄφελον, λέγειν ἔτοιμοι καὶ συνηγορεῖν ὡς ἀληθεῖ τῷ νῦν  
 λόγῳ, αὐτοὶ γνώμης ὄντες ἄλλοτρίας καὶ ἥθους πολυπραγμοσύνης πάσης καὶ  
 μὴ πρὸς πάντα φερομένης ἐμπλήκτως ἕξεως 6 αὐτοὶ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν καὶ  
 σφόδρα δυσχεραίνοντες τοῖς γε τοιούτοις ξυμπύπτοντες καὶ καθάπαξ ἄφυκτα  
 7 ἐχόμενοι, καὶ κάμνοντες καὶ νικῶντες καὶ νικώμενοι καὶ φορῶ χρώμενοι τῆς 5  
 8 τύχης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πνεύματι, καὶ ναυαγοῦντες ὑπ' ἀντιπνοίας αὔθις,  
 καὶ δι' ἀήθειαν ἔστιν οὐδ' ἂν μὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πράττειν καὶ  
 οἷς μὴ πεφύκασιν οὐδ' αἰροῦνται διαεθλεύειν συναρπαγέντες, ἢ δεσποτικῇ  
 χρεῖα καὶ βία, ἢ φιλτάτων δεσμοῖς ἀφύκτοις τῆς φύσεως, ἢ φιλονεικίας τινὸς  
 9 ἡττηθέντες. 8 'Οὐ γὰρ ἀναίμονές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἶδαρ ἔδουσι· καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἷον καὶ 10  
 10 ἄλλοι βροτοὶ ἄνδρες, φησὶν ἢ ποιήσις, ἔδουσι καὶ πόσιος χρέονται καὶ τῆς  
 κοινῆς εἰς φύσεως, ἢ δυσωπία τινί, ἢ καὶ ἄλλοις δὴ τισιν ἀνθρωπεῖς ὅμως  
 τοῖς πάθεσιν.

Περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ ὅτι τρόπον μὲν τινα βιωφελέστατον  
 ἀνθρώποις τὸ κατ' αὐτὰς χρῆμα, τρόπον δέ τιν' αὔθις  
 καθάπαξ νεμεσητὸν καὶ κατεγνωσμένον· ΞΓ'

15

1 Βιωφελέστατόν τι κατ' ἀνθρώπους τῇ ζωῇ καὶ τῷ εἶναι, καὶ καθόλου τῆς  
 φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίοντον δυσχερῶν ἀλεξικακόν τι καὶ  
 ῥάδιον αὐτόθεν χρῆσθαι καὶ μάλ' εὐπόριστον καὶ ἀδάπανον βοήθημα, τὸ τῶν  
 ἐλπίδων χρῆμα· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὅλως ἐν ἡμῖν εὐζωΐα οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἔφεσις καὶ 20  
 384 τοῦ εἶναι | χωρὶς ἐλπίδων. 2 Καὶ ζωὴ τις ἐστὶν αὐτῇ μάλιστα· ἰδία, καὶ πρώτη  
 γ' ἴσως οὐσιωμένη τῇ φαντασίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἐστὶ καὶ δίχα σώματος καὶ τῆς

4 συμπίπτοντες M 10 εἶδαρ M 12 ἀνθρωπεῖς: -ει- s.l. add. P<sup>1</sup> vel P<sup>2</sup>, ἀνθρωπίνους M

10 Οὐ ... ἔδουσι] cf. *Il.* 5.341sq. οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθοπα οἶνον / τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονές  
 εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται | *Plu. Sept. sap. conv.* 160A.13 | [*Plu.*] *De Hom.* 2.1216sq. et 2.2481sq.

brought to a place of safety. Indeed, to avoid these attacks, so as not to come across such matters in life, is the hardest of all things. 5 Many people may be adduced as witnesses in this case, people who because of some undesirable experience, detrimental to themselves, would be willing to talk and advocate the truth of this claim, and who are of a different opinion and disposition from every kind of busybodiness and far from the tendency to engage in well-nigh anything; 6 and they have been subject to such matters against their wish and with the greatest disgust and have been restrained so as to be absolutely unable to get away; and they suffer, sometimes gaining the upper hand, sometimes losing, sometimes experiencing a favourable breeze of Fate and a favourable development of the situation, and sometimes being shipwrecked because of a contrary wind. 7 And, being carried away either by the duty to their masters, or the sheer force of these masters, or by the unbreakable bonds to their dearest by nature, they are sometimes by inexperience forced to do that which does not become them, and that for which they have no natural disposition, and to fight for what they have no wish to fight; and they may also be defeated by some sort of ambition. 8 *For they are not bloodless, but they too eat food:*<sup>14</sup> like other mortal men, poetry says, they eat and use drink, and they share common human nature, either in some feeling of shame or in other human qualities.

63. On hope, and that this in some way is a most helpful  
device for men, but that sometimes it is despicable and  
causes extreme indignation

1 This device, hope, is most helpful for human life and existence, and on the whole it gives protection against natural weaknesses and against difficulties which occur during the course of life; it is handy for immediate use, and it is a help which is very easy to procure and free of charge; without hope, we would not at all be able to live well nor have any desire to do so or

<sup>14</sup> This is a freely rendered, abbreviated version of *Iliad* 5.341–342, a passage discussed a great many times in grammatical literature and the like.

ὀργανικῆς τοῦ σώματος χρήσεως ζῆν, καὶ πολυαρκέστατα καὶ μακροβιώτατα  
 ζῆν, οὐ τὰ παρόντα μόνον ἀμέλει καὶ ἀκαριαῖα καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄληπτα χρόνῳ  
 καὶ ἀμεγέθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ παμμηκέστατα πορρωτάτω τῶν  
 δεδομένων ὄρων ἐπέκεινα. <sup>3</sup> Οὐκ ἂν μὲν οὖν οὐδ' αἶρετόν ἦν ἡ ζωὴ οὐδὲ  
 ποθεινὸν μετασχοῦσιν αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ προσήσαν ἐλπίδες, ὥσπερ τι ζωηφόρον <sup>5</sup>  
 παρεχόμεναι πνεῦμα καὶ διαρκείας καὶ μονῆς ἀφορμὴν, καὶ πάσης εὐπραγίας  
 κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐνέχυρον, καὶ συνηγορία βραστώνης, <sup>4</sup> καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν λαίφεσιν  
 εὐπνοίας εἴτουν εὐπλοίας ἀνέμου ρεύματα καὶ φορᾶς οὐρίου ξὺν ἔαρι καὶ  
 γαλήνῃ, καὶ πομπεία τις ἐορτάσιμος εὐετηρίας κατὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ χεϊμώνων  
 καὶ ναυαγίων λιμῆν ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου λαβέσθαι καὶ ὑπερσχεῖν ἀμηγέτη, <sup>5</sup> καὶ <sup>10</sup>  
 πάντων νοσημάτων καὶ πάντων καμάτων καὶ πόνων φάρμακον, ἃ πάντα κἂν  
 φέρειν ἐστὶν ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ γεννικῶς, κἂν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοῖς λογισμοῖς  
 385 ἐλπίδων κουφότητι καὶ συντονίᾳ γνώμης ταῖς | ἐλπίσιν αὐταῖς νευρουμένη.  
<sup>6</sup> Καὶ δοκεῖ πως εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀστέων ἢ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐελπιστία  
 καὶ τὸ μὴ καταπίπτειν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων χαλεπότητι, ὡς εἶναι καὶ φιλοσοφίας <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ θεοσεβείας μὲν οὖν ἀφορμὴ τὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων χρῆμα, καὶ πάντα  
 δόγματα περὶ τε θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων, καὶ πᾶσα μακαριότης ἀκλόνητος νῦν τε  
 εἶναι κἂν τῷ μέλλοντι μεθύστερον, ἐλπίσι τελεσφορεῖται καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἔχει.

2 Δίχα δ' ἐλπίδων μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνεπιχειρήτων ἢ πραγμάτων καὶ φαῦλον  
 ἢ καὶ δυσνοικὸν τὸ λογίζεσθαι, μάλα τοι καταθεμένους τὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ τὸ <sup>20</sup>  
 πολύπραγμον ἄκαιρον, καὶ ὅλως γε πολλὴ στενότης ἂν τῆς ζωῆς ἦν ἡμῖν, <sup>2</sup>  
 εἰ μὴ παρείπετο πᾶσι τὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων, εἰδοποιός τις τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βιοτῆς  
 δύναμις, καὶ διαρκείας καὶ μονῆς δεσμός, καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐπεπόλαζε τε

<sup>1</sup> 'untouched' (ἄληπτος): LSJ translates this word as 'not to be laid hold of'/'hard to catch' (similar translations also in Lampe) which fits in below at 63.6.3; the word is missing from Trapp.

<sup>2</sup> 'promise': συνηγορία.

<sup>3</sup> 'unshakeable' (ἀκλόνητος): LSJ and Lampe translate this word as 'unshaken'/'unmoved'; see, however, Trapp s.v. ἀκλονητί ('unerschütterlich').

<sup>4</sup> 'which should not be attempted' (ἀνεπιχειρήτος): LSJ translates this word as 'unassailable'/'unattempted'; cf. Lampe: 'not to be touched'/'not to be tampered with' (the word is missing from Trapp).

<sup>5</sup> 'unpleasant': δυσνοικός is missing from LSJ and Lampe; cf. Trapp, with, somewhat differently, 'übelgesinnt'/'böswillig'.

<sup>6</sup> 'anxiety': the translation of στενότης in LSJ which seems most relevant is 'scarcity'; the word is missing from Lampe and Trapp.

even to exist. <sup>2</sup> And this is a kind of very private life, first, maybe, coming into existence through imagination, within which it may live without the body and the use of the organs of the body, doing so to the highest degree selfsufficiently and for a very long time, not in the present only and for the moment and, so to speak, untouched<sup>1</sup> by and without extension in time, but also into the future and very much past the given limits. <sup>3</sup> Indeed, but for hope life would not be anything to wish for or desire for those having part in it; hope provides a kind of life-giving breath and a foundation for endurance and constancy, and a pledge of every success in life, and a promise<sup>2</sup> of ease. <sup>4</sup> Hope is comparable to a favourable gust of wind in the sails, a gust which promises a fair voyage and a rush on in fine weather in the spring; it is like some festive procession ensuring a prosperous life; it is like a haven from storms and shipwrecks, within reach and somehow capable of giving protection. <sup>5</sup> Hope is like a medicine for all diseases and all exertion and pain, all of which can either be born most vigorously and nobly or laid aside mentally because of the relief given by hope and through the strengthening of the mind given by it. <sup>6</sup> To be of good hope in a terrible situation, and not to be depressed by the difficulty of a situation, seems somehow to be characteristic of the noble-minded and refined; and so this device of hope gives rise to philosophical activity and virtue and the fear of God. And all dogmas about God and the divine, and all happiness, which is unshakeable<sup>3</sup> now and in the future, are brought to bear perfect fruit and gain credibility through hope.

<sup>2</sup> Speculation without hope might be one of those things which should not be attempted,<sup>4</sup> and, if hope is really abandoned, planning for the future might be a bad and unpleasant<sup>5</sup> matter, and being interested in many things would be inappropriate; and there would on the whole be much anxiety<sup>6</sup> in our life <sup>2</sup> if hope, which is a kind of forceful signal of the human capability for life and a bond ensuring longevity and permanence, did not follow everyone and if it were not common to well-nigh all people and visited, or rather pervaded, all; for it is a phenomenon comparable to the common enjoyment of air, which men breathe and which holds nature together so as to make life possible. <sup>3</sup> For it would not be possible to live if air did not exist and was readily available for use; and in a similar

καὶ ἐπωχεῖτο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπεχεῖτο διὰ πάντων, ὡς ἀέρος μετουσία κοινή, οὐ  
 πνέουσιν ἄνθρωποι συνέχοντος τὴν φύσιν καὶ καθιστῶντος εἰς τὸ βιώσιμον. 3  
 Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ζῆν οἶον τ' εἶη μὴ ὄντος τὲ καὶ συνόντος αὐτόθεν εἰς μετάληψιν· ὡς  
 ἄρα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραπλησίως οὐκ ἂν τὸ βιώσιμον εἶχεν, εἰ μὴ συνῆν  
 διὰ πάντων ἄτμητα τὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων εἰς μετουσίαν ζωηφόρον καὶ καθίστη τοῦ 5  
 386 βίου τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀνύσιμον. 4 Καὶ πολλοί γ' | ἂν ἀπόμοτον καὶ ἀπευκατῶν εἶχον  
 τὸ ζῆν, καὶ ἴσως γε καὶ φεύγοντες ἂν ἀπηλλάττοντο δραπέται μοχθηρᾶς τινος  
 καὶ δυσαγώγου ζωῆς, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν γνώμην τέλειοι καὶ μὴ πλέον τοῦ φαινομένου  
 τοῦδε ζῶντες, καὶ τοῦτο πάντως ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ κομιδῇ σπάνιον καὶ χαλεπὸν  
 εὑρεῖν, καὶ ὀλίγου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀριθμοῦ, εἰ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο δοίμεν. 5 Οἱ δὲ 10  
 πολλοὶ τὰ παρόντα μόνον ζῶντες, ἢ μὴ ἄρα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων βοηθήματα  
 προσῆν, δυσχερέςιν ἂν ξυμπίπτοντες ἐκάστοτε πράγμασι καὶ καταγρόμενοι  
 καὶ βαρύτατα φέροντες, καὶ μὴ φέροντες μάλιστα, κακοὶ κακῶς τε καὶ ἀφειδῶς  
 ἑαυτῶν ἔτοιμον ἂν εἶχον αὐτόθεν καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὸν βρόχον, 6 ἢ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς  
 τὴν αὐτῶν ὦπλίζον ἂν ἐτοιμότατα σφαγὴν, σπουδῇ πάσῃ διδράσκοντες τὴν 15  
 ἀδόκητον καὶ ἀνέλπιστον παντὸς προσηνοῦς τλήμονα ζωὴν, καὶ πανώλειαν  
 ἑαυτῶν ἀνθαιρούμενοι τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς μήκους καὶ τῆς μονῆς. 7 Καὶ  
 ὁρῶμεν ὡς πολλοὶ γ' οὕτω κάκισθ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἀφειδῶς, καὶ αἰ  
 χρώνται, χαλεποῖς δὴ τισι ξυντυχόντες καὶ πάσης ἀπεγνωκότες ἐλπίδος,  
 μικρογνώμονες ἄνθρωποι δὴ τινες καὶ μικρολόγοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ 20  
 ἀμαθεῖς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὰς μάλιστα βελτίστου, 8 ὡς ἄρα πάντων χαλεπῶν καὶ  
 τῶν βαρυτάτων πορρωτέρω πεφύκασι φέρεσθαι καὶ ἀπέραντοι εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐδεὶς  
 μήποτ' ἂν ὄρος αὐταῖς εἶη καὶ τέλος ὅτιοῦν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς τῆς  
 387 ἀναπνοῆς· οὐδ' ἀποκλείονται κατ' ἄρα τι μέτρον | ὅποσονοῦν ἢ σταδίων  
 μήκος τόσων καὶ τόσων, ὑπερβάλλον πάντ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ ποσὸν ἅπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν, 25

<sup>7</sup> 'execrable': ἀπόμοτος is missing from LSJ; for the meaning required here cf. Lampe ('to be forsworn' and, especially, 'hostile'); cf. Trapp ('verboten').

<sup>8</sup> This is a problematic sentence, and the translation somewhat hypothetical.

<sup>9</sup> 'this': i.e. that people do not trust to hope.

<sup>10</sup> 'leaves neither expectation' (ἀδόκητος): this is missing from Lampe and Trapp and translated as 'unexpected'/'unexpected' by LSJ.

<sup>11</sup> 'narrow-minded': μικρογνώμων is missing from LSJ and Lampe (10 times in the TLG corpus, including σμικρογνώμων); see, however, Trapp ('kleingeistig' etc.) and cf. LSJ s.v. μικρογνώμοσύνη.

<sup>12</sup> 'do not sufficiently value': μικρολόγος does not seem to have exactly this meaning in the

way human life would not be liveable if it were not for hope, always and indivisibly to be shared so as to ensure life; thus hope makes it possible to complete the course of life. <sup>4</sup> Indeed, many people would find life execrable<sup>7</sup> and abominable [but for hope], and they would perhaps even leave it fleeing, to become deserters from a toilsome and difficult life. This would be the case with those of a defective mind, who live by appearances only; and, especially, it would be the case with those who do not trust to hope.<sup>8</sup> However, this<sup>9</sup> is very rare and hard to find examples of, and it is characteristic of a small number of people, even if we grant that the phenomenon does exist. <sup>5</sup> But most people live for the present only, and if they did not have the help of hope, they would at once, whenever they encounter difficulties and are under pressure and fare very badly and simply are not able to bear up with the situation, be ready to put the noose around their own neck—without mercy and to their own detriment, mean as they are. <sup>6</sup> They would also very readily take to arms and murder their own selves; and they would most eagerly escape from their miserable life, which leaves neither expectation<sup>10</sup> nor any hope of kindness; and they would prefer the complete destruction of themselves to remaining for a long time under evil conditions. <sup>7</sup> Indeed, we see that quite a lot of people who have met with difficulties and have lost all hope, have treated, and continue to treat, themselves in this most evil and unsparing way; this they do since they are narrow-minded<sup>11</sup> and do not sufficiently value<sup>12</sup> good hope, ignoring the highest good which this hope promises,<sup>13</sup> <sup>8</sup> namely that by its nature it leads us far away from all difficult and most grievous matters, and that it is boundless, and that there is no limit to it ever nor any end of any kind, not even at the very last moment of life; nor is it limited to any extent or by any measure, only extending so and so many stadia; rather, it exceeds, so to speak, every number and every quantity, though, at the end of life, it knows of some sort of limitation. <sup>9</sup> And so this device, hope, would seem

examples cited in the lexica, see LSJ ('caring about petty things' etc.), and Lampe ('belittle'/'disparage'); it is missing from Trapp.

<sup>13</sup> 'ignoring ... promises' (ἀμαθεῖς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὰς μάλιστα βελτίστου): or 'being ignorant of that which is the highest good according to this hope.'

τελευτῶν δ' ὅμως ὀριζόμενον ὀπιοῦν. 9 Καὶ τὸ μὲν γε τῶν ἐλπίδων οὕτως ἄρα δόξειεν ἂν βέλτιστ' ἔχειν κατ' ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὀνησιμώτατον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσει μάλιστ' εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπισκεπτομένῳ καθόλου τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον πράγματα.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθις πολλοὶ καταμωκάσθαι δεῖν ἡγνῆται καὶ πάλαι καὶ 5  
νῦν ἀξιοῦσι μεγάλης ὑπευθύνους εὐθεΐας καὶ ματαιότητος τοὺς ἐχομένους  
παντάπασι τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀβεβαίου πράγματος οὕτω καὶ καθάπαξ ἀπίστου  
καὶ ἀνιδρύτου, 2 κἀντεῦθεν μάλισθ' ὅ τί ποτ' ἄρα φρονούντας καὶ βιοῦντας  
ἀκαιρία πάσῃ λογισμῶν, καὶ τελευτῶντας, καὶ μάλιστ' εἴωθεν οὕτω δὴ  
ξυμβαίνειν ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἁωρία πάσῃ τῶν 10  
ἐν ἐλπίσι καὶ ἀηδέστατα πάντοι σφίσι αὐτοῖς, 3 καὶ τηνικαῦτα δὴ ξυνιέντας  
ἀνόνητα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ τῶν μακρῶν φαντασμάτων καὶ λήρων  
καὶ πλάνων ἀνηνύτων καὶ περιόδων τῶν εἰς πάντα φερουσῶν διαύλων τῶν  
ἐλπίδων καὶ δρόμων κούφως τὲ καὶ ῥᾶστα καὶ μάλιστ' ἀπόνως πραγμάτων,  
4 καὶ γέλωτα μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὀφλοντας, θρηνοῦντας δ' ὅμως ὡς ἀφηρημένους 15  
388 ὧν ἀπριξέειχοντο καὶ κατεδραματούργουν ὡς ἐν σκηνῇ | τοῖς λογισμοῖς τὴν  
αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ πομπείαν καὶ τύχης εὐμένειαν, ἐνεορτάζοντες  
τοῖς ἀπατηλοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀναπλάσμασι καὶ ὥσπερ ὄναρ παίζοντες ἐν οὐ  
παικτοῖς καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτοὶ παιζόμενοι καὶ τῆς ὀνειρώδους ἀπολαύοντες  
βιώσεως. 5 Ἐπαινετὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ σφόδρα καιρῶς εἰρημένον τὸ τοῦ 20  
σοφοῦ Πλάτωνος, καὶ κομψῶς πάντοι καὶ τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν  
εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἐκείνου, ὡς ἄρα ἡ γρηγορούντων εἰσὶν ἐνύπνια αἱ ἐλπίδες.  
6 Καὶ τίς ἂν εἴῃ βίος λοιπὸν ἢ ζωὴ καὶ οὐσίῳσις ὀνειρώδης, ἢ τίς ἂν ὀνείροις

22 γρηγορούντων ... ἐλπίδες] cf. D.L. 5.18.2sq. ἐρωτηθεὶς (sc. Ἀριστοτέλης) τί ἐστὶν ἐλπίς, ἔγρηγορότος, εἶπεν, ἐνύπνιον | Stob. *Anth.* IV 47.12 (Wachsmuth) Πίνδαρος εἶπε τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶναι ἐγρηγορότων ἐνύπνια | *Gnom. Vat. Sent.* 375.1sq. <Ἄνα> κρέων ὁ ποιητὴς ... εἶπεν. αἱ ἐλπίδες ἐγρηγορότων εἰσὶν ἐνύπνια | Olymp. in *Alc.* 28.1 ἢ ἐλπίς, καὶ ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐγρηγορότος ἐνύπνιον et Id. in *Phd.* 7.1.10 | Nicephor. Chum. *Ep.* 112.1 τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔφη τις ἐγρηγορότων ἐνύπνια

<sup>14</sup> I.e. as life.

<sup>15</sup> 'dramatized' (κατεδραματούργουν): the word is missing from Lampe and LSJ (see, however, LSJ s.v. δραματουργέω = δραματοποιέω ('put into dramatic form')). Trapp quotes our passage and translates 'in dramatischer Form behandeln', which is beside the point. The meaning required here is something like 'exaggerated', here rendered with 'dramatize'.

to be an excellent thing for men and of great help for our nature, especially so, in fact, to him who meditates on matters of life from an overall perspective.

3 However, many in the past have thought it fit to deride those men for great stupidity and folly (and many nowadays too consider the same kind of people guilty of stupidity and folly) who have been totally dependent on hope in such an uncertain and wholly unreliable and unsettled matter:<sup>14</sup> 2 men who with hope as a foundation entertain optimistic thoughts of any kind and who lead a life based upon the most untimely reasoning and who, as a consequence of this, die in a way most horrible to themselves, deprived of everything which they have wished for (in fact, this is what is most likely to be the case when they are removed from this world and from life as a whole). 3 For at that point they realise, not being able to profit any longer from the insight, the extent of their own ignorance and the magnitude of their illusions and their folly and endless wanderings and digressions which, easily and most smoothly and, indeed, without toil, have led them into every channel and course of hope. 4 Thus they are subject to the derision of their enemies. But they also have reason for lament of their own, since they have been deprived of what they had held on to; indeed, they had, as on a stage, dramatized<sup>15</sup> their power and luxury and pomp<sup>16</sup> and the benignity of Fate in their minds, and they had been feasting on the deceptive creations of the mind; and they had, so to speak, been playing in their dreams with no playing matter (they had rather been treated as toys themselves); and they had been enjoying a dreamlike life. 5 For in truth admirable and most appropriate is the saying of the wise Plato, and very neatly put too and as worthy of him as any of his sayings, namely that *hope is the dreams of the awake*.<sup>17</sup> 6 And what kind of life, or

<sup>14</sup> 'pomp': the word used here, *πομπεία*, seems, at least as far as ancient Greek is concerned (see LSJ), to mean either a procession in itself, or, as a negative term, 'abuse'/'slander', not, as here, to be the equivalent of 'splendour' (the word is missing from Lampe and Trapp).

<sup>17</sup> 'hope ... awake': this expression occurs several times in Greek literature (it may be noted that it is used by Metochites' acquaintance Nikephoros Choumnos; there is also a variant to the effect that 'fantasy is the dream of the awake'; also day-dreams in general are sometimes men-

πεποιθώς καὶ συμβιοτεύων καὶ ὅλως ζῶν ὄναρ καὶ κρίνων ἐντεῦθεν ἡδεσθαὶ καὶ μετεῖναι οἱ τινὸς εὐδαιμονίας οὐκ ἂν ἀθλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων εἴη; 7 Καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπιστούμενος ὅλως ξυνιέναι καὶ εἶναι τι κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐστὶ τι τῶν ὄντων, οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ δὴ τι καὶ μετρίως ἀνθρώποις νοῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ μάλιστα προσανέχουσιν ὑπὲρ πᾶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν 5 σώματος τῇ τοῦ νοῦ ζῳῇ.

4 Καὶ εἰ τὸ κατ' αἴσθησιν οὕτω δὴ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ζῆν, καὶ μάλισθ' οὕτως ὕπαρ γε, τῆς ὕλης ἀπριξ ὡς εἰπεῖν χερσὶν ἐχόμενον καὶ συνόντα κοιμῆ τὸν ἐπιδηλότατον ἀμέλει τρόπον, εὐπεριφρόνητόν τι καὶ ὥσπερ ἀνούσιόν τι καὶ φάντασμα δοκεῖ ζωῆς ἀβέβαιον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον καὶ φεῦγον τὴν ἀληθινήν 10 ἔξιν καὶ | ξύνεσιν τοῦ εἶναι· 2 τί ποτ' ἄρα φαίη τις ἂν τὴν καθάπαξ ἐν φαντασίᾳ τοῦ εἶναι πλαττομένην μόνον ζωὴν καὶ ὥσπερ ὄνειρωττόντων ἐν ἐλπίσι βίωσιν, καὶ πόσου γέλωτος ἀξιοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ βεβηκότας καὶ λιχνευομένους τοσαύτῃ πλάνῃ βίου, παντάπασιν ἀνυπάρκτου, χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄεροπορεῖν ἄτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαμαχεῖν ἀβελτερώτατα, 3 μᾶλλον δὲ καθόλου σκιουργεῖν τὸ 15 εἶναι καὶ τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ βιοῦν τὸ πᾶν ἐν πλάσματι, ἃ μὴ πέφυκεν εἶναι μήποτε μήδ' ὅτιοῦν μένειν, οὐσίας ἐνάργειαν κατ' ἔφεσιν νομιζοντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ 'καθ' ὕδατος τις γράφων' καὶ διατιθέμενος λόγους καὶ σχήματα διαρκῆς

7 μάλισθ' οὕτως: μάλιστά πως M 9 ἀνούσιόν: fort. ἀνούσιόν p.c. ex ἀνόςιόν M (fort. etiam s.l. add. v M, i.e. ἀνν-), fort. ἀνόςιόν p.c. ex ἀνούσιόν E 11 ἂν ἄρα φαίη τις M 12 τοῦ: τὸ (ου s.l.) M, τοῦ E μόνον: μόν[... ] v P, fort. μόνην a.c. P, i.e. erasit η βίωσιν: -σι- non certe leg. in P 13 τοῦς: τοῦς P

14 ἀεροπορεῖν] cf. Ar. Nu. 225 = 1503 ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον et Pl. Ap. 19c3sq. ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα 15 σκιαμαχεῖν] cf. Pl. Ap. 18d6 ὥσπερ σκιαμαχεῖν et Id. Lg. 830c2sq. οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως; | Plu. Qu. conv. 735C.4sq. ἄλλ' ὁρῶ εἶπεν ὕμᾶς οἴους [τε] ὄντας ἢ δὴ σκιαμαχεῖν πρὸς τὰ εἰδῶλα' | Th. Met. Sem. 63.6.6 18 καθ' ... γράφων] cf. Soph. Fr. (Radt) 811 ὅρκους ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω | Pl. Phaedr. 276c7sq. Οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει μέλανι σπείρων διὰ καλάμου μετὰ λόγων ἀδυνάτων μὲν αὐτοῖς λόγῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων δὲ ἱκανῶς τάληθῃ διδάξαι | Luc.

tioned). As far as I can see, only in Metochites is the expression ascribed to Plato. Otherwise it is attributed to Anacreon (*Gnomologium Vaticanum*), Aristotle (Diogenes Laertius), Herodotus (Olympiodorus), or Pindar (Stobaeus).

<sup>18</sup> 'being ... in the flesh': for οὐσίωσις LSJ gives the translation 'substantification'; cf. Lampe ('existence').

existence and dreamlike being albeit in the flesh,<sup>18</sup> would this be, and of what kind would he be who trusts in dreams and shares his existence with them and who on the whole lives as in a dream and who judges that he will have pleasure and some part in happiness from this? Would he not be the most miserable of men? 7 And, quite as a dream is no part of reality, he cannot be trusted with understanding anything and with being anything according to human standards; nor can he be held in any esteem<sup>19</sup> or be trusted by people with even a modest amount of sense, especially not if they consider the life of the mind more important than everything which has to do with the physical senses.

4 And if the fact that we live in the body and by the senses, and that we so to speak cling to matter so tightly with our hands (and especially so when awake) and engage in life in the most conspicuous way: if this seems to be a thing worthy of contempt and without substance; and if this life is a fake and uncertain and without foundation, and if it seems to fall short of the true life and the understanding of what reality is— 2 what, then, is to be said about a life which solely is formed according to a vision of reality and is the life of dreamers who live on hope? And how much derision do not those deserve who exist in this and who earnestly desire to live such a false and totally unreal life and to do nothing short of *travelling through the air*<sup>20</sup> and *fighting against shadows*<sup>21</sup> in the most foolish way? 3 They rather create shadows<sup>22</sup> of the whole of their existence and their life, and they live all their life in a fiction (a life which never had a real existence nor any stability), and they choose to consider that this life of theirs shows clear signs of real essence.<sup>23</sup> It is as if *someone wrote in*

<sup>19</sup> 'nor can he be held in any esteem' (οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ δὴ τι): the translation is tentative.

<sup>20</sup> 'travelling through the air' (ἀεροπορεῖν): it seems reasonable to think here of Plato's *Apology* (19c) and the reference made there to Aristophanes' caricature of Socrates (see *Clouds* 225 and 1503).

<sup>21</sup> 'fighting against shadows' (σκιαμαχεῖν): this, too, alludes to Plato's *Apology* (18d).

<sup>22</sup> 'create shadows': σκιοῦργεῖν is not to be found in LSJ and Lampe. See Trapp ('Schatten machen'), with reference to this occurrence and below, 63.6.6, only.

<sup>23</sup> This is a fairly free translation of a difficult sentence. I take it that the relative clause beginning with ἃ runs until μένειν (as indicated by the parenthesis in the translation). Despite the difficulties the general tenor seems quite clear.

ᾧ ἐτό τι δημιουργεῖν καὶ προσέχαιρεν οἷς ἐχρήτο δοκῶν ἀνύτειν ὃ τί ποτ' ἄρα, μελαγχολῶν ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι φῶ. 4 Καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς μανία τις ἂν εἴη παραπλησίως τὸ τοῖς φανταστικοῖς ἐπιθαρρεῖν τῶν ἐλπίδων τύποις καὶ παρατιθέναι ἑαυτὸν καὶ παθαίνεισθαι τοῖς γε τοιοῦτοις καὶ συνδιατίθεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει καὶ γαληνῶς ἄγεσθαι καὶ διάγειν ἐν δὴ τινι γνώμῃς ἡρεμία καὶ χρήσει ῥα- 5 στῶν ὡς περ δὴ τοῖς νηπίοις παθητικὰ προσφέρουσιν αἱ τίτθαι μυθάρια κατὰ τῶν ὕπνων φάρμακα καὶ παραληροῦσιν ἐν μακροῖς διηγήμασιν, ἃ μήποτε 390 γέγονε μήτε ποτε φύσιν ἔχοντα, 6 τοῖσούτῳ γε μὴν εὐπειστα νηπίοις καὶ ὅσοι νηπιῶδεις τὰς φρένας καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν ὄντων τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥστε καὶ πάσχειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἥδιστα πολλάκις καὶ συνήδεσθαι τοῖς λήροις καὶ 10 αἰωρεῖσθαι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνηδόνῳ διαθέσει, 7 καὶ τοῦναντίον αὐτῶν οἰκτιστὰ πάσχειν καὶ θρήνων καὶ δακρύων λαμβάνειν ἀφορμὰς καὶ θυμοῦσθαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀγνοίας τῶν προσηκόντων ἐνέχεσθαι πράγμασι καὶ καταγελαῖσθαι δικαίως.

5 Ἐνεθυμήθην δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τοῦθ', ὅτι γελοῖον ἂν εἴη καὶ ἐπεικῶς εὐήθες, εἰ τις ἐν δράμασιν ὑποκρινόμενος πρόσωπα ἄττα καὶ σχήματα καὶ πράξεις 15 τῶν τιμιωτέρων, Ἀγαμέμνονα τυχὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν συνταξαμένων ἀπάντων κατὰ τῆς Τροίας Ἑλλήνων, ἢ Ἀχιλλέα νικῶντα τὰς κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων νίκας θαυμαστὰς ἐκείνας, 2 ἢ Οἰδίποδα διαλύοντα τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἄπορ' ἐκείνα τῆς σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματα καὶ βασιλέα λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν Θηβαίων, ἢ Θησέα, ἢ Ἡρακλέα διαεθλεύοντα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιγιγνόμενον ὑπὲρ βοήθειας 20 ἀνθρώπων, ἢ ἄλλα δὴ παραπλήσια ψευδῇ πλάσματα, 3 ἔπειτ' ἐκ τούτων τὴν ὀφρὺν αἶρει καὶ μέγα τι φρονεῖ ὡς δὴ θαυμαστός τις αὐτόθεν γενόμενος καὶ

3 τὸ: fort. scrib. τῶ (vide introd. 2.9, p.1)  
ore M, τροφοὶ in textu et γρ. τίτθαι in mg. E

6 αἱ τίτθαι in textu et γρ. αἱ τροφοὶ in mg. superiore  
7 κατὰ: an scrib. καὶ τὰ? μήποτε: μήτε M

Cat. 21.4sq. καθ' ὕδατος, φασίν, γράφει | Jul. *Paramytheticus Sallust.* 6.17 προσόμοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὕδατος | *Suda* K 129 Καθ' ὕδατος γράφειν: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην πονούντων et ibid. EI 326 Εἰς ὕδωρ σπεῖρειν: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην πονούντων- ὡς τὸ καθ' ὕδατος γράφειν

<sup>24</sup> 'wrote in water': γράφειν καθ' (or ἐφ' or εἰς (ὕδωρ)) ὕδατος is an expression known since Sophocles. More recently, it is used by e.g. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act IV, Scene 2: 'Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues We write in water.'

<sup>25</sup> 'for': this is problematic; the Greek text has κατὰ which normally means 'against'; perhaps one should write καὶ τὰ and translate 'stories ... and medicine for sleep' (i.e. 'medicine' as a kind of apposition to 'stories').

*water*<sup>24</sup> and composed orations and figures and, in doing so, thought that he created something durable and took pleasure in his activity, thinking that he was achieving something, although he would really be what I could only call a madman. <sup>4</sup> This would in truth be a kind of madness similar to putting one's trust in fantastic shapes of hope, subjecting oneself to the influence of these and being affected by them in one's soul with a view to living in peace and in order to be able to spend one's time with some serenity of mind and in the enjoyment of leisure. <sup>5</sup> In the same way nurses offer exciting stories to small children as medicine for<sup>25</sup> sleep, and they talk a lot of nonsense, recounting at great length unnatural things which never happened. <sup>6</sup> However, so convincing<sup>26</sup> are these stories to small children and to those of childish minds and those who are totally ignorant of the realities of truth, that these people are often most pleasantly affected by them and rejoice at the nonsense and are exalted into a pleasant state of mind by them. <sup>7</sup> Conversely they may also be affected in a most pitiful way and start to wail and cry and grow angry, and through ignorance of what is fitting they get entangled in all kinds of affairs<sup>27</sup> and are rightly derided.

<sup>5</sup> When I come to think about it, it would also be ridiculous and highly foolish if someone who on stage impersonated the character or the behaviour or action of any of the more distinguished individuals, such as, perhaps, Agamemnon, the leader of all the Greeks who went to war against Troy, or Achilles, who gained those awesome victories over the barbarians, <sup>2</sup> or Oedipus, who solved those impossible riddles which the Sphinx imposed upon men and so became king of the Thebans, or Theseus or Heracles, who laboured successfully everywhere in order to help the people, or other similar figures of fiction— <sup>3</sup> it would be ridiculous if such an impersonator were to raise his eyebrow because of this and give himself airs, thinking that he has become worthy of admiration because of his performance<sup>28</sup> and that he is above all others; it would be ridiculous

<sup>24</sup> εὐπειστός with active meaning is not recorded by LSJ (the word is missing from Lampe and Trapp).

<sup>27</sup> Presuming that the dative (πᾶσιν ... πράγμασι) is directly connected with ἐνέχεσθαι, the genitive ἀγνοίας τῶν προσηκόντων is a little surprising; it is here understood as causal.

<sup>28</sup> 'because of his performance': αὐτόθεν.

τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέρτερος, καὶ ἀξιοὶ ἡδεσθαι πάνυ τοι καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ πάντων  
 391 τιμᾶσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν κρείττο|νος δὴ τινος μοίρας τυχεῖν ἢ πρότερον ἦν, καὶ  
 μεγάλης ἐπιληφθαι δόξης. 4 Ἄλλ' ἐπιτριβείης' αὐτίκα φαίη τις ἂν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἐκ ποιητικῆς μεθ' ἧς ὑποκρίνεται, ὥς μόθων εἰ καὶ φύσει κόβαλος· καὶ  
 σύ γε εἰ καὶ νῦν ὁ χθὲς ἄρα δὴ καὶ πρὸ τρίτης ὑπηρέτης καὶ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν 5  
 ὀβολῶν μισθοῦμενος. 5 "Οδ' Οἰδίπους, ποῦ καὶ τὰ κλεῖν' αἰνίγματα; φησὶν ὁ  
 ἐκ ποιήσεως αὐθις παροιμιώδης λόγος· καὶ δεήσει ἂν σε καὶ αὐθις βανασεῖν  
 κατ' ἔθος ὅτιοῦν ἀποθέμενον τὴν σκηνήν, ἢ καθυπουργεῖν ἴσως δεσπόταις  
 οἴκοι στρωματόδεσμον, οἶμαι γ', ἐνσκευάζειν, ἢ ὑδροφορεῖν, ἢ κρέας ὀπτᾶν,  
 ἢ ἄλλαττα τῶν εἰωθότων. 6 Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτω φρονεῖς καὶ πρόθυμος φαίνῃ, εἰ δὲ 10  
 σεμνύνῃ τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ τοῦ δράματος, κλαίσεις αὐτίκα καὶ κατὰ κόρρησιν μαστίξῃ  
 καὶ κατ' ὤμων πλείστας λαμβάνων πληγὰς αἰσθήσῃ λοιπὸν αὐτόθεν κακὸς  
 392 κακῶς ληρῶν, 'κατὰ τὸν ἐν Τεμέσῃ', φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, | 'πρότερον ἤρωα'. 7 καὶ  
 οὐ συνοίσει σοι πάντως ἡ σεμνότης αὕτη καὶ τὸ πλεῖν ἢ τέως πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ δράματος φρονεῖν, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔχεις ἐρῶν καὶ ἄπτεσθαι πειρώμενος 15  
 'λύκος' ὀφθήσῃ μετὰ τῆς παροιμίας αὐθις 'μάτην χανών'. 8 Ταῦτ' ἂν, οἶμαι γ',  
 ἐρεῖν εἴη ἴσως οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς γε τοιοῦτον, εἰ ἄρα τις εἴη τοιοῦτος,  
 προσποιούμενος τὰλλότρη' ἑαυτοῦ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ.

7 ποιήσεως sine accentu P  
 σεμνύνει E

9 an post οἴκοι add. τε?

11 σεμνύνῃ M, fort. -ῃ p.c. ex -ει P<sup>1</sup>,

3 ἐπιτριβείης] cf. Ar. Th. 557 et Id. Av. 1530 et Schol. in Av. (schol. vet.) 1530 τοῦ ἐπιτριβείης: Παρὰ  
 τὸ Τριβαλλός φησι παίζων γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἐπὶ ὕβρει ἐπιτριβείης | PCG VIII 1112 (K.-A.) = Adespot.  
 vet. com. CGFPR Fr. 234.51 (Austin) | Luc. DMeretr. 2.3.9 ἐπιτριβείην εἴ τι ἐψευσάμην 4 ὥς  
 ... κόβαλος] cf. Ar. Pl. 279 διαπραγείης, ὥς μόθων εἰ καὶ φύσει κόβαλος 5 δυοῖν ... ὀβολῶν]  
 cf. Th.Met. Sem. 67.12.6 τριῶν ἀξιούμενον δραχμῶν et Id. 67.18.3 δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ὀβολῶν ὠνητοῖς  
 et Id. 76.2.6 τριοβολμαίους 6 "Οδ ... αἰνίγματα] cf. E. Ph. 1688 ὁ δ' Οἰδίπους ποῦ καὶ τὰ  
 κλεῖν' αἰνίγματα; 13 Τεμέσῃ ... ἤρωα] cf. [Plu.] Prov. Alex. 2.31.1sq. Ἐν Τεμέσῃ ἤρωας: ὅτ'  
 ἀπαιτῶν τις αὐτὸς ὕστερον προσοφείλων εὐρεθῇ, ὁ ἐν Τεμέσῃ γέγονεν ἤρωας | Ael. VH 8.18 Εὐθύμος  
 ὁ Λοκρὸς τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς ἦν ... καὶ τὸν ἐν Τεμέσῃ ἤρωα φόρους πραττόμενον παρὰ τῶν  
 προσοίκων ἔπαυσεν: ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἄβατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς, διηγωνίσαστο  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ὥνπερ ἐσύλησεν ἀποτίσαι πλεῖω | Suda E 3510.7 16 λύκος ...  
 χανών] cf. Eub. Fr. PCG V 14.10 (K.-A.) = Fr. 15.10sq. (Kock) ὥστ' εἴ τι βούλει τῶν λελειμμένων  
 φαγεῖν, / ἔπειγ' ἔπειγε, μὴ ποθ' ὥς λύκος χανών | Men. Aspis 371sq. τὸ γὰρ λεγόμενον ταῖς ἀληθείαις  
 'λύκος χανών' ἀπεισι διὰ κενῆς | Ael. NA 7.11.15 'χανών λύκος' ὥς ἂν εἴποις | Babr. 1.16.6 | Suda Λ  
 818.1 Λύκος χανών: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπράκτων

if he should pretend to have the right to a particularly enjoyable life and to being exceedingly honoured by everyone, and to being considered to have earned a better fate than earlier and deserving great fame. 4 *'May you be damned,'*<sup>29</sup> one might say to him, using the words of the poetry which he uses for acting, *'for you are presumptuous and an impudent knave by nature;* and now you are once more the servant you were yesterday and the day before, hired for two or three obols. 5 But *where is this Oedipus and his famous riddles?*<sup>30</sup> says the proverbial expression taken from poetry. You will, it would seem, have to become a lowly person again, as is your wont somehow; and you will have to abandon the stage, and either, perhaps, serve your masters by preparing the beds in the house, I should think, or fetching water, or frying meat or performing any other ordinary task. 6 But if you are not so minded and do not appear eager to do this, and if you affect a solemn air because of the success of your performance, you will soon be sorry and be slapped on the cheek and receive many blows on the shoulders, and so you will perceive that you are evil and talk nonsense and will come to an evil end, *as the hero once did at Temese,*<sup>31</sup> according to the proverb. 7 And this solemnity, and the fact that you tender higher thoughts than you did prior to entering the stage and being an actor, will not at all help you; and the fact that you desire and try to get hold of what is out of your reach, will make you seem like the proverbial *wolf who opened his mouth in vain.*<sup>32</sup> 8 This is, I think, what it perhaps would not be out of place to say to such a person, if, indeed, someone should behave in this way and thus unjustly lay claim to that which does not belong to him.

<sup>29</sup> 'May you be damned': this expression (i.e. ἐπιτριβείης or the like) seems to be typical of the Old Comedy.

<sup>30</sup> 'where ... riddles': this comes from Euripides' *Phoenissae* 1688.

<sup>31</sup> This story, as told by Aelian, *Varia Historia*, is about an eponymous hero who exacted tax money from the inhabitants of Temese but was stopped from doing so by a famous Locrian boxer.

<sup>32</sup> 'wolf ... vain': this saying is first attested in Euboulos, the author of the Middle Comedy (mid-4th c. B.C.). It is also attested in Menander and in a great many later authors, such as writers of fables and lexicographers.

6 Εἰ δὲ τοιαῦτ' ἂν εἴη πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ μάλα γ' εἰκότα καὶ ταῦτ' ὄντας καὶ μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμυγέπη καί, πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐνεργοὺς κατὰ βραχύ, τί ποτ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα αἱ κατὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας μόνον σκιαγραφίαι καὶ τὰ τῆς φαντασίας ὥσπερ ὄναρ ἀναπλάσματα τῶν πραγμάτων χωρίς; Καὶ τί τὸ βιοῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις ψευδῇ καθάπαξ βίοντι καὶ ἀνούσιον, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰδῶλων 5 πολίτευμα, εἴρηται; 2 Καὶ ἅμα εἰς νοῦν ἦκε μοι, ὥς ἄρα καὶ τινὲς δὴ τῶν σοφῶν εὐφυῶς εἰκάσαντες φθάνουσι τὰς ἐλπίδας ὥσπερ ἀφανῇ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰδῶλα περιπολεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἰεὶ καὶ τὰνθρώπινα πράγματα. Καὶ οὗτ' ἐλλείπει μήποτ' ἀνθρώπους, 3 οὗτ' ἔστιν ὅλως αὐτῶν δράσασθαι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σκιάς ἑαυτῶν, ἢ ὅλως λαβέσθαι, ἢ ταύτην ὑπερβῆναι καὶ παρελθεῖν, αἰεὶ 10 παροῦσαν τὴν καὶ παρεπομένην ἄτμητον, καὶ αἰεὶ φεύγουσαν ἄληπτον, 4 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὅστις ὥσπερ 'σκιάς ὄναρ', | κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πινδάρου τῆς οὐδενείας τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ὑπερβολήν, ἑαυτὸν οἷος τ' εἴη κρίνειν καὶ πάντα τὰνθρώπινα καὶ παρέρχεσθαι σωφρόνως φιλοσοφεῖ τῆς ἐλευθέρας σχολῆς περὶ τὰ κρείττω καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα γιγνόμενος. 5 Σπάνιον δὲ τὸδε τὸ χρῆμα κατὰ τὸν 15 ἀνθρώπινον βίον, καὶ ὄντως ἀκούειν ἐκείνος ἄξιος μόνος ἐκ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ἐπῶν, ἃ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου πῶς βιούντων φθέγγεται, 'οἷος τοι πέπνυται· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν', ὥς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ἐν νεκροῖς τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πολιτεύμασι δόξειεν ἂν ἴσως εὖ μάλα νοῦν ἔχειν καὶ ζῆν ἀληθῶς, 6 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι

8 οὗτ': οὐ .. τ' P spatio relicto 2 litt., ubi po vel fort. to discernitur, i.e. οὗτ' ut vid. p.c. P, οὐποτ' M et a.c. P 17 Ἄιδου: ἄδου PME

12 σκιάς ὄναρ] cf. Pi. P. 8.136sq. (955sq.) τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιάς ὄναρ / ἀνθρωπος | Plu. *Cons. ad Apoll.* 104B.8 ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις | Aristid. *Πρὸς Πλάτωνα περὶ ῥητορικῆς* p. 37.2 (Jebb) ὥστε σοὶ τὸ τοῦ μορίου εἰδῶλον σκιάς ὄναρ εἰς ἔλεγχον κατὰ Πίνδαρον γίγνεται 17 οἷος ... αἴσσουσιν] cf. *Od.* 10.494sq. τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηα / οἷω πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν | Pl. *Men.* 100a4sq. λέγων περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οἷος πέπνυται τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι | Plu. *Cat. Ma.* 27.6.3 πυθανόμενον τὸν Κἀτωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν· 'οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι' et Id. *Praecept. ger. r.p.* 805A.6 et Id. *Reg. apophthg.* 200A.5 | *Suda* A 691.35sq. Μάρκον Πόρκιον ἀκούσαντα τὰς ἀριστείας Σκιπίωνος / εἰπεῖν ἄλλιν πρὸς ἐκείνον· 'τί ἀκήκοας;' εἰπεῖν 'οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν'

<sup>33</sup> 'acting for a short time' (ἐνεργοὺς κατὰ βραχύ): this expression is obscure and the translation uncertain.

<sup>34</sup> This seems to mean: actors playing Agamemnon represent, after all, some kind of truth, or

6 But if this can be said about these, and most plausibly so, and if men are like this when they are in some way dealing with real matters and, how should one put it, acting for a short time<sup>33</sup>—what are then the mere pictures of shadows drawn by hope and the dreamlike representations of imagination, far from reality?<sup>34</sup> And what is it like to live a totally false and unsubstantial life in these and in what has been called the realm of the phantoms?<sup>35</sup> 2 It also occurs to me that wise men have often been able to make apt guesses in advance about that which they hope for, as if hope consisted of images unseen to the eye which always circle around men and the world of men, never to desert them. 3 But it is indeed no more possible to touch the object of one's hope than to touch one's shadow. One's shadow cannot in any way be grasped or stepped over or passed by; yet it is always present and follows you undivided, escaping you, being impossible to catch— 4 with the possible exception of him<sup>36</sup> who is able to condemn himself and everything human as *a shadow's dream*,<sup>37</sup> according to Pindar's exaggerated way of expressing the nothingness of life, and who with philosophical restraint disregards the matters of life and is free to concentrate on higher and truly existing matters. 5 But this is a rare thing in human life, and in truth only that man in the Homeric epic is worthy of being famed for this of whom the poem, when telling about those who exist in some way in the dwellings of Hades, says that *he alone is in full possession of his mental faculties*,<sup>38</sup> *while the others rush about like shadows*, as if, even in the realm of the dead, he would seem to be in full enjoyment

a person who at least has existed, whereas the people who really deserve censure are those who fantasize freely.

<sup>33</sup> The translation of this sentence is somewhat hypothetical. πολίτευμα (here translated as 'realm') may be synonymous with πολιτεία and mean 'way of life.' Also εἴρηται ('what has been called') is problematic, since it is not properly connected with the rest of the sentence.

<sup>36</sup> No person can catch his own shadow nor even, perhaps, reach the object of his hope. Yet he who realises the nothingness of life sees clearer than the rest in these matters.

<sup>37</sup> 'a shadow's dream': this expression from Pindar's *Pythian* 8 (σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος: 'A dream of a shadow is man,' transl. W. H. Race, Loeb Classical Library) is alluded to by many, e.g. Plutarch (see app. font. et parall.).

<sup>38</sup> This refers to the Theban seer Tiresias; see the *Odyssey* 10.495 (see also app. font. et parall.).

<sup>39</sup> Here Metochites turns from the dead to the living.

ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, περιόντες ὅσκιμαχοῦσιν ἢ σκιουργοῦσι  
καὶ ἀπατώνται ξύμπασαν τὴν ζωὴν τῇ πλάνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐνυπνίων  
καὶ φαντασμάτων, 7 καὶ τελευτώντες ἀπαλλάττονται ξυνορώντες ἀνόνητα  
πρὸς τῷ πέρατι τὸν πολὺν ἐκείνον ὃν ἐβίωσαν λήρον, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς λειφθέντας  
ἔτι πῶς δυνάμενοι σωφρονίζειν, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν διδασκάλων ἀναδιδάσκειν τὰ 5  
βέλτιστα καὶ λογισμοὺς εὐγενεῖς. 8 Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ παραπλήσι' ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
394 περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων οὐκ ὀλίγα περὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λογισμοὺς· οἷς δ' ἂν τις δοίῃ τὸ  
νικᾶν ῥώμῃ γνώμης, ἅμα μὲν προστιθέμενος καθάπαξ, ἅμα δὲ διακαρτερῶν,  
ἐατέον ἡμῖν νῦν γε εἶναι, καὶ κρινόντων ἄλλοι τῶν θαρρούντων ἑαυτοῖς πλέον  
ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

10

Ὅτι ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ συνήθει  
διατριβῇ ὅτιοῦν πράττειν εὖ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι· ΞΔ'

1 Ἀκούω τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, στρατηγικώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ καρ-  
τερώτατον τὰ μάχῃ καὶ γενναῖον τὴν χεῖρα καὶ σωφρονικὸν εἰ δὴ τις καὶ ἄλλος  
τὴν δίαίταν, καὶ κατὰ φιλοσόφους βίωσαντα· 2 τοῦτον ἐρομένου δὴ τίνος ἀκούω 15  
ὃ τί ποτ' ἄρα οἱ κατὰ τὸν βίον περιδοξὸν ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις οὐχ ἡκιστα  
καὶ μεγάλου κλέους γενόμενον ἀπηντήκει τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἥδιστα φάναι  
μηδὲν ἄλλο ὥς ὅτι γε τῶν φυσάντων ζώντων τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην ἐνῖκα  
Λακεδαιμονίους· 3 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῆνικαῦτα Λακεδαιμονίους μέγιστα

5 ἀναδιδάσκειν: ἀναμανθάνειν PM, γρ(άφετ)αι ἀναδιδάσκειν in mg. P<sup>2</sup>, M-K: 'Margini C. Ciz. ad-  
scriptum γρ. ἀναδιδάσκειν' 7 ἐμοὺς s.l. M 8 γνώμης ῥώμῃ P, sed litteris β et α supra  
γνώμης et ῥώμῃ positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ῥώμῃ γνώμης 12 ΞΔ:  
δ fort. p.c. ex ε M (corr. fort. M<sup>2</sup>) 14 μάχῃ in textu et γρ. τὰ πολέμια in mg. M, πολέμια in  
textu et γρ. μάχῃ in mg. E 18 ὥς P, ἢ E et fort. M<sup>2</sup>, de M ante corr. non constat

1 σκιαμαχοῦσιν] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 63.4.2 15 τοῦτον ... Λακεδαιμονίους] cf. Plu. An seni r.p.  
ger. 786D.10sq. q. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἥδιστον αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ  
πατρὸς ἔτι ζώντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην et Id. Cor. 4.6 et Id. Non posse  
suav. vivi sec. Epic. 1098A.12 et Id. Reg. apophthg. 193A.6

<sup>40</sup> Cf. above, 63.4.2-3.

of his senses and truly alive. 6 But all other people<sup>39</sup> walk around borne, as has been said already, by hope, and *they fight against shadows* or create shadows,<sup>40</sup> and they are deceived all their life by the illusion of the dreams and phantasms of hope. 7 And at last they leave life and they see, standing before the end, how useless all that trumpery has been which made up the life they lived; and they are not even able any longer to chasten those left behind and to teach them by their own example what is best and how to think noble thoughts.<sup>41</sup> 8 This, and not a few similar arguments going in both directions, constitute my thoughts on hope. But to what opinion one should give the victory on the strength of its argumentation, and what opinion one should endorse first, and in which belief one should persevere, we must leave aside, at least for the present; others, who possess more confidence in themselves than we do, will have to judge of that.

64. That it is most pleasant to people to live among  
their own and as they are accustomed—if they can live  
reasonably well and enjoy some respect<sup>1</sup>

1 I hear that the Theban Epaminondas, a man most eminently fitted for military command and most steadfast in battle and high-minded in action, and a man who displayed as much self-control in life as anyone and lived like a philosopher— 2 I hear that, being asked what was the finest thing accorded to him<sup>2</sup> during his life, a life which had brought him recognition<sup>3</sup> and fame among the barbarians quite as much as among the Greeks, he answered that nothing could compare to the fact that<sup>4</sup> his parents had

<sup>41</sup> In this sentence P<sup>2</sup> has changed the reading ἀναμανθάνειν ('learn') of P<sup>1</sup> (and M) into ἀναδιδάσκειν ('teach'). Both readings are possible.

<sup>1</sup> This essay is the first of those edited here which can be considered explicitly historical: see also 65, 70, § 4, and, in particular, 67.

<sup>2</sup> 'accorded to him': or 'had happened to him'/'he had experienced'.

<sup>3</sup> 'recognition': for περίδοξον (not in LSJ) see Lampe ('illustrious').

<sup>4</sup> The Greek text is problematic here (see app. criticus: P's ὥς ὅτι, instead of ἢ ὅτι, I consider a lectio difficilior). At any rate, there can be no real doubt as to the general meaning required.

395 δυναμένους ἐν Ἑλλήσι, καὶ γῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ θαλάττης, καὶ δι' Ἀγησίλαον καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἔθνεσιν | ὀνόματος μεγίστου καὶ φήμης καὶ πολλὰς νενικηκότας τὰς νίκας καὶ ὡς οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐν κράτει πλείστῳ, καίτοι τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τέως τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἑλλήνων φερομένους ἐν μάχαις· 4 ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Θηβαίων, βοιωταρχοῦντος 5 Ἐπαμεινώνδου ξὺν Πελοπίδᾳ, κατακράτος ἡττηθῆναι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην καὶ τὴν πλείστην ἀποβαλεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ γεννικὴν δηλαδὴ Λακωνικὴν νεότητα· 5 καὶ πρὸς ἐσχάτοις σχεδὸν γενέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τότε δὴ πρῶτον τὸν Εὐρώταν διαπεράσαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐχθρὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην τηνικαῦθ' ὅπλα παρ' αὐτῇ κατιδοῦσαν 10 ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν πολέμια μικροῦ καταστραφῆναι καθάπαξ κινδυνεῦσαι· 6 εἰ μὴ ἄρα τῷ βίῳ παρὴν ἔτι πω καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ τοῦ Ἀγησίλαου τέχνη τῶν στρατηγικῶν καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ σύνεσις· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ Σπαρτιάταις μόνον σωτήριον ἀναφανῆναι καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐκείνοις ἰσόρροπον.

2 Ὡν πάντων δὴ μάλιστ' αἴτιος Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἐπαμεινώνδας, Θηβαίων 15 ἡγούμενος, μέγας ταῖς νίκαις καὶ ζέων ἄκρατα παντὶ θυμῷ καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις ἀμύνειν γενέσθαι τὲ μεγίστην ὡς οὐπὼ ποτὲ τέως ἢ μεθύστερον τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ μέγιστ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας δυναμένην ἐν 396 Ἑλλήσι· 2 καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Θηβαίους τότε δι' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐλληνικοῦ φέρεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῦ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων 20 αὐτοὺς εἰς τούφανες ἐρρωμένως ἀντιποιεῖσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὕτως ἀμέλει τηνικαῦτ' ἔχειν πράγματα καὶ ἴσασιν ὅσοις τοι μάλιστα ταῦτ' ἐπιμελὲς τῶν ἱστορούντων εἰδέναι. 3 Ὁ δὲ μάλιστ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπραγήμασιν ἥδιστ' ἐτίθετο, φιλότιμος ἄνθρωπος καὶ δόξης ἐπαινουμένης ἐρῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς δώροις τῆς τύχης, εὖ μάλ' ἀποδεχόμενός τις ὡς 25 εὐγενοῦς ἀνδρὸς τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ἀστείου 4 μαρτύραιτ' ἄν, οἶμαι, τοῦ λόγου

2 εἰπεῖν bis exhib. a.c. P  
ποτέ: οὐ πώποτε M-K

9 τὸν om. M

διαπεράσαι M et a.c. P, -άσαι p.c. P<sup>2</sup>

17 οὐπὼ

5 ἀντιταξαμένων ... νεότητα] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 67.19.9

<sup>5</sup> Epaminondas (ca. 418–362 B.C.) led the Thebans in the battle of Leuctra in 371 and thus inaugurated a short period of Theban hegemony in Greece.

still been alive when he defeated the Spartans in the battle of Leuctra.<sup>5</sup> <sup>3</sup> For the Spartans had constituted the greatest power among the Greeks at that time, ruling over land as well as over the sea, and because of Agesilaus they had earned a great name and reputation even in the eyes of the Persian King and the Persians and practically all peoples;<sup>6</sup> and they won many victories at this time and, having also in all previous times been considered the foremost among the Greeks in battle, they were now as never before in the possession of the greatest power. <sup>4</sup> However, during Epaminondas' and Pelopidas' rule over Boeotia the Thebans opposed them, and the Spartans were thoroughly defeated in the battle of Leuctra and they lost a considerable part of the Laconian youth, that is the noble youth, in the war. <sup>5</sup> After this battle, Sparta was on the verge of total destruction; it was then that hostile armies for the first time passed the Eurotas and invaded the whole of Laconia; and Sparta then had within view the enemy's weapons and, being unvalled, it was almost exposed to the risk of being laid in ruins. <sup>6</sup> This would have happened if Agesilaus had not been still alive and his strategic art, his power and intelligence, had not been at the Spartans' disposal; in fact, he alone seemed able to bring salvation to the Spartans and prove equal to the terrible situation.

<sup>2</sup> The foremost cause of all this trouble to the Spartans was Epaminondas, the leader of the Thebans, great in victory and seething with unmixed passion and temper, wishing to exact vengeance and to ensure that his country should become as great as possible (neither before nor after did it ever attain such greatness) and achieve the greatest power among the Greeks in his time and under his command <sup>2</sup> (the historians whose business it most of all is to know this, do not ignore that, thanks to Epaminondas, the Thebans then came to be considered the leaders of all the Greeks, and that they made an open, vigorous bid for the power over these, depriving the Athenians and the Spartans of the leadership; the historians know that this was the state of Greek politics at the time). <sup>3</sup> But the fact that Epaminondas, who was an ambitious man and avid for good reputation for virtue and for possessing the gifts of Fate, valued what he did

<sup>6</sup> Agesilaus (444–360 B.C.) was king of Sparta from 401.

καὶ πάντας ἀτεχνῶς ὅσοις ἄρα βέλτιστ' ἔσχε καὶ ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον  
πράγματα καὶ τινων ἔργων ἐπαινουμένων, καὶ καθ' ὅτι οὖν ἐπεδείξαντό τε  
καὶ ἐπιδείκνυνται φοράν, ἢ φύσεως, ἢ γνώμης, ἢ τέχνης, ἢ τύχης, ἢ καὶ κοινῶς  
ὁμοῦ πάντων, ἢ τινῶν γε.

3 Πάντες γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡττηνται φιλοτιμίας καὶ τοῦ πάθους καὶ 5  
τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ πάντοι πάντες ἐρασταὶ καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν εὖ μάλα ποθοῦσι  
καὶ ἡδοναὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς κάλλιστ' ἔχοντα καὶ κάλλισθ' ὀρώμενα καὶ  
ἀκούοντα, παντὸς ἐπέκεινα θεάτρου, καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα μαρτύρων, ἐπὶ  
397 πατέρων ἐποπτεία καὶ ξυν|τυχία. 2 Καὶ οὐδὲν μήποθ' οὕτως ὡς τοῦτο σφίσιν  
ἡδιστον, καὶ ὅλως γε μὴν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐξῆς, καὶ οἷς τοξαρχῆς συνεβίωσαν 10  
ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πατρίσι δῆ, καὶ δημόταις τισι καὶ φυλταῖς, καὶ γνησίοις καὶ  
εἰθισμένοις πολίταις καὶ πολιτεύμασιν, 3 ὡς ἄρα τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μάλιστα  
δὴ προκοπὴν τινα καὶ εὐδοκίμῃσιν, πολλὴν τὴν γλυκυθυμίαν καὶ τὴν εἰς  
τάγαθον ἐπιμέλειαν ἐνείσαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πλείστον αὖξουσιν. 4 Καὶ πολλῶν  
γε ἄλλων θεάτρων καὶ παγκοσμίου μαρτυρίας καὶ ἐπιδείξεως ἀλλάζαντ' 15  
ἂν ὑπερβαλλόντως ὡς ἡδιστα τὴν τῶν ἔργων οἱ φιλότιμοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
περιφάνειαν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὡς εἴρηται, παρόντων τὲ καὶ συνηδομένων τοῖς  
αὐτῶν ἀγαθοῖς.

4 Καὶ καθόλου γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν φύσιν οἰκείως ἔχοντι τὰ  
οἰκεῖα πάντως ἐπιδείξαιτ' ἂν, οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῷ τῶν ἀπάντων ζῶντι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν 20  
ιδίᾳ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔθνεσι καὶ γένεσι, καὶ ἔθ' ἐξῆς τοῖς ἔγγιστα, καὶ κοινωνοῖς  
τῆς ζωῆς ἢ φύσει, ἢ ἔθει τινὶ καὶ οὐ πορρωτάτῳ γε καὶ διακεκομμένοις, ἢ  
χρόνοις, ἢ τόποις, ἢ ἀγωγαῖς δὴ τισιν ἀήθεσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις. 2 Καὶ ὥσπερ  
οὐδ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις νοσεῖν αἰρούμεθα εἰ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη καὶ καθ'  
αἴρεσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ ἀνάγκη τούτου, οἴκοι μᾶλλον ἀνθαιρούμεθα ξυμπεσεῖν τῇ 25  
398 συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἂν καὶ πλείονος τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συνηθῶν

25 ἀνθαιρούμεθα: -εθ- vel fort. -εν- (i.e. -μενα) a.c. P, -εθ- p.c. P<sup>2</sup>

<sup>7</sup> I.e. that his parents were alive to see his success.

<sup>8</sup> The following may also be translated as: 'and anyone saying so might adduce as witness to his argument etc.'

