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THE
SENTENCES OF
SEXTUS

EDITED BY
HENRY CHADWICK

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ETHICS

BY

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NEW SERIES

Edited by
C. H. DODD

V
THE
SENTENCES OF SEXTUS

To

H. ST J. HART

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NOTE ON SIGLA EMPLOYED

Π, Υ. See pp. 3-4.

A, Q, W, O, P, V, B, G, L, J, S, U, C, M, T, c, w, r. See p. 4.

X, x. See p. 6.

Α. See p. 7.

Clit., Φ, Λ, Σ, Θ, Θb, Θc, Θd. See pp. 73-4.

Py., Po. See Section 4 of Part II, pp. 140 ff.

R = Rufinus (see p. 4).

D. See p. 84.

P R E F A C E

Among the literary remains of second-century Christianity a unique place is occupied by the remarkable collection of 451 ethical and religious aphorisms ascribed to Sextus. The collection presents many problems, especially with regard to its character and origin, to which it cannot yet be said that any agreed solution has been reached. The aphorisms came to have an intriguing history. From the third century onwards they were widely and appreciatively read by Christian folk, as is proved by the remarks of Origen, by the Syriac and Armenian translations, and by the extraordinary success of the Latin version made late in the fourth century by Tyrannius Rufinus of Aquileia. This translation of Rufinus played a minor role in the great quarrel between him and his former friend Jerome, becoming the target of some of Jerome's most vituperative observations. Yet it continued as a best seller, and had the distinction of being invoked by that earnest moralist, the British monk Pelagius, in order to lend support and authority to his enthusiastic campaign for moral rearmament. In medieval times the Latin version continued to be read and studied, especially in monastic circles. One aphorism is quoted as authoritative in the Rule of Saint Benedict.

A collection of ethical aphorisms, therefore, which over a period of many centuries found an extensive reading public in four languages among Christians from Britain to Mesopotamia, may properly appear worthy of study and examination. The collection is on any showing of great interest and importance for that neglected subject, the history of ethics. Perhaps it may be properly classified as the wisdom-literature of early Gentile Christendom.

The full text of the original Greek only became known at the end of the nineteenth century. For many centuries the West knew only Rufinus' version which was printed many times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (though even that was in an abbreviated form). The Syriac versions were first printed by

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Lagarde in 1858. In 1873 Gildemeister produced the first critical edition of the Latin text, in which proper account was taken of the Syriac versions and of the surviving remnants of the Greek original, preserved mainly by incorporation in later Byzantine collections. Meantime the search for the complete Greek text continued; three years later its existence was first reported by Duchesne, who traced it in a codex of the tenth century in the library of the monastery of St John at Patmos, and announced this fact in 1876.¹ Four years later, in December 1880, Anton Elter found another manuscript containing the Sextine collection in the Vatican Library; indeed, he had the good fortune to find the codex on the very first day of his admission to that august repository. Twelve years later Elter's edition, containing the Greek and Latin texts in parallel columns, was at last published and has remained the standard edition since then. It is, however, an exceedingly rare book, only to be found in learned libraries and not in all of them. Elter's text was reprinted by Paola at Milan in 1937, but this book is also not now to be had. Accordingly, no apology seems necessary for offering here a revised edition of the text. I have been most fortunate in that the Patmos manuscript² has been collated for me by Mr Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and in so far as this edition might claim to improve on Elter's, it is wholly due to his generous help. To him I also owe a transcript of the Pythagorean maxims in the same codex, hitherto unpublished.

It may be well to add that the study attached to the texts does not pretend to deal with all that could or ought to be said about the sentences. The problem has been approached from a limited and defined point of view. Much research remains to be done on the history of the collections of gnomic wisdom, which undoubtedly played a substantial part in ancient education (as is shown by the great fifth-century compilation of John Stobaeus). I have tried to resist the temptation to investigate background questions more than is really necessary. The interest governing

¹ *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 3e série, tom. III (1876), p. 440.

² The Vatican manuscript I have seen for myself, and in two or three places Elter's collations are corrected.

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the present study has lain in the affinity and difference between Christian morality of the second century and that of the surrounding world. The work is set forth, therefore, as a contribution to the much discussed question of the continuity and the discontinuity between the early Church and contemporary society—in part, the question associated since F. J. Dölger with the German phrase *Antike und Christentum*. Its original starting-point lay in some studies in the Christian Platonists of Alexandria. It is from this standpoint that account is here taken of Sextus' background and sources. It is for this reason that there stand appended to the text of Sextus himself the Epitome of Clitarchus and also the collection of 'The Gnomes of the Pythagoreans'. The sources and parallels have been examined for the sake of illuminating the intentions and presuppositions of the compiler of the Sextine collection; the collection is not discussed for the light it may throw upon Neopythagoreanism. The question 'Where did he find this?', though I hope it has not been neglected, has been subordinated to the question 'What did he do with it when he found it?'

Because the interest has been in the earliest form of the collection as known to Origen and translated by Rufinus, I have provided brief notes (pp. 163–81) only on 1–451. This collection was expanded with extra matter probably early in the fifth century, which is attested in the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian traditions; but I have not endeavoured to provide notes on these appendices. Of course they come from the same general *milieu*, but their character is subtly different and betrays an interest diverging in some degree from that of the original compiler.

The present study would not have been possible but for the labours of Gildemeister and Elter, and I have freely drawn upon the store of information which they gathered in the last century. Perhaps no one can work thoroughly over the ground covered by another without being from time to time exasperated at this or that piece of inaccuracy or by some failure to give a proper reference so that a statement may be checked. Elter was particularly inclined to present his information in a form deficient in clarity and to publish it in as obscure a corner as possible. But

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I have not decorated this book with polemical footnotes criticising scholars of the greatest learning, to whom I must express a deep sense of gratitude.

Among many debts I must particularly acknowledge what I owe to Mr Hugh Lloyd-Jones for his invaluable help not only in the collation of the Patmos manuscript but also in proposing several acute emendations, his restorations of 380 and 530 being (I think) quite certain; to Professor A. D. Nock for some useful references that I would otherwise have missed; to Dr C. H. Dodd for his kindness in including this volume in the series of *Texts and Studies*; and to my wife, without whose patient encouragement it would never have been written at all.

H. C.

CAMBRIDGE

14 July 1957

PART I

TEXTS

1. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION AND THE VERSIONS OF SEXTUS

(1) The Greek text is contained only in the two manuscripts, Patmiensis 263 (Π), saec. x, foll. 213–26 (description in Sakkelion's *Catalogue of the Patmos Manuscripts* (1890), pp. 127–30), and Vaticanus Graecus 742 (Υ), saec. xiv, foll. 2–23 (description in Devreesse's *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (1950), p. 256). In Υ the maxims form a continuous text with punctuation but no paragraphing; from time to time the copyist gives to certain initial letters the dignity of red ink and capitals, beginning at fol. 6^v with the τ of ταῦτα in 121b. Prior to this he leaves blank spaces, no doubt originally intending to add the red capitals later, though in fact he unaccountably omitted to do so, so that several words are left acephalous. Frequently the scribe fails to find the correct beginning and end of his aphorisms, and thus divides them wrongly (121b is a good instance). But I have not burdened the apparatus by noting these blunders unless there is some doubt about the true text. Iota subscript is often omitted in Υ.

Υ has been freshly collated by me both at the Vatican Library and with the help of microfilms. For collations of Π Elter used a copy of Π made by a monk of Patmos for H. Schenkl. For this edition Π has been collated by Mr Lloyd-Jones, and in many places Elter's statements have been silently corrected. Subscript or adscript iota is rare, itacism common.

Π and Υ differ profoundly in their order, and it is evident that an ancestor of Π suffered serious disarrangement, for Υ's order is normally supported by Rufinus and the Syriac versions. Π's order is 1–235 (with occasional minor omissions): thereafter the first half of 262, the end of 379, 380–405, 236–61, 428–30 (431–43 are omitted), 444–50, 569, 579, 578, 583, 585–6, 591, 593, 594, 610, 452–4, 406–27, 455–88, second half of 262–379, 489–555. At 413Π has a meaningless Ἀρχῇ which might conceivably be the remnant of someone's attempt to restore order to the leaves of the con-

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fused ancestral codex, a hypothesis which derives some plausibility from the fact that, in all MSS. of the fuller of the two Syriac versions (X), 359–412 fall in the middle of 413, and 413 ff. follow 356.

On the other hand, apart from the question of order, Π is a little nearer to Rufinus' version (R) than Y, which is not infrequently supported by the Syriac (X). Elter is, I think, inclined to exaggerate the degree to which Π R stand together over against YX, and he founds upon the fact that the ending of 262, where Π has a dislocation, is corrupt in R the theory that Rufinus had before him a codex in which the order had already become confused, though a corrector had been carefully through it marking the necessary transpositions. Rufinus, he holds, followed the corrector's directions, whereas the copyist of Π 's ancestor did not. This elaborate theory may be possible, but I can find nothing to suggest that it is probable. See p. 175, n. on 262.

(2) The Latin version of Rufinus (R) was first critically edited by Gildemeister from fourteen manuscripts (to which Elter added a fifteenth from Arras). These are as follows:

A = Salmasianus, Paris. 10318, saec. vii–viii.

Q = Paris. lat. 2676, saec. ix, foll. 123–6 (deficient after 84).

W = Würzburg, Mp. Th. f. 33, saec. ix, foll. 2–12.

O = Paris. lat. 113, saec. xi, foll. 61^v–65^v (this manuscript was once the property of Diane de Poitiers).

P = Paris. lat. 3784, saec. xi, foll. 47–50^v.

V = Vienna, Bibl. Palat. 575, saec. xi.

B = Basiliensis, B.X.35, saec. xiii (from the Carthusian house at Basle, and before that in South Germany).

G = Wolfenbüttel, 2767 (78 Aug. fol.), saec. xv, foll. 192–6.¹

L = Lambeth 237, saec. x, foll. 203–8 (deficient after 218).

J = St John's College, Cambridge, 168, saec. xiii, foll. 71^v–80^v (from the Carthusian house of Witham, Somerset).

S = Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 94, saec. xiv, foll. 121–3 (from the York Franciscans).

U = Cambridge University Library, Add. 684, saec. xv, foll. 65–73.

¹ The Wolfenbüttel library also possesses a twelfth-century manuscript (3380) containing Sextus which Gildemeister did not use.

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C = Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 351, saec. xiv, foll. 94-6 (only 1-299).

M = British Museum, Royal Library, 2 F. II, saec. xiii, foll. 98-102.

T = the Arras manuscript of the tenth century collated by Elter.

In addition to these manuscripts Gildemeister used three editions of the printed text, all independent of one another, which used manuscripts now lost:

c = the edition published at Lyons, 1507.

w = that published at Wittenberg, 1514.

r = that published at Basle, 1516 (by Beatus Rhenanus).

Almost all the manuscripts treat the collection as by Sixtus, bishop of Rome. But J Mc head the text with the quotation from Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel given below, p. 119 n. 3 (cf. also p. 124). In U a sixteenth-century hand warns the reader (at fol. 3^r) that 'the Enchiridion is by the philosopher Sixtus, and is falsely ascribed by Rufinus to St Sixtus the pope'.

Among these manuscripts Gildemeister distinguished two families, A Q on one side, and the rest on the other, A Q being much superior. Unhappily Q stops at 84. A, on the other hand, lacks Rufinus' prologue.

Gildemeister's edition rendered all earlier editions antiquated. He also showed that the printed editions divided into two categories: a full version of the sentences is given by the early editions of the sixteenth century, but an abbreviated version became current which, since de la Bigne's *Bibliotheca veterum patrum*, tom. III (1575), succeeded in becoming reprinted as standard, e.g. by Thomas Gale (Cambridge, 1671), Orelli (1819), and Mullach (*Fragmenta Philos. Graec.* I, 1860).

Gildemeister's text is reproduced, slightly modified, by Elter, and, in view of the importance of Rufinus as a witness to the text considerably earlier than the two surviving Greek manuscripts, the Latin version is again given in the present volume, opposite the Greek text, with a skeleton apparatus. Rufinus has translated with more literalness than is his usual habit, and on occasion he can be used to restore the original where Π and Υ are both corrupt

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(e.g. 342). Not infrequently he reshapes the Greek (e.g. 107) and sometimes fails to understand it (e.g. 281).

(3) The Syriac translations are two separate and distinct versions in origin, which have become merged in the manuscript tradition. The collection is contained in many manuscripts, mainly in the British Museum, two being of the mid sixth century.¹ Lagarde's printed edition (*Analecta Syriaca*, 1858) shows that the tradition gives the text in three sections:

1. An epitome (here abbreviated x) under the title 'Select sayings of St Xystus bishop of Rome', containing 131 selected sentences, in roughly the same order as Rufinus, as far as 555 (which also marks the end of the collection in Π—see above). (Lagarde, up to p. 10, 21.)

2. A much more complete translation (abbreviated X) under the title 'Of the same St Xystus', but omitting 36–77. Two passages have suffered serious disarrangement and omissions: (a) 231–58 appear in the order 231, 239–43, 253, 254, 256, 234, 240, 243–52, 255, 258, and the remaining sentences of this section do not appear at all; (b) 350–412 has suffered severely, the first five (350–4) being wholly lacking; after 349 appears 356 followed by some foreign matter not from Sextus at all. 355, 359, 364–6, 370–412 (everything else between 350 and 412 being omitted) are inserted in the middle of 483.

3. The third part is unimportant; it gives two short supplements (Lagarde, pp. 30, 10–31, 1 and 31, 1–10) and is probably from the same translator as the second section.

The two Syriac translators are much more free and paraphrastic than Rufinus, and reveal a stronger tendency to import into the maxims a more explicitly Christian slant. They therefore have to be used with caution for the emendation of the Greek text. Elter used the Latin translation of the Syriac made by Gildemeister for his recension of Rufinus. A corrected translation of the Syriac, with competent textual notes, was published by V. Ryssel, 'Die syrische Übersetzung der Sextussentenzen', in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* XXXVIII (1895), pp. 617–30; XXXIX (1896), pp. 568–624; XL (1897), pp. 131–48.

¹ A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), p. 170 n. 6, gives a list.

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The Syriac volume is mentioned in the Catalogue of Ebedjesu (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* III (1725), p. 48): 'Xystus edidit librum sermonum et illum qui est de amantibus deum.'

(4) A selection from Sextus appears in Armenian (abbreviated **A**) mingled in the tradition of Evagrius Ponticus (edited by Sarkisian, Venice, 1907). A valuable English translation was included by F. C. Conybeare in his version of the collection published in 1910 (*The Ring of Pope Xystus*, pp. 131–8), and he suggested that probably Evagrius himself might have been responsible for incorporating them. Except for Conybeare's little book no attention was paid to the Armenian text until 1938 when R. Hermann published a short study¹ showing that this Armenian version was made not as one might expect from the Syriac, but directly from the Greek, and that it is often more faithful than the Syriac. The Armenian text contains three sections:

1. Sarkisian, pp. 54, 10–59, 22. A hundred sentences, drawn entirely from 1–451, thus showing that this circulated in Greek as a coherent corpus; the Armenian offers independent testimony to the fact that the collection existed in Greek in the form known to Rufinus.² The list is as follows: 4, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 21, 37, 38, 41, 42, 51, 57a, 58b, 59, 64, 67–9, 70, 71a, 73, 153, 74, 75a, 75b, 76–8, 88, 90–3, 97–100, 108a, 109, 108b, 115, 117, 120, 121a, 125, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 151–4, 161, 162a, 162b, 163, 164, 165a, 171, 171a, 177, 178, 187, 198, 199, 200, 213, 230a, 216, 245, 253, 262, 264b, 266, 270, 272, 274a, 280a, 281, 285, 289, 290, 298, 299, 301, 362a, 345, 353, 383, 390, 411, 413, 414, 426, 428, 430, 433, 449 (Hermann, p. 221).

In this section 153 appears twice, before 74 as well as in its proper place. The fact that exactly 100 sentences are selected shows that there was an intention to give a parallel to the centuries of Evagrius.

2. Sarkisian, pp. 59, 6–60, 6. A supplementary group of sentences, none of which duplicates any in the first series: 156, 157, 385, 278, 279, 262, 165f, 174, 190, Clit. 50, 182, 194, 196, 199, 209, 360, 531, 541, 545, 550, 542, 331, 606, Clit. 6, 607.

¹ 'Die armenische Überlieferung der Sextussentenzen', *Z.K.G.* LVII (1938), pp. 217–26. Hermann corrects Conybeare in important details.

² It is relevant also that the sequence in Π has one of its numerous disarrangements after 450, 451 being lacking.

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3. Sarkisian, pp. 60, 3-62, 2. A miscellany: 153, 80, 91a, 94, 121b, 112, 129, 388, 180, 547, 206, 219, 226, 291, 292, 253a, 227, 294, 265, 366, 427, 578, 453, 465, 455, 456, 457, 488, 490, 493, 494.

Thereafter the compiler adds fifteen sentences selected from the Pythagorean list, thirteen of them appearing in the alphabetical collection (below, pp. 84 ff.), namely, Py. 2a, 9, 12, 23, 33, 34, 46, 47, 52, 89, 113, 119, 121, and the remaining two coming from Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 25 and 30.

THE APPENDICES

Rufinus translates only 451 maxims, and no doubt he reproduces the complete collection available to him. But the two Greek manuscripts and both Syriac versions continue without a break, so that the total collection attested in the Greek tradition extends to 610. Y is considerably larger than Π. Of the additions after 451 many are likewise attested in the Syriac, X being more extensive than x, and in the Armenian (see above). The general plan may be represented schematically thus:

Sextus: 1-451	ΠYXxR $\mathfrak{A}$.
Appendix 1: 452-555	ΠYXx (X omits 486-535; some in $\mathfrak{A}$).
Appendix 2a: 556-77	YX (Π has only 569; none in $\mathfrak{A}$).
Appendix 2b: 578-87	YX (Π has half of these: 578-9, 583, 585-6; only 578 in $\mathfrak{A}$).
Appendix 3: 588-610	Y (Π has 593, 594, 610; $\mathfrak{A}$ has 606, 607).

In the present volume little has been done to provide more than the essential minimum of commentary upon the appendices, and in that section the parallels have usually been noted as briefly as possible in the apparatus.

2. THE GREEK TEXT OF SEXTUS AND RUFINUS' TRANSLATION

PRAEFATIO RUFINI PRAESBYTERI

Scio quia, sicut grex ad vocem proprii pastoris accurrit, ita et religiosus auditor vernaculi doctoris commonitionibus gaudet. quia ergo, karissime fili Aproniane, religiosa filia mea, soror iam in Christo tua, poposcerat me ut ei aliquid quod legeret tale
 5 componerem, ubi neque laboraret in intellegendo et tamen proficeret in legendo, aperto et satis plano sermone: Sextum in Latinum verti, quem Sextum ipsum esse tradunt qui apud vos id est in urbe Roma Xystus vocatur, episcopi et martyris gloria decoratus. hunc ergo cum legerit, inveniet tam brevem ut videat singulis
 10 versiculis ingentes explicare sensus, tam vehementem ut unius versus sententia ad totius possit perfectionem vitae sufficere, tam manifestum ut ne absens quidem legenti puella expertem se intellectus esse causetur. omne autem opus ita breve est, ut de manu eius nunquam possit recedere totus liber, unius pristini alicuius
 15 pretiosi anuli optinens locum. et revera aequum videtur ut, cui pro verbo dei terrena ornamenta sorduerunt, nunc a nobis ad

For the sigla see p. 4. z = all (or most) other mss.

The preface is omitted entirely in A W w.

1 proprii om. QP occurrit U. 2 admonitionibus LBMJ.

3 Aproniana L*OPBJSCG religiosa filia mea om. Jc religiosa om. LOPSBCEM soror tua in Christo Q.

4 poposceras B me Q a me z.

6 satis om. PSc 7 ipsum om. OPSC.

8 Xystus QO Syxtus LPVBJSM Sixtus CGU.

10 versibus LOPBJSCM explicari JSCUMcr ut unius Q ut ut C ut (om. unius) z.

12 absens Q assistens LOPSCGU assis (sic) JM puella QG puellae z.

13 est om. PVBG.

14 liber Q hic liber z unius pristini Q ibi pristini Vr unius B om. z 15 pretiosi om. GU.

16 sorduerunt Q sorduerant z.

PRAEFATIO RUFINI PRAESBYTERI

vicem verbi et sapientiae monilibus adornetur. nunc ergo interim
habeatur in manibus pro anulo liber, paulo post vero in thesaurum
proficiens totius servetur disciplinae bonorum actuum communi-
20 tiones de intimo suggesturus arcano. addidi praeterea et electa
quaedam religiosi parentis ad filium, sed breve totum, ut merito
omne opusculum vel enchiridion si Graece vel anulus si Latine
appelletur.

19 disciplinae bonorum actuum commonitiones Q disciplinis et bo-
norum actuum communiones MJc sermo disciplinae et bonorum actuum
communio PSC.

20 *After arcano Q ends: Explicit prologus feliciter (probably noticing that
the sentences mentioned in the final sentence are not included in the text).*
praeterea om. LMJ.

21 totum] id tamen U.

ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 1 Πιστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκλεκτὸς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος.
 2 ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπός ἐστι θεοῦ.
 3 θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄξιος θεοῦ.
 4 θεοῦ ἄξιος ὁ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράττων.
 5 ἐπιτηδεύων οὖν πιστὸς εἶναι μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράξης.
 6 ὀλιγόπιστος ἐν πίστει ἄπιστος.
 7a πιστὸς ἐν δοκιμῇ πίστεως θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι [ζῶντι].
 7b ἄπιστος ἐν πίστει νεκρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐν σώματι ζῶντι.
 8 πιστὸς ἀληθεὶς ὁ ἀναμάρτητος.
 9 μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀκριβῶς βίου.
 10 οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν.
 11 πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἀσέβημα ἡγοῦ.
 12 οὐκ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐδὲ χεὶρ ἁμαρτάνει οὐδέ τι τῶν ὁμοίων,
 ἀλλ' ὁ κακῶς χρώμενος χειρὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ.
 13 πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπείθον σε μὴ σωφρονεῖν ῥῖπον·
 ἄμεινον γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ μέλους ζῆν σωφρόνως ἢ μετὰ τοῦ
 μέλους ὀλεθρίως.
 14 ἀθανάτους σοι νόμιζε παρὰ τῇ κρίσει καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἔσεσθαι
 καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας.
 15 ὅποσα τοῦ κόσμου ἔχεις, κἄν ἀφέληταί σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει.

For notes on Sentences 1-451 see p. 163.

Title Σέξτου γνώμαι Π, om. Υ. Π again inserts Σ. γν. between 190 and 191 and between 276 and 277.

- 2 τοῦ θεοῦ Elter. 3 ὁ om. Υ.
 4 θεοῦ¹ om. Υ ἀνάξιος ὁ μηδὲν ἄξιον Υ. 7a om. ΠR.
 8 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ Υ (cf. 7) μὴ ἁμαρτάνων ὁ ἀναμάρτητος Π.
 9 καὶ YRX om. Π. 10 = Clit. 66 γὰρ om. ΠR.
 Between 10 and 11 X inserts 595. 11 = 297a (in Υ alone).
 12 ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς δρώμενον ἐν χ. κ. ὁ. Υ (τὸ κακῶς δρώμενον X).
 13 μέρος throughout Orig. (in Mt. xv, 3) τοῦ σώματος om. Orig.
 cf. lat. ἀναπείθον σε] ὧ τι ἀναίτιον Π σωφρόνως ΥX Orig. om.
 ΠR ἢ μετὰ (om. τοῦ) μέλους Π ὀλεθρίως ζῆν Υ.
 14 = Py. 6a (πίστευε and om. ἔσεσθαι) σοι om. Υ.
 15 = 91a where om. R ὅπως τὰ τοῦ κ. ἔχης ὅταν ἀφαιρῇται Υ κἄν]
 ὅταν X apparently, καὶ R τίς σου Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 1 Fidelis homo electus homo est.
- 2 electus homo homo dei est.
- 3 homo dei est qui deo dignus est.
- 4 deo dignus est qui nihil indignum deo agit.
- 5 studens fidelis esse nihil quod deo indignum est agas.
- 6 dubius in fide infidelis.
- 7a * * * * *
- 7b infidelis in fide homo mortuus in corpore viventi.
- 8 vere fidelis est qui non peccat.
- 9 etiam in minimis caute age.
- 10 non est minimum in vita hominis negligere minima.
- 11 omne peccatum impietatem puta.
- 12 non manus aut oculus peccat aut aliquod huiusmodi membrum, sed male uti manu vel oculo.
- 13 omne membrum corporis quod suadet te contra pudicitiam agere, abiciendum; melius est enim sine uno membro vivere quam cum eo puniri.
- 14 immortales tibi crede manere in iudicio et honores et poenas.
- 15 quicquid saeculi habes, etiam auferat tibi quis, non indigneris.

4 nihil indignum deo Qc dignum deo A nihil indigne z.

5 studens AG deo studens z ideo studens Elter.

6 in fide om. A infidelis AQ infidelis est z.

7b in fide AS om. z mortuus AQ mortuus est z.

12 non AQ non enim z oculo peccatum est Vr.

13 corporis om. WBLJSCM sine uno A QGUw cum uno z.

14 tibi crede AQcr crede tibi z manere A permanere z.

ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 16 σεαυτὸν ἐπιλήψιμον μὴ παρέχε τῷ κόσμῳ.
 17 χωρὶς τῆς ἐλευθερίας πάντα ἀφαιρουμένῳ σε τῷ πέλας ὕπεικε.
 18 σοφὸς ἀκτῆμων ὁμοιος θεῷ.
 19 τοῖς κοσμικοῖς πράγμασιν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα χρῶ.
 20 τὰ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ ἀκριβῶς ἀποδίδου.
 21 τὴν ψυχὴν σου νόμιζε παραθήκην ἔχειν παρὰ θεοῦ.
 22 ὅτε λέγεις περὶ θεοῦ, κρίνη ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
 23 ἄριστον ἡγοῦ καθαρμὸν τὸ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν.
 24 ψυχὴ καθαίρεται λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπὸ σοφοῦ.
 25 ἀναίσθητον οὐσίαν μὴ πεισθῆς εἶναι ποτε θεοῦ.
 26 ὁ θεὸς καθὼ νοῦς ἐστὶν αὐτοκίνητος, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑφέστηκεν.
 27 θεοῦ μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις πτεροῖς πετόμενος.
 28 θεοῦ ὄνομα μὴ ζήτηι, οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις· πᾶν τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον ὀνομάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἵνα τὸ μὲν καλῇ, τὸ δὲ ὑπακούῃ· τίς οὖν ὁ ὀνομάσας θεόν; θεὸς οὐκ ὄνομα θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ δόξα περὶ θεοῦ.
 29 μηθὲν οὖν ἐν θεῷ ὁ μὴ ἔστι ζήτηι.
 30 θεὸς αὐγὴ σοφὴ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἀνεπίδεκτος.
 31 ὁ θεὸς ὅσα ἐποίησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὰ ἐποίησεν.
 32 ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς οὐδένα ἄλλον· τιμιώτερον οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἀγγέλου παρὰ θεῷ.

17 παντὶ τῷ ἀφ. Π (cf. R).
 21 τοῦ θεοῦ Π. 22 om. X.
 23 μηδένα Π R X μηδὲν Y. 25 θεοῦ Π R X θεόν Y.
 26 = 562 where om. Π. 28 περὶ θεόν Π.
 31 ὁ om. Y αὐτὰ om. Π, cf. lat.
 32 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους Π X (cf. 31) οὐδὲν Π ἄλλον om. Π R οὐδὲν ἄλλο X.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 16 te ipsum reprehensibilem mundo non praebeas.
 17 omnia auferenti abs te cede praeter libertatem.
- 18 sapiens vir et contemptor pecuniae similis deo est.
 19 rebus saeculi in causis tantum necessariis utere.
 20 quae saeculi sunt saeculo et quae dei sunt deo.
- 21 certus esto quia animam tuam depositum fidele acceperis
 a deo.
 22 cum loqueris de deo, scito quia iudiceris a deo.
 23 optimam purificationem putato nemini nocere.
 24 anima purificatur verbo dei per sapientiam.
 25 numquam putes dei substantiam insensibilem esse.
 26 deus sicut mens est, quae sponte movetur, secundum hoc
 et subsistit.
 27 magnitudinem dei non inuenies, etiamsi pennis volare
 possis.
 28 nomen dei non quaeras, quia nec inuenies, quia omne quod
 nomine compellatur a meliore nomen accipit, ut aliud
 quidem vocet, aliud autem audiat. quis ergo est qui nomen
 posuit deo? deus non nomen est dei sed indicium quod
 sentimus de deo.
- 29 nihil ergo in deo quod non licet quaeras.
 30 deus sapiens lux est incapax contrarii.
 31 quaecumque autem fecit deus, pro hominibus ea fecit.
 32 angelus minister dei ad hominem; non enim ministrat ad
 nullum; tam pretiosus est homo apud deum quam
 angelus.

17 omnia AQOPJMcwr omni WVBG. 20 deo redde SCw.
 21 quia A quod z tuam id est depositum WOP.
 22 quia A quod z.
 23 putato OVGcr putat A puto WPB putes w.
 24 verbo Q in verbo z.
 25 insensibile A 26 sponte movetur AQ movetur sponte z.
 29 in deo AQSCx in deum z. 30 deus AQcr om. z.
 31 ea om. SGU.
 32 minister est AQBw non enim ministrat ad ullum AQ om. z
 pretiosius conj. Elter quam angelus om. AQ.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 33 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐεργετοῦν ὁ θεός, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εὐεργε-
τούμενον ἄνθρωπος.
34 βίου τοιγαροῦν ὡς ὦν μετὰ θεόν.
35 ἐκλεκτὸς ὦν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὅποιον θεός· χρῶ
οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὡς ἱερῷ θεοῦ.
36 ἐξουσίαν πιστῶ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν· καθαρὰν
οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἀναμάρτητον.
37 αἰδέισθω σου τὸν βίον ὁ κόσμος.
38 μηδενὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπιλήψιμον δίδου.
39 κακῶς ζῶντα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐθύνει
κακὸς δαίμων μέχρις οὗ καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀπο-
λάβῃ.
40 μακάριος ἀνὴρ, οὗ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐδεὶς ἐπιλήψεται εἰς θεὸν
πορευομένης.
41 ὁ ἂν τιμῆσῃς ὑπὲρ πάντα, ἐκεῖνό σου κυριεύσει.
42 τίμα τὸ ἄριστον, ἵνα καὶ ἀρχῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου.
43 ἀρχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου αὐτὸς ἄρξεις ὦν ἂν προαιρῇ.

44 τιμὴ μεγίστη θεῷ θεοῦ γινῶσις καὶ ὁμοίωμα.
45 ὅμοιον μὲν οὐδὲν θεῷ, προσφιλέστατον δὲ τὸ εἰς δύναμιν
ἐξομοιούμενον.
46a ἱερὸν ἅγιον θεοῦ διάνοια εὐσεβοῦς.
46b ἄριστον θυσιαστήριον θεῷ καρδιά καθαρὰ καὶ ἀναμάρ-
τητος.
47 θυσία θεῷ μόνη καὶ προσηνὴς ἢ ἀνθρώποις εὐεργεσία διὰ
θεόν.

33 ὁ *om.* Π θεός ἐστίν Π εὐεργετούμενον ἄγγελος, τὸ δὲ τρίτον
ἄνθρωπος Π. 34 θεοῦ Π (*cf.* 176).

35 σου ὅποιον . . . σου *om.*, *then* ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ (*cf.* 58) ἀνύσιμον Υ.

36-77 *om.* X.

36 ἐξουσίαν πιστεῶς δίδ. ὁ θεός (*om.* τὴν κατὰ θεόν) Υ (R=Π).

38 *Cf.* 16 ποίει Π.

39 ζῶντι Π εὐθυνεῖ R εὐθύνοι κακῶς Υ.

40 πορευομένης παρὰ θεῷ Υ. 41 ὁ ἐὰν τιμῆσῃς (*sic*) Π ἐκεῖνός Π.

42 τὸν ἄριστον Π R (*cf.* 246). 43 αὐτὸς *om.* Π.

45 ἐλέου ὅμοιον μὲν οὐδὲν, προσφιλέστατον Υ.

47 καί] ἢ Υ ἢ *om.* Π ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου εἰς ἄνθρωπον διὰ θεὸν
εὐεργεσία Υ.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 33 primus beneficus deus, secundus est is qui beneficii eius
fit particeps homo.
- 34 vive igitur tamquam qui sis post deum et electus ab eo.
- 35 habes in te aliquid simile dei et ideo utere te ipso velut
templo dei propter illud quod in te simile dei.
- 36 libertatem arbitrii sui permisit hominibus deus sine dubio
ut pure et sine peccato viventes similes fiant deo.
- 37 reveareatur vitam tuam mundus.
- 38 nihil admittas quod tibi inurat notam.
- 39 male viventes cum e corpore excesserint cruciabit malus
daemon, usque quo exigit ab eis etiam ultimum quad-
rantem.
- 40 beatus vir cuius animam nemo reprehendit ad deum per-
gentem.
- 41 quicquid super omnia honoraveris, hoc tibi dominabitur.
- 42 deum ergo honora super omnia, ut ipse tibi dominetur.
- 43 si autem dominatum tui gerit deus, ita demum tu domina-
beris omnibus.
- 44 honor summus deo scire eum et imitari.
- 45 simile quidem deo per omnia nihil est, grata tamen ei est
inferioris prout possibile est imitatio.
- 46 templum sanctum est dei mens pii,
et altare optimum est ei cor mundum et sine peccato.
- 47 hostia deo sola et acceptabilis bene facere hominibus pro
deo.

33 est deus S J Ccr.

34 post deum secundus A Q G J M O P cr.

36 hominibus deus A Q Aug. deus hominibus z.

39 ultimum] novissimum (= *Itala, Vulgate*) A Q J M cr.

45 per omnia *om.* G.

46 dei Q deo z.

47 deo sola A Q sola deo z.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 48 ἄνθρωπος κεχαρισμένα θεῷ πράττει ὁ ζῶν εἰς δύναμιν κατὰ θεόν.
 49 ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνου θεοῦ.
 50 ζηλοῖ τὸν οὐδενὸς δεόμενον ὁ τῶν ὀλίγων ἀναγκαίως δεόμενος.
 51 ἄσκει μέγας μὲν εἶναι παρὰ θεῷ, παρὰ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀν-
 επίφθονος.
 52 χρηστὸς ὦν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους μέγας ἂν εἴης παρὰ θεῷ.
 53 ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ ζῶντος μὲν ὀλίγος ὁ λόγος παρὰ ἀνθρώποις,
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸ κλέος ᾄδεται.
 54 τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἂν μὴ νοήσης τὸν θεόν, τοῦτον νόμιζέ σοι
 ἀπολωλέναι.
 55 τὸ μὲν σῶμά σου μόνον ἐπιδημείτω τῇ γῇ,
 ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῷ.
 56 νόει τὰ καλὰ, ἵνα καὶ πράττῃς τὰ καλὰ.
 57a ἔννοια ἀνθρώπου θεὸν οὐ λανθάνει.
 57b ἔστω σου ἡ διάνοια καθαρὰ κακοῦ παντός.
 58 ἄξιος ἔσο τοῦ ἀξιώσαντός σε εἰπεῖν υἱὸν καὶ πράττε πάντα
 ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ.
 59 θεὸν πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττεται τούτου μέμνησο.
 60 ἄγνους ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀναμάρτητος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει παρὰ θεῷ ὡς
 υἱὸς θεοῦ.

49 = Clit. 4 (ὁ δὲ σοφός), Py. 39 (= Po. *ad Marc.* 11), θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενός, σοφὸς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ πιστὸς R Y X πιστὸς καὶ σοφὸς Π τοῦ θεοῦ Y Clit. (*varia lectio*).

50 Cf. Clit. 11, ζηλοῦν τὸν μηδενὸς δεόμενον (*rest om.*) ὀλίγων] ἐλαχίστων Y.

51 = Clit. 5 μὲν μέγας Y μὲν *om.* Clit. (*cf. lat.*) τῷ θεῷ Clit.

52 δεηθέντας Y.

53 = Clit. 137, σοφοῦ ζῶντος δόξα (*cf. R*) μὲν ὀλίγη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ κλέος ᾄδεται ζῶντος μὲν *om.* Y ὁ λόγος ὀλίγος Π.

54 νοῆς Π ἀπολωλέναι Y X ἀπολελωκέναι Π R (?).

55 Cf. Clit. 7, ἡ ψυχὴ σου αἰεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῷ (*cf. Sext.* 143, 418) μόνον *om.* R ψυχὴ σου Y Clit.

56 πράττεται Π.

57a Clit. 8, διάνοια ἀνθρώπου κτλ. (*cf. 57b*) θεὸν οὐ *om.* Y.

58 ἔση Π ἔσω Y καὶ εἰπόντος Y υἱόν] υἱὸν θεοῦ Π πράττε οὖν (*om.* καὶ) Π πάντα πράττε Y.

59 = 222, *om.* Y. 60 *om.* Y ἔχη Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 48 deo gratiam praestat homo qui in quantum possibile est
vivit secundum deum.
- 49 deus quidem nullius eget, fidelis autem dei solius.
- 50 aemulatur ergo illum qui nullius eget, is qui paucis in
rebus necessariis indiget.
- 51 satis age magnus quidem esse apud deum, apud homines
vero invidiam effugere.
- 52 si benignus es erga indigentes, magnus eris apud deum.
- 53 sapiens vir, cuius viventis quidem parva est apud homines
opinio, defuncti vero gloria praedicatur.
- 54 omne tempus quod non de deo cogitas, hoc te computa
perdidisse.
- 55 corpus quidem tuum incedat in terra,
anima autem semper sit apud deum.
- 56 intellege quae sint bona ut et agas bona.
- 57 cogitatio hominis deum non latet,
et ideo cogitatio tua pura sit ab omni malo.
- 58 dignus esto eo qui dignatus est te filium dicere, et age
omnia quasi filius dei.
- 59 qui deum patrem vocas, hoc in actibus tuis memor esto.
- 60 vir castus et sine peccato potestatem accipit a deo esse
filius dei.

49 dei solius A Q V r solius dei z.

50 ergo om. c.

51 quidem om. Q V c (cf. Clit.) vero homines c effugere A Q
fuge z.

52 es A sis z erga Q O V T B apud z.

54 quod G quo O P U in quo z.

56-7 ut et bene agas bona. Cogitatio Q ut bene agas. Bona cogitatio z
(Bona om. A).

58 dignatus est te A Q te dignatus est z.

59 qui A c quod z (cf. 222) hoc] huius c r.

60 accipit G accepit Aug. W O P V B c w r accipiet Q.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 61 ἀγαθὴ διάνοια χῶρος θεοῦ.
 62 κακὴ διάνοια χῶρός ἐστιν κακῶν.
 63 τὸν ἀδικοῦντα τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπαλλάττων κολάζοις ἂν κατὰ θεόν.
 64 ἄσκει μὴ τὸ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι δίκαιος· τὸ δοκεῖν γὰρ ἕκαστον τοῦ εἶναι ἀφαιρεῖται.
 65 τίμα τὸ δίκαιον δι' αὐτό.

 66 οὐκ ἂν λάθοις θεὸν πράττων ἄδικα, οὐδὲ γὰρ διανοοῦ-
 μενος.
 67 σώφρων ἀνὴρ ἄγνός παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.
 68 ἀκολασίαν φεῦγε.
 69 εὐλογιστίαν ἄσκει.
 70 κράτει τῶν ἡδονῶν.
 71 a νίκα τὸ σῶμα ἐν παντί.
 71 b ἐκ φιληδονίας ἀκολασίαν οὐκ ἐκφεύξει.

 72 φιληδόνου ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀκούει.
 73 τρυφῆς πέρας ὀλεθρος.
 74 ὁ λόγος σου τῶν ὁρμῶν σου προηγείσθω.
 75 a δεινότατόν ἐστιν πάθεσι δουλεύειν.
 75 b ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται.
 76 φιλοχρηματία φιλοσωματίας ἔλεγχος.
 77 κτῶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς βέβαια.
 78 ἀποτάττου τοῖς τοῦ σώματος, ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατὸς εἶ.

 79 μόνον οἰκεῖον ἡγοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
 80 ὁποῖος θέλεις εὐχόμενος εἶναι, αἰεὶ ἔσο.
 81 ὅταν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν κτημάτων εὐλόγως εἰς βόρβορον
 ῥίψῃς, τότε καθαρὸς ὢν αἰτοῦ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

61-2 χορός R.

63 ἐὰν Π.

64 τὸ μὴ Π γὰρ om. Y.

66 οὐ γὰρ διανοοῦμενος ἐκφεύγει Y (cf. 71 b).

67 σώφρων] σοφός R (?) ἄγνός YR ἀγαθός Π τῷ om. Y.

71 b Cf. Clit. 10, ἐκ φιληδονίας ἀκολασία φύεται.

73 πέλας x. 74 ὁρμῶν σου] πράξεων Π. 75 b τῆς ψυχῆς Π.

79 = 593 μόνον] νόμον X. 81 εἰς] ὡς X τοῦ om. Y.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 61 bona mens chorus est dei.
 62 mala mens chorus est daemonum malorum.
 63 iniustum si inhi-beas agere iniuste, hoc est secundum deum punire.
 64 satis age non videri sed esse iustus; certum est enim vere non esse eum qui videri vult.
 65 honora quod iustum est propter hoc ipsum quia iustum est.
 66 nequaquam latebis deum agens iniuste, sed ne cogitans quidem.
 67 vir sapiens castus erit deo.
 68 omnem spurcitiam fuge.
 69 semper de bonis loqui stude.
 70 libidinem vince.
 71 contine corpus in omnibus,
 quia ex deliciis et voluptatibus non effugies spurcitiam.
 72 voluptuosum deus non exaudit.
 73 deliciarum finis corruptio.
 74 verbum vel ratio praecedat actus tuos.
 75 perniciosum est servire vitiis.
 quanta vitia habet anima, tot et dominos.
 76 amor pecuniae amorem carnalium indicat.
 77 adquire possessionem firmam animae virtutem.
 78 renuntia rebus corporis, dum adhuc potes et quantum potes.
 79 hoc solum tibi proprium ducito, quod bonum est.
 80 qualis vis esse cum oras deum, semper talis esto.
 81 cum optima quaeque abieceris praedam, tunc purificatus pete quod vis a deo.

-
- 62 malorum *om.* G. 64 enim *om.* c vere A *om.* z.
 65 quia A Q quod z.
 74 non verbum sed ratio cr. 75 quanta A Q G U quia quot z.
 77 adquire possessionem firmam. quid est firma possessio nisi virtus animae W O P B w (virtus aut vis J cr).
 79 proprium Q *om.* z ducito Q.
 81 praedam Q praedia z in paedorem *or* pro merda *conj.* Eberhard
 (*ap.* Elter) <feris> praedam Lloyd-Jones velut purificatus Q.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 82a ὁποῖος θέλεις εἶναι παρὰ θεῶ, ἥδη ἔσο.
 82b τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μεταδιδούς καταφρόνει.
 82c μέμνησο ὦν μετὰ θεόν.
 82d ψυχὴ ἀνθρώπου θεοσεβοῦς θεὸς ἐν σώματι.
 82e μιαίνει τὸν θεὸν ὁ κακῶς νοῶν τὸν θεόν.
 83 γλῶσσα βλάσφημος διανοίας ἔλεγχος κακῆς.
 84 γλῶσσαν εὐφημον κέκτησο, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ θεοῦ.

 85 κακῶς μὲν ποιῆσαι θεὸν δυνατὸς οὐδεὶς, ἀσεβέστατος δὲ ὁ
 βλασφημῶν· δυνατὸς γὰρ ὦν κἂν ἐποίησεν.
 86a κρητὶς εὐσεβείας ἐγκράτεια.
 86b τέλος εὐσεβείας φιλία πρὸς θεόν.
 87 χρῶ τῷ εὐσεβεῖ ὡς σαυτῷ.
 88 εὔχου σοι γενέσθαι μὴ ἃ βούλει, ἀλλ' ἃ δεῖ καὶ συμφέρει.
 89 ὡς θέλεις χρῆσασθαι σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς.

 90 ἃ ψέγεις, μὴδὲ ποιεῖ.
 91a μὴδεὶς σε πειθέτω ποιεῖν τι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιον.
 91b ἃ δέδοται σοι, κἂν ἀφέληταί σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει.
 92 ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται.
 93 σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ ἃ πράττεις ἐξέταζε, ἵνα
 μὴδὲν ποιῇς ὃ μὴ δεῖ.

-
- 82c μετὰ θεοῦ Υ. 82de *om. R.* 82e μιαίνει Π ποιῶν Χ.
 83 κακῆς ἔλεγχος Υ (*cf.* 163). 84 δὲ *om. ΠΧ (?)* (*cf.* 325).
 85 ἀδύνατον οὐδεὶς θεόν Π δυνατὸς γὰρ κτλ. *om. Υ* γὰρ *om. Χ(?)*
 κἂν *om. R(?)*.
 86a *Cf.* Clit. 13, ἐγκράτεια δὲ κρητὶς εὐσεβείας (*cf.* 371) κρητὶς]
 κρητὶς Υ.
 88 = Clit. 14 γίνεσθαι Π ἃ²] ὡς Π (*cf.* 141) καὶ] ἡ Υ καὶ
 συμφέρει *om. Clit. R(?)* (*cf.* 141, 153). 89 = 210a, *where om. R.*
 90 μὴδὲ ποιεῖ *om. Υ* (*Υ makes 90 and 91a a single maxim*).
 91a ποιεῖν *om. Υ* petere (=αἰτεῖν) *R* (*but facere S, patrare coni. Gild.*)
 βέλτιστον Π.
 91b *om. R* (*cf.* 15) ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός (*cf.* 92) *and om. σου τις Π.*
 92 = 404 Clit. 15, ἃ δ. παιδεία ταῦτα οὐδεὶς σε ἀφ. *Cf. Py. 3 b* (Po. 12),
 δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ παῖν ἀναφαίρετον.
 93 *Cf.* 153 = Clit. 16 καὶ *and* ἐξέταζε *om. ΠΥ* μὴδὲν π. δ] μὴ δις π.
 & ΠΥ. *Cf. X:* 'Think first and then do your business; reflect and then act
 lest you have to do it over again.'

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 82a qualis vis esse apud deum, iam nunc esto talis.
 82bc cum distribuis ea quae mundi sunt, et ea despice, tamquam qui te scias esse post deum.
 82de * * * * *
- 83 lingua maleloquax indicium mentis est malae.
 84 insuesce linguam tuam bene proloqui et maxime cum de deo sermo fit.
 85 male quidem facere deo nemo potest, inpius autem est qui blasphemat; hoc enim solum quod potuit fecit.
 86 fundamentum pietatis continentia,
 culmen autem pietatis amicitia ad deum.
 87 pium hominem habeto tamquam te ipsum.
 88 opta tibi evenire non quae vis sed quae expedit.
 89 qualem vis esse tibi proximum tuum, talis et tu esto proximis tuis.
 90 quae culpas, facere noli.
 91a nulli suadenti adquiescas petere, quod non est bonum.
 91b * * * * *
 92 quae tibi deus dat, nullus auferre potest.
 93 delibera priusquam agas, et antequam agas pervide quale sit quod facturus es.

82abc om. Q. *The manuscripts punctuate after sunt, not after talis, in agreement with Greek and Syriac.*

84 fit A Q sit P V.

85 est om. O et P.

86 pietatis A P pietatis est z.

88 quae . . . quae Elter qui . . . qui A quod . . . quod z.

90 quod A U culpas A V G U culpa est z.

91 facere (cf. *Greek*) S patrare *conj.* Gild.

93 antequam] ne nequam *conj.* Elter.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 94 ὁ πράττων οὐκ ἂν θέλοις εἰδέναι τὸν θεόν, τοῦτο μὴ πράξης.
 95 a πρὸ παντὸς οὐ πράττεῖς νόει τὸν θεόν.
 95 b φῶς σου τῶν πράξεων προηγεῖσθω.
 96 μεγίστη ἀσέβεια εἰς θεὸν ἀνθρώπου κάκωσις.
 97 ψυχὴ φωτίζεται ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ.
 98 αὐτάρκειαν ἄσκει.
 99 τῶν ἀτόπων μὴ ὀρέγου.
 100 τῶν καλῶν ἐκπύνει τὰ αἴτια.
 101 τὰ τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀγάπα.
 102 ἀκάθαρτον ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖ πράξις αἰσχροῦ.
 103 καθαίρει ψυχὴν ἀνοήτου δόξης ἑλεγχος.

 104 ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων καλῶν πράξεων ἡγεμὼν ἐστίν.
 105 μηδὲνα ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦ.
 106 a ἀγάπα τὸ ὁμόφυλον.
 106 b ἀγάπα τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου.
 107 οὐ χαλεπὸν ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι μὴ ἁμαρ-
 τάνοντας.
 108 a τροφαὶ πολλαὶ ἀγνεῖαν ἐμποδίζουν.
 108 b ἀκρασίᾳ σιτίων ἀκάθαρτον ποιεῖ.
 109 ἐμψύχων ἀπάντων χρήσις μὲν ἀδιάφορον, ἀποχὴ δὲ λογι-
 κώτερον.
 110 οὐ τὰ εἰσιόντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος σιτία καὶ ποτὰ μιάνει
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἥθους ἐξιόντα.
 111 ὁ ἂν 〈ἡδονῇ〉 ἡττώμενος σιτίον προσφέρῃ μιάνει σε.
 112 πλήθει ὀρέσκειν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε.

94 πράττων *om.* R X ἔχοις εἰδέναι Y *Cf.* X: 'Do nothing which you know not to please God.'

95 b *Before* φῶς Y *adds* ὅπως γινῶς ἀνθρώπων κάκωσιν (*cf.* 96).

96 ἀνθρώπων Π.

97 *Clit.* 17.

98 = 334, *om.* Π.

99 ἀτόπων] ἀπάντων YR.

102 ἀχρεῖα X.

103 καθαιρεῖ ψυχῆς Π.

104 *om.* Y ἀνθρώπων Π X ἀνθρώποις R x.

106 b σου *om.* Π.

107 *om.* Π οὐ *del.* Elter; *but cf.* 187.

108 a ἀγνοῖαν Y ἀγνίαν Π.

109 μὲν] μόνον Π ἀδιάφορος Π χρησιμώτερον Y X.

110 καὶ ποτὰ *om.* R μιάνει] κοινοῖ Π (*Matt.* xv. 11) τοῦ κακοῦ ἥθους Y.

111 *Cf.* R ('all food by desire for which you are overcome' X).