<sup>9</sup> 'scenes': the Greek word used is θέατρον, 'theatre'.

most in his success,<sup>7</sup> one might well accept as indicative of the sentiment of a noble and refined person; <sup>4</sup> and<sup>8</sup> one might compare him to almost anyone who has had or has great success in his public life and who in some way has been praised for some deed, having shown or showing physical or mental vigour, or dexterity or luck, or all these qualities at the same time, or at least some of them.

3 For everyone is thus subject to ambition, and to passion and pleasure; and everyone is delighted if his own activity turns out as well as possible and is paid attention to and mentioned in the most honourable way, not only at any public scene or with any public witnesses, but also while he is seen by and is allowed to be together with his elders; this is what everyone loves fervently and this is what everyone expresses his desire for in his prayers. <sup>2</sup> Nothing can ever be sweeter to men than the opportunity to be with their parents and, next to this, with their intimates and people together with whom they have lived from childhood, and with their countrymen and demesmen and tribesmen, and with noble fellow-citizens of the kind they are used to, and to live under the kind of rule they are used to. <sup>3</sup> It is as if progress and fame under such conditions should in a particular way instil great sweetness of mind and a yearning after doing good into men's souls, and to strengthen this wish to the highest degree. <sup>4</sup> For those with ambition would be extremely glad to exchange many other scenes<sup>9</sup> and an international recognition of their accomplishments and excessive fame for distinction among their own and, as has been said, the opportunity for their closest to be present and join them in rejoicing at their good fortune.

4 On the whole a human being would indeed be more likely to show his intimate side to another human who has a nature similar to his, than to any other kind of animal; and, naturally, he would in particular do so to someone of his own people and kin and, to bring the argument further, to those closest to him and to those who are related to him in life, either by their nature or by some trait of character, and who are not very far separated from him by time or space or by strange and alien customs. <sup>2</sup> For just as we do not wish to be ill in a foreign place if it is in our power and we have the choice not to, but rather, if need be, prefer to meet with such

καὶ φίλων ἐπιτυχάνοιμὲν τινος ἐπιμελείας καὶ συμμαχίας κατὰ τοῦ δεινοῦ, <sup>3</sup>  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ', οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν βίοτον εὐπραγίας καὶ τὰ παρ'  
 ἡμῖν βέλτιστα ἢ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως τινὸς ἢ γνώμης ἢ τύχης κατορθώματα  
 οἴκοι μάλιστα ποθοῦμεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ θριαμβεύειν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς  
 καὶ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ οἷς ἐξαρχῆς συνηνέχθημεν τῆς ἡμῶν <sup>5</sup>  
 λαμπρότητος καὶ περιφανείας ἥστινος ἄρα. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ ἀγαλλόμεθα, πῶς ἂν εἴποι  
 τις, ὥς ἡδισθ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ  
 τῶν εἰθισμένων ἡμῖν ὅλως κοινωνῶν τῇ βίῳ, καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες ὅτιοῦν,  
 καὶ φερόμενοι νίκας, καὶ φερόμενοι κατ' εὐχάς.

<sup>5</sup> Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ πολλοὶ καταγερῶσι τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν <sup>10</sup>  
 ταῖς οἴκοι καὶ συνήθεσι διατριβαῖς ἐν μικραῖς τύχαις καὶ χρήσεσιν ἡδίστου  
 βίου, ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐπιδοξότατ' ἀνθρώποις φέρονται καὶ προστρέχουσιν,  
<sup>2</sup> ἐξὸν ἴσως πολὺ προελθεῖν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ δόξης ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ  
 κάλλιστ' ὀφθῆναι καὶ περιφανέστατα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξασθαι βέλτιστα  
 ἅττα δὴ. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλαιντο παρ' ἄλλοις ὑπερπλουτεῖν οὐδ' ὑπερευδοξεῖν <sup>15</sup>  
 οὐδὲ πλείστων ἄρχειν οὐδὲ μείζουσιν ἐμπανηγυρίζειν τὰ σφέτερα κάλλη θεά-  
<sup>399</sup> τροις καὶ προδείκνυσθαι καὶ περιορᾶσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, ἢ τῶν μετρίων  
 ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπολαύειν καὶ οὐ μικρῶ τινι δευτέρων. <sup>4</sup> Πολὺ γὰρ εἰς ἡδονὴν  
 φέρει τὸ προσορᾶν καὶ προσορᾶσθαι τοῖς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνήθεσιν ἐν ἀγαθῶν  
 τινῶν μετουσίᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατ' αὐτοὺς προέχοντες, καὶ <sup>20</sup>  
 τὰ πρῶτα φέροντες ὅπηοῦν, <sup>5</sup> καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἥτις ἂν τὸ γιγνόμενον ἅπαν  
 εὐδαιμονίας αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐπόπτας καὶ κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ μακαρίζοντας  
 καὶ θαυμάζοντας ἴσως τῆς εὐετηρίας ἐκάστοτε, <sup>6</sup> ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις τόποις  
 καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἀπόδημον εὐτυχίαν καρποῦσθαι, καὶ εἰ προέχειν ἴσως ἢ οἴκοι  
 καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν δύναιντ' ἂν ἐν ἀγνοοῦσι τὲ καὶ ἀγνοοῦμένοις <sup>25</sup>  
 ἐπόπταις καὶ μάρτυσι τῆς εὐπραγίας.

<sup>12</sup> ἐπιδοξότατα P (ante consonantem, vid. infra) φέρονται, ἀνθρώποις P, sed litteris β et α  
 supra φέρονται et ἀνθρώποις positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ἀνθρώποις  
 φέρονται <sup>15</sup> ἅττα E et p.c. fort. P<sup>2</sup>, ἄ- ut vid. a.c. P, non leg. M <sup>21</sup> τὸ γιγνόμενον bis  
 exhib. a.c. P <sup>24</sup> καὶ<sup>2</sup> p.c. fort. ex καὶ M

bodily troubles at home, so as to get more care and support against the suffering from our intimates and acquaintances and friends—<sup>3</sup> in the same way, I think, it is at home that we most of all wish to display our success in life and our greatest accomplishments, be it that these have been achieved by natural faculties, or by practice of any kind, or by mental power or by luck; and I think that it is at home that we want to triumph because of the good we have attained; and I think that we want our nearest and those we have been close to from the very beginning to share in whatever glory and fame is ours.<sup>4</sup> And, when we prosper and have some success and gain victories and fare according to our wishes (that is, if we do so among our own and our comrades and those to whom we are totally accustomed as to a common way of life), we exult (I know no other way to express this) in a manner most sweet to ourselves.

<sup>5</sup> Therefore also many noble men and men of high esteem grow old at home, and they live there humbly and as they are used to, and they live a most pleasant life; this they prefer to associating with and conversing at an elevated level with men to whom they do not belong,<sup>2</sup> although it may be possible to find good fortune and fame in a foreign country, and make the best and most glorious impression and show oneself to the greatest advantage.<sup>3</sup> And they would not most of all want to be very rich or famous or to rule over very many or celebrate their success in the greatest of assemblies and be shown forth as examples and generally admired and congratulated; they would rather enjoy modest and considerably worse conditions among their own.<sup>4</sup> For seeing and being seen by those who have been close to him for a long time contributes a great deal to a man's pleasure when he shares some success and glory; it also contributes to his pleasure if he, while excelling over them,<sup>5</sup> can make his peers and men of a very high rank become the observers of and partners in his personal happiness, whatever this may consist of in each case, or make them ready to praise and admire his prosperity, of whatever kind it may be.<sup>6</sup> This contributes more to pleasure than any good fortune to be enjoyed in exile in foreign countries and among foreign peoples would do, even if one perhaps could be more successful there than at home, and even if one could have an excess of advantages

‘Ότι πολλάκις ἔνιοι συμπίπτουσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δόγμασι καὶ  
κρίσεις καὶ ὄλλυνται δίκη σφετέρᾳ· ΞΕ’

1 Θαυμάσιόν τι ξυμβαίνειν εἴωθεν ἐνίοτε καὶ ἐπικεικῶς ἔννοιάν τιν’ ὑποτεῖνον  
πάντ’ ἀδόκητα χρῆναι προορᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντ’ εὐλαβῶς φέρεσθαι καὶ  
νέμεσιν τινα λογισμῷ τίθεσθαι. 2 Συμπίπτουσι γὰρ δὴ τινες πολλάκις ἐπηρεῖα 5  
400 τινὶ | καὶ δαιμονία ξυγκυρήσει μετουπολὺ τοῖς νομισθεῖσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ  
οἷς φθάσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἐπ’ ἄλλους νομοθετεῖν ἅττα δὴ  
καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἔπειτ’ ὥφθησαν προκατασκευασάμενοι καθ’ ἑαυτῶν  
αὐτοὶ δόγματα καὶ ψήφους ἀφύκτους, καὶ ‘τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀλίσκονται, κατὰ τὸν  
λόγον, πτεροῖς.’ 3 Καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἄρα κατὰ σκοπὸν ἀληθινῆς τινος χρείας καὶ 10  
κρίσεως αἰρούμενος τὰ δόξαντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν τῇ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν  
οἷς ξυνέλαχε προνοίᾳ, ὀρθὰ καὶ ὀρῶν, ὀρθὰ καὶ χρώμενος, ἔπειτα ξυμβάν  
οὕτω δὴ ξυμτέπτωκέ πως αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, 4 οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέμψιν  
ὑπέχειν δίκαιος εἴη ὑπὸ χρηστοῦ κινούμενος τοῦ τρόπου περὶ κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν  
πάντων ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἔξω δειλίας ἄρ’ αὖτις καὶ εὐλαβείας, εἰ καὶ 15  
μέμψεσθαι πως ἴσως ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἀξιοίη, γεγρονῶς ἑαυτῷ δεινῶν αἰτίος  
καὶ κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκ τοῦ ξυντυχόντος. 5 ‘Ὅς δ’ ἄρ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐκ  
μακροῦ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἀφίησι βέλεμνα, κακουργῶν καὶ κλέπτων τάφανές ὡς τὰ  
κοινὰ δῆθεν προσποιούμενος εὐνοίας ἀπλαστία, δυσνοούστατος ὢν ἴσως οὐκ  
ἀδικοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐτ’ αὐτὸν οὔτε τὰ κοινὰ, 6 καὶ ῥᾶσθ’ αὐτόθεν λοιπὸν 20  
401 ἔπειτ’ ἀναφαίνεται τῆς αὐτοῦ μάλιστ’ ἀπολαύων τῇ τύχῃ κακουργί|ας  
καὶ τέχνης καὶ κακοηθείας, ‘οἱ θ’ αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχων ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων’ κατὰ  
τὸν λόγον, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις νεμεσῶη δικαίως; 7 Καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς μάλισθ’

7 ἅττα E et ut vid. M 16 ἑαυτῷ ἴσως P, sed litteris β et α supra ἑαυτῷ et ἴσως positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ἴσως ἑαυτῷ 17 κακοπραγίας M et p.c. fort. P<sup>2</sup>, κακροπραγίας a.c. P 22 οἱ ut vid. p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, οἱ M et fort. P<sup>1</sup>, δς M-K

9 τοῖς ... πτεροῖς] cf. A. Fr. 139.4sq. (Radt) τάδ’ οὐχ ὑπ’ ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς ἀλίσκόμεσθα | Suda O 992 22 οἱ ... τεύχων] cf. Hes. Op. 265sq. οἱ αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνήρ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων, ἢ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη | Democr.Chius ap. Arist. Rhet. 1409b28

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LSJ s.v. πετερόν: ‘to be shot with an arrow feathered from one’s own plumes,’ ‘hoist with one’s own petard’; this is from Aeschylus (Fr. 139).

among observers and witnesses to one's success who are ignorant and obscure.

65. That it often happens that people are made victims  
of their own judgement and decisions and so perish by  
their own condemnation

1 A most curious thing happens sometimes, a thing which may imply that one should endeavour to foresee everything unexpected, and be careful in every matter, and expect retribution for every decision one takes. 2 For it often happens that, by some untoward event or divine intervention, people are made victims of laws decreed by themselves a short time before and by their own recent decisions; and although they think that they make their laws or give their opinions in question on other people's account, it is subsequently made clear that they have prepared judgement and votes admitting of no escape on themselves, and that, as the saying goes, *they are being shot with their own arrows*.<sup>1</sup> 3 Now, if a man takes an interest in a true problem and in a matter in need of decision and chooses what seems to be best and appropriate to satisfy the demand of the public affairs allotted to him; and if he, in spite of seeing rightly and acting rightly, by some chance afterwards is caught by his own decisions, 4 then I do not think that he deserves censure, provided that he has been motivated by a correct instinct about the common good and has shown no trace whatever of cowardice or excessive caution in his dealings. He may, however, feel inclined somehow to blame himself for having caused himself suffering and accidental hardship. 5 But if someone takes aim and shoots at others from a distance and surreptitiously does evil and is most negatively disposed towards people who do not harm either him or the community to the same extent,<sup>2</sup> while feigning sincere benevolence and an interest in the public weal<sup>3</sup>— 6 it is

<sup>2</sup> 'to the same extent': ὥς may mean 'perhaps'; the negation οὐ instead of μή is surprising.

<sup>3</sup> 'while ... weal': this is rather freely translated.

ἑαυτῷ δικαίως· καὶ ξυνορή τὰ τῆς καθόλου μᾶλλον προνοίας καὶ θείας ὅ γε τοιοῦτος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἣν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως λαθεῖν τὸν πάντα τεχναζόμενον, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅλως διαδιδράσκειν τὸν πάνθ' ἑαυτῷ διαρκῆ καὶ θαρροῦντα. 8 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω δῆ, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν φαύλων τάχ' ἂν σωφροσύνης δὴ τινος καὶ εὐλαβείας αἴτιον εἴη νοῦν ὅλως ἔχουσιν. 5

2 Ὁ γὰρ τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐκείνον ταῦρον δεξιὸν εἰς τιμωρίας ὄργανον τῷ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων τυράννῳ Φαλάριδι τεχνιτευσάμενος καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ κακοτεχνίας πειραθεὶς καὶ τιμωρούμενος τῆς ὠμοτάτης καὶ θηριώδους γνώμης ἐν αὐτῷ, μυσαχθέντος τοῦ τυράννου τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς κακοηθείας, 2 τίν' οὐκ ἂν ἐποίει τηνικαῦτα δὴ νοῦν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῇ ταχίστῃ δίκῃ καὶ παραπλήσια 10 δῶρα κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἐξωλείας τῷ τυράννῳ κακουργεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι; 3 Προσ- ἦνεγκε μὲν γὰρ τοῦργον εὗ μηχανησάμενος ὥς ῥῆθη, καὶ κατ' ἔφεσιν μάλα τῷ τυράννῳ, καὶ θαυμάσιον οἶον τῇ περινοίᾳ τῆς τῶν κατακρίτων τιμωρίας, καὶ τραγικὸν ὥς εἰπεῖν δράμα, πάντων ἐλεεινότατον, ὥστ' ἐν αὐτῷ 402 κλειομένους | ὀπτᾶσθαι τοὺς εὐθύνεσθαι καταδικασθέντας καὶ τληπαθεῖν 15 τοὺς ἐσχάτους θανάτους, 4 ἐν μέσῳ πυρὶ κυκλομένου τοῦ ταύρου πικρότατα καὶ ἀλγεινότατα σφόδρα καταπιμπρωμένους καὶ χαλεπωτάταις περιωδυνίαις μηχανομένους μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸν θάνατον, τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ τέρψιν τινα καὶ ἥδιστα μέλη τοῖς γόοις καὶ τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς βίᾳ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων τοῦ ταύρου ἀναπέμποντας καὶ θρηνηδοῦντας σὺν μέλει δὴ τινι καὶ ἥχῳ γλυκυθυμίαν ἴσως 20 οὐδὲ θηρίοις ἀνεκτὴν φέροντι· 5 βδελυξάμενον δὲ τὸν τύραννον τῆς τόλμης

7 Ἀκραγαντίνων P, ἀκραγαντίνων M (vide introd. 3, p. liii)  
 περινοία partim (-ερινοί-) e manu altera quam P<sup>1</sup> (P<sup>2</sup>?) legi

8 αὐτοῦ: αὐτοῦ M 13  
 17 καταπιπραμένους M

οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνήρ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων | Ael. VH 8.9.9sq. τὸ ἔπος ἐκείνο: τεύχων ὥς ἐτέρῳ τις ἐφ' κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει | Call. Aet. I Fr. 2, 5 τεύχω]ν ὥς ἐτέρῳ τις ἐφ' [κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει | Suda Π 3.3sq. τὰ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου δικαίως ἔπαθε. τεύχων ὥς ἐτέρῳ τις, ἐφ' κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει 6 Ὁ ... κακοηθείας] cf. Pi. P. 1.95sq. τὸν δὲ ταῦρῳ χαλκῷ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον / ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾷ φάτις | [Plu.] Parall. min. 315C.9 Πέριλλος δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ χαλκουργὸς δάμαλιν κατασκευάσας χαλκῇν ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὥς ἂν τοὺς ξένους κατακαίῃ ζῶντας ἐν αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ τότε μόνον γενόμενος δίκαιος αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν

because of this behaviour of his<sup>4</sup> that Fate most conspicuously will make him reap the benefit of his wickedness and artfulness and evil mind, since, as the proverb says, *he who causes mischief to others also causes mischief to himself*.<sup>5</sup> And how could anyone fail to censure this person? <sup>7</sup> Indeed, he would in truth be particularly justified to do so himself and, being what he is, he would be able to study the effects of the ubiquitous divine Providence on himself, [a power] which nobody, however hard one tries, can quite evade, and which not even he, who considers himself to be self-sufficient and is confident in his ability in every respect, can escape. <sup>8</sup> So much for this. And [an understanding of] this would, perhaps, make a lot of bad men behave with restraint and caution, if they have any sense at all.

2 For the man who constructed that copper bull for the tyrant of Akragas,<sup>6</sup> Phalaris,<sup>7</sup> as a handy instrument for punishment, and who himself was the first to experience his own evil craft and was punished in this for his most cruel and beastly cast of mind, since the tyrant abhorred the evil-mindedness of the man— <sup>2</sup> what would he not have given then for having sensed the impending doom in advance and having abstained from constructing such wicked gifts to the tyrant for the destruction of people? <sup>3</sup> For he offered his creation in the conviction that he had done a good piece of work and that it was very much in accordance with the desires of the tyrant, and that anyone who saw the punishment of the condemned would, so to speak, be offered a strange kind of tragic drama, the most pitiful of all, when those called to account for their crimes and condemned to suffer the worst of deaths were locked into the bull and roasted <sup>4</sup> while it was rotated in the middle of a fire. Thus they should be burnt in the harshest and most painful way and have their dying prolonged by the worst of pains

<sup>4</sup> 'because of this behaviour of his': this passage is problematical and I translate αὐτόθεν as an expression of causality.

<sup>5</sup> This originates with Hesiod's *Works and Days* but is often used in later literature.

<sup>6</sup> The ms. P, here followed, has the form Ἀκραγαντίων, see the introduction, 3.

<sup>7</sup> All of the following exempla are met with in Aelian's *Varia Historia*, and some in Plutarch. Phalaris was the tyrant of Akragas ca. 550 B.C. Phalaris and the bull are also alluded to in Pindar, *Pythian* 1.95–96, where, however, there is no hint at Phalaris' abhorrence of this method of punishment.

καὶ κακουργοτάτης τέχνης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, αὐτίκα τὸ μηχανήμα κατὰ τοῦ  
σοφισαμένου κάκιστα πρώτου προστάξαντα δέικνυσθαι μάλα κατὰ καιρὸν  
ἐνεργόν, καὶ πείραν αὐτὸν πρώτον καὶ μόνον λαβεῖν τῆς καλλιτεχνίας, 6 καὶ  
μετὰ τὴν ἐνδικωτάτην ἐκείνου τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπων σοφιστείας ἀντίδοσιν καὶ  
τοὺς προσήκοντας τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τρόπῳ μισθοὺς ἀναθεῖναι τὸν ταῦρον ἐν 5  
Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι, στήλην οὐ μᾶλλον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης καὶ δικαιοσύνης,  
ὥς ᾤετο, ἢ τῆς θείας καὶ προνοίας καὶ δίκης περιφανὲς ἔργον αὐτόθεν 7 εἰς  
πολλῶν ἄλλων βελτίωσιν καὶ σωφροσύνης ὑπόμνησιν, ὥς ἄρ' εἴωθε τάχιστ'  
ἀπαντᾶν πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀνοσίους καὶ πάσης κακίας  
403 ἀφαι|δῶς ἀποτομένους. 10

3 Ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἐξαρχῆς ἐβούλεθ' ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ περιπίπτουσι τοῖς ἐξ  
αὐτῶν καὶ οἷς ἔγνωσαν ἐνίστε κινδυνεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν δόλῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν χρώμενοι  
καὶ κακουργοῦντες ὥς εἴρηται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπλοϊκῶς νομίζοντες ἅττα δὴ πρὸς τὸ  
βέλτιστον, 2 βασκαίνουσιν ὥσπερ εἰ τῆς τύχης καὶ περιτρεπούσης τὰ δόγματα  
κατ' αὐτῶν, ὧν κἂν αὐτοὶ γ', ἔοικεν, οὐχ' ἤψαντο προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον 15  
καὶ τὰς ἀνυπονοήτους καὶ ἀλογίστους καὶ ἀπίστους τῆς τύχης ἐπιβουλὰς. 3  
Περικλῆς ἐτίθετο νόμον Ἀθήνησι μηδένα πολίτην εἶναι τὸν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν  
γενόμενον. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς  
πατρίδος ἀποβαλόμενος ἄμφω τῷ υἱέε θανάτῳ, Πάραλόν τε καὶ Ξάνθιππον,  
ἠναγκάζετο περιπίπτειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ νόμοις καὶ γνώμῃ 4 βουλόμενος ἐν 20  
πολίταις τὸν υἱὸν τετάχθαι, ὃς μόνος ἐλείπετό οἱ μὴ γενόμενος ἐξ ἀστῆς· καὶ  
μὴ ξυγχωρούμενος τῷ δῆμῳ χαλεπῶς μὲν ὁμῶς καὶ γέλῳτ' ὄφλων, ἔφερε δ' ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης ἅ πρότερον ἐνόμιζε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ· 5 καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γε Κλεισθένης τὸν  
ὄστρακισμὸν Ἀθήνησι πρῶτος εἰσηγησάμενος καὶ βουλεύσας, ὥς ἂν κολοῦειν

2 προστάξαντα M-K, προστάξαντος M et a.c. P, -a s.l. add. ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, i.e. προστάξαντα 3 καὶ<sup>3</sup>  
exhib. ut vid. P, sed non certe leg., om. M-K 4 ἐνδικωτάτην E, non leg. M κατ' s.l.  
add. M 11 ἐβούλεθ' ... λόγος: ὁ λόγος ἢ[... M, ὁ λόγος ἢβούλεθ' E 13 ἅττα M 14  
ὥσπερ: ὥσ περὶ cum lacuna 1-2 litt. in medio relicta P 20 τοῖς αὐτοῖς: an scrib. αὐτὸς τοῖς  
vel αὐτοῖς τοῖς?

17 Περικλῆς (§ 35q.) cf. Ael. VH 13.244.6 Καὶ Περικλῆς ἔγραψε μὴ εἶναι Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν  
γέγονεν ἀστοῖν. εἶτα ἀποβαλὼν τοὺς γνησίους παῖδας ἐπὶ τῷ νόθῳ Περικλεῖ κατελέλειπτο κτλ. |  
Plu. Per. 37.3, 37.5 23 Κλεισθένης (§ 5) cf. Ael. VH 13.244.11 Κλεισθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὸ  
δεῖν ἐξοστρακίζεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσηγησάμενος, αὐτὸς ἔτυχε τῆς καταδίκης πρῶτος | Plu. Aristid. 2 et  
Cim. 15

while through the nostrils of the bull and with the help of the violence of the fire they were, by their wailing, sending forth to the tyrant delight of some kind and the sweetest of music, lamenting with a kind of melody and with a sound which bore a sweetness to the mind of a kind hardly bearable even to wild animals. <sup>5</sup> However, the tyrant felt abhorrence of the man's daring and most wicked craft, and he decided that the efficiency of the machine should be at once demonstrated on its evil inventor, and that he should be the first and only one to experience the beauty of the workmanship. <sup>6</sup> And after having given the man this most rightful compensation for his ingeniousness to the detriment of the people, and having paid him the reward fitting for his character, the tyrant dedicated the bull to Apollo in Delphi, not so much, he implied, as a monument to his own mind and righteousness as a clear proof of the divine Providence and justice. <sup>7</sup> He also did it for the betterment of many others, and to encourage prudence. For such swift retribution is wont to strike evil and wicked men and those who without any restraint engage in every kind of evil.

<sup>3</sup> But, to return to our main theme, many people are caught by their own doings, and they are sometimes brought into danger by their own previous rulings; in some cases this happens when they have acted cunningly and, as has been said, wickedly from the outset, but in some cases when they have innocently tried to take the best possible decision. <sup>2</sup> It is as if Fate would bear a grudge against them and therefore upset their decisions—decisions which, as it seems, they would not have had anything to do with, had they foreseen the future and the unexpected and incalculable and incredible plots of Fate. <sup>3</sup> Pericles instituted a law in Athens that no person should be a citizen unless both his parents were citizens. And shortly afterwards, when his country was hit by the plague and was under siege, Pericles lost both his sons, Paralus and Xanthippus, by death and he was himself forcibly made a victim to his own laws and decisions.<sup>8</sup> <sup>4</sup> For he wished that his only surviving son, who was not born of a citizen woman, should be accepted among the citizens; and when this was not allowed him by the body of citizens, he had to yield, although unwilling-

<sup>8</sup> This was in 429 B.C., shortly before Pericles' own death.

ἀναγκαῖον καὶ λυσιτελοῦν μάλιστ' ὃν τοὺς μέγιστα τρόπῳ δὴ τινι δυναμένους  
 404 ὑπονοίᾳ τῆς | τυραννίδος, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἀπολαύων τῶν αὐτοῦ νομίμων  
 καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, τὸν ὁστρακισμὸν καταδικασθεὶς. 6 Φασὶ δέ γε καὶ Ζάλευκον  
 τὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν νομοθέτην τὸν μοιχὸν ἀλόντα νόμον θέσθαι ἄμφω γε τῷ  
 ὀφθαλμῷ ἐκκόπτεσθαι, καὶ βουλόμενον ἀγαθὰ τῇ πατρίδι περιπεσεῖν χαλεποῖς 5  
 μὴ προσδοκήσαντα μήποτ' ἴσως. 7 Ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς, ὃς μόνος ἦν αὐτῷ, μετ'  
 ὀλίγον μοιχείας ἦλῶ καὶ τῷ πατρώῳ νόμῳ κατ' ἀνάγκην ὑπήγετο· ὅτε δὴ  
 καὶ μὴ ἀντιτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα βουλόμενον τῷ νόμῳ, χαλεπῶς δὲ φέροντα τὴν  
 τοῦ μόνου παιδὸς τύφλωσιν, ἐξαιτησάμενον τυχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ νόμου  
 ὥστε αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐκκοπῆναι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου τοῦ υἱέος, καὶ 10  
 μονοφθάλμῳ γε λειφθῆναι βλέπειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν υἱέα. 8 Καὶ Λυκοῦργος  
 δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ Ἀθήνησι ψήφισμα θέμενος, ὅπερ ἐκύρωσεν ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐλαύνειν  
 τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπὶ ζευγῶν εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὧν πολλὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος Ἀθήνησιν,  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ, ζημίαν εἶναι τόσην, μετ' ὀλίγον εἶχεν ὑπεύθυνον τὴν γυναῖκα μὴ  
 γινώσκουσαν, ἔοικε, τὸν νόμον, ζεύγει χρησαμένην τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ τὴν 15  
 405 ζημίαν ξανάγκης ἀποδιδού|σαν, ἥς ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ αἵτιος.

4 Καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν τις ὀρώη πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν οὐχῆκιστα καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ  
 καταριθμεῖσθαι μὴ οὐ δυνατόν ἢ, ὅπόσοι τοῖς οἰκείοις ξυνέπεσον νομίμοις  
 μὴ προορώμενοι τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἄδηλον· 2 οἷς ἄρα προδῆλως  
 ἐστὶ συνάπτειν, καὶ πρὸς πολλοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις κὰν τῇ χριστιανικῇ καθ' 20  
 ἡμᾶς ἀγωγῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τοῖς δόγμασι, καὶ τὸν θρασὺν κατὰ τῶν νομίμων τῆς  
 ἐκκλησίας Εὐτρόπιον, 3 νόμους μὲν κατ' αὐτῆς ἀποκλείοντας τοῖς φυγάσιν

2 πρῶτος αὐτὸς M

8 τῷ νόμῳ βουλόμενον M

13 Ἀθήνησιν: -i E, non leg. M

3 Ζάλευκον (§ 6sq.)] cf. Heraclid.Lemb. *Excerpt. polit.* 61.1 ἐὰν ἀλῶ τις κλέπτων, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύσσεται. Ζαλεύκου υἱὸς ἔάλω καὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν αὐτὸν ἀφιέντων, οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἕνα καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἕνα ἐξείλεν | Ael. *VH* 13.244.14sq. Ζάλευκος ὁ Λοκρῶν νομοθέτης προσέταξε τὸν μοιχὸν ἀλόντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κτλ. 11 Λυκοῦργος (§ 8)] cf. Ael. *VH* 13.244 Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε μὴ ἐλαύνειν τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐπὶ ζευγῶν κτλ.

<sup>9</sup> His surviving son was Pericles the younger.

<sup>10</sup> First used in 487 B.C.

ly and after having been made the object of ridicule, and he was forced to comply with the law which he himself had instituted at an earlier date and which now was turned against him.<sup>9</sup> 5 And before him there was, of course, Cleisthenes, the man who introduced ostracism in Athens.<sup>10</sup> He had argued that it is necessary and most expedient to stop those who enjoy very great power of some kind—if they can be suspected of aspiring at tyranny; but he himself was ostracized and thus the first to enjoy the effect of his laws and design. 6 It is furthermore said that Zaleucus, the lawgiver of the Locrians, made a law to the effect that he who is caught in adultery should have both his eyes put out; and it is said that the same Zaleucus, who had the best intentions for his country, met with trouble because perhaps he did not give sufficient consideration to the future.<sup>11</sup> 7 For shortly afterwards his only son was caught in adultery and forced to submit to his father's law. It is then said that Zaleucus asked as a favour that he himself should have one eye cut out instead of one of his son's eyes; for he did not wish to oppose the law, but he was deeply troubled by the fact that his only son should be blinded. This he did so as to uphold the law, while he as well as his son were left to see with one eye. 8 Also the rhetor Lycurgus in Athens forwarded a motion, later confirmed by the body of citizens, that no woman should be driven in a chariot to the Mysteries (the Mysteries were of great importance in Athens [at that time]), and that the fine for doing so should be such and such.<sup>12</sup> But shortly afterwards his own wife made herself guilty of this; she was, it would seem, unaware of the law and she had used a chariot for the Mysteries and was therefore forced to pay the penalty which originated with her own husband.

4 Indeed, one could find many examples, in Antiquity and not least today or, in fact, in any time, of people (these would in truth be impossible to enumerate) who have been forced to submit to their own laws since they did not foresee what an uncertain future had in store for them. 2 To these examples should, as is obvious, be added that rash reformer of the

<sup>11</sup> Zaleucus lived probably in the 7th c. B.C.

<sup>12</sup> This is the rhetor and politician (396–323 B.C.). The story as told by Metochites is very similar to that of Aelian, *Varia Historia*.

εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀσυλίαν τιθέμενον ἀλογίστῳ τόλμῃ, μετ' ὀλίγον δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ περιπίπτοντα νόμοις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προστρέχοντα τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ χλεύῃς καὶ τωθασμοῦ δικαίως ἀξιούμενον ὡς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν καλῶν νομίμων ἐπίβουλον. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀσφαλίσαιτ' ἂν ἀληθῶς τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτῷ περὶ ὧν ἐκάστοτε δοκιμάζει τὲ καὶ ψηφίζεται, ἢ ἐμπλήκτως, ἢ καὶ ξὺν λόγῳ καὶ <sup>5</sup> σωφρονικῶς ἴσως ἐνίστε φερόμενος.

“Οτι τινὲς εἰσὶ ταχεῖς πιστεύειν τῇ προνοίᾳ διὰ τὰ  
φαινόμενα κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντᾶν τοῖς χρηστοῖς τε καὶ  
πονηροῖς ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου, καὶ αὐθις ἀπιστεῖν τῇ προνοίᾳ  
διὰ τὰναντία τούτοις· ΞF’

10

<sup>406</sup> 1 Ἐνιοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι μικρογνώμονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μὴ προσωτέρω τῶν κατὰ πόδας καὶ φαινο|μένων τῷ νῶ χωρεῖν οἷοι τε ὄντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἔγγιστ' αὐτόθεν τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἐχόμενοι, καὶ παλιννοστοῦντες, ἢ καὶ τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ ὧντινων ἄρα δὴ πολλάκις ξυμπίπτοντες, ἀνίκανοι δὴ τινες τοῦ πόρρω μήκους τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἀνοδεύτως ἔχοντες, <sup>2</sup> ἅμα δὲ καὶ μὴδ' <sup>15</sup> ἐπιμελῶς, οἶμαι, κομιδῇ τῶν θείων ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ὀλιγώρως τῆς ὀφειλομένης περὶ αὐτῶν εὐλαβείας ταχεῖς εἰσι πάνυ τοι πιστεύειν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προνοίᾳ καὶ αὐθις μὴ προσέχειν καὶ πείθεσθαι. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ φαύλων μὲν ἀνθρώπων δίκας ταχείας ὀρῶντες καὶ προδήλους ἀπαντώσας κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις τὲ καὶ εὐθύνας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστέων καὶ γεννικῶν ἀνδρῶν <sup>20</sup>

<sup>2</sup> post προστρέχοντα exhib. lacunam 2 litt. M      <sup>5</sup> τὲ om. E, non leg. M      <sup>10</sup> ΞF: ζ fort. p.c.  
ex ζ M (etiam rubro add. in mg. ξς M)      <sup>13</sup> παλιννοστοῦντες PME pro παλιννοστούντες

<sup>13</sup> This is the court official under emperor Arcadius and the consul of the year 399 A.D. who curtailed the privileges of the Church (see also the following paragraph) but was accorded protection by John Chrysostom.

laws of the Church, Eutropius; indeed, he should be considered as belonging to this category more than many others, even if this happened in these our Christian times and under Christian laws.<sup>13</sup> <sup>3</sup> With unspeakable daring, and to the detriment of the Church, did he make laws so as to exclude those who asked for church asylum. But soon afterwards he was himself caught by his own laws, having to take refuge in a church when in danger; and he was justly made the object of derision and mockery for having plotted against himself and the proper laws. <sup>4</sup> In truth nobody—regardless of whether he acts on impulse or, as is perhaps sometimes the case, with reason and restraint—can safeguard himself against a negative outcome of those matters which in each case he has to scrutinize and about which he has to make decisions.

66. That some men are quick to trust Providence  
because of that which seems rightly to befall the good  
and bad, and, in turn, to distrust Providence when the  
opposite happens

<sup>1</sup> Some people seem to me to be small-minded and not able to think further than that which is immediately in front of them and can be seen; and they seem to be restricted to the matters closest in time and most relevant to their daily life; and they tend to return to the same matters or, by chance, to fall repeatedly into the same predicament as before—just because they are unable to proceed further in their thoughts and think without guidance. <sup>2</sup> And although they do not, I think, pay proper regard to divine matters, but neglect the attention due to them, they are, when it comes to human matters, quick to put their trust in Providence—and quick to ignore and distrust Providence when conditions change. <sup>3</sup> And when they see that bad people are punished quickly and meet with unequivocal censure and are brought to justice in this life; and also when they, as may be the case, see that refined and noble people fare well and, as often is seen to happen, lead a peaceful and untroubled life, *with*, as is said,

εὐφορίας καὶ γαληνὴν καὶ ἀκύμονα βίωσιν χρωμένων, ἔξουριου καὶ κατὰ  
 πρύμναν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς φασι, τῷ τῆς τύχης πνεύματι,<sup>2</sup> ὥσπερ ἄρα δὴ καὶ πολλάκις τοῦθ'  
 ὁρᾶν ἔστι γιγνόμενον, <sup>4</sup> εὐγνώμονες εἰσὶν αὐτίκα τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ κομιδῇ  
 πείθεσθαι πρόθυμοι, καὶ φιλοσοφοῦσιν εὖ μάλα τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν  
 τῇδε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν πρὸς λόγον ἐκάστοις νομὴν καὶ τὴν <sup>5</sup>  
 τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ ἀσεβούντων τὰ θεῖα καὶ  
 407 ἀνθρώπινα δίκαια κράτος, <sup>5</sup> καὶ τὴν ζηλοῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν | φαύλων ἐκδικίᾳ  
 κρίσιν καὶ δύναμιν, πάντα περιγινόμενὴν καὶ περιτρέπουσαν πᾶσαν ἰσχύν,  
 πᾶσαν σοφίαν, πᾶσαν καθάπαξ ἐρεῖν τῆς κακίας εὐετηρίαν, <sup>6</sup> καὶ σφάλλουσιν  
 τὰ δοκοῦντα κράτιστα καὶ ἀήττητα παντάπασιν ῥᾶστα καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ᾤηθη, <sup>10</sup>  
 καὶ μάλιστα καινοῖς καὶ οὐ ταχέσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκῆτοις τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι  
 τῆς καταφθορᾶς ἐκείνων πράγμασιν. <sup>7</sup> ὥστε δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς  
 ἐπιτιμῆσεως καὶ τῆς εὐθύνης καὶ ταχίστῳ μετὰ κράτους ἅμα καὶ τὸ ξενίζον  
 ἐνίστε θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ πάνσοφον καὶ ἀνυπονόητον οἶον αὐτῆς τῆς προνοίας,  
<sup>8</sup> καὶ σκιρτᾶν ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς πολλοὺς οὓς ἔφην, καὶ κροτεῖν τῇ ἀρετῇ <sup>15</sup>  
 χαρμόσυνα, καὶ τῇ κακίᾳ τὴν ἀξίαν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ εἰκός· καὶ πᾶσα τῶν θείων σφίσι  
 καὶ τῆς προνοίας αἰδῶς καὶ πίστις ἀναμφήριστος.

2 Καὶ τυφλὸς ἄρα καθάπαξ, ὃς μὴ ξυνορᾷ μὴδὲ πείθεται τὰ πᾶσι δηλὰ καὶ  
 τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς κηρυττόμενα, καὶ χάριτας μᾶλλον ἀποδιδόναι κατὰ πᾶν  
 τὸ γιγνόμενον χρῆναι, καὶ δοξάζειν, <sup>2</sup> καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις <sup>20</sup>  
 ἀναβοᾶσθαι τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἐποπτεῖαν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ τάληθῇ καὶ νόμιμα  
 408 καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστοις ψηφίσματα κυρούμενα, κατὰ πάν|των ἄτρεπτα καὶ  
 περιφανῇ τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ περιφανῇ προδεικνύντα τὴν νίκην τῆς ἀρετῆς, <sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ βέλτιστα προτροπὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ προκοπὴν ἀμέλει  
 τῆς περὶ τάγαθον ἕξεως, καὶ φυγὴν τῶν ἐχθίστων, καὶ φυγεῖν τάχους ὅσον <sup>25</sup>

1 ἔξ οὐρίου M

1 ἔξουριου ... πνεύματι] cf. Charito 1.11.1.3 ἄνεμος οὐριος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν et Id. 8.6.1.2sq. εἰσθήκει γὰρ αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν <τὸ πνεῦμα> | M.Psell. *Chronogr.* 1.15.7 τῷ τῆς τύχης ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε πνεύματι

<sup>1</sup> 'with ... stern': to this expression I have found no real parallel (see, however, app. font. et parall., with some superficially similar instances).

*fortune's wind blowing fair from the stern*<sup>1</sup> — 4 then they are ready to believe in Providence, indeed, they are willing to do so unconditionally; and they express proper thoughts about the Divine and its watch over matters on earth and in our life, and about its correct administration of all matters and impartiality of judgement, and its power over the unrighteous and over those who sin against divine and human law. 5 In this particular case they further make proper observations about the judgement and power of the Divine, a power which, eager to exact vengeance from evil-doers, conquers everything and upsets every force and every cunning and, in short, every possibility for evil to prosper. 6 This power most easily and unexpectedly overthrows those who seem the mightiest and most invincible; and it does so in a way which no one could have imagined—with new methods, which are not only swift but also unforeseen by those<sup>2</sup> to whom they mean destruction. 7 Therefore there is sometimes reason to wonder not only at the righteousness of its methods of castigation and correction, and its powerful swiftness, but also at the strange and most wise and unexpected character of Providence itself. 8 And therefore the many whom I mentioned should jump for joy and applaud virtue and accord evil what it is worth, and [do] everything which is proper,<sup>3</sup> and to the Divine and to Providence they should show<sup>4</sup> every reverence and an undivided confidence.

2 Indeed, he is utterly blind who does not see nor believe in that which should be evident to everyone and is declared by reality itself: that one should thank and praise the Lord whatever happens 2 and in every way, and unto all people extol the care and judgement of the Lord and His decisions which are true and lawful and show regard for the nature of all those concerned—decisions which are utterly unalterable and achieve conspicuous results, giving a glorious preview of the victory of virtue 3 and of the Lord's way of urging men towards the best. They also show how the solicitude for what is good, and the avoidance of what is most hateful,

<sup>2</sup> Metochites employs the word 'matters' (πράγμασιν) here.

<sup>3</sup> '[do] ... proper' (πάν τὸ εἰκός): this is vague; perhaps '[accord evil what it is worth and] due'.

<sup>4</sup> 'should show': or 'do show'.

τοὺς περὶ τὰ φαῦλα κινδύνους καὶ τὰς παλαμναιοτάτας ἀρὰς καὶ τύχας, <sup>4</sup> καὶ πανώλειαν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ξὺν τάχει μάλιστ' ἀπαραμίλλῳ καὶ δίκη καὶ νόμοις ἀρρήκτοις ἐπομένην, τρόπαιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἰστώσαν ἀγαθοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν πτώσιν κατακράτος καὶ φθοράν. <sup>5</sup> Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐετηρίαῖς καὶ προκοπαῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς σπουδαστῶν καὶ <sup>5</sup> σπουδαίων καὶ ἀστείων ἀνδρῶν καὶ καταδίκαις καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀπευκταιοτάταις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀμιλλωμένων ἔξω, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποτε λόγος ἰκανὸς ἐν τούτοις γίγνεται ἂν, κἂν εἰ σφόδρα ἐπείγοιτό τις.

3 Εἰ δ' ἅπαν δὴ τούναντίον τῶν εἰρημένων ἐμπομπεύει τῷ βίῳ, οἷα δὴ καὶ πολλάκις γίγνεται, καὶ φαῦλοι μὲν αἴρονται καὶ παρενημεροῦσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς <sup>10</sup> καὶ θράσει πολλῶ κρατοῦσι καὶ κατὰ τῶν βελτίστων ἔμπληκτοι φέρονται καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι ταῖς ἀσελγείαις τῆς τύχης καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἐξάρχουσι <sup>409</sup> καὶ κατακρατοῦσι τὰνθρώπινα καὶ τὸν βίον, <sup>2</sup> ἀλογοῦν|τες παντάπασι θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων νομίμων, καὶ τῶν νομίμων αὐτῶν ὀλιγωροῦντες τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φλυαρίαν καὶ ὕβριν καὶ δυναστείαν μόνην νόμιμον ἔχοντες <sup>15</sup> καὶ τὴν ἀλόγιστον εὐφορίαν τῆς τύχης, <sup>3</sup> κἀντεῦθεν πλεῖστη μὲν ἀηδία καὶ δυσχερεία κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ πᾶσι κινδύνους παλαίουσιν θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ κατάγχονται καὶ τάλαιπωροῦνται καὶ τελευτῶντες χαλεπώτατ' ἀπαλλάττονται τῆς ζωῆς· <sup>4</sup> καὶ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀλλάττονται πολλάκις καὶ ἀνθαιροῦνται κοιμῶ δεινῶς ἐχόμενοι θάνατον, πάσης ἀπελπίσαντες <sup>20</sup> ἄλλης ἐλευθερίας καὶ φυγῆς τῶν βαρυτάτων παθῶν καὶ τῆς τληπαθείας οἷς ἀφύκτως ἐναεθλεύουσιν. <sup>5</sup> Ἄνθρωποι δ' ἐξάγιστοι καὶ κάκιστοι καὶ βδελυροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι καὶ μαιφόνιοι καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ χρήσεως εὐγενοῦς ἀλιτήριοι, καὶ χορηγοὶ καὶ προστάται πάσης αὐθαδείας καὶ τόλμης κατὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πολιτευμάτων καὶ <sup>25</sup> τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας αὐτῆς μάλιστα δογμάτων καὶ θείων νομίμων, <sup>6</sup> φέρονται δρόμον ἐξαρχῆς εἰς τέλος ἀπρόσκοπον, καὶ μακρόβιοι τῇ κακίᾳ τὰγαθὰ πάντα λυμαίνονται, καὶ φθείρουσιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὃ τί ποτ' ἂν καὶ εἴη, ὃ τί ποτ' ἂν <sup>7</sup>

8 σφόδρ' E, non leg. M

9 ἐμπομπεύει E, non leg. M

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the opposite of virtue etc.

are furthered by the Lord, and how with the greatest speed one should avoid the dangers of evil and murderous curses and hazards <sup>4</sup> and the total destruction which by all necessity follows with unparalleled speed so as to exact retribution and apply its unalterable laws, truly erecting a monument over the overwhelming defeat and ruin of the unrighteous and those alienated from the good. <sup>5</sup> So much may be said about the prosperity and progress of virtue and its partisans, who are serious and refined people; so much about the condemnation and most abominable fate of those who strive for the opposite of virtue. No discussion could ever be satisfactory on this account, however hard anyone tried to supply one.

<sup>3</sup> If, though, as is often the case, quite the opposite of what has been said<sup>5</sup> should triumph in life, and if bad people should be exalted and surpass the good and with great presumption take control over these and senselessly attack the best and glory in the wantonness of Fate; and if evil people take the lead and with serious consequences get control over human matters and human life, <sup>2</sup> totally ignoring God and the divine laws and even taking hardly any account of the laws of nature; and if the evil people only accept their own nonsense and insolence and their way of exercising power and their most unreasonable stroke of luck as lawful—<sup>3</sup> then God-fearing and righteous people will be subject to the greatest discomfort and hardship in life and will have to wrestle with all kinds of danger, and they will be subject to anxiety and troubles and will, in the end, lose their lives in the cruellest way. <sup>4</sup> And often these victims do not die unwillingly; indeed they wish for and avidly strive for death. For they have lost hope of any other kind of freedom or means to get away from the most grievous calamities and hardships which they bravely try to bear up under, unable to escape. <sup>5</sup> But accursed and most evil and disgusting and abominable people, murderers and brutes and offenders against nature itself and against every virtue and noble practice, and aiders and abettors of every rash and daring act against life and human institutions and, not least, against the dogmas of faith and the divine laws—<sup>6</sup> these people follow their own course without hindrance from beginning to end; and, if they are long-lived, by means of their vice they do harm to everything good, and they deprive mankind of whatever good there may be and whatever <sup>7</sup>

καὶ λείπειτο κόμμα φύσεως ἀστεῖον καὶ σωτήριον ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ζώπυρον  
 410 ἴσως ἐλπίδος ἀμηγέπη χρηστῆς, καὶ ἀφορμὴ μεθ' ὕστερον ὀνηροῦν ἀναβιώσεως  
 τῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς εὐζωΐαν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ φέρονται  
 κατακράτος τὴν τῆς κακίας ἄσειστον νίκην ὡς ἔπος εἶρεῖν συνελόντα.

4 Εἰ ταῦτα δὴ θ' ὁρῶσιν οὓς ἔφημεν πρότερον μικρογνώμονες καὶ μικρο- 5  
 λόγοι δὴ τινες τῶν τῆς προνοίας μυστηρίων βασανισταὶ καὶ λογοποιοῦντες  
 τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διοίκησιν καὶ ξυμμετροῦντες ταῖς αὐτῶν  
 διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς σταθμοῖς τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης 2 καὶ μὴ ξυγχωροῦντες  
 εἶναι τι πλέον ἢ τὸ φαινόμενον, καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἔχει καὶ δύναται κατάληψις,  
 καὶ φεῦγον ἐν βάθει καιριώτατα καὶ τελεώτατα τοὺς αὐτῶν ἑτασμούς καὶ τὰ 10  
 μικροπρεπῇ λογίσματα, 3 πολλῇ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν δυσκολίᾳ, καὶ 'κλύδωνι'  
 ταράττονται 'λογισμῶν' καὶ ναυαγοῦσιν ἐνίοτε τὴν περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς θείας  
 προνοίας σοφίαν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ ἀλογίστοις φοραῖς καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐχούσαις  
 διδόασιν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, 4 δύνανται ξυνορᾶν αὐτοὶ καὶ ξυνιέναι καὶ μόνον  
 νομίζοντες εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ τὰ κατ' αἴσθησιν μόνον· 4 ἃ δὲ μηκέτι μακρὰν 15  
 ἐκτεινόμενοι διὰ πολλῶν ὁρᾶν οἰοῖ τ' εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ παλιννοστοῦντες κακοὶ  
 κακῶς καὶ αἰσχιστα καὶ ἀμαθέστατα δραπετεύοντες τῶν πολυστρόφων καὶ  
 πανσόφων τῆς προνοίας δρόμων τὲ καὶ δογμάτων, 5 ἐπανίστανται τῇ προνοίᾳ  
 καὶ κακῶς ἀποστατοῦσιν αὐτῆς, τάνικανον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νόσον τῶν λογισμῶν  
 411 ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν παγκρατὴ καὶ μεγαλόσοφον καὶ ἀστασίαστον πρὸς ἑαυτὴν | καὶ 20  
 τὰγαθὸν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸ διὰ πάντων διαρκὲς εἰς τέλος ἄγοντες, 6 μηδὲν

1 λείπειτο E et p.c. fort. P<sup>1</sup>, λοίπειτο a.c. P, non leg. M      2 ἀναβίωσ<ε>ως ut vid. per comp. P  
 (cf. 68.3.6)      6 δὴ om. M      9 ἡ: fort. scrib. ὁ ἡ (cf. introd. 2.9, p.1)      12 τῶν λογισμῶν  
 a.c. P<sup>1</sup>, non leg. M      16 παλιννοστοῦντες PME pro παλιννοστοῦντες

11 κλύδωνι ... λογισμῶν] cf. App. *Anth.* 129.8 τῶν λογισμῶν τὸ κλυδώνιον | Manuel Gabalas  
 (Matthaeus Ephesius) *Ep.* B55.43 συμφορὰ κακῶν καὶ λογισμῶν ὁ σφοδρότατος κλύδων | A. *Pers.*  
 599sq. κλύδων κακῶν | E. *Med.* 362sq.

<sup>6</sup> 'whatever good ... refinement etc.': I take it that ἀστεῖον belongs to both instances of 'what-  
 ever', i.e. ὁ τί ποτ' ἂν καὶ εἴη ἀστεῖον etc.

<sup>7</sup> Here the Greek text is problematic; perhaps a relative pronoun is missing.

<sup>8</sup> 'totally manages': this is to translate καιριώτατα καὶ τελεώτατα.

<sup>9</sup> 'scrutiny': this (active) meaning of ἑτασμός is not recorded in LSJ; see, however, Lampe.

fine piece of natural refinement<sup>6</sup> there may be left to bring safety to men and somehow, perhaps, to kindle good hope and later, being useful for the well-being of the community, to be in some way a starting-point for a revival of virtue. And so, in short, these evil people by force gain an unshakable victory for evil.

4 Now, if the small-minded people about whom we talked earlier see this; and if some petty scrutinizers of the mysteries of Providence, who make orations about God's dispensation of human matters and who measure Providence by their own intelligence and the standards of their own comprehension, 2 and who do not accept the existence of anything more than that which can be seen and<sup>7</sup> is within reach of their own understanding, nor the existence of anything which totally manages<sup>8</sup> to escape their scrutiny<sup>9</sup> and petty considerations by its profundity— 3 if these people see this,<sup>10</sup> they are severely troubled by a torrent of thoughts,<sup>11</sup> and sometimes their understanding and faith in God and the divine Providence suffer nothing short of a shipwreck and they ascribe worldly matters to illogical and unsound hazards, that is, to causes which they can see and understand by themselves and which they believe to be the only ones; this they do since they only believe in that which can be perceived by the senses. 4 But even when these people reach out far,<sup>12</sup> they are, because of everything in between, no longer able to see that this is so; for mean as they are, they meanly turn away and most shamefully desert the winding, all-wise ways and decrees of Providence, so as to prove their ignorance. 5 And they rise in revolt against Providence and desert it owing to their own evil disposition, putting their own inability and insanity on a level with<sup>13</sup> the all-powerful and most wise divine dispensation, which is consistent with itself and

<sup>10</sup> I.e. how everything evil prospers (?).

<sup>11</sup> 'torrent of thoughts': the more common expression is the 'torrent of evils' (κλύδων κακῶν), coined, as far as we know, by Aeschylus (see *Persae* 599). To this we may compare Shakespeare's 'sea of troubles' (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 1).

<sup>12</sup> 'even ... far': tentatively, I have translated the participle ἐκτεινόμενοι as concessive.

<sup>13</sup> 'putting ... with': or 'ascribing their own inability and insanity to'.

μήποτ' ἔξω τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς συνέσεως καὶ καταλήψεως ἀξιοῦντες, ἔοικεν, ἄμεινον διοικεῖσθαι τῷ πάντ' ἄγοντι δεσπότῃ, μὴδὲ σοφώτερον ἢ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τινα παρασκευὴν ἢ χρεῖαν λυσιτελοῦσαν εἰς μακρὸν ἀπαντᾶν ἔξ αὐτοῦ, χρόνους ἴσως ὕστερον καὶ ἀδήλως κατὰ σκοπὸν ἀνύτειν, 7 οἱ πάντα ταχεῖς καὶ ῥάδιοι καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ πάντα βουλόμενοι φέρεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς 5 αὐτῶν κρίσεις, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ συνθηκῶν ὥσπερ ἐνσπόδων ἀμφοτέροις δοκοίη αὐτοῖς τὲ δηλαδὴ καὶ τῷ μόνῳ δημιουργησαμένῳ καὶ προνοεῖν ἔχοντι κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ ὡς ἂν καθ' αἴρεσιν καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν σφίσι.

5 Καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μὲν ὑπεξίστανται πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ νηὶ καὶ παραχω-  
ροῦσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι στρέφειν καὶ μεταστρέφειν ὅπως ἄρα οἱ δοκεῖ καὶ βούλεται 10  
τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ τείνειν τὲ καὶ χαλᾶν τὰ λαΐφη, καὶ τὴν τῶν φερόντων  
πνευμάτων διοικεῖν χρήσιν, ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει δοκοίη καὶ μόνος νομίζοι, 2 πολλὰκις  
δὲ καὶ πλείστα τῶν ἀγωγίμων κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ ῥίπτειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν  
πλεόντων καὶ ζημιουμένων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, αὐτῶν ἀφροντιστοῦντα,  
κᾶν εἰ μάλιστ' ἴσως ἀνίωντο καὶ κλάοιεν αὐτοί. 3 Καὶ οἱ νοσοῦντες τὸ σῶμα 15  
412 φέρειν ἀνάγκην ἔχουσι πάντα | τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν δόγματα, πρὸς τὸ μέλλον  
ὀρῶντες καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐξῆς, κᾶν εἰ πλείστ' ἐπιπόνως καὶ ἀηδῶς τε καὶ ἀνιαρῶς  
ἔχειν, κᾶν εἰ τέμνειν αὐτούς, κᾶν εἰ κάειν δέοι, τὰ πάντα διακαρτεροῦντες καὶ  
διδόντες ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς. 4 Οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς βούλονται  
καὶ σὺν ἡδονῇ πάσῃ καὶ κατ' αἴσθησιν διαδήλως πᾶσαν καὶ ἰατρεύεσθαι καὶ 20  
κυβερναῖσθαι καὶ ὅλως ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχεσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ μέγιστα  
5 καὶ ὡς πάσης κακοπολιτείας ἀρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν, ὡς ἄρα χρὴ τὸν  
ἡγεμόνα τοῖς ὑπὸ χειρὸς μάλᾳ δὴ προσέχειν καὶ πείθεσθαι καὶ πάντα διατιθέναι  
τὰ κατ' αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἡδιστον ἦ καὶ δοκῇ βέλτιστα· εἰ δ' ἄλλως ἀμέλει,  
τάχιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξίστασθαι· κακῶς γὰρ ἄρχειν εἶναι τὸ μὴ κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν 25

6 ἐνσπόδων P, ἐνσπόνδων M (vide introd. 3, p. liii)

18 ἔχειν: ἔχοι M

9 Καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ etc.] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 68.3.7sq.

<sup>14</sup> 'unalterable, eternal values': this is a free, somewhat hypothetical translation of τὸ διὰ πάντων διαρκὲς εἰς τέλος.

<sup>15</sup> 'distant future' (from now?): ἔξ αὐτοῦ here is vague; perhaps it should be connected with 'need' and the passage translated as 'to satisfy a need which will come from Him in the distant future.'

<sup>16</sup> 'entered a kind of truce' (ἐκ συνθηκῶν ὥσπερ ἐνσπόνδων).

with the good and with unalterable, eternal values.<sup>14</sup> 6 And they do not, it would seem, think that anything is ever managed by the all-moving Lord in a better way than if it had been done according to their own sense and understanding, nor that He may do anything as a preparation or in order to satisfy a need in the distant future,<sup>15</sup> perhaps years afterwards—a need impossible to understand at present. 7 Thus minded are people who are quick in all and easy-going and unstable and who want everything to happen according to their will and their judgement, as if the two sides, that is, they themselves and the sole Creator (who by nature is the one to have foresight), had entered a kind of truce<sup>16</sup> and decided upon this,<sup>17</sup> and as if this had been arranged according to the choice and pleasure of these people.

5 On a ship everyone yields to the captain,<sup>18</sup> and everyone on board agrees that it is best to turn or turn again according to his judgement and wish, and tighten or slacken the sails, and to make use of the carrying winds according to his judgement and sole opinion. 2 Everyone also agrees that it is often best, even to their loss, to throw a lot of the cargo into the deep in order to save the lives of those on board, and that, in doing so, the captain should pay no heed to them even if they are very distressed and bewailing his act. 3 Also those with bodily illnesses have to accept all the decisions of the doctors and think of the future and what is expedient in each case—even if this proves extremely laborious and unpleasant and painful, and even if it involves cutting into their flesh or burning them; and they have to bear everything with patience and be of good hope. 4 But the people we talk about here obviously want to be medically treated and led according to their own opinions and pleasure and senses, and in all they want to be governed according to their own views; but in doing so they ignore what is most important, 5 namely that, by this, they give inducement to every kind of bad government. For they claim that the ruler should pay close attention to those under him and obey these and arrange everything which concerns them according to what is most agreeable and seems best to them,

<sup>17</sup> I.e. that men should run worldly matters without caring about God.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., however, to this 68.3,8–9 on the hazards of being a captain.

ἄρχειν γνώμας καὶ κρίσεις. 6 Μαίνοιντο μέντ' ἂν οἱ οὕτως ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ οὐ χαιρήσουσιν ὄντως μετ' οὐ πολὺ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῶντες οἱ μὲν ἀρχόμενοι ὥς ἂν καὶ εἴη καὶ γίγνοιτο τοῦτο, καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν καὶ μὴ, 7 οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες ὥς κρίνουσι καὶ μόνον τάμεινον προορώμενοι καὶ ὥς ἂν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μέλλοι συνοίσειν, καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀγομένοις καὶ μὴ 5 οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἄρ' ὁ ξυμπίπτων χρόνος φέροι.

413 | Ὅτι θαυμασίως πολλάκις εἴωθε ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσι  
καὶ εὐτυχίας τάχιστ' ἀκολουθεῖν δυσπραγήματα χαλεπὰ  
καὶ μὴδὲν ἥττον ἀνυπονόητα· ΕΖ'

1 Θαυμάσαι τίς ἂν συννορῶν, οἶμαι, καὶ κατασκοπούμενος, ὅπως ἄρα ταῖς 10  
μεγίσταις τῶν πραγμάτων φοραῖς καὶ περιφανέσιν ἔργοις ἐκάστοτε καὶ  
πολὺ κρείττωσι τῆς εἰθισμένης ἀγωγῆς, καὶ καταπληττούσαις τῷ καινίζοντι  
καὶ δραστικῷ καὶ ἀκμάζοντι, 2 αὐτίκα αὐτόθεν τροπαί τινες ἐπιφύονται καὶ  
μεταβολαὶ κατὰ νέμεσιν τινα δαιμονίαν ὥς εἰπεῖν καὶ βασκανίαν τῆς τύχης ἐπὶ  
ταῖς μεγάλαις ὑποθέσεσι· 3 καὶ φέρειν οὐχ' οἶος τ' εἶναι δοκεῖ πως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον 15  
ὁ χρόνος τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος ἀκμάζον τῆς εὐφορίας τῷ βάρει, ἀλλ'  
ὥσπερ ὀκλάζει καὶ τὴν ἐντονίαν ἀλλάττει τάχιστα καὶ σφάλλει τὸ κράτος,  
καὶ ἔοικεν ἀκολουθεῖν εὐ μάλα κατὰ φύσιν ἢ πρὸς τάναντία τροπή· 4 καὶ  
καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς εὐεξίαις εἰς ἄκρον αὐτόθεν ἔπεται, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη,  
τὸ σφαλερόν, καὶ τεχνῖται λόγοι φασί, καὶ πολλάκις ὁρώμεν γιγνόμενον, καὶ 20  
μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πράγματα. 5 Τὸ γὰρ ἀβέβαιον κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ γένεσιν  
καὶ ρέουσιν ἀεὶ τοῖσδε πράγμασι καὶ κινούμενον αἰεὶ καὶ μὴ μόνιμον ὀπιοῦν  
414 μὴδ' ἔχον ἴστασθαι, ζητοῦν μεταβάλλειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ φέρεσθαι | κατ'

1 μέντ': μέν τ' M-K

4 οἱ δ': οἱ δ' M

5 ἡδονῆς sine accentu P

7 εἴωθε: εἴωθεν in

tabula, i.e. indice, ante textum M

9 ΕΖ: ζ fort. p.c. M ex η (etiam rubro in mg. add. ξξ M)

10 τίς P pro τις, τίς M

19 καὶ om. M

20 τεχνῖται PME pro τεχνῖται

23 μὴδ': οὐδ' M

and that, if unable to do this, he should step down from power; this they claim on the supposition that a rule which is not according to the opinion and decisions of the subjects is bad. <sup>6</sup> However, those who rule or allow themselves to be ruled in this way would be mad and, should they behave in this way, they will in truth soon come to grief: the subjects if they do not keep quiet whatever the circumstances are and whatever happens, be it to their liking or not, <sup>7</sup> the rulers if they do not follow their own judgement and only look for what is best and most beneficial for the subjects, regardless of whether these can be led by friendly methods or not, as the situation demands.

67. That it often happens that ill fortune, no less unexpected than hard to bear, strangely and very swiftly follows upon the greatest accomplishment and success

<sup>1</sup> If anyone pays close attention to this, he is, I think, likely to marvel at the way in which immediate turns and changes are wont to happen in the case of the greatest matters and of all deeds which are spectacular and surpass the expectations of everyday life and cause surprise by their novelty and their drastic and vigorous quality. <sup>2</sup> These turns and changes happen, one would say, according to some divine envy or grudge of Fate against great undertakings. <sup>3</sup> For somehow time does not seem able to bear the greatness and abundant prosperity of any situation for very long; instead anything great is bound somehow to stumble and very soon lose its intensity and betray its power; indeed, the change to the opposite seems to come very naturally, and fall must of necessity follow immediately upon greatness. <sup>4</sup> It is exactly the same with extreme physical prowess, as stated in literature<sup>1</sup> and as we often see happen and as the matters themselves bear witness to: fall must follow here too. <sup>5</sup> For the natural uncertainty of everything subject to birth and flux, and its constant movement and lack of any perma-

<sup>1</sup> 'literature' (τεχνίται λόγοι): or 'rhetorical exercises'.