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 94 si quid non vis scire deum, hoc ne agas nec cogites.
 95 priusquam agas quodcumque agis, cogita deum ut lux
 eius praecedat actus tuos.
 96 grandis impietas in deum hominem affligere.
 97 anima inluminatur recordatione dei.
 98 contentus esse mediocribus stude.
 99 noli omnia concupiscere.
 100 occasiones bonorum perquire etiam cum labore.
 101 noli diligere ea quae corporis sunt.
 102 immundum hominem facit actus turpis.
 103 purgatur anima insipientis cum arguitur intrinsecus latens
 sensus eius.
 104 deus in bonis actibus hominibus dux est.
 105 neminem inimicum deputes.
 106 dilige omne quod eiusdem tecum naturae est,
 deum vero etiam plus quam animam tuam dilige.
 107 pessimum est peccatoribus in unum convenire cum peccant.
- 108 multi cibi impediunt castitatem,
 et incontinentia ciborum immundum facit hominem.
 109 animantium omnium usus quidem in cibis indifferens,
 abstinere vero rationabilius est.
 110 non cibi, qui per os inferuntur, polluunt hominem, sed ea
 quae ex malis actibus proferuntur.
 111 quicquid cupiditate victus acceperis polluit te.
 112 multitudini placere ne satis agas.

95 ut *om.* c et *conj.* Elter.

98 esto. De mediocribus WOPVBr medicribus A de medio-
 cribus z.

106 omnem qui A hominem qui c.

108 cibi multi V.

110 actibus] affectibus *conj.* Elter (*cf.* 102).

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 113 παντὸς οὐ καλῶς πράττεις αἴτιον ἡγοῦ τὸν θεόν.
 114 κακῶν θεὸς ἀναίτιος.
 115 μὴ πλέον κτῶ ὦν τὸ σῶμα ἐπιζητεῖ.
 116 ψυχὴν χρυσὸς οὐ ῥύεται κακῶν.
 117 οὐ γέγονας ἐντρυφήσων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευῇ.

 118 κτῶ ἃ μηδεὶς σου ἀφαιρεῖται.
 119 φέρε τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὡς ἀναγκαῖα.
 120 μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄσκει.
 121 a ὦν καταφρονῶν ἐπαινῇ εὐλόγως, τούτων μὴ περιέχου.
 121 b ἐφ' οἷς εὐλόγως μεγαλοφρονεῖς, ταῦτα κέκτησο.
 122 εὐχου τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἄξια τοῦ θεοῦ.
 123 τὸν ἐν σοὶ λόγον τοῦ βίου σου νόμον ποιεῖ.
 124 αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ ἃ μὴ λάβοις ἂν παρὰ ἀνθρώπου.
 125 ὦν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτά σοι εὐχου γενέσθαι μετὰ
 τοὺς πόνους.
 126 εὐχὴ ῥαθύμου μάταιος λόγος.
 127 ὦν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγείς οὐ δεήσῃ, καταφρόνει.

 128 ὁ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ.

 129 ἔθιζε τὴν ψυχὴν σου μετὰ θεὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ μεγαλοφρονεῖν.

 130 μηθὲν ὦν ἀφαιρήσεται σε κακὸς ἀνὴρ τίμα.
 131 μόνον ἀγαθὸν ἡγοῦ τὸ πρέπον θεῷ.
 132 τὸ ἄξιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

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- 113 Clit. 18 (θεὸν ἡγοῦ αἴτιον). 114 Clit. 19.
 115 = 602 (*where om.* Π) μὴ πλείονα κτῶ κτλ. v Text Π, πλεονεκτῶ Y.
 116 τὴν ψυχὴν *at the end* Y.
 117 = 603 (*where om.* Π) ἐν τρυφῇ ὦν ΠRX.
 118 σου *om.* Y ἀφαιρήσεται Y. 120 Clit. 20.
 121 a ἐπαινεῖ, εὐλόγως τ. Π ἀντέχου Y. 121 b μέγα φρονεῖς Y.
 123 σοι] σοὶ Y νόμιμον Π. 124 παρ' ἄλλου Π.
 125 *om.* Π; Clit. 21 (εὐχου σοὶ) οἴγεμόνες Y.
 127 *om.* Π ὦν τῶν τοῦ Y δεήσῃ οὐ καταφρόνει R(?).
 128 *between* 131 and 134 x; Clit. 22 κτώμενος Y τοῦ θεοῦ Π.
 129 μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ Y and R *apparently*. Cf. 121 b.
 130 μηδὲν Y ἀφαιρεῖται ΠX. 131 τῷ θεῷ Π. 132 τοῦ θεοῦ Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 113 in omni quod bene agis auctorem esse deputa deum.
 114 mali nullius auctor est deus.
 115 non amplius possideas quam usus corporis poscit.
 116 aurum animam non eripit de malis.
 117 in deliciis positus corporis certum est quia ignoras illa
 quae praeparata sunt a deo.
 118 ea posside quae nullus possit auferre a te.
 119 fer quod necesse est sicut necesse est.
 120 magnanimus esse stude.
 121a ea quae si contemnas recte laudaris, ne retineas.
 121b in quibus probabiliter magnificus eris, haec optine.
 122 haec posce de deo quae dignum est praestare deum.
 123 ratio quae in te est, vitae tuae ipsa sit lex.
 124 ea pete a deo quae accipere ab homine non potes.
 125 in quibus praecedere debet labor, haec tibi opta evenire
 post laborem.
 126 oratio vel vota pigri sermo vanus.
 127 non oportet contemni ea quibus etiam post depositionem
 corporis indigemus.
 128 non petas a deo id quod cum habueris non perpetuo
 optinebis.
 129 insuesce animam tuam magnum aliquid de se sentire post
 deum.
 130 nihil pretiosum ducas quod potest a te auferre homo malus.
 131 hoc solum bonum putato, quod deo dignum est.
 132 quod deo dignum est, hoc et viro bono.

113 esse *om.* Sc.

118 a te *om.* Jc.

123 lux GU (*cf.* 95).

126 vel vota] tota G vel tota U.

129 tuam VTGUcr *om.* z.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

133 ὁ οὐ συμβάλλεται πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν θεῶ, οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων.

134 ταῦτα θέλει ἃ θέλοι ἄν καὶ ὁ θεός.

135 υἱὸς θεοῦ ὁ ταῦτα μόνον τιμῶν ἃ καὶ ὁ θεός.

136 ἐφ' ὅσον ποθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἢ ψυχὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοεῖ.

137 ὁρεξίς κτήσεως ἀρχὴ πλεονεξίας.

138 ἐκ φιλαυτίας ἀδικία φύεται.

139a ὀλίγα πέφυκεν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα ἐνοχλεῖν.

139b φιληδονία ποιεῖ σῶμα ἀφόρητον.

140 πᾶν τὸ πλέον ἀνθρώπῳ πολέμιον.

141 φιλῶν ἃ μὴ δεῖ οὐ φιλήσεις ἃ δεῖ.

142 σπουδάζοντά σε περὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ λήσεται τὰ καλὰ.

143 σοφοῦ διάνοια ἀεὶ παρὰ θεῶ.

144 σοφοῦ διανοίᾳ θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ.

145 σοφὸς ὀλίγοις γινώσκεται.

146 ἀπλήρωτος ἐπιθυμία, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄπορος.

147 τὸ σοφὸν ἀεὶ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον.

148 αὐτάρκες πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῦ γνῶσις καὶ ὁμοίωμα.

149 κακοὶ κολακευόμενοι κακίους γίνονται.

150 ἀφόρητον γίνεταί κακία ἐπαινουμένη.

151 ἡ γλῶσσά σου τῷ νοῖ σου ἐπέσθω.

133 *om.* X οὐ *om.* Π καὶ ἀνθρώπων Π.

134 *joined with* 128 *in* x (*cf.* Ρο. 13) θέλοι ἄν] θέλοιεν Y καὶ *om.* Y.

135 μόνον Y. 136 τὸν *om.* Π. 137 Clit. 23.

138 Clit. 24 (ἐκ γὰρ φιλαργυρίας κτλ.) ἡ ἀδικία Y κακία Π γίνεταί Y.

139a τὸ σῶμα *om.* X. 139b ἀκόρεστον X.

140 πολέμιον] ἀφόρητον (*cf.* 139b) Y. 141 Clit. 25.

142 π. τὰ κακὰ YX λήση Π λήσεται σε Y λήξεται X.

143 *preceding* 142 x τῷ θεῷ Y.

146 Clit. 26 ἐπιθυμία ἅπασα παντός ΠX (πάντως).

147 ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ Y ὁ σοφὸς... ὅμοιος RX.

148 καὶ ὁμοίωμα *om.* YX(?). 149 Clit. 27 (*om.* γίνονται).

150 ἀόριστον X (*cf.* 139b). 151 σου *om.* Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 133 quicquid non convenit ad beatitudinem dei, nec conveniat homini dei.
 134 haec debes velle, quae vult et deus.
 135 filius dei est qui haec sola pretiosa ducit quae et deus.
 136 donec in desideriis est caro, anima ignorat deum.
 137 cupiditas possidendi origo est avaritiae.
 138 cum semet ipsum quis amplius diligit, inde iniustitia nascitur.
 139 naturaliter parum quid corpus molestum est animae, luxuria vero facit corpus intolerabile.
 140 omne quod plus est homini quam necesse sit, inimicum est ei.
 141 qui amat quae non expedit, non amabit quae expedit.
 142 qui studium habet erga ea quae non sunt bona, latebunt eum quae bona sunt.
 143 sapientis mens semper apud deum est.
 144 sapientis mentem deus inhabitat.
 145 sapiens paucis verbis innotescit.
 146 inexplebilis est omnis cupiditas, propterea et semper indiget.
 147 sapiens semper sibi similis est.
 148 sufficit ad beatitudinem agnitio dei solius et imitatio.
 149 malis qui adulatur, peiores facit.
 150 intolerabilis fit malitia cum laudatur.
 151 lingua tua sensum tuum sequatur.

135 est qui *om.* c.

138 amplius *om.* c.

139 parvum c vero *om.* Sc.

141 quae. . . quae A quod. . . quod z (*cf.* 88).

142 eum] ei WLOPB.

145 *preceding* 142 Ocr, *preceding* 143 z paucis verbis] in paucis c.

150 fit AVJScr fiet z.

ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 152 αἰρετώτερον λίθον εἰκῇ βάλλειν ἢ λόγον.
 153 σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς ἅ μὴ δεῖ.
 154 ῥήματα ἄνευ νοῦ ψόφος.
 155 πολυλογία οὐκ ἐκφεύγει ἁμαρτίαν.
 156 βραχυλογία σοφία παρακολουθεῖ.
 157 μακρολογία σημεῖον ἀμαθίας.
 158 τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀγάπα.
 159 τῷ ψεύδει χρῶ ὥς φαρμάκῳ.
 160 καιρὸς τῶν λόγων σου προηγείσθω.
 161 λέγε ὅτε σιγᾶν οὐ καθήκει.
 162a περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδας σιώπα.
 162b περὶ ὧν οἶδας, ὅτε δεῖ λέγε.
 163a λόγος παρὰ καιρὸν διανοίας ἔλεγχος κακῆς.
 163b ὁπότε δεῖ πράττειν, λόγῳ μὴ χρῶ.
 164a ἐν συλλόγῳ πρῶτος λέγειν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε.
 164b ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ σιωπᾶν.
 165a ἄμεινον ἡττᾶσθαι ἀληθῆ λέγοντα τοῦ περιγενέσθαι μετὰ ἀπάτης.
 165b ὁ νικῶν τῷ ἀπατᾶν νικᾶται ἐν ἡθεί.
 165c μάρτυρες κακῶν γίνονται λόγοι ψευδεῖς.
 165d μεγάλη περιστάσις ἢ πρέπει ψεῦδος.
 165e ὁπότε ἁμαρτάνων εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἀναγκαίως τότε ψευδῆ λέγων οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις.
 165f μηδένα ἀπάτα, μάλιστα τὸν συμβουλίας δεόμενον.
 165g μετὰ πλείονων λέγων μᾶλλον ὄψει τὰ συμφέροντα.

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- 152 Clit. 28 (εἰκῇ λίθον) βαλεῖν Υ.
 153 Clit. 29 (λέγῃς εἰκῇ) πρὶν ἢ λέγειν Υ ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς] μὴ δις λέγῃς Υ (cf. 93); X=Π.
 154 Clit. 30 ψόφοι Clit. ψόγος ΠR φόβος Υ.
 155 πολυλογία οὐκ ἐκφεύγει (cf. R) ἁμαρτίαν ΥxX.
 156 Clit. 31 βραχυλογία σοφία ΠR (cf. 155); X=Y Clit. ἀκολουθεῖ Π.
 157 Clit. 32, om. Υ. 159 Clit. 34 (ὥς φ. χρῶ) φαρμάκῳ (sic) Π.
 162b Clit. 36 (ὅ δεῖ). 163a Clit. 37 (ἀνοίας ἔ. and om. κακῆς).
 163b om. ΠR, Clit. 35. 164a Clit. 39, ι.
 164b Clit. 38, X om. ΠΥR. 165b-g om. ΠR. 165c-e om. x.
 165d Clit. 40 (μεγάλη περιστάσει πρ. ψ.). 165e εἰς Υ.
 165f Clit. 41 (μάλιστα δέ).
 165g Clit. 39, 2 (μετὰ πλείονας λ. ὄψει μᾶλλον τὰ σ.); X=Y.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

152	melius est lapidem frustra iactare quam verbum.												
153	delibera antequam dicas, ne quae non expedit dicas.												
154	verba sine sensu obprobria.												
155	verbositas non effugiet peccatum.												
156	brevis est in sermonibus sapiens.												
157	indiciū inperitiae longa narratio.												
158	veritatem ama.												
159	mendacio tamquam veneno utere.												
160	ante omnia tempus verbis tuis requirito.												
161	tunc loquere quando tacere non expedit.												
162	de quibus ignoras tace, de quibus autem certus es loquere opportune.												
163a	sermo extra tempus indicium malitiosae mentis.												
163b	* * * * *												
164a	in conventu ne satis agas primus dicere.												
164b	* * * * *												
165a	melius vinci vera dicentem, quam vincere mentientem.												
165b	* * * * *												
165c	* * * * *												
165d	* * * * *												
165e	* * * * *												
165f	* * * * *												
165g	* * * * *												

152 verbum] vanum verbum de deo proferre A.

153 ante quem A W.

156 est PST G cr erit z.

157 longa P V T est longa z.

165a melius W L B melius est z.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 166 πίστις ἀπασῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἡγεμῶν ἐστίν.
 167 σοφία ψυχὴν ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς θεόν.
 168 οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον σοφίᾳ ἀληθείας.
 169 οὐ δυνατὸν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν πιστὴν τε εἶναι καὶ φιλοψευδῆ.
 170 δειλῇ καὶ ἀνελευθέρῳ φύσει πίστις οὐκ ἂν μετεῖη.
 171 a τὸ λέγειν ἃ δεῖ τοῦ ἀκούειν πιστὸς ὢν μὴ προτίμα.
 171 b ἐν πιστοῖς ὢν μᾶλλον ἄκουε ἢ περ λέγε.
 172 φιλήδονος ἀνὴρ ἄχρηστος ἐν παντί.
 173 ἀνεύθυνος ὢν λόγοις μὴ χρῶ περὶ θεοῦ.
 174 τὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων ἁμαρτήματα τῶν διδασκάντων αὐτοὺς ὀνειδῇ.
 175 νεκροὶ παρὰ θεῷ δι' οὓς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ λοιδορεῖται.
 176 σοφὸς ἀνὴρ εὐεργέτης μετὰ θεόν.
 177 τοὺς λόγους σου ὁ βίος βεβαιούτω παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.
 178 ὁ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδ' ὑπονοοῦ ποιεῖν.
 179 ἃ μὴ θέλεις παθεῖν, μηδὲ ποίει.
 180 ἃ ποιεῖν αἰσχροὺς, καὶ προστάττειν ἐτέρῳ αἰσχροὺς.
 181 μέχρι καὶ τοῦ νοῦ καθάρει τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.
 182 ἄρχων ἀνθρώπων μέμνησο ἄρχεσθαι παρὰ θεοῦ.
 183 ὁ κρίνων ἀνθρώπων κρίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

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- 166 πίστις R X πιστὸς Π Y καλῶν Y X τῶν Π R.
 167 παρὰ θεῷ πρὸς θεόν Π. 168 Clit. 42 (. . . ἢ ἀλήθεια).
 169 Clit. 43 (φιλόσοφόν τε) αὐτὴν om. Y R τε om. Y R καὶ
 μὴ φ. Π καὶ ψευδῆ Y X x. 170 om. X.
 171 a Clit. 44 (τοῦ λ. ἃ δεῖ τὸ ἀκ. προτίμα, cf. R) ἃ δεῖ] αἰεὶ Π.
 171 b om. R; X = Y. 172 ἄπιστος Y.
 173 μὴ om. Y X.
 174 Clit. 45 (τὰ τ. παιδευομένων (cf. R) ἃ τ. παιδευόντων ὄν.) X = Π
 τῶν μὴ διδασκάντων Y.
 177 Clit. 48 (om. παρὰ τ. ἀκ.).
 178 ὑποπτεύου π. μήτε ὑπονόει Π and evidently x ὑπονόει X and Py. Syr.
 179 om. X μήτε Π.
 180 ἄλλω αἰσχροτέρῳ ἐστίν Π (R²); X = Y.
 181 τοῦ νοῦ Po. 9 τῷ νῷ Π τοῦ λαλεῖν Y τῶν om. Y.
 182 νόμιζε Π ὑπὸ Π. 183 om. Y.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 166 fides omnes actus tuos praecedat.
 167 sapientia animam perducit ad deum.
 168 nihil autem tam vernaculum sapientiae quam veritas.
 169 numquam potest bona effici anima mendacium diligens.
 170 pravo et pessimo ingenio fides aliena est.
 171a fidelis homo audire quae oportet amat magis quam dicere
 quae non oportet.
 171b * * * * *
 172 vir libidinosus ad omnia inutilis.
 173 inreprehensibilis autem verbis utitur de deo.
 174 peccata discentium obprobria sunt doctorum.
 175 mortui sunt apud deum per quos nomen dei maledicatur.
 176 sapiens homo beneficus post deum.
 177 sermones tui vitam custodiant auditoribus.
 178 quod fieri non debet, nec in suspensionem venias quasi
 facias.
 179 ea quae pati non vis, neque facias.
 180 quae tibi facere turpe est, haec et alii inperare facienda
 turpissimum.
 181 etiam in cogitationibus mundus esto a peccato.
 182 cum praees hominibus, memento quia et tibi praees deus.
 183 et iudicans homines scito quia et ipse iudicaris a deo.

-
- 167 animam Acr animas z.
 168 autem om. G U (cf. *Greek*) tabernaculum A.
 173 verbis G U W in verbis z unitur deo cr (Elter *conj.*: inrepre-
 hensibilis ne verbis utitor de deo).
 177 sermones tuos vita custodiat auditoribus *conj.* Elter.
 180 facienda om. J S G U c.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 184 μείζων ὁ κίνδυνος δικαζομένου δικαστῆ.
 185 ἅπασι μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ βλάπτε ἄνθρωπον.
 186 δυνατὸν ἀπατῆσαι λόγῳ ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν μέντοι ἀδύνατον.
 187 οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ ἐν λόγῳ νενικῆσθαι.
 188 κακοδοξίας αἰτιώτατον ἢ ἐν πίστει φιλοδοξία.
 189 τίμα τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι διὰ τοῦ εἶναι.
 190 σέβου σοφὸν ἄνδρα ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ ζῶσαν.
 191 σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυμνὸς ὦν δοκείτω σοι σοφὸς εἶναι.
 192 διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν χρήματα <μὴ> τιμῆς μηδέν.
 193 χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν πλουτοῦντα σωθῆναι.
 194 ψέγειν ἄνδρα σοφὸν καὶ θεὸν ἴσον ἀμάρτημα.

 195 λόγον χειρίζων περὶ θεοῦ παραθήκην σοι δεδόσθαι νόμιζε
 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων.
 196 οὐκ ἔστιν βιδῶναι καλῶς μὴ πεπιστευκότα γνησίως.
 197 μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγοῦ καὶ καλὸν μόνον τὸ πρέπον
 θεῷ.
 198 ποίει μεγάλα μὴ μεγάλα ὑπισχνούμενος.
 199 οὐ γενήσῃ σοφὸς οἰόμενος εἶναι πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι.

 200 μεγάλη περίστασις πιστὸν ἄνδρα δείκνυσι.
 201 τέλος ἡγοῦ βίου τὸ ζῆν κατὰ θεόν.
 202 μηδὲν ἡγοῦ κακόν, ὃ μὴ ἔστιν αἰσχρόν.
 203 κόρου πέρας ὕβρις, ὕβρεως δὲ ὄλεθρος.
 204 οὐκ ἀναβήσεται πάθος ἐπὶ καρδίαν πιστοῦ.
 205 πᾶν πάθος ψυχῆς λόγῳ πολέμιον.
 206 ὃ ἂν πράξῃς ἐν πάθει ὦν, μετανοήσεις.

185 πᾶσι Υ ἄνθρωπον *om.* Υ R.

186 Clit. 53 (ἄνθρ. μὲν ἀπατ. δυν. λόγῳ, θ. δὲ ἀδύν.) ἀπατ. λόγῳ δυν.
 ἀνθρ. Υ. 188 ἢ *om.* Π R.

Between 190 and 191 Π inserts Σέξτου γνώμαι.

191 ὦν *om.* Υ εἶναι *om.* Π R. 192 <μὴ> Lloyd-Jones τιμήσεις Π Υ.

195 παρὰ θεοῦ Υ σοι *om.* Υ περὶ θεοῦ *added at end* Π (*read perhaps*
 παρὰ θεοῦ, *cf.* R X a deo).

196 ἔστιν σοι Π βιδῶσαι Π. 197 = 131, μόνον² *om.* Υ.

199 γενήσῃ Π εἶναι¹ *om.* Υ. 202 *om.* X.

203 κόρου X κακοῦ ΠΥR (*cf.* 73).

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 184 maius est periculum iudicantis quam eius qui iudicatur.
 185 levius est omne vulnus quam verbi.
 186 possibile est verbo fallere hominem, non tamen deum.
 187 non putes malum, si cum veritatem scias vincaris in verbo.
 188 male sentire de fide amor iactantiae facit.
 189 fidelis esse magis quam videri stude.
 190 cole sapientem virum sicut imaginem dei viventis.
 191 sapiens vir, etiamsi nudus sit, sapiens habeatur apud te.
 192 neminem propterea honores, quia habet multas pecunias.
 193 difficile est divitem salvare.
 194 derogare virum sapientem et deum aequale ducito peccatum.
 195 verbum de deo loquens depositum te putato accepisse a deo animas auditorum.
 196 ne putes bene vivere qui non integre credit.
 197 quod bonum est, hoc solum te decere puta.

 198 age magna non magna pollicens.
 199 numquam eris sapiens si te putaveris sapientem antequam sis.
 200 in tribulationibus magnis qui sit fidelis ostenditur.
 201 finem vitae aestima vivere secundum deum.
 202 nihil putes malum quod non sit et turpe.
 203 mali finis iniuria, iniuriae autem perditio.
 204 non ascendit passio in cor hominis fidelis.
 205 omnis passio animi rationi eius inimica est.
 206 quicquid feceris, dum in passione est anima, poenitebis.

185 peccatum J vulnus z linguae vulnus *conj.* Gild. verbi Elter
 verbum VTG U cr.

187 vincaris BSc vindicaris z.

196 non potest cr.

202 et *om.* cr.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 207 πάθη νοσημάτων ἀρχαί.
 208a κακία νόσος ψυχῆς.
 208b ἀδικία ψυχῆς θάνατος.
 209 τότε δόκει πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν ἀπαλ-
 λαγῆς.
 210a ἀνθρώποις χρῶ τοῖς ἅπασιν ὡς κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων εὐεργέτης.
 210b ὡς θέλεις χρήσασθαι σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς.
 211 ἀνθρώποις κακῶς χρώμενος σεαυτῷ κακῶς χρήσῃ.
 212 οὐδένα κακῶς ποιήσῃ ὁ πιστός.
 213 εὐχου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δύνασθαι εὐεργετεῖν.
 214 φαύλοις φαίνεται ἄχρηστος σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
 215 οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ καλῶς ζήσεις.
 216 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν πάντα ὑπόμενε.
 217 εὐχῆς οὐκ ἀκούει θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων δεομένων οὐκ
 ἀκούοντος.
 218 φιλόσοφος φιλοσόφῳ δῶρον παρὰ θεοῦ.
 219 τιμῶν φιλόσοφον τιμήσεις σεαυτόν.
 220 πιστὸς ὢν ἴσθι.
 221 ὅταν υἷόν σε λέγῃ τις, μέμνησο τίνος σε λέγει υἷόν.
 222 θεὸν πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττεις τούτου μέμνησο.
 223 τὰ ῥήματά σου [τὰ πιστὰ] πολλῆς εὐσεβείας μεστὰ ἔστω.
 224 ἐν οἷς πράττεις πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχε τὸν θεόν.
 225 δεινὸν ἔστιν θεὸν πατέρα ὁμολογοῦντα πρᾶξαι τι ἄσχημον.

-
- 207 *om.* X ἀρχή Yx. 208a *om.* Y.
 210a Cf. 260, ἐπιτήδευε κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων εὐεργέτης εἶναι, *and* 478 (*where om.* Y), ἀνθρώποις χρῶ ὡς κοινωνοῖς καὶ πολίταις θεοῦ ὡς...εὐεργέτης] ὡς κοινωνοῖς YX (cf. 478) εὐεργέτης μετὰ θεόν R, cf. 82 bc.
 210b ΠX, *om.* R; *after* 212 Y πέλας] παίδας Y σὺ τοὺς π. χρήσ. Π.
 211 *om.* YX. 212 οὐδὲν κακῶς ποθήσῃ R? ποιήσῃ Π.
 214 Clit. 63 (φ. ἄχρηστος δοκεῖ σοφὸς ἄ.) ὁ σοφὸς Π.
 216 πᾶν Π.
 217 οὐκ¹ *om.* Y τοῦ *om.* Π (cf. 482, 594) τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δεόμενον R?.
 218 θεῷ Y. 220 Cf. 82 c.
 221 υἷόν <θεοῦ> Lloyd-Jones υἷόν λέγῃ τις σε Π τίνος λέγει σε υἷόν εἶναι Y υἷῷ Π.
 222 = 59 *where om.* Y.
 223 τὰ πιστὰ (πολλῆς) *om.* R εὐλαβείας ἦτω μεστὰ Y ἔστωσαν Π.
 225 πατέρα θεόν Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 207 passiones aegritudinum initia.
 208 malitia aegritudo est animae,
 animae autem mors iniustitia et impietas.
 209 tunc te putato fidelem cum passionibus animae carueris.
- 210a omnibus hominibus ita utere quasi communis provisor
 hominum post deum.
- 210b * * * * *
 211 qui hominibus male utitur, se ipso male utitur.
 212 nihil mali vult qui fidelis est.
 213 opta ut bene facere possis inimicis.
 214 malis ineptus videtur vir sapiens.
 215 sine deo non potes deo vivere.
 216 omnia suffer pro eo ut secundum deum vivas.
 217 orationem non exaudit deus hominis qui egenum non
 exaudit.
 218 sapiens sapienti donum a deo.
 219 honorans sapientem honorabis te ipsum.
 220 fidelem te esse nosce.
 221 cum filium te dei quis dicit, memento cuius te filium dicat.
 222 deum patrem invocans in actibus tuis hoc memorare.
 223 verba tua pietate semper plena sint.
 224 in actibus tuis ante oculos pone deum.
 225 nefas est deum patrem invocare et inhonestum aliquid
 agere.

208 autem *om.* S.

210a hominum Elter omnium MSS.

214 malis PJScr malis hominibus z.

220 *om.* Jc.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 226 σοφὸν ὁ μὴ φιλῶν, οὐδὲ ἑαυτόν.
 227 μηθὲν ἴδιον κτῆμα νομιζέσθω φιλοσόφῳ.
 228 ὦν κοινὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ, τούτων μὴ κοινὰ εἶναι τὰ κτήματα οὐκ εὐσεβές.
 229 ἀχαριστεῖ θεῷ ὁ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος φιλόσοφον.
 230a γάμον γὰρ δίδωσίν σοι παραιτεῖσθαι ἵνα ζήσης ὡς πάρεδρος θεῶ.
 230b γάμει καὶ παιδοποιοῦ χαλεπὸν εἰδὼς ἐκάτερον· εἰ δὲ καθόπερ εἰδὼς πόλεμον ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἀνδρίζοιο, καὶ γάμει καὶ παιδοποιοῦ.
 231 μοιχὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς πᾶς ὁ ἀκόλαστος.
 232 μηδὲν ἔνεκα ψιλῆς ἡδονῆς ποιεῖ.
 233 ἴσθι μοιχὸς εἶναι κἂν νοήσης μοιχεῦσαι· καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος ὁ αὐτὸς ἔστω σοι λόγος.
 234 πιστὸν εἰπὼν σεαυτὸν ὠμολόγησας μηδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν θεῶ.
 235 πιστῇ γυναικὶ κόσμος σωφροσύνη νομιζέσθω.
 236 ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα ἀποπέμπων ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν δύνασθαι.
 237 γυνὴ σώφρων ἀνδρὸς εὐκλεία.
 238 αἰδούμενος γαμετὴν αἰδουμένην ἔξεις.
 239 ὁ τῶν πιστῶν γάμος ἀγὼν ἔστω περὶ ἐγκρατείας.
 240 ὡς ἂν γαστρὸς ἄρξης, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἄρξεις.

226 οὔτε Π.

227 = 594 (μ. ἱ. κτ. ν. φιλοσόφου) μηδὲν κτῆμα ἴδιον Υ 'Reckon no other possession better (ἡδίων?) than true wisdom' X.

228 *om.* ΥΧ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ *om.* X.

230a γὰρ *om.* ΠR ζήσεις Π ὡς *om.* Υ αἰε R?.

230b γάμει... ἐκάτερον *om.* ΥΧ καὶ¹ *om.* Υ καὶ ποιεῖ Υ.

231 Clit. 71 (μοιχὸς ἔστι κτλ.) ὁ *om.* Υ.

231-58 *in this order in* X: 231-4, 240-3, 253, 254, 256, 234, 240, 243-52, 255, 258 (*the rest omitted*).

232 μηδὲ Π.

233 μοιχὸς ὦν ἴσθι εἶναι (*cf.* 220) κἂν νοσεῖς τὸ μοιχεῦειν Π ὁ *om.* Υ ὁ λόγος Υ. 234 καὶ ὁμολογήσας μηδὲν ἁμαρτήσθω Υ μήτε Π.

236 μήτε Π δύνασθαι *om.* RX (*cf.* 293).

238 Clit. 72 (τὴν γυναῖκα).

240 Clit. 73 (ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν κτλ.) ὅταν γαστρὸς ἄρξεις καὶ ὑπογαστρίων ἄρξεις Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 226 qui non diligit sapientem, nec se ipsum.
 227 nulla propria possessio putetur philosophi.
 228 quorum communis deus idemque pater, horum nisi et
 possessio communis est, inpii sunt.
 229 deo ingratus est qui non magni ducit philosophum.
 230a coniugium tibi refutare concessum est, idcirco ut vivas
 indesinenter adhaerens deo.
 230b nubere et filios procreare pessimum scias utrumque; sin
 autem tamquam proelium sciens esse pessimum, tamen
 pugnare vis, et uxorem nube et filios procrea.
 231 adulter etiam propriae uxoris omnis inpudicus.
 232 nihil propter solam libidinem facias.
 233 scito te adulterum esse etiam si cogitasti de adulterio; sed
 et de omni peccato eadem tibi sit ratio.
 234 fidelem te professus spopondisti pariter non peccare deo.
 235 fideli mulieri ornatum ducatur pudicitia.
 236 vir qui uxorem dimittit profitetur se nec mulierem regere.
- 237 mulier pudica viri est gloria.
 238 reverentiam habens uxori habes eam reverentem.
 239 fidelium coniugium certamen habeat continentiae.
 240 prout continueris ventrem, ita et venerios motus.

226 sapientiam S U.

228 deus G est deus W O P B J sit deus J S U c r.

230b vis c r non vis W O P B J.

235 ornatum W O S ornatui P c r ornatu B ornatus J w.

236 regere Gild. gerere MSS. 238 habebis w r.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 241 φυλάττου τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ἔπαινον.
 242 ἃ προῖκα λαμβάνεις παρὰ θεοῦ, καὶ δίδου προῖκα.
 243 πληθὺς πιστῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις· σπάνιον γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
 244 σοφὸν τίμα μετὰ θεόν.
 245 ἐλεγχόμενος ἵνα γένη σοφὸς χάριν ἴσθι τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν.
 246 ὁ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὐ δύναται φέρειν.
 247 πιστὸς εἶναι θέλων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἀμάρτης, εἰ δέ τι, μὴ δισσῶς τὸ αὐτό.
 248 ὁ μὴ ἔστι μάθημα θεοῦ ἄξιον, μὴ μάτης.
 249 πολυμαθία περιεργία ψυχῆς νομιζέσθω.
 250 ὁ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξίως εἰδὼς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
 251 χωρὶς μαθήματος οὐκ ἔστι θεοφιλὴς· ἐκείνου περιέχου ὡς ἀναγκαίου.
 252 φείδεται χρόνου σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
 253a παρρησίαν ἄγε μετὰ αἰδοῦς.
 253b ἔστιν σοφοῦ καὶ ὕπνος ἐγκράτεια.
 254 ἀνιάτω σε μᾶλλον τέκνα κακῶς ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ ζῆν.
 255 τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.
 256 τέκνα μὴ πιστὰ οὐ τέκνα.
 257 πιστὸς ἀνὴρ εὐχαρίστως φέρει τέκνων ἀποβολήν.
 258 μὴ κρίνης φιλόσοφον ᾧ μὴ πάντα πιστεύεις.
 259 διαβολὰς κατὰ φιλοσόφου μὴ παραδέχου.

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- 241 = 570 *where om.* Π τ. π. τὸν (?) ἀνθρώπων ἐ. Π.
 242 προῖκα καὶ δίδου Υ. 243 εὖροις Π. 247 *om.* Π.
 248 ὁ μὴ ἔστι θεοῦ ἄξ. μάθ. μὴ θῆς Υ. 249 πολυμαθία Υ.
 250 εἰδὼς ἄξια Υ ἀνὴρ *om.* Π.
 251 μαθήματος χωρὶς οὐ οὐκ R? μαθημάτων Υ ἀσόφου μὴ περιέχου Υ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον Π (R?).
 252 ὁ σοφὸς Π (*cf.* 214). 253a ἄγει ΥΧ.
 253b *om.* R X εἰ τι σοφοῦ καὶ ὕπνος [254] ἀνιάτω σε. μᾶλλον κτλ. Υ ὕπνου *conj.* Elter, J. Kroll (*ap.* Hennecke, *N.T. Apokr.* 637). 254 μὴ *om.* Π
 255 Clit. 76 τὸ γάρ] τέκνα Π Clit. μὲν *om.* Υ καλῶς δὲ κτλ. *om.* Υ καὶ *om.* Clit.
 256 *after* 254 X. 257 *om.* X (*and* S).
 259 φιλοσόφων Υ.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 241 devita infidelium laudes.
 242 quae gratis accipis a deo, et praesta gratis.
 243 multitudinem fidelium non invenies, rarum enim est omne
 quod bonum est.
 244 sapientem honora post deum.
 245 cum argueris ut sapiens fias, habe gratiam arguentibus.
 246 qui sapienti non obtemperat, nec deo obtemperat.
- 247 fidelis volens esse praecipue quidem nitere, ne pecces;
 quod etsi forte acciderit, saltem ne iteretur id ipsum.
 248 doctrinam quae non est deo digna, ne discas.
 249 multa velle scire curiositas animi putanda est.
 250 qui cognoscit quae deo digna sunt, ille sapiens.
 251 doctrinam ex qua proficere potes in amore dei, illam
 specialiter et necessario expete.
 252 sapiens vir parcat ne perdat tempus.
 253 a fiduciam cum verecundia habeto.
- 254 excrucient te liberi male viventes magis quam morientes.
 255 vivere quidem non est in nobis, recte autem vivere in
 nobis est.
 256 filii infideles nec filii.
 257 fidelis vir non ingratus fert abiectioem liberorum.
 258 non iudices esse philosophum cui non de omnibus credis.
 259 criminationes adversus philosophum noli recipere.

242 et VT om. z.

243 omne om. J.

244-7 om. G U.

248 discas P J S G U dicas W O V B c r w.

250 sapiens W O P w sapiens est z.

251 specialiter et om. G.

257 om. S.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 260 ἐπιτήδευε κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις εὐεργέτης εἶναι.
 261 ἀπευκτὸν ἡγοῦ καὶ τὸ δικαίως τινὰ κολάζειν.
 262 μετ' εὐθυμίας εἰ θέλεις ζῆν, μὴ πολλὰ πρᾶττε· πολυπραγ-
 μονῶν γὰρ κακοπραγμονῶν ἔσθι.
 263 ὃ μὴ κατέθου, μηδ' ἀνέλῃς, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτάρκη
 πολιτεύῃ.
 264a ἀφείς ἅ κέκτησαι ἀκολούθει τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ.
 264b ἐλεύθερος ἔσθι ἀπὸ πάντων δουλεύων θεῷ.
 265 ἀπαλλάττου τροφῆς ἔτι θέλων.
 266 τροφῆς παντὶ κοινώνει.
 267 ὑπὲρ τοῦ πτωχὸν τραφῆναι καὶ νηστεῦσαι καλόν.
 268 ποτόν σοι πᾶν ἡδὺ ἔστω.
 269 μέθην δὲ ὁμοίως μανίᾳ φυλάττου.
 270 ἄνθρωπος γαστρὸς ἡττώμενος ὁμοιος θηρίῳ.
 271 οὐδὲν φύεται ἐκ σαρκὸς ἀγαθόν.
 272 αἰσχυρὰς ἡδονῆς τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ ταχέως ἅππεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος
 παραμένει.
 273 ἀνθρώπους ἴδοις ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος
 ἔχειν ἔρρωμένον ἀποκόπτοντας ἑαυτῶν καὶ ρίπτοντας
 μέλη· πόσῳ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν;
 274a μεγάλην νόμιζε παιδεῖαν τὸ ἄρχειν σώματος·
 274b οὐ γὰρ παύσει ἐπιθυμίαν κτημάτων ἢ χρημάτων κτῆσις.
 275 φιλόσοφον οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὃ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιρεῖται.

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- 260 ἄνθρωπος Π. 261 ἀπευκταῖον Υ *After 261 Π has 428-30.*
 262 εὐθείας Π Π *has 262 (as far as γάρ) after 235, where it leads into*
the last words of 379-405 πολυπραγμονῶν γὰρ καλῇ παρὰ θεῷ. θεὸν οὐ
νομιζόντως ὀνομάζων κτλ. The last two words of 262 appear in Π after 488
init., and lead into 263-379.
 263 μηδὲ Υ ἀνέλῃς ΠΥ ἀνέλη Plato οὐ γὰρ κτλ. *om.* Π.
 264a ἐκέκτησο Π. 265-6 ἔτι θέλων τροφῆς *om.* R (homoioteleuton).
 266 τροφή παντὶ κοινόν Υ; X=Π. 268 σου Π.
 269 μέθην καὶ μανίαν ὁμοίως Π. 270 Clit. 95 (ἦσσαν)
 274 and 270 *joined in* x γαστρὶ Υ. 271 ἐκ γαστρὸς ΠX (*cf.* 270).
 273 ἀνθρώπους ἐὰν ἴδῃς Υ ἑαυτῶν *om.* Υ καὶ ρίπτοντας *om.* ΥR
 (Orig.=Π) τὰ μέλη Π μέρη Orig. ὑπὲρ² *om.* Υ.
 274 γὰρ *om.* Υ (*cf.* Ruf. G U) παύση ἐπιθυμία κτημάτων ἢ χρημάτων
 κτῆσις Π. 275 δ] δς Υ (*as correction*) ἀφαιρήσεται Υ.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 260 stude communiter omni homini bene facere.
 261 execrabile sit tibi etiam iuste aliquid punire.
 262 si vis cum laetitia animi vivere, noli multa agere; in
 multis enim actibus †moneris.
 263 quod non posuisti, non tollas,
 sed sufficiant tibi quae tua sunt.
 264a derelinquens quae possides sequere verbum dei;
 264b liber enim eris ab omnibus cum deo servis.
 265 cessa a cibo. . .
 266 <a cibo> omni homini inperiti.
 267 pro reficiendo paupere etiam ieiunare bonum est.
 268 omne poculum suave tibi sit.
 269 temulentiam quasi insaniam fuge.
 270 homo qui a ventre vincitur similis est beluae.
 271 ex carne nil oritur bonum.
 272 turpissimae libidinis ea quidem quae suavia sunt, cito
 transeunt, probra vero perpetua manent.
 273 solent homines abscidere aliqua membrorum suorum pro
 sanitate reliquorum; quanto id praestantius pro pudicitia
 fiet?
 274 grandem poenam putato cum desideriis optinueris,
 numquam enim compescit desiderium possessio desidera-
 torum.
 275 non est sapiens factum, in quo libertas aufertur.

262 moneris WPB moveris OSw et caute praemoneris VT et
 comptus bene non eris GU minor eris cr noceris conj. Gild. <caco-
 prag>mon eris Lloyd-Jones.

264b enim om. S.

265-6 lacuna Elter.

274 corporalibus VT enim om. GU.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 276 ἡδονὰς ἡγοῦ τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὡς ἀναγκαίας.
 277 τὰ ἀγαθὰ μὲν ἔχειν πάντες εὖχονται, κτῶνται δὲ οἱ γνησίως τοῦ θείου λόγου μετέχοντες.
 278 φιλόσοφος ὦν σεμνὸς ἔσο μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσκώπτῃς.
 279 σπάνιον σου ἔστω σκῶμμα καὶ τὸ εὐκαιρον.
 280a ἄμετρος γέλως σημείον ἀπροσεξίας.
 280b σεαυτῷ διαχεῖσθαι πέρα τοῦ μειδιᾶν μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃς.
 281 σπουδῇ πλείονι ἢ διαχύσει χρῶ.
 282 ἀγῶν ὁ βίος ἔστω σοι περὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ.
 283 ἄριστον μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτεῖν, ἀμαρτάνοντα δὲ γινώσκειν ἄμεινον ἢ ἀγνοεῖν.
 284 ἀλαζῶν φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν.
 285 μεγάλην σοφίαν νόμιζε δι' ἧς δυνήσῃ φέρειν ἀγνοούντων ἀπαιδευσίαν.
 286 αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦ λόγον ἔχων διὰ στόμα ἐπαινέσθαι.
 287 σοφῶν ψυχαὶ ἀκόρεστοι θεοσεβείας.
 288 ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ θεοῦ πράττε ὃ ἂν πράττῃς.
 289 συνεχέστερον νόει τὸν θεὸν ἢ ἀνάπνει.
 290 ἃ μαθόντα δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἄνευ τοῦ μαθεῖν μὴ ἐπιχείρει.
 291 σαρκὸς μὴ ἔρα.
 292 ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς ἔρα μετὰ θεόν.
 293 οἰκείων ὀργὰς δύνασθαι φέρειν κατὰ φιλόσοφον.
 294 πιστοῦ πλοῦτος ἐγκράτεια.

276 *Preceding* 274 Υ ἀναγκαίως ἀναγκαίας Υ.

Between 276 and 277 Π *inserts* Σέξτου γνώμαι (*cf.* 191).

277 πάντες μὲν ἔχειν Π (R=Υ) θεοῦ Υ μετασχόντες Υ.

278 φιλοσκώπτῃς Π. 279 *om.* Π. 280b μηδιᾶν Π.

282 = 573 *where om.* Π ἀγῶν R ὁ βίος *om.* Υ τοῦ xR 573 (Υ) βίου ΠΥ.

283 = 595 *where om.* Π (ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτόντα δὲ ἄμεινον μηνύειν ἢ κρύπτειν—X *inserts it in this form between* 10 and 11).

285 δι' ἣν Πx.

286 ἡγοῦ] αἰδοῦ Π λόγον ἔχων *om.* R X στόμα] σῶμα Υ X.

287 φιλοσόφων Π. 288 *om.* X ὑπὸ Π ὁ πράττεις Π.

289 ἀνάπνει Π. 290 ἐγχείρει Υ. 292 ἀγαθῆς *om.* Π.

293 αἰκίων Π οἰκείος *conj.* J. Kroll (*ap.* Hennecke, p. 638) δύνασαι Υ φιλόσοφον Υ σοφῶν Π σοφόν Elter.

294 φιλοσόφου Elter φιλοσόφω Π φιλοσόφων R.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 276 libidinem necessariam tamquam necessariam ducito.
 277 bona quidem habere omnes optant, optinent autem hi qui
 semetipsos ex integro verbo dei manciparunt.
 278 philosophus et honestus esto et non obtrectator.
 279 rara sit obtrectatio tua et opportuna.
 280 nimius risus indicium est animae neglegentis;
 non ergo tibi ipsi indulgeas plus diffundi quam subridere.
 281 alacritate magis utere quam resolutione.
 282 castorum vita sit tibi ad honestatis exemplum.
 283 optimum quidem est non peccare, peccantem vero agno-
 scere quam ignorare melius est.
 284 iactans non est philosophus.
 285 magnam scito esse sapientiam per quam ferre potes ineru-
 ditorum inperitiam.
 286 turpe ducito proprio ore laudari.
 287 sapientium animae insatiabiles in amore dei.
 288 exordium a deo sume in agendo quae agis.
 289 crebrius deum habeto in mente quam respiras.
 290 ea quae oportet discere et ita facere, ne coneris facere
 antequam discas.
 291 carnem noli amare.
 292 animam bonam dilige post deum.
 293 domesticorum indignationes ferre sapientis est.
 294 sapientium divitiae continentia.

280 plus A *om. z.*

281 alacritate magis utere A *om. z.*

285 esse *om. J.*

289 crebrius Elter ore prius MSS.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 295 ὅπερ μεταδιδούς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἕξεις, μὴ κρίνης ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.
 296 οὐδὲν ἀκοινώνητον ἀγαθόν.
 297a μὴ νόμιζε μικρότερον ἀμάρτημα ἄλλο ἄλλου.
 [297b πᾶν ἀμάρτημα ἀσέβημα ἡγοῦ.]
 298 ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν τιμᾶσθαι θέλεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ψεγόμενος ἀνέχου.
 299 ὦν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τῶν ψόγων ὑπερόρα.
 300 θησαυρὸν κατατίθεσθαι μὲν οὐ φιλάνθρωπον, ἀναιρεῖσθαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον.
 301 ὅσα πονεῖς διὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν πονέσας σοφὸς ἂν εἴης.
 302 σοφὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ βλάπτει.
 303 ὦν ἂν πράττης θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦ μάρτυρα.
 304 ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων βεβαιοῖ καλὰς πράξεις.
 305 κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμὼν ἐστίν.
 306 οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις σοφὸν πράξαι ὃ μὴ βούλεται μᾶλλον ἢπερ θεόν.
 307 σοφὸς ἀνὴρ θεὸν ἀνθρώποις συνιστᾷ.
 308 ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων μέγιστον φρονεῖ ἐπὶ σοφῶ.
 309 οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐλεύθερον μετὰ θεὸν ὥς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
 310 ὅσα θεοῦ κτήματα, καὶ σοφοῦ.
 311 κοινωνεῖ βασιλείας θεοῦ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.

295 παρ' ὅσον μὴ μεταδιδούς [*i.e.* μεταδίδως] ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐκ ἕξεις *Υ* (*which joins* μὴ κρίνης κτλ. *to* 296), *cf.* Clit. 105.

297a μὴ νόμιζε ἀμάρτημα μικρὸν ἄλλου ἄλλο *Υ*.

297b (= 11) *om.* Π R X x.

298 ἐπαινέσθαι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι *Υ* ἀνέχου καὶ ἐν κακοῖς ψεγόμενος *Υ*.

299 *om.* X. 300 μὲν καταθέσθαι *Υ* κατὰ *Υ R om.* Π.

301 πονεῖς *Elter* πονέσας Π *Υ*.

303 πράττης *Υ*¹ πράττεις Π *Υ* *.

304 ὁ *om.* *Υ* (*cf.* Po. 16) ἀνθρώποις *Υ*.

306 ὃ μὴ β. πράξαι *Υ* ἢπερ] περὶ Π (*cf.* 403).

308 ὁ *om.* *Υ* (*cf.* 304) ἰδίων] ἥδη Π ἔργων *om.* *Υ*.

310, 311 Π X, supported by two MSS. of Rufinus, W T. Almost all other MSS. of Rufinus have them in the reverse order, 311, 310. Both *om.* *Υ*.

311 *om.* two MSS. of Rufinus (G U); its position varies (after 312 J, after 315 S) κοινωνοὶ βασιλεία Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 295 si quid proprium alii tradideris, at ipse non habebis, non
iudices bonum.
- 296 nihil bonum quod non potest esse commune.
- 297 non ducas aliud alio peccatum levius.
- 298 sicut in bonis actibus laudari vis, ita in delictis patienter
accipe si culperis.
- 299 quorum laudes contemnis, nec derogationes magni pendas.
- 300 thesaurum defodere quidem inhumanum est, inventum
autem auferre non est philosophi.
- 301 quantum laboras pro corpore, si tantum pro anima labores,
sapiens eris.
- 302 sapiens non est quod nocet.
- 303 omnium quae agis deum invoca testem.
- 304 deus bonos actus hominum confirmat.
- 305 malorum actuum malus daemon dux est.
- 306 non poterit sapiens compelli facere quod non vult, sicut
nec deus.
- 307 sapiens vir deum hominibus commendat.
- 308 deus inter opera sua omnia plus super sapientem gloriatur.
- 309 nihil tam liberum post deum sicut sapiens vir.
- 310 quaecunque deus possidet, haec et sapiens.
- 311 particeps regni dei est vir sapiens.