ἔθος φύσεως ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ῥοπαῖς καὶ βάρεσι καὶ ὄγκοις τῆς τύχης, οὐκ ἔχον ἄλλως ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν εἰς τάναντία τρέπεται, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὰ γε τάναντιώτατα· 6 ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φορώτατα πνεύματα, οἷς τὴν τύχην εἰκάζουσι σοφοί, τὰ τέως οὐριοδρομοῦντα σκάφη καὶ φερόμενα μάλιστ' ἐκτόπως πλοῦν 5 ἀνευλαβῇ καὶ λάβρον αὐτόθεν πολλάκις αὐτὰ καταστρέφει, καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἀντὶ τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ πλείστον ἀκμαζούσης φορᾶς ἀντιδίδωσιν, 7 οὕτω δῆτ' ἄρ', ὥς ἔφην, καπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνίσιτ' ἀκμαστικῶς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐχόντων καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ζητούντων μεταβολὴν εἰς τάναντιώτατα τὸ τῆς τροπῆς ξυμβαίνειν εἴωθε, καὶ καταβακχεύει τὰ φαῦλα τάχιστα τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλουτούσης ἕξεως· εἰ δ' οὖν, εἰς τάναντία τρόπῳ γέ τι μεταφέρεται. 10

2 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔχομεν ἐκάστοθ' ὁρᾶν οὕτω, καὶ λέγειν ἔχομεν ἀμέλει πλείστα καὶ προφέρειν καὶ καταριθμεῖσθαι καὶ μαρτύρεσθαι τῷ νῦν λόγῳ παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι, καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι, καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπὶ μειζόνων τὲ καὶ ἡττόνων, 2 καὶ πολὺς ἂν εἴη πόνος καὶ ἴσως ἀκαιρος πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα μεμνησθαι πρὸς πίστωσιν τῷ 15 λόγῳ· ὀλίγα δ' ἀρκέσει πάντως πρὸς τὸν νῦν σκοπόν, καὶ παραδραμούμεθα 415 πονεῖν μάτην ἄμετρα. 3 Μέγιστα μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἔργα καὶ τῷ | βίῳ καινίζοντα καὶ βραχεὶ χρόνῳ τὴν ἅπασαν ὥς εἰπεῖν οἰκουμένην μεταποιήσαντα καὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, τὰ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἀρχὴν, τεράστιά τινα καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπιστεῖσθαι δίκαια γεγονότα, καὶ τέως 20 ἀνυπονόητα γενέσθαι· 4 καὶ εἰ τις ἴσως προύλεγεν, ἔδοξεν ἂν οἷα πλάττουσιν ἐν μυθαρίοις γραῖδια καὶ λῆροι τινὲς ἀνθρωποὶ λέγειν, καὶ 'τάκίνητα' κατὰ τὸν λόγον 'κινεῖν', καὶ μελαγχολᾶν ἀτεχνῶς· 5 οὕτω πέρα πάσης προσδοκίας

22 γραῖδια: γραῖδια P, i.e. non exhib. trema

22 τάκίνητα ... κινεῖν] cf. Hdt. 6.134 ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκίνητων εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα | Pl. *Tht.* 181b ἐὰν δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὅλου στασιῶται ἀληθέστερα λέγειν δοκῶσι, φευξόμεθα παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἀκίνητα κινούντων et Id. *Lg.* 684e1, 843a1, 913b9 | Plu. *De Isid.* 359F.1 ὁκνῶ δέ, μὴ τοῦτ' ἢ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν et Id. *De gen. Socr.* 585F.9 et Id. *Amat.* 756B2 | *CPG I Zen.* I 55.1 Ἀκίνητα κινεῖν: καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖ κινεῖν μήτε βωμούς, μήτε τάφους ἢ ἡρώα | *Suda* A 888 et *Ibid.* M 905 Μὴ κινεῖν ἀκίνητα, μήδ' ἄκρω δακτύλῳ | cf. *Th.Met. Sem.* 73.3.8 et 76.3.5 et Id. *Comp. Demosth. et Aristid.* 13.10sq.

<sup>2</sup> 'likewise': ὥσπερ here is connected with the preceding, while § 7 (with οὕτω) seems to be appended with a slight anacoluthon (it seems that the author loses the thread in § 5).

nence (such matters are in no case able to stand firmly, but out of necessity they strive for change and are, in accordance with their nature carried away by the greatest vicissitudes and by the weight and bulk of Fate, and they have, so to say, no alternative to turning into their opposite, and often into something extremely different)— 6 likewise<sup>2</sup> the most favourable winds (wise men compare Fate to these) often in an instant destroy boats which so far have been running smoothly, and carried away far from their course on a wholly uncontrolled<sup>3</sup> and violent crossing they are suddenly destroyed by the same winds and exposed to the greatest danger instead of to the perfect<sup>4</sup> and most vigorous thrust [enjoyed before]. 7 In the same way a change is, as I said, wont to happen also with regard to matters which show the greatest degree of vigour and which therefore by their very nature strive for a change for the opposite; for evil will very quickly destroy the prosperous good in a Bacchic frenzy,<sup>5</sup> or at least<sup>6</sup> in some way change conditions into their opposite.

2 We can see many instances of this in each epoch,<sup>7</sup> and we have in fact very many cases to relate and bring forward and enumerate and use as a testimony to the present argument: old and new cases, cases which have occurred among the Romans as well as the Greeks, and among all other peoples too; cases which concern greater as well as lesser matters. 2 And it would entail a great deal of perhaps unseasonable labour to mention many cases here in order to prove my argument; a little will be sufficient for the present purpose, and so we will avoid immeasurable labour which would be of no avail. 3 For the very greatest deeds from time immemorial, deeds which, being of a kind previously unknown to human experience, reshaped literally all of the inhabited world and all conditions of human life within a short time (I am referring to the wondrous deeds of Alexander and the Macedonian rule, deeds which are well-nigh worth being doubted, and

<sup>3</sup> 'uncontrolled': the meaning given for ἀνευλαβής in LSJ is 'irreverent'/'impious' (sim. Lampe); see, however, Trapp s.v. ἀνευλαβῶς = 'unbedacht'.

<sup>4</sup> 'perfect': i.e. 'unmixed' (ἄκρατος).

<sup>5</sup> 'destroy ... frenzy': καταβακχεύω is lacking in LSJ and Lampe; Trapp makes reference to this passage and translates it as 'rasen (wüten) gegen'; cf. 67.8.2 and 69.3.5.

<sup>6</sup> 'at least': εἰ δ' οὖν.

<sup>7</sup> 'in each epoch': a somewhat free translation of ἐκάστοτε.

ἀπέβη· καὶ ὅστις ταμέγιστ' ἂν ἤλπισε, καὶ ὅστις ταμέγιστ' αὐτὸς ὡς ἐρεῖν  
 ἠῴξατο, πᾶσαν ἔφεσιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν λογιμοῖς μακαριότητα, <sup>6</sup> ἐκ μικρᾶς οὕτω  
 τῆς ἀφορμῆς καὶ λίαν εὐεπιλογίστου παρασκευῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἢ πρὸς  
 ὀλίγα νησίδα περὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πόλεις ἀνηγεμονεύτους  
 καὶ κοινοῖς ἀγομένας κατὰ μέρη νομίμοις, <sup>7</sup> καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων μάλιστα <sup>5</sup>  
 δῆμον καὶ δημαγωγούς καὶ ῥήτορας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅσους δὴ τινὰς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι  
 πρότερον εἶχεν ἀγῶνα Φιλίππῳ μέγιστον, <sup>8</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν μηχαναῖς καὶ δόλοις  
 καὶ δώροις καὶ προδοσίαις καὶ στασιασμοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας τῶν πόλεων, καὶ  
 ὅρκοις ὀλιγωρουμένοις τὲ καὶ πλείστον ἀπιστουμένοις, <sup>9</sup> τὰ δὲ καὶ ὅπλοις  
 δὴ μετρίως πρὸς ἀσυνάπτους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μὴ κοινὰ φρονούντας καθάπαξ <sup>10</sup>  
<sup>416</sup> καὶ πράττοντας, καὶ | στρατηγίαις δὴ τισι περιεγίγνετο, καὶ κράτος εἶχεν οὐκ  
 ἔκδηλον καὶ οἷον δὴ βασιλικὴ μοναρχία καθαρῶς πρέπον καὶ νόμιμον.

3 Ἐκ δὴ τοιαύτης οὕτω λοιπόν, ὡς ἔφην, οὐ μάλα τοι κρατερᾶς τῆς ἰσχύος  
 καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐν νῶ θεμένου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κατ' ἐκείνους  
 τοὺς χρόνους τὸ πλείστον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγουσαν περιφανείᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ πλήθει στρατευμάτων δυσαντίβλεπον Περσικὴν βασιλείαν  
 αὐτὸς καταστρέψασθαι, <sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῖς ἀληθείαις μὴ τοῦτ' ἐν  
 νῶ θεμένου· μανία γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῦτο περιφανῆς καὶ λαμπρά, ἐκ τοσούτου τοῦ  
 κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνόντος τοσοῦτο κράτος μάλ' ἐνεκμάζον ὑποποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅλως  
 ἐλπίσαι· <sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ἴσως τοσοῦτο μόνον, πράγματα βασιλεῖ καὶ Πέρσαις παρασχεῖν <sup>20</sup>  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, καθὼς ἄρα καὶ πρότερον χρόνοις ὀλίγοις

3 εὐεπιλογίστου: 'C. Mon. rectius ἀνεπιλογίστου' in app. M-K  
 ἐνεκμάζον P pro ἐνακμάζον, ἐνακμάζον M (cf. introd. 3, p. liii)

8 πόλεων: πόλων M **19**

<sup>8</sup> 'move the immovable': this saying occurs in Herodotus, Plato and a great many later authors, mostly in the sense of what ought not be moved, rather than what could not; see also below, 73.3.8 and 76.3.5.

<sup>9</sup> 'hoped for' (ἂν before ἤλπισε): it does not seem probable that this should be an example of the unreal condition.

<sup>10</sup> 'easily mustered': the only meaning given by LSJ for εὐεπιλόγιστος is 'easily inferred', which is not adequate; the word is lacking in Lampe and Trapp.

<sup>11</sup> 'by contesting them': this is a tentative translation of ἀπιστουμένοις (for less technical instances see word index): LSJ and Lampe do not hint at a legal use of the word (the word is missing from Trapp).

<sup>12</sup> 'conformable to custom': νόμιμον.

which were inconceivable up to that time)— 4 if someone by chance had predicted these, he would have seemed to be inventing stories in the way of old women and delirious people, and he would, as the saying goes, have seemed to be [trying to] *move the immovable*,<sup>8</sup> and to be completely out of his mind. 5 So much did these deeds surpass every expectation, even considering that Alexander was a man who hoped for<sup>9</sup> the utmost and had, so to say, prayed for the utmost, namely for the fulfilment of every desire and for every imaginable happiness, 6 and also considering that he had started from such small circumstances and too easily mustered<sup>10</sup> resources and forces, a power which only extended over some few islets of the Aegean and over Greece, and over cities which were without leadership and partly ruled by democratic laws; 7 in particular they had had to deal with the Athenian people and its demagogues and I do not know what rhetors, to contend with whom Philip earlier had had the greatest trouble. 8 And partly by devices and guile and gifts and acts of treason and because of rivalry between the cities, and by ignoring oaths and in very many cases by contesting them,<sup>11</sup> 9 partly with a moderate use of military force against people who were not connected with each other and did not share any opinions at all and did not act in common accord, and also by some stratagems, did he overcome these and achieve a domination which was not manifest and not such as to be really befitting and conformable to custom<sup>12</sup> for a king of absolute power.

3 Starting, as I have said, with these hardly powerful forces and having made these preparations, king Alexander made up his mind to be the one<sup>13</sup> to overthrow the formidable<sup>14</sup> Persian kingdom, which by its glory and splendour and opulence and great armies controlled the greatest part of the inhabited world at that time. 2 Or I rather think that he did not really intend this, for with the resources available to him even to hope to be able to subdue such a power, which was at the peak of its vigour, would have been obvious and manifest madness. 3 Perhaps his ambition was only

<sup>13</sup> 'the one' (αὐτός): this nominative in the middle of an absolute genitive is somewhat surprising, although there is no reason to doubt that this is what Metochites wrote.

<sup>14</sup> 'formidable': a free translation of δυσαντίβλεπτον ('hard to face').

Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ πλέον ἔτι πω ὅτι οὖν· 4 εἴτα πλέον ἐλπίδος ἐντετυχηκός τῃ  
 τῆς τύχης εὐφορία καὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τῆς χρήσεως, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ πᾶν ὠρμηκός  
 καὶ μέγιστον ἀραμένον κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης φρόνημα καὶ κατηνυκός  
 417 αὐτῷ γε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπτομένῳ· 5 κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐφ' ἃν καὶ πᾶσαν | ἐξῆς 5  
 τὴν τῆς γῆς οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώποις τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀριδηλότατα καὶ ἴσως οὐκ  
 ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, τοῖς ἡνυσμένοις λοιπόν, χωρήσαντος, καὶ μέγιστα μεγίστων  
 ταῖς ἐλπίσι ῥᾶστα μηχανομένου καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ προσδοκῶντος οἷς οἶδεν, οἷς  
 εἰργάσατο, οἷς ξυνέλαχε, 6 καὶ τῶν ἐκτόπων αὐτῶν καὶ πέρα πάσης ἐλπίδος καὶ  
 παντὸς λογισμοῦ τῇ τῶν φθασάντων εὐκολίᾳ, καὶ τῷ κατεσκευασμένῳ λοιπόν 10  
 ἀπαραμίλλῳ κράτει, κἀτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς  
 ἐλπίδας καὶ τὰς τοσαύτας ἐπιδείξεις τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων ἔργων 7 ἐν αὐτῷ  
 τῷ δρόμῳ τῶν μεγίστων ἐλπίδων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ἔτι πω καὶ τῇ τῆς τύχης  
 εὐπλοίᾳ τελευτῶντος οἰκτίστα τὸν τε βίον καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τὰς περιφανεῖς  
 πράξεις καὶ τὰ τρόπαια ἐπανιδρύτῳ καθάπαξ τῷ παντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι πῶ 15  
 σχήματι, καὶ ῥᾶστ' εὐσείστῳ, 8 καὶ διαδόχοις ἀδήλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ προδήλῳ  
 κληρονομίας ἐρημίᾳ, ἣ στήσεται τὰ κτηθέντα καὶ μενεῖ πάντως ἄνοσα, κἂν εἰ  
 μὴδὲν ἔτι πω πλέον, ὃ πολλῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων εἰκότι κατὰ φύσιν εἶπεν' ἄν, μᾶλλον  
 δὲ τύχης ἐρημία προδηλοτάτῃ καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ ἀστοργίᾳ κατὰ τῶν τοσούτων  
 418 ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἔργων καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης χάριτος 9 καταπροδοῦ|σης 20  
 αὐτὸν αὐτόθεν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐκείνοις πράγμασι καὶ προλιπούσης  
 ὥσπερ φαύλου τινὸς συνοδοιπόρου καὶ συμμάχου, μᾶλλον δὲ προαγωνιστοῦ  
 καὶ προμάχου, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἀόριστον πλάνην  
 δυσχρηστίας ὡς ἄρ' ἔδειξεν αὐτίκα τελευτήσαντος.

15 ἐπανιδρύτῳ: 'fors. ἐπ' ἀνιδρύτῳ' in app. M-K

<sup>15</sup> On Agesilaus see also 64.1.3-6 and 67.19.6-9.

<sup>16</sup> 'by grasping the opportunity': this is to translate δρόμῳ τῆς χρήσεως.

<sup>17</sup> The whole of this paragraph is rather difficult, the Greek partly vague, and the translation consequently not certain.

<sup>18</sup> 'unrivalled': for ἀπαραμίλλος see Lampe and Trapp; the word is missing from LSJ (see, however, ἀπαραμίλλητος).

<sup>19</sup> 'fragile': for a similar meaning of εὐσειστος see Lampe ('easily shaken').

<sup>20</sup> 'had to be ... re-established': the word ἐπανιδρύτος is missing from LSJ, Lampe and Trapp; Müller & Kiessling suggest ἐπ' ἀνιδρύτῳ in their apparatus.

<sup>21</sup> 'which ... for' (ὃ πολλῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων εἰκότι κατὰ φύσιν εἶπεν' ἄν): this is rather freely rendered;

to cause some trouble to the King and the Persians and thus to help the Greeks in Asia, just as Agesilaus had done some few years before,<sup>15</sup> and also perhaps to achieve a little more. 4 However, by the favour of Fate and by grasping the opportunity,<sup>16</sup> Alexander obtained more than he had opted for, and he went on towards the whole, and he designed the greatest of plans against that power, and he achieved such a great feat, unexpected until then by others and not less by himself at the time when he came into power. 5 Further,<sup>17</sup> making his intentions perfectly clear and, perhaps not inopportunately so, bearing in mind what he had achieved, from this he went against the whole East and all the rest of the world inhabited by men; and trusting in achieving greatness he extended his most powerful domination with the greatest ease; and there was nothing which he did not expect to bring about by means of his knowledge and his deeds and his good fortune 6 and by the ease of those earlier strange achievements, which exceeded every hope and calculation, and by means of the unrivalled<sup>18</sup> power which he had built up. Yet, immediately after this, having planned all this and having entertained such hopes and displayed all these wonderful deeds, 7 and being still in the very course of fulfilling the greatest hopes and expectations, and enjoying a favourable fate, Alexander died in the most pitiable way, putting an end to hopes and glorious deeds and victories; and thus the whole form of government, which proved very fragile,<sup>19</sup> had to be totally re-established.<sup>20</sup> 8 For there was an uncertainty as to his successors, or rather an obvious lack of heirs, and it is by such that anything which has been acquired can be kept and remain wholly intact, even if not added to, which would naturally be what one would hope for.<sup>21</sup> So fortune had in a most spectacular way deserted him and showed a want of faith and appreciation of those many deeds which had been accomplished with its help and by its means; and this so great grace 9 betrayed him suddenly in the middle of those great achievements; and it abandoned him, as if it had been a worthless companion and ally, or rather a forefighter and champion only; grace also abandoned the military operations and the government, which fell into an uncertain and confused state of mismanagement, as became obvious as soon as he had died.

4 Οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι χρήσονται λοιπὸν ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος οὐθ' ἑαυτοῖς οὔτε τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο πλείσθ' ὅσα τμηθέντες καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἐρεῖν ὃ τί ποτε βούλονται οὐδ' ὃ τι σπουδάζουσιν ἢ ζητοῦσιν, <sup>2</sup> οὐδ' οἵτινες εἰσὶν ἢ οἵσισι νόμοις ἄγονται μοναρχίας, καὶ τίς αὕτη, καὶ ποῖ τελευτώσα, καὶ τίνος ἀμέλει (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄνευ ἄρχοντος ἀρχή), ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, κοινῶν πολιτευμάτων νόμοις, καὶ τίσιν αὐ τούτοις, καὶ τίνος αὐ κοινοπολιτικῆς ἕξεως. <sup>3</sup> Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ κορυβαντιῶντες ἀλογίστως ἐφέροντο καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔκδηλον τέλος οὐδὲ σκοπὸν, μέχρι καταδαπανηθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθεμένων ἔξωθεν παντάπασιν ὦλοντο καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐχώρησαν, <sup>4</sup> ἄπιστον τοῖς πολλοῖς διήγημα μεθύστερον εἰ καὶ τέως ἦσαν, καὶ τίνων ἐπῆρξαν ἐθνῶν, ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἄρχοντες Μακεδόνες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις, ἢ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐδούλευον καὶ νόμοις ἀλλοτρίας ἡγεμονίας ὑπετάττοντο. <sup>5</sup> Οὕτω δὴ καθάπαξ Μακεδόνες ἐν μεταβολῇ γενόμενοι καὶ πεσόντες ὡς φασὶν ἐκείθεν ὀπηροῦν ἀνέγερτα <sup>15</sup> 419 τῇ ῥωμαϊκῇ δυναστείᾳ, μέρος ὅτιοῦν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον λοιπὸν ταύτης δόξαντες τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἔχουσι μετὰ πολλῶν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ παντός, <sup>6</sup> καὶ μηδὲν ἰδιοπραγοῦντες ἐλεύθερον, ἢ καὶ ἰδιοπραγήσαντες τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τόσων καὶ τόσων χρόνων, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ πρόσοικά τισι πολίσμασι χωρία καὶ ἀγροὶ φρονοῦσιν οὐδὲν ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο ἢ τὰ κυριεύοντ' ἄστη καὶ οἷς προσήκουσι, <sup>7</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ δὴ χώρας τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία μέρη καὶ κτήματα ἅττα <sup>20</sup> προσόδων ἐν χρήσει καὶ νομίμοις ἀνθρωπίνους ὄντες ταῖς ἀληθείαις, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο περαιτέρω ξυνορᾶν περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες ἢ πεφυκότες ὅλως αἰσθῆσθαι καὶ δυσνοϊκῶς ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἄγεσθαι.

5 Ῥωμαῖοι γε μὴν αὖθις οὗτοι οἱ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποποισάμενοι καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἢ κατ' ἄλλας πάσας πρότερον, καὶ αὐτόν γε <sup>25</sup>

7 κοινοπολιτικῆς: fort. -ῆς M, -οῖς E      11 καὶ τίνων P, καὶ τίνων M, καὶ τινῶν M-K      21 ἀνθρωπίνους fort. per comp. M, ἀνθρώποις E

it would also be possible to translate 'which naturally would follow as a consequence of entertaining so much hope.'

<sup>22</sup> 'they contribute ... whole': the Greek is vague and I am uncertain as to what is meant by τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ παντός (here translated as 'the perpetuation of the empire as a whole').

<sup>23</sup> 'according to the laws of men': or 'the laws of the realm'.

4 For when Alexander died, his people did not know what to do with themselves or the empire, but rulers as well as ruled turned against each other and were very much divided, being unable to express what they wanted or strove or looked for. 2 Nor were they able to say what they were, or by which laws monarchies should be governed, and what a monarchy is, and what its purpose is, and to whom it belongs by right (for there is no rule without a ruler), or if, instead, one should rule by democratic laws, by which democratic laws one should then rule, and what kind of democratic rule is desirable. 3 Instead they behaved senselessly and as in a frenzy and with no obvious goal or purpose—until they were exhausted by each other's doings and by attacks from the outside and thus utterly destroyed and reduced to nothing. 4 This made it difficult to most people of later times to believe that the Macedonians had even existed, and that they had controlled all these peoples, and that, instead of being slaves all the time and submitted to the laws of a foreign power, they had been masters even in their own land. 5 For so much have the Macedonians been subject to change, and they have fallen from their former position—somehow irrevocably, it is said—and come under the Roman empire, and they have come to be regarded just as any other part of this empire for all subsequent time, and they live associated with many others, and they contribute to the perpetuation of the empire as a whole.<sup>22</sup> 6 And they do not do anything of their own accord, not having done so in all the years since Alexander—as is the case with villages and rural areas neighbouring upon urban centres: in these, no opinions are expressed but those of the ruling cities and their masters. 7 And they are themselves part of the land under the Roman rule of our time and in reality a kind of possession meant to produce income according to the laws of men;<sup>23</sup> and they are not able to see any further aim for their own existence, nor are they at all naturally disposed to feel any further purpose on their own account, nor have they taken up a negative attitude regarding their rulers in consequence of their position.<sup>24</sup>

5 Now, these Romans, who subdued the Macedonians in addition to others and who gained an empire greater than all earlier empires, includ-

<sup>24</sup> 'and they are ... position': all of this is vague in the extreme and the translation difficult.

μὴν Ἀλέξανδρον ἡγεμονίαν κτησάμενοι καὶ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον ὑπερβαλόντες,  
 2 καὶ παραδραμόντες αὐτὸν μήκει τὲ καὶ κράτει καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τῷ καθεστῶτι  
 τῆς διοικήσεως θαυμαστῶς ὅπως καὶ νικήσαντες πάντας λογισμοὺς καὶ μετὰ  
 τὰς περιφανεῖς ἐκείνας Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκας καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ τὸν τάχιστον  
 δρόμον καὶ τὸν συνεχῇ θρίαμβον τῶν τοσούτων ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τύχης, 5  
 420 3 καὶ πάν|τα σχεδὸν ἔθνη κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ πείθεσθαι φύσιν ἔχοντα  
 καὶ μὴ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ ἀγέρωχα καὶ αὐθέκαστα, δουλωσάμενοι πάσαις  
 ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ γνώμης κράτει καὶ ῥώμῃ παντάπασιν ἀπαραμίλλῳ· 4 καὶ οὗτοι  
 γε μὴν ἐπεὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατεστρέψαντο πάντας  
 λογισμοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους τῇ καλλίστῃ διοικήσει καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιολόγῳ, 10  
 νομίμοις ἅπασιν οἰκείοις κατὰ πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ παρῆλθον ἀκάματοι  
 πάντα καὶ ἀήττητοι, 5 λοιπὸν ἐξῆς αὐτίκα πονήρως εἶχον καὶ νοσεῖν ἤρξαντο  
 τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην καὶ τύχην καὶ γνώμην, καὶ κακῶς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φέρεσθαι,  
 καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ' αὐτοὶ καλῶς χρῆσθαι μήθ' ἑαυτοῖς μήτε τῇ τοσαύτῃ κτήσει  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς· ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράπησαν, 6 καὶ τὴν ἐπαινουμένην ἐκείνην 15  
 ὁμοφροσύνην ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς περιφανείας καὶ δόξης, καὶ  
 ἦν μάλιστ' ἐθαυμάζοντο πλεῖν ἢ κατὰ πάντας ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, Ἑλληνὰς  
 τε καὶ βαρβάρους, 7 καὶ τὸν τῆς γνώμης σύνδεσμον ἄρρηκτον ἐν καλλίστοις  
 νικῶντα πάντα τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐλύσαντο καὶ τηρεῖν  
 οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲ μένειν ἐν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξέστησαν τῆς καλλίστης ἀγωγῆς καὶ 20  
 421 τὴν ἐπαινετὴν ἐκείνην καὶ χρόνιον κατάστασιν καὶ τάξιν | ἐλειποτάκτησαν. 8  
 Καὶ ἀποπεφυκότες καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ταυτότητι τῶν εἰθισμένων  
 κρίσεων μένειν, αἱ καὶ τοσοῦτον κατεπράξαντ' ἔργον, ἐωρῶντο τῷ βάρει  
 τῆς τύχης, ἔοικε, καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔχοντες κατ' ἔθος ὡς ἄρα  
 πρότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἱκανῶς ἔτι πῶ λοιπὸν ἄγεσθαι τῇ συνεχείᾳ 25  
 τῆς κρατούσης ἤδη πόλλ' ἔτη καταστάσεως εὐγενοῦς καὶ κοινοπολιτείας πᾶν  
 τὸ λυσιτελοῦν.

9 ἐκτήσαντο: ἐκτήσαν P<sup>1</sup>, το s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>

25 'stability': for καθεστώς.

ing that of Alexander, exceeded him very much, <sup>2</sup> and they outdid him wondrously with regard to the extent and amount of their power and the duration and the stability<sup>25</sup> of their rule; and they surpassed every expectation, though this happened after those spectacular gains and victories of Alexander's and his brilliant career and continuous triumphs consisting of those many deeds achieved by him and by fortune. <sup>3</sup> And by all kinds of warfare and by the power of the mind and by wholly unrivalled strength, the Romans enslaved almost all peoples of the known world: those obsequious by nature and those who were not so but very powerful and self-willed. <sup>4</sup> And when these Romans had acquired such an empire and, by means of the best possible government, adapted to dealing with matters, and with laws suitable for every occasion, had defied every human expectation and overcome everything untiringly and without being defeated, <sup>5</sup> then they suddenly met with trouble and began to have problems which affected their remarkable good fortune as well as their judgement; they were harassed by internal strife, and they were not able to deal with their internal problems nor handle this great empire which they had acquired. Therefore they turned against each other, <sup>6</sup> and they broke up that highly praised concord, which had served the common good and their general reputation and fame, a concord for which they were more admired than all other peoples, Greeks and barbarians; <sup>7</sup> and they broke up and did no longer observe the unbreakable bond of a common opinion, which in good times had conquered all ties of nature of other peoples; and they did not contain themselves any more. Instead they abandoned their most excellent manner of living, and they deserted that laudable and long-lasting establishment and order of theirs. <sup>8</sup> And like other peoples, they were not able to remain constant in their judgement, and in spite of having accomplished so much by this judgement they were, apparently because of the burden of their fortune and of such an empire, seen to be unable to act as formerly so that everything which might favour the continuation of the noble order which had existed for many years already, and everything favourable to the common government, might proceed in a natural and satisfactory way.

6 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καταστασιάσαντες τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πράγματα καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων  
 ἐμπληκτοὶ κινήθεντες, μελαγχολῶντες ἀλλοκότοις καὶ θηριώδεσιν ἔρωσι καὶ  
 μανίαις, <sup>2</sup> μεγίστην εἰργάσαντο φθορὰν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ βαρυτάταις μάχαις καὶ  
 μυριαριθμοῖς φόνοις στρατευμάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου  
 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐνέπλησαν ἐπικινδυνотάτων <sup>5</sup>  
 ἔργων καὶ βακχείας ἐριννυώδους καὶ συμφορῶν ἀνυποίστων, <sup>3</sup> καὶ ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἐξημίωσαν τοσούτων ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καὶ τοσούτων ἀνδρῶν ὅσοις οὐκ  
 ἂν ποτ' ᾤηθῃσαν τέως ζημιωθέντες ἔτι λοιπὸν ἀρκέσαι πρὸς τὸ λειφθῆναι  
 τῇ ζωῇ καὶ παραμενεῖν ἔτι τοῖς τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς πράγμασιν ὀηοῦν· <sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ τοσοῦτοις εἰ παρ' ἐχθρῶν ξυνέπεσον ἀμέλει τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν <sup>10</sup>  
 πραγμάτων φθοραῖς, ὥλοντ' ἂν αὐτίκα καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτάνδρῳ τῷ σκάφει τῆς  
 422 ἀρχῆς χαλεπωτάτῳ κλύδωνι κατεναυάγησαν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας παντάπασι  
 διαφθοράς. <sup>5</sup> Τοιαῦτ' ἄρα σφᾶς ἔπραξαν κάκισθ' ὑπ' ἐμπληξίας καὶ φιλαρχίας  
 οἴστρου δυσέρωτες Μάριοι καὶ Σύλλαι καὶ Καίσαρες καὶ Πομπήιοι καὶ Βροῦ-  
 τοι καὶ Κάσιοι καὶ Ἀντώνιοι καὶ τοιούτων ἀλιτηρίων τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδρῶν <sup>15</sup>  
 ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἀκρατεῖς λογισμοὶ καὶ φοραὶ μανιώδεις· <sup>6</sup> καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς  
 ἐπί-φθονον αἰὲ καὶ βασκανίαις καὶ δυσνοίαις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς παλαίουσαν μον-  
 αρχίαν καὶ τυραννίδα κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν ἐκ συμφωνίας πολιτικῆς  
 γαλήνης καὶ τῶν εὐνομουμένων πραγμάτων, τὸ κράτος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐξόντων  
 ὅσαι ἡμέραι συνεχῶς, ἀφοῦ καὶ ἥρξαντο σχεδὸν δεικνυσθαι τῷ βίῳ καὶ κι- <sup>20</sup>  
 νεῖσθαι πλείοσιν ἢ κατ' ἰδιοπραγοῦντας καὶ μείζοσιν ἐπιχειρήσεσι· <sup>7</sup> καὶ  
 τουλοιοῦ σφίσιν ἔργον ἦν οὐδὲν ἔτι πῶ πλέον ὁρᾶν ὥς ἄρα πρότερον αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ  
 τρυφαῖς μὲν οἴκοι χαίρειν τὲ καὶ συνεῖναι τὸν πάντα βίον καὶ ῥαστώνης ἀπάσης  
 ἀμετρία καὶ ἀκολασία, καὶ μέγα δὲ κρίνειν εἰ περισώζειν οἱοὶ τε γίγνοιτο, καὶ  
 οἱ μεγάλα φρονοῦντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιθέσεων καὶ μὴ ταμέγιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς <sup>25</sup>

7 ὅσοις E, ὅσων in textu et -οις s.l. PM 18 καὶ om. P, add. P<sup>2</sup>

11 σκάφει τῆς ἀρχῆς] cf. Alc. Fr. 6, 208, 249 | A. Th. 62 | Pl. R. 488–489d

<sup>26</sup> 'exposed': literally 'filled' (ἐνέπλησαν).

<sup>27</sup> 'ship of state' (τῷ σκάφει τῆς ἀρχῆς): Metochites is very fond of nautical metaphors of every kind. In the present case he may have thought of Alcaeus' 'ship of state', an image also known from Aeschylus and developed by Plato in the *Republic* (cf. app. font. et parall.).

6 Therefore they revolted against the political order and, driven by unnatural and savage cravings and passions, they foolishly attacked each other <sup>2</sup> and caused themselves the greatest harm; and by heavy fighting and by murdering an infinite number of soldiers and officers, and members of the senate as well as the people, they exposed<sup>26</sup> the known world to the greatest danger and to a revengeful frenzy and intolerable disasters. <sup>3</sup> And they deprived themselves of so many advantages, accorded to them by fortune, and they lost so many men that, had they come to this harm earlier, they would not have believed themselves to have enough in order to go on living and in any respect remain masters of their empire. <sup>4</sup> Had they been subjected to so great dangers by their enemies, and had their political system been harmed in such a way, it would have meant their immediate ruin, and as if hit by an immense wave, they would have gone down with the ship of state<sup>27</sup> and been totally destroyed with all hands. <sup>5</sup> This great evil was inflicted upon them by men like Marius and Sulla and Caesar and Pompey and Brutus and Cassius and Anthony,<sup>28</sup> those hateful men who were capricious and passionately and ominously in love with power and whose uncontrolled thoughts and mad attacks upon each other worked the destruction of their country. <sup>6</sup> Thus they ended up with a monarchy which was nothing but odious, and a tyranny which always had to wrestle with slander and ill-will and attacks; this came instead of the earlier political peace based on concord and well-functioning laws, a system which had increased the power of the empire from day to day from the time when the Romans so to say started to play a prominent role in the world and to engage in more and greater enterprises than they had done when living on their own.<sup>29</sup> <sup>7</sup> Thereafter they no longer cared to look beyond their own, as they had done all the time before. Instead, their only care in life was for enjoying luxury at home and indulging in all kinds of limitless and reckless leisure; and even those with great ambitions were content if only they were able to survive the attacks from outside without losing the most vital and

<sup>28</sup> All of these, except Cassius (who is well known from other biographies by Plutarch), are the object of biographies by Plutarch.

<sup>29</sup> 'than ... own' (ἢ κατ' ἰδιοπραγούντας etc.): or 'than people living on their own do'.

καὶ ἀξιολογώτερα ζημιούσθαι. 8 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐκείθεν εἰς δεῦρο  
 423 κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπέρρει τὰ | πράγματα, καὶ τὰ τόσα καὶ τόσα μήκη τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς  
 τοῦλαττον ὑπεφέρετο· καὶ μὴν ἔτι ὥς ἂν δὴ καὶ καταμέρος καὶ ἰδίᾳ διελθεῖν  
 τινὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν, 9 σιωπῶν μὲν ἴσως τὰ παλαιὰ  
 πρότερον καὶ τὰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι καὶ παρ' ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς οὐκ ἂν ἔξω τοῦ 5  
 καιροῦ δρώην ἂν φεύγων τὸ μήκος.

7 Ἀλλὰ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ μικρᾶς παντάπασι καὶ ἀσήμου τῆς  
 τύχης καὶ φυλετῶν ὀλίγων πάνυ τοι καὶ λόγου τινὸς ὀλίγου καὶ ἀγροτικῆς  
 οἰκίας καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς τῶν πατρικίων καθάπαξ ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀλλοτρίας  
 εὐγενείας 2 μέγας ἦρθη τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ ταῖς περιφανέσι καὶ 10  
 ἀπαραμίλλοις νίκαις, καὶ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἦρε πράγματα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα πρὸς  
 τὸ κρατῆσαν ὕστερον μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν δόξαν· 3 καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτὸς  
 ἐπτάκις ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις νικῶν ὑπατεύει πολυδοξότατα, καὶ δείκνυσιν ὥς  
 οὐκ ἔξω λόγου τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ὁ μῆπω πρότερον οὐδενὶ  
 οὐδὲ γε μὴν μεθύστερον ξυμβὰν ὥφθη ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς Ῥωμαίων 15  
 ἡγεμονίας ἀκμαῖς· 4 εἶτα μετὰ τὰς νίκας ἐκείνας τὰς τερατώδεις καὶ τὴν  
 τοσαύτην εὐκλειαν καὶ δόξαν, ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν δόξαν, τῆς τοῦ ἥθους  
 πικρίας ἡττώμενος καὶ φιλαρχίας ἀπλήστου κάκιστ' εἰς τυραννικὴν μαιφονίαν  
 καὶ κακοήθειαν ἐκκλίνας, ταπεινῶς κομιδῇ πράττων ἐδυσχέραине τῇ τύχῃ· 5  
 καὶ πλάνον ἀοίκητον ἐν φυγῇ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης δόξης ἐφορεῖτο 20  
 424 παιζόμε|νος ἀνθρώποις φαύλοις καὶ παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ  
 Μαρίου τύχης καὶ δόξης, καὶ ἀναξίοις ἑαυτοῦ συνείχετο καθάπαξ ἔργοις.

8 Εἴτ' αὐθις ἐπαίζετο τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἀνεδείκνυτο καὶ ἀνωρθοῦτο πρὸς  
 δευτέραν βίωσιν καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα παρ' ὥραν ἤδη παραβαλλόμενος καὶ  
 πρὸς μέσους ἑαυτὸν κινδύνους μεγίστους καὶ μαιφονίας ἐπαχθέστατ' ἔργα 25  
 φέρων εἰσηγεν ἑαυτὸν ὠθῶν καὶ ὠθούμενος ταῖς τοῦ Σύλλα μετὰ τῆς τύχης

6 δρώην: δρώη ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, -v add. P<sup>2</sup>

20 παιζόμενος ἐφορεῖτο P, sed litteris β et α supra παιζόμενος et ἐφορεῖτο positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ἐφορεῖτο παιζόμενος

<sup>30</sup> 'old matters' (τὰ παλαιὰ): considering what follows, which deals with Ancient Rome, it is a little odd that Metochites says that he will pass over old matters.

<sup>31</sup> 'raised ... politics' (τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἦρε πράγματα): or 'he exalted the Roman state'.

<sup>32</sup> In this paragraph the praesens historicum is used.

important parts of the empire. <sup>8</sup> And, indeed, it was for this reason that the state gradually sank to its present level and the empire, formerly of such dimensions, was reduced to a very small compass. But in order to be able to discuss yet some more things in detail and separately with the same purpose, and things of relevance to the same theme, <sup>9</sup> I would perhaps, so as to avoid lengthiness, do well to pass over old matters<sup>30</sup> and those concerning other peoples and powers.

<sup>7</sup> The aforementioned Marius, the Roman, started from utterly small and insignificant conditions. He had very few kinsmen and small means and he came from a rural household and army unit, and from conditions very different from those of the noble Roman patricians. <sup>2</sup> Marius was promoted through the Cimbrian wars and his spectacular and unparalleled victories in these, and he raised the level of Roman politics<sup>31</sup> and the self-esteem of the Romans so as to prepare for the later greatness of the empire and the fame which then prevailed. <sup>3</sup> Having won seven successive elections, he holds<sup>32</sup> office as consul in the most glorious way; and he shows by his deeds and victories that it was not without reason that he should hold office: these victories constituted an achievement which was never seen attained by anyone before, nor indeed afterwards, when the Roman empire was at the peak of its power. <sup>4</sup> However, after these prodigious victories, and after having acquired such great fame and glory which so to speak surpassed all glory, he was defeated by the bitterness of his own temper and his insatiable lust for power; for in the worst of ways he turned to tyrannical bloodshed and malignity, and when abased in power, he was unable to endure his fate; <sup>5</sup> and, as a wanderer without abode, he fled his country, and he was cheated out of his great reputation, and associating himself with inferior men who had no part whatsoever in the great fortune and glory of Marius, the man engaged in deeds completely unworthy of himself.

<sup>8</sup> Then he was again made a plaything by Fate and, already advanced in age, he rose to new prominence and a second life and a high position in politics, and he rushed into the greatest danger and engaged in bloodshed, which is the most hateful of deeds, and he promoted himself by forceful methods but was thrust back by Sulla's glorious fortune and the vigour

λαμπρότησι καὶ μετὰ τινος ὥρας καὶ νέας φιλοτιμίας ἀκμαῖς. <sup>2</sup> Καὶ τελευτῶν οἴκτιστ' ἀπήλλαττεν, οὐκ ἐλεούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ μισούμενος τῆς παραλόγου σφόδρα φιλοτιμίας τὲ καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐν αἵμασι καὶ πόνοις καταβακχεύων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐριννύων ζάκορος καὶ τραγικῶν παθῶν χορηγός. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βραχύ τι παραλειφθεὶς τῇ φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ τῶν ἔργων ὁ νέος Μάριος, <sup>5</sup> καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥθους πικρίαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσως συγχωρηθεὶς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ κάκισθ' ὁρμὴν ἐμπληκτότερος τοῦ πατρὸς τύραννος· <sup>4</sup> αὐτίκα γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπειτα κακὸς κακῶς ἐπιπτεν ἀωρία τῶν τῆς κακίας ἄθλων καὶ <sup>425</sup> ἐπι|δείξεων, ἐλαττούμενος τοσοῦτῳ μόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ τῶν φαύλων ἔργων <sup>10</sup> ὀλιγοχρονίῳ, μὴ τὴν φύσιν ὅμως καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐλαττούμενος καὶ φέρων δεύτερα.

<sup>9</sup> Σύλλας δ' ἐξῆς ἔπειτα, μέγας τῇ τύχῃ καταστάς ἐξ ἀδόξων, καὶ τέως εὐπεριφρόνητος ὢν ἐν νέοις ἐξ ἀσωτίας εἰ δὴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, καὶ πλείστους κατ' ἄλλοτριῶν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν πᾶσι τῆς γῆς μέρεσι νενικηκώς <sup>15</sup> τοὺς πολέμους τοῦτο μὲν ὑποστρατηγῶν ἄλλοις τὲ καὶ Μαρίῳ, τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸς στρατηγῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτῳ ἡγούμενος, <sup>2</sup> πλείστους ἀμέλει καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου κατὰ ταυτὸν ἀντιπραττόντων, ἐν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων κλέους καὶ κράτους ἀγῶνας εἶχε, <sup>3</sup> πρὸς πάντας συμμαχοῦσης τῆς τύχης ἀδοκίτῳ παντάπασι καὶ κρεῖττον <sup>20</sup> πάσης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐλπίδος καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ εἰκότος λογισμῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ' ἤττον ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι πάντες ᾤετο, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτὴν ἐπεγράφετο, καταδυσωπῶν ἴσως ὡς ἂν δὴ καὶ παραμένουσιν ἔχοι λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν πιστῶς καὶ πλεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴωθέ τε καὶ πέφυκε. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ τελευτῶν ἔπειτ' ἄρα περὶ τῶν ὅλων εἰς ἀγῶνα μέγιστον ἀντικαταστάς Μαρίῳ, καὶ νικῶν Μαρίῳ, <sup>25</sup> καὶ Κύννῃ, καὶ Κάρβωνι, πᾶσι μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἰταμότητος καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ <sup>426</sup> κράτους φθάσαντος ἐν τοῖς | πράγμασιν ὥπλισμένους κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ προ-

14 ἀσωτείας E, non leg. M

26 Κύννα: κίννα M

<sup>33</sup> 'raving ... frenzy': cf. above, p. 67, n. 5.<sup>34</sup> I.e. he ascribed all his accomplishments to fortune: the verb ἐπεγράφετο is used, hence the translation.<sup>35</sup> 'placate' (καταδυσωπῶν): 'put to the blush by earnest entreaty' (LSJ), 'entreat'/'implore' (Lampe).

of a new youth and ambition. <sup>2</sup> And at last he died in a most lamentable way, more hated than pitied because of his absurdly strong ambition and contentiousness, raving against the Roman power as he was, in a Bacchic frenzy,<sup>33</sup> in blood and pain, like a temple attendant to the Erinyes, displaying the passions of tragedy. <sup>3</sup> After him came Marius the Younger, who was somewhat less eager to engage in action, but who proved himself to be his father's son by nature as well as by an uncontrollable temper. Towards him fortune and the times were, perhaps, particularly indulgent—so much so that they allowed him to show that he, by his very nature and his urge to commit the greatest evil, was a more capricious tyrant [even] than his father. <sup>4</sup> But directly after this he too, an evil man, stumbled badly because of the untimeliness of his evil struggles and feats, proving to be inferior to his father only in so far as his base deeds were of shorter duration, but not inferior to him as to his nature and opinions, and thus worthy of the second prize.

<sup>9</sup> Next came Sulla, promoted by fortune from obscurity to greatness; he was a man who, if anybody, until that time had been the object of contempt among the young on account of his profligacy. Having won a great number of wars in all parts of the world against the enemies of the Romans and their country—partly as a commander subordinate to others, especially to Marius, partly in command himself and invested with imperium—<sup>2</sup> he also won many battles against his countrymen and against those senators who united in opposing his struggles for the glory of the country and the fame and power of the Romans. <sup>3</sup> And fortune supported him against everyone in a totally unexpected way and, in fact, beyond all hope and reasonable calculation, as he himself thought no less than everyone else. Therefore he inscribed fortune to all his deeds,<sup>34</sup> perhaps in order to placate it<sup>35</sup> and in order that he should thus retain its favour securely and to a greater extent than usually falls onto men's share. <sup>4</sup> And when at last he faces<sup>36</sup> Marius and Marius, the former's son, and Cinna and Carbo as enemies in an immense struggle, with everything at stake—all these show-

<sup>36</sup> Here, too, the praesens historicum is used (the finite verb being καταστρέφεται in § 5); cf. above, 67.7.3.

κοπῆς καὶ τοῦ κλέους τῶν ἔργων δυναστεύοντος μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, 5 καταστρέφεται πάντας ῥᾶσθ' ἐξῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθημάτων τῆς τύχης τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιοῦμενος καὶ μελέτης ὑποκρίσει γυμναζόμενος καθ' αἴρεσιν.

10 Καὶ μοναρχήσας λοιπὸν πρῶτος αὐτὸς σχεδὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων τοσαύτης 5 ἀρχῆς, καὶ τοῖς καίσαρσι μεθύστερον ὑποδείξας τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ ἐλπίδας, ἔπειτ' αὐτόθεν αὐτίκα παρακατέχειν οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ἡλικιώτιν τύχην καὶ ἥς πλείστον ἐπειράθη τὸν χρόνον ἥδιστα προσεχούσης αὐτῷ καὶ μάλ' εὐμένως, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούσης κατ' ὀλίγον ἤρξατο νοσεῖν. 2 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπεχώρει τὰ πράγματ' εὐλαβούμενος Ἀδράστειαν ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, 10 τοῦτο δ' ὑπεβλέπετο Πομπήιον αἰρόμενον τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ ἅμα τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτοῦ. 3 καὶ τελευτῶν οὕτω πονήρως πράττων τῷ σώματι καινότερον τὸν τρόπον καὶ ὥς οὐδεὶς ποτ' ἄλλος σχεδὸν ἐνεκροῦτο ζῶν, καὶ δαπανώμενος τὴν σωματικὴν ὕλην ἐζωηφόρει τῇ σήψει ταύτης ἀρρήτῳ πάθει, φθειρῶν ἀμύθητον χρῆμα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤρκεσε πηγάζων τὴν θανατοποιὸν 15 αὐτῷ ταύτην ζωοφορίαν, ὅσῳ καὶ ἦν ὁ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὕλης ὄγκος αὐτῷ. 4 427 κᾶπειτα κοιμίδῃ δεινότατα καὶ αἰσχιστα καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἐπέλειπε, καὶ ἐτελεύτα τοῖς φθοροποιοῖς ζωυφίοις καὶ τὴν ζωὴν, ὁ τοσοῦτος μεγαλουργότατος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ πάσης τῆς ζωῆς αἰρετὸς καὶ ἄσυλος καθάπαξ αὐτοκράτωρ, 5 καταστρατηγηθεὶς ἀδρανέσι μὲν ὅμως 20 καὶ ξενίζουσιν, ἀνυποίοις δ' οὕτω καὶ ἀτρέπτοις ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ χορηγίας στρατεύμασιν, ὁ πρὸς πλείσθ' ὅσα στρατεύματα ἀντιταξάμενος μέγιστα καὶ μαχिमώτατα καὶ διαγεγόμενος πάντ' ἀήττητος.

11 αἰρόμενον: αἰρ- fort. P<sup>2</sup>, αἰρ- E, de P<sup>1</sup>M non constat  
leg. M

22 στρατεύματ' ἀντιξάμενος E, non

10 εὐλαβούμενος Ἀδράστειαν] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 10.3.3 et 28.4.4  
Sull. 36

13 ἐνεκροῦτο ζῶν] cf. Plu.

<sup>37</sup> 'which ... earlier': this is to translate φθάσαντος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.

<sup>38</sup> 'enormous' (τοσαύτης); or 'of such dimensions'; cf. 67.13.1 and 14.2.

<sup>39</sup> Adrasteia is a title of Nemesis, cf. LSJ (see also Hult 2016, p. 20, n. 13). I would like to thank Martin Hinterberger, Nicosia, for help with this passage.

<sup>40</sup> 'he gave fuel': more exactly 'he gave life' (ἐζωηφόρει: this word is missing from Lampe and from LSJ, although it occurs in Philo; it is cited from this passage in Trapp who translates 'Leben bringen'/'beleben').

ing the same vigour and ambition and force which they had displayed also earlier<sup>37</sup> when they armed themselves and took action in order to stop his progress and the fame of his deeds which pervaded the Roman empire— 5 he destroys his enemies one by one with the greatest ease, conducting the battles as if on the instigation of fortune, or as if he had just chosen to exercise himself for the sake of practice.

10 Immediately upon this, having almost as the first become an absolute ruler of the enormous<sup>38</sup> Roman empire and having indicated to the future Caesars how to lay hands on power and what hopes they might entertain, Sulla became unable to retain this good fortune; and when this fortune, which he had enjoyed during a very long time and which had paid court to him in the most pleasing and friendly manner, gradually receded, he began to meet with difficulties. 2 And, though unwillingly, he retreated from politics on his own accord; this he did out of respect for Adrasteia,<sup>39</sup> but in doing so he eyed Pompey, promoted by the senate and the people with the express intention of checking him, with suspicion. 3 Eventually he was in such a poor physical state that he became almost a living corpse (this was a fairly unknown condition, and it had not befallen almost anyone else before); and by consuming the material of the body he gave fuel<sup>40</sup> to its decay in unspeakable pain, suffering from a terrible lice infestation; and for so long did this lethal giving of life go on<sup>41</sup> as he had any bodily material left. 4 Then, most horribly and ignominiously, the supply was used up, and this man, who had performed such great deeds and had been elected for his whole life to be the absolutely uncontested leader<sup>42</sup> of the enormous Roman empire, was killed by the destructive little animals; 5 he, who had resisted an immense number of very large and warlike armies and always emerged undefeated, was outsmarted by feeble and strange, but irresistible and, as far as his resources were concerned, invincible armies.

<sup>41</sup> 'did ... on' (ἤρκεσε πηγάζων τὴν θανατοποιὸν αὐτῷ ταύτην ζωοφορίαν): more exactly 'was he a source of this lethal giving of life'.

<sup>42</sup> 'absolutely uncontested leader' (ἄσυχλος καθάπαξ αὐτοκράτωρ): αὐτοκράτωρ is employed as a term also in the surrounding chapters, to denote a (primarily) military leader. Presumably the combination ἄσυχλος and αὐτοκράτωρ makes reference to the dictatorship.

11 Πομπήιος δ' εὐθὺς ὡς ἐτελεύτα Σύλλας, ὑψοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ προήει τῆς δόξης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπρώτευν ὑπερβαλλόντως μέγας ἢ κατ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν τηνικαῦτα· <sup>2</sup> ὅς γε καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι πω Σύλλα μέγας ἦν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κλήσει, τόδ' ὄνομ' ἔχειν ἐκληροῦτο, καὶ κρινόμενος εἶναι τοιοῦτος ἐκαλεῖτο πάντων καταθέσει <sup>5</sup> καὶ ψήφοις, καὶ φθόνου σπινθήρας ὑπέτυφε Σύλλα, <sup>3</sup> πρὶν ἐν μετουσίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου γίνεσθαι τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτι πω νόμοις εἰργόμενος, στρατευμάτων ἄρχων πλείστων καὶ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ αἰρούμενος ἀρετῆς ἐπιδείξει καὶ στρατηγικῇ χρήσει καὶ ζεύσει πάντων μάλιστ' εὐνοία <sup>10</sup> πλήθους καὶ στρατιωτῶν, <sup>4</sup> καὶ δήμου πάσης ἀξιούμενος ἐπιφθόνου τιμῆς <sup>428</sup> καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος τυράννους, μεῖράκιον | ἔτι πω καὶ πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων Ῥωμαίοις χρόνων, <sup>5</sup> οὐ μόνον δῶρον τύχης τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὸ κλέος κτῶμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀσκήσει καὶ φρονήματος μετριότητι, κεκραμμένη τῷ φιλοτίμῳ καὶ ἥθει σωφρονικῷ, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνευδοκιμῶν καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ καλῶς συνεισφέρων ταῖς τῆς τύχης <sup>15</sup> χάρισιν· <sup>6</sup> ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ μεγίσταις κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προκοπῇ νίκαις τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδηλότατα καρπούμενος, καὶ τρισὶ θριάμβοις ἐκ τῶν τριῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν, Εὐρώπης τὲ καὶ Λιβύης καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσίας, τὸ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περιφάνειαν τοῦ βίου μὴ μόνον ἐπαυξήσας τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πάσης <sup>20</sup> σχεδὸν πληρώσας τῆς οἰκουμένης, <sup>7</sup> ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὸ κακῶς πράξαι καὶ κινδύνους περιπεσεῖν, καθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσιέμενος, καὶ μεγαλύνων εὐκολία τρόπων χρηστῶν, ἐπιβούλους αὐτοῦ τῆς τύχης τὲ καὶ τῆς δόξης, ὡς μήποτ' ὠφελε.

12 Καὶ Καίσαρα κρατυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν κοινοπολιτείαν, ἢ <sup>25</sup> μᾶλλον ἐπιεικῶς ὀπλίσας φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας φλεγόμενον ἀσχέςτοις

1 Σύλλας: σύλας P (cf. introd. 3, p. liii)  
κεκραμμένη ut vid. E

7 γίνεσθαι M

14 κεκραμμένη P et fort. M,

<sup>43</sup> 'kindled ... envy': more exactly 'he kindled the sparks of envy' (φθόνου σπινθήρας ὑπέτυφε).

<sup>44</sup> Or: 'showed goodwill towards others'.

<sup>45</sup> I.e. for these offices.

<sup>46</sup> 'the rest of Asia': or 'the rest, which is Asia'.

<sup>47</sup> 'personal fame' (περιφάνειαν τοῦ βίου): or 'the fame derived from his conspicuous way of life'.

<sup>48</sup> 'by ... talent': this is a translation of the difficult μεγαλύνων εὐκολία τρόπων χρηστῶν.

11 Immediately on the death of Sulla, Pompey was elevated to political power and advanced in fame; he came to hold the first place among the Romans, and he was truly 'Great' in comparison to all the senators of that time. <sup>2</sup> For already when Sulla was still alive, Pompey was 'Great' not only in deeds, but also in name, and he received this appellation as his legacy, and being considered to be such, he was by everyone's agreement and decision called 'Great' even officially. Pompey had kindled Sulla's envy,<sup>43</sup> <sup>3</sup> for even before he was allowed to participate in the council and the senate (he was still excluded by the laws on age), he was elected commander of very large military forces and chosen to be commander-in-chief, invested with imperium; this happened because he showed ability and strategic aptitude and because he more than anyone else was the object of the fervent goodwill of everyone,<sup>44</sup> the masses as well as the soldiers. <sup>4</sup> And, although he was still a youngster, not having reached the age laid down by Roman law,<sup>45</sup> the people deemed him worthy of every honour (and honour engenders envy) and of a political position, in order to fight against the tyrants who were oppressing the country. <sup>5</sup> However, he acquired this goodwill and glory and fame not only as a gift of fortune, but also through the practice of every virtue and through moderation of the mind; and he displayed a mixture of ambition and mental self-control, and he gained glory by his deeds, thus ably adding of his own to the favours of fortune. <sup>6</sup> From this as well as by his very important victories against the enemies of the progress of the Romans and his own country, he first, and in a most spectacular way, gained power among the Romans. And with three triumphs in the three parts of the inhabited world—Europe and Libya and the rest of Asia<sup>46</sup>—he not only enhanced his reputation and personal fame<sup>47</sup> in his own country, he also spread it over nearly the whole inhabited world. <sup>7</sup> And by doing so he (what should not have been done) unwittingly embarked on his own downfall and exposed himself to danger and, by exalting his talent,<sup>48</sup> he attracted people who wanted to attack his luck and fame.

12 Now, having empowered Caesar so as to enable this man to attack himself and the community, or more precisely, having armed this man who was burning with an uncontrollable lust for power and honour, and who strove for this with legitimate and illegitimate, indeed, with all methods,

ἔρωσι, κάκ προσηκόντων καὶ μὴ προσηκόντων καὶ πάντων τρόπων καὶ πάντων  
 429 ἔργων καὶ πραγμάτων εἰς τοῦτ' ἐπειγόμενον ἀστειό|τητί τε καὶ κοσμίως  
 τὲ καὶ νομίμως, <sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ μηχαναῖς πάσαις καὶ δόλοις ἀφειδῶς καὶ πρὸς  
 μηδένα κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀποκνοῦντα, οὐκ ἐπαινετῶς μόνον ἀξιώματι γνώμης  
 καὶ τόλμῃ, ἀλλ' ἄρα δὴ καὶ μὴ πάμπαν ἀνεμεσήτως, <sup>3</sup> κρατυνάμενος δ' οὖν, <sup>5</sup>  
 ὅπερ ἔλεγον, τὸν ἄνδρα Πομπήϊος πλεῖν ἢ ἔδει καὶ συνέφερεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς  
 κοινοῖς πράγμασιν, ἄλλα δὴ βουλόμενος ἔπειτα καὶ ξυνορῶν καὶ γιγνόμενος  
 ἀνονήτως ἐν μεταμέλῳ, καταλύειν οὐκέτ' εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ  
 συμπλακεῖς πρὸς ἐκείνον κατενόει μεταβαίνουσιν τὴν θρῆνᾶσαν αὐτὸν καὶ  
 πάνυ τοι πλείστον ὑψώσασαν τύχην· <sup>4</sup> καὶ κατεμάνθανε λοιπὸν ἀλιτήριος <sup>10</sup>  
 γενόμενος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἡττημένος τῆς  
 τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τύχης, καὶ τάχους, καὶ τόλμης, <sup>5</sup> ὁ μέχρις ἐκείνου, καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἐστὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ, στρατηγικώτατος καὶ δραστικώτατος καὶ εὐτυχέστατος  
 ἄνθρωπος καταστρέφει πάντ' ἀθλιώτατος ἐπ' ἄλλοις φυγὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν,  
 οἱ καὶ τοῦνομα μόνον ἔφριττον ἀκούοντες Πομπηίου. Καὶ θῖνες τὸν αὐτοῦ <sup>15</sup>  
 νεκρὸν καὶ Αἰγύπτου ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆς ἐκάλυπτεν, <sup>6</sup> οὐ πᾶσαν ἐπέσχε καὶ  
 διέδραμεν ἢ μεγαλοδοξία πομπικῶς τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ κατεθριάμβευε πάσης  
 430 ἀκοῆς αἰδοῖ πάσῃ καὶ σεβασμῷ τοῦνομα· καὶ ἦν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλέον ἢ εἰ τριῶν  
 ἀξιούμενον δραχμῶν ἀνδράποδον τελευτήσαν ἐπέμπετο τῇ γῇ.

13 Καίσαρ δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπεραρθεῖς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ <sup>20</sup>  
 μοναρχήσας ἤδη λαμπρῶς τῆς τοσαύτης Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καὶ γενό-  
 μενος ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ὡς ᾤετο λοιπὸν πάντων ἐκποδῶν γεγονότων τῶν ἀντι-

16 καὶ post Αἰγύπτου exhib. M ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆς αἰγύπτου P, sed litteris β, γ et α supra  
 ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆς et αἰγύπτου positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. αἰγύπτου  
 ψάμαθος αἰγιαλῆς 21 post τοσαύτης add. τῶν M 22 ἐκποδῶν M γεγονότων:  
 γενομένων M

18 τριῶν ... δραχμῶν] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 63.5.4, 67.18.3, 76.2.6

<sup>49</sup> 'with pomp' (i.e. πομπικῶς): a pun on the name Pompey.

<sup>50</sup> 'triumphantly ... expectation': this is somewhat freely rendered: καταθριαμβεύω is missing  
 from LSJ and Lampe; in Trapp it is translated as 'einen Triumphzug halten'/'im Triumph ein-  
 herführen'/'lächerlich machen'.

<sup>51</sup> 'three drachmas' worth': this was, as Metochites must have realised if he knew anything  
 about ancient prices, too low a price for buying a slave and too high a price for renting a slave for

and by all acts and devices, and who at one time displayed urbanity and acted orderly and lawfully, <sup>2</sup> at another time acted unsparingly and with every contrivance and trick, and who did not shrink from any danger (this is not only laudable for the dignity of the sentiment and the daring which it demonstrates, it is possibly even beyond all criticism)— <sup>3</sup> having, as I said, empowered this man more than he should have done and more than was expedient to himself and the state, Pompey was not able to check him, although he had in the meantime changed his mind about him and, seeing what was happening, he in vain repented what he had done. Therefore Pompey opposed Caesar and engaged him in battle; and so he realised that he had been abandoned by fortune, which had fostered him and exalted him to the highest degree. <sup>4</sup> And at last he understood that he was only doing harm to himself and to the freedom of the Romans, and that he was in every respect inferior to his enemy when it was a question of luck and of swiftness and daring— <sup>5</sup> he who so far (and this had been for a long period of time), had been the greatest of generals and the most active and fortunate of men: now, however, he loses everything and, because of people who earlier would have trembled had they but heard the name of Pompey, he is made a most miserable refugee in a foreign country. And the sea-sand mounds of Egypt were to cover the dead body of the man <sup>6</sup> whose great fame with pomp<sup>49</sup> had spread over and run through the whole of the inhabited world; the man whose name triumphantly and by the respect and admiration which it instilled had exceeded every prior expectation.<sup>50</sup> Now, however, he had no more left to him than if he had been a slave of three drachmas' worth<sup>51</sup> who had been committed to the earth when dead.

13 Having been so elevated by fortune and by circumstances, Caesar now gloriously became the sole ruler of the enormous<sup>52</sup> Roman empire, and he had thereby, he thought, achieved safety, since his opponents—in fact, everyone who was in any way able to oppose him—had been disposed of. <sup>2</sup> And he had left only so much of the inhabited world outside of his

a day's work. However, this is clearly just a phrase. Parallels of a sort to this are 63.5.4 and 67.18.3, and 76.2.6, in which cases the expression is '(two or) three obols' worth'.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. 67.10.1 and 14.2.

πραττόντων καὶ ἀντιπράττειν ὅλως ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν· 2 καὶ τοσοῦτο λιπὼν  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων γῆς ἔξω τοῦ κατ’ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀρχὴν κράτους, ὅσον βραχὺν εἶναι πόνον αὐτῷ καὶ βραχέος ἔργον χρόνου  
 δουλώσασθαι, καὶ περινοῶν ἤδη τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν  
 τῶν ἐφ’ ὧν, ἀφορμὰς θριάμβων, καὶ προσθήκην τῇ δόξῃ, 3 βραχὺν ἐπιβιώσας 5  
 τῇ κατὰ Πομπηίου νίκῃ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς τῶν ἐξῆς τροπαίων  
 καὶ τῆς ἀσείστου λοιπὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, μετουπολὺ κατὰ μέσῃν  
 ἐσφάττετο τὴν σύγκλητον προδεδομένος τάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 περινοίας παντάπασιν ἀναξίως καὶ ἀσυνέτως καὶ ἀλογίστως κομίδῃ τῶν καθ’  
 ἑαυτὸν ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν ὧν οὐκ ᾤθη ποτ’ ἂν ὀλιγορηθῆναι· 4 καὶ καθιερεύετο 10  
 παιζούσης τὰ εἰωθότα τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ τι σφάγιον νόμιμον καὶ καλλιέρημα  
 431 πρὸς | τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνδριάντος τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐστῶ-  
 τος αὐτοῦ κατακαινόμενος αὐτὸς τῇ γῇ καὶ σποδούμενος καὶ φοινίσσων  
 τοῦδαφος, οὐπὲρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνείχευ, αἵμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ, 5 ὁ πρὸ βραχέος ἄθλιον  
 αὐτὸν διώκων Πομπήιον, καὶ τύχης ἐρημία πάσῃ μανθάνων πρὸς ἐρήμοις 15  
 ἀκταῖς Αἰγύπτου φονευόμενον καὶ θαπτόμενον, καὶ κατοικτιζόμενος τάνδρὸς  
 τὴν δόξαν.

14 Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγὰς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τάνδρὸς  
 τυραννεῖν Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεβάλετο, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον ἢ ὅτι  
 ταῖς αὐταῖς φιλαρχίαις ἔνοχος ἦν εὖ μάλα· 2 καὶ ἅμα δὴ τῷ τοῦ τεθνηκότος 20  
 ἀδελφιδῷ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ σφαγῶν καὶ τῶν  
 μαιφονιῶν καὶ κακίστης ἀπάσης χρήσεως ἀψάμενος καὶ καταστασιάσας  
 τὴν τοσαύτην ἀρχήν, 3 καὶ περιγενόμενος αὐτὸς μάλιστα Βρούτου τὲ καὶ  
 Κασσίου τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φονευτῶν μετ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ δίκης καὶ λογισμῶν  
 ἀντιταχθέντων σωφρόνων μεγάλους στρατεύμασι πολλῷ δευτερεύων τοῖς 25

20 ἔνεχος E, non leg. M

21 τῶν<sup>2</sup> om. M

11 παιζούσης ... τύχης] cf. Lyd. *De magistratibus populi Romani* 84.20sq. τοιοῦτοις τὸν Καίσαρα  
 τῆς Τύχης ἐπὶ τριετῇ χρόνῳ διαπαιζούσης φρυάγμασιν | Niceph.Greg. *Hist. Rom.* 1.361.3sq. ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς τύχης ... παιζούσης τὸν βίον ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς et Id. *Epist.* 9.23 | Th.Met. *Carm.* 17.46sq. ἀπίστου  
 τύχης ἀναντὰ τε κάταντὰ τε παιζούσης τ’ ἀνθρώπεια πρήγμαθ’ ἅπαντα

<sup>53</sup> ‘perspicacity’ (περινοίας): presumably in the sense that he should have foreseen what would happen.

and the Roman empire's control, that it would mean a small effort to him, and the work of little time, to enslave it, and he was already thinking about the Persians and the Indians and whatever other oriental peoples there might be, whether they might give occasion for triumphs and added glory. <sup>3</sup> However, he lived only for a short time after his victory over Pompey; and having had only little opportunity to give thought to the prospect of further triumphs and impregnable power and prosperity to be had in the future, he was very soon betrayed by fortune and slaughtered in the midst of the senate. This was done in a way wholly unworthy of his perspicacity,<sup>53</sup> and senselessly, totally without any consideration for his political importance,<sup>54</sup> and by men whom he would never have considered likely to slight him. <sup>4</sup> Thus, fortune playing its usual game, Caesar was immolated like some lawful and auspicious sacrificial animal, and he lay dead on the ground, at the feet of the statue of Pompey which stands in the senate building, and he was reduced to ashes, having sprinkled red with his blood the base on which Pompey stood— <sup>5</sup> Caesar, who shortly before had pursued this same unfortunate Pompey and who, on learning that this man had been totally abandoned by fortune and had been killed and buried on the desert shores of Egypt, had expressed compassion for the man because of his reputation.