-
- 298 ita et G deliciis W O P. 300 est² om. J.
- 301 laborares U esses U.
- 302 quod Elter qui MSS. (sapiens est qui non nocet G sap. non est
qui non docet S).
- 303 omnium V T omnia z.
- 309 tam liberum Elter tale verum MSS. vir Elter post verum J
post virum W O P B S G U w om. cr.
- 310–11 in reverse order in all MSS. except W T.
- 311 om. G U, after 312 J, after 315 Scr.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 312 κακὸς ἀνὴρ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ θέλει.
 313 ψυχὴ κακὴ θεὸν φεύγει.
 314 πᾶν τὸ φαῦλον θεῷ πολέμιον.
 315 τὸ ἐν σοὶ φρονοῦν τοῦτο νόμιζε εἶναι ἄνθρωπον.
 316 ὅπου σου τὸ φρονοῦν, ἐκεῖ σου τὸ ἀγαθόν.
 317 ἀγαθὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μὴ ἐπιζητεῖ.
 318 ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ψυχὴν, οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον.
 319 φιλόσοφον ἄνθρωπον ὡς ὑπηρέτην θεοῦ τίμα μετὰ θεόν.
 320 τὸ σκήνωμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου βαρύνεσθαι μὲν ὑπερήφανον,
 ἀποθέσθαι δὲ πρᾶεως ὅποτε χρή δύνασθαι μακάριον.
 321 θανάτου μὲν σαυτῷ παραίτιος μὴ γένη, τῷ δὲ ἀφαιρουμένῳ
 σε τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀγανάκτει.
 322 σοφὸν ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιρούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ
 εὐεργετῇ, λύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν.
 323 ἄνθρωπον θανάτου φόβος λυπεῖ ἀπειρίᾳ ψυχῆς.
 324 σίδηρον ἀνδροφόνον ἄριστον μὲν ἦν μὴ γενέσθαι, γενό-
 μενον δὲ σοὶ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι.
 325 οὐδεμία προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνει, μάλιστα
 δὲ ἐν πίστει.
 326a οἶον ἂν ᾗ σου τὸ ἦθος, τοιοῦτος ἔσται σου καὶ ὁ βίος.
 326b ἦθος θεοσεβὲς ποιεῖ βίον μακάριον.
 327 ὁ βουλευόμενος κατ' ἄλλου κακῶς, φθάνει κακῶς πάσχων.
 328 μὴ σε παύσῃ τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος.

312 θεοῦ *om.* R.

313 *om.* Y.

316 φρονεῖν Y.

317 ζητεῖ Y.

318 οὔτε Π.

319 Clit. 134, εὐεργετοῦντά σε ἄνθρ. κτλ.

πιστὸν ἅ. Y

ὡς *om.* Π.

320 σου *om.* Π R

πράως Y.

321 ἑαυτῷ Π.

323 λυπηῖ Π.

323-4 λυπεῖ. ἀπειρία ψυχῆς σίδηρον ἀνδροφόνον. ἄριστον μὲν ἦν. . . σὺ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι Y.

324 *om.* X.

325 *om.* X, Clit. 132, οὐ πρ. ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνει ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ Y ἐπὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Π δὲ *om.* Π.

326a ἐὰν Π Y

ἔστω Π R.

327 βουλόμενος Π Y.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 312 malus vir non vult esse providentiam.
 313 anima mala deum fugit.
 314 omne quod malum est deo inimicum est.
 315 quod sapit in te, hoc ducito esse hominem.
 316 ubi est quod sapit in te, ibi est et bonum tuum.
 317 bonum in carne non quaeras.
 318 quod animae non nocet, nec homini.
 319 philosophum hominem tamquam dei ministrum honora
 post deum.
 320 tabernaculum corporis graviter quidem ferre superbum
 est, deponere autem posse cum oportuerit in pace beatum
 est.
 321 mortis quidem ipse tibi causa non fias; si quis autem
 exuere te vult corpore, ne indigneris.
 322 sapientem de corpore iniuste si quis extrudat, iniquitate
 sua beneficium ei praestat, absolvitur enim tamquam de
 vinctis.
 323 hominem metus mortis contristat pro inperitia animae.
 324 ferrum quo homines interimuntur optimum quidem fuerat
 non fieri, factum tamen apud te non sit.
 325 nulla simulatio multo tempore latebit et maxime in fide.

 326 prout sunt mores tui, talis sit et vita tua;
 mores enim religiosi faciunt vitam beatam.
 327 qui cogitat adversus alium mala, praeveniens ipse perfert
 mala.
 328 non te inpediat a bene faciendo homo ingratus.

316 est² *om.* BS.

321 causa] auctor U *om.* G.

324 sit J U cr sit factum z.

325 fide A finem J fine z.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 329 μηθὲν ὧν παραχρῆμα αἰτούμενος δῶς, πλείονος ἄξιον
κρίνης τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.
330 κάλλιστα οὐσίᾳ χρήσῃ τοῖς δεομένοις προθύμως μεταδι-
δούς.
331 ἀδελφὸν ἀγνωμονοῦντα πείθε μὴ ἀγνωμονεῖν καὶ ἀνιάτως
ἔχοντα συντήρει.
332 εὐγνωμοσύνη πάντας ἀνθρώπους νικᾷ ἀγωνίζου.
333 νοῦν οὐ πρότερον ἔξεις πρὶν ἢ γνῶς οὐκ ἔχων.

334 αὐτάρκειαν ἄσκει.
335 τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῖς οὐ χρωμένοις φορτία.
336 ὑπηρετεῖν κρεῖττον ἑτέροις ἢ πρὸς ἄλλων ὑπηρετεῖσθαι.
337 ὃν οὐκ ἀπαλλάττει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σώματος μὴ βαρυνέσθω.
338 δόγμα ἀκοινωνήτον οὐ μόνον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούειν
χαλεπὸν ἦγοῦ.
339 ὁ διδοὺς ὅτιοῦν μετ' ὀνειδους ὑβρίζει.

340 κηδόμενος ὀρφανῶν πατὴρ ἔστι πλειόνων τέκνων θεοφιλῆς.

341 ὧ ἂν ὑπουργήσης ἔνεκα δόξης, μισθοῦ ὑπουργήσας.
342 ἕαν τι δῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γνωσθῆναι, οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ δέδωκας,
ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἡδονῇ.
343 ὀργὴν πλήθους μὴ παρόξυνε.
344 μάθε τοῖνυν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὐδαιμονήσοντα.
345 κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν λιμῶ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν
ἀμαυρῶσαι.
346 ἐκμαγεῖον τὸ σῶμά σου νόμιζε τῆς ψυχῆς· καθαρὸν οὖν
τήρει.

-
- 329 μηδὲν Υ παραχρῆμα *om.* R δώσεις Π πλεονεξίαν κρίνεις Π.
330 καλλίστη X τῇ περιουσίᾳ Π.
333 Clit. 109, οὐ πρότερον γνώσῃ δ μὴ οἶσθα πρὶν ἂν γνώσης οὐκ εἰδώς.
πρηνὶ γνῶς Π. 337 ὧν Π ὁ *om.* Υ βαρύνεσθαι Π.
339 ὅτιοῦν ὅτῳ μετὰ Υ ὑβρίζει] *adds* καὶ εἰς θεὸν ἀμαρτάνει Υ.
340 φειδόμενος Υ παίδων Υ θεοφιλῶν X κατὰ θεόν R (?).
341 *om.* Υ ὁ ἂν R X.
342 *om.* Y X τι δῶς Elter δίδως Π.
343 Clit. 110. 344 τοῖνυν *om.* Π R χρή Υ εὐδαιμονήσαντα Y R
εὐγνωμονοῦντα Π X (*cf.* 332). 345 Clit. 114 (*om.* λιμῶ).

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 329 nihil eorum quae petitus dederis maioris pretii dignum
ducas pro eo qui accipit.
- 330 optime utitur facultatibus is qui indigentibus libenter
tribuit.
- 331 fratrem volentem a fide discedere persuade ne faciat, et si
insanabilis est magis conserva.
- 332 in fide omnes homines conare vincere.
- 333 intellectum non prius habebis quam intellexeris te non
habere.
- 334 sufficientiam servare stude.
- 335 membra corporis sarcina sunt his qui eis non utuntur.
- 336 ministrare aliis melius est quam ministrari ab aliis.
- 337 quem deus non emittit ex corpore, non graviter ferat.
- 338 sententiam quae misericordiam vetat, non solum tenere
sed et audire refuge.
- 339 qui dat aliquid et inputat, contumeliam magis quam bene-
ficio dedit.
- 340 qui tuetur pupillos erit multorum filiorum secundum deum
pater.
- 341 quicquid egeris causa gloriae, haec erit merces facti tui.
- 342 si quid dederis ita ut hominibus innotescat, non homini
sed propriae libidini praestitisti.
- 343 iracundiam multitudinis ne provoces in te.
- 344 disce quod oportet fieri ut beatus fias.
- 345 melius est fame mori quam per incontinentiam ventris
animam maculare.
- 346 vestimentum putato esse animae corpus tuum, mundum
igitur id serva.

329 quae S quod z petitus dederis V T petitus W w poteris S
petitur z.

338 et *om.* A O P c r refugite A* Ps.-Isid.

343 in te *om.* S.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 347 ὅποια δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσῃ ψυχὴ ἐνοικοῦσα τῷ σώματι,
τοιαῦτα μαρτύρια ἔχουσα ἅπεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν.
348 ἀκαθάρτου ψυχῆς ἀκάθαρτοι δαίμονες ἀντιποιοῦνται.
349 πιστὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐν ὁδῷ θεοῦ κακοὶ δαίμονες οὐκ
ἐμποδίζουσιν.
350 λόγου περὶ θεοῦ μὴ παντὶ κοινώνει.
351 οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἀκούειν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρ-
μένοις.
352 περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τάληθῇ λέγειν κίνδυνος οὐ μικρός.

353 περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲν εἴπῃς μὴ μαθὼν παρὰ θεοῦ.
354 ἀθέω δὲ περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲν εἴπῃς.
355 περὶ θεοῦ λόγον ἀληθῆ ὥς θεὸν τίμα.
356 μὴ καθαρεύων ἀνοσίων ἔργων μὴ φθέγξῃ περὶ θεοῦ λόγον.

357 λόγος ἀληθὴς περὶ θεοῦ λόγος ἐστὶν θεοῦ.
358 πεισθεὶς πρότερον θεοφιλὴς εἶναι πρὸς οὓς ἂν πεισθῇς
λέγε περὶ θεοῦ.
359 τὰ ἔργα σου θεοφιλῇ προηγείσθω παντὸς λόγου περὶ θεοῦ.

360 ἐπὶ πλήθους λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιτιγδνε.
361 λόγου περὶ θεοῦ φείδου μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς.
362 ψυχὴν αἰρετώτερον ἢ λόγον εἰκὴ προέσθαι περὶ θεοῦ.

363a θεοφιλοὺς ἀνδρὸς σώματος μὲν ἄρξεις, λόγου δὲ οὐ κυ-
ριεύσεις.
363b σοφοῦ σώματος καὶ λέων ἄρχει, τούτου δὴ μόνου καὶ
τύραννος.

-
- 347 δ' *om.* YRX. 348 ἀκαθάρτου ψυχῆ Π.
349 = 591 (ψ. ἀ. καὶ π. ἐν ἐννοίαις θ. οὖσαν).
350-4 *om.* X 350 λόγου Elter λόγῳ ΠΥ.
352 τάληθῇ ΠOrig. τάληθες Υ. 354 δὲ *om.* Π.
355 *after* 356 X περὶ θεοῦ *om.* R ὥς θεοῦ ΥX (*cf.* 357).
358 *For the whole sentence Y has* πιστοῖς λέγε περὶ θεοῦ (R=Π) πρὸς οὓς
ἀν πεισθῇς *om.* x πεισθῇς] εἴπῃς *conj.* Elter θέμις ἢ *or* πείσαι θέλης Lloyd-
Jones. 359 τὰ *om.* Π. 360 πλήθει Υ. 361 μᾶλλον φείδου Υ
ἢ περὶ ψ. ΠΥR. 362 προέσθαι περὶ Π.
363b ἄρξει Π τούτου δὴ μόνου κ. τ. *as beginning of* 364 Υ.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 347 qualia gesserit studia anima corpus inhabitans, tales habebit
testes in iudicio.
- 348 inmundam animam inmundi daemones sibi vindicant.
- 349 fidelem animam et bonam in via dei mali daemones non
inpediunt.
- 350 verbum de deo non omni homini committas.
- 351 non est tutum audire de deo homines vanae gloriae
iactantia corruptos.
- 352 de deo etiam quae vera sunt dicere periculum est non
parvum.
- 353 de deo nihil dicas, quod non didiceris a deo.
- 354 ei qui non credit esse deum, de deo nihil loquaris.
- 355 verbum verum ut deum honora.
- 356 si immunis non es a flagitiosis operibus, de deo nihil
disceptes.
- 357 sermo verus de deo sermo est dei.
- 358 si scis quia acceptum habent de te quod diligas deum hi
qui te audiunt, tunc eis loquere de deo.
- 359 opera caritatis dei praecedant abs te et tunc sermonem
facito de deo.
- 360 in multitudine dicere de deo non audeas.
- 361 verbum de deo parcius proferto magis quam de anima.
- 362 melius est animam perdere quam verbum vanum de deo
proferre.
- 363a viri amantis deum corporis potestatem quidem habebis,
non dominaberis vero animae.
- 363b corporis quidem habet potestatem et leo, similiter et
tyrannus.

352 quae *and* sunt *om.* S.

354 ei AVS et z. 357 de deo *om.* SGU (*cf.* 355).

358 quia] qui WO acceptum] certum PS.

359 praecedant WOPST procedant z.

360 studeas *conj.* Elter (*but cf.* 407, 451).

361 magis *om.* J (*cf.* 366).

363ab viri... tyrannus GU (habet *om.* G, ut leo GU) viri amantis
deum corporis potestatem habet leo et tyrannus similiter z (et leo sim. et tyr.
VT).

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 364 ὑπὸ τυράννου γινομένης ἀπειλῆς τίνος εἴ τότε μάλιστα μέμνησο.
- 365 λόγον οἷς οὐ θέμις ὁ λέγων περὶ θεοῦ προδότης θεοῦ νομιζέσθω.
- 366 λόγον περὶ θεοῦ σιγᾶν ἄμεινον ἢ προπετῶς διαλέγεσθαι.
- 367 ὁ λέγων ψευδῇ περὶ θεοῦ καταψεύδεται θεοῦ.
- 368 ἄνθρωπος μὴδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθὲς ἔρημός ἐστιν θεοῦ.
- 369 θεὸν οὐκ ἔστιν γινώσκειν μὴ σεβόμενον.
- 370 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀδικῶν τις ἄνθρωπον σέβει τὸν θεόν.
- 371 κρηπίς θεοσεβείας φιланθρωπία.
- 372 ὁ προνοῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχόμενός τε ὑπὲρ πάντων οὗτος ἀληθεῖα θεοῦ νομιζέσθω.
- 373 θεοῦ μὲν ἴδιον τὸ σώζειν οὓς ἂν προαιρῇται.
- 374 εὐσεβοὺς δὲ τὸ εὐχεσθαι θεῷ σώζειν.
- 375 ὁπότεν εὐξαμένῳ σοι γένηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦ παρὰ θεῷ.
- 376a ἄξιός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις.
- 376b θεὸς καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄριστον, τὸ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ἀρίστου.
- 377 ἀκτῆμονα κρεῖττον ἢ ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι πολυκτῆμονα.
- 378 μὴ διδούς δεομένοις δυνατὸς ὢν οὐ λήψη δεόμενος παρὰ θεοῦ.
- 379 τροφῆς δεομένῳ μεταδιδόντος ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς δόμα μὲν τι βραχύ, προθυμία δὲ μεγάλη παρὰ θεῷ.

364 γενομένης Υ τίνος ΠΥ εἶποτε Υ μάλιστα om. Π.

365 λόγου attached to 364 Υ. 368 περὶ θεοῦ λέγειν Υ.

369 σεβόμενος Π. 370 om. Π. 372 θεοῦ <υἱός> Lloyd-Jones.

373 ἂν Π. 374 τὸ om. Υ. 375 τοῦ om. Υ.

376a θεοῦ om. Π.

376b om. R 'For God and the Son of God are on an equality with the Holy Spirit' X ἐγγύτατον Π. 378 οὐ μὴ λ. Υ θεῷ Υ.

379 ἐξ ὅλης om. Π (cf. R) ψυχῇ Π παρὰ θεῷ om. R At μεγάλη Π passes straight into 488-9 thus: προθυμία δὲ μεγάλη δουλεύων τοῖς γονεῦσιν, [489] οὐκ ἔστιν εὐσεβέστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 364 cum minatur tyrannus, cuius sis tunc maxime memor esto.
- 365 verbum qui loquitur de deo his quibus non licet, proditor dei putandus est.
- 366 verbum de deo reticere praestat magis quam temere proferre.
- 367 qui dicit de deo ea quae non sunt, contra deum falsum loquitur.
- 368 homo qui nihil habet quod dicat de deo vere, desertus est a deo.
- 369 deum non cognovit qui non colit.
- 370 non est verum quod deum colat qui hominem laedit.
- 371 fundamentum et initium est cultus dei amare homines.
- 372 qui hominum curam gerit et orat deum pro eis, iste vere a deo esse putandus est.
- 373 dei proprium est salvare quos dignos iudicat.
- 374 cultoris autem dei est orare deum pro salute hominum.
- 375 cum oranti tibi praestitum fuerit, quod poposcisti a deo, tunc tibi potestatem permissam a deo intellege.
- 376a dignus deo homo deus est in hominibus.
- 376b * * * * *
- 377 melius est non habere quam multa habentem nemini impertire.
- 378 si non das egentibus cum possis, non accipies a deo cum poposceris.
- 379 qui ex animo dat cibum indigenti, parum quidem est quod dat sed magna fiet ei bonae voluntatis retributio.

364 cum GU cum tibi z.

366 magis om. GT.

373 est om. S dignos om. U.

377 nihil habere VTGUcr. impertire JU impertiri z (cf. 266).

378 accipies WJSTUw accipis z poposceris Acr peteris z.

- 380 θεὸν οὐ νομίζοντος ὁ νομίζων καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἡγούμενος οὐχ ἥττον ἄθεος.
381 τιμᾷ θεὸν ἄριστα ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐξομοιώσας θεῷ
εἰς δύναμιν.
382 θεὸς δεῖται μὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδενός, χαίρει δὲ τοῖς μεταδιδούσι
τοῖς δεομένοις.
383 πιστῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν ἔστωσαν οἱ λόγοι, ἔργα δὲ πολλὰ.
384 πιστὸς φιλομαθὴς ἐργάτης ἀληθείας.
385 ἀρμόζου πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἵνα εὐθυμῇς.
386 μηδὲνα ἀδικῶν οὐδένα φοβηθήσῃ.
387 τύραννος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται.
388 ὁ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκὼν ποιεῖ.
389a ὁ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ποιεῖ.
389b πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σοφὸς εἶναι ὑπίσχυοῦ.
390 οὐ καλῶς πράττεις τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνάφερε εἰς θεόν.
391 οὐδεὶς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ κάτω που βλέπων εἰς γῆν καὶ τραπέζας.

392 τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἐλευθεροῦν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ
τὴν ψυχὴν.
393 ψεύδεσθαι φυλάττου· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἀπατᾶσθαι.
394 τίς θεὸς γινώθι· μάθε τὸ νοοῦν ἐν σοί.
395 θεοῦ καλὸν ἔργον ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος.
396 ἄθλιοι δι' οὓς ὁ λόγος ἀκούει κακῶς.
397 ψυχὴν θάνατος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν ἀλλὰ κακὸς βίος.

380 *om.* X νομ. ὁ νομ.] νομιζόντως ὀνομάζων Π μηδὲν ἡγ. εἶναι πρ.
αὐτ. Υ ἥττον ἢ ἄθ. Υ ἥττονα θεός Π (*text* Lloyd-Jones).

381 *after* 385 Υ, *om.* X.

382 οὐδαμῇ *om.* X οὐδενός *om.* R.

383 οἱ *om.* Υ πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα Π.

385 *Clit.* 120 ἀρμόττου Υ ἀγωνίζου X.

386 = 608 *where om.* Π φοβήσῃ Υ.

387 *Clit.* 121, περιστάσεις (*cf.* 385) εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδαμῶς ἀφαιροῦνται.

388 *om.* Υ (*cf.* 471). 389a δεῖ μὴ Υ.

389b τὸ *om.* Π. 390 ἀνάφερε τὴν αἰτίαν Υ.

391 ἀνὴρ *om.* Υ κατώπου Υ τράπεζαν Π (Υ = R X).

392 οὐ τὸν] αὐτὸν Π ἐλευθεροῖν Π ἐλεύθερον δεῖ εἶναι *conj.* J. Kroll.

394 μάθε YX τί Π (*cf.* R) ἔστιν ἐν σοί Π σοί] *add* τὸν θεόν R X.

396 ἄθλιοι Π YX ἄθεοι R κακός Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 380 deum qui putat esse et nihil ab eo curari, nihil differt ab
eo qui non crediderit esse deum.
- 381 optime honorat deum ille qui mentem suam, in quantum
fieri potest, similem facit deo.
- 382 deus quidem nequaquam indiget, laetatur autem super hos
qui indigentibus tribuunt.
- 383 fidelium pauca sint verba, opera autem multa.
- 384 fidelis qui libenter habet doceri operarius efficitur veritatis.
- 385 praepara et apta te ad tribulationes et laetus eris.
- 386 neminem laedens nullum timebis.
- 387 tyrannus beatitudinem non aufert.
- 388 quod fieri necesse est voluntarie facito.
- 389a quod non oportet fieri nullo modo facias.
- 389b omne magis * * * * *
- 390 * * * agis] causam refer ad deum.
- 391 nemo sapiens vir est, qui deorsum respicit in terram et
mensas.
- 392 philosophi libertas non sit in nomine, sed in anima.
- 393 mentiri vita; decipere est et decipi.
- 394 quid sit deus agnosce et quid in te quod agnoscit deum.
- 395 dei opus bonum homo bonus.
- 396 sine deo sunt hi pro quibus verbum dei maledicatur.
- 397 animam mors non perdit, sed mala vita.

380 credederit A credit z.

384 habet doceri A doceri OTV docetur P docet z.

387 aufert JGUcwr auferet z.

389b-390 *lacuna* Elter: omnem magis causam MSS.

393 vita Elter in vita MSS. (*om. S.*).

395 homo bonus VTGUr *om. z.*

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 398 πρὸς ὃ γέγονας εἰδὼς γνώσῃ σαυτόν.
 399 οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς καὶ
 δικαίως πράττειν.
 400 ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων βίος ὄνειδος.
 401 μήποτε λάθης σαυτόν ἀγενεὶ φύσει μεταδιδούς λόγου θεοῦ.
 402 ψυχὴν ἀπὸ γῆς πίστις ἀνάγει παρὰ θεόν.
 403 σοφοῦ ψυχῆς μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις μᾶλλον ἢπερ καὶ θεοῦ.
 404 ὅσα δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται.
 405 ὃ παρέχει κόσμος βεβαίως οὐ τηρεῖ.
 406 θεία σοφία ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ γυνῶσις.
 407 ἀκαθάρτῳ ψυχῇ μὴ τόλμα λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ.
 408 ἀνδρὸς πείραν πρότερον ἔργων ἢ λόγων ποιεῖ.
 409 τὰ ὧτά σου μὴ παντὶ πίστευε.
 410 οἴεσθαι μὲν περὶ θεοῦ εὐμαρές, λέγειν δὲ ἀληθὲς μόνῳ τῷ
 δικαίῳ συγκεχώρηται.
 411 μὴ βασανίσῃς σου τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν σου
 βασανίσῃς ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς.
 412 ἔθιζε σεαυτόν τῷ μὲν σώματι παρέχειν τὰ τοῦ σώματος
 σωφρόνως, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ θεοσεβῶς.
 413 τρέφε σου τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν λόγῳ θείῳ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα σιτίοις
 λιτοῖς.
 414 χαίρειν ἔθιζέ σου τὴν ψυχὴν ἐφ' οἷς καλὸν χαίρειν.

-
- 398-9 are put between 328 and 335 in x. 398 om. Π οὐ R?
 399 Clit. 123, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκλεῶς ζῆν κτλ. καὶ καλῶς Clit. R om. Π Y
 δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως Y καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνως X.
 401 λάθῃ Π ἀπηνεῖ Y. 402 ἀπὸ γῆς om. X ἄγει Y.
 403 ἢπερ] περ ἢ Π (cf. 306). 404-5 in inverse order R.
 405 om. X (and two MSS. of R) After 405 Π has 236-61, and places
 406-27 between 454 and 455. 406 ἢ τοῦ om. Y τοῦ θεοῦ om. R.
 407 = 451 (ἀκολάστῳ) where om. Π X omits 407.
 408 πρότερον πείραν Π ποιοῦ Π.
 409 Clit. 126a (μὴ πᾶσιν ὑπεχε). 410 om. Y δικαίῳ Π.
 411 μὴ βασανίζου τῇ ψ. Y μήτε Π.
 412 om. Y τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς θεοσεβῶς Lloyd-Jones.
 413 is put after 356 by X (which transposes 359-412 to fall in the middle of
 483) τρέφε] ἀρχῇ τρέφε Π μὲν om. Y θείῳ λόγῳ Π ὀλίγοις Y.
 414, 415a om. Y, 414 om. X.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 398 si scis a quo factus es, et temetipsum agnoscis.
 399 non est secundum deum vivere nisi pudice et bene et iuste
 quis agat.
 400 hominum infidelium vita obprobrium est.
 401 ne te praetereat et malo ingenio verba dei committas.
 402 animam de terra fides elevat ad deum.
 403 animae sapientis magnitudinem non reperiēs, sicut nec dei
 quidem.
 404 quaecumque dat mundus, nemo firmiter tenet.
 405 quaecumque dat deus, nullus auferre potest.
 406 divina sapientia est scientia.
 407 inmundae animae ne audeas loqui de deo.
 408 viri periculum in operibus primo et sic in verbis facito.
 409 aures tuas non omnibus committas.
 410 opinari quidem de deo facile ab omnibus est, dicere autem
 veritatem de deo soli iusto permittendum est.
 411 non cruciet anima tua corpus tuum neque animam tuam
 cruciet libido corporis.
 412 insuesce te ipsum corpori quidem praebere quae sua sunt
 caste, et animae quae sua sunt pie.
 413 pasce animam tuam verbo dei, corpus vero simplicibus
 cibis.
 414 in illis insuesce gaudere animam tuam, in quibus recte
 gaudet.

399 et bene *om.* OS.

403 quidem *om.* Jc (*cf.* 306).

404-5: *note inverted order in R MSS.*

404 *om.* SU.

406 *om.* GU vere est scientia Jc r.

407 inmundae anima W O B S w loqui O G U loqui experimentum z.

410 opinari P^{corr.} S operari z est¹ *om.* w.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 415a ψυχὴ χαίρουσα ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἄτιμος παρὰ θεῶ.
 415b σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἀκούει θεοῦ.
 416 σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἀρμόζεται πρὸς θεὸν ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
 417 σοφοῦ ψυχὴ αἰεὶ θεὸν ὀρᾷ.
 418 ψυχὴ σοφοῦ σύνεστιν αἰεὶ θεῶ.
 419 καρδίᾳ θεοφιλοῦς ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ ἵδρυται.
 420 ψυχῆς ἄνοδος πρὸς θεὸν διὰ λόγου θεοῦ.
 421 σοφὸς ἔπεται θεῶ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ψυχῇ σοφοῦ.
 422 χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὖν σοφῷ χαίρει.
- 423 ἀχώριστόν ἐστιν τοῦ ἀρχομένου τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ θεὸς οὖν τοῦ σοφοῦ προνοεῖ καὶ κηδεταί.
 424 ἐπιτροπεύεται σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μακάριος.
 425 ψυχὴ σοφοῦ δοκιμάζεται διὰ σώματος ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
 426 οὐχ ἡ γλῶττα τοῦ σοφοῦ τιμία παρὰ θεῶ, ἀλλ' ἡ φρόνησις.
 427 σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ [εἰδὼς διὰ τίνα σιγᾷ].
 428 γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα [ὁ] μὴ κρατῶν οὐδεὶς πιστός.
- 429 ἄνθρωπος ἀκρατῆς μιαίνει τὸν θεόν.
 430 ἄνθρωπον θεοῦ γνῶσις βραχύλογον ποιεῖ.
 431 πολλοὺς λόγους περὶ θεοῦ ἀπειρία ποιεῖ.
 432 θεὸν ἄνθρωπος εἰδὼς οὐ πολλὰ κομπάζει.
 433 ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται.

-
- 415b *om.* X and one MS. of Rufinus. 416 *om.* Y, after 417 X.
 417 *om.* all MSS. of Rufinus except A ψυχὴ σοφοῦ Y.
 418 ἐστιν Y. 419 ἵδρυται is attached to 420 by Y.
 420 θείου Y. 421 καὶ θεὸς σοφοῦ ψυχῇ χαίρει (*cf.* 422) Y.
 422-4 *om.* X. 422 ὁ *om.* Y οὖν *om.* Π.
 423 ἐστιν] αἰεὶ Y θεὸς οὖν σοφοῦ καὶ προνοεῖ καὶ κ. Y.
 424 *Cf.* Clit. 135, μακάριος οὐ ὁ θεὸς κηδεμών ἐστιν ὑποτροπεύεται Y τοῦ θεοῦ Y. 425 διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Y.
 426 οὐχ ἡ γλῶττα σοφοῦ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τίμιον κτλ. Y.
 427 = 589 *where om.* Π; *here om.* Y εἰδὼς διὰ τίνα σιγᾷ *om.* R X x 589 Py. Po. After 427 Π has 455-88, and places 428-30 after 261.
 428 = 588, *where om.* Π; *here om.* Y. 429 τὸν *om.* Y 430 θεοῦ *om.* Y
 431 περὶ θεοῦ *om.* X. 431-43 *om.* Π.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 415 a anima quae in rebus nullis gaudet indigna est apud deum.
 415 b sapientis anima semper audit deum.
 416 sapientis anima deo aptatur a deo.
 417 sapientis anima semper intuetur deum.
 418 sapientis anima semper est cum deo.
 419 cor diligentis deum in manu dei stabilitum est.
 420 animae ascensus ad deum per verbum dei est.
 421 sapiens sequitur deum et deus animam sapientis.
 422 gaudet rex super hos quos regit, gaudet ergo et deus super sapientem.
 423 inseparabilis est ab his quos regit ille qui regit, ita ergo et deus ab anima sapientis quem tuetur et regit.
 424 dispensatur a deo vir sapiens et idcirco beatus est.
- 425 anima sapientis probatur a deo per corpus.
 426 non lingua sapientis probabilis est apud deum, sed mens.
 427 sapiens vir etiam cum tacet honorat deum.
 428 ventrem, et ea quae sub alvo sunt, qui non continet non est fidelis.
 429 homo incontinens polluit deum.
 430 hominem scientia dei paucis verbis uti facit.
 431 multis verbis uti de deo ignorantia dei facit.
 432 homo qui deum scit non multa ambitione utitur.
 433 qui electus dei est, facit quidem omnia secundum deum, esse autem se ipse non iactat electum.

415 a nullis A V T G U vanis S iniquis J c r illis W O P B.

415 b *om.* A

417 A *alone, om.* z.

420 *est om.* S.

422 hos A his z ergo *om.* S U (*cf.* 423).

423 *est om.* J c.

424 *est om.* c.

425-6 *Text as in A; om.* G U anima sapientis probabilis est apud deum sed et mens z.

431 dei *om.* J c.

ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

- 434 * * * * *
 435 ἄνθρωπος δις ἐμπιπλόμενος τροφῇ καὶ μηδέποτε μόνος
 κοιμώμενος νύκτωρ συνουσίας οὐ φεύγει.
 436a εἰμαρμένη πιστὸν οὐ ποιεῖ.
 436b εἰμαρμένη θεοῦ χάριτος οὐκ ἄρχει· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ θεοῦ.
 437 * * * * *
 438 πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τρέφεται ἐγκρατεῖα.
 439 γινῶθι ῥήματα καὶ κτίσματα θεοῦ καὶ τίμα κατ' ἀξίαν τὸν
 θεόν.
 440 * * * * *
 441 ψυχὴ πιστὴ ἀγνή καὶ σοφὴ καὶ προφητὶς ἀληθείας θεοῦ.
 442 οὐκ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ οἶον ὁ
 θεὸς θέλει.
 443 φίλον ἡγοῦ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ.
 444 οὐκ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἔσθι παρὰ θεῷ.
 445 ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν ἀεὶ ἀφορᾶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.
 446 ὀρῶν τὸν θεὸν ὀψη σεαυτόν.
 447 ὀρῶν τὸν θεὸν ποιήσεις τὸ ἐν σοὶ φρονοῦν ὅποῖον ὁ θεός.
 448 σέβου τὸ ἐν σοὶ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ
 καθυβρίσης.
 449 ἀσπίλωτόν σου τὸ σῶμα τήρει ὡς ἔνδυμα τῆς ψυχῆς παρὰ
 θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου τηρεῖς ἀσπίλωτον ἔνδυμα
 ὄντα τῆς σαρκός.
 450 σοφοῦ διάνοια θεοῦ ἔνοπτρον.
 451 ἀκολάστῳ ψυχῇ μὴ τόλμα λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ.

434 *om.* Y. 435 *μηδέποτε om.* X μόνος *om.* R συνουσίαν
 θεοῦ φ. Lloyd-Jones, cf. 136.

437 *om.* Y. 439 τίμα ἕκαστον κατ' ἀξίαν μετὰ θ. R X.

440 *om.* Y. 441 καὶ² *om.* R.

442 κύριον *om.* X (cf. R MSS.) θέλει *om.* X R (cf. 35, 447).

443 = 592 *where* Π *also omits.* 444 Π *resumes to* 450.

445 ἐφορᾶν Y. 446 *om.* Y αὐτόν R X.

447 *om.* X ὁ *om.* Π. 448 *om.* Y καθυβρίσεις Π.

449 ἀσπίλον *twice* Π ἔνδυμα ψυχῆς παρὰ θεῷ Y τηρήσεις Y.

450 σοφὴ Y *After* 450 Π *has* 569, 579, 578, 580-6, 591, 593-4, 610,
 452-4, etc. 451 = 407 (ἀκαθάρτῳ) *om.* Π X.

ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

- 434 fidelis homo semper in metu est, usquequo eat ad deum.
 435 homo, qui secundo satiatur cibo nec dormit noctu, concubitus non effugit, sed ne apud deum quidem dignus est.
 436 sapientem fatum non facit;
 gratia enim dei fato non subiacet, alioquin et deus.
 437 graviter accipit libidines corporis vir fidelis.
 438 fidelis vir continentia pascitur.
 439 agnosce qui sunt filii dei in creaturis eius, et honora unumquemque pro merito post deum.
 440 nihil proprium dei ducas quod malum est.
 441 fidelis anima casta et sapiens propheta veritatis dei est.
 442 non amabis dominum deum si non habueris in te aliquid simile dei.
 443 amicum deputa similem simili.
 444 tantummodo non diligis deum, non ibis ad deum.
 445 consuesce te ipsum semper respicere ad deum.
 446 intuendo deum videbis eum.
 447 videns deum facies mentem tuam talem qualis est deus.
 448 excole quod intra te est, nec ei ex libidine corporis contumeliam facias.
 449 incontaminatum custodi corpus tuum, tamquam si indumentum id acceperis a deo, sicut et vestimentum corporis tui immaculatum servare studes.
 450 sapientis mens speculum est dei.
 451 immundae autem animae nihil audeas dicere de deo.

434 fidelis autem homo G U 'In every faithful man who fears God the fear of God abides in truth and he acts rightly until he ends his days and goes to God' Syriac (X).

435-7 *om.* G U. 435 nec A V non z nocte A J.

436 *Text as in A; other MSS. attach* alioquin et deus *to 437 and in 437 om.* vir fidelis.

442 dominum *om.* G U.

444 tantummodo W P si tantummodo V in quantum G U quoad w tantummodo *attached to 443 (and si non diligis)* Br.

447 fac G U qualis *om.* P V S. 448 *om.* G U.

451 non munda A autem *om.* S.

3. THE GREEK APPENDICES TO SEXTUS

APPENDIX I

- 452 (ΠΧx) Ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ οὗ ἀδίκως ἔπραξας δις ἀδική-
σεις.
453 (ΠΧxΑ) ἄρχων μὲν ἐπιτήδευεπραῦς εἶναι, ἀρχόμενος δὲ
μεγαλόφρων.
454 (ΠΥΧ) βασιλεῖ συμβούλευε τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ ἀρχῇ.
455 (ΠΧxΑ) βασιλεῖ μὴ ἐπιχείρει συγγίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος
δυσωπεῖν βασιλέα.
456 (ΠxΑ) βασιλεῖ καλῶς χρώμενος ἄρξεις βασιλέως.
457 (ΠΥΑ) βασιλέα φρόνησις οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ.
458 (Υ) νοῦς ἐστὶ τὸ ἄρχων.
459 (ΠΥ) ὁ βασιλεύων ἀνθρώπων καλῶς βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
460 (ΠΥ) βασιλεῖ πιστὸς ὧν βασιλεὺς ἔσθι.
461 (ΠΥΧx) κυνικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄσκησις μὲν ἀγαθὴ, βίος δὲ οὐ
προηγούμενος.
462 (ΠΥx) κυνικοῦ μὴ τὸ σχῆμα ἀποδέχου ἀλλὰ τὴν μεγα-
λοψυχίαν ζήλου.
463 (ΠΧx) κυνικὸς ἀληθὴς βασιλεὺς ἀνεπίφθονος.
464 (ΠΧx) κυνικὸς ἀληθὴς τὸν κόσμον οἶκον ἡγεῖται.
465 (ΠΧΑ) ᾧ ἂν ἔλθῃ βίῳ πρᾶττε τὰ ἀκόλουθα.
466 (Π) πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτάρκης ἀρετὴ.
467 (ΠΥΧ) πλούσιον μόνον νόμιζε τὸν σοφόν.

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- 452-4 *after* 610 *in* Π. 452 Clit. 54 ἔπραξας ἀδίκως Π.
453 Clit. 55 (πρῶτος).
454 Clit. 56 *After* 454 Π *has* 406-27, *then* 455-88. 455 Clit. 57.
457-9 Clit. 58-60, Py. 13 νοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρχων Clit. Py.
459 ὁ *om.* Υ Py. βασιλ. γὰρ τις ἀ. κ. οὗτος ὑπὸ θ. βασιλεύεται Py.
τοῦ θεοῦ Clit.
460 ὧν καὶ Υ. 461 οὐ *om.* Π. 462 = Py. 54.
465 <μ>ακρόβιον προηγούμενον ᾧ ἂν κτλ. Π. 466 Cf. 148.
467 μόνον *om.* Π.

THE GREEK APPENDICES

- 468 (ΠΥΧ) ὦν ἀρετὴ αἰτία, τούτων οὐδενὶ φαῦλον πρόσσεστιν.
 469 (ΠΥΧ) ὦν κακία αἰτία, τούτων καθαρεύσει σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
 470 (ΠΧ) τὰ καλὰ ποιεῖν μὲν καλόν, ὑπὸ σκηνεῖσθαι δὲ αὐθαδές.
 471 (ΠΧχ) ἃ δεῖ πράττειν ἐν περιστάσει, μὴ πράξεως προηγου-
 μένως.
 472 (ΠΥΧχ) ὑπὲρ ὧν θέλεις ζῆν, ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ ἀπόθανε.
 473 (ΠΥΧ) οὐχ ὁ θάνατος κακόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι γεν-
 ναίως ἀποθανεῖν.
 474 (ΠΧ) μηδὲν τῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀγαθὸν ἡγοῦ.
 475 (ΠΧ) οὐδὲν κακόν, ὃ μὴ αἰσχρόν.
 476 (ΠΥΧχ) ὀργὴ λογισμὸν ἐκπλήττει.
 477 (ΠΥΧχ) ὁ φθονῶν ἑαυτὸν ζημιοῖ.
 478 (ΠΧ) ἀνθρώποις χρῶ ὡς κοινωνοῖς καὶ πολίταις θεοῦ.
 479 (ΠΥΧ) μᾶλλον τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις σε ἀμείβεσθαι χαρίζου.
 480 (ΠΧ) οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο εὐλογος, ὅπου λογισμὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι
 αἰσχρόν.
 481 (ΠΧχ) ἀρχὴ πατρίδος ἐπιμελείας ἀρίστη ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμέ-
 λεια.
 482 (ΠΧχ) μεγάλως εὐεργετῇ πατρίδα ὁ σπουδάσας ἀγαθὸς
 εἶναι πολίτης.
 483 (ΠΧ) ἀναθημάτων ἄριστον ἐν πόλει πολιτῶν ἀνδραγαθία.
 484 (ΠΧ) πατρίδος εὐεργέτης ἀνὴρ σοφός.
 485 (ΠΧ) οὐ σφύζεται μέρος ἄνευ τοῦ ὅλου.
 486 (ΠΥ) ἄριστα τιμᾷ γονεῖς ὁ μάλιστα γονέων ἐπιμελούμενος.
 487 (ΠΥ) εὐχάριστος γονεῦσιν ἀνθρώπος θεοφιλής.
 488 (ΠΥΑ) θεραπεύει θεὸν ὁ θεραπεύων γονεῖς.

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- 468 οὐδὲν Υ.
 469 καθαρεύει ΥΧ ἀνὴρ *om.* ΠΧ. 470 *Cf.* 198.
 471 *Cf.* 388 προηγουμένως *at the beginning of* 472 Υ.
 472 Py. 123, Po. 34. 473 Clit. 62 οὐ θάνατος Υ κακὸς Π.
 475 *Cf.* 202. 478 *Cf.* 210. 479 μᾶλλον ΠΧ *om.* Υ.
 482 Py. 61.
 483 *In the middle of* 483 Χ *inserts* 355, 359–412 (*cf. introd. p. 6*) ἄριστα Π.
 485 Clit. 67. 486 ὁ *om.* Π. 486–535 *lacking in* Χ.
 488 θ. θ. ὁ θεραπεύων κακοπραγμόνων ἦθη κτλ. = 262–379, *then after*
 προθυμία δὲ μεγάλη (*see on* 379) *follows* δουλεύων τοῖς γονεῦσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν
 εὔσεβ. κτλ. Π.

TEXTS

- 489 (ΠΥ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐσεβέστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς.
 490 (ΠΥ Α) ὁποίους ἂν ἀξιοῖς σοι παῖδας εἶναι, τοιοῦτος ἔσο τοῖς γονεῦσι.
 491 (Π) ἀχάριστος γονεῦσιν ἀνθρωπος ἀσεβής.
 492 (ΠΥ) εὐχῆς οὐκ ἀκούει θεὸς γονέων οὐκ ἀκούοντος.
 493 (ΠΥ Α) γονέων ὀργὰς φέρειν εὐσεβές.
 494 (ΠΥ Α) γονέων πείθου μὲν μᾶλλον τῷ πατρί, θεράπευε δὲ τὴν μητέρα.
 495 (ΠΥ) γονεῦσιν ἀποπιμπλάσι τὸν θυμὸν καλὸν ὑπέκειν.
 496 (Υ) ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ φιλάδελφον ἡγοῦ.
 497 (ΠΥ) αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι φιλῖαι φθονοῦνται, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸν εὐθύνεται μὴ φιλῶν.
 498 (ΠΥ) καλὸν ἀδελφῷ καὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἰσομοιρεῖν.
 499 (ΠΥ x) οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον σωφροσύνης γάμῳ.
 500 (ΠΥ) ὅρα τὴν γυναῖκα ὡς μέρος σεαυτοῦ.
 501 (ΠΥ) αἰδούμενος τὴν γαμετὴν σῶζεις [ἀνὴρ].
 502 (ΠΥ) ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ ἑνὸς ζώου τελείου μέρη.
 503 (ΠΥ) τιμάτω μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα ὡς προστάτιν, ἡ γυνὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς κηδεμόνα.
 504 (ΠΥ) μὴδὲν κτῆμα ἔστω τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃ μὴ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔστιν.
 505 (ΠΥ x) ἁμαρτήματα γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπαιδευσίαι.
 506 (ΠΥ x) ἀνὴρ ἀρχέτω γυναικός, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννείτω.
 507 (ΠΥ) ἀνδρὸς ἀκρασία γυναῖκα ἀπόλλυσιν.

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- 489 Clit. 68 ἀνάλωμα τοῦ] ἂν ἄλλο τι Π.
 490 ὁποίους ἂν ἀξιοῖ ὥσι παῖδας εἶναι Υ* ὅποιοι ἂν ἀξιοῖ σοι παῖδες εἶναι Υ^{corr.} ἀξιοῖς Elter εὗξη Π ἔσο] γίνου Υ τοῖς γονεῦσιν σου Π.
 492 Cf. 217, 584 ἀκούοντος Π ἀκούοντων Υ.
 494 μὲν μᾶλλον πείθου Υ.
 495 ἀποπιμπλάσι Υ ἀναπιμπλάσιν Π ὑπήκειν Π ὑπενεγκεῖν Υ.
 498 Py. 53.
 499 σωφροσύνη Υ γάμῳ x γάμου ΠΥ (cf. 168, 235).
 500 μέλος Υ (cf. 13) ἑαυτοῦ Π.
 501 Cf. 238 αἰδούμενος ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα οὐ σώζεται Π.
 502 τελείου om. Π.
 503 ὁ om. Π προστάτην Π παραστάτιν Elter ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Υ.
 504 Py. 62 ἔστιν om. Υ. 505 ἁμάρτημα Υ (x=Π).
 506 Py. 63 τυραννείτω γυνὴ Υ. 507 ἀνδρὸς om. Π.

THE GREEK APPENDICES

- 508 (ΠΥ x) γυναικὸς ἄρχειν ἱκανὸς ὁ σώφρων ἀνὴρ.
 509 (Π) οἱ δι' ἡδονὴν παιδοποιούμενοι ὑβρίζουσι τὰς παιδοποιίας.
 510 (Π) λαγνεῖα κόρου περίσσευμα.
 511 (Π) προῖξ πολλὴ τέκνα βελτίονα οὐ ποιεῖ.
 512 (ΠΥ x) χαλεπώτερον πλουσιωτέρας ἄρξεις.
 513 (ΠΥ x) γυνὴ φιλόκοσμος οὐ πιστή.
 514 (ΠΥ x) γυνὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα νόμον ἡγεῖσθω τοῦ βίου.
 515 (ΠΥ x) ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ ποιεῖτω.
 516 (Π) ὁ ἐπιγαμῶν τέκνοις μὴ εὐδοκιμεῖτω.
 517 (ΠΥ) ὅταν ἄρκῃ τέκνοις, ἄρκοῦ καὶ ἀφροδισίοις.
 518 (Π) ὠμότατος τεκνοκτόνος ὁ τὰ μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα τέκνα ἀναιρῶν.
 519 (ΠΥ x) τοὺς παῖδας τρέφε ὡς ὑπηρετάς θεοῦ ἐσομένους.
 520 (ΠΥ x) εὐχου σοι μὴ γίνεσθαι τέκνα ἢ κακὰ γίνεσθαι.
 521 (ΠΥ x) ὅποια ἂν ᾖ σου ἡ γυνή, τοιοῦτος ἔσται σου καὶ ὁ οἶκος.
 522 (ΠΥ x) οὐ σεαυτῷ μόνῳ τέκνα γεννήσας μέμνησο ὅτι θνητὰ γεννᾷς.
 523 (ΠΥ x) μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν τέκνων ἀποβολὴν μὴ παιδοποιοῦ.
 524 (ΠΥ x) φύσις μεγάλη ἐπιμελουμένη βελτίων γίνεται, ἀμελουμένη δὲ χείρων.
 525 (ΠΥ x) μεγάλη φύσις μεγάλης δεῖται καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας.
 526 (ΠΥ x) μεγάλη φύσις ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐ πεφυκυῖα.
 527 (ΠΥ x) ἡ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐφυῖα σφαλερά.

508 ἱκανώτατος σωφρονέστατος (*om.* ἀνὴρ) Υ (x=Π) (*cf.* 555).

510 λαγνεῖα Elter ἄγνεῖα Π. 511 Clit. 74.

513 Clit. 75. 514 μόνον Π.

515 αὐτῷ ΠΥ ποιεῖτω Υ πειθέτω Π. 516 ἐπιγάμων Π.

517 ὅταν ἄρχῃς τέκνων ἄρχε καὶ ἀφροδισίων Υ (*cf.* 240).

520 γενέσθαι (*twice*) Υ τέκνα μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς γεννᾶσθαι Π (*cf.* 254).

521 σου¹ *om.* Π ἔσται] ἔστω Υ οἶκος] βίος Πx (*cf.* 326a).

522 γεννᾷς (*twice*) Π.

523 *Cf.* 257 τέκνων φέρειν Υ παιδοποιεῖ Υ.

524 φύσις μεγάλη μικρᾶς ἀμελουμένη γίνεται χείρων Πx (μικρᾶς *om.* x).

525 καὶ τῆς *om.* Πx. 526 εὐ πεφυκυῖα] εὐφυῖα (*cf.* 527-8) Υ.

527 Hippocrates, *Aphor.* I, 3, αἱ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαι σφαλεραί.

TEXTS

- 528 (ΠΥx) ὁ κακῶς εὐφυΐα χρησάμενος ἀχάριστος τῇ φύσει νομιζέσθω.
- 529 (ΠΥx) ἀσφαλῆς φύσις μεγάλων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν αἰτία.
- 530 (Πx) χαλεπώτερον σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὸ διαφθεῖραι νέου ψυχὴν ὄχλος ἐπαινῶν.
- 531 (ΠΥΑ) φυλάττου φαύλων ἐπαίνους.
- 532 (Π) οὐδὲν ὦνιον μέγα ἀνάθημα.
- 533 (ΠΥX) λόγος ὀρθὸς ὁμοιος θεῷ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄπρατος.
- 534 (ΠΥX) ὁ τοῖς πολλοῖς πειρώμενος ἀρέσκειν πολλοῖς ὁμοιος.
- 535 (Π) πλῆθος φιλοσόφων οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις.
- 536 (ΠΥXx) γονέων διδάσκαλοι μείζους εὐεργέται.
- 537 (ΠΥX) ἐν παντὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὸ εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον.
- 538 (ΠX) ὃν οὐκ οἶδας πῶς ποτ' ἔχει παιδείας, τοῦτον μήποτε τολμήσης λέγειν εὐδαίμονα.
- 539 (ΠXx) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐγενῶς φιλοσοφεῖν πόνων μὴ καταφρονήσαντα.
- 540 (ΠΥXx) παίδευε σαυτὸν, εἴτα τοὺς ἄλλους.
- 541 (ΠΥXxΑ) ἀνεύθυνος ὢν μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖ νέων ἄρχειν.
- 542 (ΠΥXΑ) παιδευτικός ἀνὴρ οὗτος εὐεργέτης μετὰ θεόν.
- 543 (ΠΥXx) ἐλέγχων σεαυτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων οὐκ ἐλεγχθήσῃ.
- 544 (ΠΥ) ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπων.
- 545 (ΠΥXΑ) παιδευτικός θέλων εἶναι ἄσκει πρᾶττητα.