<sup>14</sup> Directly after the murder of Caesar, Anthony, too, tried to become tyrant of the Romans; this he did although he had no legitimate reason for this, only being very much guilty of the same wish for power. <sup>2</sup> And together with the dead man's nephew, the young Caesar, he reached out for Roman leadership through murders and bloodshed and every most abominable practice, and he instigated civil war in this enormous empire. <sup>3</sup> And having great armies at his disposal, he was the chief means of defeating Brutus and Cassius, Caesar's murderers; these men opposed Anthony driven by virtue and righteousness and reason, and Anthony was much inferior to all these noble men,<sup>55</sup> who were fitted for command with regard to the

<sup>54</sup> 'totally ... importance': this is a hypothetical translation of the vague expression ἀλογίστως κομιδῇ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν.

<sup>55</sup> 'to all these noble men': or 'to these noble men in everything' (which concerns the soul; cf. the following).

πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἐν ἡθεί φιλοσόφῳ ψυχῆς, 4  
 διαλαγχάνει μετὰ Καίσαρος ἔπειθ' ἐξῆς καὶ διανέμεται τὰ ἴσα τῆς τοσαύτης  
 τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχῆς, καὶ δίχα διαιρεθείσης ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸς  
 432 τὴν | καλλίστην σχεδὸν ἀπόμοιραν αὐτοκρατορικῶς καὶ μοναρχικῶς ἀνέδην  
 ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ τῇ τύχῃ λοιπὸν 5 ὑβρίζειν ἤρχετο καὶ κατασπεύεσθαι κομιδῇ 5  
 τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων αἵσχιστα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Κλεοπάτρας  
 ἔρωτας ἀλογιστότατα φλέγοντας κατορχούμενος, καὶ καταπροπίνων ἀνδρας  
 ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ βελτίστους καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ὧν  
 δὴ καὶ μετολίγον ἡττάτο κατακράτος, 6 τῷ Καίσαρι πρὸς μάχην ἀντικαταστάς  
 ἀκαίρως ἅμα ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ τοῖς βλακώδεσι τῆς φαύλης γυναικὸς γοη- 10  
 τεύμασι, καὶ καταπαιχθεὶς μᾶλλον, οὐ καταγωνισθεὶς, τῇ τύχῃ, 7 φυγὰς εἰς  
 τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ τοσοῦτου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μυριαρίθμοις  
 μάχαις καὶ νίκαις ἐνακμάσαντος, ταῖς φίλαις ἀγκάλαις τῆς καταπροδοῦσης  
 αὐτὸν γυναικὸς ἐκλείετο κτεινόμενος, πάσης ὀλιγωρίας καὶ τωθασμοῦ  
 πρᾶττων ἄξια. 15

15 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἡμῖν κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοσαῦτα· καὶ ἰκανῶς ἂν  
 ἴσως ἔχοι τῇ προθέσει προσμαρτυρεῖν καὶ πιστοῦσθαι τὰ ἐξαρχῆς λεγόμενα· τί  
 γὰρ ἔτ' ἂν εἴη πλείω κατακαιρὸν καταριθμεῖσθαι, πλείστα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντας καὶ  
 ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐδ' ἀριθμεῖσθαι ῥάδια; 2 Ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων προφέρειν  
 433 μὲν ἔχομεν ἔτ' ἐνταῦθα πάνυ τοι πλείστα, κακὰ τούτων δ' ὅμως | ἐπὶ τοῖς 20  
 εἰρημένους χρησόμεθα, καὶ προσθήσομεν ἅττα δὴ, μὴδὲ γὰρ κἀνταῦθα ῥάδιον  
 μήθ' ὅλως οἶον τ' εἶναι ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων τὰ πάνθ' ἐξῆς φέρειν, ἢ  
 μάλιστα πλείσθ' ὅσα δὴ τῷ νῦν σκοπῷ τε καὶ λόγῳ· 3 αἰρούμεθα δ' ἐκ τούτων  
 νῦν εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐκ πάντων ὅμως ἔχοντες ταῦτά προφέρειν, καὶ μηδὲν

2 ἴσα M      10 τοῖς P et fort. M, ταῖς E      12 γυναικωνίτιν PME pro γυναικωνίτιν      16  
 ἡμῖν: -μί- (ν) s.l. add. P      18 κατὰ καιρὸν πλείω M      22 μηθ' sine accentu P      24 ταῦτα:  
 ταῦτα M, ταῦτα E

<sup>56</sup> 'Caesar' here and in § 6 refers to the younger Caesar, i.e. Octavian.

<sup>57</sup> 'freely sacrificed': or 'squandered (poured out)'; Greek καταπροπίνων (which is translated as 'preisgeben' in Trapp, with Metochites as only source; the word is missing from LSJ and Lampe; see, however, προπίνω = 'give freely'/'sacrifice' etc. LSJ).

<sup>58</sup> 'inopportunately' (ἀκαίρως): or 'at the wrong moment.'

philosophical disposition of their souls. <sup>4</sup> And so from now on, together with Caesar,<sup>56</sup> he partitions and divides the enormous Roman empire into equal parts; and the division being done he took what might be considered the best share to rule over it like an emperor; and, having had such luck, he acted without restraint like a king, <sup>5</sup> and he began to misuse and simply to squander the resources of the empire in a most shameful way. This he did because he was insane and most injudiciously felt a burning love for the Egyptian Cleopatra; and he freely sacrificed<sup>57</sup> the most famous and best of men and the most precious possessions of that great empire. Because of this he was soon utterly vanquished, <sup>6</sup> and after having inopportunately<sup>58</sup> opposed Caesar in battle and being affected by the luxury and the indolent charms of the evil woman, he was cheated rather than defeated by fortune. <sup>7</sup> And as a fugitive, being no longer the great general he had been and the imperator who had prevailed in countless battles and victories, he locked himself up in the women's apartment and killed himself in the fond embrace of the woman who had betrayed him, thereby committing an act infinitely worthy of criticism and scorn.

15 So much for the public and private matters of the Romans: this will be enough to prove the argument and to give credit to what was said at the beginning.<sup>59</sup> For what more would it be necessary to recount, even if there is, indeed, very much which could be told, indeed an innumerable amount? <sup>2</sup> But we have also very much more to bring forward on this matter taken from the Greeks, and we will use material from them as well for the present discussion, and we will make some additional notes pertaining to them, although even in their case, as with the Romans, it is not easy—indeed, not at all possible—to bring forth everything or even most things with relevance to the present purpose and argument. <sup>3</sup> In the present case we choose examples from these peoples,<sup>60</sup> even though we could quite as well provide the same evidence and not less from any other people. For men everywhere encounter the same situations; and these situations re-

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the title of the essay: 'That it often happens that ill fortune, no less unexpected than hard to bear, strangely and very swiftly follows upon the greatest accomplishment and success'.

<sup>60</sup> I.e. the Greeks and Romans.

ἦττον· ἐπὶ πάντων γὰρ ὁμοίως τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὡσαύτως ταῦτὰ συμπτώματα  
καὶ γνώμαις καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ ταῖς τῆς τύχης ἀλογίστοις καὶ ἀβεβαίαις φοραῖς καὶ  
μεταφοραῖς, <sup>4</sup> τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὼς ἐχούσης κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν τὸ  
παρὰ πᾶσιν ὡσαύτως ἀνδρῦτον, καὶ μήποτε μηδέ τινα τρόπον ὅλως πιστόν τε  
καὶ ἄσειστον· <sup>5</sup> αἰρούμεθα δ' οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
ἡμῖν μάλιστα παρέπεμψεν ἡ φωνὴ συνήθης, κἀντεῦθεν ἔχομεν χρῆσθαι  
τιμῶντες τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας καὶ συγγραφομένους ἄνδρας ἐκ μακροῦ φίλους  
καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐεργέτας ἡμῖν, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εὐγενείας καὶ  
χάριτος, κἀν τούτῳ δὴ τιμῶντες, ἔοικε, τὸ μνήμης ἀξιοῦν καὶ λόγου τὰ παρ'  
αὐτῶν ἱστορούμενα. <sup>6</sup> Ἐπεὶ βουλομένοις καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν χρῆσθαι <sup>10</sup>  
ῥᾶσ' ἔξεστι χρῆσθαι· καὶ οὐ λέγω πάλαι μόνον καὶ ἂ τῇ μνήμῃ πόρρωθεν  
τηρεῖται καὶ ταμιεύει πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἔστιν ἐκάστοτε  
καθορᾶν καὶ οὐποτ' ἐλλείπει τῶν χρόνων πᾶσα πίστις τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις  
<sup>434</sup> ἐκ πάντων ἐθνῶν οἷς ξυλλαγχάνειν ἔχομεν, <sup>7</sup> καὶ καθορᾶν καὶ μαν|θάνειν τὰ  
σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ παραπλησίαις ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων <sup>15</sup>  
τὲ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐνεχόμενα, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἦττον τοῖσδε ἢ τοῖσδε,  
καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἦττον ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἢ τοῖς νῦν, <sup>8</sup> αἰρούμενους  
ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκίτου πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς μέγα ταῖς ἀτεκμάρτοις τῆς τύχης  
πεττεῖαις ἢ παιδιαῖς, καὶ ξυμπίπτοντας αὐθις αὐτόθεν ἢ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀλογίαις  
καὶ βασκανίαις ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς τύχης ἢ ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν νόσοις καὶ ὕβρεσιν <sup>20</sup>  
αἱ δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔπεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ ταῖς  
μάλιστ' εὐπραγίαις καὶ πλεῖν ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδας ἀνθρώπων ἔπεσθαι. <sup>9</sup> Καὶ τὰ  
μεγάλα γὰρ ἔργα καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐφορίαι πεφύκασιν  
ὡς ταπολλὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἐξιστᾶν γνώμας καὶ τρέπειν εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ στάσεις  
ἐντεῦθεν καὶ φθορᾶς πάντως ἀποτελευτήσεις. 25

16 Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ μηκύνω τρίβων ἐνταῦθα, φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰ παρ' Ἑλλήνων  
ἐπισκεπτέον· εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἑξαρχῆς ὀλίγα τῇ

1 ξυμπτώματα M  
partim ex P<sup>2</sup> legi

9 τὸ: τῷ M

17 αἰρούμενους E et fort. M

26 Ἑλλήνων (sic M)

<sup>61</sup> 'as ... time': this is to translate ὡς ἔστιν ἐκάστοτε καθορᾶν καὶ οὐποτ' ἐλλείπει τῶν χρόνων, of which especially the second half (καὶ οὐποτ' ἐλλείπει τῶν χρόνων) is vague.

<sup>62</sup> 'games and sport' (πεττεῖαις ἢ παιδιαῖς): more precisely, πεττεία is a kind of backgammon (cf. modern-day τάβλι).

quire judgement and character, and all men are in the same way subject to the irrational and uncertain actions and vicissitudes of Fate. 4 This is indeed the only thing which is common to all men with regard to Fate: that it is equally unstable for all, and that it never and in no way is completely trustworthy and unshakeable. 5 The reason why we choose examples from the Greeks and Romans is that matters pertaining to these peoples are what our common tongue has mostly transmitted to us, and we can use these examples and thereby pay reverence, at a distance, to their historians and writers as to our friends and benefactors in many respects, and also show our gratitude for a noble and graceful language; we also, as it would seem, pay reverence to them by deeming their stories worthy of remembrance and attention. 6 For anyone who wants to use examples from other peoples as well, can do so most easily, and I do not by that mean examples from the past only and such as time has preserved by memory for a long time and kept in store for all peoples: now, too, as can be seen in each case and all the time,<sup>61</sup> everything said can be corroborated by examples from all peoples with whom we come into contact. 7 And it can be noticed and learnt that human matters are subject to the same or similar rules among all people and in all situations, neither more nor less so in some cases than in others, and neither more nor less in earlier times than today. 8 For all people who are unexpectedly promoted to greatness by the baffling games and sport<sup>62</sup> of Fate, are once more immediately stricken by the same irrational processes and, so to speak, by the envy of Fate, or by their own insanity and insolence, which indeed is most wont to follow upon success, and especially upon that greatest kind of success which surpasses human hope. 9 For it is natural that any great deed or success in life brought about by Fate should in most cases upset the human mind and turn it towards abuse, and from there to strife and final destruction.

16 However, so as not to spend too much time on this point, let us consider Greek matters. In earliest times, all Greeks are living in small circumstances, and they do not distinguish themselves by any far-reaching political power, such as might, to quote the proverb, *fill cart-loads*; nor are they great and strong and bursting with obvious vigour; nor do they spread over the inhabited world, or excel among the majority of men. 2 But

τύχη καὶ μὴ μεγάλοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἁμαξιαίοις<sup>1</sup> δὴ τισι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τοῖς ὄγκοις καὶ μεγέθεσιν εὐσωματοῦντα καὶ σφριγῶντα σαφῶς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκμάζοντα. <sup>2</sup> Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 435 εὐπραγεῖν ὅμως ἕξις καὶ | τοῦναντίον ἐπίσης πέφυκε δεικνυσθαι, καὶ τὰν ἀ-  
 λογον ἔχειν ἐν μεγάλοις τὲ καὶ μικροῖς τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ τὸ εὐτυχῶς φέρεσθαι <sup>5</sup>  
 καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν πράττειν ἀθλίως, ἐφ' οἷς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ξυνεῖναι  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ὅπως ἄρ' ἔχει μεγέθους, ὁράται· <sup>3</sup> καὶ τοίνυν ἐφορωμένοις  
 γε πᾶσιν ἕξεσιν, οἶμαι, λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐν μικροῖς πράγμασι καθ' Ἑλληνας  
 ἢ κατ' ἄλλαττα τῶν ἐθνῶν χορείας ἐν ἀσταςίᾳ συνήθεις καὶ μεταβολὰς  
 ἀμέλει τῆς τύχης μηδὲν ἦττον ἢ καὶ τὰς ἐν μεγάλοις πράγμασι παρ' ἄλλοις <sup>10</sup>  
 ἀναδειχθείσας ἔθνεσι.

17 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ πρωτεύειν ἐπιβαλόντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀρχῆς μεταποιοῦμενοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν πραγμάτων ἀπτόμενοι τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἐδόκουν τάχιστα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι· <sup>2</sup> καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εὐνομούμενοι καὶ <sup>15</sup>  
 ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ σωφρονικῶς τε καὶ μετρίως εἰ δὴ τις καὶ ἄλλη πόλις τῶν ἐλληνίδων, τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν συνεξετάζεσθαι καὶ προΐστασθαι πολλῶν ἐωρῶντο παντάπασιν ἀναρμόστως ἔχειν καὶ ἀνικάνως αὐτοὶ πεφυκέναι. <sup>3</sup> Ταῦτ' ἄρα τῷ Πausανίου κόμπῳ κατὰ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς  
 436 ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῇ μανιώδει χρήσει τῶν πραγμάτων | καὶ ὕβρει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν <sup>20</sup>  
 ἀφηροῦντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πάνυ τοι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἀλλ' ἄκοντες, <sup>4</sup> ἐδόκουν δ' ὅμως τὸ μέρος καὶ αὐτοὶ γ' ἐκόντες συντίθεσθαι καὶ τῆς προστασίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις ὑπεξίστασθαι, ὥς ἄρ' ἀλυσιτελὲς ὄν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἀληθῶς γε τοῦτο, τοὺς τῆς Σπάρτης νομίμως κατὰ Πausανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἡρακλέους <sup>25</sup>  
 ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἄρχοντας, μείζονος ἐπιστατεῖν τύχης καὶ κράτους ἢ κατὰ τοὺς τεταγμένους ἐν σφίσιν ὄρους.

16 τε om. M

17 τῶν<sup>2</sup> om. M

24 ἄρ' ἀλυσιτελὲς: ἀραλυσιτελὲς ME

<sup>1</sup> ἁμαξιαίοις] cf. Phryn. *PS* (epitome) 43.5 ἁμαξιαῖα ῥήματα: μεγάλα, ἃ φέροι ἂν ἁμαξα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ὑπόζυγιον | Prisc. *Fr.* 1b.31 ἁμαξιαίους λίθους | Eudox. *Fr.* 318.3 γόγγρους ... ἁμαξιαίους <sup>2</sup> μεγέθεσιν εὐσωματοῦντα] cf. Plu. *conv.* 641A.5 εὐσωματεῖ τοῖς μεγέθεσι

<sup>63</sup> 'that the lawful ... Heracles': or 'those who ruled Sparta lawfully under Pausanias and who,

the attitudes displayed in success and under the opposite conditions are, perhaps, wont to show themselves to be of the same kind and analogous under great as well as small circumstances; and one may notice that a happy and prosperous life as well as its opposite, a wretched life, is possible in whatever station of life a person may happen to be. <sup>3</sup> And to all observant people it is, I think, quite as fruitful to contemplate the changes and vicissitudes of fortune touching the Greeks or any other people living in small circumstances (vicissitudes of the kind which is common under uncertain conditions), as to contemplate the vicissitudes of great matters, occurring among other peoples.

17 Now, directly after the Persian wars the Spartans made a bid for power among the Greeks, and they strove for sovereignty over the rest; they even occupied themselves with naval matters and, in doing so, they were instantly looked upon by the Greeks as having undue aspirations. <sup>2</sup> For though the Spartans maintained law and order in their own state and lived in an orderly manner with as much display of temperance and moderation as any Greek city, they seemed to be wholly unfit and unable by nature to oversee the common matters of the Greeks and to preside over many—if they had to do so in cooperation with many others. <sup>3</sup> Therefore, and because of Pausanias' arrogance, which constituted a threat against Greek liberty, and because of this man's mad handling of the situation and his insolence, the Spartans were deprived of the leadership over the Greeks. And although this was not in fact in accordance with their wishes and they withdrew grudgingly, <sup>4</sup> even they themselves seemed to some extent willing to cooperate and to give up the role as protectors of the Greeks to the Athenians. This they did in admittance, as was right, of the fact that it was against the common interests of the Spartans themselves that the lawful rulers of Sparta, led by Pausanias, and those who by agreement had inherited the power from Heracles,<sup>63</sup> should be in charge of a greater fortune and a greater realm than that defined by their own borders.

18 After the Spartans, the Athenians took the lead in Greek politics and started to rule; and for some time they seemed to be intent on a policy

having inherited this from Heracles, were Sparta's acknowledged rulers'.

18 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεξάμενοι  
 πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι μὲν δὴ τινος ἐδόκουν κοινωνικοὶ τινες εἶναι  
 καὶ δεξιῶς πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ ταχεῖ τὲ τῆς γνώμης καὶ δραστικῷ  
 καὶ ἅμα χαρίεντι καὶ φιλοκοίνῳ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἀήθει μὴδ' ἰδιοπραγοῦντι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους·<sup>2</sup> εἴτα τῆς τύχης ἐπιδιδούσης  
 αὐτόθεν αὐτίκα λοιπὸν ἤροντο μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς  
 ὡς ἔθος ἀτεχνῶς τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φύσεως ἀπαραίτητον ὡς εἰπεῖν  
 ἀμάρτημα·<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδέους, καὶ ὧν ἄρα προνοεῖν τὰσφαλές καὶ  
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἦν σφίσι τὸ πρόσχημα, ὕβριζον, ἀηδῶς παντάπασι χρώμενοι  
 437 καὶ ὅσα δοῦν | ἢ τριῶν ὀβολῶν ὠνητοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις·<sup>4</sup> ὥστε καὶ συνῆψαν 10  
 ἅπαντας τάχιστ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφείντο καθάπαξ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν  
 στρατευμάτων, καὶ προὔκειτο τοῖς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας καὶ πάσης  
 ἑλληνικῆς ἢ ἄττικῆς καταδρομῆς χώρα ἀρπάζειν, κάειν, πάντα φθείρειν  
 τρόπον, μέχρι καὶ τῶν προφυλαίων αὐτῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγρῶν.<sup>5</sup> Αὐτοὶ δὲ  
 καθάπαξ ἑαυτοὺς τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπίστευον, ὡς οὐκ ὄν αὐτοῖς 15  
 ἄλλως βιώσιμον, κάνταυθα δὴ μέχρι τινὸς ἀντισχόντες, ἢ καὶ πλέον ἴσως  
 τῶν ἐναντίων φερόμενοι τοῖς σωφρονικοῖς συμβούλοις ἀγόμενοι,<sup>6</sup> ἔπειτ'  
 αὐθις ὡς ἐπέδωκαν τῇ ὕβρει, καὶ παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἀλογίστοις  
 γνώμαις καὶ διεφθορόσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ μὴδὲν ἐχούσαις μέτριον ἐπιβολαῖς,  
 καὶ περιενόουν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα, μὴδ' ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενα, μὴθ' ὅλως πρὸς 20  
 τὰς ἀποτυχίας τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ τῶν ὁρμῶν ἀφεώρων, εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους  
 κατέστησαν κινδύνους·<sup>7</sup> καὶ τοσαῦτ' ἐδυστύχησαν, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἂν προὔλεγε  
 περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἄρα τοσαῦτα παθεῖν οἴοι τ' εἰσὶ καὶ μάλ' ἀρκοῦντες, οὐκ ἂν  
 438 εἶχε τοὺς πειθομένους, οὐδ' ἐδόκει τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πόρρω δὴ μάλιστα  
 φύσεως ἔργων τὲ καὶ δυνάμεως.<sup>8</sup> Τελευτῶντες δὲ μὴ μόνον τὰς ἀρχὰς 25  
 καὶ τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη

10 δοῦν M

12 fort. scrib. Πελοποννήσου

18 παρέδωσαν M

10 δοῦν ... ὀβολῶν] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 63.5.4, 67.18.3, 76.2.6

<sup>64</sup> 'to be had ... obols': if ὠνητός, here translated as 'to be had', indeed means 'that may be bought' (so LSJ), rather than 'rented', then the expression is at least careless (cf. 67.12.6 as well as 63.5.4 and 76.2.6).

of common understanding and to be naturally fit to rule; this seemed so because of their quickness and efficacy of judgement as well as the pleasantness of their character and of their institutions, and the love for the common good which their character and their institutions displayed; all this was different from the strangeness and idiosyncrasy of the Spartans. <sup>2</sup> However, when after some time their fortune suddenly increased, the Athenians were exalted and started to give themselves airs and, as happens to well-nigh all people and is, so to speak, an unavoidable innate fault, they engaged in party-strife against each other. <sup>3</sup> And they subjected their closest friends to injury as well as those whose security and freedom they pretended to protect, and they treated these people most odiously, indeed like slaves to be had for two or three obols.<sup>64</sup> <sup>4</sup> Therefore everyone else quickly united against the Athenians, who were completely excluded from their countryside and from the opportunity to use land armies; and the lands of Attica as far as the fields by the city gates lay completely open to incursions and to being pillaged and burnt and destroyed by people from the Peloponnese, Boeotia, and the whole of Greece. <sup>5</sup> Hence the Athenians had to put all their trust in the sea and their ships, and this turned out to be their only way to ensure their living and, being guided by wise counsellors, they resisted thus for some time—perhaps even longer than their enemies had thought possible.<sup>65</sup> <sup>6</sup> They further engaged in wanton violence and they gave way to senseless whims and were led astray by corrupt people; and they engaged in attacks without measure, planning actions which were unjust and not consistent with their own safety; and they did not see to the risk of failure of their enterprises and their efforts, thus exposing themselves to the utmost danger. <sup>7</sup> And they met with so much damage that, had someone predicted that they would be able to suffer this, yet still endure, he would have had no one to believe him; he would not even seem to speak about real circumstances, but about matters far indeed from that which does happen and which can happen, in accordance with nature. <sup>8</sup> Finally they not only lost their power and their supremacy, but even liber-

<sup>65</sup> 'perhaps ... possible': this is a tentative translation of the difficult πλέον ἴσως τῶν ἐναντίων φερόμενοι.

κατασκάψαντες χερσὶν οἰκείαις τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ ἐτυραννοῦντο κακίας ἐξαιρέτοις ὀλίγοις ἀνθρώποις ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· <sup>9</sup> καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἀφορμὰς θρῆνων καὶ δραμάτων ἐμπαθῶν ἐχορήγησαν, θαυμασθέντες καὶ περιλαληθέντες οὐχ' ἦττον ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἢ τοῖς πρὶν κατορθώμασι τῆς τύχης τὲ καὶ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῆς χειρός. 5

19 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι καὶ μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας καὶ κράτους ἀκμαιότερον ἄρχοντες καὶ αὖθις ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναιδεῖς μάλιστ' ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποπεφυκότες τῷ ἄρχειν καὶ ἀμειδεῖς καὶ αὐθάδεις, <sup>2</sup> καὶ θρασύτερον εἶχοντο τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βί' ἀνέδην, καὶ τυραννίδι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπειρῶντο, καὶ ὕβριζον πλεῖν ἢ πρότερον κατὰ 10 τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ταῖς φαύλαις καπηλίσι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰκάζοντο κομψότερον, <sup>3</sup> ὥς ἄρα καλλίστου τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐν προοιμίῳ ἐγχεάντες τοῖς "Ελλήσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ γεύσαντες πόματος, εἴτουν ὀνόματος 439 καὶ χρήσεως ἐπιθυμουμένης, <sup>4</sup> εἴτα δολίως μετεκίρνων σφίσιν ὀξίνην | καὶ ἐκτροπιὰν καὶ δριμύτατον οἶνον δουλώσεως καὶ βίας, μάλιστ' ἀλογοῦντες καὶ 15 πάσης ὑπερφρονοῦντες δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσότητος καὶ διοικήσεως εὐγενοῦς. <sup>5</sup> Καὶ διεβέβληντο μὲν Κορινθίοις τὸν αἰεὶ πρότερον χρόνον πιστοτάτοις καὶ φίλοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐμίσουντο δ' Ἡλείοις, ἐμίσουντο δ' Ἀχαιοῖς· κατ' Ἀργείων δ' ἐστράτευον· κατεῖχε δ' ἐν παρόδῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόκησιν τὴν Καδμείαν Φοι- 20 βίδας, καὶ τυραννικὴν δουλείαν καὶ πολέμους ἀπαύστους κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐπε- 20 τίθεντο, καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνελόντ' ἐρεῖν κατὰ πάντων Ἑλλήνων βιαίως ἐκίνουν· <sup>6</sup> καὶ μερισθέντες δι' Ἀγησιλάου πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων ἐπ' Ἀσίας κατὰ βαρβάρων στρατεύματ' ἔπεμπον, καὶ στόλους θαλάττης καὶ ναυμαχίας καὶ

3 καὶ<sup>1</sup> bis exhib. P, in fine paginae et in initio paginae sequentis, corr. ut vid. P<sup>2</sup> 8 ἄνθρωποι E  
et in rasura P, non leg. M 14 μετεκίρνων p.c. P<sup>1</sup>ME, κατεκίρνων a.c. PME (i.e. in textu κα- et  
s.l. με- P<sup>1</sup>ME) 15 δριμύτατον M

19 κατεῖχε ... Φοιβίδας] cf. Plu. *Ages.* 23.3 ἐπεὶ γὰρ Φοιβίδας ἔργον εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ εἰρήνῃ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβών, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἡγανάκτουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες et Id. *Pel.* 15.6 Φοιβίδας ὁ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβὼν et Id. *De gen. Socr.* 575F.9sq. ὥς οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντίδην Φοιβίδαν πείσαντες ἐν σπονδαῖς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καδμείαν | Aristid. *Λευκτρικὸς* a p. 409.29 (Jebb) εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Φοιβίδας παριὼν καὶ κατέλαβε τὴν Καδμείαν et Id. *Λευκτρικὸς* β p. 427.9sq. (Jebb)

ty itself, and having by command had to tear down the walls of their city with their own hands, they were made into slaves under the Spartans, and a select body of evil men from their own ranks came to rule over them as tyrants.<sup>9</sup> This gave the impulse to many of the tragedians to write laments and passionate dramas; and the Athenians were wondered at and talked about no less for their misfortunes than for their earlier achievements which had been due to Fate or to the work of their minds or their hands.

19 However, when the Spartans had regained their control over Greek politics and ruled again with greater confidence and with a more vigorous display of power, they proved, as before, to be reckless to the highest degree and without any natural disposition to rule, as well as merciless<sup>66</sup> and self-willed.<sup>2</sup> And they held on to power in a rasher way [than before],<sup>67</sup> and by outright violence and a display of tyrannical behaviour they made life difficult for the Greeks and they committed worse offences against the liberty of these than before. Hence they were compared rather wittily by wise men to simple tavern-keeping women,<sup>3</sup> as if they first and as an introduction had poured out and given the Greeks a taste of the very best drink of freedom from the Athenians, or at least had hinted at its name and benefit; when, however, the Greeks had developed a taste for this,<sup>68</sup> <sup>4</sup> the Spartans had treacherously poured out the sour and turned and most bitter wine of enslavement and violence to them, ignoring and to the highest degree disdaining every kind of righteousness and equality and noble treatment.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the Spartans were spoken ill of even by the Corinthians, who in all earlier times had been most loyally and amicably disposed towards them; and they were hated by the Eleans, and they were hated by the Achaeans; they went to war against the Argives; and in passing, Phoebidas, contrary to all expectations, occupied the Cadmean city;<sup>69</sup> and they subjected the Thebans to tyrannical slavery and unceasing wars; and, in short, they made every effort to attack all Greeks violently.<sup>6</sup> They were

<sup>66</sup> 'merciless': ἀμειδής (LSJ: 'not smiling'/'gloomy').

<sup>67</sup> 'in a rasher way [than before]': or 'most rashly'.

<sup>68</sup> 'or ... this': the translation is somewhat tentative, and I have consciously refrained from changing the punctuation of the mss.

<sup>69</sup> The Spartan general Phoebidas occupied Thebes on personal initiative in 382 BC.

τόλμας ταύτας καὶ πράξεις ὄντως ἀξιολόγους ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐνόμιζον ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, <sup>7</sup> μήποθ' ἱκανῶς ἔχοντες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν φιλονεικεῖν καὶ  
 ὑβρίζειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν μάχας ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ νίκας,  
<sup>8</sup> ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ τάχιστ' αὐθις ὑψωθέντες τέως ὥς οὐποτε πρότερον, οὐ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων μόνον ἐξέπιπτον καὶ παρηροῦντο τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐθις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς <sup>5</sup>  
 ἐσχάτοις αὐτοῖς ἐκινδύνευον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅλως εἶναι καὶ βιοῦν ἐν ἀνθρώποις.  
<sup>9</sup> Ἐγένοντό τε ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας μέγιστοι τῶν τότε  
 440 καὶ αἰεὶ πρό|τερον Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, καὶ μεγαλοδοξότατοι, καὶ μέγιστ'  
 αὐτίκα τηνικαῦτ' ἔπταισαν, καὶ μικροῦ παντάπασιν ὦλοντ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις Θηβαίων κατ' αὐτῶν ἀδόκητον νίκην καὶ μεγίστην <sup>10</sup>  
 τῶν ἑλληνικῶν <sup>10</sup> καὶ μέγιστον πτώμα τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ἐνεγκοῦσαν πράγμασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐπαμεινώνδου φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλονεικίας  
 ἐπαρθέντος τολμήμασι μεγίστοις κατὰ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ μίσει καὶ φθόνῳ  
 κατ' αὐτῆς ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπερβαλλόντως φλέγοντι.

20 Καὶ μὴν ἔπειτ' αὐθις λαμπροὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ἤροντο Θηβαῖοι, καὶ <sup>15</sup>  
 ταχεῖς ὑπερεφρόνουν ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπεποιοῦντο καθόλου,  
 καὶ μέτριον οὐδὲν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατεγελῶντο μᾶλλον τῆς τόλμης  
 ἢ ἐβασκαίνοντο, <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἄηθες ἐδόκει πρᾶγμα καὶ χλεύης ἄξιον, Θηβαῖοι τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχικῶς ἀντιποιοῦμενοι· καὶ ἦν μὲν αὐτοῖς πλέον ἐντεῦθεν οὐδὲν  
 ἢ ὅτι συνήπτοντο πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτούς Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πάντες <sup>20</sup>  
 Ἕλληνες. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ πολὺς οὐκέτι πῶ χρόνος ἐξῆς καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπιφύεται τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπάταις καταστασιάζων καὶ κατεπιορκῶν αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ καὶ  
 στρατηγίαις ὑποποιοῦμενος, λανθάνει τὸ κράτος τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ποιησάμενος  
 441 ὅφ' ἑαυτῷ· καὶ πρῶτοι | μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Θηβαῖοι κακῶς ἔπρατ-  
 τον, καὶ βίοντον ἐπικινδυνότατον ἤγον. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτὸς ὑβρίσας μάλιστα <sup>25</sup>

<sup>12</sup> φιλονεικίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας P, sed litteris β et α supra φιλονεικίας et φιλοτιμίας positis indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλονεικίας <sup>17</sup> κατεγελῶντο P et ut vid. M, καταγελῶντο E

<sup>9</sup> ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (§ 9)] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 64.1.4 <sup>12</sup> φιλοτιμίας ... φιλονεικίας] cf. Plu. Ages. 23.6.5sq. ἀλλὰ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ πολλοῦ συνεφερόμενος (sc. Ἀγησιλαός) et Ibid. 33.1

<sup>70</sup> 'ambition and zeal' (φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλονεικίας): the juxtaposition of φιλοτιμία and φιλονεικία

also dispatched by Agesilaus to places far from their homes, and they sent land armies and expeditions by sea to Asia against the barbarians, and they won renown for sea-battles on behalf of the Greeks and for daring acts of this kind and for truly remarkable feats performed against the Persians. <sup>7</sup> It was thought that, perhaps, they would be able to do both: to compete with and maltreat the other Greeks, as well as to fight wars and win victories on their behalf against the common enemy. <sup>8</sup> However, being elevated at this time as never before, they very soon afterwards not only lost their role in politics so as to be deprived of their power once again; they were even subjected to the utmost peril and had to fight for their very existence and life among men. <sup>9</sup> Under Agesilaus and his reign the Spartans had become the most powerful and most renowned of all Greeks—of that time and of all earlier times; but they also committed the gravest mistakes at that very point and, after the Thebans' unexpected victory over them at Leuctra, the most spectacular ever in Greek history, they were close to total extinction. <sup>10</sup> This victory inflicted the greatest loss on Sparta and Spartan politics; and it was due to the ambition and zeal<sup>70</sup> of Epaminondas who had been provoked to action against Laconia by the Spartans' most shameless misdeeds and by the hatred and ill-will against Sparta which burnt exceedingly strong.

<sup>20</sup> After this, the Thebans were exalted to glory by a lucky stroke of fortune, and they were quick to overrate themselves whereas on the whole they underrated the other Greeks; and they showed no moderation, and they were derided rather than criticised for their daring. <sup>2</sup> It appeared a strange matter, worthy of derision, that the Thebans should make pretensions to rule over the Greeks; and nothing was achieved by the Thebans, except that they made the Athenians and the Spartans and all Greeks unite once more in order to turn against them. <sup>3</sup> A short time after this, however, Philip attacks the Greeks, and partly by using fraud and by spreading dissent and by fooling them into committing perjury, partly by military campaigns, he tries to subject them; and thus he manages to bring Greece

occurs in Plutarch (as also in some other writers), and in Plutarch twice in *Agesilaus*, one of Metochites' likely sources for this essay.

κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἐρημίας καὶ στασιώδους ἀγωγῆς, καὶ μέγιστα λοιπὸν ἥδη  
περινοῶν, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ υἱέος ὀρμαῖς καὶ τόλμαις αὐτὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποθέμενος ἄτε  
κατὰ νοῦν αὐτὸς παραπλήσια θέμενος, ἐκτείνετο κακὸς κακῶς ἐν συμποσίοις  
μέσοις, ἀξίως τῆς τοῦ βίου βακχείας καὶ ὕβρεως. 5 Καὶ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου  
λοιπὸν στρατήγημα Θηβαίων πανώλεια καὶ κατασκαφαὶ καὶ μηλόβοτον σφίσι  
θέσθαι τὴν χώραν οὐ πόρρω πάνυ τοι τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐτυχημάτων καὶ τοῦ  
μεγάλου φρονήματος ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἑπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίαις καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ  
δόξῃ.

21 Καὶ πάντ' ἐναλλάξ τὸν αἰεὶ τοῦ βίου χρόνον ἀνθρώποις περιχορεύει· ἐκ  
ταπεινῶν ὑψοῦνται δὴ τινες, ἢ ξυντυχία δὴ τινι ἢ καὶ γνῶμης καὶ ἀρετῆς δὴ 10  
τινος κράτει, 2 κἀντεῦθεν αὖθις ἢ βασκανία τινὶ τύχης ὥς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀλογιστία  
καὶ ἀπιστία, ἢ μάλισθ' ὕβριζοντες (καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐφύκεν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
εὐπραγίαις ἀνθρώπινον ἀμάρτημα) καὶ καταστωευόμενοι καὶ ἀσελγαίνοντες  
ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, καὶ ἢ ἀνευλαβῶς, ἢ ἀμελῶς λοιπὸν χρώμενοι, καὶ νοσοῦντες  
442 ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τὲ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας, 3 καταστρατηγοῦν|ται καὶ πίπτουσι 15  
μέγιστα καὶ χαλεπώτατα πτώματα βασκανίαις ἐφέδροις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
στασιασμοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρπαζόντων τὰλλότρια κακὰ πρὸς τὸ παρακερδαίνειν  
ὀπηοῦν λαθραῖαις καὶ φανεραῖς ἐπαναστάσεσι καὶ ἀντιπράξεσιν.

‘Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοφροσύνη· ΞΗ’

1 Πάνυ τοι θαυμάζειν ἔπεισί μοι καὶ ἅμα ἀνιᾶσθαι συννοουμένῳ, πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν 20  
ὅλως ἀνθρώποις συμφωνία περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλως κρίνοντες ἰδίᾳ  
πάντες πρὸς ἅπαντας, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄλλως ἢ ἕκαστος πρότερον  
ἢ μεθύτερον, καὶ μὴδ' ἑαυτῷ συμφωνῶν, 2 μεγάλα πράγματ' ἀλλήλοις  
ἐντεῦθεν παρέχονται καὶ ἀντιπράττουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν λόγοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις,

2 αὐτὸς M et s.l. P<sup>2</sup>, αὐτὰς P<sup>1</sup> 9 ἐναλλάξ E, non leg. M 10 δὴ<sup>1</sup> om. M 22 ut vid.  
ἕκαστος ad ἡ<sup>1</sup> s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup> (vide introd. 2.5, p. xxxix), om. P<sup>1</sup> M (i.e. exhib. ἢ πρότερον etc.)

<sup>1</sup> ‘as is the case with every individual’: this is in order to translate P<sup>2</sup>’s slightly awkward addition of the word ἕκαστος (‘each’) above the line.

under his control without anyone noticing, the Thebans being the first of the Greeks to fall into trouble and to meet with the greatest danger. <sup>4</sup> Yet Philip himself, who had acted most injuriously against the separate and divided Greek communities, and who had the greatest plans in store for the future, and who had himself laid the foundations of the expeditions and daring achievements of his son by entertaining similar thoughts on his own—this Philip, an evil man, was meanly killed in the middle of a feast, in a way worthy of the frenzy and the insolence of his manner of living. <sup>5</sup> And the first military feat of Alexander was the complete destruction and devastation of everything in the country of the Thebans, so as to make it the grazing-ground for sheep; this was done while their successes were not distant and while their great pride in the military achievements of Epaminondas and in his great reputation was still alive.

21 Thus everything in human life is subject to constant change: some people are elevated from humble stations, either by chance or by the force of their mind or their virtue, <sup>2</sup> and from this position these same people, be this so to say by some envy of Fate or by neglect or distrust, or because of an outrage committed by themselves (this is a common human error in success: that one becomes profligate and overweening by it, and either handles it inconsiderately or outright carelessly, becoming insane by one's own insatiate desire and want of discretion)—<sup>3</sup> these people are outwitted and fall very heavily. And thus they become victims of treacherous envy and of seditions which turn men against men, and of the secret or manifest rebellions and counteractions of those who steal even what is bad from others in order to have an unjust gain.

## 68. That there is no agreement whatsoever among men

1 It strikes me as surprising and, when I think about it, worrying that there is no agreement whatsoever among men on the nature of the good; instead, everyone makes his own separate judgement, different from everyone else's, and often, too, different (as is the case with every individual)<sup>1</sup> from his own judgement at an earlier or later time; and thus he does not

καὶ δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ πάντ' ἐπιτιμητικῶς τίθενται καὶ εὐθύνουσι κομιδῇ  
καὶ κακηγοροῦσι τὰ πραττόμενα, <sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ συμπράττειν ὁμονοοῦντες  
καὶ συναίρεσθαι τῇ προκοπῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκάστοτε καὶ βελτίστων ἐπὶ  
τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις καὶ κοινοῖς πράγμασι, τὰναντί' ἀλλήλοις αἰροῦνται καὶ  
ἀντιφέρονται, <sup>4</sup> καὶ ἡ κατολιγωροῦσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐνεργείαις πᾶν  
443 τὸ γιγνόμενον οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες ὥς ἄρα καὶ μάλιστ' ὀφείλεται καὶ ἐχρῆν  
ἕκαστον, ἡ καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἀνέδην καὶ καταστρέφουσιν, ἡ παντὶ τρόπῳ  
κολοῦουσι, τὸν τοῦ καλοῦ δρόμον καὶ τὴν εὐετηρίαν διὰ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ γνώμας ἀσυμφώνους καὶ φιλονεικούς ἀντιθέσεις, ἡ τὸ γε  
δεύτερον τὸ ἀνεπιμέλητον αὐτοῦ· <sup>5</sup> πρὸς δὲ πάντων ἅπαντα σπουδῇ πρὸ πάντων  
10 ἄλλων πραγμάτων ὀφειλόμενόν ἐστιν, ἥπερ ἔφην, καὶ πάντα συναίρεσθαι, καὶ  
πάντα τρόπον ἐπείγεσθαι, μεθ' ὁμοφροσύνης πάσης καὶ ζήλου καὶ ῥαστώνῃ  
χρώμενον καὶ καμάτου παντὸς μὴ φειδόμενον, ἵνα μὴδὲν προσκόπτῃ μὴδ'  
ἐπέχῃται τὰ λυσιτελῇ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἐκάστοις ἐκάστοτε βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν  
ἐπίχρεια.

15

2 Ὁ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὁράται, καὶ τὰγαθὸν ἀμ-  
φίβολον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐντεῦθεν δοκεῖ καὶ ἀσύνετον, ὥστε καθάπαξ καὶ ὁλο-  
σχερῶς αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι. <sup>2</sup> Καὶ οὐτε λόγοι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πάλοι τε καὶ ἴσως  
μὴδὲν ἦττον νῦν εἰς τοῦτο δύνανταί τι καὶ πείθειν ἔχουσι καὶ καταλύειν  
τὰς ἀπαύστους τῶν πολλῶν στάσεις εἰς τοῦτο καὶ φιλονεικίας καὶ μάχας,  
20 <sup>3</sup> καὶ καταλλάττειν τοὺς ἀντιφρονοῦντας καὶ ἀντιπράττοντας καὶ πλείστα  
δὴ μεριζομένους εἰς τὴν ὁμογνωμοσύνην τῆς ἐπιμελείας τὰγαθοῦ καὶ τῶν  
καθόλου κοινῶς συννοισόντων καὶ πραττομένων πᾶσαν, εἰ μέλλει καλῶς ἔχειν  
444 τὰνθρώπινα, καὶ παρὰ πάντων σπουδῇ καὶ σύμπραξιν. <sup>4</sup> Οὐτ' ἀρχόντων |  
ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ δόγματα συνάπτουσιν εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ νομοθεσίαν, οὐδ'  
25 ὁμοφροσύνην ἐμποιοῦσι καὶ κοινωνίαν συνέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας περὶ  
τῶν καθόλου καλλίστων καὶ κοινῇ βελτίστων· ἀλλ' ἀνήνυτα σπουδάζουσιν

<sup>2</sup> ὁμονοοῦντας E, non leg. M  
P<sup>1</sup> non constat

<sup>13</sup> προσκόπτῃ: -σ- s.l. P

<sup>27</sup> βελτίστων M, -v add. P<sup>2</sup>, de

<sup>2</sup> I.e. that there is no agreement among men.

agree with himself even. <sup>2</sup> Since this is so, people give each other great trouble and they oppose each other by words and all kinds of deeds, and they are displeased with and critical about everything, and they censure and speak ill of whatever is accomplished. <sup>3</sup> And instead of working together in concord and in each case jointly taking part in the promotion of what is good and most expedient in matters of common interest to mankind, they choose opposite stands and fight each other. <sup>4</sup> And either do they demonstrate neglect when doing good works, and do not give their best in each case, as is indeed most fitting and what everyone should do; or they outright revolt and destroy, or by every means curtail, the progress of the good and its chances to thrive. This they do by expressing opinions which are in conflict with each other and not in accordance with the good; they also do it by relentless competition or, worse, by a lack of interest in what is good. <sup>5</sup> For as I said, to the good more than to anything else is due the total dedication of everyone, and one should do everything to ensure this, striving for it in every way and in complete unanimity with everyone else, and with all zest; and one should strive for it with a light hand, sparing no effort in order to keep that from stumbling or being obstructed which is useful in life and most expedient to everyone in each case and suitable to every occasion.

<sup>2</sup> That this is so<sup>2</sup> is most evident in human life, and therefore what is good seems uncertain to most men, and it seems impossible completely to understand once and for all how to deal with it. <sup>2</sup> And neither words of wise men in the past nor, perhaps, any more so words of wise men of today, can achieve anything on this account: they do not have the power to persuade and to dissolve the unceasing strife of the many about this matter, and their rivalries and fights. <sup>3</sup> Nor are they able to reconcile those of opposite minds and those who act against each other and who are very much divided in their opinion on how the good should be observed and what will be useful to the community as a whole and what will bring forth zeal and help from everyone, as is necessary if human society is to function well. <sup>4</sup> Nor does the ascendancy of leaders or their decisions conduce to a [proper] legislation concerning the good, nor instil concord and a common understanding and care about what is best in general and most expe-

ἔλκοντες, 5 καὶ σύνδεσμον γνώμης εἰς τὸ καλῶς καὶ ὁμοῦ ξυνέπεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους οὐχ' οἷοι τ' εἰσὶ κατασκευάζειν, ἐπιτάττοντες οὐδὲ συντάττειν εἰς μίαν ἕξιν ταυτογνωμοσύνης καὶ εὐπειθείας τοῦ καλοῦ. 6 Ἄλλ' ἄλλην μὲν ἄδουσιν ἐξ ὑπερτέρων συμφωνίας ἀρχὴν οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν δικαίωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοὶ μάλιστ' ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν βελτίστων ἴσως 5 ἐπιτυγχάνοντες, οἳ δ' ἄλλην ἀντάδουσι, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλην ἀσύμφωνον πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 7 τοῦτο μόνον συμφώνως, ὅτι μὴ πείθονται μὴδ' ἔπονται τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ οἷς νόμιμον καθάπαξ πείθεσθαι καὶ ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα σπουδῇ πάσῃ ξυνέπεσθαι εἰ ὁπιοῦν μέλλοιεν καλῶς πράξειν καὶ περιγενέσθαι τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κατὰ φύσιν ἀοριστίας εἰς τάγαθον καὶ περὶ τὰ φαῦλα 10 μάλιστα ροπῆς. 8 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω χωρεῖ, καὶ κατελέγχονται παραληρεῖν οἱ περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ διδάσκαλοι· κατελέγχονται δὲ παραληρεῖν 445 ὡσαύτως οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκάστοτε πιστευόμενοι· 9 καὶ ταῖς | ἁμαρτίαις τῶν μὴ πειθομένων αὐτοὶ κακῶς καὶ ἀδίκως ὑπ' ἄλλων ἔξωθεν κρινόντων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἴσως ἐνίετε τῶν μὴ πειθομένων μὴδὲ ξυνεπομένων, ἐνέχονται, καὶ ὧν οὐ 15 δύνανται, οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδ' εἰσὶν αἵτιοι, τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχουσι καὶ κακῶς αὐτοὶ πράττουσι, 10 καὶ κακῶς ἀκούουσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἡδικοῦντο, καὶ ὧν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἡπείγοντο καὶ πάσαις ἐπείχον καὶ ἀντέπραπτον γνώμαις καὶ χερσί, τὰς ἀποπερατώσεις κατηγοροῦνται, καὶ τῆς ἄλλων ὀλιγωρίας καὶ ἀλογίας τῶν βελτίστων, καὶ ἀλογίας ἑαυτῶν, διώκονται· καὶ δίκας ἀποφέρονται τῶν 20 ἐναντίων τῆς γνώμης, 11 καὶ ὧν ἔφευγον ὅλη ρύμη κρίσεως καὶ βουλῆς, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔχουσι δύναμιν αὐτοὶ, δίκας πράττονται τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀτευξίαν ἔχουσιν ἔγκλημα μέγιστον.

3 Τυραννική δ' ἐνταῦθα δυναστεία καὶ τὸ βιαίως ἔλκειν καὶ ἄκοντας εἰς τάγαθόν, καὶ τὸ συμπράττειν τὰ χρήσιμα καθόλου τὲ καὶ ἰδί' ἐκάστοις ἴσως 25 μὲν ἂν δόξειε κατὰ καιρόν, ἴσως δ' οὐ περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ

22 ἀτευξίαν: ἀταξίαν in textu et ev s.l. P<sup>1</sup>M, aliquid illegibile add. s.l. P<sup>2</sup> 26 οὐ scripsi: οὐ PME

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the leaders.

<sup>4</sup> 'the good' (τοῖς καλοῖς): or 'the good people'.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. since they do not follow what is good.

<sup>6</sup> This paragraph is difficult and the translation tentative.

<sup>7</sup> 'victims': i.e. of the foul play of others.

<sup>8</sup> 'lack of achievement': P as well as M have here ἀταξίαν, i.e. 'disorder', in the text, a reading

dient for the community; but endlessly do they<sup>3</sup> strive to drag people along  
 5 and, although they try to command, they are not able to create a bond  
 of common opinion, so as to make the subjects follow their leaders orderly  
 and as one troop; nor are they able to unite them in one identical opinion  
 and in obedience to the good. 6 But those who are in charge of matters and  
 who are most justified to rule and who, perhaps, are qualified to achieve  
 the best, sing, from their high position, one melody in praise of concord;  
 and the others sing in answer, and everyone sings to his own melody and  
 at variance with the leader and the rest. 7 The only thing they have in com-  
 mon is that they do not obey nor follow the good;<sup>4</sup> nor do they obey that  
 to which by law they ought to show unconditional obedience and which  
 they ought to follow with the greatest possible zeal, if they were to be suc-  
 cessful in any respect and overcome the natural uncertainty in matters as  
 to what is good, and especially if they were to overcome their inclination  
 for worthless things. 8 For this reason<sup>5</sup> everything is turned upside down,  
 and the teachers of good are accused of madness, as are also those to whom  
 the power is severally entrusted. 9 And<sup>6</sup> by the sins of those who do not  
 obey others (people who perhaps never obey or follow others) and who  
 judge from the outside, they are themselves in an evil and unjust way made  
 subject to accusations, and they are brought to justice and fare badly even  
 because of those things outside their competence which are not their sake  
 or responsibility. 10 And they get a bad reputation when they themselves  
 are the victims,<sup>7</sup> and even in cases where they have been supporting the  
 opposite opinion [to the prevailing one] with every argument and means,  
 they are made responsible for the outcome; and they are prosecuted on  
 account of other people's neglect and lack of consideration and for their  
 own lack; and they are condemned for that which stands in direct oppo-  
 sition to their actual opinions. 11 Thus they are brought to justice, and the  
 greatest accusation is wielded against them for their lack of achievement<sup>8</sup>  
 and the catastrophic outcome of matters from which they have tried to  
 escape with the whole force of their judgement and their will, and over  
 which they have no power themselves.

3 Since this is so, it would seem like a tyrannical exercise of power to  
 drag unwilling people along even if it is towards the good. It would perhaps

συνοίσοντος βιάζεσθαι, καὶ ἂ δὴ καθ' αἶρεσιν, ἀναγκαστῶς γίγνεσθαι.<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 οὓς μὲν ἐκόντας ἔχοι τις εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ μάλ' ἡδομένους, τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον, καὶ  
 πολὺ γ' εὐτυχὲς τῷ πρυτανεύοντι καὶ διοικοῦντι· οὓς δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει τις,  
 446 ἀλλ' ἄκοντας καὶ βία καὶ μάλιστ' ἀντιτείνον|τας εἰς τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα,<sup>3</sup> δόξειε  
 μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐθις τοῦτο φιланθρώπου γνώμης καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου  
 σπευδούσης, καὶ μάλιστ' εἰ τῷ κοινῷ φέρον εἴη τοῦτ' ὄνησιν καὶ συντέλειαν  
 εἰς πολλῶν εὐπραγίαν καὶ πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν εἰς τὰ καθόλου πράγματα.<sup>4</sup> Οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐργῶδες σφόδρα καὶ παγχάλεπον ἀνῦσαι· καὶ σώματα  
 μὲν ἄνθρωποι πεφύκασιν δουλοῦσθαι καὶ ἄκοντες ὃ τί ποτ' ἂν ὑφίστασθαι,  
 γνῶμας δὲ καὶ λογισμῶν καταθέσεις καὶ συμφωνίας οὐ μάλα τοι· ταῦτ' ἄρα  
 10 καὶ ἄκοντες καὶ μάλ' ἀλγοῦντες οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐπιμελεῖς ἐνεργηταὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, ὃ  
 μεθ' ὅτι πλείστης ἐπιμελείας οὐκ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἀνύσιμον,<sup>5</sup> καὶ προφάσεως  
 πάσης ξυμπιπτούσης οἷα δὴ καθόλου τάνθρώπινα, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἂν ὑπίδοιτο τις  
 καὶ τῶν πάντα σοφῶν προνοεῖν καὶ κατευστοχεῖν ἐν ἀδήλοις, αὐτίκ' ἄνθρωποι  
 τρέπονται, καὶ μάλισθ' ἐτοιμότατα πρὸς τὰ χεῖρω·<sup>6</sup> καὶ πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὰ  
 15 φαῦλα σχεδὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ῥοπή, καὶ πλεονεκτεῖται πολὺ μάλιστα τοῖς  
 κακίοις τὰ βέλτιστα πάνυ τοι κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, δυναστεύουσι τῷ  
 ἐπαγωγῷ καὶ μειλίχῳ τῆς χρήσεως.<sup>7</sup> Καὶ τίς ἂν ἱατρὸς πάντας ἄκοντας ἰᾶσθαι  
 δύναιτο, καὶ πρὸς τάναντία φερομένους καὶ χαίροντας, ἢ φανερώς, ἢ μάλιστ'  
 ἀφανῶς τε καὶ κλέπτοντας;<sup>8</sup> Ἡ τίς ἂν κυβερνήτης πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ σκάφει  
 20 447 κατατυραννῶν οἷος τ' | εἴη μόνος αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ ξὺν ὀλίγοις κοιμητῇ τὸ σκάφος  
 τὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγειν ὥς βέλτιστα, ἢ ἀκινδύνως; Ἡν δὲ καὶ ἀντιπράττειν ἀνέδην  
 καὶ διαπληκτίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄγοντα πλείους ὄντες ὁρμῶσι, τί τίς ἂν δράσαι;  
 9 Οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ πάντας δεσμοὺς καὶ πέδας ἄγειν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ βουλήσεται

1 post δὴ (sic E, non leg. M) aliquid illegibile s.l. add. P<sup>1</sup> ut etiam P<sup>2</sup> 3 τις: τίς M 13  
 ἦν: ἦν in app. conl. M-K 16 πάντων σχεδὸν M 18 χρήσ<ε>ως ut vid. per comp. P (cf.  
 66.3.7) 23 τίς PME ut vid. pro τις

18 Καὶ τίς ἂν ἱατρὸς etc.] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 66.5.1sqq.

which both have corrected into ἀτευξίαν (i.e. 'lack of achievement').

<sup>9</sup> 'though this is not so': I am uncertain as to the meaning of οὐ μάλα τοι here.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. because of the human unwillingness to submit to labour.

<sup>11</sup> For the combined metaphor of the doctor/physician and the captain and his ship, cf. 66.5.1–

seem opportune to help everyone generally and individually to achieve what is useful, not, however, to force anyone to pay attention to what is good and what will be expedient, and to make that happen by compulsion which should be done by free choice. <sup>2</sup> If some are willing and delighted to be helped by another, so much the better for everyone; this is indeed a fortunate case for the ruler and administrator alike. But if some have to be helped against their will and by force, and if they even fight against that which is to their own profit— <sup>3</sup> to help them then would seem to be the work of a philanthropic mind, a mind which in every way strives for the good, especially so if this may bring some gain to the community and contribute to the welfare of many and to good political conditions generally. <sup>4</sup> But even so it is very hard and most difficult to accomplish anything, and as to their bodies, men are born slaves and unwilling to submit to any labour (though this is not so<sup>9</sup> when it comes to giving opinions and arguing and reaching agreements). For this reason<sup>10</sup> men are unwilling to do what is good and they will only do so if they have to experience a lot of pain, and they take no real care to do what is good, since this can only be achieved with the greatest application and in no other way. <sup>5</sup> And when, as is likely to happen in human life, anything which may serve as a pretext presents itself—a matter which not even any of the all-wise could have envisaged or made a wholly correct guess about in this our state of uncertainty—then men at once and most willingly head for the worse. <sup>6</sup> For the tendency of almost all men towards the bad is great, and the best is indeed very much at a disadvantage as compared to the worst, which, to the detriment of our nature, prevails by being so attractive and charming. <sup>7</sup> What physician<sup>11</sup> would be able to cure all those who are unwilling and who let themselves be carried along in the opposite direction, either openly, or in most cases unnoticed and by stealth, and are glad to let this happen? <sup>8</sup> Or what captain would alone, or with only a few men, be able to control everyone in his ship by force, and to conduct the ship and those onboard in the best way, or at least without danger? And what could anyone do if the men

4. Here, however, it is employed on a particularly pessimistic note, since, in the present case, Metochites takes for granted that orders may not always be obeyed.

καὶ πειράσεται, ἴσως οὐ χαιρήσει, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς πρότερος κλαίῃσει καὶ εἴσεται μαινόμενος καὶ πράττων ἑαυτῷ κίνδυνον. 10 Οὕτω πολὺ δυσχερὲς καὶ τὸ βία καὶ τυραννικῶς ἄγειν εἰς τὰ βέλτιστα· καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ καματηρὸν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ὄντως ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρ' ἐπικινδυνότατον πειρωμένων.

5

4 Καὶ καθόλου γε παντάπασι δυσμεταχείριστον μεταποιῆσαι γνώμας ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ ἀντοικῆσαι καὶ ἀντισταγαγεῖν χρηστὰς ἀντὶ φαύλων, καὶ δόγματ' ἀφανίσαι προενόντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐκ ὀνήσιμα, καὶ ἀποκλύσασθαι τῷ καθαίροντι καὶ καινοποιοῦντι τῆς διδασκαλίας ῥυπτικῷ τρόπῳ· 2 καὶ 'σμύχειν ἔσται μᾶλλον Αἰθίοπα', μετὰ τῆς παροιμίας, ὡς ἀδύνατον τοῦτο προβαλλομέ- 10 νης, ἢ χρώματα μεταλλάττειν ψυχῶν γνωστικά, καὶ τρόπων ιδιότητος ἀλλοτρί- ας τοῦ καλοῦ, δι' ἀμαθίαν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἀκαιρίαν, 3 καὶ 'πάρδαλιν ἀλλάττειν τὰ κατὰ τοῦ δέρματος ποικίλματα', καὶ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον μετὰ τῆς παροιμίας 448 ἐπεὶ|γεσθαι, ἢ πολυστρόφους καὶ ποικίλους καὶ παντοίους λογισμοὺς ἀν- θρωπίνους μεταποιεῖν εἰς ὁμονοητικὴν μίαν δὴ τιν' ἕξιν, καὶ διοικεῖν εἰς 15 τᾶμεινον, καὶ καθιστάνειν ὁμαλότητα κοινωνικὴν ἀνθρωπίνους ἤθεσι καὶ διά- θεσιν εἰς τάγαθόν. 4 Ἔστι μὲν γε καὶ καθόλου δυσθήρατον τάγαθόν, καὶ οὐ τοῦ παντός, οὐδ' εὐρεῖν ῥάδιον ἐν τε τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον πρακτέοις, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ. 5 Καὶ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον ὁμόνοϊαν ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοῖς, 20 ἄλλων ἄλλα κρινόντων καὶ ψηφίζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ δυσλήπτῳ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τιθεμένων καὶ μετατιθεμένων ἅττα δὴ, καὶ περιτρεπόντων τάλληλων. 6 Καὶ τοῦτο πάντως οὐ παρ' αὐτό γε μονοειδὲς ὄν καὶ φύσει μάλισθ' ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τάνικανον ἡμῶν, καὶ ἴσως τῶν μὲν μᾶλλον, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἥττον. 7 Ἄν

1 χαιρήσει: -ει P<sup>2</sup>, sed sic ut vid. etiam P<sup>1</sup> κλαίῃσει: -ει P<sup>2</sup>, sed sic ut vid. etiam P<sup>1</sup> 3 βία: -α P<sup>2</sup>, fort. -ο P<sup>1</sup> 9 σμύχειν PE pro σμήχειν, non leg. M 19 οὐ om. M (vide introd. 2.2.1, p. xxviii) 22 ἅττα ut vid. P, sed non certe leg. (fort. ἄ- P<sup>1</sup> et ἄ p.c. P<sup>2</sup>), ἅττα ut vid. E, non leg. M

9 σμύχειν ... Αἰθίοπα] cf. Plu. Ἐκλογὴ περὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων 7 | Luc. Adv. Indoc. 28.13sq. Οἶδα ὡς μάτην ταῦτά μοι λελήρηται καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν Αἰθίοπα σμήχειν ἐπιχειρῶ | Suda AI 125 Αἰθίοπα σμήχειν: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην ποιούντων | Greg.Naz. Contra Iul. imp. 1 (4), 35.584.34sq. (PG) οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχε φύσιν ἢ πάρδαλιν ἀποθέσθαι τὸ κατάστικτον, ἢ Αἰθίοπα τὸ μέλαν 12 πάρδαλιν ... ποικίλματα] cf. supra Greg.Naz. Contra Iul. imp. 1 (4), 35.584.34sq. (PG)

on board, being more numerous, rushed forth and opposed their captain openly and assaulted him? <sup>9</sup> For it is not easy to lay chains and fetters on everyone. And even if the captain wants to and tries to do this, he may not be successful; it is much more likely that he will be the first to come to grief and that he will realise that he is mad and exposing himself to danger. <sup>10</sup> Thus it is very difficult to guide anyone towards the best even with violent and tyrannical methods, and to try this does not only mean undertaking something laborious and truly ineffectual; it is also very dangerous to the person who does so.

<sup>4</sup> On the whole it is most difficult to change human convictions and to implant and establish good ones instead of bad and make unprofitable persuasions disappear which have existed earlier in people's souls, washing them away with the cleaning and renewing method of purification called teaching. <sup>2</sup> *It would*, according to the proverb, *be easier to wash an Aethiopian white* (this is put forward as an impossible thing) than to change the shades of perception of souls and the peculiarities of a character which, either because of ignorance or inopportune ambition, is alien to what is good. <sup>3</sup> And [it would be easier] *to change the ornaments of the leopard's skin* (this too is an impossible pursuit according to the proverbial expression) than to transform the much-twisted and variegated and manifold human thoughts into a state of harmony, so as to bring about their betterment and establish a common ground for the human character and a common disposition towards what is good. <sup>4</sup> For the good is on the whole hard to catch, and it is not in everyone's possession; nor is it easy to find by contemplation of things being, and even less so when in the midst of active life, publicly or privately. <sup>5</sup> And even so it would be no<sup>12</sup> little thing for concord and agreement to take root in the minds of men, since everyone makes his own judgement and casts his vote without understanding the matter at hand, arranging and changing and upsetting what others have done. <sup>6</sup> However, this is certainly not due to the matters themselves which are uniform and rather simple by nature; it is due to our lack of ability,

<sup>12</sup> The Greek text of P has here a double negation which is somewhat problematic (cf. the introduction, 2.2.1, p. xxviii).