- 528 ὁ καλῶς εὐφυΐα χρώμενος Π (x = Y).
- 529 οὐκ ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν ἀγγεία Π.
- 530 σοφιστοῦ . . . ὄχλος ἐπ. Lloyd-Jones σοφιστῆς . . . ὄχλοις ἐπαινῶν Π.
- 531 Cf. 241 = 570. 532 ὀνίων Π ἀνάθημα Π.
- 533 διὸ καὶ πρακτικός Y. 534 Cf. 112. 535 Cf. 243.
- 536 Clit. 78. 537 Cf. 64.
- 538 = Clit. 46. For 536–8 Π has γονέων διδάσκαλοι μείζους εὐεργέται, ἐν παντὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι. λυσιτελέστερον οὖν ἔστιν τὸ ποτὲ παιδείας ἔχειν. τοῦτον μηδέποτε τολμήσεις εὐδαίμονα λέγειν.
- 539 Clit. 47 (om. μὴ). 540 ἔπειτα Π.
- 541 ἀνάξιος Xx μὴ om. Y (cf. 544, 173).
- 542 Cf. 176 οὗτος om. Y. 543 σαυτὸν Y ὑπὸ Π.
- 544 Plato, *Apol.* 38E ἀνεξέστατος Π βιωτάτος ἀνθρώπων Π.
- 545 Py. 81 εἶναι θέλων Y (cf. 247) πρᾶττητα Y.

THE GREEK APPENDICES

- 546 (ΠΥΧx) ὁ βίος σου τοῖς παιδευομένοις ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων σου ἔστω.
 547 (ΠΥΧxΑ) τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω.
 548 (ΠΥΧx) πλεονέκτει τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς πόνοις.
 549 (ΠΥΧx) αἰσχροὺν προστάττειν ἀ μὴ ποιεῖς.
 550 (ΠΥΧxΑ) σαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν ἄλλων μὴ θέλε κρατεῖν.
 551 (ΠΥΧx) κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχὴν τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἑαυτοῦ.
 552 (ΠΧx) ἀρχε ἐκόντων.
 553 (ΠΥΧx) χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν νέων ἀρχεῖν ἢ λεόντων.
 554 (ΠΥΧx) ἐπιστάμενος ἀρχεῖν καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν ἀρξῇς.
 555 (ΠΧx) ἐν παντὶ ἀρχικώτατος ὁ φρονιμώτατος.

APPENDIX 2A

- 556 (ΥΧ) ἐν τῷ σοφώτατον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἄριστον· εἰς οὖν καὶ θεός.
 557 (ΥΧ) τὸ μοναρχοῦν δεύτερον εἶναι οὐ πέφυκε.
 558 (ΥΧ) μόνον αὐτῆς μονάδος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.
 559 (ΥΧ) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς αὐτοκίνητος καὶ ἀεικίνητος.
 560 (ΥΧ) θεός ἐστὶν οὐσία αἰδῖος, μακάριος θεός, ἔστι τε πρὸ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ πάσης γενέσεως μακάριον.
 561 (ΥΧ) πηγὴ πάντων καλῶν ὁ θεός ἐστὶν.
 562 (ΥΧ) ὁ θεός καθὼς νοῦς ἐστὶν αὐτοκίνητος, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ὑφέστηκεν.

546 Py. 73 τῶν παιδευομένων Πx Py. τῷ λόγῳ Π σου² om. Π Py. τῶν λόγων σου om. Χx.

547 Clit. 49, Po. 8, τὰ γὰρ ἔργα τῶν δογμάτων ἐκάστου φέρειν πέφυκε τὰς ἀποδείξεις τὰ om. Π.

548 ἐν ἅπασι om. Πx ἐν πάθεσι καὶ πόνοις Χ.

549 Cf. 180 αἰσχροὺν προστάττειν ἴσα καὶ ποιεῖν Υ.

550 Py. 93 (σεαυτοῦ) ἑαυτοῦ Π ἄλλον Π.

551 Py. 100, τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἑαυτοῦ κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἀρχεῖν σεαυτῷ Π. 552-3 ἀρχαὶ ἐκόντων χαλεπώτερον κτλ. Π.

553 Clit. 51 = Χx χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν (with 552) om. Υ ἢ γερόντων Π.

555 Clit. 52 (cf. Py. 109) ἐν πάσῃ ἀρχῇ ἰσώτατος ὁ φρ. Π With 555 both Π and x cease, ΥΧ continue without break.

560 μακάριον om. Χ. 562 = 26 (om. δη).

TEXTS

- 563 (Y X) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς ὁ πρὸ πάντων σοφός.
 564 (Y X) τὸν αἵματος καὶ κνίσσης δεόμενον μὴ τόλμα λέγειν θεόν.
 565 (Y X) θεοῦ γνώμη σφύζεται τὰ σύμπαντα, θεοῦ δυνάμει δυνατὰ πάντα.
 566 (Y X) οὐσία θεοῦ δύνამις τῶν ὄντων τοῦ παθεῖν ἀνεπίδεκτος.
 567 (Y X) ἀπειρία θεοῦ πληθος ἐποίησε θεῶν.
 568 (Y X) βλάξ ἄνθρωπος θεὸν ἀγνοῶν ξύλα καὶ λίθους τιμᾷ.
 569 (ΠY X) ἀδικοῦντα μὲν λαθεῖν δυνατόν, πίστιν δὲ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀδύνατον.
 570 (Y X) φυλάττου τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ἔπαινον.
 571 (Y X) ἐπαινεθέντες πόσοι ἀπώλονται.
 572 (Y X) κρίνε σεαυτὸν ὡς μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆς.
 573 (Y X) ἀγῶν ὁ βίος ἔστω σοι περὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ.
 574 (Y X) οὐκ ἔστιν ἅμα δουλεύειν ἡδονῇ καὶ θεῷ.
 575 (Y X) κατ' ἀξίαν δουλεύων ἄρξεις τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.
 576 (Y X) ὅποιον ἂν ᾖ σου τὸ ἄρχον, τοιοῦτος ἔση.
 577 (Y X) γινῶθι θεόν, ἵνα γινῶς καὶ σαυτόν.

APPENDIX 2B

- 578 (ΠY X^a) τιμὴ μεγίστη θεῷ θεοῦ γινῶσις ἐν σιγῇ.
 579 (ΠY X) ὁμοίωσις θεοῦ παντὸς τοῦναντίου ἀποφυγή.
 580 (Y X) ἑαυτὸν αἰδοῦ μετὰ θεόν.
 581 (Y X) εὐκαίρει τῷ θεῷ.
 582 (Y X) δικαίου διανοίας θεὸς ἡγεμὼν ἔστιν.
 583 (ΠY X) τιμῶν τὸν θεὸν τίμα ἃ καὶ ὁ θεός.

564 Cf. *anonymous Pythagorean ap. Orig. c. Cels.* vii, 6.

569 Placed after 450 Π ἀδικοῦμενον μαθεῖν ἀδύνατον, πίστιν δὲ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀδύνατον Π περὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Y.

570 = 241 (where X attaches 571) τὸν] τῶν Y.

573 = 282 (περὶ βίου σεμνοῦ). 574 Clit. 136.

575 θεῷ κατ' ἀξίαν conj. Elter. 576 ἔσο X.

577 Cf. 394.

578 Cf. 44 Placed after 579 Π θεῷ om. Y γινῶσις] ὁμοίωσις Π.

579 θεῷ π. τοῦ ἐν. Π πάντως YX. (Cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 176B.)

582 δικαίου διανοίας X Elter δεῖ καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἀνοίας Y.

583 τὸν and ὁ om. Y τίμα] ταῦτα μόνον τίμα Π.

THE GREEK APPENDICES

- 584 (YX) εὐχῆς οὐκ ἀκούει θεὸς σπουδαίως δεομένων οὐκ ἀκούοντος.
 585 (ΠΥX) σεαυτῷ δεῖ πίστιν ἐπιφέρειν μετὰ θεὸν λόγον θεοῦ.
 586 (ΠΥ) ὡς πρέπει λέγε περὶ θεοῦ.
 587 (YX) πιστὸς ἀνὴρ ἐνὶ λατρεύει τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι.

APPENDIX 3

- 588 (Y) γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα μὴ κρατῶν οὐδὲ εἰς πιστὸς.
 589 (Y) σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ σιγῶν θεὸν τιμᾷ.
 590 (Y) καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀνοσίων ἔργων λέγε περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἄκουε.
 591 (ΠΥ) ψυχὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πιστὴν ἐν ἐννοίαις θεοῦ οὔσαν κακοὶ δαίμονες οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσιν.
 592 (Y) φίλον ἡγοῦ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ.
 593 (ΠΥ) μόνον οἰκεῖον ἡγοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
 594 (ΠΥ) μὴδὲν ἴδιον κτῆμα νομιζέσθω φιλοσόφου.
 595 (Y) ἄριστον μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτόντα δὲ ἄμεινον μὴνύειν ἢ κρύπτειν.
 596 (Y) νομιζέσθω σοι ἀμάρτημα εἶναι καὶ τὸ διανοηθῆναι ἀμαρτεῖν.
 597 (Y) πᾶν ὃ ἂν διανοηθῆς ὥστε ποιῆσαι, πεποιθήκας αὐτὸ τῇ ψυχῇ.
 598 (Y) οὐκ ἐκφεύξη ἀμαρτίαν ἀναλώμασι.
 599 (Y) πολύθεος ἀνθρωπος ἄθεος.

584 = 217 (*cf.* 492) εὐχῆς ἀκούει θεὸς σπουδαίως δεομένων, σοῦ μὴ ἀκούσαντος σεαυτῷ δεῖ [585] Y *Text as X* (Elter).

585-6 ἑαυτῷ σὲ δεῖ πίστιν ἐπιφέρειν μετὰ θεὸν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ λέγε περὶ σοῦ Π.

586 *Cf.* 355ff. 587 marks the end of X.

588 = 428 (ὁ μὴ κρατῶν) *where om.* Y.

589 = 427 *where om.* Y. 590 *Cf.* 356.

591 = 349 πίστιν Π ἐν *om.* Π. 592 = 443.

593 = 79.

594 = 227 νομιζέσθω κτῆμα Π νόμιζε *and om.* φιλοσόφου Y.

595 = 283 (γινώσκειν ἄμεινον ἢ ἀγνοεῖν); X inserts 595 between 10 and 11.

597 ἂν Y. 598 *Cf.* 155.

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- 600 (Υ) ὢν ἂν ἐπιθυμῆσης, τούτων νόμιζε δοῦλος εἶναι.
 601 (Υ) αἰσχρὸν νόμιζε τὸ διανοηθῆναι τὸ αἰσχρὸν.
 602 (Υ) μὴ πλείονα κτῶ ὢν τὸ σῶμα ἐπιζητεῖ.
 603 (Υ) οὐ γέγονας ἐντρυφήσων τῇ τοῦ κόσμου παρασκευῇ.
 604 (Υ) ἀνθρωπος δουλεύων ἡδονῇ δουλεύει κακῶ δαίμονι.
 605 (Υ) κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους μένει ὅποσα οὐ προσδοκῆσουσι.
 606 (ΥΑ) δικαιοσύνην ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ ἅσκει.
 607 (ΥΑ) τὰ δίκαια ποίει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικεῖν σε πειρωμένους.
 608 (Υ) μηδὲνα ἀδικῶν οὐδένα φοβηθήσῃ.
 609 (Υ) ὑπὸ τῶν πλησίον ἀνέχου ψευδόμενος.
 610 (ΠΥ) σπουδὴ πλειόνων ἐπιμεμφῆς γίνεται.

600 Cf. Clit. 12. 602 = 115.

603 = 117 (θεοῦ *for* κόσμου).

608 = 386. 609 Cf. 298.

After 610 Π has 452-4 etc. Υ ends at this point.

4. CLITARCHUS

The manuscript authorities for the text of Clitarchus are four, one of which stands in a separate class from the other three:

Φ=Parisinus gr. 1630, fol. 186, which contains ninety-three maxims beginning *ἔπου θεῶ*, first printed by Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* 1, pp. 127-34. They stand in the Paris manuscript without title. Of these ninety-three maxims fifty-nine are found in Sextus and for the most part the order is identical. For the remaining thirty-four Sextus offers no parallel.

Λ=Vaticanus gr. 1144, saec. xv, fol. 232^v, which contains fifty-nine maxims likewise beginning *ἔπου θεῶ*, under the title *ἐκ τῶν Κλειτάρχου πραγματικῶν χρεῶν συναγωγή*. Of these fifty-nine maxims twenty-two are contained in Φ. Probably, therefore, both compilers drew independently upon an original collection of Clitarchus, and each made his own individual choice.

Σ=Bodleianus Auct. F. 6. 26, saec. xv, foll. 183-7, which has drawn on the same collection with thirty-eight maxims, also beginning *ἔπου θεῶ*, under the heading *παραινετικά*. There are no maxims in Σ which do not also occur in Φ. The compiler of the collection transcribed in Σ was making his own epitome and selection from the already epitomised form of Clitarchus attested in Φ. That Σ depends upon Φ is evident from the fact that in Clit. 123 the final word *πράττειν*, attested in the parallel in Sextus (399), stood originally in Φ but has been lost by the bad state of the manuscript; in Σ the word is simply omitted. Nevertheless it is unlikely that Σ is a direct copy of Φ, since Σ sometimes groups as single maxims sentences which appear as two maxims in Φ. Moreover, in Σ each maxim has attached to it a short 'exegesis' (which is usually not much more than a platitudinous paraphrase of the text).

Θ. The fourth and last witness is a small group of twenty-three maxims under the title *Κλειτάρχου* preserved in the vast collection of maxims gathered in Parisinus gr. 1168, saec. xiii, fol. 96. These include some shared with either one or both of Φ and Λ, but also several peculiar to Θ which are entirely absent from Φ and Λ. Moreover, the grouping is different; occasionally two or three maxims which in Φ and Λ appear as separate and individual sayings are in Θ combined to form one longer aphorism. The order in Θ is quite different; it begins

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with 55 ἀρχῶν μὲν ἐπιτήδευε... and the wide divergence may be at once seen from the following enumeration of the order of the material: 55, 58 + 59, 25 + 26, 54, 138, 13 + 23 + 24, 34 + 40, 39, 50, 74, 88 + 89, 90, 91, 92, 99, 101 + 103, 114, (139-44).

Eleven out of these twenty-three aphorisms of Θ are quoted in the vast commonplace book assembled by abbot Maximus, printed among the works of Maximus Confessor in Migne, *P.G.* xci, 719-1018 after Gesner's edition. All these are extracted from the *Corpus Parisinum*, and he quotes none not found in Θ.¹

Parallel to the collection in Θ are the maxims in Parisinus suppl. gr. 690 (Θ^b), containing five out of the twenty-three; Coislinianus 249 (Θ^c) containing twelve sentences in the same order as in Θ; and lastly Parisinus gr. 1630, fol. 189, quotes Clit. 55 alone (Θ^d).

The order preserved by ΛΦΣ is likely to be original; it agrees with Sextus for the most part. Perhaps the strangely divergent order of Θ is to be attributed to the rearranging propensities of the compilers of the *Corpus Parisinum*. For it is noteworthy that several aphorisms in Θ are provided with connecting particles, absent from ΛΦΣ and from Sextus. On the other hand, the sentences do not in fact connect, and the particles are otiose. The arrangement in Θ is also peculiar in placing at the end seven maxims to which ΛΦΣ offer no parallel at all; one (143) brings together into a single aphorism three sentences which also occur consecutively in Sextus (140-2). It is far from certain that this appendage in Θ preserves an authentic part of the original collection of Clitarchus.

COMMENTARY ON CLITARCHUS

1 and 2 are run into a single maxim by Λ. Both are quoted by Demetrius (Phal.), *De elocutione* 1, 9 as instances of brevity in style. For 'follow God' cf. also Seneca, *De vita beata* xv, 5.

3 The saying is ascribed to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, II, 99. Cf. Clit. 33 (Sextus 464).

12 The Syriac version of Sextus expands Sext. 20 by adding: 'But know well that you are the slave of that which you desire.' Cf. also Sextus 75 a.

¹ That Maximus' source is the *Corpus Parisinum* was shown by Elter, *Gnomica Homoiomata* 1, pp. 72f.

CLITARCHUS

The intrusion at this point in Clit. of a saying which occurs in the appendix to Sextus in Y only (600) is explained by Elter as due to the connection of this maxim with the subject-matter of Clit. 11 and 13. This argument assumes that he has correctly placed Clit. 13 in its proper and original position; but it is attested only by Θ, and therefore incapable of being placed with any certainty in a reconstruction of the original collection.

18-19 are run into a single maxim by Σ, as also 28-9 and 31-2.

33, unparalleled in Sextus, occurs in Clit. between two maxims which in Sextus are also divided by a single aphorism (158), τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀγάπα. Elter suggests that Sextus 158 comes from the same source as Clit. 33.

35, 38, 39b, 40, 41 are omitted by Π Rufinus, but Clitarchus' maxims found their way into both Syriac versions.

39a and b are joined by 'for' (contrast Sextus 164, 165 f.).

46 appears in corrupt form in Sextus 538 (Π only).

50 and 51 appear as a single maxim in Σ, as also 56 and 58. 50 is paralleled in Sextus 182 and 550 and in the aphorism ascribed to Solon in the *Apophthegms of the Seven Wise Men* (Mullach, *Frag. Philos. Gr.* I, p. 212), ἀρχεσθαι μαθῶν ἀρχεῖν ἐπιστήσῃ (= Stobaeus, III, I, 172).

52 Cf. Py. 109.

58-60 = Py. 13. Cf. Sextus 182 and 43.

61 Cf. Sextus 462.

63 Cf. Py. 43, θεοῦ ὁμοιον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἔάν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν μὴ κατηλέυη. Cf. Sextus 176, 210ff. (= 478ff.).

65 Cf. Sextus 481-4, 216.

66 and 67 are given as a single maxim in the sole manuscript to attest them (Φ). They occur at widely separate points in Sextus.

69-70 Cf. Sextus 508 (236), 509.

72 Cf. Sextus 501.

79-80 are one maxim in Φ (not in Σ).

83 Cf. Sextus 252.

85 and 86 are given in the reverse order in Σ, as also in Po. 34 (296, 14-16) where they are also conjoined. Both occur in the Pythagorean maxims (Py. 23 and 71), but only 85 in Sextus (75 b). But the wording of Clit. 85 agrees with Sextus against Py. Po.

88 Cf. the saying ascribed to Solon in the *Apophthegms of the Seven Wise Men* (Mullach, *op. cit.* p. 212), φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ, οὓς δ' ἄν κτήσῃ, μὴ ταχὺ ἀποδοκίμαζε. 88 and 92 appear conjoined in Σ.

93 and 94 are conjoined in Φ, as also 100 and 101.

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102-3 Cf. Py. 45-6.

102 and 103 conjoined in Σ.

107 may be completed from the Byzantine florilegium entitled Φιλοσόφων λόγοι edited by Schenkl (*Programm d. akad. Gymnasiums*, Vienna, 1886), no. 66, which reads ἀρίστους θησαυρούς τοὺς φίλους ἡγοῦ.

115 Cf. Sextus 283.

122 Cf. Sextus 404-5.

125 Cf. Clit. 17.

128 Cf. Py. 12, βουλευσάμενος πολλὰ ἤκε ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεις ἐξουσίαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὰ πραχθέντα ἢ λεχθέντα.

135 and 136 are conjoined by Σ.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ

- 1 (ΛΦΣ) Ἔπου θεῶ.
- 2 (ΛΦ) γυνῶθι σαυτόν.
- 3 (Λ) πατρίδα τὸν κόσμον ἡγοῦ.
- 4 (ΛΦΣ) ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σοφὸς μόνου θεοῦ (Sext. 49).
- 5 (Λ) ἄσκει μέγας εἶναι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, παρὰ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνεπίφθονος (Sext. 51).
- 6 (ΛΦΣ) εὐσεβὴς οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ θύων, ἀλλ' ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν (cf. Sext. 47).
- 7 (ΦΣ) ἡ ψυχὴ σου αἰεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῷ (Sext. 55b).
- 8 (ΦΣ) διάνοια ἀνθρώπου θεὸν οὐ λανθάνει (Sext. 57a).
- 9 (ΦΣ) δίκαιος ἀνὴρ εἰκὼν θεοῦ (cf. Sext. 190).
- 10 (Λ) ἐκ φιληδονίας ἀκολασία φύεται (Sext. 71b).
- 11 (ΛΦΣ) ζήλου τὸν μηδενὸς δεόμενον (cf. Sext. 50).
- 12 (Λ) ὦν ἐπιθυμεῖ τις δοῦλός ἐστιν (Sext. 600, Y *only*).
- 13 (Θ) ἐγκράτεια δὲ κρητὶς εὐσεβείας (Sext. 86a).

4 σοφὸς δεῖται ΦΣ (x) τοῦ θεοῦ ΦΣ (Y).

5 μέγας μὲν Sext. παρὰ θεῷ Sext. 6 μηδένα Λ.

7 σου *also* Y (cf. Sext. 55a) τῷ θεῷ Σ.

8 ἔνοια Sext. (διάνοια Sext. 57b). 10 ἀκολασίαν οὐκ ἐκφεύγει Sext.

12 ὦν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃς, τούτων νόμιζε δοῦλος εἶναι Sext.

13 κρητὶς εὐσ. ἐγκρ. Sext.

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- 14 (Λ) εὔχου σοι γενέσθαι μὴ ἂ βούλει ἀλλ' ἂ δεῖ (Sext. 88).
- 15 (Λ) ἂ δίδωσι παιδεία, ταῦτα οὐδεὶς σε ἀφαιρήσεται (Sext. 92).
- 16 (ΦΣ) σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ ἂ πράττεις ἐξέταζε, ἵνα μηδὲν ποιῇς ὃ μὴ δεῖ (Sext. 93).
- 17 (ΦΣ) ψυχὴ καθαίρεται ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ (Sext. 97).
- 18 (ΦΣ) παντὸς οὗ καλῶς πράττεις θεὸν ἡγοῦ αἴτιον (Sext. 113).
- 19 (ΦΣ) κακῶν θεὸς ἀναίτιος (Sext. 114).
- 20 (Φ) μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄσκει (Sext. 120).
- 21 (Λ) ὦν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτα εὔχου σοι γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους (Sext. 125).
- 22 (Φ) ὃ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ (Sext. 128).
- 23 (ΛΘ) ὄρεξις κτήσεως ἀρχὴ πλεονεξίας (Sext. 137).
- 24 (Θ) ἐκ γὰρ φιλαργυρίας ἀδικία φύεται (Sext. 138).
- 25 (ΛΦΣΘ) φιλῶν ἂ μὴ δεῖ οὐ φιλήσεις ἂ δεῖ (Sext. 141).
- 26 (Θ) ἀπλήρωτον γὰρ ἢ ἐπιθυμία, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄπορον (Sext. 146).
- 27 (Λ) κακοὶ κολακευόμενοι κακίους (Sext. 149).
- 28 (ΦΣ) αἰρετώτερον εἰκῇ λίθον βάλλειν ἢ λόγον (Sext. 152).
- 29 (ΦΣ) σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς εἰκῇ (Sext. 153).
- 30 (ΛΦΣ) ῥήματα ἄνευ νοῦ ψόφοι (Sext. 154).
- 31 (ΛΦΣ) βραχυλογίᾳ σοφία παρακολουθεῖ (Sext. 156).

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- 14 γίνεσθαι Π δεῖ καὶ συμφέρει Sext.
 - 15 ὃ Λ παιδεία] ὁ θεός Sext. ταῦτα *and* σε *om.* Sext.
 - 16 *See codd. of Sextus (above, p. 22).*
 - 17 φωτίζεται Sext. καθαίρεται] *cf.* Sext. 24, ψυχὴ καθ. λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπὸ σοφοῦ, Ρο. 11, καὶ καθ. μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ.
 - 18 = Ρο. 12 αἴτιον ἡγοῦ τὸν θεόν Sext.
 - 19 = Ρο. 12 (*after* 18). 21 = Ρο. 12 σοὶ εὔχου Sext.
 - 22 = Ρο. 12; Ρυ. 3 (δ) κτώμενος Υ τοῦ θεοῦ Π.
 - 24 ἐκ φιλαυτίας (*om.* γὰρ) Sext. κακία Π γίνεται Υ.
 - 26 ἀπλήρωτος ἐπιθυμία [ἅπαντα παντὸς *add.* ΠΧ], δ. τ. κ. ἄπορος Sext. γὰρ Θ, *om.* Sext. 27 κακίους γίνονται Sext.
 - 28 = Ρο. 14, Ρυ. 7 λίθον εἰκῇ Sext. Ρο. Ρυ.
 - 29 εἰκῇ *from* 28? ἂ μὴ δεῖ Sext. (*cf.* Clit. 16).
 - 30 Clit. = Χ ψόγος ΠΡ φόβος Υ. 31 ἀκολουθεῖ Υ.

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- 32 (ΛΦΣ) μακρολογία σημείον ἀμαθίας (Sext. 157).
- 33 (Φ) ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ πᾶσα γῆ πατρὶς.
- 34 (ΦΘ) τῷ ψεύδει ὡς φαρμάκῳ χρῶ (Sext. 159).
- 35 (ΦΣ) ὅποτε δεῖ πράττειν, λόγῳ μὴ χρῶ (Sext. 163a).
- 36 (ΦΣ) περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδας, σιώπα,
περὶ ὧν οἶδας, ὃ δεῖ λέγε (Sext. 162).
- 37 (ΦΣ) λόγος παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνοίας ἔλεγχος (Sext. 163).
- 38 (ΦΣ) ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ σιωπᾶν
(Sext. 164a).
- 39 (ΦΘ) ἐν συλλόγῳ πρῶτος λέγειν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε· (Sext. 164)
μετὰ γὰρ πλείονας λέγων ὅψει μᾶλλον τὰ συμφέροντα
(Sext. 165b).
- 40 (ΦΣΘ) μεγάλη περιστάσει πρέπει ψεῦδος (Sext. 165c).
- 41 (ΦΣ) μηδένα ἀπάτα, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν συμβουλίας δεόμενον
(Sext. 165e).
- 42 (Φ) οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον σοφίᾳ ἢ ἀλήθεια (Sext. 168).
- 43 (ΦΣ) οὐ δυνατόν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν φιλόσοφόν τε εἶναι καὶ
φιλοψευδῆ (Sext. 169).
- 44 (Λ) τοῦ λέγειν ἃ δεῖ τὸ ἀκούειν προτίμα (Sext. 171).
- 45 (Λ) τὰ τῶν παιδευομένων ἀμαρτήματα τῶν παιδευόντων
ὁνειδῇ (Sext. 174).
- 46 (Φ) ὃν οὐκ οἶδας πῶς ποτ' ἔχει παιδείας, τοῦτον μήποτε
τολήμης λέγειν εὐδαίμονα (cf. Sext. 538).
- 47 (Φ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐγενῶς φιλοσοφεῖν πόνων καταφρονήσαντα
(Sext. 539).

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| 34 χρῶ ὡς φαρμάκῳ Sext. | 35 om. PR. |
| 36 ὅτε δεῖ Sext. | 37 διανοίας ἔλεγχος κακῆς Sext. |
| 38 om. PR Y. | |
| 39 ἐν om. Φ | μετὰ πλείονων λ. μᾶλλον ὅψει τὰ σ. Sext. YX (39b om. PR) |
| | γὰρ om. Φ Sext. |
| 40 om. PR | μεγάλῃ περιστάσει ἢ πρέπει ψεῦδος Sext. YX. |
| 41 om. PR | δὲ om. Sext. YX. |
| 42 σοφίας Φ | σοφ. ἀληθείας Sext. |
| 43 αὐτὴν om. YR | πιστὴν τε εἶναι Sext. (τε om. YR) ψευδῆ YXx. |
| 44 τὸ λέγειν ἃ δεῖ (ἀεὶ Π) | τοῦ ἀκούειν πιστὸς ὧν μὴ προτίμα Sext. (cf. R 'fidelis homo audire quae oportet amat magis quam dicere quae non oportet'). |
| 45 τὰ τ. ἀγνοούντων ἀμ. τ. (μὴ add. Y) | διδασκάντων αὐτοὺς ὁνειδῇ Sext. ('discentium... doctorum' R). |
| | 47 μὴ καταφρ. Sext. |

CLITARCHUS

- 48 (Φ) τοὺς λόγους σου ὁ βίος βεβαιούτω (Sext. 177).
 49 (Φ) τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω (Sext. 547).
 50 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἄρχεσθαι μὴ μαθῶν ἄρχειν μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖ.
 51 (ΛΦΣ) χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν νέων ἄρχειν ἢ λεόντων (Sext. 553).
 52 (Λ) ἐν παντὶ ἀρχικώτατος ὁ φρονιμώτατος (Sext. 555).
 53 (ΦΣ) ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἀπατῆσαι δυνατὸν λόγῳ, θεὸν δὲ ἀδύνατον (Sext. 186).
 54 (ΛΘ) ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ οὗ ἀδίκως ἔπραξας, δις ἀδικήσεις (Sext. 452).
 55 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἄρχων μὲν ἐπιτήδευε πρῶτος εἶναι, ἀρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρων (Sext. 453).
 56 (ΦΣ) βασιλεῖ συμβούλευε τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ ἀρχῇ (Sext. 454).
 57 (Λ) βασιλεῖ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖ συγγίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος δυσωπεῖν βασιλέα (Sext. 455).
 58 (ΦΣΘ) βασιλέα φρόνησις, οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ· (Sext. 457)
 59 (Θ) νοῦς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἄρχων (Sext. 458).
 60 (ΦΣ) ὁ βασιλεύων ἀνθρώπων καλῶς βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (Sext. 459).
 61 (Λ) ὅταν ἐπὶ μικροῖς παύσῃ μέγα φρονεῖν, τότε ἄρξῃ μέγα φρονεῖν.
 62 (ΛΦ) οὐχ ὁ θάνατος κακόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι γενναίως ἀποθανεῖν (Sext. 473).
 63 (Φ) ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιον ἔχει θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν.
 64 (Θ) φαύλοις ἄχρηστος δοκεῖ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ (Sext. 214).
 65 (Λ) ὑπὲρ πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν εὐτυχές.

48 παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν *add.* Sext.

48-9 = Po. 8. 49 τὰ *om.* Π.

51 Clit. = Xx χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν *om.* Y ἢ γερόντων Π.

52 Clit. = Xx ἐν πάσῃ ἀρχῇ ἰσότητος Π.

53 δυνατὸν ἀπ. λόγῳ (ἀπ. λ. δ. Y) ἀνθρ., θ. μέντοι ἀδ. Sext.

55 μὲν] δὲ *and om.* ἀρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρων Σ.

57 δυνάμενον Λ.

58-9 βασιλ. φρόνιμον τὸ διάδημα οὐ ποιεῖ κτλ. Θ νοῦς ἔστι τὸ ἄρχον
 Sext. (Y), Clit. = Py. 13.

60 ὁ *om.* Y Py. 13 ἀνθρωπον Φ ὑπὸ θεοῦ Sext. Py. 13.

62 οὐ θάνατος Y κακός Π. 64 φ. φαίνεται ἄχρ. Sext.

TEXTS

- 66 (Φ) οὐ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν (Sext. 10).
 67 (Φ) οὐ σώζεται μέρος ἄνευ τοῦ ὅλου (Sext. 485).
 68 (Λ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐσεβέστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς (Sext. 489).
 69 (Λ) γάμει δυνατὸς ὢν ἄρχειν.
 70 (Λ) ὁρος ἀφροδισίων παιδοποιΐα.
 71 (Λ) μοιχὸς ἔστι τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς πᾶς ὁ ἀκόλαστος (Sext. 231).
 72 (Λ) αἰδούμενος τὴν γυναῖκα αἰδουμένην ἔξεις (Sext. 238).
 73 (Φ) ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν γαστρὸς ἄρξης, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἄρξεις (Sext. 240).
 74 (Θ) προῖξ πολλή τέκνα βελτίονα οὐ ποιεῖ (Sext. 511).
 75 (Λ) γυνὴ φιλόκοσμος οὐ πιστὴ (Sext. 513).
 76 (Λ) τέκνα ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν ἐφ' ἡμῖν (Sext. 255).
 77 (Λ) διδασκάλους τίμα.
 78 (Λ) γονέων διδασκαλοὶ μείζους εὐεργέται (Sext. 536).
 79 (ΛΦΣ) φιλοπονία φύσιν διορθοῦται.
 80 (ΛΦΣ) ῥαθυμία φύσιν ἀπόλλυσιν.
 81 (Λ) ὀψιμαθὴς γίνου ἢ ἀμαθής.
 82 (Λ) πᾶν ἀμάρτημα χρόνου ζημία.
 83 (Λ) φιλοπόνῳ χρόνος περισσεύει.
 84 (Λ) τῶν ἐπὶ σχολῆς λόγων ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσι μέμνησο.
 85 (ΦΣ) ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπότες (Sext. 75 b).
 86 (ΦΣ) οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι κρατούμενον ὑπὸ παθῶν.
 87 (Φ) ὕπνον προσίεσο διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον.
 88 (ΦΣΘ) μὴ ταχέως τοὺς φίλους κτῶ.
 89 (Θ) οὐς ἂν κτήσῃ φίλους κτῶ.
 90 (Θ) σεαυτοῦ τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν φίλων ἡγοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων εὐτυχημάτων κοινώνει τοῖς φίλοις.

66 οὐ γὰρ ΥΧ. 71 ἔστι *om.* Sext. αὐτοῦ Λ ὁ *om.* Υ.

72 αἰδ. γαμετὴν Sext. 73 ὡς ἂν Υ ὅταν Π.

76 ἀνιάτω σε μᾶλλον τέκνα κτλ. τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν Sext. (τέκνα ζῆν μὲν Π = Clit.) μὲν *and* καλῶς δὲ κτλ. *om.* Υ.

85-6 *inverse order* Σ.

89 ἐὰν Θ δ' ἂν *coni.* Elter.

90 τὰ εὐτυχήματα Θ^c τῶν φίλων *at the end* Θ^a τῷ φίλῳ Θ^c.

CLITARCHUS

- 91 (Θ) τελευταίαντων τῶν φίλων θρηνεῖν μὲν οὐκ εὐγενές,
προνοεῖν δὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελές.
- 92 (ΦΣΘ) περιστάσεις δοκιμάζουσι φίλους.
- 93 (Φ) πίνει μετὰ τὸ διψῆν.
- 94 (Φ) ἔσθιε μετὰ τὸ πεινῆν.
- 95 (Φ) ἄνθρωπος γαστρὸς ἥσων ὁμοῖος θηρίῳ (Sext. 270).
- 96 (Φ) μὴ ἐπιτείχιζε τῇ ψυχῇ σου τὸ σῶμα.
- 97 (Φ) ὅρος σιτίων ἔστω σοι τὸ μὴ πεινῆν.
- 98 (ΦΣ) ἀκρόπολις ἐστὶ σοφοῦ μεγαλοψυχία.
- 99 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἀρετὴν μὲν ἔχων πάντα ἔξεις, κακίαν δὲ οὐδὲ
σεαυτόν.
- 100 (Φ) ἰσχὺν σώματος πόνοι καταναγκάζουσι σιτίων μᾶλλον.
- 101 (ΦΘ) ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ σώματός σου μὴ γινέσθω τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀσθένεια.
- 102 (ΦΣ) αἶρου τῇ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σώματι ἰσχύειν.
- 103 (ΦΣΘ) ἰσχὺν δὲ ψυχῆς φρόνησιν νόμιζε.
- 104 (Φ) εἰς ἀνὴρ μυρίων περιγίνεται τῇ φρονήσει.
- 105 (Φ) τοῦτο σὸν κτῆμα οὐκ ἐστίν, ὃ παρόσον μεταδίδως τοῖς
ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις (Sext. 295).
- 106 (ΦΣ) ὃς ἂν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονῇ, οὗτος καὶ τῶν ψόγων
καταφρονεῖ (Sext. 299).
- 107 (Φ) ἃ[.] τοὺς φίλους ἡγοῦ.
- 108 (Φ) τὰ δίκαια μετὰ πειθοῦς αἰρετώτερον ποιεῖν ἢ μετὰ βίας.
- 109 (Λ) οὐ πρότερον γνώση ὃ μὴ οἶσθα, πρὶν ἂν γνώσης οὐκ
εἰδῶς (Sext. 333).
- 110 (Φ) <ὀργὴν πλήθους> μὴ παρόξυνε (Sext. 343).
- 111 (ΦΣ) ἐπαινὸν πλήθους μὴ θαύμαζε ἢ μὴ ἀτίμαζε.

95 ἡττώμενος Sext.

101 ἢ *om.* Θ^c ἢ Φ σου *om.* Θ. 103 δὲ *om.* ΦΣ.

105 δ] ᾗ Φ ὅπερ μεταδιδούς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις, μὴ κρίνης ἀγαθὸν
εἶναι Sext. (Π) παρ' ὅσον μὴ μεταδιδούς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις Υ.

106 ὦν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τῶν ψόγων ὑπερόρα Sext. Py. III b
(*at the end* καταφρονεῖ) τοῦ ψόγου Σ.

107 <δελφούς εἶναι> Boissonade ἀρίστους θησαυροὺς τοὺς φίλους ἡγοῦ
Sententiae Philosophorum 66 ed. Schenkl.

109 νοῦν οὐ πρότερον ἔξεις πρὶν ἢ γνῶς οὐκ ἔχων Sext. οὐκ οἶσθα *at
the end* Λ γνῶς ὥς οὐκ οἶσθα *conj.* Elter.

111 ἐπαίνων Σ.

TEXTS

- 112 (Φ) θόρυβον τ[.....]μάτων ἤχον.
 113 (Φ) ψυχὴν σιτίοις μὴ ἐπιθολοῦ μηδὲ ἀμέτροις[.....].
 114 (ΛΦΘ) κρείττον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ διὰ γαστροῦς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν
 ἀμαυρῶσαι (Sext. 345).
 115 (Λ) ἄμεινον εἰδέναι ἀγνοοῦντα ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ ἢ δοκεῖν μὴ
 γινώσκοντα γινώσκειν.
 116 (Λ) μέθης καιρὸς οὐδὲ εἰς οὐδενὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοῦ ληρεῖν.
 117 (ΛΦ) νέος εὐφυέστατος μὴ παιδαγωγία συζῶν διαφερόντως
 γίνεται κακός.
 118 (Λ) ἀνόητος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν προτιμᾷ τοῦ κοινῇ συνοί-
 στοντος.
 119 (Λ) νέαις ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀπαλαῖς μεγάλους κινδύνους καὶ
 πόνους μὴ ἐπιβάλλει.
 120 (Φ) ἄρμόζου πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἵνα εὐθυμῇς (Sext. 385).
 121 (Φ) περιστάσεις εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδαμῶς ἀφαιροῦνται (Sext.
 387).
 122 (Λ) ὅσα δίδωσι τύχη, ταῦτα περιστάσεις ἀφαιροῦνται.
 123 (ΦΣ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκλεῶς ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς
 καὶ δικαίως <πράττειν>.
 124 (Φ) [.....] βίαιον μάθημα.
 125 (ΦΣ) ψυχὴ καθαίρεται κακίας ἀπαλλαγή.
 126a (Φ) <τὰ ὠτά σου μὴ> πᾶσιν ὕπεχε· (cf. Sext. 409)
 126b (Φ) λόγος γὰρ κακὸς κακῶν ἡγεμὼν ἐστιν.
 127 (Φ) δύναμιν μεγ[.....] φρονήσεως οὐκ ἂν εὖροις.
 128 (Φ) πολλὰ βουλευόμενος ἔπειτα πράττει ὡς ἐξουσίαν μὴ
 ἔχων ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα.
 129 (ΛΦ) φύσεως ἀντιπραττούσης πάντα κενά.

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- 114 ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ Sext. (cf. Py. 103, Po. 35) δι' ἀκρασίας Θ.
 115 δοκεῖ Λ.
 117 νέος εὐφ.....ίας τυχὼν Φ. 119 νέοις Λ.
 121 τύραννος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται Sext.
 123 οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν Sext. καὶ καλῶς om. ΠΥ (δικαίως καὶ
 σωφρ. Υ), Clit. = xR πράττειν (*deficient in* Φ) om. Σ.
 124 Cf. Georgides, ed. Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* i, p. 13, τοῦ ἁγίου
 Βασιλείου· βίαιον μάθημα οὐ πέφυκε παραμένειν, κτλ.
 126a τὰ ὠτά σου μὴ *deficient in* Φ μὴ παντὶ πίστευε Sext.
 126b = Py. 49, κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμὼν (cf. Sext. 305).
 127 μεγ<άλην ἄνευ> Boissonade.

CLITARCHUS

- 130 (Φ) τρίχας τὰς τοῦ σώματος μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν πῶς οἴσεις
πανοπλίαν;
- 131 (Φ) τρίβων καὶ κόμη καὶ γένειον ἀγαθῶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οἰκεία,
κακῶ δὲ στίγματα.
- 132 (Φ) οὐδεμία προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνει (Sext.
325).
- 133 (ΛΦ) μαντικὴ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ εὐβουλία.
- 134 (Λ) εὐεργετοῦντά σε ἄνθρωπον ὡς ὑπηρέτην θεοῦ τίμα
μετὰ θεόν (Sext. 319).
- 135 (ΦΣ) μακάριος οὗ ὁ θεὸς κηδεμών ἐστιν (cf. Sext. 424).
- 136 (ΛΦΣ) οὐκ ἔστιν ἅμα δουλεύειν ἡδονῇ καὶ θεῷ (Sext. 574).
- 137 (ΛΦ) σοφοῦ ζῶντος δόξα μὲν ὀλίγη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν
τὸ κλέος ἄδεται (Sext. 53).
- 138 (Θ) μὴ τὸ ἔχειν ἀρετὴν καλὸν νόμιζε, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς δεῖ καὶ
ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ.
- 139 (Θ) ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως τοὺς φθονεροὺς
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἥθους κατεσθίεσθαι.
- 140 (Θ) ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ζῆν, ἵνα μηδὲν
αἰσχροὺς ἐνεκεν χρημάτων πράττειν μάθωμεν.
- 141 (Θ) κρεῖττον ἓνα φίλον ἔχειν πολλοῦ ἀξίον ἢ πολλοὺς
μηδενὸς ἀξίους.
- 142 (Θ) τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐπιμελοῦ, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ὡς
στρατιώτου προνόει.
- 143 (Θ) πᾶν τὸ πλεῖον ἀνθρώπῳ πολέμιον (Sext. 140).
φιλῶν δ' μὴ δεῖ [sic] λήσεται σε τὰ καλὰ σπουδάζοντα
περὶ τὰ καλὰ (Sext. 141-2; Clit. 25).
- 144 (Θ) ὁ μὴ θέλεις ἀκούειν μηδὲ εἴπης·
ὁ μὴ θέλεις λέγειν μηδ' ἄκουε.
ὥτων καὶ γλώττης μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος.

136 ἡδονῇ δουλεύειν Λ.

138 ἔχειν] ἀρχειν Θ^a.

140 ἑαυτοὺς om. Θ^c μάθομεν Θ^c.

143 = Sextus 141-2 πολέμιον] ἀφόρητον Υ λήση Π λήζεται Χ
περὶ τὰ κακὰ ΥΧ.

144 εἴπης] ἄκουε Θ^c μηδ'] μηδὲ Θ^c γλώσσης Θ^c.

5. THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

Π=Patmos cod. 263, saec. x (transcribed by Mr Lloyd-Jones).
D=Vienna Hofbibliothek, cod. philos. et philol. 225, saec. xv,
printed by H. Schenkl in *Wiener Studien* VIII (1886), pp.
262-81.

X=Syriac version in Brit. Mus. Add. 14658, saec. vi-vii, printed
by Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (1858), pp. 195-201 (cf.
Gildemeister in *Hermes* IV (1870), pp. 81-98).

ΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΕΙΩΝ

- 1 Ἀναγεύσθω σοι ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λόγος καθ' ἡμέραν
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς σιτίοις.
- 2 ^a ἀπαιδευσία πάντων τῶν παθῶν μήτηρ· ^b πᾶν δὲ πάθος
ψυχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν πολεμιώτατον· ^c τὸ δὲ πεπαιδεύσθαι
οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθείας ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν
παθῶν θεωρεῖται.
- 3 ^a ἃ κτησάμενος οὐ κατέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ· ^b δῶρον
γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον· ^c ὥστε οὐ δώσει ὁ μὴ κατέξεις.
- 4 ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἂν εἴη ἐν ἀνθρώποις.
- 5 ἄγρυπνος ἔσο κατὰ νοῦν· συγγενὴς γὰρ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ
θανάτου ὁ περὶ τὸν νοῦν ὕπνος.
- 6 ἃ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπονοοῦ ποιεῖν.
- 6a ἀθανάτους σοι πίστευε παρὰ τῇ κρίσει καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς
τιμωρίας.
- 7 αἰρετώτερόν σοι ἔστω λίθον εἰκῇ βάλλειν ἢ λόγον ἀργόν.

Title D Σέξτον γινώμαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον Π Sayings of Pythagoras X.

I σοι om. Π μ. ἢ τὰ σιτία καθ' ἡμ. D.

2 = Po. *Ad Marc.* 9, ^b reappears independently as 116 τῶν¹ om. Π δὲ]

τε D σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς Π παιδεύεσθαι Π ἀπαλλαγῇ Π φυσικῶν
om. Π. 3 = Po. 12, ^a = Sext. 128, ^b = Sext. 92, 405.

4 Po. 15, Sext. 376 (cf. 3) θεῶν D.

5 κ. τὸν νοῦν Π περὶ τούτων Π. 6 Sext. 178.

6a Sext. 14, om. DX. 7 Cf. Po. 14, Sext. 152, om. Π.

THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

- 8 βλάπτει θεὸς οὐ χολωθείς, ἀλλ' ἀγνοηθείς· ὀργή γὰρ θεοῦ ἀλλότριον· ἐπ' ἀβουλήτῳ γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀβούλητον.
- 9 βούλει γνωσθῆναι θεοῖς; ἀγνοήθητι μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις.
- 10 ^a βραχύλογον μάλιστα ἢ θεοῦ γινώσις ποιεῖ· ^b πολλῶν δὲ λόγων περὶ θεοῦ ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀμαθία αἰτία.
- 11 ^a βουλευόμενος περὶ ἄλλου κακῶς φθάνεις αὐτὸς πάσχων ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ κακῶς· ^b καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ζήτηι παρὰ κακοῦ παθεῖν καλῶς· ^c οἷον γὰρ τὸ ἦθος ἐκάστου, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ αἱ δόσεις· ^d ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ ταμεῖον, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, κακοῦ δὲ κακῶν.
- 12 βουλευσάμενος πολλὰ ἤκε ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεις ἐξουσίαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὰ πραχθέντα ἢ λεχθέντα.
- 13 ^a βασιλέα φρόνησις οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ· ^b νοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρχων· ^c βασιλεύων γὰρ τις ἀνθρώπων καλῶς, οὗτος ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλεύεται.
- 14 ^a γλῶττα σοφοῦ οὐ προηγούμενως τίμιον παρὰ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα· ^b σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ.
- 15 ^a γλῶτταλγος ἀνθρωπος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύων τὸν θεὸν μαιίνει· ^b μόνος οὖν ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφός, μόνος θεοφιλὴς, μόνος εἰδὼς εὐξασθαι.
- 16 γινώσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ βραχύλογον.
- 17 γυμνὸς ἀποσταλὴς σοφὸς γυμνητεύων καλέσει τὸν πέμψαντα· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πεφορτισμένου ἐπήκοος ὁ θεός.

8 Po. 18 βλάπτουσι θεοὶ οὐ χολωθέντες (*om.* ἀλλ' ἀγν.) D θεῷ D ἀβουλω (*sic*) Π θεῷ . . . ἀβούλητον *om.* Π.

9 θεῷ Π παρὰ ἀνθρ. Π.

10 ^a = Sext. 430, 432, ^b = Sext. 431.

11 ^a = Sext. 327, ^c = Sext. 326, ^d = Py. 117 ἑαυτοῦ Π κακῶς² *om.* Π τοιοῦτος] τοῖος D καὶ αἱ . . . κακῶν *om.* Π.

12 Cf. Clit. 128 οὐ] καὶ D ἐξουσίαν *om.* Π λεχθ. ἢ πρ. Π.

13 Clit. 58–60 = Sext. (*App.* 1) 457–9, ^c = Sext. 182 (*cf.* 43); *om.* ΠΧ.

14 Po. 16, Sext. 426–7 ἀλλ' ἔργα Π ^b *om.* Π.

15 Po. 16, ^a *cf.* Sext. 429, ^b = Hierocles, *In Carm. Aur.* p. 25, 2 Gaisford.

15–17 *om.* Π.

16 Po. 20, *cf.* Sext. 430–2.

17 Po. 33 ἀποσταλῆς D.

TEXTS

- 18 γινώσκειν σε χρή, ὡς παντελῶς σπάνιον τὸ φιλοσοφοῦντί σοι ἄκρως δυνάμενον ἦθος συγκρατῆναι.
- 19 δῶρον ἄλλο μείζον ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ θεοῦ λαβεῖν.
- 20 ^a δῶρα καὶ θυηπολίας θεὸν οὐ τιμῶσιν, ἀναθήματα θεὸν οὐ κοσμεῖ· ^b ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνθεον φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτει θεῷ· ^c χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον.
- 21 δουλεύειν πάθεσι χαλεπώτερον ἢ τυράννοις.
- 22 διαλέγεσθαι ἄμεινον ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς πέλας.
- 23 ἐλεύθερον ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸν πάθεσι δουλεύοντα καὶ ὑπὸ παθῶν κρατούμενον.
- 24 ἔρμαιον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἡ πρᾶξις.
- 25 εἴ τις τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ ὡς προσδεόμενον, λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν δοξάζων τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κρεῖττον.
- 26 ἐὰν αἰεὶ μνημονεύης ὅτι, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡ ψυχὴ σου καὶ τὸ σῶμα σου ἔργον ἐπιτελῇ, θεὸς παρέστηκεν ἔφορος, ἐν πάσαις σου ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αἰδεσθήσῃ μὲν τοῦ θεωροῦ τὸ ἀδιάληστον, ἔξεις δὲ τὸν θεὸν σύνοικον.
- 26a ἐν νοῖ τὸν θεὸν ἔχων ἀνεπιλήστως καὶ πιστεύων ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾷ, τῇ αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακοπήσει πάσης ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις διαμαρτήσεως.
- 27 ἐφ' ὅσον σεαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖς νόμιζε μαίνεσθαι.
- 28 ζητεῖν δεῖ καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τέκνα τὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τούτου παραμένοντα.
- 29 ζῆν κρεῖττον ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατακείμενον καὶ θαρρεῖν ἢ ταραττέσθαι χρυσὴν ἔχοντα λίμνην.

18 φιλοσοφοῦν Π δυνάμενον *om.* Π.