δ' ἄρα καὶ προσπαθείαις τισιν ἐχώμεθ' ἐκάστοτε καὶ νοσοῦντες αὐτοὶ λοιπὸν  
 ἔπειτα προσαπτώμεθα, καὶ πολυτρόπως καὶ συχνὰ προσκόπτοντες χωρῶμεν  
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πειρώμεθα, καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπηλυγαζόμενοι τοῖς ἐπιτειχίζουσι  
 449 παθήμασι φιλονεικῶμεν | ὡς ὀρώντες εὖ μάλα, 8 τίς ἱκανὸς ἐνταῦθα διδάσκειν,  
 τίς προδεικνύει τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ χειραγωγεῖν, τίς ὁμοφροσύνην τῶν ὄντων τὲ 5  
 καὶ χρησίων ἐμποιεῖν; Ἰλήκοις τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ, 'δέσποτ' ἀλεξίκακε καὶ σῶτερ  
 τῶν κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιε'.

Ὅτι πολὺ νοσοῦσι ταῖς προσπαθείαις ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐκ  
 ὀρθῶς ὀρῶσιν· ΞΘ'

1 Αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις προσπάθειαι πολὺν τάληθές ἀδικοῦσι, περὶ τε τὰ 10  
 πρακτέα κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδί' ἐκάστοις, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βᾶσανον, καὶ  
 πολὺν ἐμποιοῦσι ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τῇ τῆς διανοίας ἐποπτεία τὸν πλάνον, ὥστε  
 μὴ κατ' ὀρθὸν φέρεσθαι καὶ τοῦ καιρίου τυγχάνειν. 2 Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ πράττειν  
 αἰροῦνται τάναντία πολλάκις ὧν δέοι ἂν καὶ ὦναιτ' ἂν πράττοντες ἄνθρωποι,  
 καὶ φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὴ καὶ ῥύμη πάσῃ φιλονεικοῦντες, ἐνίοτε καὶ 15  
 ἀντιταττόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπέχοντας, ὧν μάλιστ' ἀντιποιητέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς,  
 καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ καὶ πόνοις πᾶσιν ὡς οἶον τέ ἐστιν ἐπιμελητέον, πάντα κάματον  
 ἀνθαιρουμένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. 3 Πράττουσι δὲ ταῦτα, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσχουσιν,  
 ἐκπίπτοντες τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἡττώμενοι φιλίαις τισὶ καὶ οἰκειότησι καὶ συν-  
 450 ηθείας ὀλκαῖς ἀρπαζούσαις, | καὶ τούναντίον ἔριδι, φθόνοις, φιλονεικίαις 20  
 ἀκαίροις, μαχίμοις προλήψεσι, καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις παραπλησίοις ἐκάστοτε. 4 Καὶ  
 ξυνορᾷν ταῦτ' οὐ πάνυ τοι χαλεπὸν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπὸν μάλιστα μὴ κατέχεσθαι  
 καὶ ὄντιναοῦν οὐδενὶ τούτων, καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐπ' ἄλλων ταῦτ' ἐφορῶμενον

14 ὦναιτ' P<sup>2</sup>, ὦναιτ' vel fort. ὦναιτ' P<sup>1</sup> (i.e. -v- alt. add. fort. P<sup>2</sup>), ὄναιτ' M 18  
 ἀνθαιρουμένους P et p.c. E, cum -οῦμ- accentu a.c. E, non leg. M 20 φθόνοις: φθόνοις  
 ἀμέτροις a.c. P, ἀμέτροις rubro expunxit P<sup>1</sup>

6 δέσποτ' ... ἀποτρόπαιε] cf. Ar. V. 161 Ἀπολλὼν ἀποτρόπαιε | Luc. Alex. 4.2 ἀλεξίκακε Ἡράκλεις  
 καὶ Ζεὺ ἀποτρόπαιε | Nicephorus Basilaces Progymn. 50.80sq. Ἀπολλὼν ἀποτρόπαιε καὶ θεοὶ  
 ἀλεξίκακοι | Th.Met. Mon. in abbat. Luc. 3.2 δέσποτα Σῶτερ, ναί, δέσποτ' ἀλεξίκακε

in the case of some perhaps more so, in the case of others less. <sup>7</sup> But if in each case we are restricted by various emotions and then in a state of madness engage ourselves and go into action in a fickle way, repeatedly stumbling while trying to get to grips with matters, and if we, though clouded by the many passions which besiege us, have ambitions as if we could see very well— <sup>8</sup> who is then able to teach us, who to show beforehand and to guide us to the best, who to instil an agreement among us about that which is real and useful? May you, *o Lord, who protects, and Saviour, who averts wickedness*, be gracious to us in this our life.

69. That men are subject to their passions to a high degree, and that they for this reason do not see clearly

<sup>1</sup> Every time that decisions have to be made and in all cases where anyone, in conjunction with others or individually, has to act, passions do in fact do great harm; they do harm to people's judgement and they instil a lot of confusion into their minds and stop them from seeing clearly, so as not to allow them to keep a straight course in life and achieve what is fitting. <sup>2</sup> Therefore people often choose to do the opposite from that which they should do and which would be profitable to them; and with a maximum of effort they flee straightaway; and sometimes they oppose those who try to stop them—the ones they ought to care for most of all and eagerly and painstakingly take an interest in, willingly accepting any trouble for their sake. <sup>3</sup> Thus they act, or rather: this happens to them; and they lose their mind and they weaken owing to friendships maybe and personal bonds and an intimate relation which masters them; or else they weaken because of untimely strife, envy, and rivalry, and antagonistic schemes, and other similar matters as the case may be. <sup>4</sup> To realise that this is so, is not very difficult, even if it is most difficult for any one not to be subject to<sup>1</sup> any of these factors; and even if a person is able to see and judge this very clearly

<sup>1</sup> 'subject to' (κατέχεσθαι): or 'inhibited by'.

καὶ κρίνοντα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἄμεινον τὰλλότρι' ἐννοεῖν ἔχοντα, τὰ δ' αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀβλεπτοῦντα καθότι τὲ καλῶς ἔχει καὶ μὴ, <sup>5</sup> καὶ ἴσως μὲν παραπλησίως ὥσπερ ἰναι τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀμαθεστέρων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἦττον, ἀβλεπτοῦντα δ' ὅμως καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένους νοσήμασιν ἐχόμενον καὶ ξυμπίπτοντα καὶ γέλωτα μάλιστ' αὐτὸν ὄφλοντα πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστ', οἶμαι, τοῖς <sup>5</sup> παρ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἀκούουσι καὶ ἐπιτιμωμένοις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷς παρ-  
οινοῦσι παραπλησίως· <sup>6</sup> καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε τίποτ' ἂν δυστυχέστερον εἴη ἢ ἀηδέστερον, ἢ ὅταν ἄλλους τις εὐθύνων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποφεύγοι δικαίως, κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἄλλων ἱατρὸς ἀναιδῆς, αὐτὸς ἔλκεσι βρύων', ὁ πολὺ μάλισθ', <sup>10</sup> ὡς ἔφην, ἐν ἀνθρώποις κρατεῖ καὶ λυμαίνεται τὰς ὀρθὰς γνῶμας καὶ κρίσεις <sup>10</sup> ἀνθρώποις, τὸ προσπαθῶς ἔχειν ὀρηοῦν οἷς ὀρῶσι, καὶ πρὸς τάναντία τῶν ὄντων ἐκτρέπειν.

2 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ θαυμάζουσι μὲν ἔνιοι καὶ κροτοῦσιν ὡς ὑπερφρεῖς τινὰς <sup>451</sup> καὶ μεγάλην φορὰν τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀπόλεκτον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἔθος | αὐτῇ, οὓς ἄλλοι δοκοῦσιν οὐδ' ἀξίους προσορᾶν ὅλως οὐδ' ὀνομάζειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις <sup>15</sup> χρῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καθάρματα παρατρέχειν καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀτυχίας· <sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέροις οὐκ ἔξω παθῶν οὐτ' ἀκριβῶς ὡς τάληθες ἔχει κρίνεται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρ' ἔτυχον ἢ φίλως, ἢ τοῦναντίον τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἔχουσι, καὶ τάναντία δὲ τούτων περὶ ἄλλους, ἴσως δ' ἐνίοτε καὶ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς. <sup>3</sup> Καὶ οὓς χθὲς ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸ τρίτης δι' εὐφήμου λόγου καὶ πάσης ἐν τιμῇ μνήμης ἦγον, καὶ <sup>20</sup> πάντας εὖ μάλα καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ συμπεῖθειν εἰς τοῦτ' ἐπειρῶντο, νῦν οὐκ αἰσχύνονται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀκροαταῖς τάχα καὶ μάρτυσι πᾶν τοῦναντίον κακηγοροῦντες καὶ κατελέγχοντες, <sup>4</sup> καὶ ἴσως ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς τέως ἐθαύμαζον καὶ καλλιστεῖα φύσεως ἔκρινον καὶ προῆγον τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτόπως

<sup>8</sup> τις: τίς M ἀποφεύγοι: ἀπ- ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>, sed sic etiam ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, ἂν φεύγοι M (vide introd. 2.2.1, p. xxviii) <sup>18</sup> ἔχουσι P et fort. M, ἔχοντες E

<sup>9</sup> ἄλλων ... βρύων] cf. E. Fr. 1086 (Kannicht) = 1086 (Nauck) ἄλλων ἱατρὸς αὐτὸς ἔλκεσιν βρύων | Plu. *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 71F.5 | Suda E 3691

<sup>2</sup> 'commit ... follies': παραιοῦσι παραπλησίως ('are drunk in the same way').

<sup>3</sup> 'a shameful ... sores': presumably originating with Euripides, this expression occurs in many later writers, including Plutarch.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. they may express an opinion about a person different from the one they have expressed before about that same person.

in others, and is able to understand the predicament of others better than most, he may still, like most people, be unable to see whether he himself is behaving well or not. <sup>5</sup> Perhaps he is behaving in a way similar to that of some evil and very unlearned people, but perhaps not so badly as that; all the same he does not see quite clearly, and he is subject and liable to the kinds of madness mentioned, and he himself is to the highest degree derided by everyone and especially, I think, by those about whom he has spoken ill and who have been criticised for the same errors as he and who commit the same kind of follies.<sup>2</sup> <sup>6</sup> I for one do not know what could be more unfortunate or unpleasant than if someone who censures others is lawfully acquitted on the same account, being, according to the saying, *a shameful doctor of others, himself full of sores*.<sup>3</sup> And, as I said, to have some kind of emotional relationship to everything which one sees, and to let oneself be diverted from reality and turn to its opposite, is very common among humans, and it destroys men's ability to think and judge correctly.

2 Indeed, some admire those people, and consider them to be extraordinary and a splendid product of nature and exquisite and not what nature usually produces, whom others do not think worthy of consideration or even fit to be mentioned among men, but rather deserving to escape unnoticed like outcasts and nature's failures. <sup>2</sup> These matters are not judged by either side without passion nor, to tell the truth, with precision, but people are either friendly or the opposite at random, and they will be differently minded towards other people and, perhaps, sometimes also about the same ones.<sup>4</sup> <sup>3</sup> And the men they spoke well about yesterday or the day before and whom they remembered with every honour, trying very hard and with every effort to persuade everyone else to do the same, these they are not ashamed to speak of in a totally opposite way, detracting them and censuring them in front of the same audience even<sup>5</sup> and the same witnesses. <sup>4</sup> This they may even do for the same reasons for which they until then used to admire these men and consider them the fairest offerings of nature and put them far above others because of their nobility of nature or their

<sup>5</sup> 'even' (τάχα): perhaps 'forsooth'.

εὐγενεία τινὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ἢ γνώμην ἢ καὶ ἦθος, ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετῆς ἕξιν ἄλλην  
καὶ χρῆσιν ἐπαινουμένην. 5 Καὶ τούναντίον αὐτοῦ τούτου νῦν περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
ὁρῶνται οἱ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ παρέτρεχον καὶ κατωλιγῶρουν  
ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ καὶ γῆς ἄχθος ἄλλως αὐτοὺς νομίζοντες, 6 καὶ πάντα μετὰ φιλίας  
452 καὶ ἔχθρας οὐ καλῶς ὁράται, καὶ μεταλλάττει τὰς ψή|φους τὲ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις, 5  
καὶ παράτροπα δράματ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν δημιουργεῖ.

3 Καὶ κομιδῇ πάντων ἐργῶδες καὶ σπάνιον, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἀμιγῆς ὅλως ἐστὶ καὶ  
παντὸς πάθους ἄκρατον, ἀληθῆς καθάπαξ γνώμη καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀπλανὴς παντὸς  
τοῦ γιγνομένου τυγχάνουσα καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἀποσφαλλομένη τῶν ὄντων,  
2 καὶ τὸ τέλειόν τε καὶ μόνιμον ἔχουσα περὶ τὴν ἐποπτείαν καὶ ξυναίσθησιν 10  
τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ μὴ τοιούτου, ἢ καθ' ὃ τι τοῖς δ' ἐνίοις μέτεστι καλοῦ καὶ  
καθ' ὃ τι μὴ· καὶ πολλὰ γὰρ οὕτω τῶν ὄντων ἔχει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὁρᾶν ἐστὶν  
οὕτω κἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κἂν τοῖς πράγμασι. 3 Καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ὄντως καὶ κατὰ  
θεῖον, οἷς, οἶμαι, ξυνέλαχεν ἐν τοῖς βελτίστοις πλεονάζειν, καὶ μὴ νικᾶν παρ'  
αὐτοῖς τὰ χεῖρω καὶ δύσχηρστα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς καλῶς κρίνουσιν· 4 οἱ μὴ τὸ 15  
καθάπαξ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοίρᾳ τέλειον ἀπαιτοῦντες ὡς ἀδύνατον ὄν σχεδὸν  
καὶ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν φύσιν κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐ μάλα προσίενται, καὶ τιμᾶν  
ἀξιοῦσι καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖν, ἣν ἄρ', ὡς ἔφην, εἴη πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ καλῷ,  
καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ τὰ δεῦτερα φέρειν. 5 Παρορῶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς  
τοιούτοις τὰ φαῦλα ξυμμετρούμενοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀνίκανον, καὶ 20

3 κατωλιγῶρουν M      4 ἄλλως E, -ω- P<sup>2</sup>, ut vid. -ου vel -ω- P<sup>1</sup>, non leg. M      15 κρίνουσιν M,  
-ν P<sup>2</sup>, κρίνουσιν vel -ι P<sup>1</sup>

4 ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ] cf. *Il.* 9.378 τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ | *Plu. Qu. conv.* 733E.8 | *Apollon. Lex. Hom.*  
97.11 γῆς ἄχθος] cf. *Pl. Thet.* 176d3sq. ὅτι οὐ λῆροί εἰσι, γῆς ἄλλως ἄχθη, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες οἴους  
δεῖ ἐν πόλει τοὺς σωθησομένους | *Eupolis CGFPR Fr.* 96.68 (Austin) τῆς γῆς μ(έν) ἄχθο[ς] | *Men.*  
*Dis ex. Fr.* 113.1 (Thierfelder-Körte) περιττὸν ἄχθος ὄντα γῆς, ὡς εἰπέ τις | *Th.Met. Sem.* 76.2.2 et  
81.1.7

<sup>6</sup> 'being worthless': the Greek expression is taken from *Iliad* 9.378; it is often cited and dis-  
cussed in later literature.

<sup>7</sup> 'burden of the earth': this expression occurs in Comedy (*Eupolis* and *Menander*) and also in  
*Plato's Theaetetus*. See also 76.2.2 and 81.1.7.

<sup>8</sup> 'for so it is ... world': all this is vague: does it mean that it is difficult to judge properly, or that  
few have part in what is good? 'real world' is to translate τῶν ὄντων.

mind or even their character, or because of some other kind of virtue or laudable behaviour. 5 And now, instead, they who used to avoid them and pass them by and slight them as *being worthless*,<sup>6</sup> and who used to consider them a *burden of the earth*,<sup>7</sup> may be seen in company with those same people. 6 So, as can be seen, everything is not well with friendships and enmities; they alter decisions and judgements, and strange dramas are created on account of both.

3 A wholly correct way of thinking and an opinion which never fails to understand how things really are and goes unerringly to the point in every case, is indeed most laborious to acquire and the rarest thing of all—if it is to be completely pure and unmixed with every passion, 2 and if it is to be perfect and consistent in its contemplation and awareness of the good and of the opposite of good, or with regard to the extent to which some have part in the good, and some have not; for so it is with many things in the real world,<sup>8</sup> and this is highly evident in men as well as in political matters. 3 And it is a truly good thing, due, I believe, to divine intervention, when people happen to abound in the best qualities, and when the worst, and that which is most difficult to handle in life even for those with good judgement, does not prevail. 4 For people of good judgement do not demand an absolutely perfect share in the good; for they admit that this is virtually impossible and beyond human nature. Instead they consider it worthwhile and laudable if they are able just to have part of the good (if, as I have said, this would be possible), and if they are not totally defeated by its opposite<sup>9</sup> and thus have to be content with what is inferior. 5 For they disregard the evil in such matters, and they take human inability into account and the fact that men are not able to achieve everything good by themselves; and they disregard the evil as being small and not very far-reaching, if it does not out of necessity have to be considered otherwise,<sup>10</sup> and if it is not liable to completely destroy what is good and useful in a Bacchic frenzy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> 'its opposite' (τῶν ἐναντιῶν): or 'their opponents'.

<sup>10</sup> 'they disregard ... otherwise': this is somewhat freely rendered.

<sup>11</sup> 'destroy ... frenzy': cf. 67.1.7 (see p. 67, n. 5).

οὐκ αὐταρκες εἰς πᾶσαν ἔξιν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ἄρα βραχέαττα καὶ μὴ παμμεγέθη τὰ  
 453 βρα|χέα ταῦτ' ἦ καὶ μὴ παντάπασι καταβακχεύη τῶν καλῶν καὶ χρησίμων.

4 Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀπαθῶς, ὡς εἴρηται, χρώμενοι  
 καὶ κρίνοντες, οἱ μὲν φίλως ὅτῳ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν τρόπῳ φερόμενοι πάντ'  
 ἐπαινοῦσι δραττόμενοι τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ μετουσίας, καὶ θαυμαστῶς ὅπως αἶρουσι, 5  
 καὶ πάντας ἀξιοῦσι πείθεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ κροτεῖν, 2 οἱ δὲ  
 τούναντίον αὐθις ἀπεχθεία τινὶ καὶ ἀηδία κακῶς ὀρώντες, τῆς τῶν φαύλων  
 μοίρας ὁπόσης δὴ τινος ἐπειλημμένοι, πάντως δ' οὐχ' οἶον τε μὴ συμπαρεῖναι  
 καὶ ὁπιοῦν κατατρέχουσιν ἄσχετα, καὶ παλαμναιοτάτας ἐπιφέρουσι καὶ ἀπ- 10  
 ευκταιοτάτας τὰς βλασφημίας, καὶ ὡς ἐξάγιστ' ὀνειδὴ τοὺς παρ' ἄλλων θαν-  
 μαζομένους προβέβληνται. 3 Καὶ ὃς ἂν συμφωνῇ, σοφὸς οὗτος καὶ καλῶς  
 ὀρῶν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἄλλο τίποτε φρονοίῃ τὲ καὶ ὀρώῃ, τυφλὸς καὶ κάκιστ' ἀμαθὴς  
 καὶ ἡλίθιος, τὰ πᾶσι δηλα καὶ πόρρωθεν βοῶντα τὲ καὶ βοώμενα μὴ ξυνορᾶν  
 ἔχων μὴδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι. 4 Καὶ μεταβάλλουσιν, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνίοτε  
 πρὸς τάναντί' ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ τάλλήλων ἀντιλαμβάνουσι καὶ παραλλάττουσι 15  
 τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας ἕξεις τραπέντες, καὶ τὰ φίλα καὶ μάχιμα ξυντυχία  
 454 τινὶ μεταποιηθέντες, μὴδὲν πρὸς τοὺς ξυνορῶντας φειδόμενοι, μὴτ' | ἄλλους,  
 μὴθ' ἑαυτοὺς αἰδούμενοι, τῷ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἀνιδρύτῳ· 5 καὶ μέν-  
 τοι καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρ' ὅμως οὐτ' ἀποροῦσι λόγων καὶ πίστεων εἰς τάναντί'  
 ἐπιχειροῦντες νῦν τε εἶναι καὶ πρότερον διὰ τὸ καὶ ἀφορμῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν 20  
 καθάπαξ μὴ ἀτυχεῖν, οὐτ' ἀποροῦσιν ἀκροωμένων κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, 6 τοῦτο  
 μὲν πολλοὺς τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἴσως ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας ὡς ἔτυχε φερομένους  
 ἔχοντες, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς εὖ δὴ μάλα τοὺς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχομένους πάθεσι  
 κατ' αὐτούς, ἢ τοὺς ἐτοίμους εἰς τὸ μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου καὶ  
 συμπάσχειν καὶ συνδιατίθεσθαι. 25

<sup>12</sup> 'whoever agrees with this': if, as it seems, Metochites means that the reader must agree with him, he is quite arrogant; it is not, however, said explicitly to what or with whom the reader should agree or conform in his views.

<sup>13</sup> 'calls ... way': πόρρωθεν βοῶντα τὲ καὶ βοώμενα.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 2.2 above.

<sup>15</sup> 'the instability ... mind' (τῷ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἀνιδρύτῳ): or, perhaps, 'their natural mental instability'.

4 Most people do not, as has been said, act and judge without passion. Some behave kindly in all possible ways, and they praise everything as if by doing so they were allowed to partake of something good; and they exalt anything immensely, and they expect everyone else to agree with them and pay attention to them and applaud them. 2 Others, however, do wickedly see things in the opposite way; this they do because of hatred and disgust, and having some small part in evil (a part from which it is impossible to escape) they somehow, and without restraint, inveigh against those who are admired by others; and by imposing the most abominable and deprecatory curses on these, they attack them as if they were worthy of the worst blame. 3 And whoever agrees with this<sup>12</sup> is wise and sees clearly. But whoever is of any other opinion and sees differently is blind and grievously ignorant and stupid, since he is not able to see or sense that which should be clear to everyone and calls to attention from afar and is generally said to be in this way.<sup>13</sup> 4 And both sides (this has also been said before)<sup>14</sup> sometimes shift their position, and they take up the opinions of their opponents; and governed by their passions they change and turn to the opposite standpoint, carrying out this change in their likes and dislikes haphazardly; and they do not in any way restrain themselves out of respect for the onlookers; and, because of the instability of their nature and their mind,<sup>15</sup> they do not feel any shame in front of others, or on their own account. 5 Nevertheless, whatever their opinions, they do not lack arguments and proofs, now arguing for a view contrary to the former; for they are certainly not wanting in material to support any point of view. Nor do they lack an audience in any of these cases, 6 having as listeners either a lot of ignorant people who are perhaps driven at random by their stupidity, or a lot of people who are very much under the control of the same passions as they are themselves, or people who are willing to incur the same illness and to suffer with them and demonstrate their sympathy with them.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 'demonstrate ... them': συνδιατίθεσθαι here could be more or less synonymous with the preceding συμπάσχειν or mean 'to arrange themselves (with them)' or, perhaps, 'to become members of their party'.

“Ὅτι χρήσιμα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ καὶ γεωμετρικοῦ τῆς  
φιλοσοφίας εἶδους διὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα πλείστα τῷ βίῳ καὶ διὰ  
τὰ τῶν μηχανικῶν ἔργα· Ο’

1 Πολύ τοι πεφυκὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ὅψαιτ’ ἂν τις  
ἐπισκοπούμενος τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶδους· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλ’ 5  
ἐὼ καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου χρήσεσι, καὶ ὅσα  
455 τῶν μουσικῶν ἀρμονιῶν, 2 πλείστας καὶ διαφόρους | ἐργαζόμενα διαθέσεις  
ταῖς ψυχαῖς καθότι δέοι ἂν, ἡ φόβον κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ συστολὴν ἤθους, ἡ  
θάρρος ἀνάπαλιν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἀρείκην ἐμποῦναι, ἡ οἶκτον, ἡ  
ἐνθουσιασμὸν περὶ τὰ θεῖα, ἡ γαλήνην ὑποπτώσεως καὶ συντριβὴν καρδίας, 10  
3 ἡ ἄλλαττα πάνυ τοι πλείσθ’ ὅσα διαιρεῖ καὶ τεχνολογεῖ μὲν ἐπιστήμη, τῇ  
δὲ πείρᾳ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους πιστοῦται· ἔτι γ’ ὅσα μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν οὐρανίων  
ἔχομεν ἀκριβέστατα ἐπιστήμης· καὶ ῥάδιον οὐκ ἔστι παρόδῳ τοῦ λόγου  
καταριθμεῖσθαι τάντεῦθεν λυσιτελεῖν πρὸς πάντα τὰνθρώπινα καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
βίον καιρὸν ἔχοντα. 4 Περὶ δέ γε τῶν ἐκ γεωμετρικῆς, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἡ 15  
τῇδ’ ἐπιστήμη καταποικίλλεται καὶ θαυμάζεται ταῖς ἐναργεῖαις καὶ τῇ ἀσειστῳ  
τρανώσει τῶν δεῖξεων, ἔτ’ ἔχομεν ἀμέλει τόδε προστιθέναι καὶ λέγειν τῷ παντὶ  
πρόχειρον καθορᾶν, 5 ὥς ἄρ’ ἐν παντοίαις καταμετρήσεσιν ἡ καθ’ ὕψος, ἡ  
βάθος, ἡ πλατυκὰς διαστάσεις ἐν γαιωδαισίαις, ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς πάσαις, ὥσπερ  
456 ἀμέλει πλείστα δὴ τὰ τοιαῦθ’ ἐκάστοτε κατ’ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ὁ βίος αἰετῶν |  
γε τοιούτων καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι πλήρεις, 6 πολλῶ κατ’ ἀνάγκην χρεωδέστατον τὸ  
τῆς γεωμετρικῆς ἐπιστήμης εἶς τε τὰς ἐκάστων εὐρέσεις παντάπασιν ἀσφαλεῖς  
καὶ καταλήψεις τὸ πιστὸν ἐχούσας ἄσειστον, καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ δημιουργίας  
μετὰ παντὸς ἀμέλει τοῦ γιγνομένου τῆς ἀρμονίας, καὶ μάλα καλλίστης, εἰς τὸ  
βεβαίως ἔχειν τῆς διαθέσεως· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔστιν ἢ οὕτω δὴ τοῦ βελτίστου 25

4 τοι s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>, om. P<sup>1</sup>M, τὸ M-K      πράγμασιν ... τις: πράγμασιν τὸ χρήσιμον (τὸ χρήσιμον  
s.l. add. ut vid. M<sup>2</sup>) ὅψαιτ’ ἂν τις M, πράγμασί τὸ χρήσιμον E      8 καθότι: accentum posuit P<sup>2</sup>,  
de accentu in P<sup>1</sup> non constat      11 ἐπιστήμη: -πι- s.l. add. ut vid. P<sup>2</sup>      12 post παρὰ s.l. add.  
τῆς ut vid. M<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘on account of’ (διά): or ‘as can be seen from’. However, it is possible that διά should be understood as denoting purpose (cf. Modern Greek για; for examples from Ancient Greek see LSJ s.v. διά B.III.3). The translation of this title is the one suggested by Hult 2002, 13.

70. That the branches of philosophy dealing with  
mathematics and geometry are useful in life for many  
reasons and particularly on account of the works of  
engineers<sup>1</sup>

1 Anyone who contemplates this will in matters of human life see much which has its natural origin in the mathematical kind of philosophy. I shall leave other things aside, such as the use of arithmetical reasoning in practical life and what concerns musical harmonies— 2 these create a great deal of different effects on souls, according to what is wanted: on some occasions they instil either fear and a shock,<sup>2</sup> or, conversely, courage and high thoughts and daring in battle, or compassion, or religious enthusiasm, or quiet submission and contrition of the heart, 3 or any other of the numerous effects which are proved by human experience and about which science makes definitions and rules. I shall further leave out of discussion that most accurate kind of knowledge which we have about the heavenly bodies, the benefits of which knowledge to everything human and to everything which pertains to life it is not easy to recount in passing. 4 Instead we have, with regard to geometry which, more than other things dealt with by science here,<sup>3</sup> is embellished and admired by the actuality and unshakeable distinctness<sup>4</sup> of its proofs, to add and say the following which can be easily understood by everyone: 5 in the manifold measurements of heights or depths or distances, which occur in geodesy and in the building of any kind of house (this occurs all the time among men, and human life and that of states are full of these), 6 the geometrical science is out of necessity what is most expedient by far, and it allows us to arrive at absolutely certain solutions to every problem and an understanding which is of unshakeable reliability; and it allows us to build and create in such a way that everything which comes into being is in the most beautiful harmony,

<sup>2</sup> 'shock': συστολή ἥθους.

<sup>3</sup> 'science here' (ἡ τῆδ' ἐπιστήμη): τῆδ' is vague ('in this world?').

<sup>4</sup> 'distinctness': the substantive τράνωσις is missing from LSJ; see Lampe: 'clarification', 'clear expression' etc.

καὶ προσήκοντος τυγχάνειν. 7 Ἀκόσμητα μέντ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τῇ κατ' ὄψιν εὐθὺς ἐντυχία, καὶ πρὸς λύσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἐτοίμως ἂν ἔχοι, εἰ μὴ οὕτω γίγνοιτο, καὶ ταῖς γεωμετρικαῖς ἀνάγκαις ἅμα τὲ ρυθμίζοιτο καὶ ἅμα τὸ διαρκὲς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἕκαστα χρῆσιν λαμβάνοι.

2 Καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ἴσως ἀγνοεῖται ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα· ἔχει δ' ὁμως οὕτω 5 ταῦτα, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· καὶ τοῖς ἐργολαβοῦσι τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μόνον ἀλόγως διδοῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις, κατακαιρὸν ἀνύτουσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀγνοοῦσιν ἢ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ καθ' ὃ τι καλῶς ἔχοι, καὶ λόγῳ ξυμμετρεῖται παντὶ τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ καλῶς ἴστασθαι πέφυκεν· 2 ἀγνοοῦνται μὲν οἱ λόγοι, τοῦτ' εὖ μάλα δὴ καὶ παντὶ δῆλον, ἀλλ' οἱ λόγοι μὴν τὸ πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς εὗραντο τῶν 10 γεγονότων καὶ γιγνομένων ἀεὶ καὶ νομίμων ἐκάστων τῆς τέχνης, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα 457 θέμεθλα | τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰκότος ἀλογίστῳ χρήσει πόρρωθεν ἄρ' ἐκείθεν πέπηγε· 3 καὶ παλαιὸς ἦκοι κλῆρος ἐκ διαδοχῆς προβαίνων εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἐπιστήμης εὐσύνετος τοῖς τεχνιτεύουσι καὶ δημιουργομένοις, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐκείθεν παραπεμπόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ μόνον καθάπαξ οὐκ 15 ἀγνοούμενος τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν. 4 Ὡς ἐκ τῶν τῆς σοφίας καὶ θεωρίας κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἀκλόνητον εὐρέσεων καὶ συμπερασμάτων εὐγενῶς ἔχει, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐσιώθη, καὶ τῷ βίῳ μάλιστ' ἐπαρκεῖ χρήσιμός τε καὶ σπουδῆς πάσης ἀξιούμενος καὶ ἐπιμελείας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώποις. 5 Καὶ μὴν ἔτι τὰ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν ἔργα καὶ μαγκανεύματα καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐν πᾶσι πράγμασι, 20 μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πολέμους καὶ μάχας ἔργοις, ὅποσα δύναται καὶ σφδρ' ἀνύτει κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστοτε χρείας ὀνησιμώτατ' ἐστὶ, τίς 458 ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἀπάντων, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν καθεκάστην γιγνομένων | καὶ ὀρωμένων ἐκδηλότατα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἱστοριῶν τε καὶ παλαιῶν συγγραμμάτων;

8 παντί: an scrib. πάντα?  
μὲν per comp. M, μὲν E  
M, μαγχανεύματα E

9 post λόγοι add. καὶ M

12 εἰκότος p.c. P<sup>1</sup>, fort. -ως a.c. P

10 μὴν: -η- P<sup>2</sup>, -η- vel -ε- P<sup>1</sup>, ut vid.

20 μαγχανεύματα P et fort.

<sup>5</sup> 'though': this is to translate καὶ which I take as adversative (cf. below, n. 7).

<sup>6</sup> 'and are approved – this': the Greek is vague and the translation uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> 'though': to translate adversative καὶ (cf. above, n. 5).

<sup>8</sup> 'came into being' (τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐσιώθη): or 'took form' (?). The entire paragraph is difficult.

and as to make it stable. For in no other way is it possible to achieve what is best and fitting.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, if it is not done in this way, and if a building is not regulated by the geometrical requirements and constructed so as to ensure its longevity for every kind of use, it offends the eye at once, and it tends towards collapse and ruin.

2 To many it is perhaps unknown that this is so; but so it most certainly is. And those who employ themselves in crafts for reasons of profit and who, without thinking, only lend their hand to the work, do now and then accomplish something, though,<sup>5</sup> no less than most people, they ignore in what way their work is good. For all works are measured by intellectual reasoning and are approved if in accordance with this.<sup>6</sup> 2 The arguments may be unknown, as is well obvious to everyone; but reasoning has established the principles of that which was worked in the past and of that which is still being worked in the present time, and the rules of each of the crafts, though<sup>7</sup> the very first foundations were laid down by experience and the unreflective use of what seemed serviceable, in a way very remote from our mode of reasoning. 3 And an old legacy may have come down to us, by inheritance, even if it is not easily understandable by the laws of science to those employed in crafts and those who create [according to this legacy]; nevertheless it may be safely transmitted from its source, being just about discernible to the sensible. 4 And because of the discoveries and conclusions made by wisdom and observation in accordance with an irrefutable science, the inherited knowledge functions well, or rather it came into being<sup>8</sup> by these discoveries; and it is sufficient for human life and useful and worthy of men's every exertion and care, for the sake of the common good. 5 Further, what man is ignorant of the power and effectiveness of the works of the engineers and their devices,<sup>9</sup> and how very beneficial they are for each separate need, if employed at the right moment? This is so generally and in all matters, but especially when it comes to works intended for wars

<sup>9</sup> 'devices': in Antiquity *μαγγάνευμα* probably always has a negative connotation (LSJ: 'trickery'/'(meretricious) arts' etc.); cf., however, the technical term *μάγανον*.

3 Ταῦτα μέν γε ἐκδηλότατα πάντως ἅπαντι συνιδεῖν, καὶ ὅς οὐ πάντ' εὐμαθὴς ἐστίν, ὅτι τῆς μαθηματικῆς καὶ γεωμετρικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶν ἐκτόκια, πᾶσαν ἐκείθεν τὴν τέχνην ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως διοίκησιν καὶ παρασκευήν· <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἃ γὰρ κατὰ τὰς χρήσεις ἐκάστας περαίνει καταμέρος, καθόλου γεωμετρικῶν εἰσὶν ἀποδείξεων συμπεράσματα, καὶ συλλογισμῶν <sup>5</sup> ἐκείθεν ἀνάγκην ἔχει, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐκείθεν πίστεις καὶ δείξεις τὸ ἄσειστον φέρεται καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔργον, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης νόμιμα τὸ δρᾶν ἔχει· <sup>3</sup> καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπαγωγικά τινα μαρτύρια τῶν καθόλου δογμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ διανοητικῶν ἀποφάνσεων, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὕλης κἂν τῇ ὕλῃ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑποδείγματα, καὶ παραδεικνύντα τῆς αὐτοῦ θεωρίας καὶ ὄντως ἔξω τῆς <sup>10</sup> αἰσθήσεως, ἀναχωρούσης ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτὴν πραγματεία τιμιωτέρα, <sup>4</sup> καρποῦς κατ' αἴσθησιν καὶ ζῶν αἰσθητικὴν, ὣν ἀμέλει σπουδῇ πάσῃ τὴν ἐποπτεῖαν ἀφαιρούμεθα τῷ νῷ καὶ ἀμικρῶς πολιτευόμεθα τῆς σωματικῆς χρήσεως, οἳ γε πλέον ὅτιοῦν τοῦ προχείρου τοῦδε ζῶντες καὶ μὴ καθ' ἃ μόνον ὁρώμεν, καθ' ἃ <sup>15</sup> 459 μόνον ἀπτόμεθα καὶ ὅλως ἐσμέν ταῖς αἰσθή|σεσι. <sup>5</sup> Τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλεπόλεις <sup>15</sup> αὐταὶ καὶ μηχαναὶ τῆς ὕλης ἀχώριστοι παντοῖαι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι φῶ, χειραγωγοῦσιν, ἢ βιάζονται πρὸς τὸ λογίζεσθαι καὶ βιοῦν ὀπηροῦν αὐτῇ τῇ τελευτέρᾳ φύσει καὶ τῷ λογικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς, κατασυλλογίζομένους ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τῆς διανοίας ἅττα δὴ τοῦ προχείρου καὶ βοσκηματώδους ἄνω βίου. <sup>6</sup> Καὶ τοῦτο μέν ὡς οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον· καὶ ἴσως μέν ἐστιν ἔτι προστιθέναι <sup>20</sup> περὶ τούτων καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ· εὐλαβητέον δ' ἂν εἴῃ περαιτέρω καί, οἶμαι γε, ξὺν λόγῳ, φεύγοντας ἄκαιρον αὐθις μῆκος λόγων ἔξω τοῦ νυνὶ σκοποῦ. <sup>7</sup> Ἀτὰρ δὴθ' ὅπερ ἐβουλόμην, ὅσοις ἄρα τῶν ἐν πολιορκίαις τοὺς ἐσχάτους προσδοκῶντων προδήλως κινδύνους, τὰκ τῆς μηχανικῆς ταύτης τέχνης ἔργα καὶ σοφίσματα τὰς ἀργαλεωτάτας συμφορὰς καὶ τοὺς βαρυτάτους καὶ <sup>25</sup> ἀπνευκταιοτάτους θανάτους ἀπώσατο καὶ ζωῆς ἔτ' ἔδωκε προσθήκην καὶ ἀριθμούς, καὶ ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἤμυνεν· <sup>8</sup> ὅσοις δ' αὖ τάντεῦθεν ὀπλίσματα καὶ

<sup>2</sup> μαθηματικῆς: -μα- sub linea add. P<sup>2</sup>

<sup>7</sup> ἔργον P et fort. M, ἐνεργὸν E

<sup>18</sup> κατα-

συλλογίζομένους: -τ- P<sup>2</sup>, sic vel fort. -I- vel -Γ- P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>19</sup> ἅττα ut vid. PM, ἅττα E

<sup>23</sup>

ἡβουλόμην E et ut vid. M

<sup>27</sup> ἀπὸ ... ἤμυνεν] cf. Il. 16.75, 80 ἀπο λοιγὸν ἀμύνων | Hes. Sc. 240sq. τοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ σφετέρης πόλιος σφετέρων τε τοκῶν / λοιγὸν ἀμύνοντες, τοὶ δὲ πραθέειν μεμαῶτες | Pi. N. 9.37 οὐνεκεν ἐν πολέμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν αἰχματὰν ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνναλίου | Hsch. A 6461.1 ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμύναι· ἀποσοβῆσαι τὸν θάνατον

and battles, as is most clearly to be understood from what can be seen to happen daily, but also from history and old writings.

3 It may surely be understood by everyone, even by him who is not always a quick learner, that this<sup>10</sup> is an offspring of the mathematical and geometrical sciences, and that it takes its technique and the organisation of its forces and its preparation from these disciplines; 2 and that its whole performance, on each separate occasion when these sciences are employed, is necessarily the consequence of geometrical reasoning and of calculations stemming from geometry; also that it is because of the reasoning and the proofs deduced from science that a piece of work can be considered safe and reliable, and that a piece of work can only be fit to function if it is made in accordance with the laws of science. 3 These laws are like some kind of witnesses from which all doctrines and intellectual opinions can be deduced; they are the indications of science in which matter is involved and used; and they show fruits of the speculation on the immaterial and on that which really lies outside of perception, proceeding on its own way, and obeying to a more precious plan— 4 fruits which can be perceived and which belong to the life within the senses, by the detailed study of which we are, however, deprived of the overview of the mind and behave exclusively in accordance with the bodily functions; this happens to us even if we should live for something more than that which is at hand and not only for that which we can see and feel when we rely wholly on the senses. 5 For those siege-engines and manifold devices for such works, devices which are inseparable from matter, lead (I do not know how to express this) most people by the hand, or force them, towards reason and a life which in some way is in accordance with the more perfect nature and the logic of the soul; and thus they are able to consider in their mind matters concerning their plain and brutish earlier life. 6 That this is so, is obvious; and maybe there is more which it would be fit to add on this account. But we have, I think, good reason not to do so, and we should avoid an unreasonable amount of words which go beyond the present scope. 7 However

<sup>10</sup> I.e. the practical knowledge of engineers.

460 παρασκευαὶ πάντων πραγμάτων κρατοῦσαι συγκατεπράξαντο θαυμαστὰ καὶ  
μέγιστ' ἔργα καὶ νίκας καὶ κατασκαφὰς πόλεων καὶ θριάμβων ἐχορήγησαν |  
ἀφορμὰς· καὶ πλείστ' ἔχομεν ἐνταῦθα νέα τε προφέρειν εἰς πίστωσιν τῷ λόγῳ  
καὶ παλαιὰ συγγραφόντων ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ οἷς πάνυ τοι τῆς ἀληθείας  
ἐμέλησε.

5

4 Πλούταρχος μὲν γε ὁ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας πλείστ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος δὴ πρὸς  
τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἐνευδοκιμεῖ τῇ σοφίᾳ, καὶ περὶ τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάσας  
ἱστορίας πονήσας, καὶ πολυμαθέστατος, καὶ πολυμαθίας χρησίμων ἔργων  
διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώποις καὶ χορηγὸς τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ λόγους σπουδάζουσι,  
2 συγγραφόμενος τὸν Μαρκέλλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ βίον καὶ πράξεις 10  
μεγίστας ἔργα διέξεισιν Ἀρχιμήδους τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν  
Συρακουσῶν ξενίζοντα καὶ τερατώδη μηχανικῆς σοφίας, 3 ἃ κατὰ τῶν  
Μαρκέλλου παμπλείστων στρατευμάτων καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς δυσαντιβλέπτου  
κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἐπιχειρήσεως σὺν μεγάλῃ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ φοβῶντι  
κράτει τῆς Ῥώμης τὲ καὶ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἀντεπεδείκνυτο καὶ 15  
ἀντεπεχειρεῖ· 4 λίθων τὲ καὶ βελῶν παντοίων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἀφέσεις ὁμοῦ  
ἀνυπονοήτους τὲ καὶ ἀνυποίστους, καὶ νηῶν προσαραγμοὺς ἀλλήλαις, καὶ  
νηῶν αἰωρήσεις καὶ καταδύσεις, καὶ πάντα χαλεπά, καὶ μυριαρίθμους Ῥωμαίων  
461 θανάτους, 5 ἃ κἂν ἠπιστεῖτο καὶ μάται' ἀναπλάσματα καὶ μυθώδη | πολλοῖς  
ἔδοξεν, εἰ μὴ τῆς τοῦ Πλουτάρχου σοφίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐλαβείας 20  
ἱστορούσης ἐτύγχανε, καὶ πολλῆς κατὰ πάσης ἀκοῆς ἐν προλήψει δόξης· ὅφ'  
ὦν δὴ καὶ τελευτῶν ὁ πάντα ἀήττητος ἀπειπὼν Μάρκελλος ἀνεχώρει τῶν

10 Ῥωμαίων: Ῥωμαίου M  
trema 22 πάντ' M

12 συρακουσῶν E et ut vid. M

13 Ῥωμαϊκῆς P, i.e. non exhib.

12 Συρακουσῶν (§ 2sq.) cf. Plu. *Marc.* 14sq.

11 'warded off ruin' (ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἤμυνεν): expressions identical or very similar to this occur 15 times in the *Iliad*, never in the *Odyssey*, and often in later literature either as explanations of the Homeric expression or, perhaps, as allusions.

12 Here the text seems to be anacoluthic.

13 The theme of this chapter of the essay is taken up in essay 71 (for which see Hult 2002).

14 'an undertaking ... Marcellus': this may also be translated differently, so as to mean that Archimedes organised a counter-attack, not only on the Roman armies, but also on the Roman glory and the power of Rome and Marcellus himself.

(and this is what I wanted to say), from those who obviously expected to be subject to the utmost danger during sieges, the works of this art of engineering and its inventions have averted the most painful catastrophes and the hardest and most horrible kinds of deaths, and they have given them an additional number of years to live and thus *warded off ruin*.<sup>11</sup> <sup>8</sup> But regarding those who have been helped by armament and equipment from this source, powerful enough to prevail in every matter, and who have been aided in achieving wonderful and very great deeds, and have been given victories and the destruction of cities and causes for triumphs—we also have<sup>12</sup> a great many new examples of this to bring forth here, in proof of our opinion; we have also those examples of old, which have been written down by men of note who were very careful to tell the truth.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch of Chaeronea, that man of the greatest wisdom, [of greater wisdom] than the men among whom he gained glory, exerted himself in all kinds of old stories from times prior to himself;<sup>13</sup> and he was a most learned teacher, who conveyed a great deal of knowledge on matters of practical use, and a giver to the world and to students of letters. <sup>2</sup> Writing about the life and great deeds of the Roman general Marcellus, he recounts the extraordinary and prodigious feats of engineering skill accomplished by the mathematician Archimedes during the siege of Syracuse. <sup>3</sup> These feats meant a manifest counter-attack on the very numerous armies of Marcellus and the fearful Roman undertaking against Archimedes' country, an undertaking which was the more terrifying for the great glory and the frightening power of Rome and the admirable Marcellus.<sup>14</sup> <sup>4</sup> Stones and many kinds of missiles were thrown, unexpectedly and irresistibly, from out of view; ships were dashed against each other; ships were also lifted into the air and sunk, and things unbearable happened, and countless deaths occurred among the Romans. <sup>5</sup> Most people would have difficulties in believing all this and would consider it idle fancy and myth, had it not met with the wisdom of Plutarch and his scrupulous care for the truth when writing history<sup>15</sup> (it had also won great reputation by being talked

<sup>15</sup> 'when writing history': this is to translate *ιστοροῦσης*; it seems like an odd expression in Greek.

ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ κινδύνων τῆς μάχης, 6 καὶ προσέχειν ἡξίου μόνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας, τὴν ὑποποίησιν τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ θαρρῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφιστάμενος τῆς μάχης, ἃ μὴδὲν ἑώρα κατὰ τῆς Ἀρχιμήδους σοφίας ὀχυρὸν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον ἐν γωνίᾳ καθήμενον πάντ' ἀναλύοντα καὶ χωρὶς ὅπλων νικῶντα ῥᾶστα.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πλουτάρχου περὶ Ἀρχιμήδους τοιαῦτα· καὶ ἄλλων δὲ περὶ ἄλλων, τοιαῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκέτι, παραπλήσια δὲ τῇ τῆς τέχνης δυνάμει τῶν συγγραφῶν ἔστι πλείστα λαβεῖν, κἂν εἴ τις βούλοιο μάλα δὴ πειραῖσθαι, καὶ νέ' ὁρᾶν αἰεὶ, 2 καὶ κατασυλλογίζεσθαι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν χρησίμον, ἢ ἀμυνομένοις, ἢ ἐπιτιθεμένοις, ταῖς γεωμετρικαῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ ἀποδείξει 10 ποριζόμενον ἴν' οἰκείως κατὰ γεωμέτρως εἴποιμι, 3 τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τῇ μαθηματικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ξυνορῶν ἀληθῶς περὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἀσώματα, κἀνταῦθα περαίνουσιν 462 ταύτην τὰς θεωρίας τῇ τοῦ νοῦ βιώσει καὶ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον | τῷ ὄντι χρῆμα τοῖς ἐπαίειν ἔχουσιν· οἷδ' ἀμύητοι θύρας ἐπιθέσθων· ἐν βεβήλοις γὰρ ἀποτετάχεται. 4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νοητῶν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ σῶμα συν- 15 νοούμενος ὡς ἄρα φέρονται πολλοὶ κατὰ χρεῖας ἐκάστοτε, τῆς ἐπιστήμης κατὰ τὴν ὕλην καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὕλης, πορίσματα, ἀνάγκη πάσῃ τῶν αὐτῶν εὐρημάτων ἐπιφανόμενα καὶ ξυνέπεσθαι μάλιστ' αὐτόθεν ἀπαρατήτως ἔχοντα, 5 ὡς εἶναι καὶ τὰ παρελκόμενα τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ 'ὁδοῦ' φασὶ 'πάρεργα', πολὺ βιωφελέστατα, καὶ σπουδῆς ἂν εἰκότως ἀξιούμενα μεγίστης, καὶ ἡμῖν 20 πιστούμενα κομιδῇ τὴν νῦν τοῦ λόγου πρόθεσιν, 6 ὡς ἄρα πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν

1 τῆς: της sine accentu P      7 παραπλησία M      8 συγγραφῶν: an scrib. συγγραφῶν?      9 κατασυλλογίζεσθαι: -συλ- s.l. add. P<sup>1</sup>      14 ἐπαίειν P, i.e. non exhib. trema

14 οἷδ' ... ἀποτετάχεται] cf. Orph. Fr. 7.5 (Diels-Kranz) φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι | Plu. Fr. 202.5 (Sandbach) αἰείσω συνετοῖσι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι | Clem.Al. Protr. 7.74.4.1 φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι      19 ὁδοῦ ... πάρεργα] cf. E. El. 509 ἤλθον γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τάφον πάρεργ' ὁδοῦ | Plu. De Her. malig. 859E.4sq. ὁμῶς προσπεριλαβὼν ὁδοῦ, φασί, πάρεργον et Id. Thes. 9.2.1 | Th.Met. Sem. 71.12.30sq. καὶ ἑαυτῷ πάρεργον ὁδοῦ φασὶ et Id. Logos 10.29.4

<sup>16</sup> I.e. prior to Plutarch: πρόληψις ('anticipation') is vague.

<sup>17</sup> 'the writers' artistic ability': this is an attempt at translating the vague τῇ τῆς τέχνης δυνάμει τῶν συγγραφῶν (or 'the artistic ability expressed in writings?').

<sup>18</sup> 'if': κἂν εἴ is difficult, but it seems necessary to connect this with the preceding.

<sup>19</sup> 'here': cf. above, p. 121, n. 3.

about by everyone before<sup>16</sup>). And because of these feats Marcellus, who had never been defeated before, gave up and withdrew from the operations and the dangers of battle. 6 He decided to cause the submission of the city only by the aid of time and the wear and tear of a siege, solely trusting to the shortage of necessities, but abstaining from acts of war, which, he saw, could not stand up against the wisdom of Archimedes, who just sat in a corner and analysed everything and with the greatest ease triumphed without weapons.

5 This is what Plutarch says about Archimedes. And very much which is not exactly comparable to this but similar, according to the writers' artistic ability,<sup>17</sup> is to be had from other writers about others, if<sup>18</sup> someone wants to gain real experience and continuously contemplate new matters 2 and consider what useful conclusions, furnished by the imperative rules and proofs of geometry (to express myself in a way familiar to geometers), can be drawn from this either for defenders or for attackers. 3 For I do in fact see that everything which the mathematical science deals with is about perceptible and incorporeal matters, and that science here<sup>19</sup> develops the theories for the life of the mind and the constitution of the whole, indeed a worthy matter for those capable of understanding; but those uninitiated *may close the doors, for they are excluded and must find themselves among the unhallowed*.<sup>20</sup> 4 But indeed I also think of the deductions from previous demonstrations of that science of the perceptible and the supercorporeal which is in accordance with and takes matter into account (and many people are in each case dependent on this science), deductions which by all necessity must appear from the immaterial insight and certainly and inexorably follow from these. 5 Thus even that which follows as a consequence of science is, so to speak, a most useful by-product<sup>21</sup> which may, as is reasonable, be worthy of the greatest attention and serve as a real proof to us of the correctness of the proposition of this essay, 6 namely that human concerns

<sup>20</sup> 'may ... unhallowed': this is from the Orphic fragments and is cited, with varying wording, by many later authors, including Plutarch.

<sup>21</sup> 'by-product' (ὀδοῦ πάρεργα): this expression is at least as old as Euripides' *Electra* 509, and it is taken up by Plutarch and Metochites.

ὄνησιν τάνθρώπινα κατὰ τὸν βίον πράγματα τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶδους, προχειρισμένους εἰς εὐσύνοπτον καὶ καταδηλοτάτην χρῆσιν τὰ παρὰ τῆς γεωμετρικῆς εἰς τὴν μηχανικὴν καὶ ὀργανικὴν τέχνην χορηγούμενα. 7 Καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη μέγα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ τμημάτων, εἰ βούλοιτό τις, καὶ ἅμα καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι κατασκέπτεσθαι, τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν 5 ἀνθρωπίνην καθ' ὅτιοῦν εὐζῶϊαν προστιθέναι καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τρανοῦν, φιλονεικίας πάσης ἀκαίρως ἐπηρεαζούσης ἐκποδῶν οὔσης.

### Θεωρία εἰς τὸ ἔπος τὸ 'Λάθε βιώσας'· OB'

1 'Λάθε βιώσας' φησὶ τὸ ἔπος. Ἀλλ' ἐπισκεπτέον ἐστὶν εἰ ἄρ' ἔξεστι τοῦτο, λαθεῖν βιώσαντα. Ἄν μὲν οὖν ἀβέλτερός τις εἴη καὶ οἶος δὴ ῥᾶστα βιοῦν καὶ 10 μὴ μόνον ἔξω φθόνου καὶ πάσης ἐπηρείας ἀντιπραττούσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγνοῶν σχεδὸν αὐτὸς εἰ ὅλως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ καὶ λανθάνων ἑαυτόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ζῇ καὶ βιοῖ, 2 τούτῳ δὴ μὴδὲν μήποτ' ἂν εἴη πρᾶγμα κατὰ τὸν βίον ὀρώντι τὲ 482 καὶ ὀρωμένῳ καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους βιοτεύοντι· τίς γὰρ πρὸς γε τὸν | τοιοῦτον ἀντίπραξις ἐπιφύεται, τίς δὲ βασκανία, τίς δὲ δόλος ἀπαντᾷ δυσμενῶν οὐκ οἶδ' 15 ὦντινων ἄρα, τίς δ' ἐπηρεία κόπτουσα; 3 Καὶ παραπλήσιον ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ 'οὐδὲ λένων', κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, 'οὐδ' ἁλώπηξ μύρμηκος οὐκ ἀλεγίζει', πάνθ' ὡς ὀρῶμεν πονοῦντος καὶ πλανωμένου τὴν ἁλλάως καὶ πράγματ' ἔχοντος ὡς γε δοκεῖ καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἔργον πολυφρόντιδος φύσεως. 4 Εἰ δέ τις εἴη τῶν ἀστείων καὶ προεχόντων ἢ γνῶμη τινὶ καὶ φυσικῶ κράτει ἢ κλήρῳ τύχης καὶ 20 δόξῃ τινὶ καὶ πλούτου περιφανείᾳ καὶ φθάσας ἐν μετουσίᾳ τῶν γε τοιούτων ἢ

3 τῆς om. M

7 ἐκποδῶν PME, fort. scrib. ἐκποδῶν

18 τὴν ἁλλάως M

9 Λάθε βιώσας] cf. Plu. *De latenter vivendo* ubi Epicur. Fr. 551 (Usener) Λάθε βιώσας | *Suda* Λ 41.1 Λάθε βιώσας· τοῦ τε ἐν παροιμίᾳ λέγεσθαι εἰωθότος, ἔργῳ βεβαιωθέντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου 17 ἁλώπηξ ... ἀλεγίζει] cf. *CPG* I Greg. Cyr. II 48.1 'Ἐλέφας μὺς οὐκ ἀλεγίζει | *CPG* II Mich. Apost. VII 8 'Ἐλέφας μὺν οὐκ ἀλεγίζει: ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα ὑπερορώντων et Ibid. X 37 Κώνωπος ἑλέφας Ἰνδὸς οὐκ ἀλεγίζει μύρμηκος ... πονοῦντος] cf. *Corp. fab. Aesop.* (Hausrath-Hunger) *Fab. Theophyl.* 2.11sq. ἰκέτευσεν δὲ ὁ τέττιξ τὸν φιλόπονον μύρμηκα τῶν θησαυρῶν μετασχεῖν | *Ael. NA* 4.43.1 οὕτως ἄρα αὐτοῖς (i.e. μύρμηξι) τὸ ἐθελουργὸν καὶ τὸ ἐθελόπονον πάρεστιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ὑποτιμήσεως ἐθελοκακούσης καὶ σκλήψεως

in life can profit much from the mathematical kind of philosophy, if we appropriate the gifts of geometry to the art of engineering and to practical applications and let them be used in the way which is evidently and very clearly the proper one. <sup>7</sup> And it would be a small matter<sup>22</sup> and at the same time a good thing, if anyone cared to do it, to leave all ill-seasoned and disturbing rivalry on one side and present and clarify to the ignorant in what way the other sections of mathematics are useful for any good human life.

## 72. Reflections on the maxim *Live hidden*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Live hidden*, says the maxim.<sup>2</sup> But let us investigate if this is really possible—to live hidden. If someone is of a simple disposition and able to live in the most lighthearted way, not only avoiding jealousy and all kinds of hard feeling, but even being almost wholly unaware that he lives among men, and, so to speak, can conceal from himself the fact that he exists and lives—<sup>2</sup> for such a man it should not be difficult in life to watch or to be watched and to live among people. What opposition could such a man meet with, what calumny, what guile could reach him from the side of I do not know which evil-minded men? What insult could hurt him? <sup>3</sup> This is a case similar to that of the proverbial lion, or fox, who does not pay any attention to the ant<sup>3</sup> who, as we see, is always striving and roaming about everywhere, seeming to worry about everything which requires a great deal of thought. <sup>4</sup> If, however, someone belongs to the elite and to those who excel, either as to their intellect and physical strength, or as to

<sup>22</sup> ‘a small matter’: as to the scientific effort needed?

<sup>1</sup> *Sem. 71, On Plutarch*, is included in the first volume of the edition (Hult 2002).

<sup>2</sup> This is the famous saying attributed to Epicurus.

<sup>3</sup> Proverbial expressions about the elephant and the mouse (or fly) are found in many texts (see app. font. et parall.), i.e. expressions referring to the tendency of the great to ignore the small. In this case, Metochites is having a certain kind of industry, or busybodiness, in mind and therefore introduces the ant, whose industry is proverbial and mentioned in Aesopus and many other texts.

πάντων ἴσως ὁμοῦ ἢ τινῶν γένοιτο, <sup>5</sup> δυσχερὲς κοιμιδῇ καὶ πάντων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐργωδέστατον τὸ μὴ τούτοις ὀπηροῦν ὀγκοῦσθαι καὶ μάλα τοι θαρρεῖν ἑαυτῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι μετ' ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν πρὸς πάντα πράγματα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. <sup>6</sup> Καὶ τίς οὕτω μεγάλῳ φρων καὶ γεννικὸς καὶ κατὰ παντὸς ἐπαγωγῷ τε καὶ τῷ καθεδύνοντι καὶ θέλγοντι δυναστεύοντος, ὃς <sup>5</sup> ὑπέρεσχε τῶν εἰρημένων κρείττων καὶ παρεῖδε φυγῶν εὐ μάλα τὰ παρόντα τῆς ἀγαθῆς ξυντυχίας αὐτῷ, ὡς τοῦτ' ὄν αὐτῷ μάλιστα βέλτιστον, καὶ λαθεῖν καθάπαξ ἀνθρώπους εἴλετο, κατὰ τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖνυν, ὡς ἔφην, πάντων ἐργωδέστατον; <sup>7</sup> Καὶ ἅμα πῶς ἂν καὶ οἶος τ' εἶη διαδράναι καὶ παρελθεῖν τὴν  
483 περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν πολλῶν ἐπίγνωσιν, καὶ εἰ μάλ' αἰροῖτο καὶ | <sup>10</sup>  
λαθεῖν ἀξιοῖ; Φθάσας γὰρ ἔχεται καὶ ἤληπται παντάπασιν ἄφυκτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρῶσι, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν γε τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εὐ μάλ' ὁρῶσι.

2 Τὰλλότρια γὰρ δὴ πλείστον ἄνθρωποι πολυπραγμονοῦσι καὶ ὀξυ-  
βλεπτοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅσῳ δὴ τινος εὐφορίας τυγχάνει καὶ φθόνων ἀφορμὰς  
καὶ ὕλην παρέχεται· καὶ τούτοις γὰρ αὐτόθεν ἐφεδρεύουσι καὶ δυσνοοῦσι, καὶ <sup>15</sup>  
πάντ' ἐντεῦθεν κινεῖται μάχημα· καὶ φιλονεικίαι καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ ἀντιθέσεων  
ἄμιλλαι, <sup>2</sup> καὶ οὐχ' οἶον τε καλῶς ὅτιοῦν ἔχοντα κρύπτεσθαι, οὐδ' οἶον τε  
μὴ πράγματ' ἔχειν μὴδὲ ξυμπίπτειν ἐκόντα τὰ καὶ ἄκοντα τὸ μέρος πολλαῖς  
ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πλείν ἢ καὶ τέως ῥήθη ποτ' ἂν, καὶ φεύγοντι καθ' αἵρεσιν  
ἀδύνατον διαδράναι καὶ ἡρέμα σχεῖν. <sup>3</sup> Ὡσπερ οὐδ' ἔστιν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι <sup>20</sup>  
πῶς ἔξω ζῶντα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη δέδεται, καὶ χρῆσθαι λοιπὸν ὡς οἶον τ' εὐ  
ὀπηροῦν ἀπαραίτητον, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἀμιλλᾶσθαι πάσῃ σπουδῇ  
καὶ διακαρτερεῖν μένοντα, καὶ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν πᾶσαν καὶ πρὸς τούναντίον  
ἀμηγέπη παραβαλλόμενον, <sup>4</sup> καὶ τοῖς κατ' εὐχὴν αἰρόμενον ὡς βέλτιστα, καὶ  
βέλτιστ' ἂν εἶη τῷ ὄντι εἰ σωφρονικῶς μὲν οὖν ἔπειτα καὶ τοῖς ἀντιπράττουσιν <sup>25</sup>  
484 ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα μὴ ταπεινούμενον μὴδ' ὑποχωροῦντα καὶ διδόντα νῶτα τοῖς

I post ἢ add. καὶ M      II ἤληπται (pro εἴληπται): fort. ἤλειπται P<sup>1</sup> et ἤληπται p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, εἴληπται M (vide introd. 3, p. liii)      12 τοῖς om. E et ut vid. M      22 post ἀπαραίτητον add. καὶ M σπουδῇ πάσῃ M      24 αἰρόμενον E, non leg. M

<sup>4</sup> 'this ... imaginable': there may be an intended concessive force in this: 'even though this, as I said, is the most demanding task imaginable'.

<sup>5</sup> 'in order to achieve this' (πρὸς τοῦθ'): possibly no final force is intended here, in which case we may translate: 'according to this' (in which case 'this' remains rather vague).

their destiny and fame of some sort and spectacular riches, and if he has acquired these advantages, maybe all of them or at least some— 5 for such a man it is really difficult and, indeed, the hardest task imaginable not to be excessively proud of this somehow and not to feel very confident in using his powers and in taking on any task or in competing with anyone with optimism. 6 And who is so broad-minded and noble and steadfast when confronted with everything which is alluring and which reigns by means of enticements and charms, that he is capable of keeping aloof from what is mentioned above and, by fleeing, of wholly disregarding the present advantages of his good fortune, assuming this [self-denial] to be the best for him, and so would choose to live completely hidden from people according to the maxim—this, as I said, being the most demanding task imaginable?<sup>4</sup> 7 And yet, how would it be possible for him to escape and avoid the many who pay attention to him and to all his concerns, even if this were his choice and he wanted to hide? He is already captive and he has been caught entirely in such a way that it is impossible for him to flee from the many who are watching him, so much the more so since they see very clearly in such cases.

2 For people are extremely curious and sharp-sighted concerning other people's affairs, and particularly so if someone is successful, and so gives an impulse to and material for jealousy. And as a consequence of this they lie in wait for these people and are negative towards them. And this gives rise to all kinds of hostility: strife, and machinations, and antagonism. 2 And it is not possible for him to keep hidden who has any advantages. Nor is it possible not to be troubled or not to expose oneself to many worries, willingly or, sometimes, unwillingly—even more worries, perhaps, than one would hitherto have believed possible. And if one chooses to flee, it will prove impossible really to escape and to have peace. 3 As long as one is alive it is likewise not feasible to escape one's own self in any way, but we are bound by necessity, and it is somehow unavoidable and in every way necessary to use one's abilities as well as possible, and to fight, in order to achieve this,<sup>5</sup> with great zeal and to stand firm, not only when confronted with a totally calm passage but also when somehow opposite conditions prevail, 4 and to feel elated if your wishes are wholly fulfilled. It would

ἐγκειμένοις ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ παντάπασιν αἰσχιστα καταστρέψασθαι. 5 Οὐ μέντ' ἂν ἀνεμέσητον ἐν τούτοις εἴη τὸ δι' ἀτυχίαν λειποτακτεῖν, καὶ πολὺ γ' ἀηδέστατον τὸ δι' ἀτυχίαν λειποτακτεῖν τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖν οὐ δι' εὐγένειάν τινα γνώμης καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὃ μάλιστ' ἐν τούτοις ἔπεται. 6 Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμόσε πᾶσι πράγμασιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπληκτοὶ 5 φέρονται, οἳ δ' ἀλγοῦντες μὲν καὶ μάλα τοι πονήρως καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, βιάζονται δ' ὅμως παραμένειν οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ διαεθλεύειν ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἄγοιντο καὶ ὅπως ἄρα, δεξιῶς τε καὶ μή. 7 Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἔξω πραγμάτων καθάπαξ γενέσθαι ὅτι μὴ καθάπαξ πράξαντα κακῶς καὶ τελευτῶντ' ἴσως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐν οἴκτῳ γενόμενον ἢ περιφρονηθέντα παντάπασι καὶ πάσης ἀπεγνωσμένον 10 καὶ ἀλλοτριωθέντα χρηστῆς προσδοκίας.