20 Po. 19, ^b = Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 18 Gaisford (*after* Py. 41), ^c *cf.* Sext. 443. καὶ θυηπολίας *om.* Π ἡδρασμένον *om.* Π τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμ. Π.

21 Po. 34 χαλεπὸν Π ἦ] οὐ D.

22 πλεόν ἢ περ τὸν D. 23 Po. 34, Clit. 86 τὸν *om.* Π.

24 *Cf.* Plato, *Tim.* 71 c; *om.* X.

25 Po. 18, Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 13 Gaisford, *om.* Π.

26 Po. 20, *cf.* 12, *om.* Π ἐπιτελεῖ D.

26a *om.* D πάσης Lloyd-Jones πᾶν τῆς Π.

27 σεαυτὸν DX τὸν θεὸν Π. 28 *om.* Π.

29 Po. 29 λίμνην Π κλίνην DX.

THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

- 30 ^a ζῆ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῶ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτάρκης καὶ ἀκτῆμων καὶ φιλόσοφος ^b καὶ πλοῦτον ἡγεῖται μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀναγκαίων· ^c οὐ γὰρ παύσει ποτὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἐπὶκτησις· ^d αὐτάρκες δὲ πρὸς εὐζωίαν τὸ μὴδὲν ἀδικοῖν.
- 31 ἢ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων κτῆσις διὰ ῥαστώνης οὐ παραγίνεται.
- 32 ἡγοῦ μάλιστα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὃ καὶ ἑτέρῳ μεταδιδόμενον σοὶ μᾶλλον αὖξεται.
- 33 ἡγοῦ μάλιστα φίλους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς σοφίαν σε ὠφελοῦντας.
- 34 ἢ τῶν περιστάσεων ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φίλους δοκιμάζει, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς ἐλέγχει.
- 35 ^a ἡγοῦ παντὸς ἀνοήτου καὶ τὸν ψόγον καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον καταγέλαστον ^b καὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶν ὄνειδος εἶναι τὸν βίον.
- 36 The Greek is deficient; only the Syriac version (Gildemeister, *Hermes* IV, 1870, p. 90) preserves a remnant of the lost sentence.
- 37 ἢ κακὴ κρίσις παντὸς αἰτία κακοῦ.
- 38 θαυμάζειν οὔτε δύναμιν ἀσύνετον χρὴ οὔτε συνέσεως ἀδυνάτου καταφρονεῖν.
- 39 ^a θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ· ^b διὸ οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοῖται.
- 40 θεοῦ ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων.
- 41 θυηπολῖαι ἀφρόνων πυρὸς τροφή· τὰ δ' ἀναθήματα ἱεροσύλοις χορηγία.
- 42 θέλε τοὺς συνόντας σοὶ αἰδεῖσθαι σε μᾶλλον ἢ φοβεῖσθαι· αἰδοῖ μὲν γὰρ πρόσεστι σέβας, φόβῳ δὲ μῖσος.

30 ^a = Sext. 18, ^c = Sext. 274b θεῶ *om.* D καὶ¹ *om.* Π τῶν... ἀναγκαίων] τῶν περιττῶν Π χρημάτων Π μὴδὲνα Π.

31 Po. 5.

32 Cf. Sext. 295, Clit. 105 εἶναι ἀρετὴν Π ἑτέρῳ] ἄλλοις Π.

34 Cf. Clit. 92.

35 ἔπαινον... ψόγον Π ^b = Sext. 400; cf. Py. 111.

38 Cf. Clit. 111, *om.* D ἀδυνάτου Lloyd-Jones ἀδύνατον Π.

39 ^a Po. 11, Sext. 49, Clit. 4 δεῖται² *om.* Π ^b *om.* Π.

40 Sext. 4 θεοῦ ἄξιόν σε ποιεῖ τὸ μὴδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι Π, cf. Po. 15.

41 Po. 19, Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 17 Gaisford.

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- 43 θεῶ ὅμοιον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἔαν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν μὴ καπηλεύῃ.
- 44 The MS. is deficient; the Syriac reads: 'He offers sweet incense to God whose words are full of goodness.'
- 45 ἰσχύειν τῇ ψυχῇ αἶροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σώματι.
- 46 ἰσχύς καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλον τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ φρόνησις.
- 47 ἴσθι ὥς οὐδεμία προσποίησις πολλῶ χρόνῳ λανθάνει.
- 48 ἴσθι ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀκόλαστον εἶναι τινα κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀκολάστοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι.
- 49 κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμών.
- 50 κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος ὅφ' οὐ μὴδὲν ἀνθρώπου πάθος θεραπεύεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἱατρικῆς μὴδὲν ὄφελος μὴ τὰς νόσους ἐκβαλλούσης ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων, οὕτως οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κακὸν ἐκβάλοι.
- 51 κρητὶς εὐσεβείας ἢ φιланθρωπία σοι νομιζέσθω.
- 52 κακὰ μείζω πάσχει διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ὁ ἄδικῶν βασανιζόμενος ἢ τῷ σώματι ταῖς πληγαῖς μαστιγούμενος.
- 53 καλὸν ἀδελφῶ καὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἰσομοιρεῖν.
- 54 κυνικοῦ μὴ τὸ σχῆμα ἀποδέχου ἀλλὰ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ζήλου.
- 55 ^a λόγον περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· ^b καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κίνδυνον φέρει.
- 56 λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγείσθω τὰ θεοφιλεῖ ἔργα.
- 57 λόγῳ ἡγεμόνι ἐν παντὶ χρώμενος οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις.

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- 43 Cf. Clit. 63, *om.* ΠΧ; θεοῦ D. 44 Cf. Sext. 47, *om.* Π.
- 45 Clit. 102. 46 Cf. Clit. 103 τοῦ *om.* Π.
- 47 Sext. 325, Clit. 132 λανθάνεται D.
- 48 ὅτι οὐ] μὴ D εἶναι τινα] αὐτὸν εἶναι Π.
- 49 Po. 16, Sext. 305, cf. Py. 59 ἡγεμῶν ἐστὶν Π.
- 50 Po. 31, cf. Sext. 368 ἐκείνος D πάθος ψυχῆς D ὠφελος
(sic) οὐδὲν Π ἐκβ. ἁ. τ. σωμ.] ἰωμένης Π οὕτως φιλ. μὴ τοὺς τρόπους
διορθώσεως Π. 51 Po. 35, Sext. 371.
- 52 ὁ ἄδικῶν κτλ.] ὁ ἄδικος διὰ τ. σ. ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ βασ. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸ σῶμα
τ. π. μ. Π. 53 Sext. (*App.* 1) 498, *om.* Π. 54 Sext. (*App.* 1) 462, *om.* Π.
- 55 Po. 15, Sext. 351-2 περὶ *om.* Π τούτοις D.
- 56 Po. 15, Sext. 359 τῷ θεοφιλεῖ D.
- 57 Cf. Isocrates, III, 9; Plato, *Gorgias* 527 E.

THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

- 58 λυποῦντα τὸν πλησίον οὐ ῥῥδιον αὐτὸν ἄλυπον εἶναι.
 59 λόγος κακὸς κακῶν ἔργων ἡγεμών.
 60 μάθε δέχεσθαι τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθὰ ἀθορύβως, καὶ πεφράχθαι πρὸς τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς κακὰ· ἐφήμερον γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ κακόν, σοφία δὲ οὐδαμῶς κοινωνεῖ.
 61 μεγάλως εὐεργετῇ τὴν πατρίδα ὁ σπουδάσας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι πολίτης.
 62 μηδὲν κτῆμα ἰδίον ἐστὶν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃ μὴ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐστὶν.
 63 μὴ τυραννέτω ἀλλ' ἀρχέτω ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναικὸς.
 64 μεγάλην παιδείαν νόμιζε δι' ἧς δυνήσῃ φέρειν ἀπαιδευσίαν.
 65 μῆτε τὴν γλῶτταν σου χραίνετω τις ἀνιάρως καὶ βλάσφημος λόγος· μῆτε εἰς τὰ ὧτα εἰσίτω ὁ τοιοῦτος· μῆτε μὴν ἐθισθῇς τοῖς ἄθεοις καὶ εἰκαίοις θεάμασι καὶ ἀκούσμασι ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς δημῶδεσιν. [διὸ ἐξοριστέα σοι τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα.]
 66 ^a νεὼς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς, ^b ὃν οὐκ ἐφειμένως ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χρῆ παρασκευάζειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν εἰς παραδοχὴν θεοῦ.
 67 νοῦ σώμα ψυχὴν λογικὴν θετέον ἦν τρέφει ὁ νοῦς τῇ ἀρετῇ, διδάσκαλος αὐτὸς καὶ τροφεὺς καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ φύλαξ γινόμενος, μετὰ σιγῆς φθεγγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτῇ.
 68 νόμου θείου τὸ φαῦλον ἀνήκοον· διὸ καὶ παρανομεῖ.
 69 ξένος ἀνὴρ δίκαιος οὐ μόνον πολίτου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συγγενεοῦς τι διαφέρει.
 70 ^a ξένοις μεταδίδου καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι κάγαθοις· ^b ὁ γὰρ

59 Clit. 126b.

60 Po. 30 περὶ D δοκοῦντα ἀγ. D ἐφ' ἡμέραν Π σοφία
 δὲ οὐδαμῶς τύχη κοιν. Π. 61 Sext. (*App.* 1) 482, *om.* Π τῇ D.

62 Sext. (*App.* 1) 504, *cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 455 B, D, *om.* Π.

63 Sext. (*App.* 1) 506, *om.* Π. 64 Sext. 285 δι' ἦν Π.

65 σου *om.* Π ἀνέρος D μῆτε αἱ ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις τ. ἀθ. κ. εἰκῇ
 θεάμασι κ. ἀκ. χροανέσθωσαν ὕλικοις οὐσι μiasμοῖς D διὸ . . . θεάματα *om.* Π.

66 Po. 19 (*cf.* 11), ^a = Sext. 46 ὁ σοφοῦ νοῦς Π ὑποδοχὴν Π.

67 Po. 26 νοῦ . . . τρέφει ὁ *om.* Π τῆς ἀρετῆς D αὐτὸς] οὗτος D
 ἐμφαίνων αὐτὴν Π.

68 *Cf.* Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 42, 1 Gaisford, . . . ὅτε τῶν θείων νόμων ἀνήκοός ἐστιν . . .

70 ^b = Sext. 378, ^{cd} = Sext. 382 ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων Π

TEXTS

μη μεταδιδούς ἀγαθοῖς δεομένοις οὐ λήψεται δεόμενος παρὰ θεῶν. ^c ἔπει καὶ λέγεται ὀρθῶς δεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς τὸ θεῖον οὐδενός, ^d χαίρειν δὲ τῷ μεταδιδόντι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ διὰ θεὸν πενομένοις.

- 71 ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ὥμοι δεσπόται.
 72 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δι' ἡδονῆς βεβιωκότων αἱ εἰς θεοὺς ἀναδρομαί, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα πεπονηκότων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐνεγκεῖν μεμαθηκότων.
 73 ὁ βίος σου τῶν παιδευομένων ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων ἔστω.
 74 ὁ ὡς ἀληθῶς [-ῆς MS.] ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστίν οὐχ ὁ ἀπτός καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει ὑποπτωτός, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκώς τοῦ σώματος, ὁ ἀχρώματος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ χερσὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀπτός, διανοίᾳ δὲ κρατητός.
 75 οὐ τὸ μεμνησθαι μόνον ὧν ἤκουσας αὐταρκεῖς εἶναι νομίζειν δεῖ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνατρέχειν εἰς ἃ δεῖ δι' ὧν ἤκουσας μελετῶν.
 76 ὃν ἂν μὴ δοκιμάσης φίλον εἶναι, ἐχθρὸν ποιῆσαι πεφύλαξο.
 77 οὐδεὶς ἐλευθερὸς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν.
 78 παντὸς καλοῦ κτήματος πόνος προηγείται ὁ κατ' ἐγκράτειαν.
 79 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσου ἄξια γινώσκει ἢ φρονεῖ.
 80 πέπεισο μὴ εἶναι σὸν κτῆμα ὃ μὴ ἐντὸς διανοίας ἔχεις.
 81 παιδευτικὸς ἄνθρωπος θέλων εἶναι ἄσκει προρότητα.
 82 ^a ποιεῖ ἃ κρίνεις εἶναι καλὰ, καὶ ποιῶν μέλλης ἀδοξήσῃν· ^b φαῦλος γὰρ κριτῆς καλοῦ πράγματος ὄχλος.
 83 ^a πείραν ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον λάμβανε ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων· ^b πολλοὶ γὰρ βίῳ μὲν εἰσι κακοί, λόγῳ δὲ πιθανώτατοι.

μεταδιδούς] διδοῦς (*sic*) Π οὐδενός *om.* D δικαίοις καὶ *om.* Π.
 71 Sext. 75, Clit. 85. 72 Po. 7 τῶν² *om.* D ὑποφέρειν Π.
 73-4 *om.* Π. 74 Po. 8.
 75 οὐ τῷ μεμν. μ. ὧν ἦκ. αὐτάρκης εἶναι νόμιζε, τῷ δὲ δι' ὧν ἦκ. ἀνατρέχειν εἰς ἀρετὴν Π ἃ δεῖ Po. (32) ὁ ἦς D.
 78 Po. 7 προηγέσθω σὺν ταπεινώσει (*om.* ὁ κατ' ἐγκ.) Π.
 79 ἢ φρονεῖ *om.* Π. 81 Sext. (*App.* 1) 545, *om.* Π.
 82 ^b = Py. 111 ποία D καὶ π. μέλλεις Π. 83 ^a = Sext. 408.

THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

- 84 πολλῶν ἄμεινον μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτάνοντα δὲ ἄμεινον γινώσκειν ἢ ἀγνοεῖν.
- 85 ^a παρὰ τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε μὴ εἰσπράττου δίκας· ^b τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον δύνатаι ἢ μοχθηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν;
- 86 πρᾶττε μεγάλα, μὴ ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλα.
- 87 ῥιζωθέντες ἐκ θεῶν καὶ φύντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν ῥίζης ἐχώμεθα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὑδάτων προχοαὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φυτὰ ἀποκοπέντα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πηγῆς καὶ ῥίζης αὐαίνεται καὶ σήπεται.
- 88 ῥώμη ψυχῆς σωφροσύνη· αὕτη γὰρ ψυχῆς ἀπαθοῦς φῶς ἐστίν.
- 89 ῥώμην μεγίστην καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κτῆσαι.
- 90 ῥώννυσι μὲν οἶνος τὸν δεσμόν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ ὅσῃ, τὸ οἰκειότατον τοῦ σώματος, ψυχῇ δὲ πολεμιώτατος· διὸ καὶ σφαλερὸν πίνουντι παντί, ἔξει γὰρ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀκρασίας ὑπέκκαυμα.
- 91 ῥαδίως μὴ μακαρίσῃς ἀνθρωπον σαλεύοντα ἐπὶ φίλοις ἢ τέκνοις ἢ τινι τῶν ἐφήμερον τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχόντων· ἐπισφαλῇ γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον βέβαιον.
- 92 ^a σοφὸς ἀνθρωπος καὶ θεὸν σεβόμενος γινώσκεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ^b διὸ οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοῇται.
- 93 σεαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν ἄλλων μὴ θέλε κρατεῖν.
- 94 σοφίαν ἀσκῶν ἐπιστήμην τὴν περὶ θεὸν ἀσκεῖ.

84 Sext. 283. 86 Sext. 198 ὑπισχνοῦ D.

87 θεοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ Π ἐχώμεθα Vat. gr. 743 ἐχώμεθα ΠD αἱ om. Π
φυτὰ τῆς γῆς ῥίζης ἀποκοπέντα Π.

88 αὕτη γὰρ συνεκτικὴ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν πέφυκεν Π.

89 Cf. Sext. 294 κέκτησο Π.

90 τὸν . . . οἰκειότατον] τὸ ἀσθενὲς Π πολεμιώτατον Π ἔξει γὰρ]
παισὶ δὲ D (cf. Plato, Laws 666A).

91 σαλεύοντα . . . ἐχόντων] γαυρούμενον (αἰωρούμενον Lloyd-Jones) ἐπὶ
τινι τῶν ῥεόντων Π πάντα, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ βέβαια (om. τὸ δὲ . . . βέβαιον) Π.

92 Cf. Po. 13, Sext. 145, ^b = Py. 39 σ. ἄ. τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν πίστιν
φαιδρύνων γινώσκεται κτλ. Π.

93 Sext. (App. 1) 550, cf. Clit. 50, Py. 100, om. Π.

94 Po. 17, cf. Sext. 406, om. Π.

TEXTS

- 95 συνετὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοφιλής, ὅσα οἱ ἄλλοι μοχθοῦσι τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα, τοσαῦτα σπουδάσει αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς πονῆσαι.
- 96 The Greek is deficient, and the Syriac has only an unintelligible fragment.
- 97 συγγενεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντι καὶ φίλῳ πάντα εἶκε πλὴν ἐλευθερίας.
- 98 σαρκὸς φωνὴ μὴ πεινῆν, μὴ διψῆν, μὴ ῥιγοῦν.
- 99 τέκνα μάθε τίκτειν αἰδία, οὐ τὰ γηροβοσκῆσονται τὸ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν θρέψοντα τῇ αἰδίῳ τροφῇ.
- 100 τὸ ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχήν.
- 101 τὰ ἐπίπονα τῶν ἡδέων ἡγοῦ μάλλον συντελεῖν εἰς ἀρετὴν.
- 101a τὰ γράμματα σιγὴ ἔστι ζῶσα τοῖς εἰδόσι, τοῖς δὲ μή, τέθνηκεν.
- 102 ^a τιμήσεις τὸν θεὸν ἄριστα, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσης· ^b ἡ δὲ ὁμοίωσις ἔστι διὰ μόνης ἀρετῆς· ^c μόνη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω ἔλκει πρὸς τὸ συγγενές.
- 103 τεθνάναι πολλῶν κρεῖττον ἢ δι' ἀκρασίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.
- 104 τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν μὴ ποτέ σε παύσῃ ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος.
- 105 τὸν εὐεργετοῦντά σε εἰς ψυχὴν ὡς ὑπηρέτην θεοῦ μετὰ θεὸν τίμα.
- 106 ^a ὑπολάμβανε τὸ σῶμα οὕτως σοι συνηρτῆσθαι, ὡς τοῖς ἐμβρύοις κυοφορουμένοις τὸ χόριον καὶ τῷ σίτῳ βλαστάνοντι τὴν καλάμην. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ χόριον συγγινόμενον οὐκέτι ζῶου μέρος οὐδὲ τὸ ἄχυρον καὶ ἡ καλάμη τοῦ σίτου (τελειωθέντων γὰρ ῥίπτεται ἐκάτερον), οὕτω καὶ τὸ συναρτῶμενον ψυχῇ σπαρείσῃ σῶμα οὐ μέρος ἀνθρώπου· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν ἐν γαστρὶ ὑπομένη τὸ βρέφος, προσυφάνθῃ τὸ χόριον

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- 95 Po. 32, Sext. 301 τοῖς ἄλλοις μοχθεῖται Π ταῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς χάριν ἐπιτελεῖ Π. 96 om. Π. 97 Cf. Sext. 17 συγγένειαν Π.
- 98 Po. 30 σῶμα μὲν σιτίοις τρέφεται, ψυχὴ δὲ λόγοις θεοῖς ἀρδεύεται Π.
- 99 τὰ δὲ... τροφῇ om. Π τρυφῇ D. 100 Cf. Po. 33, Py. 93, om. Π.
- 101 Po. 7 μάλιστα D μ. ἡγ. πρὸς ἀρ. εἶναι λυσιτελέστερα Π.
- 101a om. DX.
- 102 Po. 16, ^a = Sext. 381, Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 12 Gaisford, ^c = Sext. 402 ὅταν] ἐὰν D διὰ μ. ἀρ. γίνεται Π ἀρετὴ om. Π.
- 103 Po. 35, Sext. 345, Clit. 114 ἀμαυροῦν Π.
- 104 Sext. 328 τὸ Π σε om. Π καὶ ἀχάριστον ἄνθρωπον Π.
- 105 Cf. Sext. 319 τὸν θεὸν Π. 106 om. Π ^a = Po. 32.

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- ^b καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ χορίῳ σηπεδόνας, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐξιὼν κεκαθαρμένον· οὐδ' αὐτὸς οὖν ἕκαστος τὸ μετὰ σώματος ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς κυοφορούμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐξιὼν καὶ ἀναχωροῦν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν σπείραντα καὶ καταπέμψαντα πατέρα.
- 107 ὑπομίμησκε σαυτὸν ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν φρόνησιν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο κτήσασθαι εὐτονήσαντες.
- 108 ὑπεράνω τῆς σαρκὸς μὴ γενόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν θάψεις ἐν σαρκί.
- 109 φρόνιμός τις ὢν ἐν παντὶ ἀρχικώτατος ἔσται.
- 110 ^a φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοσώματον καὶ φιλόθεον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ^b ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος· ^c ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος· ^d ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄδικος· ^e ὁ δὲ ἄδικος εἰς μὲν θεὸν ἀνόσιος, εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους παράνομος· ^f ὥστε κἂν ἑκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνοσιώτερός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἄθεος καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἱερόσυλος· διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλήδονον ὡς ἄθεον καὶ μιὰρὸν ἐκτρέπεσθαι χρή.
- 111 ^a φαῦλος κριτῆς καλοῦ πράγματος ὄχλος· ^b διόπερ ὦν τῶν ἐπαίων καταφρονεῖς καὶ τὸν ψόγον καταφρόνει.
- 111a φυγαδευτέον πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ περικοπτέον· ἀπὸ μὲν σώματος νόσον· ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν· κοιλίας δὲ πολυτέλειαν· πόλεως στάσιν· οἴκου διχόνοιαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντων ἀμετρίαν.
- 112 χρή καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν περὶ θεῶν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ.
- 113 ^a χαῖρε τοῖς ἐλέγχουσί σε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν· ^b ὡς δὲ ἐχθρῶν χείρονας ἐκτρέπου τοὺς κολακεύοντας.

106^b τὸ³] τῷ D ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] ἀπὸ τοῦ D.

107 οἱ τοῦτο κτησάμενοι Π.

108 ὕ. τ. σ. γινόμενος τ. ψ. περώσεις (*sic*) πρὸς θεῖον ἔρωτα Π.

109 Cf. Clit. 52, Sext. 555, om. Π.

110 Po. 14, ^c = Sext. 76, ^d = Sext. 138 καὶ φιλοσώματος om. Π
ἑκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος] δωρεῖται πολλά Π τε om. Π ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἄθεος om. Π.

111 ^a Cf. Py. 82, ^b = Sext. 299, Clit. 106 ὦν] ἂν Π τῶν ψόγων
δῆλον ὅτι (om. καταφρόνει) Π. 111a om. DX.

112 Po. 15, cf. Sext. 22 θεῶ D. 113 χείρων D.

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- 114 χαλεπὸν πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ἅμα τοῦ βίου βαδίζειν.
 115 ψυχὴν νόμιζε αἰρετώτερον εἶναι προσέσθαι ἢ λόγον βλάσφημον
 περὶ θεοῦ.
 116 ψυχῆς πᾶν πάθος εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς πολεμιώτατον.
 117 ψυχὴ ταμεῖόν ἐστι, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, κακοῦ δὲ κακῶν.
 118 ψυχῆς γάμος ὁ πρὸς τὸν νοῦν ἱερός τε ἅμα καὶ ἐν φωτὶ
 ἀληθινῷ μυσταγωγούμενος· ὁ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων δι' ἀκαθαρ-
 σίας καὶ σκότους.
 119 ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς τόπον οἰκειότερον θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἔχει.
 120 ὦν ἡ τύχη κυρία καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι οὐ δεῖσῃ οὐδενός.
 121 ^a ὦν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγείς οὐ δεῖσῃ, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει
 πάντων· ^b καὶ ὦν ἀπαλλαγείς δεῖσῃ, πρὸς ταῦτά σοι
 ἀσκουμένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτορας.
 122 ὦν ἄλλοις πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀγνεύουσι παρήγγελται ἀπέχεσθαι
 εἰς τὸ ἀνεμπόδιστον τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς ὁμιλίας, τούτων διὰ
 παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἀφεκτέον τῷ τοῖς θεοῖς πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 βίον ἀνατιθέντι.
 123 ὦν ἔνεκα ζῆν ἐθέλεις τούτων χάριν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ κατ-
 ὅκνει.

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- 114 *om.* Π. 115 Po. 15, Sext. 362 ψυχὴν δεῖν νομ. D.
 116 Po. 9, Sext. 205, *cf.* Py. 2. 117 *Cf.* Py. 11 d ἐστι *om.* Π.
 118 *om.* Π.
 119 *Cf.* Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 25, 11 Gaisford καθαρᾶς] ἀγνῆς Π.
 120 *Cf.* Po. 12 ᾧ μὴ ψυχὴ Π.
 121 Po. 12, *cf.* Sext. 127 δεήσειεν τις Π καταφρονεῖτω Π
 δεήσειεν Π σοι ἀσκουμένῳ *om.* Π τὸν θεὸν συλλήπτορα Π.
 122 θεοῦς] θεὸν Π τοῦ σοῦ βίου ἀφεκτέον σοι πάντα τὸν σαυτοῦ υἱὸν
 θεῷ ἀναθέντι Π.
 123 Po. 34, *cf.* Sext. (*App.* 1) 472.

PART II

STUDIES

1. THE MORAL TEACHING OF SEXTUS

It will be convenient to begin by summarising in succinct form, with the minimum of comment or discussion, the moral teaching of Sextus,¹ and to reserve for subsequent enquiry the criticism of the collection and in particular the thorny problem of the sources upon which the compiler drew. The first question is to ask what Sextus says; only then can we usefully proceed to ask why he says it or where he may have found it. For the compiler of such a collection is of interest in his own right, not merely because of the sources upon which he has drawn. He has revealed himself by his selection; he thereby shows what values he believed it important to inculcate in his readers.

The single theme of the maxims, running through them in all forms and variations, is the way to achieve moral and spiritual perfection. The believing soul is to pursue the moral ideal, which is to be made like unto God (44ff.). Yet that impassible divine life is far distant from this mortal existence swayed by passion and earthiness. Accordingly, the first task of exhortation is to awaken the soul to self-realisation, to arouse it to know to how high and weighty an office it is called. Man must first reckon that the animal life of pleasure and passion is below his dignity and self-respect. And it is therefore at this point that Sextus begins: the believer is an elect man, a man of God, called to be worthy of God (1-5). Only to the believer are these sayings addressed; only to him who has faith is the good life possible (196, 215, 400). The way up to God begins from faith (402, contrast 167) and no approach to God is possible without moral purity (399); to him the ascent is made by God's word (420). Once the soul has made the decision to climb the ascent there can be no going

¹ Only the 451 maxims translated by Rufinus are here considered on the ground that this is the earliest attested form of the collection and is probably as good as identical with that which lay before Origen.

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back; sin has been renounced (234), and the man who does fall into sin must sternly resolve never to lapse again (247). He must realise that he is a believer (220). That means that in the order of the hierarchy of being in the cosmos he is 'next to God' (33-6, 82c, 129, 176). Upon him a divine freedom has been conferred (36) so that he, being wholly surrendered to the dominion of God, exercises in turn dominion over the world and over his fellow-men (43, cf. 182). He and he alone possesses the true freedom which is a transcendence over against all his environment (275, 306ff., 392).

A preliminary realisation of the magnitude of this exalted position in the scheme of things is the first step towards fulfilling the command 'Know thyself' (398, 446). An alternative way of expressing the Delphic injunction is 'Become what you are' (82a). Every indicative is at bottom an imperative. For the ideal is not a temporally distant goal to be achieved only in the remote future. The eschatological situation is to be realised now. The kingdom of God (cf. 311) is within, and may be perceived by a process of interior analysis and reflection. The mind of the wise man is the very mirror of God (450). He is not to seek for God in the external world of sense, but should look for his reflection within, in the dark recesses of his own consciousness. 'God' is the inward mind (394).

This self-knowledge is not achieved at once; it is a gradual process. It is needful to acquire the mental *habit* of recollecting that one's soul is second only to God in the cosmos (129), superior even to the angels (32). 'Greatness of soul' requires practice; it is a matter of *askesis* (120). On the one hand believers are the sons of God; on the other hand they must also become sons of God, by acting as children of their Father (58-9, 135, 221, 222).

If the soul is to achieve the high destiny glimpsed in this preliminary self-realisation which is the beginning of divine knowledge, then it must resolutely resist the distractions and downward pull of the physical world. The soul must not remain earthbound (391), but is to be ever with God (55). The body has natural instincts and appetites some of which need to be satisfied if an

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adequate state of health is to be maintained; but these needs of the body should only be met precisely to the degree to which that is necessary for health and no further (78). This is to render to the world the things of the world, while the soul renders to God the things that are God's (19-20). By training, the soul will become self-sufficient (98 = 334). And appetites which do not need satisfaction for the sake of good health are never to be gratified at all. As far as possible the body is to be renounced (78). Only thus can the soul be properly cultivated. The things of the soul are alone firm, stable, and unmoved (77). Time bears away the earthy body, but the soul abides for evermore. The true self is the thinking mind (315-17). The pursuit of the higher life therefore entails an almost exclusive concentration upon the higher part of man's being, and requires determined suppression of the lower part. This inferior side of man can simply be identified with his physical and animal nature. All forms of bodily pleasure are to be set aside (139, 172). The body is the road along which temptation comes to attack and to make trial of the soul (425).

Prominent is the concern with sex. All sexual impulse must be suppressed by any soul that desires to draw near to God (230-3). If the adept is already involved in the married state, this in no degree mitigates his need to practise continence for the following of the hard road to glory. He and his wife can exercise a competitive rivalry as to which of them can succeed in being the more continent (239). And those who sincerely desire to live in intimate union with God are allowed to renounce their marriage for this end (230a). It is, however, entirely permissible for a sage to marry a wife and to beget children provided that he is acting with entire nobility of intention, untainted by baser feelings, and with the motive of manifesting his personal courage in the face of two highly exacting responsibilities (230b). He must on no account bring his marriage to an end because he cannot control his wife; that would simply be a confession of failure (236). Within marriage restraint must be exercised; a passionate man treats his wife as a harlot (231). And a wife for her part must not dress herself provocatively, but regard chastity as her finest ornament (235).

If the adept finds that the conquest of sexual desire is beyond

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his powers, then he is recommended to castrate himself rather than to perish in hell (13, 273).

Because the body is a drag upon the soul, it is blessed to die. But there is a deep difference between the willingness to die and the will to die. The latter is a challenge to the Creator who has bestowed life as a gift; to grunt and sweat under a weary life is only a manifestation of resentful pride and arrogance (320, 337). Suicide is a crime against the law of God. But no sage should endeavour to stop an intending murderer in self-defence: in that event the opportunity of release may be thankfully accepted (321). For this final trial the soul must be prepared (385), and remember that no persecutor can harm him or rob him of anything (363, 364, 387); but let him not put himself in the wrong so as to justify an accusation (386).

Inferior as it is, the body is yet not without its dignity. It is to be regarded as the image of the soul, stamped with its impress, and the distinction thus conferred upon it by the indwelling presence of the soul is a ground for keeping it pure (346, cf. 449). Impurity is a degradation of the human person from his proper value.

Nevertheless that is the limit of positive value that can be ascribed to the body. True religion always consists in a withdrawal from the external and the merely physical; it is a pure inwardness to which any outward form or ceremony is irrelevant. Purification before God is attained solely in and through the moral life (102, 103, cf. 23), and a pure heart is the best altar of sacrifice (46b). Even so there is an important qualification to this insistence on the inwardness of religion. If the adept were indeed wholly abstracted from the external world, he would be quite isolated. His religion would then indeed be simply what he did with his solitariness. But Sextus in fact stresses that the sage is not a religious solipsist, but a member of a human community.¹ He emphasises the benefit and positive virtue of love for other men in general and for other sages in particular. Recognition of

¹ Contrast Plotinus' account of the sage's social obligations (*Enn.* 1, 4, 15): 'His severe pursuit of apathy does not make him friendless or austere; for his severity concerns himself and his private affairs. By sharing all that he is and has with his friends, he will be a friend indeed in a relation of intellectual insight.'

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another sage is in itself one of the marks of perfection (219, 226; cf. 118, 129, 165 b, 211, 244, 259). The truly spiritual man is only known by his like. And he has pastoral obligations. If he see an erring brother he must admonish him, and his duty to care for him and to pray for him (372) does not stop if the admonition passes unheeded (331).¹ What he has learnt of God he will teach others if they are worthy and sincere (353 ff.), though he must be careful not to impart sacred knowledge to fellows of the baser sort. Only the sage, divinely inspired with the truth (441), is in a position to impart absolutely certain knowledge about God; all others are merely guessing (410). But more important than the sage's speech is his life, which will speak louder than any words (177, 359, 383).

In battle array against the soul there stand the world, the flesh and the devil (39, 305). The flesh is the chief hindrance to the knowledge of God. God does not hear the prayers of the pleasure-loving man (72, 136). Pleasure may bring transitory delight, but if shameful it also brings lasting remorse (272). Continence is the foundation of true piety (86a). For the perfect sage even his sleep is continence (253); sleep disturbed by fantasies will be suffered by the glutton who eats twice as much as he ought for dinner (108, 435). The mastery of the belly is only second in importance to the mastery of sex. Food must never be taken with relish or enjoyment (111), and one should on no account eat to repletion but rise from table with the appetite still keen (265). As for details of the sage's diet, he may be allowed meat which is morally neutral; but vegetarianism is more congruous with the higher life (109). A glass of wine is quite proper and is given to be enjoyed; but intoxication is insanity (268-9).

¹ Clement of Alexandria similarly insists on the pastoral and educative obligations of the true gnostic (*Strom.* vii, 52-3)—he is a spiritual director of souls, mediator of the knowledge of God like a priest, and (79, 4; 80, 1) by intercession identifies himself with the sins of his brethren, for whose errors (82, 1) he is answerable. He is like an angel in his guardianship (*Quis dives* 41). But so also at the apocatastasis he like the angels will be released from his guardianship (*Ecl. Proph.* 56, 7) and concern himself solely with the contemplation of God. That pastoral care must not cease if it passes unheeded is stressed by John Chrysostom, *Hom. in I Cor.* XLIV, 5.

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Similar snares of the world are wealth and love of money (76, 116, 117, 137). The desire for possession was never yet quenched by acquisition (146, 274). All earthly property must be held of no account (227, 228). The sage may not possess private property; the only thing of his own should be goodness (79, 81, cf. 294). Private property is a concept incompatible with the ideal of universal brotherhood which is a corollary of the divine Fatherhood. Those who have God in common and acknowledge him as their Father must share all earthly possessions (227, 228, cf. 295, 296) and practise utter simplicity of life (411-13).

Almsgiving is an essential duty. The adept must give generously to the poor (47, 52, 246, 247, 330) and to orphans (340). The obligation does not cease if the recipients turn out ungrateful (328). And much depends upon the manner of the giving which must on no account be such that the recipient feels himself insulted (339). It should not be done for self-advertisement (341, 342), but rather as an expression of personal contempt for riches (82b) and because God does not hear the prayers of the stingy (217, 378-9). Not wealth but wisdom should be prized (191, 192). It is the foundation of religion to manifest consideration for one's fellow men, to show *philanthropia* (371, 372), which means treating all men alike with equal consideration (210, 260), and observing the Golden Rule (87-90, 179, 180), remembering that to do ill to one's neighbour is the worst of all blasphemies against God (96, cf. 11, 102).

A few maxims appear to presuppose that Sextus expected them to be studied with advantage by highly placed members of society. It is not merely that he speaks to a spiritual *élite* (e.g. 145 'a wise man is recognised by few', cf. 243), but that occasional aphorisms take it for granted that the practitioner of his precepts is likely to be in a position of authority in secular society and may be concerned with the administration of justice, whether publicly or privately (182-4, 261).¹ But no man of wealth and authority who follows Sextus' way of perfection will continue in pomp and

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii, 16, 4: should the true gnostic find himself in authority, he is to rule like Moses with the salvation of his inferiors in view; if he has to punish them, it will be with an educative purpose.

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circumstance. The demand for an absolute renunciation of the world is never tempered or qualified. Even the very noblest of this world's goods must be flung into the mud and counted but dung if prayer is to be truly effective (81). At bottom it is a question of values. A man's life is determined by that upon which he has set his heart (41-3, 133-5, 141-2, 316). The soul is dyed the colour of its leisure thoughts.

The values of the mob must be set aside (112). To a bad man the sage will inevitably appear quite useless (214), but it is for him the supreme wisdom to know how to bear with the stupidity of the ignorant (285, cf. 299). But the sage cannot be elevated above the common crowd by mere intellectual eminence or scholarship sublime. Indeed he must be on his guard against profane learning that is unworthy of God (248, 249)—though perhaps there is an implicit concession to humanism when it is observed that the knowledge of God is not attainable without learning (250, 251). His life is distinguished by a spiritual quality: he possesses the freedom (275, 306ff.), the power (375), and the unfathomable greatness (403) of the spiritual and elect man who judges all things and himself is judged of no man (cf. 259).

The sage's prayers will not be offered for any earthly benefit, but only for things worthy of God (122) such as man cannot give (124). No desire is to be set upon the transitory goods of this world's store. The only value worth having is virtue; the only evil is moral evil (202, 318). The lesson is repeatedly enforced by numerous Stoicising maxims: happiness consists in suppressing the desire for anything that you cannot get and keep (15-18, 50, 91b, 92, 98, 118, 128, 130, 264, 302, 318, 334, 363, 364, 387). One root cause of human misery is a feeling of resentment (the most intoxicating of all emotions) against the lot that falls to us. Therefore 'what you are compelled to do, do of your own free choice' (388, cf. 47). The right attitude is one of trust in the providential care and protection of God (419-25), never one of proud resentment, numb indifference, or tired resignation. God's grace is greater than the power of fate (436), and providence may be trusted. Those who deny providence are bad men whose wishful thinking determines their unbelief (312); and no better than these

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atheists are those who believe in God but think him indifferent to the world (380).

Nobility of soul, *megalopsychia*, is the objective to be reached (120), and the pursuit of it is a hard road with no short cuts (125, cf. 290) and with no room for either pretence or pretentiousness (199)—the perennial temptations for all who seek for knowledge in a self-regarding spirit. Knowledge unworthy of God is not worth knowing (248), and mere lust for information is only a form of pride (249). But the pursuit of divine knowledge is indispensable (250-1), and revelation is its sole source (353). There is a place for the believing theologian (384), but he is liable to great temptations. The one and only way of acquiring knowledge is the Socratic prerequisite of recognising at the start that one possesses none (333). Hypocrisy, above all in matters of faith, will not remain undisclosed for long (325). Goodness of life and sincerity of character go together (326a). To take pride in being a believer is deadly sin (188, 189, 433, 434), and so also to allow ambition to take control (432) so that one even boasts of spiritual eminence (284, cf. 432). This is merely the self-love which is at the root of all sin (138).

Insidious is the pride which is more pleased to proclaim a truth than to hear it proclaimed by someone else (171). Likewise it is self-regarding to take it ill if you lose an argument even when the truth may be on your side (187). The sheer ambition to win is dangerous. And a victory achieved by deceit is moral defeat (165b, 211). To deceive is to be deceived (393); to injure is to be injured.

All dealings with others should be characterised by caution and deliberation. Thought must precede action (153, cf. 93). Let reason be your guide (74, 95b, 123, 204-7, 209, 315, 316). Resist persuasive pressure to adopt a course of action which is less than the best (91a). God watches every act and knows every word and deed. From him no secrets are hid (22), and it is a powerful deterrent to any ill-considered or shameful action to reflect that the divine Spectator judges everything, and that the soul is a deposit (21) lent on trust by God, to whom an account must one day be given (347). Of that strict and solemn account the soul must

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never become forgetful; with the abyss of everlasting torment in prospect before him (14) the believer ever goes in fear lest he may fall; and the diffidence thus induced is a safeguard against the *hybris* of presuming upon salvation (432-4). At the hour of death an evil soul will be claimed by the evil daemon who will require payment even to the very last farthing (39, 348). Blessed is he who can escape the clutches of the grasping devils as his soul is passing unto God (40)!

Accordingly life is nothing if not earnest. No moment of time may be wasted (252). The least things are to receive strict attention (9-10). No sin may be excused as less serious than another sin which one has not committed; all sins are equal as being offences against God and therefore incapable of being assessed by finite scales of judgement (297a, 297b = 11). Nor may sin be excused by attributing it to physical impulse; it is the soul which makes the choice and uses the body as its instrument (12). Virtue and vice are freely chosen: God confirms right actions, the devil suggests evil deeds, but no power can compel a wise man to do anything—he is no more subject to necessity than God himself (304-6).

The greatest possible caution should be exercised in speech, especially on theological matters which ought never to be discussed at all before the uninstructed and unworthy (173, 350-62, 365-8, 401, 407, 451). The audience must be deemed a sacred trust from God (195). For every idle word we must give account to our Judge (22); it is better to throw a stone at random than a word (152). Hateful sentiments must be put away not merely from the adept's mind and mouth but even from his ears (338, cf. 409). Trivialities are to be set aside and the mind fixed on noble thoughts (414-15). The sage's ordinary conversation is to be marked by edification and seriousness (223).¹ Where confident speech is called for, it should be accompanied by modesty of manner (253). Jocular behaviour ought to be exceedingly rare, and actual laughter is less than dignified, the outside limit of

¹ The absence from Sextus of any injunction regarding oaths is curious. The subject, so much favoured in the sermons of John Chrysostom, might have been expected to interest him in view of Matt. v. 37.

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propriety being a smile (278–80). Absolute truthfulness in speech is an obligation only qualified in the gravest situations where a medicinal lie might be justified (165 de). Best of all is silence. The knowledge of God makes the sage a man of few words (430) and his silence honours God (427).

The goal of all this striving is sinless perfection (8–11, 60, 234, 247, 282), which is the divine likeness. By making a habit (129, 412, 414, 445) of withdrawal from the external world of sense, the soul ascends to God by faith (402) through his word (420), is illuminated by the light of God (97, cf. 95b), and at all times and in all places practises the presence of God (288, 289, 445). All time not actually spent in meditating on God is so much time wasted (54, 55, cf. 442–7, 450). The greatness of God being unfathomable (cf. 403), souls who attain this wisdom will never become sated with the contemplation of the divine nature; there will always be limitless further advance stretching out before them (287). Such is the glory of the sage. He is God's noblest work (395, 308) and a companion (421) in whom God delights (422). He has power not only over the world and man but even, by prayer, with God (60, 375). He is a 'living image' of God (190), to be revered as the Lord himself. To criticise him is to criticise God (194). He is 'God in the body' (7a, 82d), 'God among men' (376).

The God he adores is wholly immaterial, not some 'substance incapable of perception' (25). God is transcendent beyond any power of human speech or description and is nameless (28) and in need of nothing (26, 49, 382). To be 'like him' or 'his son' is to partake of that same quality of transcendence and thus to achieve a freedom and an independence over against all environment (18f., 49f., 306, 309, 382). God is pure goodness and his punishments have the remedial intention of delivering the wrongdoer from his sinfulness (63). The human error is to attribute to him imperfection and to ascribe to him qualities which he does not possess (29, cf. 131, 197). True religion is to share in goodness of that divine order. The only sacrifice acceptable to God is to do good with God's help to one's fellow men (47). The *summum bonum* is likeness to God as far as possible (381, cf. 45, 48).

2. THE EVIDENCE OF ORIGEN

The earliest testimony to the existence of the Sextine collection comes from Origen, writing in the late forties of the third century A.D. On two occasions he cites from the maxims explicitly naming Sextus as their author. We shall shortly see that these two occasions are not the only instances where Origen can be shown to be quoting from the collection. But all discussion of the origin, date, and character of the collection must of necessity begin from these passages. They must now be examined.

The first passage (*Contra Celsum* VIII, 30) occurs in the course of Origen's reply to Celsus' criticism of the Christian refusal to eat sacrificial meat. The context is of some interest. There was nothing in Christian custom that seemed to the pagan mind less reasonable than the Church's refusal to permit participation in an innocuous meal where the food provided consisted of meat that had been previously offered on the altar of a pagan sacrifice. Celsus comments that the Christian usage could be defended on logical principles if the Church wholeheartedly adopted the vegetarianism of the Pythagoreans and abstained from all forms of animal food without exception; but merely to single out certain kinds of meat for abstinence is irrational.¹

¹ The cutting edge of this argument is perhaps twofold; Clement (*Strom.* VII, 32, 8) turns it in the opposite direction: 'If any of the righteous refuses to weigh down his soul by the eating of meat, he does this on some reasonable ground, not as Pythagoras and his school from some dream as to the transmigration of souls.' The problem was acute for the Jews, whose eccentric abstinence from pork was a nice question for after-dinner conversation (Plutarch, *Mor.* 679 ff.; cf. Caligula's question to the Jewish dignitaries in Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 361—a μέγιστον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐρώτημα). John Chrysostom (*Hom. in Ep. ad Rom.* XXV, 1) explains Rom. xiv. 1-2 ('another who is weak eats herbs') by supposing that Paul knew Jewish Christians who were concealing their continued abstinence from pork by becoming vegetarians. Clement (*Strom.* II, 105-6) defends the Mosaic prohibition of pig on two grounds: that it is food for gluttons and that the mystery-religions lay down similar rules for certain animals. (This doubtless reflects argument current in the Alexandrian synagogue.)

Christian abstinence from certain meat is also remarked upon by Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini* 16. Irrational tabus about food were regarded as one of the

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Origen's reply is remarkably interesting because it reveals the characteristic strength and weakness of the Christian position in this regard. 'Logical principles', he implies, need not worry Christians too much on a point like this; their morality is determined not by reason but by revelation, and for them the Bible is the authoritative norm of conduct in these as in all other matters. The Bible does not lay down any absolute requirement of abstinence from animal flesh, but only recommends abstinence from meat and wine 'for the sake of a safer and purer life'. Admittedly the Old Testament does contain 'tiresome legislation about meats', which the Jews 'think they understand'. But this was superseded by Jesus who wanted all mankind to be led into the right religion and to be helped by Christian moral teaching; accordingly he taught that 'it is not that which goes into the mouth that defiles a man but that which comes out of the mouth'. One might suppose, then, that food laws are only the consequence of misunderstanding Moses. But in fact the apostolic decree of Acts xv also forbids the eating of sacrificial meat, things strangled, and blood. This New Testament exception is to be explained from the fact that blood is the food of evil daemons, and in things strangled remains unremoved. Therefore the items specified in the apostolic decree constitute a special case. Apart from this, the Christian rule for eating meat, Origen concludes, is very happily summed up in the Maxims of Sextus, which even the multitude of Christians read, namely: 'It is a matter of moral indifference to eat animal flesh, but abstinence is more rational' (Sextus, 109). Thus animal flesh is not to be avoided as if it were sinful and evil. But it is sinful to eat anything, whether meat or vegetable, which has been associated with evil daemons; and it is also sinful to eat

characteristics of oriental cults; when Tiberius was expelling foreign cults, Seneca had to give up his vegetarianism for fear of being regarded as a proselyte (*Ep.* 108, 22). The argument of Celsus is formally identical with that used, for example, in the *Epistle to Diognetus* (iv. 2) to prove the utter irrationality of Judaism and the Mosaic food laws: 'To pick out some of the things God has created for the use of men and to accept them as good while rejecting others as useless and superfluous, how can that be right?' (For the risky consequences of this argument for the author of the epistle see the admirable cautions of H. I. Marrou, *A Diognète*, 1951, pp. 113-18.)

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anything 'with gluttonous motives or merely because of a desire for pleasure without having in view the health of the body and its restoration'.

The delicate ambiguities of Origen's reply here are only an inevitable consequence of his loyalty to St Paul's statement on the subject in I Cor. viii. The finer subtleties of the apostle's answer to the Corinthian question were (not surprisingly) lost upon the church of the second and third centuries, which required rather more blunt and definite practical directions. Elsewhere Origen observes that he is 'quite astounded' by I Cor. viii. 10 with its clear implication that the only reason for abstaining from meat offered to idols is that it may be offensive to a weak conscience; there is no suggestion that it is in itself wrong (*Hom. in Num.* xx, 3, p. 191 Baehrens).¹ However, the main point for our present enquiry is to note that in rounding off his argument against Celsus Origen quotes from the Sextine collection as providing a neat, gnomic summary of the essential Christian attitude towards the larger question of meat-eating in general.

The other place where Sextus is named occurs in Origen's *Commentary on St Matthew* xv, 3, where he is expounding the problematic text Matt. xix. 12: 'There are eunuchs who were so born from their mother's womb; and there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.' The meaning

¹ Likewise the summary of Pauline teaching about meat-eating attempted by Clement of Alexandria in *Paed.* II, 8-9 is marked by confusion and embarrassment. Particularly significant is *Strom.* IV, 97-8. Some, says Clement, expound I Cor. x. 25 as if it were a question expecting the answer No, i.e. 'Are we to eat anything bought in the shambles without asking questions?' No, of course we are to ask.' This, however, is a ludicrous exegesis and the apostle's language will not bear it; nevertheless, Clement continues, the apostle does not mean that one may buy food specified in the prohibitions of the apostolic decree. He himself, according to Acts xv. 25 ff., distributed the decree to the churches, and therefore he takes it for granted. I Cor. x. 25 refers to other kinds of food.

Thus in the upshot Clement rejects his opponents' exegesis of the Pauline text only to reach the identical conclusion by a different route. Clement's attitude to vegetarianism is one of commendation (*Strom.* VII, 32-3), and he informs us that St Matthew ate no meat (*Paed.* II, 16, 1). But like Origen and Sextus he thinks vegetarianism voluntary, and that only abstinence from meat sacrificed to idols is compulsory.

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of this dominical utterance was much discussed in the second century.¹ Origen's exegesis is a frontal attack upon hotheads who were interpreting the text literally and in consequence mutilating themselves as a means of enforcing chastity upon their rebellious impulses.² There is evidence that this phenomenon was not altogether uncommon. (Those whose enthusiasm is touched at the age of 18 or 19 are capable of words and acts that they may later regret.) Justin Martyr found a powerful argument to refute the vulgar accusation that Christians met to indulge in gross and immoral practices in a story about a youthful Christian of Egypt who had so deep a desire for bodily purity that he had asked the local surgeons to emasculate him. Castration being contrary to Roman law, the surgeons refused to perform the operation without the permission of the prefect Felix.³ A formal application was made through the official channels of the civil service; but a permit was not forthcoming, and the young man had to content himself as he was. It is striking that Justin seems to have seen nothing blameworthy or foolish in the young man's actions, but rather regarded his enthusiasm as having an apologetic value calculated to impress pagan readers with the high tone of Christian morality. Was the case unique? Evidently it was exceptional; but its unusual character in Justin's eyes was partly derived from the fact that it had come prominently to the notice of the authorities and so received much publicity. Probably there were other instances as well which were not so widely advertised. In the fourth century the canons of church councils contain emphatic

¹ For the history of the exposition of this text in the early Christian period see W. Bauer, 'Matth. 19, 12 und die alten Christen', in *Neutestamentliche Studien f. Georg Heinrici* (1914), pp. 235-44. The exegesis given by Basilides (*ap. Clem. Strom.* III, 1) must rank as one of the most interesting. He understands the text to refer to three types of male celibate: those with a natural revulsion from women (whose chastity was agreed not to be meritorious: cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apoll. Tyan.* VI, 3; John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Ev. Jo.* xxxvi, 2 (*P.G.* LIX, 205-6)), those who practise the ascetic life out of a desire for glory among their fellow men, and those who remain unmarried in order to remain undistracted for the work of the kingdom.