Εἰ προσίσταται τῷ χριστιανικῶς ζῆν τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν ζῆν  
καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασι ζῆν· ΟΓ'

1 Πολλάκις ἔπεισι μοι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐπισκέπτεσθαι καὶ βασανίζειν, εἰ ἄρα  
485 πῶς ἀντιπράττει καὶ λυμαίνεται τῷ χριστιανικῶς ζῆν τὸ βιοῦν | ἐν πράγμασι 15  
καὶ πολιτικῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ χρήσει πολλοῖς συμβιοῦντα καί, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη,  
συμπλεκόμενον, 2 νῦν μὲν ἴσως ἐν εὐφορίᾳ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ χρώμενον, νῦν δὲ καὶ  
τουναντίον καὶ λυπούμενον τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσι καὶ λύπης ἀφορμὰς διδόντα καὶ  
πολλοῖς ἀπεχθανόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνιῶντα, τὰ μὲν ἐνδίκως, τὰ δὲ καὶ μή, 3  
καὶ φόβοις καὶ ὑπονοίαις καὶ θυμοῖς ταραττόμενον, καὶ καθάπαξ μὴ γαλήνην 20  
ἔχειν τῷ νῷ ξυγχωρούμενον καὶ προσέχειν ὀπηοῦν θεῷ, καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς  
νομίμοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἷς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ἀπαραίτητον ὀφειλέτης ἐστί— 4 καὶ

21 συγχωρούμενον M

22 ἐστί P et ut vid. M, -iv E

<sup>6</sup> 'this ... cases' (ὃ μάλιστ' ἐν τούτοις ἔπεται): this is vague, and it is not clear to which part of the whole 'this' refers.

indeed be best if a man then, wisely and as well as possible, could avoid being humiliated by his enemies and giving way and offering his back to be attacked by those who are pressing him and who try to destroy him in the most shameful manner. <sup>5</sup> In such a situation to abandon the ranks on account of misfortune would not free you from censure. And it certainly is most ignominious to seem to abandon one's duties because of misfortune and not because of some nobility of mind or magnanimity; this is what happens in most cases.<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup> And of necessity many people are for this reason rashly driven into close contact with all kinds of worldly business, some of them while experiencing pain and being in a very grievous state, and against their expectations; but nevertheless they are forced to stay their ground and to fight on in whichever direction they are driven and in whatever way, regardless whether ably or not. <sup>7</sup> Thus there is no other way of breaking away completely from all worldly business than through meeting with a complete catastrophe, so that on dying you may perhaps raise the pity of your enemies or meet with utter contempt and have to despair of and be denied all good expectations.

73. Whether it constitutes an obstacle to the Christian way of life to live in the midst of the many and to be engaged in much worldly business

<sup>1</sup> I often come to think about and to examine in my mind, whether in some way it works against and is detrimental to the Christian way of life to live engaged in worldly business and in political intercourse and among many people, and therefore, of necessity, to be mutually dependent on them—<sup>2</sup> sometimes maybe living in contentment and with ease but sometimes in the opposite manner, so as to be harassed by what happens and to give ground for sorrow, and to be hated by many and to annoy many, now with, now without right, <sup>3</sup> and to be disturbed by fears and suspicions and rage and, in one word, to be allowed no peace of mind either for being observant of God in any way or for being observant of His rules or of that which is your inexorable duty <sup>4</sup> (there is hardly any other way of worship-

σχεδὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως θεοσεβεῖν καὶ κατὰ χριστιανούς ὁλως ἄγεσθαι—καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ προκοπῇ καὶ μετουσίᾳ τινὸς ἀμείνονος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἕξως νομοθετούμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὰ τελειοποιὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀναγκαστὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον χρῆσιν 5 ὑπὸ δεσποτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας πάντα βουλομένης ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων κάλλιστα προδεικνύσης εὐ μάλ' ἀναγόμεθα, καὶ 5 ἂ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἀνύτειν καὶ ῥᾶον πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὴν ἀμείνονα κατὰ βίον ἕξιν καὶ χρῆσιν, μὴ πολλοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι συνδούμενον καὶ πολλοῖς ἀγχόμενον τοῖς φροντίσμασιν. 6 Ὑφ' ὧν ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς παντάπασιν ἐκπίπτειν τῆς βελτίστης ἕξως τε καὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ καταβαπτίζεσθαι καὶ ναυαγεῖν 486 πᾶσαν τὴν εὐχρηστίαν | τοῦ βίου ἢ μάλιστ' ἐργωδέστατον βίον εἰς τὴν τοῦ 10 ἀγαθοῦ μετουσίαν ἀνύτειν καὶ ἀεὶ κινδύνοις παλαίειν καὶ διαεθλεύοντα κατορθοῦν ὅτιοῦν τὸν βίον εἰς τὰ τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεοσεβείας νόμιμα. 7 Κἂν εἴ τις καλῶς ἄγοιτο (καὶ τοῦτο πῶς ἄρα καὶ πόσον δή;), ἄγεσθαι μὲν εὐ δῆλον οὐ καθάπαξ οὐδὲ τελείως, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πόνῳ τοι πλείετῳ καὶ πολλαῖς ἀντιπράξεσι καὶ ποικίλαις δυσχερῶς ὠθούμενον καὶ κοπτόμενον καὶ τὰ μὲν περιγινόμενον, 15 τὰ δὲ καὶ συγκλῶμενον καὶ καταπίπτοντα.

2 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τούτων μάλισθ' εἵνεκα πλείστοι καὶ φεύγουσιν ὅλην φορᾶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀνθαιροῦνται τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον τῶν πολλῶν, 2 οὐ μισανθρωπίαν ἀσκοῦντες—πόρρω γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο πάντῳ τοι τῆς χριστιανικῆς νομοθεσίας καὶ 20 τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλο τι καθάπαξ ἁλλοτριώτατον· πόθεν; οἱ γε τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχομεν τούπισημον τῆς Χριστοῦ μαθητείας καὶ πίστεως τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπην καὶ τὸ φιλητικόν, οὐ φίλοι πρὸς φίλους μόνον καὶ συνήθεις καὶ οἷς ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τινὰς τάναντία πράττοντας— 3 ἄλλ' ἀσφαλιζόμενοι σφίσι τὸν βίον οἱ τοῦτο δρῶντες τοὺς 25 487 ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν δρασμοὺς τούτους | αἰροῦνται καὶ ἀειφυγίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ

7 πολλοῖς: πολὺ Μ

13 ἄρα PME ut vid. pro ἄρα

post εὐ add. γε Μ

<sup>1</sup> 'a better way of life': τὴν ἀμείνονα κατὰ βίον ἕξιν καὶ χρῆσιν.

<sup>2</sup> 'surpass the many' (πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς): for contextual reasons (cf. § 4 'raising us above the many' etc.) I take τοὺς πολλοὺς rather as object than as the subject of an acc. c. inf. However, if we take it as the subject, we would translate: '[in which it is easier] for the many to be successful'.

<sup>3</sup> 'these', i.e. 'anxieties' or, possibly, 'matters of worldly business'.

ping God or of living in a Christian way at all), nor for being observant of those commandments which are laid down as rules for us for our own betterment and in order to give us a share in a better life, raising us above the many, and through which commandments we are conducted, in the very best way, towards that which makes us perfect with regard to virtue and which lies above the necessary and elementary way of life, 5 conducted by the Lord's love of mankind, in every way wishing us well and giving a view in advance of the best of all, and also conducted towards that (that is, a better way of life),<sup>1</sup> which we are more likely to accomplish and in which it is easier to surpass the many,<sup>2</sup> if not too heavily fettered by worldly business or troubled with many anxieties. 6 Because of these<sup>3</sup> it is indeed possible completely to fall away from the best habits and ways of life, and to be drowned and shipwrecked as to every advantage which life can give, or to be forced to live through a most wearisome<sup>4</sup> life in order to have one's share of what is good, and always to wrestle with dangers and by desperate fighting adjust one's life in some degree to the rules of the Christian religion. 7 And even if someone would succeed in living well (and how could that be, and to what extent?), it is most obvious that he would not be doing well once and for all, nor perfectly, but that he would be doing well with the greatest pain only and hard pressed and hit by many different adversities, sometimes victorious, but sometimes broken and falling.

2 In this way, and chiefly for this reason, a great many people go as far as to avoid, with all their might, having anything to do with the many and being involved in worldly business and, instead of this, they choose loneliness and to have no business and no dealings with the multitude. 2 This they do not do out of misanthropy, which is very far from the Christian law and more than anything most foreign to our rules. How is that so? Because we more than others have, as a sign of the teaching of Christ and our belief in Him, love and kindness towards other people [as our characteristic]—not only of friends towards friends and acquaintances and towards those to whom we are indebted, but also towards some who lead a life in

<sup>4</sup> 'most wearisome': *μάλιστα*, here taken with *ἐργωδέστατον*, may possibly instead qualify the sentence as a whole and mean 'most likely [to live through etc.]'.

μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ζωῇ δυσχερῶν καὶ φροντισμάτων καὶ ὀχλούντων καὶ  
 ταραττόντων αἰεὶ καὶ μέγιστα δὴ προσισταμένων πρὸς τὴν εὐγενῆ καὶ κατὰ  
 Χριστὸν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου, <sup>4</sup> καὶ φέρουσιν ἔξω τῶν ἐπιθέσεων  
 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ κινδυνεύειν τὰ κάλλισθ' ἐτοιμότητος, ὡς ἄρα τὴν ἐρημίαν  
 καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μάλιστα φυγὴν ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν <sup>5</sup>  
 κοιμίδι πολλῶν ἀντιπράξεων, αἱ πεφύκασιν ἐν τῷ πολλὰ πράττειν καὶ ξὺν  
 πολλοῖς, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, <sup>5</sup> καὶ πολλὴν εὐκολίαν ἔχουσιν εἰς τὸ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 συντηρεῖν δόγματα καὶ προσανέχειν ἀτρέπτως καὶ πλάνων δίχα μεγάλων  
 καὶ πλείστων καὶ διασπασμῶν ἄλλων ἄλλοθεν οἷς ἐκλείσθησαν νομίμοις τῆς  
 πίστεως, ὥσπερ ἐκ πονηρᾶς τινος συνοικίας καὶ νοσερᾶς καὶ δυσχρήστου καὶ <sup>10</sup>  
 πλείστον ἐπικινδύνου <sup>6</sup> πρὸς ἐρραστωνευμένον βίον καὶ γαλήνης γέμοντα  
 μετοικιζόμενοι καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες πολλῶν ἐπιβουλῶν καὶ ἀντιπράξεων  
 καὶ πολυμόχθου ζωῆς κατὰ καιρὸν ἀνύτειν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 διδασκαλίᾳ· καὶ ἥς τυχεῖν τε καὶ ἥς μὴ τυχεῖν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔπειτα πρᾶγμα. <sup>7</sup>  
<sup>488</sup> Οὕτω μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρωτι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας | φευκτέον <sup>15</sup>  
 εἶναι τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν βιοτεύειν ἀξιούσι καὶ ἀποτρέπονται παντὶ τρόπῳ πρὸς  
 πλείσθ' ὁρᾶν καὶ συνεῖναι διαπαντὸς πράγμασι καὶ δεσμοῖς τοῦ βίου, καὶ ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐνταῦθα πόνος, πρὸς τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ζωὴν καὶ τὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 δογμάτων καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.  
<sup>3</sup> Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν φαίμεν, οὐδ' εὐλογον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ λυσιτελεῖς <sup>20</sup>  
 ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς πίστεως τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις χώραν διδόναι καὶ ἀφορμὰς  
 καὶ παρρησίαν, <sup>2</sup> ὡς ἄρ' ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα καὶ  
 πολίτευμα φθορὰν τοῦ βίου καὶ κατάλυσιν τῶν ὑποδεχομένων πράττεται καὶ  
 νομοθετεῖ κατὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπων κοινωνίας καὶ συνδιαγωγῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐντεῦθεν  
 οὐκ ἂν εἴη οὔτε γενέσεις ἀνθρώπων οὔτε κόσμου παράτασις ἐκ διαδοχῆς οὔτε <sup>25</sup>  
 πολιτεύματα, <sup>3</sup> πάντων φευγόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιίαν καὶ

7 τοῦ om. M    13 post ζωῆς spatium 3–4 litt. exhib. P, ubi fort. a.c. exhib. καὶ    18 ὀλίγος  
 p.c. P et ut vid. M, ut vid. ὀλίγοις a.c. P    πόνος M et p.c. P, ut vid. πόνοις a.c. P    21 τοῖς  
 ἐχθροῖς ἡμῖν M    τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις P, sed litteris β et α supra τούτοις et τοῖς λόγοις positis  
 indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις

<sup>5</sup> 'risk the utmost': i.e. the salvation of their soul.

<sup>6</sup> 'politics': πράγματα.

<sup>7</sup> 'healthy abode' (ἐρραστωνευμένον βίον): or 'easy life'.

opposition to ours. <sup>3</sup> It is rather in order to make their own life safe that those who do so choose this running-away from the multitude and an eternal exile from the difficulties and worries and continual annoyances and disturbances of a life with the many—circumstances which in the highest degree stand in the way of noble demeanour and a life in accordance with Christ. <sup>4</sup> And they withdraw out of the range of attacks and from being in readiness to risk the utmost,<sup>5</sup> on the assumption that loneliness and fleeing from the multitude and in particular from politics<sup>6</sup> means total freedom from many kinds of adversities, which necessarily occur if one is engaged in much business and involved with a great deal of people. <sup>5</sup> They further assume that fleeing from the multitude makes it very easy to keep the laws of Christ and to observe, consistently and without a great deal of grievous errors and disruptions from every side, the rules of the faith by which they have been fettered, as if moving from a bad and unhealthy and inconvenient and most dangerous neighbourhood <sup>6</sup> to a healthy abode,<sup>7</sup> full of peace, and in good time retreating from the many machinations and adversities and the wearisome life, in order to work for<sup>8</sup> Christ and His teaching. And then it is of no mean importance what of this they achieve and what not.<sup>9</sup> <sup>7</sup> In this way many people, out of love for the worship of Christ, deem it necessary to flee from living with the many, and in every way they avoid taking an interest in many things and being always engaged in worldly business and fettered by life. And, truly, it is not easy in this world to live in Christ and to respect His doctrines and teachings.

<sup>3</sup> However, we should not say so, and it is neither reasonable nor expedient with such words to give the enemies of our faith the chance and cause and opportunity to say, <sup>2</sup> that the law of Christ and the precepts of our belief and our polity work destruction upon life and dissolution of what we have received as our inheritance, and that they set up rules hostile towards the intercourse of men and their living together, and that, if one followed these laws no humans would be born, nor would there be any

<sup>8</sup> 'work for': ἀνύτειν.

<sup>9</sup> 'And then ... not': the interpretation of this sentence is uncertain.

κοινὰς ὅλως πράξεις καὶ δεσμὸν καὶ συνέχειαν βιώσεως καί, καθόλου γ' ἐρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ συμμαχεῖσθαι τὸ διαρκὲς τῆς τοῦ πρώτου δημιουργοῦ καὶ δεσπότητος καλλίστης ἐργασίας, καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρώποις κοινωνικὸν καὶ ἀγελαῖον ὁμοῦ καὶ τάνθρώπινα συννόμια, ἃ καὶ λόγοι θεῖοι καὶ φύσις διδάσκουσι. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰ περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως <sup>5</sup> πολυπραγμονησάντων καὶ διὰ βασά|νου πάσης ἀκριβωσαμένων ὀρίζονται φύσει κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὸ κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ συμβιοῦν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μή ποτ' ἐξόν, ὥσπερ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πλείστ' ἄλλα τῶν ζώων ὁρᾶται, διατετμημένως ἀλλήλων καθάπαξ εἶναι καὶ ἰδιοπραγεῖν ἀκοινωνητὰ τε καὶ ἀπολίτευτα. <sup>5</sup> Καὶ εἰ τοῦτο κατὰ φύσιν ἄρα—καὶ δῆλον εὖ μάλα τοῦτο παντί—ἡ μάταιον ἂν εἴη τὸ <sup>10</sup> παρὰ τοῦτ' ἄλλως πράττειν αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ παντάπασιν νομίζειν κατὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀδύνατα καὶ ἃ μήποτε φύσιν ἔχει περαίνειν τοῦ πρώτου δημιουργοῦ λόγου τῇ φύσει μένοντος, <sup>6</sup> ἢ τάναντία φέρεσθαι καὶ ἀντιπαλαμᾶσθαι καὶ κατεπεύγεσθαι κατὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας καὶ προνοίας καὶ κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλήσεως ἀντεπιχειρεῖν καὶ λύειν πειρᾶσθαι τάξιν καὶ νόμους θεοῦ <sup>7</sup> καὶ περιτρέπειν <sup>15</sup> τὰ καλῶς εἶναι δόξαντα ὥς ἂν μὴ καλῶς δόξαντα μὴδὲ κρατοῦντα καλῶς τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκινηκότι δημιουργῷ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅροις ἄγοντι, καὶ φρονεῖν ἄλλως ἔχοντα βέλτιον ἔχειν καὶ λυόμενα καὶ μὴ μένονθ' ὥς ἔστηκε πάλαι πρὸς ἄρα κρεῖττον χωρεῖν καὶ μεταποιεῖσθαι. <sup>8</sup> Οὐ μέντ' ἂν εἴη τοῦτ' ἄλλων ἢ μελαγχολώντων ἀνδρῶν ἢ 'κινούντων', κατὰ τὸν λόγον, 'τάκνητα' <sup>20</sup> καὶ κόσμου τάξιν ἀλλαττόντων καὶ δόγματα φύσεως καὶ δόγματ' ἀσάλευτα θεοῦ, ὃ πολλοῦ δέοι τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν, ὅλως φάναι, καὶ βουλευεῖν ὥς βέλτιστ' <sup>490</sup> ἄρ' ἔχον | καθόλου ἢ τῷ παντὶ ἢ μάλισθ' ἑαυτῷ.

<sup>10</sup> μάταιον: -ν p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, de fine vocis sec. P<sup>1</sup> non constat (-ν vel -ς vel -ι), μάταιος M <sup>23</sup> ἑαυτῷ: ἑαυτοῦ E, non leg. M

<sup>20</sup> κινούντων ... τάκνητα] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 67.2.4 et 76.3.5

<sup>10</sup> 'relationships': συννόμια.

<sup>11</sup> I.e. [to partake of] communal activities and human intercourse.

<sup>12</sup> 'the first Creating Word': or 'the Word of the first Creator'.

<sup>13</sup> 'and etc.': ἢ – ἢ in §§ 5 and 6 I do not understand as truly disjunctive, but rather as a weak 'as well ... as'; one could translate here 'and, even worse'.

prolongation of the world nor of polities through succession, 3 since we should all be avoiding each other and avoiding marriage and the begetting of children and common acts on the whole, and all bonds on life and the continuance of this life and, in sum, avoiding that wherewith one can contribute to the fight for the duration of the most beautiful work of the first Creator and Lord, as well as for man's inherent social and likewise gregarious instincts, and for human relationships<sup>10</sup> which are taught by the Holy Scriptures and by nature. 4 Also many of those who have enquired into nature and the order of things and who, by means of every kind of investigation, have acquired an accurate knowledge about it, state that it is natural for men to work together and to live together and that—as can be seen also with regard to most other animals—it is never possible to be totally separated from one another and to act on one's own, without contact and without political institutions. 5 So, if this,<sup>11</sup> then, is according to nature—a fact which is quite obvious to everyone—it would be in vain to prefer a different acting or even to consider right things, which are contrary to facts and which, because of their nature, never could come to pass as long as the first Creating Word<sup>12</sup> remains in force within nature; 6 and<sup>13</sup> it would be in vain to take the opposite action and to fight and struggle against God's wisdom and providence and in turn to attack His will, trying to dissolve God's order and laws, 7 and to upset what was judged right by the Creator as if it were not right nor functioning well—the Creator, Who in the beginning made the first move and Who still acts according to the same principles—and to think that some other order would be better and that, if the order which was established in the past could be dissolved and not remain as it was, then things would progress and change for the better. 8 None but madmen<sup>14</sup> would want this, or those who, as the saying goes, try to *move the immovable*,<sup>15</sup> and change the world order and the laws of nature and the unchangeable laws of God—which, generally speaking, is

<sup>14</sup> 'madmen': μελαγχολῶντες ('melancholic men', i.e. mentally unstable people).

<sup>15</sup> 'move the immovable': cf. above, 67.2.4 (with app. font. et parall.), and below, 76.3.5.

4 Ἄλλ' ἀνθεκτέον μέν ἐστι, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, τῶν νομίμων τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ταύτης καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεοσεβείας καὶ πίστεως, κάνταῦθα τὸ καλῶς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως βιοῦν οἰητέον, καὶ πάντων ἄλλων καταγνωστέον ἀπάσαις ψήφοις ἀπάτην καὶ λῆρον καὶ ψεῦδος αὐτόθεν εὐέλεγκτον καὶ οὐδὲν μήποθ' ἐστὼς ἔχον, μήδ' ἐν ταῦτῳ μένον ἀκλόνητον, μήδ' ἐν καλοῖς ὅπως ἄρα 5 τυπούμενον. 2 Εἰ δ' ἄρα τὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καθάπαξ ἀρτιουργὸν ἐργῶδες, μηκέτ' ἀποφευκτέον, μήδ' ἀπογνωστέον τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως πόνων, ἀλλὰ προβαλλομένους τὰς καλὰς ἄνωθεν ἐλπίδας καὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμελητέον, ὥς ἂν ἕκαστος οἷος τ' εἴη, πράττειν εἰς τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτόν, κοινὸν πᾶσιν ἐκκείμενον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἴσως μᾶλλον, τοῖς δ' ἥττον ἀνύσιμον. 3 10 Ἀδύνατον μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ νομίμων οὐδὲν οὐκ ἂν μήποτε τις εὖ φρονῶν φαίη, ἄλλω δ' ἄλλου περὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐξείη περαίνειν βέλτιόν τε καὶ μῆ, καθὼς 491 αἰροῖτ' ἂν καὶ δύναιτο. Πάν|τως δ' ἂν ἐξείη παντὶ καλῶς ὀπηροῦν χρῆσθαι, 4 καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀπάντων καθάπαξ εἴργει τῆς εὐγενοῦς καὶ γνώμης καὶ χρήσεως οὐδένα τῶν ἀπάντων—οὐ χρόνος, οὐ τύχη πᾶσα, οὐ πάνθ' ἃ κατὰ τὸν βίον εὖ 15 τε καὶ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἥττον ξυμπίπτει πράγματα.

“Οτι τὸ μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν βιοῦν πραγμάτων εὐκολίαν φέρει  
εἰς τὴν τήρησιν τῶν τῆς χριστιανικῆς εὐσεβείας νομίμων·  
ΟΔ’

1 Ἔστι μὲν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι μὴδὲ κοινῇ μετὰ πλείστων βιοῦν 20 μάλιστα δὴ φέρον εὐκολίαν, ὥστε καλῶς τοῖς ὀρισθεῖσι χριστιανικοῖς νομίμοις καὶ δόγμασι βιοῦν, καὶ πολλὰς προσκοπῶν εἰς τοῦθ' ὑποθέσεις ἀφαιρεῖται, 2 καὶ πορείαν ἔχουσιν ἀνύτειν βιώσιμον οἱ οὕτως ἐλόμενοι ζῆν καὶ ιδιοπραγεῖν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μόνα καὶ μὴ πολλοῖς παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ συμφέρεσθαι, μὴ

5 ἐστὼς: fort. scrib. ἐστὸς

24 μὴ om. P<sup>1</sup>M, add. s.l. P<sup>2</sup>

<sup>16</sup> ‘the whole creation’ (τῷ παντί): or ‘everyone’. This is vague.

<sup>17</sup> ‘others’: i.e. all people of another opinion.

what every sensible man would be far from even thinking of as what would be the very best for the whole creation<sup>16</sup> or for himself in particular.

4 Instead it is absolutely necessary to keep to the rules of the good and to this true reverence and belief in Christ which prevails among us; and you must believe that the good life lies in this and that you should not live in any other way; and we ought to condemn unanimously all others<sup>17</sup> as guilty of fraud and folly and falsehood, easy to refute in itself and always without foundation, never constant nor in any way being cast in a good mould. 2 Thus, even though it is difficult to do really good,<sup>18</sup> one should never try to avoid this, nor despair in view of all the toil which the good involves and which is inevitable in order to acquire it. Instead we should arm ourselves with our original good hopes and strive for alliances, and according to every man's ability we should work towards that goal common to everyone, more easily reached by some, less easily by others. 3 For no sensible man would ever say that anything which God has decreed is impossible to achieve, but some will probably succeed better than others [in achieving it], according to inclination and ability. In general, however, it should be possible for everyone to be successful in some respect, 4 and there is nothing at all which once and for all bars anyone from forming a sound opinion or from acting well—not time, not destiny, not any of these things which, for good or for worse, with more or less likelihood, may happen during life.

#### 74. That it is easier<sup>1</sup> to keep the rules of the Christian religion if one is not engaged in much worldly business

1 Not being engaged in politics, and not living in the midst of many, is in truth what best makes it easy to live well in accordance with the established Christian rules and dogmas, and, if we choose this kind of life, it relieves us from many occasions to stumble. 2 And those who have chosen to live in

<sup>16</sup> 'to do really good': τὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καθάπαξ ἀρτιουργόν.

<sup>1</sup> 'it is easier' (εὐκολίαν φέρει): or 'it is easy'.

δίχα καμάτων πολλῶν καὶ σκώλων ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τρέχουσι μάλιστα δεσμῶν  
 ἐλεύθεροι πλείστων ἐπεχόντων καὶ πλείστα παρεχομένων τῷ τρέχειν πράγ-  
 ματα. 3 Ὡσπερ ἄρ' ἔχει τοῦτο τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι μεριζομένοις εἰς πλείστα  
 492 καὶ μὴ τὰ οἰκεία ζῆν ἀνάγκη | ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστοις ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ'  
 ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις ζῆν· μάλιστα μὲν δεσπótαις αὐτοῖς, ὅσοις τοι ξυνέλαχεν ὑπὸ 5  
 δεσπότης εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πλείστοις ἄλλοις, οἷς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη συνεῖναι  
 καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι. 4 Δεσπótαις μὲν γε πάντα πείθεσθαι καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν  
 ἀντιτείνειν, μὴδ' ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι νομίζουσι ζῆν, καὶ νόμοι καθ' ἡμᾶς θεῖοι  
 πάνυ τοι καταναγκάζουσι, καὶ πάντ' ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα καὶ πάντων ἐθνῶν,  
 5 καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα διαφόρως θρησκευόντων πάλοι τε καὶ νῦν, καὶ βαρβάρων 10  
 τε καὶ ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ σοφῶν τάνθρώπινα καὶ μὴ τοιούτων, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα  
 νομίζόντων καὶ διαφορομένων τῇ χρήσει τοῦ βίου καὶ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι, 6 κοινή  
 γε ὅμως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ πάντων συμφωνία τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους  
 πάντα πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν μὴδ' ἐναντιοπραγεῖν ὅλως αἰρεῖσθαι, εἰ  
 μέλλοι καλῶς ἔξιν κοινῇ καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἄρχομένοις τὰ πράγματα. Καὶ οὐκ 15  
 ἄλλως ἔστι καλῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ βιοῦν· 7 μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν οὐθ' ὅλως ἔσται βιοῦν  
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' ἄλλους λαχοῦσι ζῆν καὶ βιοῦν, ὅτι μὴ  
 πάντα καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀγομένοις καὶ πᾶν ἀποπιμπλάσι τὸ γιγνόμενον εὐπειθεία·  
 493 εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως κλαίησουσι καὶ κακῶν αἵτιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γεγονό|τες  
 γνώσονται. 8 Καὶ ἴσως ἔστιν ὅτε, καὶ εἰσὶν ὄντως, οἱ οὐδ' ἐπάνοδόν τιν' 20  
 ἔξουσιν εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν αὐτῆς χώρας ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ φθάσαντα καὶ ξυνδιατίθεσθαι  
 τοῖς δεσπótαις βέλτιον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀμφοτέροις συνοίσει, φθάσαντες ἐξώλεις  
 γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐμπεσόντες κινδύνοις.

2 Καὶ τοίνυν ὅσοις μὲν δὴ ξυνέτυχε δεσποτῶν πειραθῆναι χρηστῶν,  
 ἔστι μὲν καὶ οὕτως ἐργῶδες πάνυ τοι τὸ πάντα διὰ πάντων καὶ τοῖς γε τοι- 25

2 πλείστων: πλείστον P<sup>1</sup>M, -ων s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup> (vide introd. 2.5, p. xxxix) 8 νόμοι E et ut vid. M,  
 νόμοι τοι a.c. P 12 κοινή M 13 post πάντων add. ἡ M 15 μέλλει M 16 οὖν om.  
 P, s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup> 24 δεσποτῶν ξυνέτυχε P, sed litteris β et α supra δεσποτῶν et ξυνέτυχε positus  
 indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ξυνέτυχε δεσποτῶν

2 'comparing themselves': παραβάλλεσθαι.

3 Here, the Greek text of P<sup>2</sup>, which I follow, has an extra, seemingly double, negation; this is  
 problematic but perhaps psychologically understandable (cf. the introduction, 2.5, p. xxxix).

4 'a great many' (πλείστων): or 'heavily' (πλείστον); see on this textual problem the introduc-  
 tion, 2.5, p. xxxix.

this way, minding only their own affairs without comparing themselves<sup>2</sup> to the many and associating with them, have an easy journey through life to accomplish, free<sup>3</sup> from many troubles and hindrances on the way, and they are able to run free in the highest degree from a great many<sup>4</sup> restricting chains, which would cause a great deal of problems in the running. <sup>3</sup> Such is the case with those who have divided their attention between many aspects of politics and who do not have only their private business to take care of, but must live for many others and not only for themselves. First and foremost they must live for their masters—those who happen to have masters—but also for many others, with whom it is absolutely necessary to associate and have dealings. <sup>4</sup> To obey one's masters in everything and not to oppose them in any way, nor to live in any other way than the one they consider right, this our divine laws also enjoin us to very strongly, like all human rules, even those of all non-Christians, <sup>5</sup> and of those of another creed,<sup>5</sup> now as well as in the past, and of barbarians and Hellenes, and of those wise about human matters and those who are not, and of people with different opinions and those who disagree as to how one should lead one's life and arrange public matters— <sup>6</sup> all the same there is a common agreement in this respect, that is that subjects should obey their rulers in everything and not be insubordinate, nor in any way choose to act against them, if the political system is at the same time to work well both for rulers and subjects. In fact, there is no other way of acting and of living well. <sup>7</sup> What is more, it will not be at all possible for those to live among men and in a society, whose lot it is to live and exist under the sway of others, if they are not being governed of their own free will and fulfil every obligation with ready obedience. Otherwise they will despair utterly, and they will realise that they have fostered evil for themselves. <sup>8</sup> And at some time, perhaps—and there certainly are some such cases—there will be some people for whom there is no way back to having again an opportunity of setting right what has been, and of coming to better terms with their rulers in a way which would suit both, before they are brought to destruction and meet with the final catastrophe.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. of other Christian denominations.

οὔτοις πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ἢ ἐκείνοις ζῆν. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀνεκτῶς ἴσως, εἴπερ ἄρα τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχει, καὶ φέρειν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἄλλότρια μεριμνάματα καὶ κέαρ ἄλλοτρίας φύσις<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὥσπερ ὑποκρίνεσθαι προσωπεῖα ξένα, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντες, φερόντων εὐγενῶς ἀμέλει καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι βιοῦντες, ἄλλοτρίως ἑαυτοῖς χρώμενοι, δοκούντων συμφωνεῖν, 5 θαυμαζόμενοι τῷ μὴ ἀποπεφυκέναι. <sup>3</sup> Οἷς δ' ὁ δαίμων παραφρονοῦντας καὶ μαινομένους καὶ τραχυτέρους ἀμέλει δεσπότης ἐπέθηκε, τί ποτ' ἂν οὔτοι καὶ δράσαιεν; ἀνάγκη μετέχειν πάντως αὐτοὺς τῶν κακῶν δὴ πάντων, οὐχ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑωνημένῳ παρὰ τῆς τύχης' κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν 'ζῶντας' 494 λόγον, <sup>4</sup> καὶ πάντ' ἀθλίως φέρεσθαι, καὶ ὀρώντας μὴ ὀρᾶν, | καὶ φρονοῦντας 10 ὃ τί ποτ' ἄρα βέλτιστα μὴ φρονεῖν ἔπειτα, μὴδὲ πνεῖν ὅλως ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, <sup>5</sup> καὶ τοῖς γε τοιοῦτοῖς καὶ μὴ διαδράναι δυναμένοις ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἔχομένοις καθάπαξ ἄφυκτα· αἱ αἱ, τί ποτ' ἂν εἴη χρήμ' ἀλεξιτήριον πονηρᾶς οὕτω βιοτῆς. Καὶ πῶς ἂν οὔτοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς γε ψυχαῖς γεννικῶς χρῆσαιντο καὶ κοσμίως; <sup>6</sup> Ἡ πῶς ἂν οὔτοι μάλιστα καὶ τῶν θείων νομίμων καὶ τῆς ὀρισμένης χριστιανικῆς 15 ἀγωγῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον φροντίδ' ἀπαραίτητον ἔχοντες καὶ πρώτην μάλιστ' ἀνάγκην δεσποτικῆς εὐπειθείας ταύτην ἀπαιτούμενοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρ' εἶναι καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀρκεῖν καὶ πᾶν ἀποδιδόναι τὸ κατ' ὀφειλήν, <sup>7</sup> καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ φθάσαντος λόγου κηρύττοντος μετὰ πάσης αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδηλοτάτου τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντος ἀμῆχανον εἶναι 20 πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα μερίζεσθαι καὶ δρᾶν τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιτυχῶς;

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς δεσπότης τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δυσχερῇ τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσι' ἕτερα, πάνυ τοι πλείστα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχῆκιστα καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους πλείστοις αἰεὶ παραβάλλονται καὶ παλαίουσιν ἐργώδεσι

3 κέαρ: -κέ (super)scripsit P<sup>2</sup>, aliquid illegibile et post hoc -ε- exhib. P<sup>1</sup> φύσις: φύσεως fort. P<sup>1</sup> et -ε- corr. in -ι- P<sup>2</sup>, fort. scrib. φύσις, quod fort. exhib. M 8 πάντως μετέχειν M 18 τὸ s.l. exhib. P 22 δεσποτάτας M

2 ἄλλότρια ... κέαρ] cf. Pi. *Fr. incert.* 223.2 κῆρες ὀλβοθρέμμενες ... μεριμναμάτων ἀλεγεινῶν | Th.Met. *Carm.* 3.170 et 17.280 μεριμνάματα 3 ἄλλοτρίας φύσις] cf. Pl. *Mx.* 245d5sq. καθαρὸν τὸ μῖσος ἐντέθηκε τῇ πόλει τῆς ἄλλοτρίας φύσεως | Georg.Met. *Hist. dog.* I 43.14 οὐκέτι ἂν εἰκότως ὡς ἄλλοτρίας ὑπάρχον φύσεως | Hsch. A 6538.1 8 οὐχ' ἑαυτοῖς ... ζῶντας] fontem non inveni 18 καὶ<sup>3</sup> ... ἐπιτυχῶς] cf. *Ev. Matt.* 6.24 οὐδεὶς δύναται δυοὶ κυρίους δουλεύειν κτλ. et *Ev. Luc.* 6.13

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is anacoluthic.

2 And even for those who happen to know good rulers—even<sup>6</sup> under such circumstances it is very trying to have to obey such rulers in every respect and in every case, not being able to live in any other way than they do. However, it is not, perhaps, an unendurable situation, if it is necessary;<sup>7</sup> and if, as Pindar says, *they have to endure someone else's worries and the heart of an alien nature*,<sup>2</sup> and as it were act behind strange masks in their private life, may they bear it nobly; and even if they live as in a drama and act in a way alien to themselves, let them look as if they agreed; and so they may be admired for not acting in an unnatural way.<sup>3</sup> But those to whom Fate has appointed mad and raging and too harsh masters, what could they do? They are in every way obliged to take part in every kind of evil action, *living*, as the comic poet says, *not for themselves, but for him who bought them from Fate*;<sup>8</sup> <sup>4</sup> and they are in every respect bound to be treated shamefully, and they are not to see what they see, and, from now on, not to think even if what they think is of the very best, nor to breathe on their own.<sup>5</sup> And, oh, what remedy could there be for such a bad way of life for such as cannot escape, but are totally entangled, so as not to be able to flee? And how could they make use of their bodies, not to speak of their souls, nobly and with dignity? <sup>6</sup> These who on the one hand are implacably obliged to pay regard to the divine rules and the Christian way of life, as it is defined, and on the other hand have as the most pressing demand upon themselves to obey their masters, how indeed could they do both and suffice for both, and give all that is due— <sup>7</sup> especially since, with truth made evident by everything around us, the Word of the Lord has already proclaimed and cautioned against it as impossible to be divided between these two<sup>9</sup> and to act so as to fulfil one's duty to both?

3 Of this kind are the difficulties encountered by subjects with regard to their rulers, and there are similar difficulties, in fact a great many. But no less in relation to their fellow citizens they are confronted with and have to wrestle with many irksome trials and such as in every way alienate

<sup>7</sup> 'if ... necessary' (εἴπερ ἄρα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει): this is vague.

<sup>8</sup> I have not been able to identify the source of this citation.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. the two masters: the worldly and the heavenly, cf. Matthew 6.24, and Luke 6.13.

καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις ἐκκρούουσι τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς αὐτουργίας καὶ δεσποτικὰς ἐντολὰς ἐπιμελείας καὶ σχολῆς· <sup>2</sup> ἄμιλλαι γὰρ καὶ φιλονεικίαι καὶ βασκανίαι καὶ φιλαυτίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι καὶ φιλοπρωτίαι κατὰ τῶν ἐφαμίλλων τὲ καὶ  
 495 συμβιούντων, καὶ πᾶσαι προσπαθειῶν ὑποθέσεις καὶ δόλοι καὶ ἀπάται καὶ |  
 ψεύδη καὶ κατεπιχειρήσεις ἀφανεῖς καὶ φαινόμεναι, καὶ κακουργίαι πᾶσι <sup>5</sup>  
 τρόποις, <sup>3</sup> καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅσοις καταβαπτίζονται πάντες οἱ  
 κοινῶς μετ’ ἀλλήλων βιοῦντες, τί μὲν εὐμενῶς χρώμενοι τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἔξωθεν πράγμασι, τί δὲ καὶ κακῶς πράττοντες, καὶ νῦν μὲν μᾶλλον, νῦν δὲ καὶ  
 ἥττον, <sup>4</sup> καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθίστων καὶ πάλαι πρότερον ἀλλοτριωθέντων  
 καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑφ’ ὧν τέως οὐκ ἦσθοντο οὐδ’ ᾤθησαν, <sup>10</sup>  
 ἀδόκητα καὶ ἀπροόπτως συμπεπτωκότες;

4 Τοῦτοις δὴ πᾶσι καὶ πολλοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις ἃ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐστὶ προστιθέναι οἷς κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην αἰεὶ συντυγχάνειν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐν πράγμασιν, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ κάμνειν κοιμῆ καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρεσθαι καὶ νοσερῶς περὶ τὰ καίρια τῶν  
 θείων νομίμων καὶ τῆς κατ’ ἀρετὴν εὐχρηστίας, <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἴσως γ’ ἐνίοις καὶ προ- <sup>15</sup>  
 θεμένους εὐγενῶς ἀνύτειν ἐκπίπτειν ἐντεῦθεν ταῖς ἐκάστοτ’ ἐπηρεαίαις καὶ  
 συνεχέσιν ἀντισπάσεσιν ὧν ἔρωσ εἶχε καὶ πάνυ τοι προὔθεντο, καὶ ἅμα μὲν  
 ἀπέχεσθαι τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ πράξεων διάθεσιν ἀστείαν καὶ φοράν, ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ ναυαγεῖν μάλιστα τὰ κτηθέντα κατὰ βίον βέλτιστα περὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 σπουδὴν, <sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀλγεινότατα βιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἀπογινώσκειν <sup>20</sup>  
 496 ἔπειτα | καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι καθάπαξ τῆς περὶ τὸ καλὸν ῥοπῆς ὥς οὐκ ὄν ὅλως  
 βιοτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ ταῦθ’, ἅπερ εἴρηται, μάλιστ’ ἔχοντί τε καὶ ἐχομένῳ  
 κατὰ τοὺς θείους τύπους καὶ νόμους τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας.

5 Ταῦτ’ ἄρα καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὥς ἀληθῶς χρήσιμον εἰς ἀνδραγα-  
 θίαν τὸ φυγεῖν παντὶ τρόπῳ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν συμβίωσιν <sup>25</sup>  
 καὶ ἰδιοπραγεῖν τὸν βίον, προελόμενον ἑαυτῷ ζῆν μόνον καὶ ἀνεκφοίτητον ἐν

6 δὲ τὰ P<sup>2</sup>, de P<sup>1</sup> non constat, τὰ γε M      11 ξυμπεπτωκότες M      15 κατ’: κατὰ τὴν M      18  
 ἐπέχεσθαι M      19 κατὰ E et ut vid. M, κατὰ in fine lineae et τὰ in initio lineae sequentis P, ut  
 vid. per dittographiam      22 βιωτὸν M (vide introd. 3, p. liii)

<sup>10</sup> It may be that the author loses the thread in this long sentence. Instead of ‘what if ... circumstances?’ we may translate ‘regardless whether etc.’

<sup>11</sup> I.e. so as to mention them here.

them from the endeavour and leisure to do good deeds on their own initiative and by the order of their masters,<sup>2</sup> that is, strife and competition and calumny and selfishness and lust for power and desire to surpass their fellow competitors and neighbours, and all kinds of plans for attack and stratagems and deceit and lies and attempts at laying hands upon others, secretly and openly, and malpractice of every kind,<sup>3</sup> and all things similar, and everything by which all those living together with others can be submerged—what if they have a benevolent fate and are treated well by external circumstances?<sup>10</sup> What if they are unlucky, now more, now less,<sup>4</sup> either because of their worst enemies and those who have become estranged to them and opposed to them for a long time already, or because of those whom they have not yet been aware of as enemies, nor believed ever would be such, since they became confronted with them unexpectedly and unforeseen?

<sup>4</sup> By all these things and many others, which are difficult to add<sup>11</sup> but which those engaged in worldly business of necessity have to encounter, it is impossible not to become utterly exhausted and to fare badly and unhealthily with regard to the essential elements of the divine rules and the right use of virtue;<sup>2</sup> and it may be that even some who have made up their minds to act nobly will thus fall away from that which they desired and had seriously proposed to themselves, because of continual insults and the constant reactions [against them], and they will lose their good disposition and the impulse to do good works and deeds, and they will also as in a shipwreck lose the best they had acquired in life respecting the concern for virtue,<sup>3</sup> and they will not only live in the greatest pain, but also, for the future, despair about and once and for all turn away from every turning of the scale when the good is at stake, assuming that it is in no way possible for man to live engaged in these things that have been mentioned, especially if one should keep to the divine commandments and the laws of our religion and be restrained by them.

<sup>5</sup> Therefore it seems to be and truly is useful for the acquiring of human virtue to flee worldly business and life in the midst of the multitude at all costs and to live privately, and to prefer living only for oneself and

ἑαυτοῦ μένειν <sup>2</sup> καὶ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς χρώμενον καὶ προσχωροῦντα προνοίας  
 ἐκτὸς τοῦ συνοίσοντος ὠθεῖν καὶ ὠθεῖσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τὰ καίρια καὶ  
 τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἕξιν καὶ χρῆσιν καὶ πολλαῖς ἐναντιώσεσι κόπτεσθαι τὴν κατ'  
 αὐτὴν ἐνέργειαν. <sup>3</sup> Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μετὰ πολλῶν πράγματι ἔχειν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν  
 γαλήνῃ βιοῦν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν φροντίσιν ἀεὶ συνεξετάζηται καὶ ἀγῶσι πολλὴν <sup>5</sup>  
 ἀπαιτοῦσι πρόνοιαν ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν καὶ ἀεὶ μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ μόχθων καὶ  
 πολέμων βιοῖ, χαλεπὸν εἰ πάντα κατορθοῦν εὖ μάλ' οἷος τ' ἂν εἴη. <sup>4</sup> Καὶ  
 τὸ παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν φευκτέον εἶναι τρόπῳ γέ τιτι τὰς ὑπόπτους  
 ἀεὶ ξυμπλοκάς καὶ κίνδυνον ῥᾶστ' ἀπειλούσας νοῦν ἔχοντος ἂν εἴη πάντως  
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ προνοουμένου μετ' ἀσφαλείας τὰ βέλτισθ' ἑαυτῷ. <sup>5</sup> Οὐ γὰρ <sup>10</sup>  
 λειποτακτεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὥς ἂν ἄρα τις ἴσως φαίη, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ καλοῦ  
 497 καὶ περι|ποίησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπικαίρως ἀναχωρεῖν ἔνθα δῆτ' οὐκ εὐεπιχείρητος ἂν  
 εἴη τοῖς ἐπιβούλοις ἀεὶ καὶ ἀντιπράττουσι, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι δίκαιος οὐδὲ  
 μέμφεσθαι. <sup>6</sup> Πολλῶν μέντ' ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀξιουῖσθαι τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὅστις αὐτὸς  
 προνοῶν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς αἰροῖτ' ἂν ἴστασθαι, τῶν πολλῶν καμάτων καὶ τῆς <sup>15</sup>  
 κινδυνώδους ἀναστροφῆς ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξάγων καὶ τὴν ἀκύμονα καὶ γαληναίαν  
 ἀγωγὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος καὶ χρώμενος ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐλεύθερος  
 ἑαυτῷ, <sup>7</sup> 'διαδράς', κατὰ τὸ ἔπος, 'ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ τε κυδ-  
 οιμοῦ', καὶ καθορῶν ἄλλους ἐν πελάγει μυρίοις πόνοις καὶ ἀηδία τὸν πλοῦν  
 ἀνύτοντας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ λιμένος ἐστῶς καὶ χρώμενος ἕξω πάσης δυσχερείας καθ' <sup>20</sup>  
 αἴρεσιν ἑαυτῷ.

<sup>20</sup> ἀνύτοντας E et p.c. P, ἀνύττοντας a.c. P, non leg. M  
 ἕξω M

ἐστῶς: fort. scrib. ἐστῶς      πάσης

<sup>18</sup> διαδράς ... κυδοιμοῦ] cf. Il. 11.(163-)164 "Ἐκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἐκ τε κόνις / ἐκ  
 τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ | Hes. Sc. 155 | Th.Met. Logos 10.13.55sq. καθάπαθ'  
 ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ

to stay at home without going out, <sup>2</sup> not having to push and be pushed and to risk fatal losses, or to lose the possession and use of virtue and to be cut off from its power by the many adversities, which will be the case if you live with the many and go further in taking on more responsibilities than would serve you. <sup>3</sup> For, whoever has dealings with many people, cannot live in peace. And whoever is being tried all the time by troubles and struggles, which require a great deal of precaution if one should be able to protect oneself, and whoever is always living in danger and toil and strife, he would find it difficult to be able to succeed in everything. <sup>4</sup> And to avoid and to handle all suspicious situations, such as very easily may threaten with danger, so as to be able to get away from them in some way—that would indeed be the characteristic of a sensible man, one who without fail plans what is best for himself. <sup>5</sup> This does not, as someone perhaps would say, mean deserting the attention and the care for the good, but is rather a question of withdrawing in time to a place where you would not be easily assaulted by those by whom one is always plotted against and opposed; for doing this one should not be censured or blamed. <sup>6</sup> He would rather be worthy of much praise, who out of precaution chooses to stand on the safe side, withdrawing from all the toil and from a dangerous mode of life, and making the calm and quiet life his own, free to use his powers at his own discretion, <sup>7</sup> and *escaping*, according to the epic, *from blood and murder and the din of battle*,<sup>12</sup> and watching others who complete their voyage with infinite pain and nausea, while he himself is safe in the harbour, living according to his wish, far from every unpleasantness.

<sup>12</sup> A free rendering of *Iliad* 11.164.

“Ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐν κοινῷ πολιτευομένοις ἔξεστι καλῶς βιοῦν  
τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας νομίμοις· ΟΕ’

1 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἐν τῷ ἰδιοπραγεῖν τὸν βίον, ὡς εἴρηται, εὐπραγεῖν  
ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὀφειλομένην τοῖς χριστιανικοῖς ὁροις καὶ νομίμοις ζωὴν καὶ  
βέλτιστα φέρεσθαι, 2 ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀποτρεπτέον παντάπασι καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν 5  
498 πολλῶν | κοινωνίας καὶ συμβιώσεως καὶ τοῦ πολιτικὰ πράττειν ἅττα δὴ κατὰ  
καιρὸν καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσιν ἐκάστοτε γεννικῶς ἀντεχομένους καὶ  
τῆς χριστιανοῖς προσηκούσης ἀγωγῆς. 3 Οὐδ’ ἀπογνωστέον ἐστὶ καθάπαξ  
μὴ, κἂν τούτοις ἔχοντας καὶ καθ’ ὅσον οἶον τ’ ἐστὶν ἐπιμελουμένους τῆς ἐν  
αὐτοῖς προκοπῆς καὶ δοκιμασίας τῶν ὀφειλομένων τοῖς κατὰ θείας ἐντολὰς 10  
ζῶσιν, ὅμως αὐθις ἀντιποιεῖσθαι καὶ βέλτιστ’ ἀμέλει κἀνταῦθ’ ἀνύτειν, κἂν εἰ  
μὴ τι πλεον, συγγνωστῶς καὶ ἀνεμεσήτως ὡς μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ βίου χρῆσιν ἐν  
τοῖς θείοις νομίμοις ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν ἀστείως. 4 Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτ’ ἦν,  
φθορᾶς ἂν εἰσηγησῖς ἦν καὶ νομοθεσία τὸ χριστιανικῶς ζῆν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς  
ὅλης ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσιώσεως καὶ δημιουργίας, ὡς ἄρα καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, 15  
καὶ ἀνήνυτος πάντα τρόπον ἐπιχείρησις καί, πολὺ γε δῆλον αὐτόθεν, ἀνόνητος,  
5 ὁπότε μὴ πέφυκεν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀνθρώπων πράγμασι καὶ τῇ πολιτικῇ κατὰ  
φύσιν συμβίψει ξυνεῖναι τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν καὶ σωτήρια νόμιμα, ὃ δὴ πολλοὺ  
δέει φάναι νοῦν ὅλως ἔχοντά τινα καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν  
βουλόμενον. 6 Τοῦναντίον μὲν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔποιτ’ ἄν, καὶ ῥᾶστ’ 20  
ἔξεστι συλλογίζεσθαι, ζημία μεγίστη τοῖς Χριστοῦ δόγμασι καὶ κατασκευῇ  
499 φεύγειν ὡς ἀδυνάτων αὐτῶν | καὶ μὴ χρῆσθαι πεφυκότων ἀνθρώποις καὶ  
κατὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν ὄντων νομοθετούντων, ἃ μὴ πάντως ἐστὶ πείθεσθαι  
μὴδὲ προσέχειν ὅλως ἀξιοῦν. 7 Καὶ φειστέον ἔτι πω προστιθέναι πλείω τούτοις  
ἐξῆς ἐπόμενα, μήποτε καὶ λάθοιμεν ἐχθροῖς τε καὶ ἀλλοτριόφροσι τῶν καλῶν 25

1 ἐν: ἐν τῷ a.c. P

5 ἀποτρεπτέον P<sup>2</sup>M, non leg. P<sup>1</sup>6 ἅττα: ” add. P<sup>2</sup>, de accentu in P<sup>1</sup> non

constat, ἅττα M

8 τῆς E et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, fort. τοῖς P<sup>1</sup>, non leg. M

13 μὴ γὰρ M

19 δέει P,

δέει M (vide introd. 3, p. liii)

16 ἀνήνυτος ... ἀνόνητος] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 61.1.2

75. That it is possible also for those who are engaged  
in public activities to live well and in accordance with  
virtue and the laws of religion

1 But even if, as has been said, it is possible when living in seclusion to live well and in accordance with the rules and laws of Christianity and to act in the very best way, 2 one should neither completely refuse communion and life with the many, nor, on occasion, refuse to engage in some political activity and to act nobly whatever befalls, all the while adhering to the behaviour appropriate to Christians. 3 Even if one is engaged in a Christian life and, as much as possible, strives to be successful in this and to consider the duty of those who live according to the divine commandments, one must not, however, once and for all give up having anything to do with this world and even give up trying to achieve the very best here too; and, if it is not possible to do more, one must at least not give up showing, in a way which as little as possible invites censure and vengeance, a way of life according to the rules of God and acquitting oneself well. 4 If this were not possible, living in a Christian way would mean to introduce decay into life, and to put strictures upon life and upon human existence as a whole and upon human creativity, as has been said before, and it would be an in every way endless endeavour and, as is made very clear from this, an unprofitable one,<sup>1</sup> 5 if it were not natural to the redeeming laws of Christ to exist alongside common affairs of men and normal political intercourse—something which every man with any sense and, above all, wishing to revere and respect the teachings of Christ, would be very far from denying. 6 On the contrary, as can most easily be inferred, a very great damage to the doctrines of Christ would necessarily follow from this, and it would be a pretext to flee from the doctrines as if these were impossible and not made for men to use, and as if they laid down rules which were wholly against nature and reality—claims which one should not at all believe or deem worthy of any attention. 7 And to be brief I will refrain from adding to this still more of a similar kind, lest we, without noticing, should give to

<sup>1</sup> 'endless ... unprofitable': for this see also 61.1.2.

καὶ δυσνουστάτοις τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀληθεῖ θεοσεβείᾳ χώραν καθ' ἡμῶν δόντες κακουργεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ γε πλατεῖ στόματι προφέροντες ἀνευλαβῶς ἃ μὴ χρῆν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἅπερ ἔλέγεθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ τις συκοφαντεῖν αἰροῖτο καὶ παραληρεῖν καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ σπουδάζειν.

2 Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δεσποτικοὶ λόγοι καὶ νόμοι καὶ τὰ θεῖα δόγματα καθόλου 5  
δὴ κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάσης βίων αἰρέσεως καὶ οὐ τούτων μὲν δὴ, τῶν δ' οὐ, οὐδὲ τῶν μὲν ἀμέλει μᾶλλον, τῶν δ' ἔλαττον, ἀλλ', ὡς εἴρηται, καθ' ὁμοῦ πάντων καὶ πάσης βιώσεως. 2 Καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατά γε μὴν ἐπιτάττουσιν οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ πεφυκότα νομίζουσιν, οὐδ' ἃ μηδόλως οἷον τε πράττονται, καὶ πολλοὶ γ' ἐπὶ πάσης ιδέας βίων καὶ μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐκτὸς καὶ τοῦ 10  
ἐλληνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ μέρους ἄρρενος καὶ μηδὲν ἦττον θήλεος, 500 καὶ νέοι καὶ νέαι καὶ πρεσβύται δὴ καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, 3 καὶ καθόλου | πάσης τάξεως ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ πάσης βιοτῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ νόμων ἀνθρωπίνων ἄλλων παρ' ἄλλοις κρατούντων ἐθάδες, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀδυνάτοις τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τούτοις θείοις προσανέχουσι νόμοις καὶ δόγμασι καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς δηλοὶ γ' εἰσὶν οἷοι 15  
τε ὄντες ἄγεσθαι. 4 Καὶ ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὡς ἀνύτουσιν ἐν τούτοις εὖ καὶ χρῶνται σπουδῇ πάσῃ καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐπιμελῶς ἰκνούμενοι, κἂν ὁ μὲν πλεον ἴσως, ὃ δ' ἔλαττον ἄλλος ἄλλου, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης ἄλλης τοῦτ' ἔχει προθέσεως τοῦ βίου καὶ χρήσεως καὶ σοφίας κτήσεως καὶ πάσης τεχνῶν ἀσκήσεως, 5 ἄλλων ἄλλοι πεφύκασιν καὶ αἰροῦνται πλεον καὶ ἔλαττον, καὶ ἐνεργεῖς εἰσὶν ὧν ἕκαστοι 20  
πειρῶνται, οὐδ' ἴσα φέρονται καὶ χωροῦσι ξυμμετρούμενοι αὐτοῖς φασιν οἱ λόγοι δακτύλοις, αὐτοῖς πήχεσιν, αὐτοῖς σταδίοις, 6 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ δολιχεύουσι μεῖζον καὶ τάχιον καὶ ὑπερβάθμιον' ἢ κατ' ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς βελτίστοις 'τείνουσι πόδα', οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων αὐ ἐναντία ὑστερίζουσιν τε καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἔχουσι

21 φασὶν Μ

24 δεύτερ' Μ

23 ὑπερβάθμιον ... πόδα] cf. Anon. Hist. Diad. *FGrH* 155 F1 § 3 ἀπελθόντες ... ἤρξαντο ὑπερβάθμιον τείνειν πόδα ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος | *Orac.Chald.* 176.1 ὑπερβάθμιον πόδα ῥιπτῶν | Ascl. *In Metaph.* 98.sq. κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπερβάθμιον πόδα ἀποτείνειν et *Ibid.* 393.13 | Marin. *Procl.* 13 καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβάθμιον πόδα, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τείνοντα | Agath. 2.29 (p. 78.17 [Keydell]) ὑπερβάθμιον, τὸ λεγόμενον, πόδα τείνειν | *Suda* Υ 234 'Ὑπερβάθμιον πόδα ῥιπτῶν: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀτάκτως, ἀπρεπῶς διαπραττόμενος | Th.Met. *Logos* 10.61.28sq. οὐχ ὑπερβάθμιον τείνειν πόδα οὐδ' ἔξω σκοποῦ βάλλειν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

our enemies and those who are ill-disposed towards what is good and who are most hostile towards our true religion, the opportunity of causing us evil, ourselves too pouring forth what should not be said, in idle talk and without reverence. But, as has been said, this is<sup>2</sup> not so, in truth it is not, [and no one would say so] unless he chooses to slander and talk madly and to strive for things which are completely inappropriate.

2 On the contrary, the sayings and laws of the Lord as well as the divine doctrines are universally valid for all men and for every choice of life—not for some only and for others not, and not more for some and less for others, but, as has been said, in the same way for all and for every kind of life.<sup>2</sup> They do not enjoin impossible things or lay down as laws anything which is contrary to nature, nor demand what is wholly impossible. And many people, leading all kinds of life, engaged or not engaged in worldly business, Greeks or barbarians, of the masculine half of mankind or, no less, the feminine, young men and young women, old men and old women,<sup>3</sup> and, on the whole, people of every standing and every way of life and every upbringing, used to different kinds of laws prevailing among different people—all these rely on these divine laws and doctrines of ours, proving that the same are not impossible to follow, since they are obviously capable of being guided by them.<sup>4</sup> We even see that they are successful under them and use them with every zeal and with care progress in the best way, though some may do this in a higher, some in a lesser degree than others, just as the case is with every other choice of way of living, and with every other way of acquiring wisdom and of practising every art: <sup>5</sup> some have more, some have less natural talent and inclination than others; they are all active, each one in his field, but they do not fare in the same way nor are they measured, as we say, with the same fingers' breadths, the same cubits, the same stadia,<sup>6</sup> but some run the long distance race<sup>3</sup> better and quicker and competing with the best *they put their foot ahead*<sup>4</sup> of the others; and

<sup>2</sup> I.e. that it is not impossible to live in a Christian way at the same time as being engaged in worldly business.

<sup>3</sup> 'run the long distance race': cf. below, 76.2.1, where the same kind of metaphor is employed.

<sup>4</sup> 'they ... ahead': this expression is widely spread and occurs, e.g., in Agathias and Suda.

τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ τῶν δρόμων. Πάντες δόμως οἰοί τ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 501 7 καὶ οὐτ' ἐρημία προσίσταται τῷ καλλίστῳ σκοπῷ οὔτε | κοινὰ πράγματα  
 καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων βιώσεις καὶ πολιτεύματα, οὐ πᾶσα τύχης ὑπόθεσις,  
 οὐ πᾶσ' ἄσκησις βίου, οὐ ξυμπίπτοντ' ἄλλ' ἄλλοις πράγματα, οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς 5  
 ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

3 Ἐξεστι γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα καὶ πάντα δὴ πράττοντα πράγματα καὶ  
 πλείστοις ὅσοις συμβιοῦντα καὶ συνεξεταζόμενον μηδὲν ὅμως ἐξίστασθαι τῶν  
 δοθέντων ὄρων, ἀλλὰ συντηρεῖν τὲ καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 νόμιμα· ἔξεστι πρὸς πᾶσαν τύχην ἢ σύνεστι τις εὐ τε καὶ ὡς ἐτέρως πράττων, 10  
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον πρότερον ἢ νῦν, σώφροσιν αἰεὶ συνεῖναι λογισμοῖς 2 καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν ἐντολὴν ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν βίον εὐθύνειν καὶ μὴτ' αἰρεσθαι  
 μήτε πίπτειν, κἂν εἰ ἐργῶδες τοῦτο πολλάκις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέφικτον οὐ ποτε μέτ-  
 ροις ὀρίζεσθαι τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κατὰ πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ χρῆσθαι  
 βέλτισθ' ἑαυτῷ 3 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, πρὸς τὰ ξυμπίπτοντα πάνθ' ἕκαστα νόμους 15  
 ἐκ παραδόσεως καὶ λογισμῶν ἀληθῶν ὅπως δέοι ἂν ἔχοντα χρῆσθαι, καὶ κατ'  
 ἐκείνους ἑαυτὸν συντείνοντα, καὶ πάνθ' ὥσπερ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὁροις τακτοῖς  
 ἡκρίβωνται, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὡς ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς βιοῦμεν. 4 Καὶ οὐ νόμοι μόνον  
 502 θεῖοι πάντων ἐξηγηταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος αὐτόθεν τοῦ | συνειδότος ἡγεμῶν  
 καὶ διδάσκαλος καθ' ὃ τι τὲ χρηστέον ἐστὶ καὶ καθ' ὃ τι μὴ, καὶ ὅπως ἄρα 20  
 τῶν μὲν ἀντιποιετέον ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ φευκτέον, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅλη ῥοπὴ ψυχῆς,  
 τῶν δὲ καὶ μετρίως ἴσως, 5 καὶ τί μὲν ἀντιτεινομένους, τί δὲ ἀνιέντας καὶ  
 κλωμένους ἀμυγέπη καὶ ξὺν παρρησί' ἀνύτοντας καὶ μεταχειρίζοντας αὐ καὶ  
 διοικοῦντας ὑπὸ θεῷ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς μάρτυσιν, ἅττα τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνει καὶ  
 βέλτιον ἐστὶν ἀγνοεῖσθαι. 6 Καὶ εἰ ταῦτα δῆτ' ἐργῶδη πολὺ μάλιστ' ἢ τοῖς 25  
 ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις ζῶσι καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ῥᾶστ' ἰδιοπραγοῦσιν  
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς εἴρηται,

1 δ' ὅμως M αὐτοῖς P, ἑαυτοῖς M, an scrib. αὐτοῖς?

p.c. P, fort. ὥσπερ a.c. P (lacunam fere 3 litt. exhib.)

ἀνύττοντας a.c. P, corr. ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>

6 μεταβάλλοντ' M

18 ὡς M et

22 ἐντεινομένους M

23 ἀνύτοντας:

<sup>5</sup> 'whether you are doing ... today': or 'doing well or otherwise, and more or less so earlier than now'.

<sup>6</sup> 'who knows them [i.e. the divine laws]' (τοῦ συνειδότος): or, possibly, 'who has a conscience'.

some, contrary to this, lag behind and come in second in the competition and the races. All, however, are able to use their capabilities and, without stumbling, to contribute in some way to the fulfilment of the common good. <sup>7</sup> And neither does a life in seclusion constitute a hindrance to the reaching of the highest goal, nor does communal business or living with many others or politics, nor any kind of destiny or profession, nor other things happening to other men or things of different kind happening to the same men at different times and in a way different from before.

3 The truth is, that it is possible to exist in the midst of everything and to take part in all worldly business and to live together with a great many people and be put on the same level with them, and nevertheless not to exceed the given limits in any respect, but both to keep all the rules of God and to act righteously in accordance with them. Whatever is your fate, whether you are doing well or otherwise, whether more or less, in the past or today,<sup>5</sup> it is still possible always to think sensibly, <sup>2</sup> and to let yourself and your life be guided towards the divine command, and not to be elated nor to fall; and even if this is often wearisome, never, whatever happens, is it impossible to remain within the boundaries of what is good and virtuous and to use your own abilities in the best manner, <sup>3</sup> as well as those of others, whatever befalls, having, which would seem proper, for your use laws come down through tradition and through true deliberation, and exerting yourself in accordance with these; and everything is laid down in detail with defined limits as if with set purpose, and in every respect do we live as if by a contract. <sup>4</sup> And not do the divine laws alone explain everything, but also will the reason of him, who knows them,<sup>6</sup> by itself act as a guide and teacher as to how one should act and how not, and how one should strive for some things and avoid others, some of them with every inclination of the heart, others, maybe, in a moderate way, <sup>5</sup> and partly with tension, partly relaxed and, somehow, with restraint, freely achieving our ends and, led by God and with ourselves as [sole] witnesses, handling and discharging matters which are hidden to the multitude and which it is better for them to be unaware of. <sup>6</sup> And even if this is difficult—and so much the more so for these than for those who live in seclusion and only for themselves and who conduct their private business in the easiest way, keeping to what is

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴσως ἐπαίνων ἀφορμὰς χορηγοῦντα πλείστας, <sup>7</sup> εἴ τις εὐγενὴς ἐν  
τούτοις εἶη καὶ παντὸς ἐπιτυχῆς τοῦ εἰκότος ὁρῶτο ἐν ἄθλοις πλείστοις  
νικῶν ἐν πολυστρόφοις τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς χρεαίαις πάντα στρεφόμενος  
εὖ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ μένων ἴσος καὶ ὀρθὸς μηδὲν ἤττον ἢ εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκλινὴς  
ἐχώρει προβαίνων ἀεί. <sup>8</sup> Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τις κρημνοβατῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην πᾶσαν καὶ <sup>5</sup>  
μὴ διὰ λείας καὶ ἀπροσκόπτου φέρων πρὸ ὁδοῦ γένοιτο καὶ τύχοι τοῦ κατὰ  
503 σκοπὸν φθάσας | οἱ χρῆν, πολλῶ θαυμάζειν ἴσως ἄξιος ἢ ὁ ῥᾶστα δραμῶν  
καὶ ἀνύσας ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμαλῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἐργῶδες ἐχούσης· <sup>9</sup> οἷος ἐστὶν ὁ μέσον  
τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἀντισπῶντων ὄχλων εὐδοκιμῶν πρὸς τὸν  
φυγόντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένον ἐπιχειρίας καὶ ἀντιπράξεως ἐπὶ <sup>10</sup>  
τῇ τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ καθ' αἴρεσιν ἐλευθέρᾳ χρήσει.

<sup>4</sup> Ὡς δ' ἔστιν ἄρα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀποπίπτειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἕξως μετατῶν  
πραγμάτων βιοῦντα καὶ κοινῇ μετὰ πολλῶν συστρεφόμενον, πάλαι τε καὶ  
νῦν οὐκ ὀλίγοι πιστοῦνται τὸν λόγον, <sup>2</sup> καὶ πολὺς ἂν καὶ μάταιος ἴσως εἶη  
πόνος καταριθμεῖσθαι νῦν εἶναι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς βιωτικαῖς πολυασχόλοις ἀγωγαῖς <sup>15</sup>  
πολλὴν ποιησαμένους ἢ ποιουμένους τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον φροντίδα τῶν θεῶν  
ἐντολῶν ἔχεσθαι καὶ συντείνειν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ πάσης ὡς οἶον  
τε κακίας ἀποχώρησιν. <sup>3</sup> Οἷς οἶμαι καὶ τὸ ἐκπίπτειν ὀηροῦν τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν  
νομίμων καὶ τελειότητος συγγνωστὸν μᾶλλον ἂν εἶη ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ  
καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον φυγῇ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην αὐτὴν τῶν τῆς <sup>20</sup>  
ἀρετῆς ἔργων, μὴ παντὸς τυγχάνουσι τοῦ ταύτῃ προσήκοντος. <sup>4</sup> Τῶν μὲν γάρ  
ἐστὶν ἀπολογία πρὸς τὴν τῆς συγγνώμης εἰσπραξίν ἢ μετὰ τῶν εἰρημένων  
λογισμῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποχώρησις, τῶν τοῦ κόσμου φυγάδων ἐκείνων  
504 | ἀνδρῶν τῇ ἀρετῇ διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ δυσχερείας· <sup>5</sup> δῆλον γὰρ τὸ ἐπικίνδυνον

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τούτοις εὐγενὴς εἶη M, sed litteris β, α et γ supra positus indicat scriba inversionem ordinis  
voci, i.e. εὐγενὴς ἐν τούτοις εἶη <sup>12</sup> μετὰ τῶν M <sup>23</sup> ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων M

<sup>7</sup> 'yet ... goal': φθάσας, which should denote anticipation or, in later Greek, simply the reaching  
of a goal, seems redundant after πρὸ ὁδοῦ and τύχοι τοῦ κατὰ σκοπὸν. It seems that Metochites is  
using the ancient Greek construction of τυγχάνει c. part. but with the semantic understanding  
of his own age.

<sup>8</sup> 'wins ... avoids': εὐδοκιμῶν πρὸς τὸν φυγόντα.

<sup>9</sup> 'in order to be pardoned': πρὸς τὴν τῆς συγγνώμης εἰσπραξίν.

<sup>10</sup> 'others': i.e. those mentioned in § 4 who avoid the world.

good—even so it is not, however, as has been said, beyond the limits for what is possible and the limits of nature, but may even give ample cause for praise, <sup>7</sup> if someone acts nobly in this and is seen to achieve everything within reason, winning in many contests regarding complicated matters and needs, and adapting well to every situation, and remaining firm and upright in his statements, no less than if he were always walking straight, on the same road, without turning. <sup>8</sup> For if someone, forced by the greatest necessity, walked on the edge of a cliff when travelling and did not walk over even ground without risk of stumbling, yet arrived and reached his proper goal,<sup>7</sup> then he would perhaps be worthy of great admiration, more so than he who ran with great ease, accomplishing his journey on a smooth road with no obstacles. <sup>9</sup> Such is he who, in the midst of worldly business and great multitudes of people disturbing him, wins more fame than he who avoids<sup>8</sup> worldly business and has freed himself from all insulting treatment and opposition, in order to devote himself to the best of things and to be able to deal with them according to his own free will.

<sup>4</sup> That it is not at all necessary to deviate from a good demeanour while engaged in worldly business and living together with many, is a statement which is confirmed by not a few, in the past as well as nowadays. <sup>2</sup> And it would be very irksome and maybe in vain now to enumerate those who in their busy worldly careers have constantly taken, or are taking, pains to keep the divine commandments and to exert themselves in order to be virtuous and, as much as can be, to keep away from all evil. <sup>3</sup> I also think that it would rather be excusable for these to deviate in some way from the exact and perfect observation of the laws, than for those who do not live engaged in business and who avoid all that which makes up human life in order to devote themselves exclusively to the deeds of virtue, fearing lest they should fail to achieve everything which belongs to it. <sup>4</sup> Their excuse in order to be pardoned<sup>9</sup> is that they keep away from worldly business for the said reasons, these men who flee from the world, for the sake of virtue, because of the difficulties in the world. <sup>5</sup> For, the danger to those who are active there is obvious. But for the others<sup>10</sup> this kind of excuse is banned and they have no defence left, since after having run away from worldly business and its obvious dangers, and after having taken good care to pro-

ἐνταῦθα χρωμένοις. Τοῖς δὲ τὸ συγγνωμονικὸν κλείεται καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήρηται τῷ μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιδήλων κινδύνων δρασμοὺς καὶ τὴν φθάσασαν τῆς ἀσφαλείας πρόνοιαν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκείνους ἐμπίπτειν ὀλισθήμασι. 6 Καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι το πλεῖον νέμειν ἐστίν· ἢ τῷ περὶ τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἐτοιμοτέρῳ βίῳ, ἢ ᾧ τὸ σύγγνωμον ἐτοιμότερον, ἐν 5 οἷς ἡ φύσις εὐόλισθος, ὡς ἐκείνοι πάντως οἱ θατέρου μέρους προκηρύττουσι μάλιστα καὶ προμαρτύρονται καὶ ψηφίζόμενοι φθάνουσιν, οἷς ἄρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀσφαλιζόμενοι φεύγουσι τὰ πράγματα.

Εἰ γαμητέον ἐστὶν ἢ μὴ τοῖς ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχουσι καὶ  
φροντίδα τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν ζωῆς· ΟΦ'

10

1 Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἐπισκέψεως ἐστίν, οἶμαι, καὶ θεωρίας ἀναζητῆσαι καὶ εἰ γαμητέον ἐστὶν εἴτε μὴ, ὡς ἄρα τινὰ τὸ γαμῆσαι μάλιστ' ἔγκοπὴν καὶ ζημίαν, εἴτουν πόνων καὶ ἀντιστάσεων συνέχειαν, ἐμποιοῦν αὐτόθεν τοῖς κατὰ Χριστὸν 5 ζῆν ἐλομένοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ προσέχειν εὖ μάλα | καὶ χρῆσθαι διδάγμασι καὶ νομοθεσίαις. 2 Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ πολὺς ὁ δεσμὸς τοῦ γάμου τῷ βίῳ, καὶ ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν 15 βιαίαις ἐπηρεαίαις χώρα πᾶσα πολὺ μάλιστα καθ' ἡμῶν κρατεῖν καὶ συνέχειν ἄφυκτα τὸν νοῦν πλάνη πάση καὶ στροφαῖς παντοίαις καὶ κλύδωνι τῶν ἔξωθεν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐκάστοτε, 3 ἃ ῥᾶον ἐστὶν ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ παριδεῖν τε καὶ ὑπερθέσθαι καὶ ἀπονώτερον ὑπεκδραμεῖν μόνον ἐν βίῳ κουφότερον πλέοντα ὅπως ἄρα ἡ γυναικὶ συμβιοῦντα καὶ τέκνοις σπουδάζοντα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην 20 περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα καλῶς ἄγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν μάλιστα· 4 τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ φιλουλία μᾶλλον καὶ φιλοπλουτία ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ἢ καὶ φιλαντία καθόλου πάντων κρατοῦσα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπὶ πάντων πραγμάτων ὡς ἄρ' οἷον τέ ἐστιν ὁλως μέτρον ὀρίζουσα. 5 Καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον 25 καλοῖς καὶ πλείστον ἢ κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐνευθηνεῖσθαι οὐκ οἶδα τίς

18 ξυμπιπτόντων: ξ s.l. et ξῦ in mg. add. M  
comp. s.l. exhib. P, αὐτοῖς in textu et ὦν s.l. exhib. M (vide introd. 2.7, p. xli)

21 αὐτῶν: αὐτ in textu et tam οἷς quam ὦν per

<sup>11</sup> I.e. that one is likely to stumble when engaged in worldly business.

cure the means of safety, they still stumble in the same way as the others. <sup>6</sup> And I do not know which one should consider best: the way of life which more easily allows of good deeds, or that which would more easily obtain pardon, dealing as it does with matters in which nature may easily stumble. That this is so,<sup>11</sup> those of the other side, especially, are prone, in advance, to proclaim and vindicate and express as their opinion, and so they procure safety for themselves when fleeing from worldly business.

#### 76. Whether those who are eager and anxious to lead a virtuous life should marry or not

<sup>1</sup> It is, I think, part of the same scrutiny and investigation to consider also whether one should marry or not, since marrying, by itself, to a very high degree brings hindrance and loss of some kind, in the form of continuous troubles and opposition, to those who have chosen to live according to Christ and to pay very careful attention to His teachings and rules and to live after them. <sup>2</sup> For marriage does indeed very much fetter us to life, and there is every opportunity for the extreme hardships, which may result from this, to take control over us in the highest degree, and to dominate our mind with every kind of illusion and all sorts of manoeuvres and with a flood of incidents from outside all the time, with no chance of escaping, <sup>3</sup> all of which is easier to bear and to disregard and to keep aloof from and to avoid in a comparatively painless way if, so to speak, one sails alone in life and with less ballast, than if one lives together with a woman and has children to care for, and one's chief obligation is that these should fare well and according to their needs, and, if possible, better than their needs. <sup>4</sup> This<sup>1</sup> is the result neither of a love of destruction nor of greed, but rather of self-love, which rules everything absolutely and which, in all matters, so far as possible, sets no limits whatever. <sup>5</sup> And I do not know who in the whole world would not choose to be successful in what is good in life, if in

<sup>1</sup> I.e. that one marries and starts a family.

ἀν τῶν ἀπάντων, ἐξὸν ἔπειθ' ὀπιοῦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο, μᾶλλον δ' οὐκ ἂν πάση  
 σπουδῇ καὶ πᾶσι πόνοις ἑαυτὸν τούτου γ' ἔνεκα δοίη, 6 μεγάλην δόξαν εἰς  
 κληρον καὶ χρημάτων θησαυροὺς καὶ μακρῶν προσόδους οὐσιῶν τέκνοις ἐκ  
 506 παρασκευῆς ἐπιμελοὺς παραπέμψαι, καὶ ζῶν ἔτ' αὐτὸς καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν |  
 χρόνοις ὕστερον· 7 ἂ δὴ καὶ κτήσασθαι πάντως καὶ τηρῆσαι φιλτάτοις ἀζήμια 5  
 καὶ ἀλώβητα μὴ οὐ τῶν ῥαδίων ἢ καὶ χωρὶς πόνων μεγίστων καὶ πολλῆς τῆς  
 ἐνασχολήσεως καὶ πολυμόχθου φροντίδος πᾶσιν ἀφειδῶς ἐγχειροῦντα καὶ  
 προσκεείμενον εὖ μάλα καρτερῶς, κἂν οὐκ ἔξω κινδύνων καὶ μεγίστης τῆς  
 δυσχερείας, κἂν εἰ δικαίως τὲ καὶ ἀδίκως ἐνίοτε.

2 Καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν γάμος τεκνοποιίας ἔνεκα μάλιστα καιρὸν ἔχει καὶ 10  
 νενομίσταί, ὥς ἂν δολιχεύειν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς διαδοχῆς μικροῦ καὶ εἰς ἀθανα-  
 σίαν τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὴν τὸ διαρκὲς καταμέρος οὐκ ἔχουσιν μηχανᾶται σοφῶς  
 ἢ κινήσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν πρόνοια διοικήσει καλλίστη ταῖς ἐπαλλήλοις διαδοχαῖς  
 πορρωτάτῳ κοιμίδῃ διαρκεῖν καὶ ἰκνεῖσθαι. 2 Κἂν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο προσεῖη τῷ  
 γάμῳ, μὴδὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυγχάνοι τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐρημία τοῦ χρησίμου 15  
 καὶ βιωφελοῦς ὄντως συνῶν ὁρῶτο, πάντων ἀηδέστατον τοῦτο, καὶ ζῶσιν οἱ  
 γαμήσαντες αὐτόθεν νεκροὶ καὶ ὥς ἀληθῶς 'γῆς ἄχθη' μόνον, 3 ἄσυντελεῖς  
 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ἀχρεΐα τοῖς οἴκοι παρέρριπται,  
 μηδενὸς λόγου καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ βίῳ δικαίως ἂν ἄξιοι τῇ καθάπαξ ἀφυΐᾳ τῆς  
 507 χρήσεως. 4 Εἰ | δ' ἄρ' ὁ γάμος ἐνεργὸς ἢ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς φύσεως 20  
 καὶ τέκνων εὐφορία, λαμπρὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν  
 ἀνάγκην ἔπεται καὶ βάρη κατάγχοντα φροντισμάτων καὶ κύματ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις  
 ἐγειρόμενα καὶ κλύδωνες ἐνίοτε καὶ ναυάγια, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον γε σωματῶν ἢ

15 ἐρημία PM, iota subscriptum addidi

17 γῆς ἄχθη] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 69.2.5

20 Εἰ ... λαμπρὰ] cf. S. Tr. 1174 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> This interpretation means that the overall structure of the paragraph is one of two statements: '(it) is certainly not an easy task etc.' and 'Nor is it free from danger etc.' Another possibility is to take the last sentence as a continuation of what immediately precedes it, i.e. as expressing possible circumstances under which a man may still be willing to act. In this case one may translate: 'even if it is not free from danger and extreme unpleasantness, indeed even regardless whether it is right or wrong sometimes.'

<sup>3</sup> 'run': more exactly 'run a long course': the word used, δολιχεύω, is probably, like δολιχοδρομέω, a sports metaphor. This is anticipated by 75.2.6.

any way possible, and to be more prosperous than any other men. Would he not rather submit himself to every effort and any trouble for the sake of this, 6 viz. to bequeath to his children, by careful preparation, great fame and amassed wealth and the income from great estates [to be enjoyed] while he himself is still alive, as well as after his death, years afterwards? 7 Altogether to acquire these riches and to keep them safe and intact for one's dearest, is certainly not an easy task nor exempt from extreme labour and much work and wearisome care for him who unsparingly attempts everything in order to do so and who applies himself to the task with great diligence. Nor is it free from danger and extreme unpleasantness, whether rightful or, as in some cases, not right.<sup>2</sup>

2 Marriage is undoubtedly most of all justified by and instituted for the begetting of children, so that through unbroken succession nature may run<sup>3</sup> some little way towards eternity even. And so, through the succession from one to the other, does Providence, which caused the first movement, with the most excellent management wisely arrange for nature, which in its parts does not have the quality of lasting, to last and reach very far. 2 And if, in a marriage, this does not follow, and if a marriage does not reach nature's goal but is seen to be devoid<sup>4</sup> of what is useful and truly good for life, this is the most unpleasant thing imaginable, and the married couple then live as if dead and indeed as *burdens of the earth*<sup>5</sup> only, 3 without reaching fulfilment for themselves or for the world, in the way that useless tools are thrown aside by those in the household, since, owing to their complete uselessness, these are not rightfully worthy of any attention in life either. 4 But if the marriage is productive<sup>6</sup> with regard to the goal of nature and through an abundance of children, all the above-mentioned difficulties will clearly and out of necessity follow,<sup>7</sup> as will all the stifling burdens of worries and the waves which rise above each other, and rough weather at times and shipwrecks, no less of souls than of bodies, 5 and all matters

<sup>4</sup> 'is ... devoid': or, closer to the Greek: 'is seen accompanied by a lack' (ἐρημία ... συνὼν ὀρφύτο).

<sup>5</sup> 'burdens of the earth': for this expression see also 69.2.5 and 81.1.7.

<sup>6</sup> 'productive' (ἐνεργός); or 'completed'/'consummated'.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. if children are born, the parents will have problems as a consequence.

ψυχῶν, 5 καὶ πάντα πράγματα τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀποστρέφοντα πρὸς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν βιοτῇ νόμων καὶ τῆς εὐγενοῦς τοῦ βίου χρήσεως· 6 τᾶλλα γὰρ νῦν ἐατέον ἴσως οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ ὅσα καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν ξυνέπεται δυσχερῇ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ταῖς εὐτεκνίαις ἢ ταῖς κακοτεκνίαις, ὅσα καὶ δούλους τριοβολιμαίους καὶ πάσης ἐμπαροινήσεως 5 ἀξιους καὶ χλεῦς ἀποδεικνύοντα τοὺς τεκνοποιοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέτας τῆς φύσεως, ὡς μὴ ὀφελον. 7 Καὶ πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν πανώλειαν ἐαυτῶν κατηύξαντο πρὶν ἢ καὶ πειραθῆναι τοῦ γάμου καὶ τοσοῦτων πειραθῆναι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εὐκταίας τεκνώσεως δυσχερῶν.

3 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὰ τοῦ γάμου δοκεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ παντάπασι ξῶ 10 δοκεῖ· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ ὁ καὶ φθάσαν ἤδη πρότερον εἴρηται, τὸ ταῦτα δὴ βούλεσθαι 508 καὶ λέγειν ἀσύμφωνον παντάπασι ἐστὶ | τῷ θεῷ σκοπῶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξαρχῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τῶν ὄντων πρόνοιαν τε καὶ βούλησιν, καὶ κατὰ τῆς οὐσίας ὁρμαὶ ταῦτα καὶ βουλευμάτα καὶ πρόθεσις εἰς τοῦναντίον, 2 λύσιν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν ὄντων φθορὰν ἀνέδην ἀνακηρύττουσα καὶ πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἀναιρουμένη 15 κατὰ τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς μονῆς, ἣν ἀγαθότης ἐκίνησεν αἰὲ τηροῦσα προνοίᾳ καλλίστη, ὡς ἄρ’ ἐστὶν εἰκὸς τοῦ ποιήματος τὸν ποιήσαντα προνοεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. 3 Καὶ οὐκ ἀφειδὲς μόνον τῶν εἰκότων λογισμῶν εἰς τὴν περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων εὐλάβειαν τὸ ταῦτ’ ἀξιοῦν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πείθειν καὶ τόλμης μεγίστης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ φύσιν ὅλως 20 οὐκ ἐχόντων ἀνόητος ἐπιχείρησις μάτην πονοῦσα 4 καὶ οἷα πολλάκις ἐν ὕπνοις ὄναρ ἀγωνίζονται καὶ σπουδάζουσι δῆθεν ἐν ἀναπλάσμασι φαντασίας ἀνθρωποὶ μετ’ ἀδείας ἀπάσης εὐ μάλα ῥᾶστα ποιούσης καὶ μεταποιούσης πάντα πράγματα καὶ τὰ καθάπαξ ἔξω τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀνατυπούσης μόνον ὡς ἐν πίναξιν, ἄπρακτα μὲν, ἀπρόσκοπα δέ, καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἄρα ταχὺ 25

7 αὐτῶν P, s.l. add. M      13 τε om. M      16 τοῦ M et p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, fort. τῆς a.c. P<sup>1</sup>      ἐκίνησεν P<sup>2</sup>, ἐκίνησε καὶ M et fort. P<sup>1</sup>, καὶ ut vid. erasit P<sup>2</sup>      21 ἀνόνητος M

5 τριοβολιμαίους] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 63.5.4, 67.12.6, 67.18.3

<sup>8</sup> I.e. a life without marriage and other human bonds.

<sup>9</sup> ‘senseless’ (ἀνόητος): the manuscript M has ἀνόνητος, ‘unprofitable’, which may be the intended reading (and also seems to be the commoner of the two words, which are easily confused).

which turn the thoughts away so as to make us neglect the laws necessary for a life according to Christ, and to neglect what is necessary for a noble conduct of life. <sup>6</sup> All other difficulties which follow from this during life itself we will have to pass over, although they may not be irrelevant—difficulties no less if one is blessed with regard to one's children than if not, as well as difficulties which show the parents to be nature's servants and like vulgar slaves who deserve insulting treatment and derision of a most undesirable kind. <sup>7</sup> And many of them have wished that they themselves had been utterly destroyed before they had any experience of marriage and of so many difficulties arising from marriage and from the prayed-for birth of children.

<sup>3</sup> This is my opinion of marriage, an opinion which does not seem to be wholly beside the truth. But, as has already been said before, to wish for this<sup>8</sup> and to say so does not in any way agree with the divine plan and with God's original forethought and purpose with the world. These are impulses and wishes which are contrary to reality and an inspiration to the opposite, <sup>2</sup> since they announce the dissolution of nature and the complete destruction of things that are, and commence a merciless war against the creation and the permanence of the world which goodness set in motion and always guards with the very best foresight, it being reasonable for the creator to care for his creation in every way. <sup>3</sup> And to think these ideas right for men and to argue in favour of them is not only neglect of the thoughts of due reverence of God and the Divine, and a proof of the greatest daring. It is also a senseless<sup>9</sup> undertaking which strives, in vain, for impossible and wholly unnatural things, <sup>4</sup> an undertaking to be compared with what men are often fighting with in a dream when sleeping, and so strive for by means of the fictitious constructions of the imagination, which without any hindrance and with the greatest of ease makes and changes all things, even those which once and for all are outside reality and nature, and only outlines them as if in a painting, useless things but harmless—and nothing is as quick and easy as the imprint of the imagination and the not materialised<sup>10</sup> creations of the mind. <sup>5</sup> For by this it is possible to achieve with

<sup>10</sup> 'not materialised' (ἀνενέγγητα): or 'not actualised', or 'useless.'

καὶ ῥάδιον ὡς ἡ φανταστική γραφή καὶ τὰ κατὰ λογισμοὺς ἀνενέργητα  
 509 δημιουργήματα. 5 Καὶ δρᾶν γάρ ἐστιν | αὐτόθεν εὖ μάλ' ἀνυσίμως ἃ μὴ  
 πέφυκεν ὅλως, καὶ τίθεσθαι καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι λόγοις μόνοις εὐδρομα, καὶ  
 φεύγειν ὧν οὐκ ἔξεστι, καὶ λύειν καὶ καταστρέφειν καὶ παραπέμπειν φθορᾷ καὶ  
 φέρεσθαι καθ' ὧν ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τρόπαια, καὶ 'τάκινητα κινεῖν'. 6 Καὶ ῥᾶον 5  
 ἢ καὶ τὰ παίδων καὶ νηπίων ἀθύρματ' ἔχει καὶ δράματα· ἀρχὰς καὶ πολέμους  
 καὶ νίκας καὶ γάμους καὶ συμπόσια καὶ φιλοτησίας καὶ πάντων πραγμάτων  
 διαπλάττομένων ἀφελείας εὐκολίᾳ σκηνήν, καὶ πειθόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀνύτειν  
 ἐκάστοτε κατὰ πρόθεσιν, 7 ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις εὖ μάλα ἥδεσθαι,  
 πάντ' ἀλόγως καὶ μάτην πονοῦντας. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ἄλλως εὐλογον 10  
 φεύγειν ἅττα δὴ καθάπαξ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι διὰ τὰς ἐπομένας  
 ἐστὶν ἅς δυσχερείας αὐτοῖς.

4 Ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν μὲν ἴσως, μᾶλλον δ' εὐκταῖον ὄντως, εἰ ῥᾶστ' εἶχε  
 παντάπασιν τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους πρακτέα καὶ οἷς ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ μεθ'  
 ἡδονῆς ἦν πειρᾶσθαι ὧν δέοι ἂν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ πόνων ἐλευθερίας ἀπάντων. 2 15  
 "Ὅτε δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲ δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις καθόλου γ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ  
 πάντων πραγμάτων· ὅτε δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη πειρᾶσθαι ὧντινων ἄρα καὶ μάλιστα  
 510 χρεωδέστατον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, | πειρατέον εὖ μάλα κἂν εἰ πάντῃ τοι καματηρῶς  
 εἴη, 3 καὶ οὐκ ἀποδειλιάτεον οὐδ' ἀποτρεπτέον καθάπαξ τῶν βελτίστων ὃ τι  
 ποτ' ἄρα τῷ βίῳ, δι' ἃ πέφυκεν ἀκολουθεῖν ἐν τούτοις ἐργώδη καὶ πονηρὰν 20  
 ἐμποιοῦντα τὴν χρῆσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν τῶν χρησίμων καὶ μειζόνων τὲ καὶ  
 ἡττόνων ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀνύσιμον εἴη τούτου προηγουμένου τοῦ δέους καὶ τῶν  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ φροντισμάτων καὶ λογισμῶν. 4 Οὔτε πλευνεῖται τίς θάλασσαν διὰ  
 τὴν ἐκ τῶν χειμῶνων καὶ πάσης ἀντιπνοίας ἐπήρειαν; Οὔτ' ἀρόσεται γῆν καὶ

1 γραφή: γραφική M      23 τίς pro τις hic et infra PME

5 τάκινητα κινεῖν] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 67.2.4 et 73.3.8

<sup>11</sup> 'successfully to make politics in words only': πολιτεύεσθαι λόγοις μόνοις εὐδρομα (Metochites is talking about what is possible to achieve in the imagination).

<sup>12</sup> 'move the immovable': cf. above, 67.2.4 (with app. font. et parall.), and 73.3.8.

<sup>13</sup> 'And ... have their': the question here is whether ἀθύρματα and δράματα are subjects or objects; in neither case the sentence is unproblematic. Taking ἀθύρματα and δράματα as objects one may translate 'And, more readily even than children's and babies' play, this has its delights and dramatic effects, such as etc.'

great effect such things as are completely impossible to achieve by nature, and to arrange them and successfully to make politics in words only,<sup>11</sup> and to avoid what cannot be avoided, and to dissolve and to tear down and to send to destruction and to win trophies from whoever you might think of, and to *move the immovable*.<sup>12</sup> 6 And, more readily even than those of children and babies, these delights and dramas have their<sup>13</sup> powerful positions and wars and victories, and marriages and symposia and cups sacred to friendship,<sup>14</sup> and a scene where all things change with the easiness of simplicity; and one convinces oneself that in each case one succeeds according to one's intention, 7 and so one is delighted with what is done, although in every respect one toils without meaning<sup>15</sup> and without avail. But leaving these fantasies apart, it is under no circumstances<sup>16</sup> reasonable wholly to avoid public matters and to turn away from them because of the difficulties which may follow from them.

4 And yet, it would perhaps be desirable, or rather really to be wished for, if altogether man's duties and his dealings were very easy, so that one could experience with pleasure what must be experienced, and also in freedom from all labour. 2 But since this is not so, and since nature will by no means permit it, not, so to say, in any circumstances—therefore, whenever<sup>17</sup> we have great need to deal closely with something and this need is most deeply felt, we have to try very hard, even if this is extremely irksome. 3 And one must not flinch or once and for all<sup>18</sup> turn away from any of the best things in life because of the difficulties which in the nature of things will follow and make life arduous. For no thing, great or small, which is good for men, can be achieved if this fear takes the lead with its brooding and worrying. 4 Likewise, will one not sail the sea because of the injuries caused by rough weather and all contrary winds? Will one not plough the earth and bury the seed in it because one fears all that may follow which

<sup>14</sup> 'cups sacred to friendship': φιλοτησίας (κύλικες).

<sup>15</sup> 'meaning' (ἀλόγως): or 'thinking'.

<sup>16</sup> 'leaving ... circumstances': this is to translate the vague Χωρίς δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ἄλλως.

<sup>17</sup> 'therefore, whenever': this is to translate the resumptive ὅτε δὴ (cf. ὅτε at the beginning of the sentence).

<sup>18</sup> 'once and for all' (καθάπαξ): or 'simply'.

κατ' αὐτῆς θησαυρίσει σπέρματα φεύγων τὰ ξυνεπόμενα πλείσθ' ὅσα τῆδ' ἐναντίως ἔχοντα καὶ ζημιοῦντα πολλάκις μέγιστα; 5 Οὔτε φυτεύσει τίς; Οὔτε ζωοτροφήσει; Οὔτ' ἐμπορεύσεται; Οὔτε πᾶν ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν διαπράξεται, οὐ τῶν ἐν μεγίστῳ λόγῳ, οὐ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ αὐτουργικῶν ἔργων, δι' ἃ πρόσεστιν ἐκάστοις ἐργώδη καὶ ξυμβαίνει πολλάκις δυσπραγήματα; 6 Καὶ βιωτέον ἂν 5 εἴη, εἰ καὶ ὅλως εἴη, κατὰ τὸν Ὀμήρου Μαργίτην ἡμδὲν πονοῦντα, μηδενὸς ἐπαίοντα· ἄλλ' ἄκαιρος ὁ λόγος οὗτος καθάπαξ, καὶ πολλὴ ἀηδία καὶ νοεῖν ὅλως ταῦτα καὶ λέγειν. Ἄλλ' ἀντιληπτέον ὧν δεῖ καὶ ὧν ἔστι τις ὄνησις ἢ τίς ἐπείγουσ' ἀνάγκη καὶ χρήσις, κἂν εἰ μάλιστά τινα καματηρὰ προσείη· 7 ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἀνύτειν ἐν σπουδῇ κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ χρώμενον, ὥσπερ ἄρα 10 καὶ περὶ τὸ γαμεῖν ὁρᾶν | ἔστιν, εἴ τις οἶος τ' ἔστιν ὁρᾶν εὖ· κἂν εἰ βέλτιον ἴσως τοῖς θεοῖς νόμοις ἢ ἀγαμία, ἄλλ' οὐ καθόλου νόμος καὶ ἀνάγκη μὴ ἄλλως χρησθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ γαμεῖν ἔξεστιν ἐπ' εὐφορίᾳ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ ἅμα μὴδὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐκ τούτου νομίμων ὀλιγωρεῖν· οὐκ ἀδύνατον γάρ.

Ὅτι παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀντιποιητέον εἰρήνης· ΟΖ'

15

1 Ἔργον ἂν εἴη κοινὸν πολιτικῷ τε ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἅμα ζῆν ἡρημένῳ χριστιανικῶς εἰρήνης ἐπιμέλεια κατὰ πάνθ' ὥς οἶον τε τρόπον, οἴκοι τὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ γειτόνων μεθ' ὧν ἔστι πράγματ' ἔχειν. 2 Εἰρηνεύειν μὲν γε μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μετὰ πάντων, ὥς ἔστιν, εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο, τῶν ἀπάντων ἀναγκαϊότατον χριστιανοῖς δόγμα καὶ ὄφλημα καὶ δεῖγμα καὶ πίστις τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας, 20 τίς ἀγνοεῖ; Καὶ περιττὸν ἂν εἴη νῦν γε εἶναι λόγοις πολλοῖς ἀναδιδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν ἀξιοῦν, ὥς ἄρ' ἀνθρώποις καλῶς τὰ θεῖα βιοῦσι χρήσιμον. 3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς κατὰ βίον πράγμασι μάλιστα σπουδαστέον ἔστιν ὥς

2 μέγιστα ζημιοῦντα πολλάκις M  
10 ἐν: εὖ M

7 ἐπαίοντα P, i.e. non exhib. trema

8 ἔστι τίς M

6 μηδὲν ... ἐπαίοντα] cf. [Hom.] *Margites* Fr. 6 (West)

19 'not understanding anything': or, possibly, 'not listening to anyone'. Margites is the hero of a

is detrimental to the earth and often causes great damage? 5 Will one not plant? Nor breed animals? Nor trade? Nor do all other things, be it the most important, be it the lowest and most menial, because of the toil involved in each of them, and because the result is often a failure? 6 If a life at all, this would be living in the way of the Homeric Margites, *not working, not understanding anything*.<sup>19</sup> But this is a wholly futile line of reasoning, and it is most unpleasant even to think, or talk, about the matter. Rather one should take part in what is necessary and what is profitable, or in that for which there is some urgent need and use, even if it should include some pain. 7 For, through a reasonable effort<sup>20</sup> and with the help of good luck, it is possible to succeed, as can be seen with regard to marriage—if one can see clearly. Even if celibacy may be better as regards the divine laws, this does not mean there is an absolute law or obligation not to live otherwise. It is legitimate to marry in order to have offspring and to make life easier, at the same time as one does not neglect the divine rules: this is no impossibility.

### 77. That a politician in every way should strive for peace

1 It would seem to be the common duty of the politician and of him who has chosen to live in a Christian way to strive for peace in every possible manner—at home and in relation to the neighbours with whom he has to deal. 2 To live in peace with one another and with everyone is, more than anything else, a highly important principle and duty and proof and token of our religion. Who is unaware of that? And it would be superfluous now to think it worth while to try with many words to teach and convince anyone that this is useful to men who are to live well<sup>1</sup> and in accordance with religion. 3 But also in other matters of life one should very much endeavour to live in peace, since this is what is productive of all that is good, and since

mock epic which was often, but not always, ascribed to Homer.

<sup>20</sup> 'through a reasonable effort': σπουδῇ κατὰ λόγον.

<sup>1</sup> 'are to live well' (καλῶς ... βιοῦσι): or 'lead good lives'.

512 ἄρα δὴ καρποφόρον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐστὶν εὐθηνεῖσθαι καὶ |  
καλῶς πράττειν καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἀρχομένοις, ὅτι μὴ ξὺν εἰρήνῃ πάσης ἀσχολίας  
ἀπηλλαγμένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν εὐεξίαν πάντα τὸν νοῦν στρέφοντας καὶ  
σπουδὴν πᾶσαν ποιουμένους ῥᾶστα προκόπτειν ἐν βελτίστοις. 4 Καὶ βιοτῆς  
γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν πᾶσα ῥαστώνη καὶ οὐσιῶν αὔξησις καὶ προσοδημάτων πάντων, 5  
καὶ δυναμοποιόν ἐστιν εἰρήνη μάλιστα κράτος καὶ κατασκευάζειν κομιδὴ  
πᾶσαν χρεῖαν πέφυκεν εὐνομον καὶ κόσμους ἐπὶ τῇ χρεΐᾳ καὶ οἷα τρυφώντων  
ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὥσπερ ἐνεορταζόντων τῇ ζωῇ καὶ χρωμένων ὡς ἥδιστα, 5 καὶ  
πᾶσαν τεχνῶν ἄσκησιν προάγει καὶ σοφίας ἀπρόσκοπον καθάπαξ φορὰν καὶ  
χρησὶν βιωφελεστάτην κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ, καὶ παλαιοὶς ἐπιδιδούσαν καὶ νέοις 10  
εὐρήμασι, καὶ πρεσβύτας τέρπουσαν καὶ καλλύνουσαν, καὶ νέους ἄγουσαν εὖ  
μάλα παντὶ τῷ πρέποντι, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐνακμάζουσιν ἡλικίας.

2 Καὶ καθόλου γ' ἐρεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν κακίστων καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν τοῖς κοινοῖς  
τε καὶ ἰδίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δίδωσι χώραν εἰρήνῃ τιμωμένη καὶ σπουδῇς ἔργον  
οὔσα· ὥσπερ δὴθ' ἡ μάχιμος καὶ πολεμοποιὸς χρήσις ἅπαν τὸνναντίον αὐτῆς, 15  
καὶ τὰ χαλεπὰ πάντα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ ἀπευκταῖα ταύτῃ συνεισάγεται, 2 καὶ  
παρρησίαν αὐτόθεν ἔχει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ δυσχρηστία καὶ  
δυσπραγία, ὕβρις, ἀπειθεία νόμων, ἀλογία τάξεως ἐθίμου καλῶς κρατοῦσης  
(τιμῆς ἱερῶν, τιμῆς γονέων, τιμῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ προεχόντων καὶ γεραῶν  
513 ἀνδρῶν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι δικαίων), 3 | ἔρις πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φθόνος, ἀναίδεια, 20  
θράσος, προπέτεια, ἀρπάγματα καὶ κλοπαὶ δημοσίων χρησίμων, ἀρπάγματα  
καὶ κλοπαὶ χρησίμων ἰδί' ἐκάστων, πάντες βίαιοι τρόποι πρὸς χρήματα,  
πρὸς γυναῖκας, πρὸς ἱερῶν ἀσυλίαν· 4 ἔτ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπὰ οἰκιῶν  
κατασκαφαὶ κοινῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν, ἀγρῶν δηώσεις, βοσκημάτων φθοραὶ,  
ἀργία πάντων τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ὀνησίμων καὶ πάσης πορισμῶν ἀφορμῆς, καὶ 25  
οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ τῶν δεινῶν, οὐκ ἐν πράγμασιν, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις, οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ.  
5 Καὶ 'τίς ἂν πάντα κατὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων μυθήσαιοτο', ἃ ξυνέπεται πάντα

18 ἀπειθεία P<sup>1</sup>M, corr. P<sup>2</sup>

27 κατὰ θνητῶν: fort. scrib. καταθνητῶν

27 Καὶ ... μυθήσαιοτο] cf. *Od.* 3.113sq. ἄλλα τε πόλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθομεν κακά· τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα / πάντα  
γε μυθήσαιοτο καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | *Th.Met. Presb.* 1034sq. Καὶ τίς ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ θνητῶν

<sup>2</sup> 'in fact and in theory': (οὐκ) ἐν πράγμασιν, (οὐκ) ἐν λόγοις.

<sup>3</sup> 'who ... mortals': this is an allusion to the *Odyssey* 3.113–4 (also alluded to by Metochites at

it is not possible for rulers and subjects to live in affluence and to flourish, if they are not through peace freed from every impeding occupation and able to turn their whole mind towards their own well-being and to take every care to make easy progress as regards what is most important. <sup>4</sup> From this is derived every relief in life and the increase of wealth and of all proceeds; and peace is in the highest degree a strength-engendering power fit to satisfy altogether every lawful need and to add adornment to this besides, and [fit to add] everything typical of those men who are fastidious and, as it were, making a feast of life and living most comfortably. <sup>5</sup> It also promotes the practising of every art and the wholly unobstructed advancement of wisdom and the best use thereof, publicly and privately, and it is furthered by old and new discoveries alike, and it delights and embellishes old men, and it attracts young men to everything which is seemly, and it makes its vigour felt also in all other ages of life.

2 And on the whole, if honoured and the object of zeal, peace does not give an opportunity to any of the most evil of men or to those useless in public or private matters. But with a life which engenders fights and wars, it is exactly the opposite, and all that is grievous and undesirable and loathsome is brought about by this, <sup>2</sup> and licence among all men comes from it, and difficulties for a communal life, and misfortune, insolence, disobedience of the laws, lack of respect for the traditional order which still prevails satisfactorily (reverence of holy matters, piety towards one's parents, the honouring of those who are distinguished by virtue and age, and of respectable men worthy of esteem), <sup>3</sup> strife among men and jealousy, shamelessness, recklessness, rashness, looting and theft of public property, looting and theft of the property of private individuals, all kinds of violent behaviour with regard to money, to women, to the sanctity of all that is holy. <sup>4</sup> There are also other troublesome things in addition to these: the tearing-down of public and private buildings, the laying-waste of fields, the destroying of herds, the idleness in everything useful for life and in every source of livelihood—every conceivable danger, in fact and in theory, <sup>2</sup> in every way. <sup>5</sup> And *who could enumerate all the adversities of mortals*,<sup>3</sup>

several other occasions, see app. font. et parall.).

τῷ τῆς εἰρηνικῆς ἔξεως καὶ ἀγωγῆς ἀλλοτρίῳ βίῳ καὶ φθοροποιῷ πάντων ἀγαθῶν; 6 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἄρα δὴ καὶ τῶν θείων νομίμων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα τιμῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας πᾶσα ξυνέπεται μάλιστ' αὐτόθεν ὀλιγωρία, καὶ περιφρονοῦνται μὲν ἑορταὶ καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυστήρια, χρόνια καλῶς καὶ σεβάσμια σπουδαζόμενα, καὶ κοινὰ συναυλῖαι καὶ πάνδημοι κρότοι 5 περὶ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ παντοῖα κάλλη καὶ φαιδρότητες, 7 περιφρονεῖται δ' ἀρετῆς 514 ἰδία πάσης ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ κοσμιότης βίου μετὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ | Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ φθίνει τελευτῶσα καθάπαξ, 8 τίς ἀγνοεῖ; Ἡ τίς ἂν εἰδῶς εὖ μάλα ταῦτ' ἐν δευτέρῳ θεῖτο μελαγχολῶν; Ἡ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι φῶ πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀλογίαν τὲ καὶ ἀναλγησίαν καὶ βοσκηματῶδη τρόπον ὄντως καὶ τῶν 10 κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀσύνετον βελτίστων.

3 Καὶ μὴν εἰς τοῦτο δῆτ' ἄρα τὸ πολεμεῖν δεῖσαν πολεμεῖν εὖ μάλ' οἶον τ' εἶναι, πολὺ τοῦτο βέλτιστ' ἔσται διὰ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως εἰρηναίας καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαθῶν παρασκευῆς εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν. 2 Καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως γε μὴν εἴη ἂν οἰστισιν οὖν πολεμητέα, ὅτι μὴ τέως φθάσασιν ἐνακμάσαι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης 15 καλοῖς καὶ κομιδῇ παρασκευάσασθαι γεννικῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν χρεῖαν. 3 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ παλαιός ἐστιν οὗτοσὶ λόγος κάλλιστ' εἰρημένος, ὡς ἄρ' ὧ μάλιστα παρασκευαστέον ἐστὶν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐπιμελητέον αὐτῷ πρότερον ἂν εἴη μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν πλείστην οὔσαν πορισμάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους εὐκολίαν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ μάχεσθαι χρῆσιν, 4 20 προενσκευαζούσης καὶ ὀπλοποιούσης αὐτῆς μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς τοὺς ἐπομένους ἀναγκαστοὺς πολέμους, καὶ χορηγούσης τῶν κατὰ χρεῖαν τοῖς πολεμῆσειουσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφθονίαν τῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν μετουσίας, ἃ πλείσθ', ἥπερ εἴρηται πρὸ βραχέος, εὖ δὴ μάλα κτᾶται τὸ πρότερον ἐν εἰρήνῃ

3 ἀγιστείας M      8 καὶ bis, in fine lineae et in initio lineae sequentis, exhib. P      20 τὴν in mg. exhib. fort. P<sup>2</sup>

ἀνθρώπων μυθήσαιτο et Id. *Carm.* 15.57sq. τίς ἂν ἅπαντα κατὰ θνητῶν τάδ' εἰπείοι βρουτῶν / πολλά τ' ὄντα γνωτὰ, τάδ' αἰθῆς ὄντ' ἀδόκητα et Ibid. 15.100sq. τίς ἂν ἔπειτα κατὰ θνητῶν μερόπων λογιῶται / ὅσατι' ἐνθεῦτεν δράματα πολυτελεῖ' ἀνίης 17 ᾧ ... εἰρήνης] cf. Veg. *Mil.* III prolog. *Igitur qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum; qui uictoriam cupit, milites inbuat diligenter; qui secundos optat euentus, dimicet arte, non casu* | Liv. 6.18.7 *Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis*

<sup>4</sup> 'beautiful and glorious acts': κάλλη καὶ φαιδρότητες.

which are all a consequence of a life which is far from being conducted and lived in a peaceful way, and which destroys all good things? <sup>6</sup> And that apart from this there follows as a consequence every kind of neglect of the divine laws and of the holy rituals and of the reverence and respect for the Divine; and that feasts and ceremonies and mysteries, which during ages have been observed with diligence and reverence, are looked upon with contempt, as well as public concerts and communal religious spectacles and different kinds of beautiful and glorious acts;<sup>4</sup> <sup>7</sup> and also that every private care for virtue is the subject of contempt, and that the virtuous life in accordance with Christ's commandments gradually recedes and dies completely at last— <sup>8</sup> who is unaware of this? Or who, being well aware of this, could be mad enough to consider it of secondary importance? Otherwise I do not know what to say about such a lack of sense and sensibility and such a truly brutish manner, which to such a degree fails to understand what is best for mankind.

3 And in order to wage this war, it is necessary to be able to fight as well as possible, and this will best be feasible if one can establish peace and collect what good comes from this to be used in the war. <sup>2</sup> And it would seem that there is no other way of making war for anyone than by gathering strength in advance by means of the good things which peace provides and altogether by preparing oneself well for the needs of war. <sup>3</sup> Therefore there is also this old dictum, so extremely well framed, that *the more one is obliged to prepare for war, the more one should first have care for peace*,<sup>5</sup> since it is from this that supplies and power and strength necessary for the actual fighting most easily can be had. <sup>4</sup> And so peace itself makes advance preparations and procures armament for coming unavoidable wars, giving of itself an unrestricted enjoyment of the private commodities<sup>6</sup> which answer to the needs of those who intend to go to war, most of which, as has just been said, an earlier life in peace and in abundance of all provisions

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the opposite to this, i.e. *si vis pacem, para bellum* (for this see Vegetius and Livy: see app. font. et parall.). I have not been able to find any Greek parallels.

<sup>6</sup> 'private commodities' (οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν): or, less private and personal, 'commodities in their own country'.

515 βιοῦν 5 καὶ ῥαστώνῃ πάντων | πορισμῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν μήποτ' ἄλλο τῶν ἀπάντων  
 πλούτου καὶ περιουσίας ἀναπηγάζον ῥεύματα καὶ κάλλιστ' εὐφορίαν ἢ τὸ  
 εἰρηναῖον ἀμέλει καὶ ἀστασίαστον καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐντεῦθεν ἀδείας θησαυρίζον  
 βιώσεως εὐπορίαν πᾶσαν καὶ χρείας ὅποι ἂν δέοι, 6 τὴν δὲ τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν  
 συνέχειαν ἐκτρύχουσιν καὶ οὐσίας καὶ σώματα καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐπιφέρουσιν 5  
 τελευτῶσαν ἀπορίας εἰς τὰ μάλιστ' ἐπίχρεια καὶ ἃ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην αἱ  
 μάχαι πράττονται. 7 'Χρυσὸς γὰρ πολέμου νεῦρα' φασί, καὶ πλουτοῦσιν ὄντως  
 ἐξέσται κρατερῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, κακῶς ἂν εἴη πράττειν αὐτίκα καὶ  
 πολὺ γ' ἥττω τῶν ἀκμαζόντων πλούτῳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην φέρεσθαι. Τοῦτο δὲ  
 τῆς εἰρηναίας αἰτίας, ὡς ἔφην, ἐξήπται· καὶ ποιηταὶ δὲ φασίν· ὦ γλυκεῖ' εἰρήνη, 10  
 πλουτοδότειρα βροτοῖς·

Ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν παρασκευαστέον τῷ πολιτικῷ·  
 ΟΗ'

1 Παρασκευαστέον γε μὴν ἐστὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καθ' ὅσον οἶον τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς  
 πολεμητέον αὐτῷ· καὶ πολεμητέον γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσται, καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ τὰ τῆς 15  
 εἰρήνης ἀνθρώποις ἄτρεπτα μένειν πέφυκεν, οὐδ' εἰ καὶ βούλεται τις πάνυ  
 τοι καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιμελής ἐστὶ καὶ σπουδάζει κατ' αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι παντὶ  
 516 τρόπῳ, οἷος τέ ἐστὶν | αἰεὶ κατ' αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυγχάνειν. 2  
 Οὐδὲ συμφώνων τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον περὶ αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ συνεραστῶν  
 εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμοφρονούντων τὰ καλὰ πάντων ἐστὶ πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ πάντως 20  
 οἱ καὶ τάναντί' αἰροῦνται καὶ δυσέρωτές εἰσι τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν 3  
 καὶ ἢ βασκαίνουσιν ἢ κατολιγωροῦσι τοῦ σωφρονικοῦ καὶ τῆς φιλοκαλίας καὶ  
 περιφρονοῦσιν ὡς εὐτελείας καὶ μικρογνωμοσύνης καὶ ἀνανδρίας κατὰ φύσιν,

7 νεῦρα πολέμου M  
 sic etiam P<sup>1</sup>

9 ἥττον M (vide introd. 2.2.1, p. xxxi)

21 αἰροῦνται: αἰ- P<sup>2</sup>, sed fort.

7 Χρυσὸς ... νεῦρα] cf. *Schol. in Pind. (schol. vet.)* O 1 4b2 νεῦρα γὰρ πολέμου χρυσός | *Cic. Phil.*  
*V.2.5.10 nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam* | *Plu. comp. Agis Cleom.* 48.1.1 ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος τὰ χρήματα  
 νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα κτλ. | *Suda* M 380.2 μεγάλα δύνатаι  
 ὁ χρυσός. νεῦρα γὰρ λέγεται πολέμου εἶναι, ὡς φησι Πίνδαρος 10 ὦ ... βροτοῖς] *Lyr. Adesp. Fr.*  
*PMG* 103 (Page) ὦ γλυκεῖ' Εἰράνα, πλουτοδότειρα βροτοῖς

will easily acquire, <sup>5</sup> since nothing whatever brings forth streams of richness and wealth and, most beautifully, of welfare, as much as conditions of peace and absence of party strife, which, in virtue of the then prevailing security, make it possible to store wholly sufficient means of sustenance to meet every possible need— <sup>6</sup> whereas continuous warfare exhausts both assets and troops and in the end brings about a complete lack of resources respecting the most vital needs and that which battles of necessity demand. <sup>7</sup> For gold is called *the sinews of war*,<sup>7</sup> and it is in fact the rich who will be able to fend for themselves successfully. If not rich, one will cope badly from the very start and be much less successful in battle than those who are strong thanks to wealth. And this, as I have said, follows from the effects of peace.<sup>8</sup> Also the poets say: *O, sweet peace, giver of wealth to the mortals*.<sup>9</sup>

#### 78. That a politician should also prepare for war

1 But a politician should also, as far as possible, prepare himself as if he had to go to war. And go to war he will certainly have to, and it is in the nature of things that peaceful conditions will not remain undisturbed forever among men, and even if someone wants peace very much and cares about it, and in every way endeavours to live in peace, he will not always be able to live in peace and to attain his end. <sup>2</sup> Neither all those surrounding him will he find always agree with him in this, also loving peace and sharing his opinion about what is good; but in all circumstances there are those who will choose the opposite and who entertain a disastrous love for low and useless things, <sup>3</sup> and who either speak contemptuously or disregard what is judicious and the love of what is good, and who despise it as natural mean-

<sup>7</sup> 'sinews of war': this saying is attributed to Pindar (see Suda) and it is also quoted in the Pindaric scholia vetera (without any commentary by the editors). It is quoted several times in Greek literature and also known from Cicero's *5. Philippic oration* (cf. app. font. et parall.).

<sup>8</sup> 'follows ... peace': or 'is dependent on a peaceful condition'. The Greek is strange, although the general meaning seems clear enough.

<sup>9</sup> The origin of this quotation is uncertain. Otherwise, it is the goddess Demeter who is referred to as 'giver of wealth' (πλουτοδότρια).

ὥς ἀνδρεῖοι δὴ τινες ὄντες αὐτοὶ καὶ δραστικοὶ μάλιστα καὶ κρατεῖν ἄξιοι· <sup>4</sup> καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς φιλαυτίας ἢ προπετείας ἢ φιλέριδος καὶ μαχίμου γνώμης οὐ τελεσφορεῖν ξυγχωροῦσι τῷ βίῳ κατ' ἀνθρώπους τὰ κάλλιστα, ἀλλ' οἱοὶ τ' εἰσὶν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις παρέχειν πράγματα, καὶ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰς ἐπαινετὰς αἰρέσεις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν καλῶν δόγματα. <sup>5</sup> Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ <sup>5</sup> εὖσειστόν ἐστι κατ' ἀνθρώπους τὰγαθὸν καὶ σφόδρ' εὐεπιχείρητον καὶ ῥᾶστα δὴ καὶ παρὰ πλείστων πολεμούμενον, καὶ πάσαις ἐπηρεαίαις ἀντιπραττούσαις ἐπιβούλως τὲ καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πολιορκεῖται κατὰ τὸν βίον. Καὶ τοῖνυν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης πολεμητέα, κἂν εἰ μὴ βούλονται, κἂν εἰ <sup>517</sup> μάλιστα τῶν ἑνὰν|τίων σφᾶς πόθος ἔχοι. 10

2 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ βιωτεύων τις μετὰ τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοῦς ἐν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ποιούμενος οὐδὲν ἤττον φροντίδα ποιεῖσθω καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀσφαλοῦς, καὶ παρασκευαζέσθω πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν εὐ μάλ' ὅτε δύοι ἂν, καὶ αἰεὶ παρασκευαζέσθω. <sup>2</sup> Ὡσπερ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πολεμῆσειουσιν, ἣ δὴ πρότερον εἴρηται, τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης τέως ἀγαθῶν ἐξέσται <sup>15</sup> πολεμεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ὅτι μὴ πρότερον ὠπλισμένους ἐκείθεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρηνικῆς ῥαστώνης πρὸς τὴν μαχητικὴν εὐχρηστίαν, καὶ τούτου γε ἔνεκα μάλιστα δὴ σπουδαστέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ φροντιστέον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς βελτίστων εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολέμων ἔρωτας, <sup>3</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρα τρόπον, ἀνάπαλιν ἢ κατ' ἐκείνους, τοῖς μάλιστ' ἐρῶσιν εἰρηνικῆς <sup>20</sup> εὐνομίας καὶ γαλήνης παρασκευαστέον ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εὐ τὰ πολέμια, <sup>4</sup> καὶ ὥσπερ ἀμέλει μαχομένοις περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη πάντα πόνον καὶ σπουδὴν πᾶσαν συνεισακτέον καὶ συντακτέον, ὥς ἂν κράτιστ' ἔχῃν εἰς <sup>518</sup> πολέμους καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔργα, οὐ | πόρρω δὴ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὄντας, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα δὴ καὶ μετὰ δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην τάχισθ' ἡμέραν μαχησομένους· <sup>5</sup> σχεδὸν <sup>25</sup> γὰρ τοῖς οὕτω δὴ παρασκευαζομένοις καὶ προδιοικοῦσι τὴν χρεῖαν ἐξέσται μάλιστ' εἰρήνῃ βιοῦν καὶ τῆς μαχίμου δυναστείας καὶ βίας ἀπηλλάχθαι. <sup>6</sup> Οἷς δ' ὀλίγον μέλει τῆς περὶ τοὺς πολέμους παρασκευῆς, καὶ ζῶσι πρὸς ἓν μόνον

11 βιωτεύων M  
coni. M-K

τις: τίς M

15 τῆς: της sine accentu P

27 εἰρήνῃ: ἐν εἰρήνῃ in app.

<sup>1</sup> 'for military success' (πρὸς τὴν μαχητικὴν εὐχρηστίαν): or 'so as to have [their arms] handy in the fight'.

ness and small-mindedness and cowardice, as if they themselves were the courageous ones and the ones most active and worthy to rule. <sup>4</sup> And with this love for themselves or rashness, or love of strife and warlike spirit, they do not allow that which is best to be fulfilled in human life; instead they are capable of leading themselves and others into trouble, and they force others to be ashamed of laudable opinions and of principles concerning what is good. <sup>5</sup> For the good is easily upset among men and most easily assaulted, and made war upon with great ease and by very many; and with every kind of obstructing injury it is purposefully and painstakingly laid siege to in life. And out of necessity, therefore, also the greatest friends of peace have to go to war, even if they do not want to and even if they have a yearning for exactly the opposite.

<sup>2</sup> Thus even he who lives in a stable peace and in easy comfort and who takes pains about peace should also nevertheless consider how to conduct a war with safety, and he should prepare to fight well when necessary, and he should be in a state of constant preparation. <sup>2</sup> For, as has been said already, just as those who intend to go to war will do so by means of what has been accumulated during times of peace, and just as this will not be possible if they do not first arm themselves for military success<sup>1</sup> out of the easy conditions of peace (and for that reason they should particularly strive and care for peace and for everything excellent stemming from this, in order to satisfy their needs and their desire for war)—<sup>3</sup> likewise, contrary to these war-lovers, they, who above all love the law-abidingness and calm of peace, must out of necessity prepare well for war. <sup>4</sup> And, indeed, like those who will fight for anything, the peace-lovers have to gather and co-ordinate virtually all energy and care, so as to be as strong as possible when confronted with war and the acts of war, as if they were not far from action but going to fight at once or a day or two hence at the latest. <sup>5</sup> For it may be that those who prepare themselves in this way and who see to their needs in advance, are most likely to live in peace and far from the domination and violence of war, <sup>6</sup> whereas those who pay only little attention to preparations for war, living with only one end in view and wholly concentrating on this only, to live in peace forever, and far indeed from the acts of war, these will not be allowed to live entirely as intended; <sup>7</sup> but they will either be slaves having

ὁρῶντες καὶ τούτῳ καθάπαξ τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ βιωσόμενοι καὶ πόρρῳ δὴ παντάπασι τῶν πολέμιων ἔργων, τούτοις οὐκ ἐξέσται κατὰ σκοπὸν μάλιστα ζῆν, 7 ἄλλ' ἢ δοῦλοις καὶ πάντα φέρουσιν ἀνύποιστα καὶ ἀδόκητα, ἢ πολεμεῖν γε πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην ἔχουσιν ἀπαρασκεύοις καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἔργων τὰ τῆς χρείας φιλοπονοῦσιν, ὃ πάντων 5 ἐστὶν ἐργωδέστατον. 8 Πάντες γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς πρὸς ἐτοιμὴν τὴν λείαν καὶ κέρδη ῥάδια μηδένα τῶν δικαίων λόγον ποιούμενοι μάλιστ' ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς εἰρήνην μόνην ἔχουσιν ἔργον καὶ ταύτῃ θαρροῦσι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς ζωῆς χρῆσιν ἀξιοῦσιν ἀτρέπτως ταύτῃ προσέχειν, ἀμελῶς παντάπασι καὶ ἀλογίστως τῶν τῆς μάχης πόνων τὲ καὶ ὀπλισμάτων. 10

3 Τοῦτο μὲν γε καὶ ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἔγωγε καὶ πεπείραμαι μάλιστ' εἰ δὴ 519 τις τῶν ἐν λόγοις τραφέντων, καὶ | αὐτὸς συμβίβσας τοιοῖσδε πράγμασι, καὶ συνὼν τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον σχεδὸν εἰρηναίοις καὶ μαχίμοις ἔργοις καὶ πολιτεύμασιν ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμονίας φροντίζειν ἔχων καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, 2 καιρῶν τῶνδε καὶ πραγμάτων τῶνδε νοσερῶς ἀγομένων καὶ οὐκ ἔρραστω- 15 νευμένως ὀπηροῦν οἴκοι τε καὶ τῶν ἐγγειτόνων δεσποτῶν, οὐκ ἀσεβῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς κοινὴ κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστις καὶ θεοσεβείας δόγματα, μεθ' ὧν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη συνδιαφέρειν τὸν βίον ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς καὶ παντοί' ἔχειν συνθήματα, τοῦτο μὲν εἰρηναῖα, τοῦτο δὲ πολέμια. 3 Κἀγὼ γ' αὐτὸς ταύτῃ γ' ἐχρησάμην πάννυ τοι, καὶ πρεσβείαις τέως ἐκλόγιμος ἐννεάσας καὶ πόλλ' ἔτη γε ἥδη τῷ 20 δεσπότῃ συντελῶν πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ διοικήσει, τὰ μὲν ἡθους πίστει, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ σιωπητέον εὐλαβούμενον πρὸς νέμεσιν, πλὴν γε ὅτι περὶ ὧν ἦν νῦν ὁ λόγος, εὐ μάλα δὴ πεπειραμένος φημί, πλεῖστον ἐνασχοληθεὶς καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον τούτοις ἐνασχολούμενος. 4 Καὶ φημί γε, ὡς ὦ 25 τὰ κατ' εἰρήνην βιοῦν καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ μέλει (καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι μέλειν 520 οὕτω δὴ παντὶ | σῶφροσι λογισμοῖς καὶ χριστιανικοῖς ἀγομένῳ), φροντιστέον εὐ μάλα τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως καὶ πάσης χρείας καὶ παντὶ τῷ δυνατῷ

4 ἀνάγκην sine accentu P

12 τῶν sine accentu P

23 νῦν ἦν M

<sup>2</sup> 'with a liberal education' (ἐν λόγοις τραφέντων): this is somewhat obscure, and it seems to imply that the likelihood that anyone should have experience of these matters is linked to his level, or kind, of education.

<sup>3</sup> 'treaties ... agreements': I here take ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς as more specific than the following συνθήματα.

<sup>4</sup> Metochites entered government service in 1290 and made a rapid career because of the trust

to endure all that is unbearable and unforeseen, or they will have no choice but to go to war unprepared, ill coping with the situation and toiling with their needs, which is the most painful thing of all. <sup>8</sup> For without caring for what is right, all men, so to speak, are apt to attack, as an easy prey and an easily captured prize, those whose only object is peace and who put their trust therein and think it worth while uncompromisingly to devote their whole life to peace, wholly and unreasonably ignoring the pains of battle and of armament.

3 This I know very well myself and I have experienced it as much as anyone with a liberal education,<sup>2</sup> since I have lived under such conditions, almost all the time involved in acts of peace and of war and in matters of state, having to deliberate and to use my abilities on the common affairs of our empire. <sup>2</sup> This has been in such unhealthy and in no way happy times and circumstances, at home and with regard to the neighbouring rulers, not only the impious ones, but also those who share our Christian faith and religious doctrines, with whom we are obliged to live in accordance with treaties and have all kinds of agreements<sup>3</sup> on matters of peace as well as on matters of war. <sup>3</sup> And I myself have had part in all this to the highest degree.<sup>4</sup> As a young man I was chosen for embassies and during many years I have now dealt with every current matter for administering the state for my lord, partly owing to his trust<sup>5</sup> in my character, partly owing to some intellectual qualities of mine;<sup>6</sup> I had better not talk about this for fear of jealousy, but only just mention that I lay claim to a very great experience of the matters under discussion, having had, and still having, much practice. <sup>4</sup> And I do claim that whoever cares for living in peace and for the good things of peace (and this is the right thing to do for every man who owns a sensible and Christian way of reasoning) should most carefully attend to military exercise and everything needful in war, and in every possible

bestowed in him by emperor Andronicus II. Needless to say, this paragraph is an important piece of biographical evidence, implying that Metochites was still in active service when he composed the essay.

<sup>5</sup> 'his trust': or 'trust enjoyed more generally' (cf. the following).

<sup>6</sup> 'partly owing ... mine': or 'partly owing to his [or the more general] trust in my intellectual abilities.' In the second case, *ὅτι δὴ* must belong to the following sentence which, however, does not have to affect the translation of that sentence.

τρόπῳ κομιδῇ παρασκευαστέον ὡς πολεμῆσείοντι. 5 Οὐ γὰρ ἀποκεκλήρωνται τάνθρώπινα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν νῦν τούτων καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων καὶ τῶν νῦν τούτων καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων καὶ δεσποτῶν, ἐγγὺς τε καὶ πόρρῳ, καθάπαξ τῇ εἰρήνῃ· οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἀκόντων γε, τάναντία ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλείστον ταῦτα κρατεῖ, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἔστιν ἀνάγκη, 5 καὶ οὐκ ἀδόκητά γε τοῖς εὖ συλλογιζομένοις. 6 Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τούτου μὲν γ' ἔνεκα παρασκευαστέον, ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν εὖ μάλα τῷ πολιτικῷ, κἂν εἰ μάλιστ' εἰρήνην σπουδάξῃ, ὡς ἔστι δίκαιον, καὶ ἅμα ὡς ἂν καὶ μάλιστ' εἰρήνης ἐντεῦθεν ἀπολαύειν ἔχοι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι.