² The problem of Origen's alleged self-mutilation I hope to discuss elsewhere (in my Hulsean Lectures).

³ Justin, *Apol.* I, 29. Felix was prefect of Egypt from 150 until 152 or 153; see the evidence for his dates in Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* VIII (1956), 532.

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prohibitions. For example, the first canon of Nicaea prohibits those who have been mutilated, where it has not been necessitated by medical reasons, from being ordained, though the prohibition does not extend to eunuchs who have become mutilated as prisoners of war by barbarians or as slaves by their masters. Nothing however is there said of the need to curb lay enthusiasm; the Nicene fathers were only concerned with castration as a bar to ordination. In the 23rd of the *Apostolic Canons*, however, it is laid down that a layman who mutilates himself is to be excommunicated for three years, 'for he conspires against his own life'. The reason given may seem strange at first sight, but becomes less so on reflection. The presupposition is that, the body being the gift of the Creator, the argument against suicide, that it is to rebel against the providential ordering of the divine creation, is equally valid against self-mutilation. In short, the argument runs that if God had wanted eunuchs, he would have made them. The other argument against self-mutilation, which recurs perhaps more frequently, is that there is no merit in chastity if incontinence is rendered a physical impossibility by the knife.¹ Enforced chastity is without moral value in the sight of God; a freedom to sin is of the essence of virtue.

Nevertheless, among the monks the practice was not so very rare. It is violently attacked by St John Chrysostom as a current abuse.² Epiphanius comments that in the Egyptian desert 'not a few monks went so far as to castrate themselves'.³ In Palestine in the next century St Sabas had trouble with a monk of his laura who in a torment of temptation bloodily mutilated himself with a sharp stone.⁴ (Of the Transjordanian sect of Valesians Epiphanius records that almost all the adherents were eunuchs.⁵ But they belong to the lunatic fringe.)

It is therefore certain that Origen was not beating the air. In fact he remarks that he would not think it worth while undertaking a lengthy refutation of the literalist interpretation of Matt.

¹ Cf. Basil, *Ep.* 115; Origen, *C. Cels.* vii, 49.

² Cf. his commentary on Galatians v. 12 (Migne, *P.G.* lxi, 668 f.).

³ Epiphanius, *De Fide* 13 (Holl, iii, 513).

⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae* 41, p. 284 (Schwartz, p. 131).

⁵ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 58.

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xix. 12 were it not that he actually knew of some who had acted on it, and had read writings which might move a too zealous soul, possessing faith but not knowledge, to a rash act of self-mutilation.

For instance, Sextus in the Maxims, a book accepted by many as sound, says, 'Every part of the body that persuades you to be unchaste, cast away. For it is better for you to live chastely without the part than to live to destruction with it.' And again further on in the same book he provides cover for the same rashness when he says, 'You may see men cutting off and casting away parts of their body in order that the rest may be strong; how much better to do this for the sake of chastity!' ¹

The significance of these texts for our enquiry turns upon the meaning of Origen's introductory phrases:

(a) ἡ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀναγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς Σέξτου γνώμαις ἐντυγχάνουσιν (*C. Cels.* viii, 30).

(b) Σέξτος ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις, βιβλίῳ φερομένῳ παρὰ πολλοῖς ὡς δοκίμῳ (*Comm. in Matt.* xv, 3).

Gildemeister understands these words to mean that Origen did not regard Sextus as a Christian but rather as a pagan philosopher whose aphorisms were popular in some Christian circles.² The same view is adopted (without any serious discussion) by Erwin Preuschen who, after quoting the two texts from Origen, continues: 'From these two passages it is clear that Origen recognised this collection of sayings as a pagan one, though he also knew of its circulation among the Christians.'³

The clarity of the impression made upon the minds of Gildemeister and Preuschen was not, however, felt by John Gwynn when he came to contribute his fine article on the maxims to Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (an article

¹ Sextus 13 and 273.

² J. Gildemeister, *Sexti Sententiarum Recensiones* (1873), p. xliii: 'Primus qui disertam Σέξτου γνώμῶν mentionem circa a. 250 iniicit Origenes, cum eas etiam a multis probari perhibeat, non dubium esse potest, quin eas philosophi Graeci opus esse censuerit.'

³ Preuschen in Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Litt.* 1, *Die Überlieferung und der Bestand* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 766: 'Aus diesen beiden Stellen geht deutlich hervor, dass Origenes diese Sammlung von Sprüchen als eine heidnische gekannt hat, dass er aber auch um ihre Verbreitung unter den Christen wusste.'

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which, despite the fact that it was published five years before the appearance of the Greek text, remains the most valuable single discussion of the collection in any language). Gwynn challenges the notion that Origen regarded Sextus as a pagan writer. Commenting on the passage in the *Contra Celsum* he observes: 'It is not easy to avoid the conclusion that a book quoted thus to yield evidence on a matter of Christian teaching and usage—a book which "most Christians" (οἱ πολλοί, not merely *many*) knew familiarly—must have been a Christian work.' And discussing the text in the *Commentary on St Matthew* he remarks that Origen 'here distinctly classes Sextus as a writer held in repute among many Christians, as one of the teachers by whom enthusiastic spirits were in danger of being misled in this matter; a fact which surely leads, as before, to the conclusion that he knew him as a Christian writer'.¹

In 1904 Harnack took up the cudgels against Gwynn on behalf of the view expressed by his collaborator and assistant, Preuschen. In his great work on the chronology of the ante-Nicene literature he remarks that now the original Greek text has been discovered and published it is possible to be much more certain about the Sextine maxims and to avoid the 'mistakes' into which Gwynn had fallen in his article. The question whether Origen regarded the maxims as Christian or pagan he shelves as unimportant and then continues: 'Fortunately not much depends upon the question; but I would agree with Preuschen: Origen seems *not* to assume that the collection is Christian.' Harnack's position is odd. He supposes that the collection was originally pagan and that it was revised and re-edited by a Christian; and he assigns this revision to a time earlier than Origen. But in consequence he has to suppose that Origen was not at his best when he failed to observe the marks of Christian revision: 'Admittedly, this implies that Origen was extremely short-sighted, but I cannot understand him in any other way.'²

¹ *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv (1887), p. 1202. Preuschen gives a bibliographical reference to Gwynn's article but takes no account of his arguments.

² Harnack, *Die Chronologie der alichr. Litt.* II (Leipzig, 1904), p. 190. Preuschen's view is also reproduced by Kroll in Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*² (1924), p. 627.

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The short-sightedness need not be Origen's. It is true that the two passages from Origen could bear the interpretation put upon them by Gildemeister, Preuschen and Harnack, but there is a wide difference between what is possible and what is probable. That Gwynn's view is not only probable but certainly correct is, however, demonstrable from another text discussed elsewhere by Harnack in a very different setting. Unhappily he did not recognise its significance.

In Origen's first sermon on the prophet Ezekiel, the exalted vision of the Almighty in the first chapter leads him to develop a favourite theme—that the mysteries of the true meaning of the Bible are not to be disclosed before the unworthy. The heretics who try to catch out the orthodox expositor are mere controversialists, not serious enquirers. Pearls are not to be cast before swine. Accordingly, he continues, 'I gladly profess the opinion uttered by a wise and believing man which I often quote: "It is dangerous to speak even the truth about God." For not only false statements about him are risky; there is also danger to the speaker in true statements if they are made at an inopportune time.'¹

The identity of this *sapiens et fidelis vir* has been a puzzle. The editor of the Homilies on Ezekiel in the Berlin Corpus, W. A. Baehrens, briefly comments that 'the teacher is unknown'.² Harnack had occasion to notice the passage in his splendid book, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes*, where he observes that since the teacher quoted by Origen is a believer (*fidelis*), Plato cannot be intended,³ but 'who this teacher was we do not know'.

The Christian teacher is none other than Sextus, and the maxim quoted is no. 352.

¹ Origen, *Hom. in Ezech.* i. 11: 'Confiteor libenter a sapiente et fideli viro dictam sententiam, quam saepe suscipio: de deo et vere [*Harnack vera*] dicere periculum est. Neque enim ea tantum periculosa sunt quae false de eo dicuntur, sed etiam quae vera sunt et non opportune proferuntur, dicenti periculum generant.' The Greek tradition shows Harnack's emendation to be correct.

² *Origenes Werke*, Bd. VIII (1925), p. 334.

³ 'Also ist nicht Plato gemeint', *Der kirchengesch. Ertrag*, II. Teil (=Texte und Untersuchungen, XLII, Heft 4, Leipzig, 1919), p. 18.

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Origen's remark that this aphorism was a favourite of his reminds us how much of his work has failed to survive. I have been able to discover only one other occasion in his extant writings where the same maxim is quoted, this time in company with yet another from the Sextine collection. The two citations occur in the preface to Origen's *Commentary on the First Psalm*. This has not survived in the manuscript tradition, but is extant only in a short citation from the preface given by Epiphanius in his 'Medicine-chest for the cure of all heresies', where it reposes in an obscurity which explains its universal neglect. The entire extract given by Epiphanius is only forty-nine lines long, and of these the first thirty-one are also preserved in the second chapter of the *Philocalia*, where they are more obviously accessible.¹ But the two citations from Sextus occur in the brief section immediately following the passage cited in the *Philocalia* and are preserved by Epiphanius alone.

The theme of Origen's preface is again the mystery of the Bible; God has sealed the sacred book so that only the worthy can penetrate its hidden secrets. Ambrose's flattering request that he should write an exposition of the Psalms demands a disclaimer; it is putting upon him a task beyond his powers. And his diffidence is much increased by the reflection that there is danger not only in speaking about holy things but also, and indeed much more, in committing oneself to writing and leaving one's comments exposed to public scrutiny. It is therefore with an overwhelming sense of responsibility that he has gone to work.

And in tracking out the scripture we have not disregarded the fine sayings 'When you speak about God you are judged by God', and 'There is no small danger in speaking even the truth about God'.²

These citations from Sextus (22 and 352) are not recognised by the erudite editor of Epiphanius, Karl Holl. The cause of this failure on the part of both Holl and Harnack to identify these quotations in Origen may conjecturally be attributed to the continuing prevalence of the notion that Origen did not regard the

¹ Origen, *Philocalia* II (ed. J. Armitage Robinson, Cambridge, 1893), pp. 36f.

² Epiphanius, *Panarion* LXIV, 7, 3 (Holl, II, 416).

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Sextine maxims as a Christian work.¹ Sextus has not therefore been even considered as offering a likely hunting-ground. It is noteworthy, for example, that in Holl's invaluable collection of all the citations from ante-Nicene writers preserved in the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, he deliberately excludes from the scope of his book the quotations therein drawn from Sextus on the ground that as a theologian he is only interested in the Christian writers, and therefore the Sextine maxims are none of his concern—'they belong to the philologists'.² It is no doubt this mental attitude which has led students of the Fathers to neglect one of the more remarkable monuments of second-century Christian piety.

¹ It is probably the prevalence of this view which leads E. Amann (*Dict. de théol. cathol.* xiv, 2195) to date the Christian revision of the maxims 'au deuxième tiers du III^e siècle'.

² K. Holl, *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela* (Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge, Bd. v, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1899), p. xxxvii.

3. RUFINUS AND JEROME

At the end of the fourth century the gracious and aristocratic Roman lady Avita, niece of Melania the elder and wife of Apronianus, represented to her husband's friend and spiritual director, Rufinus of Aquileia, that she was finding her somewhat limited intellectual capacities overtaxed by the weighty classics of Greek theology which he was busy making available for the Latin churches. Translations of Origen, Gregory Nazianzen and Basil were all very well. Could he not find something a little simpler (and shorter) for her benefit?¹

To this request for uplift Rufinus replied by sending his friends a version of the sentences of Sextus. In his preface, dedicated to Apronianus, he explains that he has good hope that this will meet the need. The sentences have a particular claim upon their attention in that according to tradition the author was none other than Xystus, bishop and martyr of their own city, Rome. The saint's pithy maxims would assist Avita in the ascent to spiritual perfection; and as for brevity the work was so short that it could always be in her hand, 'taking the place of some ancient and valuable ring perhaps',² a substitution proper enough for one

¹ For the historical background of Rufinus' version and his relations with Apronianus and his wife see the excellent study of F. X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia: his Life and Works* (Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, new series, vi, 1945), pp. 119 ff.

Two years previously, about 398, Rufinus published his translation of Origen's homilies on Psalms 36-8, and in his preface (Lommatzsch, *Origenis Opera* xii, 151), likewise dedicated to Apronianus, he remarks that the simplicity of the sermons will commend them even to those of little brain 'so that the inspired utterance may reach not only men but also devout ladies, . . . for I fear that my pious daughter, your sister in Christ, may give me no thanks for my labour if she feels that because of the complexity of the questions it is always too difficult for her to comprehend'.

² '... unius pristini alicuius pretiosi anuli optinens locum.' The idiom, *aliquis* with a numeral (for which cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i, 1612), is not recognised in the translation of F. C. Conybeare (*The Ring of Pope Xystus*, p. 2), '... must take the place of and rank as the single precious ring of some ancient sage'. Conybeare

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'to whom earthly ornaments have lost their glitter in comparison with the word of God'. Indeed, while such a book would naturally be entitled by the Greek word *enchiridion*, in Latin it might deservedly be called a 'ring' (*anulus*).

Rufinus concludes his preface with the observation that he has expanded the original by adding selected sayings of a religious parent to his son. These appended sayings, taken from some other unnamed source (Evagrius Ponticus is a possible candidate¹), do not survive in the manuscript tradition, and it is therefore probable that Rufinus conscientiously marked the division where Sextus or Xystus ended and his new material began. This would at least explain Jerome's observation that Rufinus had divided the sentences into two separate sections.² And it would be natural for the final section to be lost. The monastic scribes who found the collection so congenial in medieval times only wanted the sayings of the holy Roman bishop and martyr, and could reasonably neglect the appended material which could not claim to stem from such exalted authority. It is human nature to regard the source of a statement as of more importance than its intrinsic value independent of its origin.

Rufinus' translation of the collection achieved immediate success as a publishing venture. Fifteen years later Jerome bitterly complained that it was being widely read: *per multas provincias*

is unhappily followed by Fr Murphy, *op. cit.* p. 120. The phrase is important because it offers the only apparent explanation of what is otherwise inexplicable, namely, Rufinus' peculiar title *Anulus*. Why a 'ring'? The word is not elsewhere paralleled in the sense of *Enchiridion* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v.*). Moreover, it seems that in the eyes of Jerome the title was so unusual as to constitute additional evidence that Rufinus had gone off his head (see the passage from his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, cited below, p. 121). I submit that the title alludes to some recent event. Had Avita recently lost an old and valued ring, the loss of which she felt particularly keenly? More probably perhaps, in view of the phrases which follow, she may have sold all her jewellery as an ascetic mortification or for the benefit of the poor. If so, Rufinus' words make excellent sense. By a pleasant conceit Rufinus offers her these other-worldly maxims of Sextus by way of compensation for the necklaces and, above all, that old family ring to which she had attached such value.

¹ This suggestion is made by O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* III (1912), p. 554, and favoured by Murphy, *op. cit.* p. 122.

² See below, p. 119.

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legitur.¹ Jerome's fire was particularly drawn by Rufinus' implied suggestion that the tradition ascribing the maxims to Pope Xystus II could be accepted. Some years previously, in the year 393, Jerome had himself quoted one of the Sextine maxims (no. 231) in his own independent translation and had added words of warm commendation.² Twenty years later, after the appearance of Rufinus' translation and after the death of his one-time friend, he cites the same maxim again in his *Commentary on Ezekiel*; here also he gives it his approval as a 'fine saying', but on this occasion he notes that the author was Xystus a Pythagorean, whose book has been

translated into Latin by a certain person who has tried to father it on to the martyr Xystus, not observing that in the entire volume, which he purposelessly divided into two parts, the name of Christ and of the apostles is not mentioned.

But then, he continues, to ascribe the work of a pagan philosopher to the bishop of Rome and martyr is all that one would expect of a rogue who tried to commend the heresies of Origen's work *On First Principles* to the Romans by translating the first book of the *Apology for Origen* by Eusebius of Caesarea and tendentiously ascribing it to the martyr Pamphilus.³

Writing at about the same period as his *Commentary on Ezekiel*, in his letter to Ctesiphon against Pelagius Jerome again drags in

¹ Jerome, *Comm. in Ierem.* IV, 41 (C.S.E.L. LIX, 267, 13). The popularity of the work is likewise attested by its mention in Gennadius, *Vir. Inl.* XVII.

² Jerome, *Adv. Iovinianum* I, 49 (Vallarsi, II, 318), after a story from Seneca: 'origo quidem amoris honesta erat, sed magnitudo deformis. nihil autem interest quam ex honesta causa quis insaniat. unde et Xystus in sententiis: Adulter est, inquit, in suam uxorem amator ardentior.'

³ Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.* VI (Vallarsi, v, 206-7): 'pulchre in Xysti Pythagorici sententiis dicitur: Adulter est uxoris propriae amator ardentior. quem librum quidam in latinam linguam transferens, martyris Xysti nomine voluit illustrare, non considerans in toto volumine, quod in duas partes frustra divisit, Christi nomen et apostolorum omnino reticere. nec mirum si gentilem philosophum in martyrem et romanae urbis episcopum transtulerit, quum Eusebii quoque Caesariensis primum pro Origene librum Pamphili martyris vocabulo commutarit, ut facilius tali laudatore libros impiissimos περί ἀρχῶν Romanis conciliaret auribus.' Rufinus' version of 231 is 'adulter etiam propriae uxoris omnis inpu-dicus'. Jerome disdains to use it.

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a similar thrust against Rufinus. In this letter he is attacking the perfectionism of Evagrius Ponticus, the Origenist ascetic and author of a collection of maxims on apathy which at this time was being extensively read both in the East and, in a Latin translation again made by Rufinus, in the West. Jerome comments that Rufinus was just the sort of character to become implicated in this kind of perfectionist heresy.

Who could adequately describe the rashness or rather the crack-headedness of a fellow who ascribed the book of Sextus the Pythagorean (a man without Christ and a heathen!) to Xystus the martyr-bishop of the Roman church? In this book much is said of perfection in accordance with the doctrine of the Pythagoreans who make man equal to God and maintain that he is of God's substance; the result is that those who are ignorant that the volume is by a philosopher, supposing themselves to be reading the work of a martyr, drink of the golden cup of Babylon [cf. Jeremiah li. 7]. Furthermore, in that volume there is no mention of the prophets, of the patriarchs, of the apostles, and of Christ, so that he tries to make out that there was a bishop and a martyr who did not believe in Christ.¹

Jerome concludes by repeating the assertion that Rufinus had done the same sort of thing when he ascribed Eusebius' *Apology for Origen* to the holy martyr Pamphilus.

Similarly in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, written shortly after the last effusion to Ctesiphon, Jerome sarcastically attacks the wretch Grunnius (his abusive name for the dead Rufinus) who translated into Latin a book of Sextus a Pythagorean, a rank pagan, divided it into two volumes, and dared to publish them under the name of the holy martyr Xystus bishop of Rome, although they contain not a mention of Christ or of the Holy Ghost or of God the Father or of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. This book with his usual

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* 133, 3 (*C.S.E.L.* lvi, 246-7): 'illam autem temeritatem, immo insaniam eius, quis possit digno explicare sermone, quod librum Sexti Pythagorei, hominis absque Christo atque ethnici, inmutato nomine Xysti, martyris et Romanae ecclesiae episcopi, praenotavit? in quo iuxta dogma Pythagoricorum, qui hominem exaequant deo et de eius dicunt esse substantia, multa de perfectione dicuntur, ut, qui volumen philosophi nesciunt, sub martyris nomine bibant de aureo calice Babylonis. denique in ipso volumine nulla prophetarum, nulla patriarcharum, nulla apostolorum, nulla Christi fit mentio, ut episcopum et martyrem sine Christi fide fuisse contendat.'

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rashness and crack-headedness he called a Ring. It is widely read in many provinces, and especially by those who preach freedom from passion and sinless perfection.¹

At first sight it might seem that the connection made by Jerome in the letter to Ctesiphon between the doctrines of the Pelagians, the maxims of Sextus, and the perfectionism of Evagrius spirituality is utterly forced.² But perhaps it is the secret of Jerome's great skill as a master of the indelicate art of invective that while much of his torrential abuse is wild, exaggerated, and extremist, there is almost always some grain of truth in the charge; it is essential to the effectiveness of his attack that while it is unreasonable it is never wholly deficient in truth—or at least in verisimilitude. For such a writer the gulf dividing fair comment from vulgar abuse can in some circumstances be narrow. In the ideals of Evagrius Jerome discerned the same moral and religious tendencies that he had found in the Sextine maxims. In this regard was Jerome so far mistaken? For Pelagius himself found Rufinus' translation of Sextus highly congenial reading, as we know from the statements of Augustine according to whom Pelagius quoted three maxims of the alleged martyr-pope among his catalogue of eminent authorities who could be taken to lend support to his position, namely:³

God has granted men freedom of will in order that by living purely and without sin they may become like God (36).

A pure mind is a holy temple for God, and the best altar for him is a heart pure and sinless (46).

A chaste and sinless man has received power from God to be a son of God (60).

¹ Jerome, *Comm. in Ierem.* IV, 41 (*C.S.E.L.* LIX, 267): 'miserabilis Grunnius, qui ad calumniandos sanctos viros aperuit os suum linguamque suam docuit mendacium, Sexti Pythagorei, hominis gentilissimi, unum librum interpretatus est in latinum divisitque eum in duo volumina et sub nomine sancti martyris Xysti, Romanae urbis episcopi, ausus est edere, in quibus nulla Christi, nulla spiritus sancti, nulla dei patris, nulla patriarcharum et prophetarum et apostolorum fit mentio, et hunc librum solita temeritate et insania Anulum nominavit, qui per multas provincias legitur, et maxime ab his qui ἀπάθειαν et impeccantiam praedicant.'

² This is the view of Georges de Plinval, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie, et sa réforme* (Lausanne, 1943), pp. 273–4. For the genuine connection between Sextus and Evagrius cf. below, p. 162.

³ Augustine, *De Natura et Gratia* LXIV, 77.

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In answering Pelagius' formidable appeal to the high authority of Pope Xystus, Augustine took it for granted without any critical enquiry that his opponent was correct in ascribing the sayings to the martyred bishop. But later he came to learn from his reading of Jerome that Rufinus had been mistaken in attributing the maxims to Xystus of Rome. Accordingly in his *Retractations* he remarks that in his work *On Nature and Grace*

certain sayings which Pelagius quoted as the words of Xystus, bishop of Rome and martyr, I defended as if they were genuine. For that was my opinion at the time. But afterwards I read that the sayings were by Sextus a philosopher, not Xystus the Christian.¹

The judgement of Jerome, flung out mainly as a malicious reproach to Rufinus, perhaps without thought or consideration otherwise, has here become authoritative; and it influenced not only the mature view of Augustine, but also the estimate of other writers of late antiquity.

In the sixth century the fortunes of Sextus in the West took a slight turn for the better. In the sixth-century additions to the first chapter of the *Decretum Gelasianum* the maxims of Sextus are included in the catalogue of apocryphal writings, with the caution that it is a work of heretical origin: 'Liber proverbiorum qui ab haereticis conscriptus et sancti Xysti nomine praenotatus est, apocryphus.'² The notion that the origins of the collection are to be sought not in pagan philosophy but in heresy is surprising, and may be taken as a slight improvement in its status, since it at least suggests that the work was intended to be Christian. Jerome says nothing whatever that might be taken to imply a heretical origin for the maxims, but perhaps the idea was put into circulation by some careless reader of his commentaries and letters. At any rate the new theory became current and was known to Isidore of Seville. But for him this theory of heretical origin constituted a problem. Isidore is puzzled by the conflict

¹ *Retract.* II, 68 (22). Augustine's references to Sextus are briefly discussed by B. Altaner in *Anal. Boll.* LXII (1949) = *Mélanges Paul Peeters* I, pp. 247-8. Pelagian tracts of the Vth century circulate under Xystus' name: Caspari, *Briefe, Abh. u. Predigten* (1890), pp. 227 ff., 329 ff.

² Edited by Thiel, *Romanorum Pontificum Epistolae* I, 464; also by E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (TU XXXVIII, Heft 4, Leipzig, 1912), p. 12.

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of his authorities. Certainly the idea of a heretical origin for the maxims was sufficiently well sponsored for some notice to be taken of it; on the other hand, he found unambiguous testimony in Augustine (*De Natura et Gratia* LXVI, 77, presumably) that the collection was a genuine work of the martyred pope. (Isidore was evidently ignorant both of the attacks of Jerome and of the careful disclaimer which Augustine put into his *Retractations*.) After anxious debate he decides that there must be an element of truth in the story of a heretical origin. But it cannot be accepted without qualification on the ground that 'the blessed Augustine refutes this opinion when in one of his works he declares that this work was composed by the martyr'. Accordingly, he concludes with a compromise; he suggests that the genuine maxims of Xystus have been *interpolated* by heretics. An orthodox reader must therefore be on his guard, watch out for the places where the text may have been tampered with, and receive as authoritative only those sayings which he recognises as being in no way contrary to the truth.¹

The status of maxims originally composed by a great and holy pope and martyr, and perhaps slightly doctored here and there by heretics, must obviously be very much higher than that of a collection made by a 'rank pagan'. It may not be the pure and unadulterated milk of the Word, but at least it is not the golden cup of Babylon.

While the fulminations of Jerome left their mark on the tradition, for the most part the version of Rufinus made its own way unmolested. Almost all of the many manuscripts of Rufinus

¹ Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus* I (*P.L.* LXXXIII, 1084): 'Xystus episcopus Romanae urbis et martyr composuit ad instar Salomonis librum proverbiorum tam brevi eloquio ut in singulis versibus singulae explicentur sententiae. cui quidem opusculo haeretici quaedam contra ecclesiasticam fidem inseruerunt, quo facilius sub nomine tanti martyris perversorum dogmatum reciperetur assertio. sed is qui catholicum sese meminit, probando legat et ea quae veritati contraria non sunt recipiat. quidam autem putant eundem librum ab haereticis, non a Xysto, fuisse dictatum. refellit autem hanc opinionem beatissimus Augustinus, qui in quodam opere suo ab eodem martyre hoc opus compositum esse fatetur.' The passage throws an interesting light on the criteria by which a polymath and antiquarian of that period felt able to reach a decision concerning the authenticity of documents.

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collated by Gildemeister attribute the sentences to bishop Xystus of Rome without scruple or qualification. The thirteenth-century manuscript at St John's College, Cambridge (J in Gildemeister's edition) is typical in that although it prefixes the quotation from Jerome's *Commentary on Ezekiel* (above, p. 119 n. 3), yet this does not prevent the scribe from ending with the formula: *explicit Encheridion b(eat)i Sixti papae*. Even where Jerome's warnings were known, it seems that they were not much regarded. The general attitude may perhaps be interpreted as being that even if the learned father Jerome was against it, yet it is much too good not to be authentic.¹ The monks liked it. Two of Sextus' maxims are quoted in the *Regula Magistri*, and one of these reappears in the *Rule of Saint Benedict*.

The two maxims cited in the *Regula Magistri* are 145 and 152; the former is cited in chapter x (line 188, p. 179 in the diplomatic edition of Vanderhoven and Masai²): 'scriptum est, Sapiens paucis verbis innotescit.' The latter appears in chapter xi (line 143, p. 186): 'nam et Origenes [sententiam] sapiens dicit, Melius est lapidem in vanum iactare quam verbum.'

In the *Rule of Saint Benedict* only the former, 145, appears, in chapter vii (p. 46, ed. Justin McCann): '... sicut scriptum est, Sapiens verbis innotescit paucis.'

The attribution of 152 to Origen in the *Regula Magistri* may suggest that the Master drew the maxim from some previous

¹ A neat example of this perennial human attitude is offered by Plutarch in his *Life of Solon* 27, where he frankly declares that although there are strong chronological objections to the story of Solon and Croesus which show that it must be fictitious, nevertheless it is so famous an anecdote and has been recorded by so many authorities that he cannot possibly leave it out.

² H. Vanderhoven, F. Masai, P. B. Corbett, *La Règle du Maître* (Les Publications de Scriptorium III), 1953; thereon cf. Owen Chadwick, in *J.T.S.*, new series, v (1954), pp. 275-9. The literary relation between the two Rules is fortunately not relevant here. The attribution of a saying to 'the wise Origen' is more readily conceivable in an age when the bitterest controversy concerning his name had died down, but of course the West did not become so seriously involved in the sixth-century debate that dominated the East. In much monastic literature Origen is an honoured and respected authority, e.g. in the *Ancrene Riwe* (transl. M. B. Salu, 1955), p. 104. Julian of Toledo introduces a citation from Origen's seventh homily on Leviticus with the formula 'De his ita Origenes doctor in suis dogmatibus docet dicens...' (*Prognosticon* II, 28).

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writer to whom Origen's Greek writings may have been accessible, rather than from Rufinus (who has *frustra*, not *in vanum*).¹

In the ninth century Rufinus' version was freely drawn upon, as providing the authentic sayings of Pope Xystus II, by the syndicate who compiled the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Naturally where genuine material was available they were glad to make use of it, and their vast compilation contains far more authentic than forged matter. It is clear that they regarded the *Enchiridion* as a genuine work of the martyr-pope.²

The medieval desire to express a sense of the value of the sentences by ascribing them to the primitive saint and martyr-pope became replaced in post-Renaissance times by a directly opposite movement. Since the sixteenth century the modern tendency has been to dismiss Rufinus as a bungler or even a rogue, and to make a quite uncritical exchange of his story for the account offered by Jerome.³ An engaging anti-clerical writer of the nineteenth century even suggested that Rufinus' ascription to Xystus II supplied but one more example of two deplorable Christian characteristics: to prefer edification to truth and falsely to claim the wisdom of pagan antiquity for their own. Even today, when the problem has been set free from polemics and can be examined *sine ira et studio*, the inclination of modern critical scholarship has been to lean on Jerome for safe guidance concerning the origin of the Sextine collection. It is quietly assumed that since the sentences are pagan, 'Sextus Pythagoricus' is the proper heading under which editions should be sought in our library catalogues, and that their study belongs to the classical field. It might be deemed unfortunate that these specimens of Pythagorean wisdom show evidence of some light Christian revision, but it is felt to be lucky that the original in all its essentials may be extracted still.

The degree to which the internal evidence supports this idea

¹ It may have been transmitted through Evagrius and his circle.

² P. Hinschius, *Decretales pseudo-isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), p. cxxxvii, collects references to the citations from the Maxims.

³ F. Cavallera, *S. Jérôme, sa Vie et son Œuvre* II (1922), p. 101, exempts Rufinus from the charge of being a knave but not from that of being a fool. 'Sa critique est en défaut, non sa bonne foi, incriminée à tort.'

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will be examined below (pp. 138 ff.). At present it is enough to notice that in so far as it depends upon the external testimony of Jerome it needs to be treated with caution and scrutiny.

In the first place, who is the Pythagorean Sextus of whom Jerome is thinking? Of course it is not very likely that he simply invented him out of his own head. Some modern writers have understood Jerome to have been referring to Quintus Sextius,¹ an eclectic Roman philosopher of the age of Augustus, whose blend of Stoic and Pythagorean-Platonist teaching, transmitted through his small circle of select pupils, especially Sotion, exercised some influence upon Seneca. It is in the highest degree improbable that Jerome had read a line of Quintus Sextius (if any writings existed), but he had certainly read Seneca and could no doubt have remembered the high praise which Seneca bestowed on Sextius, and perhaps also the review of his opinions concerning the grounds for practising vegetarianism which Seneca summarises on the authority of Sotion in *Ep.* 108, 17f. It is, however, noteworthy that the evidence of Seneca's summary tells, if at all, against rather than in favour of the correctness of Jerome's identification—if indeed this is the Pythagorean philosopher whom he had in mind.

¹ For a brief account of Q. Sextius see H. von Arnim's article in Pauly-Wissowa II A, 2040-1.

In 1878 J. R. Tobler published at Tübingen a small volume entitled *Annulus Rufini: Sententiae Sextiae*, in which he claimed to offer the true text of Sextius' maxims stripped of the accretions and additions made by Sixtus bishop of Rome and after him by Rufinus. His volume is quite worthless.

M. Ott, *Charakter und Ursprung der Sprüche des Philosophen Sextius* (Gymnasium-Progr. Rottweil, 1861-3, in three parts), holds the same general notion, in perhaps rather more sophisticated form. He thinks the collection contains Jewish elements, which he would explain on the odd hypothesis that Sextius and his Roman circle had become deeply influenced by current Jewish propaganda. Gildemeister (pp. xxxiv-xxxvi of his edition) provides a vast catalogue of the errors in Ott's work. Zeller (*Philos. d. Griechen* III, i⁴, pp. 702f.) points out the impossibility of his whole theory.

A variant of the same notion is advanced by Fernando de Paolo (*Le sentenze di Sesto* (Milan, 1937), and *Osservazioni alle sentenze di Sesto* (Rome, 1938); the former work is reviewed by R. Beutler in *Gnomon* xv (1939), pp. 587-8), that the sentences constitute the 'sole surviving document of the doctrine of the Essenes', and that the Essenes deeply influenced Q. Sextius and his circle.

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Seneca's account is as follows:

Sotion used to tell us why Pythagoras, and why Sextius in later times, had abstained from the flesh of animals. Each of the two men had a different motive, and each a noble one. Sextius thought that men had foodstuffs enough without shedding blood, and that a habit of cruelty arose when the tearing of flesh was made a means of pleasure. He further maintained that the material of self-indulgence ought to be restricted, and argued that a variety of foods was inimical to health and unsuitable to our physical structure. Pythagoras on the other hand asserted a universal relationship of all things and an interchange of souls, which passed into shape after shape. If you take his word for it, no soul perishes, or even suspends its existence except for the short period of its transfusion into another body.¹

The difference between Sextius and orthodox Pythagoreanism is strikingly akin to the critique of pagan vegetarian principles offered by Clement of Alexandria (above, p. 107 n. 1). It appears from this passage, then, that Sextius felt unable to share the usual Pythagorean view that no animal should be killed on the ground that, if transmigration of souls is true, to kill an animal would be to kill a kinsman. He agreed with vegetarianism in practice, but offered a different motivation. For him the principles of vegetarianism have been radically demythologised and are fourfold: (a) man already has enough resources for his food without meat; (b) slaughtering beasts encourages human propensities to enjoy cruelty; (c) opportunities for self-indulgence are already excessive and should be diminished; (d) too great a variety in diet is not good for health or suited to the human constitution.

In the Sextine maxims (109) meat-eating is declared to be a matter of indifference, though vegetarianism is more reasonable. There is here a real divergence between the light toleration of

¹ 'Sotion dicebat, quare ille animalibus abstinuisset, quare postea Sextius; dissimilis utrique causa erat, sed utrique magnifica. hic homini satis alimentorum citra sanguinem esse credebatur et crudelitatis consuetudinem fieri, ubi in voluptatem esset adducta laceratio. adiciebat contrahendam materiam esse luxuriae. colligebat bonae valitudini contraria esse alimenta varia et nostris aliena corporibus. at Pythagoras omnium inter omnia cognationem esse dicebat et animorum commercium in alias atque alias formas transeuntium. nulla, si illi credas, anima interit, ne cessat quidem nisi tempore exiguo, dum in aliud corpus transfunditur.' The translation cited above is that of E. P. Barker (Oxford, 1932).

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meat-eating in the maxims and the strong disapproval of Quintus Sextius, even though the Roman Stoic's principles are purely 'humanist' or Epicurean without any Pythagorean mythology. Sotion does not suggest that in the eyes of the latter meat-eating could be classified as a tolerable ineptitude. The evidence, therefore, falls a long way short of probability in favour of the view that Quintus Sextius was either the Pythagorean philosopher mentioned by Jerome or the author of the maxims.

Another possible clue occurs in Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea. Here under Olympiad 195 (= A.D. 1-4) there occurs the entry: 'Sextus Pythagoricus philosophus agnoscitur.'¹ The original wording of the Greek text of Eusebius may be found preserved in the late Byzantine chronicle of George Syncellus: Σέξτος φιλόσοφος Πυθαγορικὸς ἤκμαζεν.² This date is perhaps a fraction on the late side to be regarded as a quite certain reference to Quintus Sextius, but it is on the whole more probable than not that this was Eusebius' intention. Be that as it may, Jerome may well have remembered making this entry recording the *floruit* of a Pythagorean philosopher of the first century A.D., and so proceeded to jump to the conclusion that here he had found the veritable author of the Sextine maxims attributed by Rufinus to Pope Xystus.

Although there have been those who have pressed his candidature, the ascription of the original form of the Sextine maxims to a Roman contemporary of Julius Caesar is not seriously tenable. There is, however, good evidence that in the Greek world there really was a Pythagorean philosopher named Sextus. For the sixth-century Neoplatonist Simplicius, in his *Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle*, quotes Iamblichus as having made some reference to the arguments of 'Sextus the Pythagorean' on the thorny subject of squaring the circle.³ From this single allusion it is certain that there must have been such a philosopher, and it is far from impossible that a learned bookworm like Jerome had actually heard of him or seen his name mentioned somewhere.

¹ Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Helm (1st ed., 1913), p. 169.

² Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, p. 599.

³ Simplicius, *In Aristot. Categ.* p. 192 Kalbfleisch.

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But to say more would be to go beyond the evidence. From Simplicius' quotation he seems to have been a typical Neopythagorean with an interest in mathematical conundrums; anything beyond that is mere conjecture.

The heart of the matter is the credibility of Jerome. The quest of Sextus the Pythagorean as author of the maxims need only be taken seriously if we can be sure that Jerome has to be taken seriously. Unhappily it is more than doubtful whether this is a safe assumption. Account needs to be taken of the situation in which Jerome's observations were made. Jerome's interest was not to purvey to his contemporaries and to scholars of a later age accurate and detached historical information about the true origin of the Sextine maxims, but to clutch at every possible chance of denigrating the memory of poor Rufinus. In such circumstances a sober regard for truth and meticulous accuracy is not to be expected. Accordingly, to go in search of 'Sextus the Pythagorean' as a concrete historical figure who compiled a collection of moral and religious aphorisms is to make an act of faith in the impartiality and accuracy of a polemical writer of admitted erudition, whose primary intention was to make a dead enemy, once—unpardonably—his friend, appear a fool and a knave in the eyes of a public almost entirely ignorant of Greek and so incapable of controlling the exactitude of his assertions.

The suggestion is not that Jerome was in this instance a rogue and deliberate liar, only that he was probably being tendentious, casual and slapdash. On the evidence of *Adv. Iovinianum* I, 49 it is clear that he had known the Greek text of the Sextine maxims well before Rufinus' version appeared. He rightly discerned in them the characteristics of the gnomic wisdom associated with the Pythagoreans, and naturally he knew that the popular ascription to a third-century martyr and bishop of Rome was an improbable legend. When Rufinus gave currency to the tradition ascribing them to Xystus he gave Jerome a handle against him. Jerome would have recalled having somewhere read of a Pythagorean Sextus, whether in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius or elsewhere, and decided that here was a likely author, good enough at least as a rod with which to beat Rufinus. That he had reliable information

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at his disposal is rendered improbable by the continuation of his argument where he tendentiously tries to make out that Rufinus had also been responsible for fathering Eusebius' *Apology for Origen* on the martyr Pamphilus, an assertion made at the height of the quarrel between the two old friends and wholly lacking in any factual basis.¹

Nevertheless, even though his own account of the authorship of the Sixtine maxims needs to be treated with caution, Jerome is of course right in recognising their intellectual *milieu* and in supposing that Rufinus intended the mention of the name of Xystus II to commend his *Enchiridion* to the Latin churches. Here again Jerome exaggerates and distorts. Rufinus expressly declares that the attribution of the maxims to the martyr-pope rests merely on the authority of tradition; his word *tradunt* carries the unmistakable overtone that he himself was not prepared to be too confident concerning the reliability of that tradition. Jerome tries to give the impression that Rufinus had boldly invented the ascription to Pope Xystus on his own authority merely in order to gain his public by a catchpenny title. But at the time when Jerome's first shot was fired on this subject, Rufinus had been dead four years and could not reply. It may be said on Rufinus' behalf that it is exceedingly improbable that he was not telling the truth when in his preface he declared that the ascription to Xystus was traditional. For the attribution to Xystus is attested in the Greek tradition, quite independent of Rufinus' translation. In the *Sacra Parallela* citations from the maxims occur with the lemma Ζέξτου 'Ρωμ.² The ancient Syriac versions also bear the title: 'Select sayings of Mar Xystus, bishop of Rome.'³ And it

¹ The first five books were written by Eusebius and Pamphilus together; the sixth was added by Eusebius after Pamphilus' martyrdom (cf. Eus. *H.E.* vi, 36, 4). No doubt Jerome was right in saying that Rufinus put out his translation of the first book under Pamphilus' name because it lent Origen the protection of a holy martyr; that scarcely justifies the lies on his own side or the insinuation that the martyr-saint had not in fact written the book. See Rufinus, *Adv. Hier.* II, 30; Jerome, *Adv. Ruf.* I, 9; II, 23; III, 12; *Ep.* 84, 11.

² John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, A 24, p. 362 Lequien.

³ Cf. Gildemeister, *op. cit.* p. xxxi; P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (1858), p. iv: כְּלָא מִקְדַּשׁ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי הוֹמָת וְכָל עַבְדֵּי חַטֻּאתָא

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is very possible that the *Life of Xystus II* given by the *Liber Pontificalis* is to be understood as a witness to the same tradition. The *Life* begins with the words 'Xystus natione Grecus ex philosopho...'.¹ The absence of any reference to the 'Ring' of Rufinus suggests that the *Liber Pontificalis* may have preserved a scrap of good tradition independent of any deduction or conjecture based on Rufinus' preface. It seems, then, that Xystus II was regarded in the tradition of the city as the kind of person who might have been expected to manifest an interest in Greek wisdom. In any event, it is certain that when Rufinus reported the existence of a tradition ascribing the maxims to the martyred pope he was telling the truth.

Xystus II was a bishop who left a deep impression upon the Roman community despite the brevity of his episcopate. His martyrdom was the more intensely felt in that he had been surprised by the soldiery in the very act of ministering the divine word to his flock in the cemetery of Callistus, and had been thereupon summarily executed with four of his deacons,² the archdeacon Lawrence following him shortly afterwards. Damasus commemorates his heroism:

Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera matris,
hic positus rector caelestia iussa docebat.
adveniunt subito rapiunt qui forte sedentem:
militibus missis populi tunc colla dedere.
mox ubi cognovit senior quis tollere vellet
palmam, seq: suumq: caput prior optulit ipse,
inpatiens feritas posset ne laedere quemquam.
ostendit Christus, reddit qui praemia vitae,
pastoris meritum, numerum gregis ipse tuetur.³

¹ *Liber Pontif.* 1, p. 34 Mommsen; 1, p. 155 Duchesne. Cf. J. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux Apôtres* (1956), p. 375, criticising Duchesne's scepticism.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* 80 *ad Successum*: 'Xistum autem in cimiterio animadversum sciatis viii id. Aug. die et cum eo diacones quattuor.' (The news warned Cyprian of his own imminent martyrdom, *Vita Cypriani* xiv: 'iam de Xisto bono et pacifico sacerdote ac propterea beatissimo martyre ab urbe nuntius venerat'.)

³ Damasus, *Epigr.* 13, ed. Ihm; 17, ed. Ferrua. Prudentius' Hymn in honour of St Lawrence (*Peristeph.* II, 21 ff.) says that Xystus was crucified; but the usual tradition (e.g. his *Life* in the *Liber Pontificalis*) says that he was decapitated, which is the normal meaning of Cyprian's word *animadversum*. For discussion

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That is:

At the time when the sword cut the devout heart of his mother, the bishop buried here was teaching the commandments of heaven. They come upon him suddenly and seize him as he is sitting in his teaching chair. The soldiers were sent; the people began to bow to execution. But as soon as the old man knew it, wishing to bear the palm of victory, he first offered himself and his own head, lest impatient cruelty inflict hurt on anyone. Christ, who grants the reward of heavenly life, showed the merit of the shepherd; it is He who Himself guards the flock.

Xystus was gratefully remembered. As both bishop of Rome and martyr, and as the father-in-God who had encouraged St Lawrence,¹ he assumed a place of high honour in the powerful movement which, with ever-growing impetus from the middle years of the third century onwards, sought to further the cult of the martyrs and to enrich the Roman calendar.² The many surviving graffiti on the walls by his tomb vividly attest how profoundly the intercessions of so great a saint were valued by simple and devout souls:

Sancte Xuste
Sancte Suste in mente abeatis in horationes
Sancte Suste in mente habeas . . . repentinum

And in Greek

ΞΥCΤΕ
ΕΝ ΘΕΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΕ ΖΗΧΗC

Or even in Graeco-Latin

ΒΙΒΑC ΙΝ ΘΕΩ

These and many like prayers, urgently requesting the saint's speedy aid in time of crisis or pleading for his mighty intercessions on behalf of a departed relative, indicate the firm place which Xystus II held in the affections of the faithful, and the names

cf. P. Corssen in *Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wiss.* XVI (1915), pp. 147-66, and criticism of Corssen by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note Agiografiche* VI (= *Studi e Testi* XXXIII, 1920), pp. 145-78.

¹ Cf. the sermons of Maximus of Turin on the Feast of St Lawrence (Migne, *P.L.* LVII, 675-82), where this motif is prominent.

² Cf. *J.T.S.* n.s. VIII (1957), p. 44; H. Delehaye, *Origines du culte des Martyrs* (2nd ed. 1933), pp. 260ff.

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there inscribed include not only Latins and Greeks but also Lombards and Goths.¹ Evidently he captured the imagination of Christian folk, if not perhaps to the extent achieved by St Lawrence (doubtless because of the more dramatic character of St Lawrence's legend and his heroic apophthegm requesting to be roasted now on the other side), yet sufficiently to make him a well-known figure. He appears in the *Communicantes* in all texts of the Canon of the Mass. Masses for his feast-day on 6 August are provided in the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries, and the evidence of the *Depositio Martyrum* in the Liberian Catalogue of 354 and of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* shows the firm place that his day held in the official calendar.²

In short, Xystus was the kind of saint to whom it would not be difficult to credit a popular collection of moral maxims widely disseminated among Greek Christians.

The quotations from the maxims given by Origen are generally assumed to make it quite impossible on chronological grounds to suppose that a bishop of Rome martyred only ten years later than Origen's citations could really be the author. The identification is very unlikely. But it is not perhaps impossible. The Life in the *Liber Pontificalis* has nothing to say about his age at death. But Xystus may have died an old man (it could be regarded as a qualification for the episcopate in time of persecution to be of advanced years), and in that event the maxims might have been published by him in early life, shortly after his conversion perhaps, and therefore sufficiently early for the collection to pass into general circulation in Alexandria and Palestine by the forties of the third century. (By mental habit modern scholars tend perhaps to overestimate the length of time required for a work to pass into general circulation in the ancient world, especially in a

¹ For a fuller discussion of these graffiti see P. Styger, *Römische Märtyrergrieffe* (Berlin, 1935), I, p. 91.

² See V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (= *Studi di antichità cristiana* XIV, Rome, 1938), pp. 117–19. There is an excellent article by M. Combet-Farnoux in *Dict. d'Arch. Chr. et Lit.* xv, 1501–15, s.v. 'Sixte II' (1950). For a catalogue of fourth-century glasses with Xystus' name inscribed, cf. G. B. Ladner, *I Ritratti dei Papi nell'Antichità e nel Medioevo* I (1941), p. 33.

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close-knit community where contact between one church and another was frequent.) But naturally it is a long shot; and all that can be said is that there is no adequate ground for excluding the candidature of Xystus II as totally and intrinsically impossible.

Some of those who have ruled out Xystus II on chronological grounds have been inclined to propose Xystus I, also a Greek bishop of Rome but more than a hundred years earlier. In the last century his name was canvassed by H. Ewald,¹ and in the present century it has been urged by F. C. Conybeare² (a man of varied learning who never seems to have been reluctant to adopt adventurous hypotheses). He was also reputed a martyr;³ it would not be impossible for the work of the first Xystus to become transferred in popular tradition to the credit of his more widely known successor and namesake. Whereas Xystus II was a deeply venerated figure, Xystus I was hardly more than a cipher to the Roman community of the fourth century—merely a name in the list of Successors of St Peter. They knew no more about him than we know today. The ascription of the maxims to Xystus I is therefore highly speculative. The problem can be reduced to this: Is the religious and ethical attitude represented by the Sextine collection conceivable in an eminent Greek Christian of Rome of the time of Hadrian? Since it is more than doubtful whether the evidence is sufficient to justify a negative answer, Conybeare's ascription must be admitted to be possible. But it remains no more than a conjecture.

If Sextus was a Christian collector, it is possible that he was a churchman of the Greek East. A Christian named Sextus of the time of Septimius Severus (193–211) wrote a work *On the Resurrection* which was known to Eusebius of Caesarea (no doubt there was a copy preserved in the Pamphilian library there); it is mentioned in his *Church History* (v, 27) together with a number of other now lost writings.⁴

Another conceivable candidate is Sextus Julius Africanus who

¹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*³ VII (1868), pp. 356–61.

² *The Ring of Pope Xystus* (London, 1910), p. 123.

³ *Lib. Pont.* p. 11 Mommsen. Irenaeus (III, 3, 4) shows that he was not.

⁴ Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Litt.* I, p. 758. Eusebius' statement is reproduced by Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 50.

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has the right kind of cultural background. Unhappily the evidence that he bore the name Sextus is extremely thin. It rests on no better authority than Suidas,¹ and the entry in that encyclopaedia appears as Ἀφρικανός, ὁ Σέκτος χρηματίσας, φιλόσοφος, Λίβυς, ὁ τοὺς Κεστοὺς γεγραφώς ἐν βιβλίοις κδ'. Professor R. M. Grant has made the neat proposal that Σέκτος should be regarded as a metathesis for Κεστός, the title being attributed to him from association with his *magnum opus*, the *Kestoi*, much as Africanus himself refers to Clement of Alexandria as ὁ Στρωματεύς.² This would eliminate all the evidence that his name was Sextus.