Ὅτι μὴ διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας καὶ τὸ κακῶς πολλάκις πράττειν  
ἀποτρεπτέον τοῦ πράττειν· ΟΘ'

10

521 1 Ἐπιμελητέον οὖν κατ' ἀμφοτέρ', ὡς ἔφην, χρῆσθαι τῷ πολιτικῷ, καὶ εἰρήνην  
τὲ καὶ μάχην, | καὶ παρασκευαστέον εὖ μάλα εὖ τε φερομένῳ τῇ χρήσει καὶ  
κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ μὴ οὕτω δῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον πολλάκις, κακῶς ἀμέλει  
πράττοντι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον ἐν τῷ πράττειν κατὰ πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον τῇ 15  
χρήσει, οὐδ' ἀποτρεπτέον, ἂν μὴ πάντα διὰ πάντων εὖ πράττειν ἐξείῃ, 2 μὴδὲ  
τὰς ἀτυχίας αἰτιατέον τῆς ἀπραξίας, ἀλλὰ χρηστέον ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ ξυμπίπτον,  
τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐκάστοτε φροντίζοντα καὶ ὥσπερ ἐγγυμαζόμενον καὶ  
συνασκούμενον ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς πόνοις ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ πεφυκότι τοῖς πράγμασιν.  
3 Ἐπεὶ τὸ φεύγειν παρὰ τὰ λυποῦντα τὸ πράττειν καὶ τῷ δυσχερῶς καὶ μὴ 20  
ἐρραστωνευμένως φέρεσθαι τὸ μηδόλως χρῆσθαι μάλισθ' αἰρεῖσθαι ὅμοιον  
ὥσπερ ἂν ἱατρῶν παῖδες τοὺς τῆς γυμναστικῆς πόνους ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῖς  
χρωμένοις τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς νομισθέντας διὰ τὸ καματηρόν τε καὶ ὀτιοῦν  
ἐργῶδες ἀπαγορεύειν, ὥστε μὴ χρῆσθαι· 4 καὶ μάλιστ' εὐδρομοῦντες τῇ  
τῶν νοσοῦντων ἐπιμελείᾳ, καὶ καλῶς πειρώμενοι τῆς τέχνης, ἀξιοῖεν ἂν αὐτῇ 25

2 καὶ<sup>2</sup> ... ἀνθρώπων M, in textu om. sed in mg. add. P<sup>1</sup>  
p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, αὐτοῖς P<sup>1</sup>

8 σπουδάξοι M

9 αὐτῆς M et

7 'This': i.e. a state of (lasting) peace.

way prepare himself for war as if this were his most earnest intention. 5 For a lasting peace is not the lot of mankind, and certainly not during these present times nor with the men and rulers of today, far and near. This,<sup>7</sup> then, is not natural, but out of necessity and against our will its opposite sometimes and most often prevails and war is inescapable; and this should not come as a surprise to those who consider the matter carefully. 6 Thus, as I said, and for this reason, a politician should well prepare for war, even if he most of all strives for peace, which is right; and he should do so to be able highly to enjoy the ensuing peace and to make use of its good gifts.

### 79. That one should not desist from acting because of mishaps and the fact that one often fares badly

1 As I said, a politician should endeavour to handle both: peace as well as war; and he should well prepare himself both when conditions are favourable and according to his wishes, and when this is not the case but even, as often happens, the opposite: when he fares really badly; and he must not despair when acting, whatever happens in his course of life, nor desist from acting if everything cannot always be done well. 2 Neither should mishaps be given as a pretext for inactivity, but one should always act in accordance with the occasion, in each case deliberating upon what is appropriate and as it were exercising oneself and with the help of one's struggles carefully training for any natural development of matters. 3 For to shun action when it causes pain and to prefer being totally inactive because you find difficulties and no ease, that would be about the same as if doctors would prohibit those gymnastic exercises which in the beginning were rightly established for the good of those practising them, only because they are tiring and in some way irksome. 4 And it would be as if doctors would be content to use their art for assisting nature and those related by nature<sup>1</sup> when these

<sup>1</sup> 'those related by nature' (τῶν δι' αὐτῆς [i.e. τῆς φύσεως] συγγενῶν): this is vague and the translation uncertain.

χρησθαι πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτῆς συγγενῶν καμινόντων.  
 5 Ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὅπου τὰ δυστυχῆ περιγίνοιτο, καὶ νικᾷ τὴν τεχνικὴν ἐργασίαν  
 τὰσθενῇ τῆς φύσεως κατὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας κρατοῦντα, δραπετεύοιεν αὐτόθεν  
 522 ἑξῆς ἔπειτα τὴν χρῆσιν τῆς τέχνης. 6 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι | τοῦτο καλῶς κρίνοντος  
 οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰδότος ὁ βούλεται, οὐδ' ὧς προτίθεται χρῆσθαι. 5

2 Οὐ γὰρ πάντ' ἰᾶσθαι καὶ πάντα περιγίγνεσθαι τῆς τέχνης ἢ ἐπαγγελία,  
 οὐδὲ πρόγραμμα ποιεῖται τεχνικὸς ἀνὴρ ἰατρικὸς καὶ κηρύττει τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἀπτόμενος τῆς τέχνης καὶ χρῆσθαι κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπιβάλλων, ὥς ἄρα πάντ'  
 ἰάσεται καὶ λύσει τῆς φύσεως ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ἀπαλλάξει πάσης δυστυχίας  
 ἐπιπεσούσης. 2 Ἄλλ' εἰς τοῦτο μὲν εὖ μάλ' ἐπιμελήσεται, καὶ τοῦτο προῖσταται 10  
 τὴν τέχνην, πᾶν τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποδοῦναι τῇ χρήσει, καὶ διακατερεῖσαι πάντα  
 τρόπον πονῶν καὶ βοηθῶν τῇ φύσει καμνούσῃ. Θεοῦ δ' ἑξῆς ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκείθεν ῥοπῆς συμπεράναι τὸ πρᾶγμα κατ' ἔφεσιν ἢ μή, 3 καὶ οὔτε τυγχάνων  
 ἀμέλει τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ νικηφόρος κατεπιχειρῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων  
 συμφοραῖς γιγνόμενος, οὔτε μὴ τυγχάνων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῆς τέχνης αὐτὸς 15  
 ἀξιοί, οὔτε φαῦλος ἂν ταύτης ἐπώνυμος καὶ ἀνάξιος ἀκούειν δίκαιος εἴη. 4  
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς ἄρα θαλαττουργὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐ διὰ κλύδωνας  
 καὶ ναυάγι' ἐνίοτε ἀποποιεῖται τὴν ἐργασίαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ὥς αἰ  
 κάπὶ πάντων πραγμάτων καὶ καιρῶν εὐδρομα πλευσεῖται, πλοῦ καὶ θαλάττης  
 ἄπτεται, ἄλλ' ὥς εὖ ἀμέλει χρησόμενος τῇ τέχνῃ πρὸς εἰρηναίαν τὴν θάλασσαν 20  
 καὶ πνεύματ' εὐφορίας καὶ πρὸς χειμῶνας καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν, πᾶν ἀποδιδούς  
 523 | τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκάστοις. 5 Ὅς δ' ἂν τοὺς μὲν τῆς γαλήνης καιροὺς πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ  
 ποιεῖται, τὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνήμερα καὶ τοὺς χειμῶνας οἷος τ' ἔστιν εὖ μάλα  
 δραπετεύειν καὶ προδιδόναι τὴν τέχνην καὶ προλείπειν αὐτίκα αὐτόθεν, οὐχ'  
 ἑαυτῷ πρέποντα δρῶν ἂν, οὐδ' ἀνεμέσητος ἔπειτ' ἀπαλλάττοιο. 25

2 περιγίνοιτο: περιγένοιτο P<sup>1</sup>, περιγίνοιτο M, corr. P<sup>2</sup> 6 περιγίγεσθαι M 10 τοῦτο<sup>2</sup>:  
 τούτω a.c. P, s.l. corr. in τοῦτο P<sup>1</sup>, τούτω et ~ et o s.l. M, τοῦτο E (add. ~ s.l. E<sup>2</sup>) 13 συμπεράναι  
 PM pro συμπεράναι 14 τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀμέλει P, sed litteris β et α supra τοῦ σκοποῦ et ἀμέλει  
 positus indicat scriba inversionem ordinis vocum, i.e. ἀμέλει τοῦ σκοποῦ 18 ἐργασίαν; PM  
 19 πλευσεῖται; PM

<sup>2</sup> 'or how ... undertaken': this interpretation means that προτίθεται is taken as medium, as is normal. The alternative is to take προτίθεται as passive: 'what he is faced with'. The lack of parallelism between the two objects ὁ βούλεται and χρῆσθαι (ὧς προτίθεται) is somewhat disturbing.

are ailing, should their therapy be easy and they be [obviously] successful, <sup>5</sup> but would immediately desert their art, should ill fortune somehow triumph and the frailty of nature defeat their professional skill and prevail against all care. <sup>6</sup> But this is not the way to behave of a man of sound judgement or one who from the beginning knows what he wants or how to deal with what he has undertaken.<sup>2</sup>

2 The message of the art is not that it cures everything and overcomes everything, nor does a skilled physician, when he first takes up his art and begins to practise, make an announcement proclaiming that he will cure and remedy all shortcomings of nature and deliver from every misfortune that befalls. <sup>2</sup> But this is what he will deeply care about and to this he will apply his art: viz. to giving everything its due and to persevering in labouring and in supporting languishing nature in every way. But on God, moreover, and on His decree will depend the bringing or not of the matter to the wished-for conclusion. <sup>3</sup> And regardless of whether or not he gains his end and becomes victorious in his assault on the afflictions of the body, the physician will not consider giving up his profession,<sup>3</sup> but he will still<sup>4</sup> deserve his title and will justly deserve being called by it. <sup>4</sup> Neither<sup>5</sup> do a steersman and every sea-faring man give up their trade because of occasional rough water and shipwrecks. Nor do they set out on their voyage and on the sea with any guarantee that the sailing will be smooth all the time and under all conditions and weathers, but that they will use their skill well when confronted with a calm sea and favourable winds as well as when confronted with storms and every adversity, always doing what is necessary. <sup>5</sup> He, however, who takes advantage of calm weather but takes good care to run away from the violent sea and the stormy weather, betraying his art and abruptly abandoning it, he will not seem to be doing what is fitting in his case and will not escape censure in the future.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. if he is a true physician.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. if the second of the alternatives comes true and he does not succeed in curing his patient.

<sup>5</sup> After ἐργασίαν and πλευσεῖται the manuscripts have question marks, which would indicate that the statements with the verbs 'give up [their trade]' and 'set out [on their voyage]' should be interpreted as questions. However, I do not think that this is what Metochites intends to say in this case. Cf. also 76.4.4.

3 Καὶ τοίνυν παραπλησίως οὐδὲ τῷ πολιτικῷ χρηστέον ἂν εἴη τῇ δυνάμει  
 καιροῖς μόνον εὐφορίας καὶ πραγμάτων ἕαρι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἤττον ἐπιμελητέον  
 κὰν τοῖς ἄλλως ἔχουσι καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν δυσχέρειαν  
 ὀπλιστέον καὶ παλαίσματ' ἐπικινδυνότατα· 2 τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντως ἐφ'  
 ἑκάτερα χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰκείον αὐτὸς ὀφείλει συντελεῖν καὶ φέρειν παντὶ 5  
 τῷ ξυμπίπτοντι· ἡ τύχη δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων κυρία, μᾶλλον δὲ τάληθες ἐρεῖν,  
 ἢ πάντ' ἄγουσα πρόνοια· 3 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐλέγχεται φαῦλος σὺν δίκῃ πονηροῖς  
 ξυντυχῶν πράγμασι καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν μὴ τὸ προσήκον πᾶν  
 ἀποδιδόη πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστοτε χρεῖαν, εἴτ' εὐτυχῶν εἴτε καὶ μὴ, πάντως  
 ὑπαίτιος καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὡς ἀληθῶς δίκαιος. 4 Καὶ τοίνυν θεὸς μὲν ἐν πᾶσιν 10  
 ἔργοις ἡγείσθω τὲ καὶ κεκλήσθω τῷ πράττοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως σῶφρον εἴη,  
 ὅτι μὴ μετὰ τῆς θείας ἐλπίδος ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ τῆς εὐκταίας ἐκείθεν ἐπικουρίας.  
 524 5 Τῶν πραγμάτων δ' ἀμέλει πάντων ὁ πολιτικὸς | ὡς ἂν ἔχοι πειρώμενος κατ'  
 ὀφειλὴν καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἀποφεύγων οὐδὲ προλείπων τὴν τάξιν καὶ καθ' ὅσον  
 οἶον τ' ἐστὶν ἐπιμελῶς προσέχων ἐκάστοις τὸν νοῦν, εὖ μὲν παραστὰν κατὰ 15  
 βούλησιν ἀνύτων καὶ κατορθῶν ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις μακάριος ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐπαινετὸς μόνον. 6 Ἀποτυγχάνων δὲ καιρῶν ἐπηρεῖα καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ τύχης  
 ἀντιπνοίᾳ τὲ καὶ ἐναντιώσει καὶ πάνθ' ὑστερίζων καὶ μὴ περιγιγνόμενος  
 ὀτιοῦν καὶ πᾶν ὅμως τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀποδιδούς τῇ χρήσει, κακῶς μὲν οὖν οὕτω  
 δὴ πράττων καὶ δυστυχῶς φερόμενος ἐλέους ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον, οὐκ εὐθύνης, 20  
 ἄξιος. Ἐχοῖτο δ' ἂν καὶ οὕτως ἂ χρεὶ ποιῶν εἰς τέλος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνστάσεως,  
 7 ἐκεῖνο κατὰ νοῦν ἴσως ἄγων τὸ τοῦ Δωριέως κυβερνήτου, ὅς ἐν μεγίστῳ  
 κλύδωνι καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις ὅμως καὶ ἀεὶ παλαίων καὶ ἀντέχων εἰς  
 τέλος ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τοί, ἔφησε, 'καὶ οὕτως οὐ μεταστήσομαι τῶν οἰάκων, ἀλλ'  
 ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδύσω'.

25

11 πραττοντι sine accentu P  
 corr. P<sup>1</sup>

12 μὴ om. M

ἐκείθεν εὐκταίας M

14 κατὰ M, ex καὶ

24 ἀλλ'<sup>1</sup> ... καταδύσω] cf. [Aristid.] *Rhodiacus* p. 542, l. 20sq. (Jebb) ὅς ἔφη ... ἀλλ' ὦ Ποτειδάν, ἴσθι ὅτι ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδύσω | Th.Met. *Carm.* 20.214sq. Ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε Ποτειδάν ὀρθὰν ἔτ' αὖ καταδύω / τὰν ναῦν, οὐποτε πηδάλια τρέσας εἴτα μεθήσω et Id. *Logos* 6.21sq. αὐτὸν φάσκοντα ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καὶ οὕτω καταδύσαι

3 Similarly, as it seems, a politician ought not to use his power only in times of prosperity and in the springtime of matters; instead he should be just as attentive when times and circumstances are different, and arm himself against every difficulty and the most dangerous struggles.<sup>2</sup> For certainly one and the same man must deal with situations of both kinds, and he has to make his own contribution whatever happens. But the mistress of matters is Chance, or, to speak more in accordance with truth, Providence which guides all things.<sup>3</sup> And no one is rightfully censured as worthless if faced with severe difficulties and solving them badly, but he who does not try to fulfil his duty as occasion may require, he is, be he successful or not, in every way blameworthy and truly liable to criticism.<sup>4</sup> And whenever acting, everyone should let God lead him in all his actions and pray to Him, for in no other way could you undertake anything wisely than with a trust in God and with help to be supplicated from Him.<sup>5</sup> And if a politician would duly set about to deal with all situations to the best of his ability and under no circumstances run away or abandon the ranks but, as far as possible, would turn his mind attentively to all matters, trying to achieve stable results<sup>6</sup> according to his wishes, and be successful in what must be dealt with—he would be blessed and not only worthy of some praise.<sup>6</sup> If, however, owing to the difficulties of the times and the matters at hand and to the contrary winds and averseness of fortune he should fall short of everything and achieve nothing, even if making every effort, and so fare badly and be severely treated, he would sooner deserve to be pitied than held responsible. And even under these circumstances he should do his duty till he fulfils his original plan,<sup>7</sup> perhaps bearing in mind that utterance of the Dorian steersman, who in the midst of a raging tempest and the utmost danger fought on all the same and who resisted until the end saying: *Not even now will I leave the helm, but I will sink the ship upright.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> 'trying ... results': εὖ μὲν παρὰσταν ... ἀνύτων.

<sup>7</sup> This saying is known from the *Rhodian speech* by Ps.-Aristides. It seems to have made an impression on Metochites who also cites it in one of his poems and one of his orations (see app. font. et parall.).

“Οτι τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ πλείους ἢ πάντες σχεδὸν περὶ τὸ  
λέγειν διέτριψαν μόνον, μὴ χρήσιμοι γενόμενοι ταῖς περὶ  
τὸ πολιτικὸν ἐργασίαις· Π’

1 Οἱ πλείους δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐσχολακῶτων περὶ τὸ θεωρητικὸν  
525 καὶ δογματικὸν | καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις διατρίψαντες τὸν ἅπαντα σχεδὸν βίον 5  
βραχὺ τι προσένειμαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ πρακτικῷ. 2 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτο  
φιλοσοφίας ἐμέλησεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος, παρὰ τοσοῦτον δῆτ’ ἐμέλησεν, ὅσον γε  
περὶ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ λόγον ποιήσασθαι καὶ διδάσκοντας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ χρωμένους  
αὐτοὺς ὡς οἶοι τε γένοιντο. 3 Καὶ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἥθος ἀνθρώποις νόμιμα  
καλῶς ἔδοξαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ συνετάξαντο καὶ κατεκόσμησαν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς 10  
βέλτιστα ταῖς ἠθικαῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐχρηστίᾳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
πάντες συμφώνως ἀλλήλοις, πάντες δ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ· 4 καὶ  
νομίζουσι γὰρ ἐν τούτοις καὶ δογματίζουσιν ἕκαστος ἐπαινετῶς καὶ ὡς ἂν εἴ τις  
χρήσαιτο, κάλλιστ’ ἀγάσαιτό τε καὶ ἀγασθεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς εὖ δὴ μάλιστ’  
ἀνύσας καὶ κατορθώσας εὐγενῶς τὸν βίον. 5 Τοῦ πολιτικοῦ δὲ πέρι ὀλίγοι δὴ 15  
τινες ἐπίσκεψιν ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ἄλλως ἄλλοι, καὶ οὐκ ἡλλοτριῶται μόνον τὰ  
βιβλία σφίσι περὶ τούτου μάλιστ’ ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμιδῇ διαφόρως ἔχει  
καὶ μαχιμώτατα ταῖς αἰρέσεσι, 6 καὶ πάντες γε ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐ κατὰ καιρόν,  
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείω δ’ οὖν ἔξω τοῦ χρησίου καὶ  
δυνατοῦ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους συντάττουσι, καὶ ἅττα δὴ περὶ τούτων φθέγγονται 20  
526 καὶ νομοθετοῦσι καὶ μά|λισθ’ οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ προέχοντες, 7 τί τίς ἂν λέγοι; ὡς  
παντάπασιν ἀλλότρι’ ἀνθρωπίνης χρήσεως καὶ λόγοι μόνον ἔξω τῶν ἔργων, εἰ  
καὶ ἴσως ἐν τισιν ἐπαινετῶς ἔχοντες καὶ περινοίας θαυμάζειν ἀξίας· λόγοι δ’  
οὖν ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνήνυτοι, 8 καὶ οὐδένες οὔτε τῶν εἰπόντων  
οὔτε τῶν τοῖς εἰποῦσιν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ κληρονομησάντων τοὺς λόγους, οὔτ’ 25  
ἐχρήσαντ’ ἄρα κατὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν οὔτε μήποτε χρήσαιτο, ὅτι μὴδ’

3 ἐργασίαις: θεωρίας PM, expunxit θεωρίας et add. ἐργασίαις in mg. P<sup>2</sup>  
et fort. P<sup>1</sup> 20 ἅττα p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, ἅττα P<sup>1</sup>M 21 τίς: τις M

9 μὲν fort. P<sup>2</sup>, τε M

<sup>1</sup> ‘practical politics’: this is according to the reading of P<sup>2</sup> (ἐργασίαις, i.e. to get things done);  
P<sup>1</sup> and M have θεωρίας which translates as ‘the theory of politics’.

<sup>2</sup> ‘laudable ... admiration’: this is to translate ἐπαινετῶς ἔχοντες καὶ περινοίας θαυμάζειν ἀξίας,  
which is slightly odd.

80. That most or almost all philosophers have spent their time talking only, and have not been of any use in practical politics<sup>1</sup>

1 Most people who have occupied themselves with philosophy have devoted almost all their life to its theoretical and doctrinal aspects, and to discourses, spending very little of their energy on the practical side. 2 But even if they have concerned themselves with this [latter] part of philosophy, they have done so only to the extent of displaying an interest in ethics, by teaching it and, as far as possible, by applying it themselves. 3 Not few, indeed, have had correct views about what is lawful among men from an ethical point of view, and they have written books on this subject and have adorned themselves, in the best of ways, with ethical virtues and a good way of life, and even if they do not all agree, they have certainly all of them made some opportune contribution. 4 For every one of them expresses commendable opinions and doctrines in these books, so that, if someone would make use of them, he would come to admire them highly and also be admired by the multitude for succeeding extremely well and for organising his life nobly. 5 But few have thought about politics, and those who have, have done so in different ways. Not only are their books on this subject different from each other; they are widely apart and express totally conflicting opinions. 6 And all of them, one might say, write things which are irrelevant and, if not in every respect so at least in most, far indeed from what is useful and feasible for men. And their utterances and the laws they make, the greatest and most pre-eminent philosophers in particular— 7 what should be said of these? That they are completely foreign to human needs, just words in no way connected with facts, even if in some cases they may be laudable and contain thoughts worthy of admiration.<sup>2</sup> But otherwise it is just words unable to achieve their end. 8 And of those who uttered them, or of the authors' friends and of those inheriting their sayings,<sup>3</sup> surely none ever acted according to these sayings nor would

<sup>3</sup> 'sayings' (λόγους): or 'words'/'writings'.

οἷον τε, ἀλλ' ἐξω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τοξαρχῆς ἀγωγῆς καθάπαξ φέρονται καὶ ἄ μὴ πέφυκεν εὐκολίᾳ γλώττης ἀναζωγραφοῦσι καὶ ὑποτίθενται.

2 Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ Ζήνωνος, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ Χρυσίππου, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ Θεοφράστου καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὠντινων ἄλλων, πάντα παραπλήσια· ἃ καὶ καλῶς γε ποιῶν ὁ χρόνος ἐλέγχει καὶ ἀφανῆ τίθησιν ὡς ἀσυντελῆ καὶ ἀνόνητα τῷ 5 βίῳ καὶ μὴδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ γέλωτα πλατύν κατά τῶν συνταξαμένων κινουντα. 2 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἃ καὶ δι' εὐστομίας χάριν, οἷος ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος περιττός τὴν γλώτταν, ὁ χρόνος ἐκείθεν μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ταμיעύει, 3 ὥσπερ περὶ κενταύρων καὶ τραγελάφων ἀνενέργητα διηγῆματα φωνῇ καλλίστῃ καὶ ἥς τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπαινεῖν ἄν τις ἔχοι, ὡς ἂν οἷος τ' εἴη, καὶ 10 τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν χρησίμῳ πλάττειν ἑαυτὸν ἐρώη, πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος τὸ 527 ἀστεῖον τῆς ἔξεως. 4 Ἀριστοτέλης | δὲ συντάττειν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ εἶκος περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν δεῖν ἐγνωκῶς δῆλος ἐστὶ μὴ διακρινόμενος περὶ τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ὧν δεῖ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἔργοις τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι, 5 ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν παρασκευαῖς καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις ἐλπίδας ὑποτείνει καὶ ὑποτίθεται πάνν τοι λυσιτελήσειν κἂν 15 τούτῳ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρείας τῷ μέρει, ἀπαντᾷ δ' οὐδὲν ἔπειτα πολὺς καὶ ἀνάλογος ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις, οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἀνύτει καὶ ὑποτυποῖ καὶ διατίθεται ἄττα δὴ πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν, οἷος ἐκεῖνος δοξοσοφῶν περὶ πάντων 6 καὶ πλείστον ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν πάντ' εἶδέναι, καὶ ἃ μὴ κατὰ φιλοσόφους ἐνίῳτ' αὐτῷ προσήκει, καὶ ἀνθ' ἱκανὸς εἶναι καὶ γνώμων 20 τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρτιόχρειος ἐπιβάλλειν μὲν ἀξιοῖ πάσῃ γνωστικῇ χρήσει καὶ φαντάζειν πειράται πάντων

4 καλῶς sine accentu P 7 post καὶ<sup>1</sup> add. τὰ M post εὐστομίας add. ἴσως M 12 καὶ αὐτὸς bis, in fine lineae et in initio lineae sequentis, exhib. P<sup>1</sup>, primum expunxit fort. P<sup>2</sup>

9 τραγελάφων] cf. A. *Ran.* 987sq. οὐχ ἱππαλεκτρύνας, μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τραγελάφους, ἅπερ σύ, ἂν τοῖσι παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσιν | Pl. *Rep.* 488a6sq. οἱ γραφῆς τραγελάφους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μειγνύντες γράφουσιν | Arist. *Ph.* 208a30 ποῦ ἐστὶ τραγέλαφος ἢ σφίγξ; et Id. *Pr.* 49a24, *Po.* 92b7 | Plu. *Ages.* 19.5sq. κἀνναθρα δὲ καλοῦσιν εἰδῶλα γρυπῶν ξύλινα καὶ τραγελάφων ἐν οἷς κομίζουσι τὰς παιδας ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς | Luc. *Prom.* 7.11 εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις ἐμὲ διέλαθεν τοιούτους ἱπποκάμπους καὶ τραγελάφους καὶ αὐτὸς συντεθεικῶς

<sup>4</sup> 'present' (ὑποτίθενται): or 'suppose'.

<sup>5</sup> 'language' (εὐστομία): or 'eloquence'.

they ever do so, since it is not even possible. Instead they keep moving along, without any contact at all with the principles of human life, and using their fluency of language they depict and present<sup>4</sup> things which do not belong to nature.

2 Such are Zeno's teachings, and Chrysippus', and Theophrastus', and I do not know whose else: they are all the same; and it is a good thing that time refutes them and makes them disappear as being imperfect and of no use for life and only fit for raising a good laugh at the expense of their authors. 2 However, such are also the writings of the admirable Plato, which time has saved from his days until our own, perhaps partly because of their beautiful language<sup>5</sup> (that man was the greatest master of all with regard to style), 3 in the same way as it saves unreal<sup>6</sup> stories of centaurs and goatstags<sup>7</sup> if told in a most beautiful style, the study<sup>8</sup> of which anyone would give the highest praise possible, desiring to mould himself after what is useful therein and so making this elegant style<sup>9</sup> his own. 4 But Aristotle, having, as it seems, decided that he, too, would write on politics, obviously does not make appraisals concerning what is of use and what in reality is necessary in active politics, 5 but with preparatory phrases and with promises he holds out hope and suggests that also in this branch of wisdom and human need, he will be of great use; yet, later on, he does not have much to say nor does he live up to his promises nor does he clearly go through and outline and set forth what pertains to the subject matter. This is typical of Aristotle, who pretends to wisdom respecting all things, 6 and who is extremely eager to seem to know everything, even such things as do not become him as a philosopher, and to be competent in everything and to be a judge of nature and everything being, and to be ready to be of service in all things human, and who deems himself able to get to grips with every kind of knowledge and tries to create the impression that he, more than anyone else, has the right things to say about the subject he has chosen to

<sup>6</sup> 'unreal' (ἀνεπέργητα): or, possibly, 'useless'.

<sup>7</sup> An Eastern fantastic animal which, perhaps incidentally, is mentioned by Plato as well as Aristotle (see app. font. et parall.).

<sup>8</sup> 'study' (ἄσκησιν): or 'use'.

<sup>9</sup> 'this elegant style': τὸ ἀστεῖον τῆς ἔξεως.

μάλιστ' αὐτὸς ἔχειν τὰ καίρια περὶ ὧν προτίθεται κατερεῖν· 7 ἐν οἷς δ' οὐκ  
 εὐπορὸς ἐστίν, ἢ διὰ πραγμάτων ἀσάφειαν καὶ ἀδηλίαν τῆς ἀκριβείας, ἢ  
 διὰ πραγμάτων ἀοριστίαν, οἷα δὴ μάλιστα τὰνθρώπινα καὶ καθόλου γ'  
 ἐρεῖν πάνθ' ὅσ' ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ ροῇ καὶ ἐν μεταβολαῖς αἰεὶ, 8 ταχὺς ἔπειτ'  
 ἀπαλλάττεται καὶ οὐ τρίβει οὐδ' ἱκανῶς οὐδὲ σαφῶς ἐπεξεργάζεται κατὰ τὴν 5  
 528 ἐκάστοτε πρόθεσιν τὰ | καὶ τά, πάνθ' ἕκαστα ὅσα τῆς προκειμένης χρείας  
 ἐστίν, 9 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκαίροις μηκύνας καὶ ἅ μὴ καρποὺς ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ  
 διάταξιν ἀνύσιμον καὶ διωρισμένην καὶ ἐνεργὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν  
 ὑπόσχεσιν, ἔπειτα σοφίζεται, μηδὲν εἰρηκῶς, ἱκανώσασθαι τὸ πᾶν δοκεῖν καὶ  
 φεύγει καταλιπὼν ἐν ἐλπίσι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους καὶ πλάνη τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔχειν ἐξ 10  
 αὐτοῦ τί, μὴ ἔχοντας, καὶ τυχεῖν λαβόντας ὧν δεῖ, μὴ τυχόντας ταῖς ἀληθείαις.  
 10 Καὶ τοῦτό οἱ σκευρεῖται φεύγοντι τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ,  
 περὶ ὧν πάντες ἂν λόγοι ἐπιλήψεις ἔχωσι τῶν ἀντιτάττεσθαι βουλευθέντων  
 ἂν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀοριστίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν πραγμάτων. 11  
 Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἄρα δὴ Πλάτων ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀδοσιεύτως οἷς ἐπιβάλλειν ἀξιοῖ, 15  
 χρηταὶ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δὴ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς τε καὶ τρανῶς φησὶν ἅ φησί, καὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἐπηλυγάζεται περὶ ὧν ἐρεῖν δοκιμάζει, πλεῖστον ὡς ἔοικεν ἑαυτῷ θαρρῶν καὶ  
 μηδὲν προορώμενος κακουργικὸν τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ. 12 Ἀριστοτέλης  
 δ' οὐχ' οὕτω, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μάλα δὴ τρανῶς πεποιθὼς λέγει, περὶ ὧν καθάπαξ,  
 εὐ γε δήλον, βέβαιός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, δραπετεύων παντὶ τρόπῳ ληφθῆναι 20  
 529 καὶ δηλὸς γενέσθαι λέγων ἅττα δὴ κρίσεισι καὶ βασάνοις | ὑπέϋθυνα δι' ἃς  
 προείπομεν αἰτίας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει.

3 Ἀτάρ, ὅπερ ἦν νῦν ὁ λόγος, ὀλίγοις τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξαιρέτων  
 ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πολιτικὸν φιλοσοφίας εἶδος  
 διδασκαλίας ἐμέλησε, καὶ οἷς ἐμέλησεν, ἀσύμφωνα τὰ περὶ τούτου συντάγματα 25  
 2 καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς συνήθους κατ' ἀνθρώπους χρήσεως ἀλλότρια καὶ

11 τί pro τι PM      13 ἔχωσι: ἔχουσι M et ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>, ut vid. -ω- P<sup>2</sup>, i.e. corr. in ἔχωσι      21 ἅττα:  
 fort. ἅττα M, ἅττα p.c. ex ᾧ- E      23 ἐκείνων ἐξαιρέτων M

10 Aristotle's *doxosophia* (i.e. eagerness to appear wise) is a recurrent theme in the essays.

11 'the subject studied' (τῆς προκειμένης χρείας): or 'the need of the moment'.

12 'satisfied all needs': or 'treated satisfactorily of everything'.

13 'refutation' (ἐλέγχους): or 'scrutiny'.

14 'Greek philosophers': the text has ἀνδρῶν τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ, which is difficult.

talk about.<sup>10</sup> 7 In those cases, however, where he does not have so much to say, either because of the obscurity of the matter and the impossibility of being exact, or because of the indeterminateness of the matter, such as is the case with human affairs in particular and, generally speaking, with everything which is subject to generation and flux and continuous changes— 8 in these cases he finishes quickly and does not linger, and this thing or that, all that which is part of the subject studied,<sup>11</sup> he treats neither satisfactorily, nor clearly according to his promise in each case. 9 Instead he spends time on irrelevant things and on such as prove unfruitful for the matters in question and which have no effective and clear disposition working to fulfil the hope and promise he held out. Then, having said nothing, he cunningly pretends to have satisfied all needs,<sup>12</sup> and escapes, leaving his listeners to their hope and under the delusion that they have received something from him though they have not, and that they have indeed received that of which they were in need, though in reality they have not. 10 And in my opinion this is contrived by him mostly in order to avoid refutation<sup>13</sup> on those points where all his books are liable to criticism from those who would want to oppose him, either, as mentioned before, because of the obscurity or of the indeterminateness of matters. 11 For he does not like Plato treat subjects which he wants to deal with correctly and without deceit. Everything that Plato says, he says simply and clearly, and he does not in any way disguise the subject he wants to talk about, having, as it seems, a great deal of self-confidence and not foreseeing any hostility against himself from later generations. 12 Not so with Aristotle. Some things he says very clearly and with confidence, such, obviously, as he feels sure about. But other things he expresses otherwise, in every way trying to escape being caught and found out to be saying things which, for reasons already mentioned, might be open to criticism and scrutiny. And so much for this.

3 But, and this is our present theme, few of those excellent Greek philosophers<sup>14</sup> were interested in the teaching of political philosophy, and those who were interested, produced writings on this subject which were at variance with each other 2 and for the most part foreign to common human practice; neither did they have any effect in the time of their au-

οὔτε τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνοις ἐνεργά, οὔτε μεθύστερον καὶ οἰστισινοῦν  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐσπουδάσθησαν, οὐχ' Ἑλλήσιν, οὐ βαρβάροις. <sup>3</sup> Οὐδ' εἶδεν ἥλιος  
 πολιτεύμαθ' ὅλως κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα Πλάτωνι ἢ Χρυσίππῳ ἢ Θεοφράστῳ ἢ  
 Ζήνωνι ἢ Ἀριστοτέλει ἢ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ πονησάντων  
 Ἑλλήνων, ὥσπερ τοῖς Νουμᾷ Πομπηλίου νόμοις καὶ πολιτεύμασιν ἐχρήσαντο <sup>5</sup>  
 Ῥωμαῖοι πόλλ' ἔτη, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνος τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ νομοθέτης  
 ἀνεδείχθη, <sup>4</sup> κάλλιστα καὶ διαταξάμενος καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτὸς τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν  
 βίῳ καὶ τῇ πολυτεεῖ, κατὰ θεῖον ἴσως γενομένην, βασιλείᾳ οἷς ἔγνω νόμοις,  
 καὶ παραπέμψας τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσιν τε καὶ ἀρχομένοις κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν χρῆσθαι, <sup>5</sup> ὡς ἄρ' <sup>10</sup>  
 ἐστὶν αὐτόθεν συλλογίζεσθαι τῷ χρονίῳ κράτει παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης  
 530 τύχην κἂν | πᾶσι καὶ μικροῖς ἔτι καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῆς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἐκείνου,  
 καθὼς ἔφην, μέχρι καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοκράτορας, οἱ μετὰ  
 τῶν χριστιανικῶν νομίμων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἔστησαν, <sup>6</sup> καὶ ὥσπερ  
 αὐθις Πέρσαι τοῖς Ζοροάστρου καὶ Κύρου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ μεθύστερον <sup>15</sup>  
 ἐκοσμήσαντο πολιτεύμασι καὶ ὁροις περὶ πάντα κοινὰ τε καὶ ἴδια πράγματα καὶ  
 τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ κοινὴν τοῦ βίου χρήσιν, καὶ ὥσπερ γ' αὐθις τοῖς Ἄνωτος  
 Καρχηδόνιοι: <sup>7</sup> οὗτοι μὲν γε καὶ πολὺ τὸ ξενίζον ἔχουσι καὶ παρηλλαγμένον ἢ  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων σχεδὸν ἄλλων χρήσιν καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκοινώνητον,  
 καὶ ἐχρήσαντό γε πλείστον δὴ τὸν χρόνον, μέχρις οὗ καὶ περιῆσαν, μάλιστα <sup>20</sup>  
 περιφανεῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκείνοι τῷ βίῳ καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους γενόμενοι καὶ  
 Λιβύης ὅσον σχεδὸν οἰκούμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιησάμενοι, <sup>8</sup> πολλῶν δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλων ἐθνῶν κρατήσαντες καὶ Σικελίας ἐπιβάντες καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ  
 καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐνακμάσαντες ὑπερβαλλόντως ἢ κατ'  
 ἄλλους πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μέχρις οὗ τῇ προνοίᾳ κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων <sup>25</sup>  
 ἐπιστῆσαι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξε κράτος.

<sup>3</sup> πομπηλίου Μ      <sup>8</sup> πολυτεεῖ: -λι- ut vid. a.c. P<sup>1</sup>, corr. fort. P<sup>2</sup>  
 ὥσπερ γ' Μ et ut vid. p.c. ex ὥσπερ P<sup>1</sup>

<sup>11</sup> συλλογίζεσθαι Μ      <sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> 'who have here ... philosophy' (τῶν ἐνταῦθα τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ πονησάντων): i.e., probably, in Greece as opposed to Rome in the following. If, instead, what is meant is 'this branch of philosophy', it is an odd way of putting it.

thors, nor were they later seriously considered by any people, Greeks or barbarians. <sup>3</sup> And the sun never saw any societies at all arranged according to the theories of Plato or Chrysippus or Theophrastus or Zeno or Aristotle or anyone else of those Greeks who have here bestowed their pains on philosophy,<sup>15</sup> in the way in which for many years the Romans used the laws and rules of Numa Pompilius, from the time when he was elected king and law-giver of Rome. <sup>4</sup> In the best way possible he himself regulated and conducted his own life<sup>16</sup> and his long-lasting reign, which, maybe, was promoted by the divine will, in accordance with the laws he had made and which he passed on to rulers and subjects of later times. These laws were felt by the people to be natural and appropriate and very attractive to use, <sup>5</sup> as can be readily inferred from the fact that, independently of Rome's fortune, under circumstances modest at first and then very great, they remained in force from Numa, as I said, even unto the Roman emperors of our time, who rule the Roman empire also in accordance with Christian laws. <sup>6</sup> In a similar way the Persians, too, were celebrated for Zoroaster's, and later for the admirable Cyrus' rules and regulations respecting all common and private affairs and every private and common situation in life, and similarly the Carthaginians were celebrated for Hanno's laws. <sup>7</sup> These laws are very strange and different from almost all other human customs, and they have absolutely nothing in common with other laws. And yet the Carthaginians used them for a very long time, as long as they existed [as a state], and in ancient times they even became very famous among men for their way of life, and they occupied nearly the whole of the inhabited part of Libya. <sup>8</sup> And after having conquered other peoples, they went ashore in Sicily and had greater military success against the European peoples and against Italy and the Romans than all other peoples,<sup>17</sup> until Providence decided to make the Roman state rule over all men.

<sup>16</sup> 'his own life' (τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν βίῳ): perhaps '([communal] life in his times'.

<sup>17</sup> '... than all other peoples': i.e. 'more success than all other peoples had', not, I think, 'more success than they had against all other peoples' (the latter would probably have been expressed by κατὰ c. gen. and not c. acc.).

4 Ἄλλ', ὅπερ ἔλεγον, τοῖς μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν νομίμοις ἐπολι-  
 τεύσαντ' ἐκεῖνα δῆτ' ἔθνη μέχρι παντὸς κάλλισθ' ἐπόμενοι καὶ τηροῦντες  
 531 καθάπαξ, καὶ ἄλλων | ἄλλοι δὲ τινες πλείστων πλείστοι, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε νῦν  
 ἀριθμεῖσθαι. 2 Τοῖς δ' ἐκ φιλοσόφων ἀξιωμαίων καὶ περινοίας δὴ τελεωτέρας  
 ἐν Ἑλληνι πολιτικοῖς δόγμασιν, εὖ μάλ' ἐπιλελογισμένοις καὶ πολὺ τὸ 5  
 κατεγλωττισμένον καὶ ἔντεχον ἔχουσι, Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐξαιρέτων τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἔθνος ἠξίωσαν χρῆσθαι, οὐχ'  
 ἑλληνικόν, οὐ βαρβαρικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων, οὐκ αὖθις ὕστερον.  
 3 Καίτοι μεγάλης ἔτυχον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους δόξης ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ  
 κλέους ἐπὶ σοφία, καὶ μέγιστ' ἐθαυμάσθησαν, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς 10  
 ἐσπούδασαν, οὐχ' Ἑλλήνες μόνον καὶ γνησίως ἔχοντες τῷ γένει τὲ καὶ  
 τῇ φωνῇ, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἔξω καὶ τοῦ γένους ἀλλότριοι  
 καθάπαξ ἄνθρωποι, 4 ἢ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως ἀψάμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀνοίκειον ἔοικε  
 τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀμηγέτη χρήσεως ὡς αὐτίκα μόνον ἔγνωσαν, ἢ εἰ καὶ  
 ἦψαντό τινες, ὡς ἄρα δὴ λέγονται τινὲς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ σπουδάσαντος Δίωνος 15  
 τῶν τοῦ Πλάτωνος πολιτικῶν πειράσασθαι, αὐτόθεν ἀποδραπετεύσαντες τῷ  
 μὴδὲν ἐν τούτοις ἀνύσιμον ὁρᾶν 5 καὶ οἷον πεφυκὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους, πᾶσαν  
 ἐκ πρώτης πείρας καταγόντες αὐτῶν ἀχρηστίαν καὶ λόγων ἀναπλάσματα  
 532 παντάπασιν | ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ταῦτα συλλογισάμενοι.

4 But, as I said, these peoples were governed by the laws of the aforementioned men and they obeyed them admirably in every detail and observed them without fault; and some peoples, very many in number, obeyed the laws of other peoples, also very many in number, and I cannot now enumerate them.<sup>18</sup> 2 But no people, Greek or barbarian, has chosen to use the political doctrines of those Greek philosophers who have enjoyed most prestige<sup>19</sup> and shown the most perfect insight,<sup>20</sup> that is Plato and Aristotle and the other eminent men of philosophy, not in their time and not in later times, though these doctrines are well conceived and written down in a most elaborate and artful style. 3 And yet these men have acquired a great reputation and fame for wisdom among all men and they have been greatly admired and many have taken an interest in their writings, not only Greeks, being their true descendants and the inheritors of their language, but also many people outside Greece, who are of a totally different descent. 4 And either they did not put the philosophy of these men into practice from the beginning, since they seem to have realised its inappropriateness for any use among people, or, if some did, as is said to have been the case in Sicily where Dio was eager to try out the political thought of Plato, they abandoned it at once, not seeing in it anything practicable 5 or natural for men and, at the first trial, condemning it as completely useless and regarding it as bookish constructs,<sup>21</sup> wholly without relevance to their time and circumstances.

<sup>18</sup> This sentence seems awkward. It could easily be emended by changing *πλείστων* into *πλείστον* (for a parallel to this see 74.1.2) and excising *πλείστοι* (on the supposition that this has been added because of the parallelism offered by *ἄλλων ἄλλοι*). We could then translate ‘... but some peoples [obeyed the laws] more than others [did]’.

<sup>19</sup> ‘prestige’: the word used here, *ἄξιωμα*, is problematic; it may also mean ‘doctrine’ or be the rhetorical term *Dignity* (cf. Hult 2002, index).

<sup>20</sup> ‘[shown] the most perfect insight’ (*περινοίας δὴ τελεωτέρας*): or, perhaps, ‘enjoyed the greatest respect by others’.

<sup>21</sup> ‘bookish constructs’ (*λόγων ἀναπλάσματα*): or ‘figments of words’.

Ὅτι πάντες σχεδὸν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι φιλοσοφούντων τοῦ  
πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀπέστησαν· ΠΑ'

1 Πάντες δὲ σχεδὸν τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐν Ἑλλήσι πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ οὐκ  
οἶδ' ὅσων δὴ τινων οὐδ' ὄντινων ἄρα, τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς  
κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐργασίας ἀπέστησαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἰδιοπραγεῖν εἶλοντο, τὰς 5  
μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν φυγόντες κοινωνίας καὶ πράξεις καὶ μόνη τῇ κατ' ἥθος  
φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸ πρακτικὸν αὐτῆς ἐνεργόν, ὡς ἔοικε, δείξαντες. 2 Ζητοῦντες  
γάρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οἱ χρῆσαιτο τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὀριζομένη πολιτικῇ, καὶ οὐχ'  
εὐρίσκοντες χώραν οὐδ' ὀπιοῦν ἐν τῇ κατὰ βίον ἀνθρωπίνῃ χρήσει ὅπῃ ποτ'  
ἄρα χρῆσαιτο, 3 δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον· ἢ κενολογίαν μόνον καὶ μακρὸν λῆρον 10  
καὶ διαλέξων ἀνύπαρκτον ἀνάπλασμα καὶ λέσχης ὑπόθεσιν τὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς  
καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, ἔξω τοῦ γιγνομένου παντὸς κατ'  
ἀνθρώπους, δεικνύουσι, καὶ οὐχ' οἷον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄλλότριον  
533 καθάπαξ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας καὶ χρήσεως 4 (ἢ | γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐωρᾶτο ποτὲ  
πάντως καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους, εἶχον καὶ αὐτοὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὁ βίος ἂν εἶχε καὶ οἱ 15  
λόγοι τῶν δογμάτων ἐνεργοὺς τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦς;), 5 ἢ πάντως ἑαυτοὺς  
ἀνικάνους πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀγωγῆς ἐπιδηλότατα  
προδεικνύοντες ἔφευγον τὰ πράγματα, τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐπὶ τῇ χρήσει φεύγοντες  
καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς ξυναναμίγνυσθαι, 6 ἀσυντελεῖς ἀνθρωποὶ  
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει, ἀσυντελεῖς τῷ βίῳ, ἀσυντελεῖς ἑαυτοῖς 20  
καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν δόγμασι καὶ κρίσεσι, καὶ μηδὲν ὅ τί ποτ' ἄρα χρησιμοὶ μὴδὲ  
πίστιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐμποιοῦντες αἰδοῦς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν μήθ' οἷς ἐνόμισαν. 7 Ὁ  
πολλοῦ δέουσιν ἂν κατερεῖν ἅπαντες καὶ συνθέσθαι καὶ καταπροδοῦναι σφᾶς  
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὀλιγότητα καὶ ἀχρηστίαν  
καὶ δυστυχίαν τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀτυχίαν τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς φορᾶς αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς 25  
φύσεως, ὡς ἀνόνητα σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔργα προενεγκούσης καὶ γῆς μόνον ἄχθη'

9 ὅπῃ: ὅποι M

22 μήθ': μηδ' M-K

26 ἀνόνητα M, ἀνόνητα P<sup>1</sup>, -v- inter ὁ et η add. P<sup>2</sup>

26 γῆς ... ἄχθη] cf. Th.Met. Sem. 69.2.5

<sup>1</sup> 'or has it ... doctrines' (§ 4): the use of the particle ἂν twice in this paragraph is a little odd, but perhaps understandable: Metochites seems to have an unreal condition in mind, even though this is not what he is actually talking about. For the same use of ἂν see also below, chapter 3, § 8.

# 81. That almost all Greek philosophers have avoided politics and public matters

1 Almost all Greek philosophers (with some exceptions, though I cannot tell how many they are or which) have avoided politics and political work based on philosophy and have preferred to live a private life, shunning contact and dealings with the multitude and, seemingly, showing forth the practical potential of philosophy only in ethics. 2 For if they, as it seems to me, were searching for somewhere to put into practice the type of politics they had decided upon and did not find any place nor anywhere in human society where they might do so, 3 one of two things must happen: either they show their discourse on politics and kingship and leadership to be empty words only and a lengthy run of nonsense and a construct of arguments without foundation and a matter for the classroom, far from every human reality, never to be seen among men but wholly foreign to human nature and usage 4 (or has it, indeed, on any occasion actually been seen among people, that they have been able to practise their philosophy themselves, and have their life and their doctrinal discourses ever made them living examples of their doctrines?);<sup>1</sup> 5 or, having first most clearly shown themselves completely unable to practise political philosophy and to lead a political life, they would have to flee from worldly matters, and [from then on] avoid being put to the test in matters practical, and not wish for intercourse with the multitude, 6 being men of no use to the many or for common life, of no use to mankind in general, of no use to themselves and unable to defend their doctrines and opinions; and, useless as they are in every regard, they would have proven unable to command any respect for themselves from the multitude, not even<sup>2</sup> for their opinions. 7 This they are all very far from admitting and saying openly and so betraying themselves and their doctrines and leading in triumph their own littleness and uselessness and their unfortunate nature and its unhappy treatment

<sup>2</sup> 'not even': this is to translate μήθ' which, however, may be derived from μηδέ rather than from μήτε (cf. the alternative forms μηδείς – μηθείς; Müller & Kiessling have here μηδ').

καὶ μὴδὲν μῆθ' ἑαυτοῖς μῆτε τῷ βίῳ λυσιτελοῦντα· 8 καὶ οὕτω δὴ πάλιν εἰς κενολογίαν συμπεραίνει σφίσιν ἢ πᾶσα σπουδῇ, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο.

2 Ἄλλ' ἔγωγ' οἶμαι τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀνάγκην ἔχειν οἷς ξυνέλαχε πράγμασιν, ὡς ἂν οἶον τ' εἴη, χρῆσθαι καὶ μεταχειρίζειν ὡς ἄρα πέφυκεν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον  
 534 αἰεὶ, 2 τοὺς δ' ἄρα τὸ ῥάδιον εὖ μάλ' αἰρουμένους τὸ | λέγειν εὖ καὶ τὴν ἐν 5  
 πρᾶγμασιν ἀρετὴν, καθὼς ἂν ἕκαστος οἶος τ' ἦ, εἰς τὸ φύσει κάλλιστον καὶ  
 βέλτιστον δοκιμάσαι καὶ κατασυλλογίσασθαι καὶ συνιδεῖν ἀνιστοροῦντας  
 καὶ καταγράφοντας, μὴδένα δὲ ποιήσασθαι λόγον εἰ ἄρ' ἔπειτα πέφυκεν ἐν  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐνεργὰ δεικνυσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα. 3 Καὶ καθάπαξ δύναται πλήθη καὶ  
 συστήματα παντοῖ' ἀνθρώπων συμφωνεῖν κατὰ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ ἀκριβείας 10  
 τελειότητα ἢ συντέλειαν εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ βελτίστου τὸν  
 ἅπαντα τρόπον ἔξιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν 4 καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι ὡς ἐν τίποτε πρᾶγμα ἢ σῶμα  
 κάλλιστον διὰ πάντων ὁρᾶν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ. 5 Τὸ δὲ παντὸς  
 μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον τῇ φύσει καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὅπου γε μὴδ' ἄνθρωπον ἕνα,  
 μὴδένα μάλιστα δὴ καὶ σωφρονικὸν ἐκ φύσεως οἰκοθεν καὶ λόγου παιδεία καὶ 15  
 ἀσκήσει κατορθούμενον, ῥάδιον ἐστὶν ἑαυτῷ καθάπαξ σύμφωνον εἶναι καὶ διὰ  
 πάντων εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σπουδὴν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τέλειον.

3 Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος  
 ἔλλογον καὶ προσφυὲς καὶ κατακαιρὸν ἐκάστου τὲ τῶν μελῶν ἰδίᾳ τῆς ὥρας  
 εὖ μάλ' ἔχοντος καὶ κοινῇ πάντων πρὸς ἄλληλα πεφυκῶτων εἰς τὸ τελειότατον 20  
 535 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν εὐγενείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, λόγος μὲν ἴσως γραφεύς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ  
 γραφικὴ τάχα τέχνη, καθιστορεῖν δύναται ἂν εὖ μάλα. 2 Τίς δ' ὅμως κατείδέ  
 ποτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ ὅλως ὄψεται τοιοῦτον δὴ σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου κάλλος,  
 διὰ πάντων ἠκριβωμένον καὶ καθάπαξ ἀλώβητον καὶ ἀρτιουργὸν τῇ φύσει  
 καὶ μὴδενὶ πω τῶν αὐτοῦ καθυστερίζον ἔπειτα, ἢ ὡς ἡ γραφὴ προδείκνυσιν; 25  
 3 Ἔστι δ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτως ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλος, καὶ μακαρίζεται τις ὡς εὖ  
 ὥρας πεφυκώς, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλου μᾶλλον. 4 Καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τοίνυν ἀκρίβειαν

4 οἶον: οἶος a.c. P, corr. ut vid. P<sup>1</sup>

7 ξυνιδεῖν M

22 δύναιντ' M

<sup>3</sup> 'burdens ... of the earth': for this expression see also 69.2.5 and 76.2.2.

<sup>4</sup> 'make the happy choice': i.e. a choice to their own advantage (?); perhaps there is irony/cynicism in this.

<sup>5</sup> 'most' (μᾶλλον): or 'rather'.

of them, having fostered them as useless products and *burdens* only of the earth,<sup>3</sup> which bring no good either to themselves or to life. <sup>8</sup> And so all their toil ends up in empty words, and it turns out that they have been fighting against themselves.

<sup>2</sup> But I think that a politician should deal with what he is confronted with as best he could, always, of course, with a view to improvement, <sup>2</sup> whereas those who make the happy choice<sup>4</sup> of the easier way may speak well and, to the best of their ability, estimate the virtue inherent in every action through comparing it to what is by nature most beautiful and excellent, pondering and drawing conclusions, investigating and writing the result down, not caring whether [or not] their conclusions are of such a nature that they may have any effect on men of the future. <sup>3</sup> And multitudes and groups of people of every kind may well agree in every choice, completely in every detail, on how to acquire and use what in every way is good and even best by nature, <sup>4</sup> and they may be looked upon as, in a way, one thing, or one most beautiful body, with one outlook and consistent way of acting. <sup>5</sup> The situation by nature most<sup>5</sup> hopeless of remedy among men, however, arises when one man will not even agree with himself wholly and with ease, and always strive towards what is good, in a consistent and perfect manner—this, of course, will not be a man who by nature is sensible from birth and corrected through literary education and training.

<sup>3</sup> And, indeed, human beauty and the perfect proportions and inherent ability throughout the whole body and the serviceability of every limb performing well at the right time, separately or together with the other limbs, all joined to each other for the most perfect natural nobility and virtue—perhaps this could be depicted really well by fiction or rather by the art of painting. <sup>2</sup> But who has ever seen among men, or will ever see, such beauty of the human body as art shows, elaborate in every respect and wholly without blemishes and perfect as to its nature and not to be surpassed by any coming after it? <sup>3</sup> Even so there is, though, beauty in men, and some are praised lucky for being beautiful, some of them more than others. <sup>4</sup> Also, it may be fairly easy to describe politics in detail and outline in one's thoughts, according to each man's capacity of visualizing; <sup>5</sup> but in actual practise it is not possible to make the beauty of political activity

ῥάδιον ἴσως ἀνιστορεῖν καὶ ὑποτυποῦσθαι συλλογιζόμενον, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστός  
 τις δύναιτο ξυνορᾶν, <sup>5</sup> τοῖς ἔργοις δ' ὅμως αὐτοῖς οὐ πέφυκε τὸ κάλλος τῆς  
 πολιτικῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ χρήσεως οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἐνεργὸν διὰ πάντων ὀφθῆναι.  
 6 Καὶ τοίνυν ἐνεργητέον ὡς πέφυκε καὶ χρηστέον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι  
 κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν ἐκάστοτε, <sup>7</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ τριπτέον αἰεὶ τοῖς λόγοις μόνον καὶ τῇ <sup>5</sup>  
 περὶ τοῦ πράγματος θεωρίᾳ, ὁ ῥάδιον ἴσως φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ καταλογίζεσθαι τὰ  
 καὶ τά, πάνθ' ἕκαστα, τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔξω χρήσεως. 8 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων,  
 εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅλως τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι χρῆσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς  
 536 καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄλλως ἢ ὡς | αὐτοὶ κρίνουσι τε καὶ δογματίζουσι (ταῦτα δὲ  
 παντάπασιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα, καὶ οὐτ' ἐγένετο ποτε πρότερον αἰεὶ οὔτε <sup>10</sup>  
 μήποτε γένηται· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο; )— <sup>9</sup> τί ποτ' εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, ἢ τί ποτε κατ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἢ πολιτικὴ φιλοσοφία λυσιτελῆς τῷ βίῳ, κατὰ τῶν μὴ ὄντων τρίβουσα  
 καὶ νομοθετοῦσα ἃ μήτ' ἔστι μήτ' ἐγένετο μήτέ ποτε γενήσεται;  
 4 Εἰ δ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως ὅτιποτοῦν ἀνύτειν χρωμένοις, καὶ βέλτιστα  
 συντελεῖν ἐν οἷς ὁ βίος ἐκάστοτε, καὶ βοηθεῖν ὅπως ἄρα, καὶ μέτριάττα δὴ τοῖς <sup>15</sup>  
 ἀνθρωπίνους καὶ κοινούς πράγμασιν, οὐχ' αἰροῦνται δὲ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν  
 αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, <sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἄλλως ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ καθόλου κρίνουσι καὶ δογματίζουσιν, οὐκ  
 εὐγνώμονες δὴ τινες εἰσὶν οὐδὲ φιλόανθρωποι βοηθεῖν ἅττα δύναιντ' ἂν, καὶ  
 τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγχωρεῖ, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους νοσήμασιν, <sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον  
 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρήσιμοι καὶ οἷοι τε βοηθεῖν τὸ καὶ ὀτιοῦν εἰσφέρειν <sup>20</sup>  
 τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ συντελείᾳ, ἀλλὰ ξυγχωρεῖν κατατρέχειν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ  
 καταμωκᾶσθαι φιλοσοφίας τὲ καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ καταψηφίζεσθαι παντάπασιν  
 ἀχρηστίαν, <sup>4</sup> καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κενολογίαν ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀνόνητον. Εἰ δ' ἀη-  
 537 δίζονται καὶ ἀπα|ξιοῦσι τῷ μὴ τυγχάνειν ὡς βούλονται, καὶ δι' ὑποψίαν ἔστιν  
 οὐ τῆς ἀτευξίας φεύγουσι καθάπαξ τὸ πράττειν, κἂν εἰ ἅττα δὴ λυσιτελεῖν <sup>25</sup>  
 δύναιντο καὶ καλῶς ἀνύτειν τῷ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν βίῳ καὶ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι, <sup>5</sup>

<sup>9</sup> κρίνουσι: κοῖνουσι ut vid. M    <sup>11</sup> γένηται: 'legendum γενήσεται' in app. M-K    ἢ: ἢ M-K  
 (cf. autem 81.1.4)    <sup>18</sup> ἅττα P<sup>2</sup>M, fort. ἅττα P<sup>1</sup>    <sup>20</sup> τὸ: τῷ P<sup>1</sup>M, o s.l. add. P<sup>2</sup>, τὸ M-K (vide  
 introd. 2.5, p. xxxix)    <sup>25</sup> ἅττα p.c. P<sup>2</sup>, ἅττα P<sup>1</sup>M

<sup>6</sup> This sentence has a double negation; for this feature of Metochites' style see the introduc-  
 tion, 2.2.1, p. xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> 'this': i.e. to take care of matters at hand in any other way than that which agrees with one's  
 own system and doctrine.

and action visible in every way.<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup> Still one should be active, as is natural, and make use of one's abilities and handle each situation in the best way possible, <sup>7</sup> and time should not always be spent on words only and on the theoretical side of matters, because if one does so, one may easily fall into philosophising about and giving an account of all sorts of things in a way which has nothing to do with the demands of reality. <sup>8</sup> Apart from this, if men are wholly unable in politics to make use of their own powers and those of the multitude, and to take care of the matters at hand in any other way than that which agrees with their own system and doctrine (this<sup>7</sup> is completely impossible for men, and it neither happened in the past nor will it ever do so; or has it really happened?)<sup>8</sup>— <sup>9</sup> in what way, then, are these men of any use? Or how could their political philosophy be of value to mankind, when it deals with what does not exist and makes laws respecting that which neither is nor was nor ever will be?

<sup>4</sup> However, if in some other way it is possible for them to act and achieve something and in each case to make an excellent contribution to life, and in some way, even if modestly, to help common human matters, and they still choose not to do so, because it does not agree with their inclination <sup>2</sup> but is wholly irreconcilable with their opinions and doctrines, then they are unreasonable and not charitable so as to give what help they can for the ailments of mankind, as far as the situation permits. <sup>3</sup> Neither are they of more use to themselves or to philosophy or able to help in making any contribution whatever to life and the united effort; they rather give the multitude an opportunity to criticise and deride philosophy and themselves and to judge of all this as being absolutely worthless, <sup>4</sup> and nothing but idle and futile verbosity. But what if they feel disgusted and refrain from action for fear of not achieving what they want, and if from some presentiment of failure they completely avoid acting, even if they could be of some use and of good service to the life of the many and to the state— <sup>5</sup> have they not [by this] at once, and in a deplorable way, proved them-

<sup>8</sup> 'or has it really happened?' (ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο); i.e. 'would anyone claim that it has happened?' Despite the use of ἂν I do not think that this should be understood as an unreal condition. Cf. above, chapter 1, § 4.

οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν αὐθις ἀδικώτατοι καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἐλεγχόμενοι, μὴ πᾶν τὸ  
 γιγνόμενον ἐκόντες ὄντες μάλα πρόθυμοι συντελοῦντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες  
 τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει ὡς ἂν ὀπηροῦν βέλτιον ἔχοι, <sup>6</sup> ἀλλὰ ζημιοῦντες τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ  
 κοινὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἑαυτῶν εὐχρηστίας καὶ βοηθείας, καὶ ζημιοῦντες  
 ἑαυτοὺς οὐ δόξης μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἐπαίνων οὐδὲ μακαρισμῶν ἢ φιланθρώπων <sup>5</sup>  
 ἐνεργημάτων καὶ ὑποθέσεων βιωφελῶν ἐπιδείξεων; <sup>7</sup> Ὡσπερ ἂν καὶ ἱατροὶ  
 κακῶς ἀκοῦειν δικαίως εἶεν ἄξιοι καὶ πάσης ἐπιτιμίας καὶ εὐθύνης, οἱ δι'  
 ὑπόπτους ἀτυχίας καὶ δέος ἔστιν οὗ τοῦ μὴ κατευστοχήσαι τῆς χρήσεως  
 αἰροῖντ' ἂν πᾶσαν ἀποφεύγειν βοήθειαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ  
 σώματος, <sup>8</sup> καὶ ἃ δύναιντ' ἂν εἶναι χρήσιμοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ἐκόντες ὄντες <sup>10</sup>  
 μύοντες ἀποτρέποιντο— <sup>9</sup> φαῦλον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ κατάπτυστον, εἴ τις οὕτω  
 λέγοι, εἴ τις οὕτως αἰροῖτο, καὶ ἢ ψευδομένων ἀνδρῶν ἢ πάνυ τοι τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ  
 κατ' ἀνθρώπους δυσνοστάτων.

selves the most unjust and evil of men, since they do not of their own free will, and with zeal, join in helping with and contributing in every possible way to the common good with some view to its improvement? <sup>6</sup> And so they deprive mankind and the community of their service and help, and themselves they deprive not so much of fame or praise or blessings as of opportunities to act charitably and to be seen giving vital help. <sup>7</sup> Similarly those doctors would also justly deserve being ill spoken of and being censured and held responsible in every way, who suspecting failure and fearing, as sometimes happens, not to succeed in their undertaking choose to run away from ministering help of any kind in cases of bodily harm to a human being, <sup>8</sup> and who close their eyes and evade situations where they could be of use and help for others if they were willing— <sup>9</sup> a truly mean and despicable thing even to suggest, or to choose, characteristic of men who are either liars or most hostile towards the common life of men.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |                                                                                                                                           |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CGFPR | <i>Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta</i>                                                                                   |
| CPG   | <i>Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum</i>                                                                                                 |
| FGrH  | <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>                                                                                              |
| JÖB   | <i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>                                                                                        |
| LSJ   | Liddell, H. G. & Scott, R., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. revised and augmented by H. S. Jones. Oxford 1940                    |
| M-K   | <i>Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea philosophica et historica</i> . Ed. C. G. Müller & Th. Kiessling. Leipzig 1821. Reprint Amsterdam 1966 |
| PCG   | <i>Poetae comici graeci</i>                                                                                                               |
| PG    | <i>Patrologia graeca</i> (Migne)                                                                                                          |
| PMG   | <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>                                                                                                               |
| TGFr  | <i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta</i>                                                                                                     |
| TLG   | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> . Online version. University of California, Irvine                                                       |

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## Theodore Metochites' Sententious Notes

### *Semeioseis gnomikai* 61–70 & 72–81

This is the third volume of a planned four-volume edition of the Σημειώσεις γνωμικαί (Sententious notes), a collection of 120 essays by the Byzantine scholar and statesman Theodore Metochites (1270–1332).

The introduction gives an extensive, partly new, description and assessment of the manuscripts as physical objects and in their relationship to each other. The manuscripts discussed, and used in the edition, are the Par. gr. 2003 (P) and Marc. gr. 532 (M), both contemporary or near-contemporary with the author, and, wherever M is illegible, the Scor. gr. 248 (E), a sixteenth-century copy of M. In the edition, the reading of P (including the corrections by the main copyist, Michael Klostomalles, as well as a *manus secunda*) is generally adopted as the authoritative text.

The volume concludes with a bibliography, an index of passages, and an index of names.

The discussion in the essays touches upon several subjects, more or less related to each other. Among these are the ignorance of man and the difficulty of knowing anything, and the moral side of seeking an active life as opposed to 'living hidden.'

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