The ancient dispute between Rufinus and Jerome has to a large degree determined the form of the modern debate concerning the origin and character of the maxims. The consequences of this have not been altogether happy. And it is perhaps regrettable that some investigators have been led to follow a false, or at least an unrewarding, scent by treating the discovery of the identity of the author as the really important question. All that we really know is that the collection comes to us from a man named Sextus. But it is certain that Origen regarded the collection as Christian, that he himself found the tone of the maxims profoundly congenial, and that, perhaps to his surprise,³ the maxims were extensively and appreciatively read at a popular level by less highly educated believers. In fact, because of the high regard in which the maxims were generally held in the Church, he felt it necessary to warn his readers that over-enthusiastic Christians might be led gravely astray by the language about self-mutilation which they contained. The character of Christian enthusiasm in the second century does not appear to have been any more liberal than at other periods of church history, and zealous Christians were not likely to follow such advice if it came to them from a pagan source—that would be to draw their morality from the devil (indeed they would not even do right if it was the devil who tempted them to do it).⁴ It is equally certain that some Greek

¹ Suidas, ed. Adler, I, p. 433.

² R. M. Grant, 'Patristica', in *Vigiliae Christianae* III (1949), p. 227.

³ They are read, he says, by 'even the multitude of Christians'.

⁴ Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* xx, 4.

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Christians during the fourth century came to identify the author with Xystus, bishop of Rome and martyr—an identification which may be taken to express their sense of the high value of the aphorisms and which undoubtedly did much to enhance their authority. But this somewhat adventurous ascription was not universally accepted; at any rate it has not affected the manuscripts that preserve the original Greek text. On the other hand, it quickly passed to Edessa and the Syriac-speaking Christians, and it is very unlikely that they could have learnt to ascribe the maxims to Xystus of Rome unless the attribution was known in the Greek church. It is a curious fact that Pope Xystus II seems to have been unique among the early bishops of Rome in achieving cultus among the Syrian Christians of Mesopotamia. The ancient Syriac martyrology contained in the codex Add. 12150 of the British Museum, written at Edessa in A.D. 411, contains only two commemorations associated with Rome; one is that of the apostles St Peter and St Paul on 28 December, the other is that of Xystus on 1 August.¹ Since other saints in this calendar suggest that it is based upon the fourth-century calendar of the church of Nicomedia,² it is perhaps Nicomedia (which as an imperial residence had frequent contacts with the West) which acted as mediator in this regard. Among the Syriac liturgies still used in Malabar there is an Anaphora of Mar Xystus.³ These facts all illustrate the influence of Xystus and the greatness of his posthumous reputation to which the maxims signally contributed.

In his commentary upon the *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus Confessor makes a passing reference to the twenty-eighth maxim of the Sextine collection in which he describes the author as 'Sextus the church philosopher' (Σέξτος ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος).⁴ The description is surely apt. It

¹ Conveniently in Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* (Kleine Texte 2).

² H. Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert* (= Abhandl. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., n.F. III, 2, 1900), pp. 30-71.

³ Given in Latin in Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.* II, 398; in English in G. B. Howard, *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* (1864); the Syriac text in *Missale Syriacum iuxta ritum ecclesiae antiochenae syrorum* (Rome, 1843).

⁴ Migne, *P.G.* IV, 429 B: σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι οὕτε ἡ θεότης οὐσία ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τι τῶν ἐρρημένων οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς· διὸ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῦτα

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fits exactly with the impression left by Origen's words, and with the internal content of the collection itself. If the external evidence is less than decisive as to the character of the maxims, the internal evidence at least puts the matter beyond doubt. It shows that the compiler himself was a Christian, whose ecclesiastical principles and spiritual ideals determine his choice of material.

οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ δόξα περὶ αὐτόν. οὕτω γὰρ Σέξτος ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος εἶπε καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν θεολογικῶν αὐτοῦ [*Orat. Theol.* IV, 17-18], ὡς οὔτε θεότης οὔτε τὸ ἀγέννητον οὔτε ἡ πατρότης οὐσίαν σημαίνουσι θεοῦ. How did Gilde-meister (*Sexti Recensiones*, p. xlv) come to write that 'Maximus mentions a certain ecclesiastical philosopher, otherwise unknown, . . . but what he says about him has no connection at all with the Maxims'? The reference to no. 28 is quite clear.

4. INTERNAL EVIDENCE

The external evidence provides two radically divergent answers to the question concerning the authorship of the collection, the first answer that it is a Christian collection, the second that it is purely of pagan inspiration without trace of Christianity in it. The internal evidence shows that both views are exaggerations of the truth, which is simply that a Christian compiler has edited, carefully revised and modified a previous pagan collection (or perhaps collections). His Christian beliefs have thoroughly determined his selection from and subtle modifications of the pagan material which he used. He was discriminating, and what he omitted is as significant as what he included. Jerome comments upon the absence of the name of Christ and of the apostles. In 1-451 there is likewise a striking absence of anything spectacularly pagan (though this is no longer true of the appendices, cf. 461-4). There are no maxims offensively redolent of their ethnic origin. To many, as will appear, he has made minor but always significant adjustments, where they were capable of being adapted for his purpose. In a number of cases the compiler coins maxims entirely of his own minting, and many of these are strongly marked with the characteristic stamp of traditional Christian terminology. But it is a striking fact that even where the Christian inspiration is most obvious the vocabulary and form are carefully touched up so as to bring it more into line with the style of the pagan maxims, mainly of Pythagorean origin. On the one hand, in content there is a Christianisation of pagan maxims; on the other hand, in form there is also a 'paganisation' of Christian maxims.¹

It is noteworthy that of the specifically and unambiguously

¹ Sextus 110 (οὐ τὰ εἰσιόντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος σιτία καὶ ποτὰ μίανει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἥθους ἐξιόντα) is almost entirely a reproduction of the Matthaean text (xv. 11). But even so it is not an exact transcription, and the penultimate word ἥθους is reminiscent of the Pythagorean terminology (cf. Sextus 326a and note thereon, below, p. 177).

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Christian maxims several fall right at the beginning in quick succession (1, 2, 5, 6-8, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20). The first impressions of the devout reader are important, and the Christian at once finds himself at home, undisturbed by anxiety lest, to use Jerome's phrase, he should be drinking of the golden cup of Babylon. Probably the compiler's motive in this grouping at the beginning is to gain the church reader's confidence. To the category of maxims which could have had no other origin than a Christian author belong the following:

- 1 A faithful man is an elect man.
- 2 An elect man is a man of God.
- 6 A man of little faith in faith is an unbeliever. (Cf. Matt. vi. 30; viii. 26; xiv. 31; xvi. 8.)
- 13 Every member of the body that would persuade you to be unchaste cast away; for it is better to live chastely without the limb than to live for destruction with it. (Cf. Matt. v. 30; xviii. 8-9.)
- 20 Scrupulously render to the world the things of the world and to God the things of God. (Cf. Matt. xxii. 21.)
- 32 An angel is a minister of God to man, for he does not minister to anyone else; therefore man is of greater value than an angel in God's sight. (Rufinus mitigates the final clause.)
- 39 An evil liver after release from the body is corrected by an evil daemon until he has exacted the very last farthing. (Cf. Matt. v. 26.)
- 110 It is not food and drink entering through his mouth which defile a man, but those things which proceed from a bad character. (Cf. Matt. xv. 11.)
- 155 Loquacity does not escape sin. (Prov. x. 19.)
- 193 It is hard for a rich man to be saved. (Matt. xix. 23.)
- 233 Realise that you are an adulterer if you merely think of committing adultery. And you should take the same view of every sin. (Cf. Matt. v. 28.)
- 234 In calling yourself a believer you have confessed that you should not sin against God. (Presumably a reference to the baptismal promise.)
- 242 What you freely receive from God, freely give also. (Matt. x. 8.)
- 336 It is better to serve others than to be served by others. (Cf. Matt. xx. 26-7.)
- 373 It is God's privilege to save whom he will choose. (Cf. Rom. ix. 15-16.)

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434 A believing man is always in fear until he goes to God.

436 Fate does not make a man a believer. Fate is not lord of God's grace, otherwise it would be lord of God.

There are also other maxims which probably but not so certainly have a specifically Christian origin, as for example

60 A man pure and stainless has freedom with God as a son of God.

271 Nothing good is produced by the flesh. (Cf. Rom. vii. 18.)

At the opposite extreme, however, there are sayings which cannot conceivably have originated in a Christian mind. This is clear not only from their content, but from external attestation. Several occur in later collections made in Byzantine times where they are attributed to Pythagoras or occasionally to other Greek sages, and where they join company with many like words, all reflecting to a more or less marked degree the characteristic tones and attitudes of Neopythagorean ethics and religious piety. Many of them, for example, are contained in the vast anthology compiled in the fifth century A.D. by Stobaeus for the moral education and improvement of his son Septimius. Here we find some of the Sextine maxims under the name of Pythagoras. Stobaeus must have drawn these from an existing collection, and it is probable that most of the actual collection from which he took them survives. A manuscript of the early years of the fifteenth century at Vienna contains 119 maxims arranged in alphabetical order of the opening letter under the title *οἱ γινώμαι τῶν Πυθαγορείων*. In the Patmos codex 263 ninety-four recur (with many variants), beside some not in the Vienna text.¹ There are many parallels to Sextus here. And the collection is clearly old; for a Syriac manuscript in the British Museum of the sixth or seventh century (Add. 14658) contains ninety-eight maxims ascribed to Pythagoras, ninety-four of which are precisely paralleled in the Vienna manuscript and occur in the same alphabetical order.² A selection from the same collection containing forty-five maxims, all of

¹ An eclectic text is printed above, pp. 84 ff.

² The Syriac text is edited by Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (1858), pp. 195-201; Greek reconstruction and discussion by J. Gildemeister, 'Pythagorassprüche in syrischer Überlieferung', in *Hermes* IV (1870), pp. 81-98.

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which without exception occur in almost the same order in the Vienna collection, is found in a sixteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican library (Vaticanus gr. 743) under the heading ἐκ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὁμοία ἢ βίου θεραπεία and, since the first printed edition of Lukas Holste (1639), has been ascribed to Demophilus.¹ Lastly, Stobaeus (*Eclog.* III, 1, 30–44) preserves fifteen maxims ascribed to Pythagoras in an alphabetical sequence, all of which occur in the Vienna collection, as indeed do almost all the Pythagorean sayings distributed about the anthology of Stobaeus (in accordance with his classification of his material under the various subjects).²

Hereafter this collection of Pythagorean maxims will be abbreviated simply Py.

Equally significant for our enquiry are the numerous and exact parallels to the Sextine collection which occur in the letter written to his wife Marcella by Porphyry,³ the Neoplatonist and redoubtable foe of Christianity in the latter half of the third century.

Probably shortly after the year A.D. 300 Porphyry, now approaching his seventieth year, surprised many of his friends and gratified his enemies by abandoning the precepts of his master Plotinus, which he himself had also long professed, regarding the

¹ Vatic. gr. 743, foll. 1–3^v contain the maxims printed in F. G. A. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1860), I, pp. 485–7; foll. 3^v–6 contain those printed at pp. 497–9. The ascription to Demophilus lacks MS. authority.

² Several maxims in the collection are also paralleled in the Byzantine florilegium entitled 'Extracts from Democritus, Isocrates, and Epictetus' (ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου Ἰσοκράτους Ἐπικτήτου) reconstructed and edited by C. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 162–207; in a short collection edited by Schenkl in *Wiener Studien* XI (1889), pp. 1–42; and in citations made in the commentary of Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, edited in Gaisford's edition of Stobaeus' *Eclog.*, vol. II (Oxford, 1850), and in Mullach, *op. cit.* I, p. 416. All these texts are fundamental for the history of the collections of Greek maxims, a subject of the greatest complexity into which (although Sextus is an important part of that history) it is not necessary to enter here.

³ The Greek text is edited by A. Nauck, *Porphyrii opuscula selecta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 2nd edn. 1886); English translation by Alice Zimmern (London, 2nd edn. 1910). The letter survives in a single manuscript at Milan (Ambrosianus Q. 13 sup. part., foll. 215^r–222^v) from which it was first printed by Mai in 1816; the ending is missing.

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celibate ideal. The lady of his choice was Marcella, the widow of one of his own circle of admirers and friends, a Jewess, according to a fifth-century Christian source, of Palestinian Caesarea.¹ She had seven children, some of them still quite young, and was not in robust health. Nevertheless, the wedding provoked less than generous comment which cut Porphyry's feelings to the quick. It was openly alleged that he had married Marcella for motives of selfish advantage such as the satisfactions of physical union and the desire to beget children, or because he was after her money, or because he needed the comforts of a housekeeper-companion in his old age. The citizens of Marcella's home town were outspoken in their hostility. It is not clear whether they staged demonstrations of a turbulent nature or whether the psychological strain of being the object of vulgar obloquy was too much for his highly-strung constitution, but for a time Porphyry felt that his life was endangered. But ten months after his marriage he was called away on a long journey by 'the affairs of the Greeks'²—a strange and cryptic phrase which may perhaps mean that he had been invited to attend the confidential deliberations which preceded the launching of the persecution of the Church under Diocletian in 303. (Porphyry would be a natural person to consult about such a project, as the author of several formidable books against the Christians.) At any rate Lactantius gives a bitter picture of a pagan propagandist at Nicomedia about this time whom he describes as 'a self-styled high-priest of philosophy who, though preaching abstinence, was aflame with avarice and lust. . .'.³ This is language not a little reminiscent of the criticisms to which Porphyry's letter to Marcella attempts to reply. But the identification remains uncertain, and is weakened by the fact that Lactantius goes on to say that this personage had

¹ Aristocritus, edited by K. Buresch, *Klaros* (1889), p. 124, who says: ὅτι ὁ Πορφύριος εἰς ἐγένετο παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν [i.e. the Church], διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ, ὡς ἰστορήσαν ἄγιοι, ὑπὸ τινων Χριστιανῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης πληγὰς ἐν ἰδιωτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπέστη ἀφ' ἡμῶν. φιλοχρήματος δὲ ὢν πλουσίαν ἔγχευ γυναῖκα πέντε παίδων μητέρα, γεγηρακίαν ἦδη καὶ Ἑβραίαν.

² Porphyry, *Ad Marc.* 4 (275, 19 Nauck): καλοῦσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρείας.

³ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v, 2, 3 ff., discussed by J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre* (1913), p. 112 n. 2.

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written 'three books' against Christianity. Since Porphyry's work against the Christians consisted of fifteen books, we cannot be sure that Lactantius was referring to Porphyry.¹

The occasion of his departure from home gave Porphyry the chance to issue a manifesto. He addressed to his wife an open letter offering her religious and philosophic counsel calculated to cheer a poor lady left disconsolate by her learned protector's absence. The best substitute for his presence she may find in the consolations of philosophy.

As an open letter intended for immediate publication the document was primarily designed to be Porphyry's 'Apologia pro Nuptiis Suis',² and begins with an impassioned and resentful protestation of the purity and nobility of his motives in undertaking so unattractive and unlucrative a proposition as to marry an ill-favoured widow encumbered by numerous small children. His admiration for her was aroused solely by her philosophic mind; he had seen in her an apt pupil for his further instruction. After these compliments to his wife's intelligence Porphyry proceeds to give her advice in the form of a succession of religious and moral aphorisms. He is explicit (II, *ad init.*) that he is not attempting to invent ideas out of his own head. Porphyry was in any event a man who would have found it inconceivable to suppose that any right-thinking person could regard anything new as also true, or *vice versa*; all his writings reflect profound respect for ancient lore and the wisdom of philosophers of the remote past (an attitude which is the more remarkable in view of his critical, 'modernist' attitude towards sacrifice and temple-cultus). In the letter, therefore, originality is the last thing to be looked for; Porphyry would have been embarrassed at the suggestion. And in fact five whole chapters of the letter (27-31)

¹ It is no doubt possible that Lactantius wrote xv and that this was corrupted in the manuscripts to III. But all the manuscripts are unanimous; and they are also early, the oldest, the Bologna codex, being of the late sixth century. Did Porphyry write I-III in Sicily and IV-XV for Diocletian's propaganda?

² The obvious ancient parallel is the obloquy aroused when Apuleius married a rich widow; it became so intense that he had to defend himself in the proconsular court, and afterwards published his *Apologia*. He likewise emphasises that the lady was plain and encumbered by offspring (*Apol.* 73).

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consist of a cento of aphorisms taken from Epicurus (whose name is not mentioned). The rest of Porphyry's letter manifests a large number of close parallels with Sextus and with the alphabetical collection of Pythagorean maxims, so as to present a synoptic problem of the greatest complexity.¹ Some sentences common to Porphyry and Sextus are omitted from Py.; some common to Porphyry and Py. are not found in Sextus; some common to Sextus and Py. are absent from Porphyry. Each of the three documents has a considerable quantity of material peculiar to itself. The extent of the parallels may be seen at once from the following catalogue (the texts are cited in full below in the commentary). [S = Sextus; Po. = Porphyry; Py. = the collection printed above, pp. 84 ff.]

S 3 Cf. on S 376.

S 4-5 = Py. 40 = Po. 15 (284, 20-1 N.).

S 14 = Py. 6 a, om. Po.

S 17 Cf. Py. 97, om. Po.

S 18 Cf. Py. 30, om. Po.

S 22 Cf. Py. 30, om. Po.

S 36 Cf. Po. 11 (282, 1 N.), om. Py.

S 46a Cf. Py. 66, Po. 19 (287, 5 N.).

S 49 = Py. 39a = Po. 11.

S 61-2 Cf. Po. 21 (287, 22 N.), om. Py.

S 74 Cf. Po. 34 (296, 11-13 N.), om. Py.

S 75a = Py. 21, Po. 34 (296, 13-14 N.).

S 75b = Py. 71, Po. 34 (296, 15-16 N.).

S 76 Cf. Py. 110, Po. 14 (283, 20-6 N.).

S 92 = S 404 Cf. Py. 3 = Po. 12 (283, 12 N.).

S 113 = Po. 12 (282, 6 N.), om. Py.

S 114 = Po. 12 (282, 7 N.), om. Py.

S 118 Cf. Py. 3, Po. 12 (283, 12 N.). Cf. also Py. 120, Po. 12 (282, 18-19 N.), and S 404.

S 122 = Po. 12 (282, 9 N.), om. Py.

¹ In one remarkable sentence in section 12 (282, 13 N.) Porphyry is so occupied in transcribing his source that he forgets to change the gender from the original masculine to the feminine appropriate to the addressee of his letter.

For an interesting analysis of the ascetical theology of Porphyry's *Ad Marcellam* cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca* (Göttingen, 1916), pp. 98 ff., though unhappily he was evidently ignorant of Porphyry's relation to the sentences of Sextus, which invalidates some of his conclusions.

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- S 124=Po. 12 (282, 9 N.), om. Py.
 S 125=Po. 12 (282, 10 N.), om. Py.
 S 126=Po. 12 (282, 12 N.), om. Py.
 S 127=Py. 121=Po. 12 (282, 15 N.).
 S 128=Py. 3=Po. 12 (282, 12-13 N.).
 S 134=Po. 13 (283, 2-3 N.), om. Py.
 S 136=Po. 13 (233, 3-4 N.), om. Py.
 S 145 Cf. Py. 92, Po. 13 (283, 7-9 N.).
 S 152=Py. 7=Po. 14 (283, 16-17 N.).
 S 165=Po. 14 (283, 17 N.).
 S 165a=Po. 14 (283, 18 N.), om. Py.
 S 165b=Po. 14 (283, 19 N.), om. Py.
 S 177 Cf. Po. 8 (279, 11 N.), om. Py.
 S 178=Py. 6.
 S 181 Cf. Po. 9 (280, 5-7 N.), om. Py.
 S 182=Py. 13.
 S 198=Py. 86.
 S 202 Cf. Po. 9 (280, 1-3 N.), om. Py.
 S 203 Cf. Stobaeus, IV, 1, 80 (ascribed to Pythagoras in some MSS.).
 S 205=Py. 116=Po. 9 (279, 22-3 N.).
 S 207=Po. 9 (279, 26 N.), om. Py.
 S 208a=Po. 9 (280, 1 N.), om. Py.
 S 227 Cf. Py. 80.
 S 232 Cf. Po. 35 (297, 4-5 N.), om. Py.
 S 245 Cf. Py. 113.
 S 269 Cf. Stobaeus, III, 18, 23.
 S 273 Cf. Po. 34 (296, 8-10 N.), om. Py.
 S 274 Cf. Po. 34 (296, 7 N.), om. Py.
 S 283=Py. 84.
 S 285=Py. 64.
 S 294 Cf. Py. 89.
 S 295 Cf. Py. 32.
 S 299=Py. 111.
 S 301 Cf. Py. 95=Po. 32 (295, 9-11 N.).
 S 304 Cf. Po. 16 (285, 2-3 N.), om. Py.
 S 305=Py. 49=Po. 16 (285, 3-4 N.).
 S 312=Po. 16 (285, 5 N.), om. Py.
 S 313=Po. 16 (285, 4 N.), om. Py.
 S 314=Po. 16 (285, 6 N.).
 S 319 Cf. Py. 105 (=Clitarchus 134).

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- S 325 Cf. Py. 47 (= Clitarchus 132).
 S 326a=Py. 11c.
 S 327=Py. 11a.
 S 328=Py. 104.
 S 345=Py. 103=Po. 35 (297, 5-6 N.).
 S 351-2=Py. 55=Po. 15 (284, 8-11 N.).
 S 356 Cf. Po. 15 (284, 11 N.), om. Py.
 S 359=Py. 56=Po. 15 (284, 16 N.).
 S 360 Cf. Po. 15 (284, 17 N.).
 S 362=Py. 115=Po. 15 (284, 19-20 N.).
 S 371=Py. 51=Po. 35 (297, 10-11 N.).
 S 376=Py. 4=Po. 15 (284, 22 N.). Cf. S 3.
 S 378=Py. 70b.
 S 381=Py. 102=Po. 16 (284, 23 N.).
 S 382=Py. 70cd.
 S 400 Cf. Py. 35.
 S 408=Py. 83a.
 S 416-18=Po. 16 (285, 7-8 N.), om. Py.
 S 424=Po. 16 (285, 10 N.).
 S 426-7=Py. 14=Po. 16 (285, 11 N.).
 S 429=Py. 15=Po. 16 (285, 13 N.).
 S 430-1=Py. 10 (cf. Py. 16), cf. Po. 20 (287, 20 N.).

Most of these parallels show minor differences of wording. For example

S 4 θεοῦ ἄξιός ὁ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράττων.

Py. 40 θεοῦ ἄξιός ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων (Vienna text).

Po. 15 ἄξιαν σε ποιήσει θεοῦ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ μήτε λέγειν μήτε πράττειν μήτε πάντως εἰδέναι ἄξιοῦν.

Sextus and the Vienna collection are here much closer to one another than either is to Porphyry, in that Porphyry expands the single idea of an *act* worthy of God to the triad of thought, word, and deed. On the other hand, Sextus agrees with Porphyry against Py. (D) in having the maxims in negative rather than in positive form.

S 376 ἄξιός ἀνθρώπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

Py. 4 ἄξιός ἀνθρώπος θεῶν θεὸς ἂν εἴη ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

Po. 15 ὁ ἄξιός ἀνθρώπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἂν εἴη.

Cf. S 3 θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἄξιός θεοῦ.

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Here again Sextus agrees with the Pythagorean maxims against Porphyry in having ἐν ἀνθρώποις at the end,¹ although at 3 he has a related form of the saying which is in agreement with Porphyry on this point. On the other hand, Porphyry and Py. agree against Sextus in the verb.

In the majority of instances Porphyry's wording is nearer to the alphabetical collection than to Sextus:

S 46a ἱερὸν ἅγιον θεοῦ διάνοια εὐσεβοῦς.

Py. 66 νεὼς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς, ὃν οὐκ ἐφειμένως ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χρή παρασκευάζειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν εἰς παραδοχὴν θεοῦ.

Po. 19 νεὼς ἔστω τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς. παρασκευαστέον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ κοσμητέον εἰς καταδοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτήδειον.

Here Sextus is only akin in the general idea.

S 49 ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνου θεοῦ.

Py. 39 θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ· διὸ οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται κἀν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοῖται.

Po. 11 θεὸς μὲν γὰρ δεῖται οὐδενός, σοφὸς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ.

Py. and Po. agree against S in having σοφός. Clearly Sextus has changed σοφός to the Christian πιστός. S and Po. agree against Py. in not having an appended second clause. But this is not significant. The second clause in Py. can only be a loose attachment: it recurs in the Pythagorean collection, appended to Py. 92.

S 345 κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν λιμῶ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.

Py. 103 τεθνάναι πολλῶ κρεῖττον ἢ δι' ἀκρασίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.

Po. 35 πολλῶ γὰρ κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἢ δι' ἀκρασίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.

S 351-2 οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἀκούειν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις. περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τάληθ' ἔλεγιν κίνδυνος οὐ μικρός.

Py. 55 λόγον περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις ἔλεγιν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀληθ' ἔλεγιν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ψευδ' κίνδυνον φέρει.

¹ Stobaeus has the saying, attributed to Pythagoras, in this wording: ἄξιος ἀνθρώπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἂν εἴη ἐν ἀνθρώποις (edited by Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium* v, 1912, praefatio, p. vii).

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Ρο. 15 λόγον γὰρ θεοῦ [*sic* MS.] τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κίνδυνον ἴσον φέρει.

S 359 τὰ ἔργα σου θεοφιλῇ προηγεῖσθω παντὸς λόγου περὶ θεοῦ.

Ρυ. 56 λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγεῖσθω τὰ θεοφιλῆ ἔργα.

Ρο. 15 προηγεῖσθω οὖν τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ θεοφιλῆ ἔργα.

It would be superfluous to enumerate every instance. Further instances will be apparent from the notes (below, pp. 163 ff.). The examples already quoted are sufficient to prove that it is exceptional for Porphyry's wording to agree with Sextus against the Pythagorean maxims; and that Sextus often has at separate points sayings which occur together, consecutively, in Porphyry and the Pythagorean maxims. This is enough to put it beyond doubt that the source used by Porphyry was not the Christianised text of Sextus as preserved in the two medieval manuscripts of the Greek tradition or as translated by Rufinus not many years after Porphyry's time.

The editor of the Latin version of Rufinus, Gildemeister, who believed that Origen regarded the maxims of Sextus as a pagan collection (above, p. 112), thought that Porphyry had used Sextus directly.¹ The comparison of the texts makes this view utterly untenable. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that both Sextus (i.e. the compiler of the original collection, 1-451, as we now have it) and Porphyry drew independently upon a prior pagan collection. It is not therefore proved that they drew everything which they have in common from a single document, still less that each compiler drew virtually all his matter from the same single document, and that the one preserves from this source maxims which the other has omitted, and *vice versa*. Porphyry may have used more than one collection of Pythagorean aphorisms. He incorporates many Epicurean maxims (*Ad Marc.* 27-31), and the fact that several of these are also quoted by Stobaeus or other anthologists shows that Porphyry must have been transcribing an existing collection of Epicurea. In anthologies of this kind it would of course be easy for sayings belonging

¹ Gildemeister, *Sexti Recensiones*, p. xliii.

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to one sage to acquire the wrong lemma and to be ascribed to another man. Of all literary forms aphorisms are the most loosely attached to their original inventors. A late Neopythagorean could regard the famous λάθε βιώσας of Epicurus as so wise and excellent a saying that it could naturally be attributed to his own revered master.¹ At an earlier period Philostratus ascribes its minting to his hero, Apollonius of Tyana.² It is therefore entirely possible that the Epicurean collection used by Porphyry had been made in Neopythagorean circles. But it had probably not been fused already with his Pythagorean material, since none of his Epicurea is paralleled either in Sextus or in the Pythagorean collection.

Analysis of the Pythagorean maxims, however, suggests that, ancient as it is, the alphabetical form is not original, but is rather a secondary development from a collection with a much closer resemblance to Sextus or to Porphyry, neither of whom shows any sign or trace of having drawn upon collections with any alphabetical arrangement.

Thus Py. 3 has three members, all of which occur together in the same order not only in Po. 12 but also, ascribed to Pythagoras, in Stobaeus:³

- a* ἃ κτησάμενος οὐ κατέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ·
- b* δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον,
- c* ὥστε οὐ δώσει δὲ μὴ κατέξεις.

Here only *a* is exactly paralleled in Sextus (128). The idea, but not the wording, of *b* occurs in S 92 and 404, while for *c* there is no parallel at all.

Py. 10 has two members which similarly occur together in S 430-1. The first (βραχύλογον μάλιστα ἢ θεοῦ γνώσις ποιεῖ) also enjoyed an independent circulation, since it also recurs as Py. 16 in a different word order and with the same word order as Py. 10 in Stobaeus (ed. Hense, vol. v, preface p. vii, no. 8) and again slightly modified in Po. 20 (287, 20 N.).

¹ Marinus, *Vita Procli* 15.

² *Vita Apoll. Tyana*. VIII, 28 (cited by Usener, *Epicurea*, p. lxiii).

³ Edited by Hense in the preface to the fifth volume of his edition of the *Anthology*, p. viii, no. 10.

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Py. 11 has four members:

a βουλευόμενος περὶ ἄλλου κακῶς φθάνεις αὐτὸς πάσχων ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ κακῶς·

b καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ζήτει παρὰ κακοῦ παθεῖν καλῶς·

c οἷον γὰρ τὸ ἥθος ἐκάστου, τοῖος καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ αἱ δόσεις·

d ψυχὴ γὰρ ἔστι ταμεῖον, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, κακοῦ δὲ κακῶν.

S 327 has *a* preceded (with one sentence between) by *c* (= S 326a). *b* and *c* recur in company in a collection of maxims edited by Boissonade (*Anecd.* II, p. 467) from codex Parisinus gr. 1310. *d* appears alone in the Democritus–Isocrates–Epictetus collection edited by Wachsmuth (*Studien*, p. 170, no. 24) and is cited under the lemma Σέκστου by the late Byzantine compiler Georgides, edited by Boissonade, *Anecd.* I, p. 100. *d* also recurs on its own once more as Py. 117.

Py. 14 has two members, preserved together both by Po. 16 and by S 426–7.

Py. 15 has two members:

a γλώτταλγος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύων τὸν θεὸν μιαίνει·

b μόνος οὖν ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφός, μόνος θεοφιλής, μόνος εἰδὼς εὐξασθαι.

Both *a* and *b* occur together in Po. 16. Sextus has nothing corresponding to *b*, but gives *a* in the modified form (429) ἄνθρωπος ἀκρατὴς μιαίνει τὸν θεόν. *b* is cited alone by Hierocles (*in Carm. Aur.* p. 25, 2 Gaisford). *a* and *b* evidently circulated independently as well as in company with one another.

Py. 20 has two members, both appearing together in Po. 19. The second occurs alone in Hierocles, *in Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 18 Gaisford.

Py. 55 has two members, preserved together both by Po. 15 and S 351–2.

Py. 102 has three members:

a τιμήσεις τὸν θεὸν ἄριστα ἔαν τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσης·

b ἡ δὲ ὁμοίωσις ἔστι διὰ μόνης ἀρετῆς·

c μόνη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω ἔλκει πρὸς τὸ συγγενές.

All three occur in the same order and wording in Po. 16 and also in the Democritus–Isocrates–Epictetus collection (Wachsmuth,

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Studien, p. 168, no. 15). *a* and *c* are given separately by S 381, 402. But Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 12 Gaisford, shows that Sextus is not alone in witnessing to the independent circulation of *a*. Sextus has a very different expression of the idea contained in *a* at 44.

Py. 110 has six members:

a φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοσώματον καὶ φιλόθεον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι·

b ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος·

c ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος·

d ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄδικος·

e ὁ δὲ ἄδικος εἰς μὲν θεὸν ἀνόσιος, εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους παρὰ νόμον·

f ὥστε κἂν ἑκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνοσιώτερός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀσεβής καὶ ἄθεος καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἱερόσυλος· διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλήδονον ὡς ἄθεον καὶ μισρὸν ἐκτρέπεσθαι χρή.

The entire sentence is preserved by Po. 14. All except *f* are cited under the lemma 'Of Pythagoras' in the Byzantine collections of Maximus (I, p. 532; *P.G.* xci, 729B) and Arsenius (*Cent.* xvii, 86f., Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, II, p. 712). In Sextus only *c* and *d* occur, modified, at 76 and 138 respectively. *f* alone is quoted by Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 26, 6 Gaisford.

Py. 111 has two members:

a φαῦλος κριτῆς καλοῦ πράγματος ὄχλος·

b διόπερ ὦν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τὸν ψόγον καταφρόνει.

S 299 has *b*. That *a* had an independent currency is shown by Py. 82 where it appears as the second member of an entirely different sentence.

Py. 121 has two members:

a ὦν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐ δεήσει, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει πάντων·

b καὶ ὦν ἀπαλλαγεῖς δεήσει, πρὸς ταῦτά σοι ἀσκουμένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτως.

Both *a* and *b* recur together in Po. 12, in Stobaeus (*Ecl.* III, 1, 43) and in Maximus (I, p. 533; *P.G.* xci, 729B). S 127 only has *a*. Georgides (Boissonade, *Anecd.* I, p. 106) shows that *a* circulated independently of *b*.

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The first impression made by this evidence might be that Sextus has consistently and deliberately split up sentences which were originally united. Certainly this may well account for some of Sextus' displacements and omissions, and Py. 121 b (for example) might have been dropped because of the Christian sensitivity of the compiler; but this view does not account for all the phenomena. Sometimes it may rather be that Porphyry and the alphabetical Pythagorean collection both depend upon a stage in the tradition of the maxims where originally separate sayings had begun to be grouped together. If so, Sextus' arrangement might bear witness to an earlier stage in the evolution of the tradition even than Porphyry. In any event, the alphabetical arrangement of the Pythagorean maxims is surely not original. For Py. has maxims that on analysis reveal traces of a history prior to the alphabetical plan. For example, Py. 2 consists of three members:

a ἀπαιδευσία πάντων τῶν παθῶν μήτηρ·

b πᾶν τε πάθος ψυχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν πολεμιώτατον·

c τὸ δὲ πεπαιδευθῆναι οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθείας ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν θεωρεῖται.

With slight modification *b* reappears later in Py. 116 (according to the Greek manuscript—the ancient Syriac version omits it here). Po. 9 has the same three-limbed aphorism but in the order *bac*. Stobaeus (III, 1, 41) has *b* alone, within his alphabetical series, while S 205 has a maxim obviously derived from *b* alone (πᾶν πάθος ψυχῆς λόγῳ πολέμιον). It looks as if the position of *b* within this sequence was very uncertain, and that its repetition at Py. 116 with an inverted word-order was made in the interests of the alphabetical scheme.

Py. 103, τεθνάναι πολλῶν κρεῖττον ἢ δι' ἀκρασίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι, is a maxim which Po. 35 gives as πολλῶν γὰρ κρεῖττον τεθνάναι... in a word order akin to S 345 κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν... (cf. Clitarchus 114, p. 82 above). The transposition might have been made to fit the alphabetist's plan.

The alphabetical arrangement of the Pythagorean maxims must have been early since it is attested both by the Syriac version and

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by Stobaeus. But it is not very probable that this arrangement was either universally current or original. S 127-8 and Po. 12 agree in keeping together maxims which in Py. have become separated (Py. 121 and Py. 3), and these sayings occur at one of the points where the sequence in Porphyry is almost identical with that of Sextus.

The parallels in order between Porphyry and Sextus are striking:

Po. 9 contains S 205, 207, 208a, 202.

Po. 11 contains S 35, 49, 36, 97.

Po. 12 contains S 303, 113, 114, 122, 124, 125, 126.

Po. 34 contains S 274, 273, 472, 74, 75a, 75b.

Po. 35 contains S 335, 232, 345, 371.

Sextus seems to have taken over his selected aphorisms mainly in the order in which he found them in his source. His collection is in any event remarkable for its apparent formlessness and inconsequentiality.¹ Certain groups of sayings are obviously connected by subject-matter: God (25-31), charity (87-90), food (108-11, 265-70), prayer (122-8), the tongue (151-65), passions (204-9), marriage (230-40), children (254-8), humour (278-81), death (320-4), caution in theological statements (350-62). But for the most part there is no apparent system. Aphorisms are connected less by their content than by some common key-word. But in the great majority of cases there is no logical connection at all.

In a few instances Sextus has repetitions, which are curious in view of the fact that he had no need to follow out any thematic or alphabetical scheme. In some instances the repetition is avoided in one line or other of the manuscript tradition; perhaps the copyist noticed it and corrected his text accordingly.

[11=297a where it is attested only in Y.]

59=222. At 59 Y omits it; but Rufinus has both.

92=404.

¹ The appendices to Sextus show much more interest in grouping by subjects: how to rule well (452-60), Cynic self-sufficiency (461 ff.), regard for parents (486 ff.), relations with one's brother (496-8) and one's wife (499 ff.), educating children (518 ff.), the unity of God (556 ff.), etc.

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- 93 = 153.
 98 = 334. At 98 Π omits it; Rufinus has both.
 115 = 602 where Π omits it.
 117 = 603 where Π omits it.
 131 = 197.
 210 Cf. 260.
 227 = 594.
 241 = 570 where Π omits it.
 282 = 573 where Π omits it.
 283 = 595 where Π omits it.
 407 = 451 where Π omits it, Rufinus has both, the Syriac neither.

In the text translated by Rufinus there are only six repetitions; perhaps there were even fewer in the edition known to Origen 150 years earlier, but there is no reason to suppose that there may not have been some in the original edition of Sextus himself.

In the list given above no account is taken of similarities which could perhaps be deemed repetitions but which should more properly be classified as examples of the coexistence within the one collection of some originally pagan, Pythagorean maxims side by side with a Christianised form of them. These last are particularly interesting since they disclose something of the methods and tendencies of the Christian compiler.

Many of the Sextine maxims are Christian less in their actual content than in their terminology (cf. above, p. 138 n.). He uses the word κόσμος in a sense which is characteristically Christian (15, 16, 19, 20, 82b, 405), 'elect' (1, 2, 35, 433), the image of God (190), and especially 'believer' (1, 5, 36, 49, 166, 169, 170, 171a, 171b, 188, 189, 196, 200, 204, 212, 234, 235, 239, 241, 243, 256, 257, 325, 349, 383, 384, 400, 438, 441). He stresses the divine Fatherhood as the ground of charity to one's fellow men, and forbids almsgiving done to be seen of men (342). Biblical phrases like 'to love the Lord thy God' (442), to be 'saved' (374), to be 'in the hand of God' (419), to attain 'the blessed life' (326b), and to share in 'the kingdom of God' (311), disclose the all-pervading influence of Christian piety. This kind of terminology is fused with maxims which have a more neutral ring about them; for example S 16, σεαυτὸν ἐπιλήψιμον μὴ παρέχε τῷ κόσμῳ,

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looks like a Christian version of the maxim preserved in its original pagan form at S 38, μηδενὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπιλήψιμον δίδου. Again S 15, ὅπόσα τοῦ κόσμου ἔχεις, κἂν ἀφέληταί σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει, is in all probability a Christian adaptation of S 91a, ἀ δέδοται σοι, κἂν ἀφέληταί σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει. Similarly S 33-4, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐεργετοῦν ὁ θεός, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εὐεργετούμενον ἄνθρωπος· βίου τοιγαροῦν ὡς μετὰ θεόν, looks like a Christian form of the simple pagan saying preserved at S 176, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ εὐεργέτης μετὰ θεόν.

In this last example there is a theological *arrière-pensée* at work. From Celsus we know that the Christian doctrine of man's redemption, with its emphasis on the particularity of divine action in the incarnation and the value of man in the sight of God, was strongly criticised during the second century. The ground of this intellectual attack was that the Christian scheme implies a crudely anthropocentric and naïve conception of the operations of divine providence. The defenders of the faith justified their position by appealing to the Stoic doctrine that the primary care of providence is for the rational part of the natural order and that the irrational parts exist to serve the ends of the higher and more rational.¹ For Celsus the question became mixed up with his conviction that the Christian doctrine of incarnation and atonement was irreconcilable with the notion of a universal providence—a conviction which led him virtually to an immanentist determinism. These theological issues lie at the back of Sextus' maxims which insist that divine grace is superior to the power of fate (436), or that because an angel is God's servant in relation to man, man is of more value in God's sight than angels (32). Sextus is able to use traditional Platonic and Pythagorean teaching about the divine spark in the soul of man to justify the Christian anthropocentrism.

A complex example is S 36, ἐξουσίαν πιστῶ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν· καθαρὰν οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἀναμάρτητον (so the text in Π Rufinus, but in the first clause Υ reads πιστεῶς and omits τὴν κατὰ θεόν, probably from a sense that the existing text was rather strong meat). The term ἐξουσία occurs in a comparable aphorism

¹ See Origen, *Contra Celsum* IV, 77-99.

in S 60, ἀγνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀναμάρτητος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει παρὰ θεῶ ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ (Y omits the whole sentence this time), and again in S 375, ὁπόταν εὐξαμένῳ σοι γένηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦ παρὰ θεῶ (Y felt no objection to this one). Beside these we may set the maxim in the form attested by Po. 11 (282, 1-2 N.) which probably gave Sextus his raw material: ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ σοφῶ θεὸς θεοῦ δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν. Sextus has given a moral content to the saying with the insistence that it is purity and sinlessness, rather than intellectual wisdom as such, which confers a freedom comparable to that of God. Sextus is here trying to temper the concept of an intellectual deification by his characteristic ethical interest. The attitude is reflected in the emphatic statement of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* II, 47, 4; cf. IV, 130, 5) that there is no true gnosis to be had in separation from right conduct.

The same kind of feeling in Sextus' mind may surely be discerned when to the more exalted affirmations of man's destiny he prefixes the qualification ἐκλεκτὸς ὢν or πιστὸς ὢν (35, cf. 171a, 460).

S 166, πίστις ἀπασῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἡγεμὼν ἐστίν, is probably a Christian coinage minted as an antithesis to the pagan aphorism at 305, κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμὼν ἐστίν, paralleled in Py. 49, Po. 16, and Clitarchus 126a (below, p. 176).

S 189, τίμα τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι διὰ τοῦ εἶναι, is the transmutation of S 65, τίμα τὸ δίκαιον δι' αὐτό.

S 368, ἄνθρωπος μὴδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθὲς ἔρημός ἐστιν θεοῦ, is probably adapted from the maxim Py. 50, κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος ὅφ' οὐ μὴδὲν ἀνθρώπου πάθος [ψυχῆς] θεραπεύεται κτλ. (= Po. 31).¹

S 433, ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται, is paralleled by the quite neutral saying S 389a, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σοφὸς εἶναι ὑπισχνοῦ.

An interesting problem is presented by S 92 (= 404), ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται. This appears among the aphorisms of Clitarchus (15) in the form ἃ δίδωσιν παιδεία, ταῦτα οὐδεὶς σε

¹ The sentence from Porphyry is printed by Usener among the fragments of Epicurus (frag. 221)—surely without justification.

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ἀφαιρείται. Clitarchus evidently preserves the pagan model which Sextus has reshaped under the influence of the Pythagorean maxim attested in Py. 3 = Po. 12, δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον.

This raises the question as to the relation between Clitarchus and Sextus. There are not a few instances where the text of Clitarchus bears every mark of being the original form which Sextus revised in a Christian direction. For example, S 49, ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνου θεοῦ, has substituted 'believer' for 'wise man' which is given in Clitarchus 4, Py. 39, Po. 11. S 97 reads ψυχὴ φωτίζεται ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ, whereas Clit. 17 and Po. 11 agree in reading the verb καθαίρεται (reminiscent of S 24). S 171, τὸ λέγειν ἃ δεῖ τοῦ ἀκούειν πιστὸς ὢν μὴ προτίμα, reveals the light but all-important Christian touch introduced by the compiler as compared with the obviously original form of Clit. 44, τοῦ λέγειν ἃ δεῖ τὸ ἀκούειν προτίμα. The difference is often quite slight, as when S 399 writes οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν... in contrast with Clit. 123, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκλεῶς ζῆν κτλ. In S 325, οὐδεμία προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λαυθάνει, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν πίστει, the characteristic addition of the Christian reviser is betrayed in the last four words. In Py. it appears without the ending, and with an opening imperative ἴσθι ὥς... Clit. 132 agrees with Sextus against Py. in omitting this imperative, but agrees with Py. in omitting the last four words. (For the ἴσθι formula, however, cf. S 233; it is the kind of introductory *cliché* that could easily become prefixed to almost any sentence in almost any collection.)

It is also noteworthy that there are two instances where Clitarchus agrees with Porphyry in bringing together maxims which do not occur together in Sextus. Clit. 85-6 reads ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς τοσοῦτοι δεσπότες· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι κρατούμενον ὑπὸ παθῶν (the juxtaposition is attested in both the chief manuscripts). Po. 34 has these two sentences immediately juxtaposed, but in the reverse order. S 75 b has only the first sentence, Clit. 85. Both sentences occur at quite different points in the alphabetical collection, Py. 23, 71. Secondly, Clit. 48-9 reads τοὺς λόγους σου ὁ βίος βεβαιούτω. τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω.¹

¹ The only manuscript to attest these is cod. Parisinus gr. 1630, fol. 186.

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These sentences are likewise brought together by Po. 8; but only the first sentence occurs in the text of Sextus as translated by Rufinus (177). The second is found in the appendix (547) and was soon added to the original edition since it is attested by ΠΥ and both Syriac versions.

If the maxims ascribed to Clitarchus attested only in the *Corpus Parisinum* (in Parisinus gr. 1168) may be trusted, it is also noteworthy that at the end Clit. 143 gives as a single aphorism three sentences which also occur consecutively in S 140-2.

The maxims excerpted from Clitarchus appear in the same order as in Sextus. Elter believed that the collection of Clitarchus is only an epitome of Sextus,¹ and his view has been generally accepted. It is, however, a striking fact that the Christian note is wholly absent from Clitarchus. That this is a problem demanding explanation was clear to W. Kroll, in his excellent article on Sextus in Pauly-Wissowa, where he proposed the solution that Clitarchus was a pagan epitomator of Sextus who reversed the Christianising process apparent in the collection before him, only including in his own personal anthology those maxims which he found congenial, and doubtless adding others from various sources. This does not seem very plausible in view of the many instances where the wording of Clitarchus agrees with the Pythagorean tradition in the alphabetical collection and Porphyry against the Christian form given in Sextus (esp. S 49 against Py. 39a=Po. 11=Clit. 4). And there is the remarkable fact, which caused Elter astonishment but not (it seems) further reflection, that Clitarchus and Porphyry agree in grouping together aphorisms which occur at separate points in the Sextine collection or its appendages. It is hard to suppose that this can be due to chance. On the other hand there is nothing like enough of it to suggest that Clitarchus could have read Porphyry's letter. Accordingly, it appears infinitely more probable that the epitomator of Clitarchus drew independently upon the main and primary source laid under tribute by Sextus; or that Clitarchus himself, in unexcerpted form, was the actual source used by Sextus.

¹ Elter, *Gnomica* 1, p. xxxvii. Since writing this I find Elter and Kroll already criticised by Gass, *Porphyrius ad Marcellam* (1927), p. 58.

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It is not profitable to enquire too closely into the exact source-relationship here for the reason that there is no category of literature with a less rigid and consistent existence than an anthology of aphorisms. In the very nature of things collections of this kind come to possess the qualities of a snowball. As they are copied they may be added to and increase (as the Sextine collection has done) until they become a treasury of wisdom from which smaller collections, chosen according to the individual idiosyncrasies and preferences of the anthologist, are easily derived. A reader might extract from such a treasury his own commonplace-book for his private moral guidance. Or if he were an ambitious young man, he might hope to attract the favour of the great ones of the earth by dedicating to them such a collection. (In the sixth century a deacon of Constantinople, Agapetus, made an anthology of this kind for Justinian.¹) The individual collector leaves his mark upon the tradition.

At each stage of transmission the Sextine collection would have been liable to change and modification. The Syriac versions show the process of Christianisation being carried even further than in the Greek form; and Byzantine readers, probably in the monasteries, found the work so congenial that they added to it many more maxims found in the pagan sources upon which Sextus himself had drawn but which he had preferred to pass by. Although the materials available make it impossible to reconstruct the 'original' compilation exactly as it left the revising hands of Sextus, yet it is improbable that it had suffered any radical transformation between the time of Origen and that of Rufinus. The Christian touches are so carefully and subtly made that the plan must have been deliberate, and cannot simply have been the accidental consequence of a gradual growth under the influence of many Christian users.² There is a single mind behind the compilation and the work of revision. His date is probably round

¹ Migne, *P.G.* LXXXVI, 1163-86.

² This is the theory of K. Praechter, *Die Philosophie des Altertums* (revision of F. Ueberweg), Berlin, 1926, p. 523, who is inclined to accept Jerome's story that the collection is by a genuine Pythagorean named Sextus, and who would explain the manifestly Christian maxims as a gradual process of interpolation due to the popularity of the pagan collection in Christian circles.

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about A.D. 180–210 and his purpose is evident; it is to bring the moral wisdom of the Greek sages under the wing of the church to whom all truth belongs. With adjustments here and there the language of Stoic or Pythagorean wisdom could pass in Christian circles. *Pythagoras saepe noster* might be his motto. His kindred spirit is Clement of Alexandria.¹ The purpose was probably apologetic, and it may be that it is this motive that accounts for the absence of Christ's name—upon which Jerome commented so unfavourably (above, p. 120). In one remarkable passage in his sermons on Jeremiah, Origen tells us that occasionally in conversation with heathen friends whom he was seeking to convert to the faith he found them so deeply prejudiced against Christianity and so hostile to the very name of Christ that he found it wise to conceal the fact that his teaching was Christian. Only after he had had time to develop his case and after he had perceived that the person to whom he was talking was displaying great interest and attention would he disclose that the doctrine to which the man was giving his approval was actually that of the Christians. Then he could at last safely confess that the ideas were not his own invention but were revealed by God.² It may be that something of this sort is the motive underlying the compilation of Sextus.³

Ethical exhortation runs to neutrality and Sextus was not the first, as he was certainly not the last, to adapt the highest heathen morality to Christian use. Ambrose had only to make small, though admittedly significant, changes in Cicero to produce his *De Officiis*. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus circulated in two Christian recensions.⁴ The ethics of Clement of Alexandria are presented

¹ As Wendland rightly insisted in his reviews of Elter, *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.* (1893), 492–4, and *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* (1893), 229–35.

² Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* xx, 5 (pp. 184–5 Klostermann).

³ The point is already taken by Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* III, i⁴, p. 703: 'Wenn aber doch die eigentümlich christlichen Lehren in ihr durchaus fehlen, und nicht einmal der Name Christi genannt wird, so kann dies nur beweisen, daß der Verfasser selbst seiner Arbeit nicht bloß auf Christen, sondern auch auf Nichtchristen berechnet hat und durch sie zunächst nur die allgemeinen Grundsätze des Monotheismus und der christlichen Moral empfehlen will.'

⁴ Migne, *P.G.* LXXIX, 1255–1316 prints that ascribed to Nilus. Cf. H. Schenkl, *Epicteti Dissertationes* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 426.

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almost entirely in the terminology of the Greek schools.¹ And indeed why not? When Celsus critically observed that Christian moral teaching 'is commonplace and in comparison with other philosophers contains no teaching that is impressive or new', and when he dismisses the sanctions of judgement and hellfire as 'stale stuff',² Origen is not disposed to quarrel with him on either of the really substantive points. It is rather that he himself would prefer to put the matter a little differently. Man's recognition of the good and his awareness of responsibility are part of the natural law implanted by God in all men. Affinities and similarities are to be expected. So Christ asks 'Why do you not judge of yourselves what is right?' He takes it for granted (Origen remarks) that man has an innate capacity to know both right and wrong.³ Christianity brings to actuality what is potentially already there. *Anima naturaliter Christiana*: it is this conviction that underlies the work of Sextus.

And yet the apologist always runs a risk. He must express his Christian belief in terms intelligible and acceptable to the contemporary world. On the other hand he may end, consciously or unconsciously, by importing not a little non-Christian thought and piety into Christian tradition. Goods intended for export may find an even greater sale in the home market. So also there is another side to the work of Sextus which may be briefly noted in conclusion.

Origen tells us that in his time Sextus was being widely and appreciatively studied by Christian folk. The ascetic standpoint of the sentences is certainly most profoundly akin to that of Clement and Origen, and it is altogether intelligible that the collection stimulated the devotion and resolve of those who were in quest of spiritual perfection. In many respects Sextus is the direct

¹ See especially M. Pohlenz, *Klemens von Alexandria und sein hellenisches Christentum*, Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1943, Heft 3.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1, 4; II, 5.

³ Origen, *Hom. in Lucam* xxxv (p. 205 Rauer): 'nisi esset nobis natura insitum id quod iustum est iudicandi, nunquam Salvator diceret "Quare autem et a vobismetipsis non quod iustum est iudicatis?"' For Origen the text was a valuable refutation of the contemporary exponents of total human depravity, the gnostics.

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precursor of Evagrius Ponticus, with whom indeed he is already conjoined both by Jerome and by the Armenian version of the sentences, though by the latter the connection is made from motives of sympathy and by the former from bitter hostility. Moreover there are preserved under Evagrius' name¹ aphorisms of which not a few are found in Sextus or in his Neopythagorean sources. Evagrius had absorbed Sextus' morality within his Origenist spirituality, and so Sextus came to exercise an indirect influence upon the piety of Greek monasticism as well as upon that of the West through the version of Rufinus.

Accordingly the ultimate question that is raised by the Sextine collection is a variant of the controversy between Rufinus and Jerome, namely, whether the ascetic and mystical ideal of the Neopythagorean sages has been an influence for good or for evil upon the spirituality of Christendom, and whether this process of incorporation did not tend to blur distinctions which might better have been kept more clearly in view.

¹ These are edited by Elter, *Gnomica* I (1892). Some manuscripts ascribe them to Nilus. They are frequently cited in the *Sacra Parallela* under the name of Evagrius, and Elter is no doubt right in regarding this ascription as correct.

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3 Cf. 132, 376.

4 = Py. (D) 40, θεοῦ ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων. Porph. 15, θεοῦ ἄξιόν σε ποιήσῃ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτοῦ πράττειν (this is the frequent form in Byzantine collections).

7a Cf. 82d; Seneca, *Ep.* 31, 11, 'quaerendum est quod non fiat in dies eius quod non possit obstari. quid hoc est? animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitandum?'

9 Cf. Luke xvi. 10.

11 Cf. 96, 102.

13 Cf. 273.

14 = Py. 6a, ἀθανάτους σοι πιστεῦε παρὰ τῇ κρίσει καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας (only preserved in the Patmos manuscript, not in the Vienna collection). For a striking pagan utterance concerning the moral value of belief in retribution hereafter cf. Celsus in Origen, *c. Cels.* viii, 49.

15 Cf. 91b; Luke xii. 33.

16 Cf. 38, 130.

17 Cf. Py. 97, συγγενεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντι καὶ φίλῳ πάντα εἴκε πλήν ἐλευθερίας.

18 Cf. Py. 30 (also in Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* III, 470), 37 ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῷ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτάρκης καὶ ἀκτῆμων καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ πλοῦτον ἡγεῖται μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀναγκαίων κτλ. (Sextus reproduces the following clause at 274). Cf. also below, 49, 50.

19-20 Cf. Matt. xxii. 21. This exegesis of the saying occurs also in Clement of Alexandria (*Ecl. proph.* 24) and in Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* xvii, 27), who notices it as a possible exegesis of the passage: 'We are composed of soul and body (it is superfluous to mention here the spirit as well) and we are under an obligation to render as it were tribute of our bodies to the Ruler named Caesar, that is, to give the body its necessary requirements which bear the physical image of the Ruler of bodies; these needs are food and clothing and necessary rest and periods of sleep. And since the soul is by nature in the image of God, we owe other things to God its king, which are expedient and conformed to the nature and essence of the soul; these are the ways that lead to virtue and virtuous actions.'

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21 For the soul as a 'deposit' cf. Asterius, *Hom. XII in Ps. vi*, 12 and 14 (ed. Richard, pp. 86-7).

22 Cf. Py. 112 (Po. 15), *χρή καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκροῖσθαι τὸν περὶ θεῶν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ*.

23 Cf. 102; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 27, 4, *τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ ἀγνεία οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν πλήν ἢ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀποχή*.

24 Cf. 97.

27 Cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.* II, 5: one comes no nearer to God by climbing a high mountain.

28 Cited by Maximus Confessor, *Schol. in Dion. Areop. de Myst. Theol.* v, p. 238 (*P.G.* IV, 429 B), *οὔτε ἡ θεότης οὐσία ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. . . οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ δόξα περὶ αὐτόν. οὕτω καὶ Σέξτος ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος εἶπε καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν θεολογικῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὔτε [ἡ] θεότης οὔτε τὸ ἀγέννητον οὔτε ἡ πατρότης οὐσίαν σημαίνουνσι θεοῦ.* (The allusion to Gregory Nazianzen is a reference to *Or. theol.* IV (XXX), 18.) For the namelessness of God cf. Cicero, *De nat. deor.* I, 12, 30; Justin, *Apol.* II, 6; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v, 82, 1 and esp. 83, 1; Origen, *C. Cels.* VI, 65; VII, 42 (Celsus); Dio Chrys. XII, 78; Maximus Tyrius, VIII, 10; etc. For an interesting discussion of the importance of this idea see H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (1947), II, pp. 110-26.

This aphorism made a considerable impression, and 27-9 are quoted in an early, pre-Metaphrastic Life of St Babylas of Antioch which survives in a Latin translation (*BHL* 891 = *Acta Sanctorum* 24 Jan., vol. II, p. 574). The saint tells the proconsul, 'si te ad caelum perferret innumerus ordo pennarum et volatu ad astra pertingeres, tamen nomen dei scire non posses, nec enim vocatus a quoquam est aut appellatus aut visus, nisi quibus se ita prodidit, ut mortales oculi poterant sustinere. nec enim deus nomen, sed virtutis est gloria [mistranslating δόξα]. deus prudentiae via est, quae ducit ad vitam. nihil ergo de eo quaerendum est, a quo omnia constant effecta'. The Greek original of this passage is cited by John of Damascus in the *Sacra parallela* in the recension of codex Rupefucaldinus (named after Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld who gave it to the Jesuit college of Clermont in Paris, whence after many travels it found its way to Berlin in the nineteenth century): *Βαβυλᾶς εἶπε· θεοῦ ὄνομα μὴ ζήτηι· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν καλῇ, τὸ δὲ ὑπακούῃ. τίς οὖν ὁ ὀνομάσας θεόν; θεὸς οὐκ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ δόξα περὶ θεοῦ* (Migne, *P.G.* xcvi, 533 A). A remnant of this survives even in the Metaphrast, *P.G.* cxiv, 972 A: *θεοῦ μὲν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἄν*

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πολλὰ κάμοις εὐρήσεις· ἔστι γὰρ ἄρρητος, ἄληπτος, λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπινος ἀνεξερεύνητος, κτλ. (he continues with elaborate pomposity).¹

31ff. expresses exactly the anthropocentric standpoint attacked by Celsus (Orig. *C. Cels.* iv, 74-99). The superiority of the elect to the angels was a matter of debate in the second century. On the basis of Paul's statement (I Cor. vi. 3) that the saints shall judge angels, some Christians understood this superiority to be unqualified and estimated the angels to be ministering spirits in the service not merely of God but, by divine appointment, of man also. The angels would be released from their servitude as guardians at the manifestation of the sons of God: Rom. viii. 19-21 is thus interpreted by Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives* 29. But in *Ecl. proph.* 56-7 he holds that at the apocatastasis the saints are superior to some angels but not to the Seven supreme Archangels, the 'firstborn'. So also Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* x, 13) criticises those who think the saints will be superior to angels; they will only be superior to some, not to all. Origen's view is reproduced in Jerome, *Comm. in Eph.* II, 7, p. 576 Vallarsi.

36 Cited by Pelagius, *ap.* Augustine, *De natura et gratia* LXIV, 77. Cf. Po. 11, ἀνθρώπων δὲ σοφῶ θεὸς θεοῦ δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν.

37-8 Cf. Musonius, frag. 30 Hense: αἰδοῦς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄξιος ἔση ἐν πρῶτον ἄρξῃ σαυτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι (from Stobaeus, *Ecl.* III, 31, 6).

38 Cf. 16 and above, p. 155.

39-40 Cf. 347-9. Matt. v. 26 is interpreted in the same way by Origen in several passages, the most important of which is *Hom. in Luc.* xxxv *ad fin.* (the original Greek survives on papyrus: *P. Bonon.* I, 1). It was important for his doctrine of Purgatory and final restoration. Clement (frag. 69 Stählin) and Origen (*Comm. in Ev. Joann.* xix, 15-16) believe that at death all souls are examined, the good being claimed by the good angels or powers of the Right, the bad by the devils or the powers of the Left. Cf. Clem. *Strom.* vii, 83, 1: the true gnostic is always prepared for death, εὐσυνείδητος ὦν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὁφθῆναι. He can show the amulet of good works to the powers in charge of the upward ascent (*Strom.* iv, 116, 2).

41 Cf. Luke xii. 34; Marcus Aurelius vii, 3, τοσούτου ἄξιος ἕκαστός ἐστιν, ὅσου ἄξιά ἐστι ταῦτα περὶ ἃ ἐσπούδακεν (much like Py. 79, πᾶς ἀνθρώπος τοσούτου ἄξιος ὅσου ἄξια γινώσκει ἢ φρονεῖ).

43 Cf. 182.

44 Cf. 148, 381, 578.

¹ Gildemeister noticed the citation in the *Passio S. Babylae*, Elter that in John of Damascus.

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45 The maxim expresses the tension between the utter otherness and transcendence of God and that possibility of knowing him which is affirmed in Platonic terms by the doctrine of the soul's kinship with the divine and in Biblical terms by the idea of the image of God. The problem was a live issue for Clement of Alexandria, who on the one hand asserts the capacity of man to know God on the ground of his creation in the divine image and formulates the ethical ideal in the terms drawn from Plato's *Theaetetus* as 'likeness to God as far as possible', and on the other hand, out of regard for the Biblical doctrine of human creatureliness and finitude and of man's sinfulness before God, affirms the discontinuity between man and God, the gulf between them being bridged only by divine grace and mercy. Cf. *Strom.* II, 74-5; 77, 4; VI, 114, 5-6; VII, 88, 5 (with polemic against the Stoic doctrine that the virtue of man or of God is the same).

46ab Cited by Pelagius *ap.* Augustine, *De natura et gratia* LXIV, 77. Cf. Py. 66 (Po. 19), νεὼς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς κτλ.; Py. 119, ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς τόπον οἰκειότερον θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἔχει. For the mind as God's dwelling-place cf. below, 61, 144; for the image of the purity of a temple, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI, 60, 2; for the image of the altar, *Strom.* VII, 32, 5; and in general Clement's statement of the Christian doctrine of sacrificial worship, *Strom.* VII, 14ff.

47 Cf. 176.

48 Cf. 381-2.

49 =Py. 39 (Po. 11), θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ.

50 Cf. 18; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 105, 3, ὁ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτῆς, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ἀνενδεοῦς ἐραστής, ὀλιγοδεής. Similarly *Strom.* II, 81, 1; VII, 18, 2; etc.

53 Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 79, 15ff.

55 Cf. 143, 418; Plato, *Theaet.* 173 E.

58 Cf. 135, 221-2, 225.

60 Cited by Pelagius, *ap.* Augustine, *De natura et gratia* LXIV, 77. Cf. 375.

61-2 Cf. Po. 21, χώρημα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ . . . ἢ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων. Rufinus translates χορός.

65 Cf. 189.

66 Ascribed to Thales *ap.* Diog. Laert. I, 36.

72 Cf. 136.

74 Cf. Sirach xxxvii. 16, ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου λόγος καὶ πρὸ πάσης πράξεως βουλή. Po. 34 ἡγείσθω τοῖνυν πάσης ὁρμῆς ὁ λόγος.

75a =Py. 21 (Po. 34), δουλεύειν πάθεσι χαλεπώτερον ἢ τυράννοις.

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75b =Py. 71 (Po. 34), ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ὥμοι δεσπότες. It is noteworthy that Sextus and Porphyry agree in bringing together in the same order two maxims which occur separately in the Pythagorean maxims; in Porphyry they are separated by a brief saying which is also included in the Pythagorean maxims (Py. 23) but is omitted by Sextus.

For the passions as the soul's masters cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II, 144, 3; Seneca, *Ep.* 14, 1; etc.

76 Cf. Py. 110 (Po. 14), ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος.

77 Cf. Origen, *C. Cels.* III, 72, μόνον τῶν ὄντων βέβαιον ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἀλήθεια ἅπερ ἐκ σοφίας παραγίνεται. See also Py. 91.

79 Cf. 294.

82c Cf. 34, 129.

82d Cf. 7a, 376.

82e Cf. Epict. II, 8, 13, ἐν σαυτῷ φέρεις αὐτὸν [*sc.* θεόν] καὶ μολύνων οὐκ αἰσθάνη ἀκαθάρτοις μὲν διανοήμασι, ῥυπαραῖς δὲ πράξεσι.

83 is ascribed to Plutarch in the Byzantine florilegia (Maximus, *P.G.* xci, 784 D).

86a =Socrates *ap.* Xenophon, *Memorab.* I, 5, 4 (also cited by Iamblichus, *ap.* Stob. *Ecl.* III, 5, 48), ἄρα γε οὐ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα, ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπίδα, ταύτην πρῶτην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάσασθαι; Cf. Philo, *De somniis* I, 124; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 70, 1, 'continence is the foundation of gnosis'. Contrast 371 below.

88 is included in the Byzantine florilegium Φιλοσόφων λόγοι edited by Schenkl (*Progr. d. akad. Gymnas.*, Vienna, 1886), no. 21, which omits δεῖ καί.

89 =210b (where Rufinus omits it, and its placing varies in Π and Υ); cf. Matt. vii. 12.

90 Cf. e.g. Epict. *Ench.* 5, ἀπαιδέυτου ἔργον τὸ ἄλλοις ἐγκαλεῖν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς πράσσει κακῶς. Cf. 121a below.

91b Cf. 15.

92 =404; cf. 128; Py. 3 (Po. 12), δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον.

93 Cf. 153. The true text is preserved only in Clitarchus here.

96 Cf. 11, 23, 102.

97 Cf. 24. Porphyry (11) has καθαίρεται μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐννοία θεοῦ (cf. Clitarchus 17).

98 =334; cf. 120.

99 Cf. 128.

102 Cf. 23.

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105 Cf. Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 49, 15 Gaisford: οὐδεις ἐχθρὸς τῷ σπουδαίῳ.

107 Elter proposes to omit οὐ, to which it may be objected (a) that no other gnome in this collection begins with the word χαλεπὸν, so that formally it would be unparalleled; (b) that the form here is paralleled in 187 below; and (c) that the deletion is not necessary to make sense of it—or at any rate does nothing to alleviate the difficulties. That the interpretation of the maxim is problematic is evident; the scribe of Π left it out altogether, and Rufinus made a clean sweep by omitting both οὐ and μή, leaving himself with a platitude so flat as to be incredible. As it stands the maxim seems to mean ‘Do not be vexed if sinful men are gathered together for purposes which are not sinful’. In so far as this is a type of vexation very righteous people find it easy to experience, the text may be accepted as giving tolerable sense. For the form cf. also the saying ascribed to Pythagoras in Stobaeus, III, 13, 54: οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀμαρτάνειν ὡς τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα μὴ ἐξελέγχειν.

109 Cited by Origen, *C. Cels.* VIII, 30. See above, p. 108. Cf. Diadochus of Photice, *Cent.* 44 (p. 110 des Places): any food or drink is good, but to abstain from food of high quality or large quantity is evidence of discernment and is ‘more gnostic’ (γνωστικώτερον).

110 Cf. Matt. xv. 18.

111 The Greek appears to have lost ἡδονῇ before ἡττώμενος (cf. Rufinus and Syriac).

112 Cf. 534.

113–14 = Po. 12, καὶ πάντων ὧν πράττομεν ἀγαθῶν τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον ἡγώμεθα· τῶν δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οἱ ἐλόμενοι, θεὸς δὲ ἀνάτιος (from Plato, *Rep.* 379B, 617E). Cf. 390 below.

118 Cf. 128.

119 Cf. 276 (and 19).

120 ‘Greatness of soul’ is defined by Plotinus as a ‘scorn of earthly things’ (*Enn.* I, 6, 6). The portrait of the great-souled man as drawn by Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV, 3, is an aristocratic ideal. John Chrysostom, *Hom. in I Cor.* XI, 1 (*P.G.* LXI, 89), carefully distinguishes it from pride.

122 = Po. 12, εὐκτέον θεῷ τὰ ἄξια θεοῦ (after 114).

124 = Po. 12, καὶ αἰτώμεθα ἃ μὴ λάβοιμεν ἂν παρ’ ἑτέρου (after 122).

125–6 = Po. 12, καὶ ὧν ἡγεμόνες οἱ μετ’ ἄρετῆς πόνοι, ταῦτα εὐχόμεθα γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους· εὐχὴ γὰρ ῥαθύμου μάταιος λόγος (after 124). Cf. 290; Clem. Alex. *Quis dives* 3; Xenophon, *Memorab.* II, 1, 19–20.

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127 = Py. 121 (Po. 12), ὧν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγείς οὐ δεήσῃ, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει πάντων κτλ. (=Stobaeus, III, 1, 43).

128 Cf. 92, 99; Py. 3 (Po. 12), ἃ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ (=Stobaeus, vol. IV, p. viii ed. Hense).

129 Cf. 34, 82e.

130 Cf. 17.

131 = 197; cf. 29.

134 = Po. 13, ταῦτ' οὖν θέλε καὶ αἰτοῦ τὸν θεόν (cf. 128) ἃ θέλει τε καὶ ἔστιν αὐτός.

135 Cf. 58-9.

136 = Po. 13 (after 134), εὖ ἐκεῖνο γινώσκουσα ὡς ἐφ' ὅσον τις τὸ σῶμα ποθεῖ καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος σύμφυλα, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοεῖ τὸν θεόν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐνοράσεως ἑαυτὸν ἀπεσκότισε. . . .

138 Self-love is commonly regarded as the origin of sin by Philo and Clement of Alexandria. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* IX, 8, 1168a 28ff.) distinguishes good and bad self-love.

139a Cf. 411.

139b Cf. 172.

143 Cf. 55, 418. The MSS. vary in the order here; the Syriac epitome puts 143 before 142, and 145 is put before 143 by most MSS. of Rufinus, though a few put it before 142. The full Syriac version agrees with ΠΥ.

145 Cited in the *Rule of St Benedict* and the *Regula Magistri* (above, p. 124); cf. 214, 243; Py. 92, σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸν σεβόμενος γινώσκεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὸ οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοῖται (cf. Po. 13, σοφὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὀλίγοις γινωσκόμενος, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος, γινώσκεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ).

148 Cf. 44, 466. For God's *eudaimonia*, cf. 133.

149 Cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* VII, 3, οἱ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι.

151 Cf. Chilon *ap.* Diog. Laert. I, 70, τὴν γλῶτταν μὴ προτρέχειν τοῦ νοῦ.

152 = Py. 7 (Po. 14; Stobaeus, III, 34, 11), αἰρετώτερόν σοι ἔστω λίθον εἰκὴ βάλλιν ἢ λόγον ἄργόν. It is quoted in the *Regula Magistri* (X, p. 179 ed. Vanderhoven and Masai) with the formula 'nam et Origenes sapiens dixit: Melius est lapidem in vanum iactare quam verbum'. Evidently the compiler took the aphorism from a lost homily or commentary of Origen, not from Rufinus' *Anulus*. The saying is included in almost all the Byzantine collections.

Cf. Sirach xxviii. 17-18, πληγὴ μάστιγος ποιεῖ μώλωπα, πληγὴ δὲ γλώσσης συγκλάσει ὅσ' ἂν. πολλοὶ ἔπεσαν ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας, καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ πεπτωκότες διὰ γλώσσαν.

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153 Cf. 93, 382.

155 = Prov. x. 19, ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφύζη ἁμαρτίαν. Cf. 598, οὐκ ἐκφύζη ἁμαρτίαν ἀναλώμασιν.

157 Cf. 430-2.

159 Cf. 165d (YX only). For the doctrine of the medicinal lie cf. Plato, *Rep.* 382c; 389B; 459c, d; Epict. IV, 6, 33; Stobaeus, II, 7, 11m, p. 111 Wachsmuth=Arnim, *Stoic. Vet. Frag.* III, 554; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 53, 2. Does Sextus commend lying? Probably 'treat lying as a poison' or perhaps (if φαρμακῶ be read) 'as a scapegoat to be expelled'—a suggestion I owe to Mr Lloyd-Jones. Basil, *Reg. Brev.* 76, forbids all lying absolutely.

160 Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI, 116, 3: the true gnostic knows when to speak and how and to whom.

161 Cf. Sirach iv. 23, μὴ κωλύσης λόγον ἐν καιρῷ χρείας.

163a Cf. Sirach xx. 7, ἄνθρωπος σοφὸς σιγήσει ἕως καιροῦ.

164b is lacking in Rufinus and in ΠΥ; but it is attested in the Syriac, and the Greek original can be restored from Clitarchus 38.

165abc Cf. Po. 14 (after 152), . . . καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τάληθῃ λέγοντα ἢ νικᾶν ἀπατῶντα· τὸ γὰρ νικῆσαν ἀπάτη ἐν τῷ ἦθει ἡττῆται. μάρτυρες δὲ κακῶν ψευδεῖς λόγοι. Cf. Chilon *ap.* Diog. Laert. I, 70. Sext. 187.

165b-165g are omitted by Rufinus and Π, but included by YX; x has only 165b and f, Clitarchus attests 164a, 165f, 165c, 165e (in that order). Porphyry has 165a, 165b, 165c. In Clitarchus 164a and 165g form a single maxim.

166 Cf. 104, contrast 305. x joins it to 196.

167 Cf. 402.

171 Cf. Basil, *Ep.* 2, 5 (*P.G.* XXXII, 229c): one must learn in the ascetic life 'not to interrupt someone talking when his words are profitable, nor to desire to thrust in a word of one's own in order to show off'.

172 Cf. 139.

173 Cf. 541.

174 Cf. the *Traditions of Matthias* (a sacred book for the followers of the gnostic Basilides) *ap.* Clem. *Strom.* VII, 82, 1: 'If the neighbour of an elect person sins, it is the fault of the elect; for if he had conducted himself as reason dictates, his neighbour's reverence for such a life would have prevented him from sinning.'

175 Cf. Romans ii. 24. This looks like a Christian version of 396.

176 Cf. 542. See p. 155, above.

177 Cf. Po. 8, καὶ δεῖ οὕτως βιοῦν ὅστις ἐπίστευσεν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς

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πιστὸς ἢ μάρτυς περὶ ὧν λέγει τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. Musonius, fr. 32 (Stobaeus IV, 7, 15), 'Do not tell people to do what is right when they are aware that you are doing what is wrong'.

178 (cf. 94, 389) = Py. 6 (Stobaeus III, 1, 32), & μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπονοοῦ ποιεῖν. This recurs in several Byzantine collections.

180 Cf. 549.

181 = Po. 9, μέχρι τοῦ νοῦ [Elter; νῦν cod.] καθαρεύειν δεῖ τῶν παθῶν τε καὶ τῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ἀμαρτημάτων.

182 Cf. Py. 13, βασιλεύων γὰρ τις ἀνθρώπων καλῶς, οὗτος ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλεύεται.

183 Cf. Matt. vii. 1.

185 Cf. 152.

189 Cf. 65.

190 Cf. 450; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 16, 5; 29, 4; 64, 6.

191 Cf. 554; Seneca, *Ep.* 80, 9.

193 Cf. Mark x. 23.

194 Cf. 214, 229, 259.

196 Cf. 215.

197 = 131; cf. 29.

198 (cf. 433, 470) = Py. 86 (Stobaeus III, 1, 37), πρᾶττε μεγάλα, μὴ ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλα. (Π joins μὴ μεγάλα ὑπισχνούμενος to the beginning of 199.)

199 Cf. 333.

200 Cf. Epict. I, 24, 1, etc. (a common Stoic theme).

201 Cf. 216. The end is reminiscent of I Pet. iv. 6.

202 Cf. 475; Po. 9, κακία δὲ πᾶσα αἰσχρόν (after 207, 208a).

202-3 appear as a single maxim in Π and in some manuscripts of Rufinus.

203 Cf. the saying ascribed to Pythagoras in Stobaeus IV, 1, 80: Πυθαγόρας εἶπεν εἰσέναι εἰς τὰς πόλεις πρῶτον τρυφήν, ἔπειτα κόρον, εἶτα ὕβριν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὄλεθρον. Also Solon *ap.* Diog. Laert. I, 59.

204 According to Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives* 11; *Strom.* III, 57) the difference between pagan and Christian ethics is that while the Greek philosophers teach that desire is to be suppressed, the Christian teaching is that it should not even be felt at all. Cf. 209.

205 = Py. 116 (Po. 9; Stobaeus III, 1, 44), ψυχῆς πᾶν πάθος εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς πολεμιώτατον.

207, 208a = Po. 9, πάθη δὲ νοσημάτων ἀρχαί· ψυχῆς δὲ νόσημα κακία (202 follows).

210a Cf. 260, 478; Clem. *Strom.* VII, 86, 2.

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210b (=89) Cf. Matt. vii. 12. Rufinus omits it.

213 Cf. Matt. v. 44.

214 Cf. 145; Seneca, *Ep.* 76, 4, 'in illo loco in quo vir bonus quaeritur, in quo vir bonus discitur, paucissimi sedent, et hi plerisque videntur nihil boni negotii habere quod agant: inepti et inertes vocantur. mihi contingat iste derisus: aequo animo audienda sunt imperitorum convicia et ad honesta vadenti contemnendus est ipse contemptus'.

215 Cf. 196.

216 Cf. 201.

217 Cf. 378, 492, 584.

218 Cf. 129.

221 Cf. 58-9.

224 Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii, 35 (the practice of the presence of God).

227 =594. Cf. Py. 80 (Stobaeus III, 1, 36), πέπεισο μὴ εἶναι σὸν κτήμα ὃ μὴ ἐντὸς διανοίας ἔχεις. Evagrius, *Exh. ad virginem* 30 (ed. H. Gressmann, *T.U.* xxxix, 4, Leipzig (1913), p. 148): μὴ εἴπης· ἐμὸν τοῦτο καὶ σὸν τοῦτο. ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πάντα κοινά.

229 Cf. 118.

230a The γάρ, omitted by ΠR, is difficult and therefore original. No doubt the compiler found it so in his source.

The wording (δίδωσιν) suggests that the application intended is not addressed to a man or woman still unmarried, but rather to married couples to whom it is 'granted' to abandon the conjugal life if they so wish and to follow the ascetic way. The teaching of St Paul in I Cor. vii. 1 ff. was no doubt directed against precisely such a situation in the Corinthian community, where Christian husbands and wives were separating. Even so the apostle has to proceed with great caution, and it might seem easy to conclude that I Cor. vii. 5-6 meant that, subject to the consent of both parties, married couples were positively encouraged to separate for the sake of the pursuit of the higher life. (For discussion of the passage cf. my article 'All things to all men' in *New Testament Studies* 1 (1955), at pp. 263 ff.) This interpretation was that put upon the apostle's words by the holy saint Amoun of Nitria whose wedding night was spent in careful exegesis of this passage with his bride so that he persuaded her to live with him as a sister for many years until they finally agreed to separate altogether (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 8; Socrates, *H.E.* iv, 23). Their mutual agreement to remain continent was held up as an example to the faithful. A much more controversial question was whether a man

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might forsake his spouse if she were unwilling to accept married continence: were the claims of the higher life sufficient to override the obligations of marriage? Theonas, a father of the Egyptian desert, believed that they were and acted accordingly. But in recounting his story John Cassian is careful to append an apologia for his inclusion of the incident, which he regards as eminently pleasing to Almighty God but not as a norm for behaviour to be imitated by others (*Coll.* XXI, 9-10). Married continence is encouraged by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* VI, 100) and by Methodius (*Symposium* IX, 4, 252). Cf. Sextus 239; *Vita S. Melaniae Iunioris* 6 (*An. Boll.* XXII, p. 11).

230b According to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II, 70 the true gnostic may marry and as a married man is superior to the selfish bachelor; he has so many opportunities for sanctification in the daily exasperations that come to him from his children, his wife, his servants, and his possessions.

231 Cited by Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* I, 49 and *Comm. in Ezech.* vi. 18. For the idea cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 142C; Clement, *Paed.* II, 99, 3; *Strom.* II, 143, 1.

232 Cf. Po. 35, ψιλῆς δὲ ἕνεκα ἡδονῆς μηδέποτε χρήσῃ τοῖς μέρεσι.

233 Cf. Matt. v. 28ff. (The second half is omitted in x and in one MS. of Rufinus—S.)

234 (cf. 247, 283) probably refers to the baptismal promise.

235 Cf. 499, 513; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* III, 53ff.; Seneca *ap.* Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* I, 49 (II, 320 Vallarsi), 'mulieris virtus proprie pudicitia est'.

236 (=515b) is striking for its purely Hellenic quality, unqualified by any Christian appeal to divine and dominical sanction, basing its disapprobation of divorce on the ground that it is a slight to male pride.

238 Cf. 501.

239 Cf. note on 230a above.

240 Cf. 428.

241 (=570) Cf. 531; Antisthenes *ap.* Diog. Laert. VI, 5: 'When on one occasion he was praised by wicked men, he remarked, "I am in distress that I must have done something wrong".'

242 Cf. Matt. x. 8.

243 (cf. 535) See on 145.

244 Cf. 319.

245 Cf. 298; Py. 113, χαῖρε τοῖς ἐλέγχουσί σε μάλλον ἢ τοῖς κολακεύουσι.

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247 Cf. 234, 283; Sirach vii. 8, μή καταδεσμεύσης δις ἀμαρτίαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μιᾷ οὐκ ἄθῳος ἔσθῃ. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II, 56 ff. (Y joins πιστὸς εἶναι θέλων to the end of 246.)

248 It would be rash to attribute this apparently illiberal sentiment to the Christian prejudices of the compiler; for comparable opinions cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 88; Lucian, *Symp.* 34.

249 Π has νομιζέσθω σοι joined to the beginning of 250.

252 χρόνου φείδου is a maxim sometimes ascribed to the sage Chilon (cf. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philos. Gr.* I (1870), p. 216) and was certainly current as an apophthegm of the Seven Sages: cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v, 22, 1; Cicero, *De finibus* III, 22, 73, 'quaeque sunt vetera praecepta sapientium qui iubent Tempori parcere [so emended by Roscher; *parere* codd.] et Sequi deum et Se noscere et Nihil nimis, . . .'; Philo, *De vita contempl.* 16 (χρόνου δὲ φείδεσθαι καλόν); Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.* III, 13; Stobaeus III, 1, 173.

253a Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 44, 8: by virtue of his experience and moral life the true gnostic possesses boldness of speech.

253b Cf. 435; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II, 145, 1; IV, 139, 4; 142, 1; VII, 77, 3; 78, 5.

254 Cf. 520 ff.

255 A common Stoic theme; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 90, 1; 93, 2.

256 Cf. Sirach xvi. 1-3, 'Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons. Though they multiply, rejoice not in them except the fear of the Lord be with them. Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude; for one that is just is better than a thousand, and better is it to die without children than to have them that are ungodly'.

257 (cf. 253) A Stoic theme; cf. Epictetus II, 17, 19 ff.; also Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 68, 12 Gaisford, παίδων ἀποβολὴν πράως ἤνεγκεν ὁ δίκαιος βίος. . .

258 Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 3, 2, 'sed si aliquem amicum existimas cui non tantundem credis quantum tibi, vehementer erras et non satis nosti vim verae amicitiae'.

259 Cf. 194.

260 Cf. 210.

261 Cf. Athenagoras, *Leg.* 35 (p. 45, 15 Schwartz): 'Who could suspect the Christians of murder or cannibalism when they cannot endure to see anyone put to death even justly?'

262 Π's dislocation of the text here is strange. Π produces the odd maxim πολυπραγμονῶν γὰρ καλῇ παρὰ θεῷ. Elter thinks that the

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unintelligible *moneris* in some manuscripts of Rufinus (WPB only) is the original text, and is an attempt at translating καλῆ; that therefore Rufinus was working from a codex in which the dislocations lying behind Π were already present; and that this codex contained warnings of the transpositions necessary to restore the correct order which were duly noticed by Rufinus but not by the scribe of the ancestor of Π. On this theory cf. also above, p. 4.

263 Cf. 300; Plato, *Laws* 913c, quotes the proverb ἀ μὴ κατέθου, μὴ ἀνέλη. It is ascribed to Solon in Diogenes Laertius I, 57.

265-6 The codex from which Rufinus made his version suffered a loss of three words here by homoioteleuton.

267 So also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII, 77, 6.

268 Attributed to Socrates in Xenophon, *Memorab.* I, 3, 5.

269 Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 83, 18 and the sayings ascribed to Pythagoras and Chrysippus in Stobaeus III, 18, 23-4. For the grouping of 268 and 269 together cf. Sirach xxxiv. 27-9, 'Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately; what life is then to man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad. Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart and cheerfulness of the mind; but wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.' Likewise Methodius, *Symp.* v, 5-6.

270 Cf. Musonius, frag. 18B (Stobaeus III, 18, 37).

271 Cf. 317; Rom. vii. 18.

272 Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 27, 2-3; Epict. *Enchiridion* 34; Musonius, frag. 51.

273 Cited (with 13) by Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* xv, 3 (see above, p. 112). Cf. Po. 34 (after 274), πολλάκις κόπτουσί τινα μέρη ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ <τῶν λοιπῶν, σὺ δ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ> τῆς ψυχῆς ἔτοιμος ἔσο τὸ ὅλον σώμα ἀποκόπτειν. (The supplement is by Nauck.)

274a = Po. 34, μεγάλη οὖν παιδεία ἀρχειν τοῦ σώματος.

274b = Py. 30, οὐ γὰρ παύσει ποτὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἐπίκτησις (where it is part of a longer maxim).

276 Cf. 119; Plato, *Republic* 558-9, and note on 19-20 above.

278ff. Cf. Cicero, *De officiis* I, 103-4; Epict. *Enchiridion* 33, 4; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II, 46; Porphy. *De abstinentia* IV, 6; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.* 17.

280b Cf. Sirach xxi. 20, 'A fool lifteth up his voice with laughter; but a wise man doth scarce smile a little'; Basil, *Reg. Fus. Tract.* xvii, 1 (*P.G.* xxxi, 962B), 'It is not unseemly to reveal merriment to the extent of a cheerful smile' (tr. Clarke).

STUDIES

282 (=573) Cf. 239.

283 (=595) Cf. 247; Py. 84, πολλῶ ἀμεινον μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτάνοντα δὲ ἀμεινον γινώσκειν ἢ ἀγνοεῖν. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II, 81, 3, καλὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτεῖν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμαρτάνοντα μετανοεῖν.

285 Cf. Py. 64, μεγάλην παιδείαν νόμιζε δι' ἧς δυνήσῃ φέρειν ἀπαιδευσίαν (Stobaeus III, 19, 8); cf. Sirach xxii. 15, 'Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, are easier to bear than a man without understanding'.

287 For the indefectibility of the perfection of the true gnostic cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV, 139, 2; VII, 46-7; 70, 5.

289 Cited by Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. theol.* I (XXVII), 4, and a favourite in later Byzantine collections.

290 Cf. 125.

294 Cf. 79; Py. 89 (Stobaeus III, 17, 11), ῥώμην μεγίστην καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κτῆσαι.

295 Cf. Py. 32 (in positive form), ἡγοῦ μάλιστα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὃ καὶ ἐτέρῳ μεταδιδόμενον σοὶ μᾶλλον αὖξεται (reminiscent of Prov. xi. 24, 'There is that scattereth and increaseth yet more').

296 Cf. 228.

297a is orthodox Stoicism.

297b = 11.

298 Cf. 245.

299 Cf. Py. III (Stobaeus IV, 5, 42), φαῦλος κριτῆς καλοῦ πράγματος ὄχλος· διόπερ ὧν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς καὶ τὸν φόγον καταφρόνει.

300 Cf. 263.

301 = Py. 95 (Po. 32), συνετὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοφιλῆς, ὅσα οἱ ἄλλοι μοχθοῦσι τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα, τοσαῦτα σπουδάσει αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς πονῆσαι.

303 Cf. Po. 12, πάσης πράξεως καὶ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ λόγου θεὸς ἐπότητης παρέστω καὶ ἔφορος.

304 Cf. 104; Po. 16, θεὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον βεβαιοῖ πράσσοντα καλὰ. This idea of the relation between human moral decisions and the pressure of supernatural agency, whether divine (304) or diabolical (305), is characteristic of Origen, e.g. *Hom. in Num.* xx, 3 (p. 194 Baehrens): we are surrounded by tempting devils and protecting angels, but it is our decision which we obey.

305 = Py. 49 (Po. 16), κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμών. Cf. Clitarchus 126a. For the form contrast 166 above. In Porphyry the maxim immediately follows 304. Po. and Py. (D) agree against Sextus and Py. (Π) in omitting the final ἔστιν.

NOTES ON SEXTUS 1-451

308 Cf. 395.

312-14 Cf. Po. 16 (after 305), ψυχὴ οὖν πονηρὰ φεύγει μὲν θεόν, πρόνοιαν δὲ θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ βούλεται, νόμου τε θείου τοῦ πᾶν τὸ φαῦλον κολάζοντος ἀποστατεῖ πάντως.

315 For this use of 'man' cf. Plotinus I, 4, 14.

317 Cf. 271.

319 Cf. 244, 259; Py. 105, τὸν εὐεργετοῦντά σε εἰς ψυχὴν ὡς ὑπέρ-την θεοῦ μετὰ θεὸν τίμα.

320-4 give teaching about death closely akin to that of Clement of Alexandria who thus expounds St Paul's words (Phil. i. 20-4): 'The perfect reason for departing from the body is love for God, and if one is to be in the flesh one should thankfully remain here for the sake of those who need salvation' (*Strom.* III, 65, 3). Clement strongly disapproved of Christians who provoked the Roman authorities; they were suicides, not martyrs. There was much debate in the second century concerning the meaning of the dominical saying (Matt. x. 23), 'When they persecute you in one city flee into the next'. Clement understands it not as a command to flee, but to avoid provocation. When the call comes, the true gnostic will answer it gladly, without resentment against his persecutors, unmoved by fear of hell or hope of heaven but in love to God (*Strom.* IV, 13ff.; 76f.). The *via media* between cowardice and provocation is similarly taught by Origen, *C. Cels.* I, 65; VIII, 44; John Chrys. *Hom. in ev. Jo.* LXXXV, 2.

320 is an aphorism that a Stoic could have accepted. Seneca, *Ep.* 24, 22ff., deplores suicide if it is a blind flight from life, which is to be neither scorned nor feared. On the other hand, 321 expresses the view attacked by Seneca, *Ep.* 70, 14. 323 is like Epictetus II, 16, 18ff. (our fears due to lack of practice).

324 may mean either 'Do not think you are fated to die in battle or that there is any enemy sword with your name written on it', or (perhaps more probably) 'No military service for you'. Cf. the near parallel in Pseudo-Phocylides 32-4 (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr Gr.*, fasc. ii³, p. 94):

τὸ ξίφος ἀμφιβαλοῦ μὴ πρὸς φόνον ἄλλ' ἐς ἄμυναν·

εἶθε δὲ μὴ χρήζοις μήτ' ἔκνομαι μήτε δικαίως.

ἦν γὰρ ἀποκτείνης ἐχθρόν, σέο χεῖρα μισαίνεις.

325 Cf. Py. 47, ἴσθι ὡς οὐδεμία προσποίησις πολλῶν χρόνων λανθάνει. (Clitarchus 132 agrees with Sextus against Py. in omitting ἴσθι ὡς.)

326a Cf. Py. 11c, οἷον γὰρ τὸ ἦθος ἐκάστου, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ αἱ δόσεις. See p. 138 n. 1, above.

STUDIES

327 Cf. Py. 11 a, βουλευόμενος περὶ ἄλλου κακῶς φθάνεις αὐτὸς πάσχων ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ κακῶς. Hesiod, *Op.* 265-6.

328 =Py. 104, τοῦ εὐεργετῆν μὴ ποτὲ σε παύσῃ ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος. For the thought cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 81.

333 Cf. 199.

334 =98.

336 Cf. Mark x. 44=Matt. xx. 27.

337 Cf. 320.

338 Cf. 409.

340 Cf. Sirach iv. 10, 'Be as a father to orphans and in place of a husband to widows; then God will call thee son and will be gracious unto thee and deliver thee from the pit'.

341-2 Cf. Matt. vi. 1ff.

345 =Py. 103 (Po. 35; Stobaeus III, 17, 26; frequent in Byzantine collections), τεθνάναι πολλῶν κρείττον ἢ δι' ἀκрасίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι.

346 Cf. 449; I Cor. vi. 19.

347-8 Cf. 39-40.

351-2 =Py. 55 (Po. 15), λόγον περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κίνδυνον φέρει. For Origen's quotations of 352 cf. above, p. 114.

356 Cf. 590; Po. 15, οὕτε αὐτόν τινα προσῆκεν ἀνοσίων ἔργων μὴ καθαρεύοντα φθέγγεσθαι περὶ θεοῦ.

358 Cf. 540.

359 =Py. 56 (Po. 15), λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγείσθω τὰ θεοφιλεῖ ἔργα (in Po. after 356).

360 Cf. Po. 16, καὶ σιγάσθω ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. θεοῦ] λόγος ἐπὶ πλῆθους (after 359).

362 =Py. 115 (Po. 15), ψυχὴν νόμιζε αἰρετώτερον εἶναι προέσθαι ἢ λόγον βλάσφημον περὶ θεοῦ.

368 Cf. Py. 50 (Po. 31), κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος ὅφ' οὐ μὴδὲν ἀνθρώπου πάθος [ψυχῆς] θεραπεύεται κτλ. Usener prints this from Porphyry as a fragment of Epicurus (fr. 221), but that seems very improbable. For the idea cf. Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* xvi, 28 (to one who claims that Jesus has taught in the streets of his soul there comes a disciple seeking the fruit of wisdom and thought in him, seeing that he claims to teach the things of God; and as he seeks and examines him he finds no fruit, and thus shows to those with insight that he is empty of Christ).

371 =Py. 51 (Po. 35), κρητὶς εὐσεβείας ἢ φιλανθρωπίας σοι νομιζέσθω. Cf. 86 above.

375 Cf. 60.

376a (cf. 3) = Py. 4 (Po. 5; Stobaeus, vol. v, p. vii ed. Hense, etc.). See above, pp. 146-7. Clement (*Strom.* iv, 155, 2) ascribes to Plato the identification of τὸν ἀοράτου θεοῦ θεωρητικὸν with θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζῶντα.

378 (cf. 217) = Py. 70, ὁ γὰρ μὴ μεταδιδούς ἀγαθοῖς δεομένοις οὐ λήψεται δεόμενος παρὰ θεῶν.

380 Cf. Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 77, 6 Gaisford, τοῦτο δὲ ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ μὴ οἶσθαι εἶναι θεὸν ἢ ὄντα μὴ προνοεῖν ἢ προνοοῦντα μὴ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον.

381 (cf. 44) = Py. 102 (Po. 16; Hierocles, in *Carm. Aur.* p. 24, 12 Gaisford), τιμήσεις τὸν θεὸν ἄριστα ἐὰν τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσης.

382 (cf. 49) = Py. 70 (after 378), ἐπεὶ καὶ λέγεται ὁρθῶς δεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς τὸ θεῖον οὐδενός· χαίρειν δὲ τῷ μεταδιδόντι τοῖς δίκαιοις καὶ διὰ θεὸν πενομένοις.

383 Cf. 152 ff.; Maximus Tyr. xxv, 2, ἦσαν δὲ πού καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρου λόγοι ἐοικότες τοῖς νόμοις, βραχεῖς καὶ ἐπίτομοι· τὰ δὲ ἔργα μακρὰ καὶ διηλεκτῇ. . .

386 = 608.

387 Cf. 363b, 364.

388 Cf. 471. The reflection is frequent; for a long homiletic statement of the theme cf. John Chrysostom, *Hom. in ep. ad Rom.* ix, 4 (*P.G.* lx, 473).

389a Cf. 178.

389b Cf. 432, 433.

390 Cf. 113; Bias *ap.* Diog. Laert. i, 88, ὁ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττης, εἰς θεοῦς ἀνάπτεμπε.

394 Cf. 577.

395 Cf. 308.

396 Cf. 175.

398 Cf. Py. 27, ἐφ' ὅσον σεαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖς νόμιζε μαίνεσθαι. Clement, *Strom.* v, 23, 1, describes the content of self-knowledge as an awareness εἰς τί γέγονας. . . καὶ τίνος εἰκὼν ὑπάρχεις, τίς τέ σου ἡ οὐσία καὶ τίς ἡ δημιουργία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσις τίς, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια (similarly the Valentinian view in *Exc. Theod.* 78, 2).

400 Cf. Py. 35, ἡγοῦ παντὸς ἀνοήτου καὶ τὸν φόγον καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον καταγέλαστον καὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶν ὄνειδος εἶναι τὸν βίον (evidently two maxims run into one by the alphabetist compiler; the first occurs separately in the Democritus-Isocrates-Epictetus collection edited by Wachsmuth, no. 231).

STUDIES

402 (cf. 106). This looks like a Christian version of Py. 102 (Po. 16),
μόνη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω ἔλκει πρὸς τὸ συγγενές.

404 = 92.

407 = 451.

408 = Py. 83, πείραν ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον λάμβανε ἢ ἐκ
τῶν λόγων.

409 Cf. 338.

416-18 Cf. Po. 16, ψυχὴ δὲ σοφοῦ ἀρμόζεται πρὸς θεόν, αἰεὶ θεὸν ὁρᾷ,
σύνεστιν αἰεὶ θεῷ.

418 Cf. 55, 143.

419 Cf. Wisd. of Sol. iii. 1, 'the souls of the righteous are in the
hand of God'.

422-4 = Po. 16 (after 418), εἰ δὲ χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ θεὸς
σοφοῦ κήδεται καὶ προνοεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακάριος ὁ σοφός, ὅτι ἐπιτρο-
πέυεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Cf. Clitarchus 135, μακάριος οὗ ὁ θεὸς κηδεμών
ἐστιν.

426-7 = Py. 14 (Po. 16, after 424), γλῶττα σοφοῦ οὐ προηγου-
μένως τίμιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα· σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν
τιμᾷ. Porphyry and Sextus agree against Py. in omitting προηγου-
μένως. The second half appears in many Byzantine collections. In
Christian circles silence was highly prized as a feminine virtue (I Cor.
xiv. 34; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II, 58, 1). It was a sign of humility. But
it was characteristic of Pythagoreanism to ascribe value to silence for
its own sake. (Π's addition of the last four words may be a sign of
embarrassment at this implication.) For an excellent survey of the
ancient idea of the religious value of silence see Odo Casel, *De philo-
sophorum graecorum silentio mystico* (Giessen, 1919), his article 'Vom
heiligen Schweigen' in *Benediktiner Monatschrift*, 1921, pp. 417 ff., and
his review, in *Gnomon* IV (1928), pp. 142-9, of G. Mensching, *Das
heilige Schweigen* (Giessen, 1926). The letters of Ignatius of Antioch
show that it was an idea that could be absorbed and used by the
Christians; cf. my remarks on 'The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius',
in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XLIII (1950), pp. 169-72, W. Bieder, 'Zur
Deutung des kirchlichen Schweigens bei Ignatius von Antiochia',
Theol. Zeits. XII (1956), pp. 28-43, and P. Meinhold, 'Schweigende
Bischöfe: die Gegensätze in den kleinasiatischen Gemeinden nach den
Ignatianen', *Festgabe J. Lortz* II (1958), pp. 467-90.

428 = 588; cf. 240.

429 Cf. Py. 15, γλῶτταλγος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ
θύων τὸν θεὸν μιάίνει.

NOTES ON SEXTUS 1-451

430 Cf. Py. 10 (Stobaeus, vol. v, p. vii ed. Hense), βραχύλογον μάλιστα ἢ θεοῦ γνώσις ποιεῖ, and Py. 16 (Po. 20), γνώσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ βραχύλογον.

431 =Py. 10 (after 430), πολλῶν δὲ λόγων περὶ θεοῦ ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀμαθία αἰτία.

432 Cf. 389b.

433 Cf. 188, 198 (=Py. 86); Epictetus, *Enchiridion* XLVI, 1, 'On no account say that you are a philosopher, and do not talk big among uneducated people about intellectual problems...'. Very similar is Clem. Alex. *Quis dives* 36: those truly elect do not talk about it, but say nothing and only act according to their election (cf. *Strom.* VI, 149, 5).

434 Cf. 40; 347-9.

435 Cf. 253, 510.

436 Cf. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 78, 'Until baptism, they say [i.e. the Valentinians], Fate is real; but after it the astrologists are no longer right. But it is not only the washing that is liberating, but the knowledge of who we were... ', etc. (R. P. Casey's translation).

439 appears strikingly different in Rufinus.

443 Aristotle quotes this twice, *Eth. Nic.* VIII, 1, 6 (1155a 34), IX, 3, 3, (1165b 17).

447 Cf. II Cor. iii. 18.

449 Cf. 346.

450 Cf. 190.

451 =407.

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