TEXTS AND STUDIES
CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

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V
THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS
To

H. St J. Hart
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Π, Y. See pp. 3–4.


X, x. See p. 6.

ἀ. See p. 7.

Clit., Φ, Λ, Σ, Θ, Θ b, Θ c, Θ d. See pp. 73–4.

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

R = Rufinus (see p. 4).

D. See p. 84.
PREFACE

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.
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

(i) 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. 6v with the τ of ταύτα 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 (121 b 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 Ἄρχη which might conceivably be the remnant of someone’s attempt to restore order to the leaves of the con-
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 ΠR 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:

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. 61v–65v (this manuscript was once the property of Diane de Poitiers).
P = Paris, lat. 3784, saec. xi, foll. 47–50v.
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. 71v–80v (from the Carthusian house of Witham, Somerset).
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.
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

C = Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 351, saec. xiv, foll. 94-6 (only 1-299).
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 JMc 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. 3r) 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, AQ on one side, and the rest on the other, AQ 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. 1, 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 Y 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 Sextusentenzen’, 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.
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

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

Thereafter the compiler adds fifteen sentences selected from the Pythagorean list, thirteen of them appearing in the alphabetical collection (below, pp. 84ff.), 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  
Appendix 1: 452–555  
Appendix 2a: 556–77  
Appendix 2b: 578–87  
Appendix 3: 588–610

ΠYXxRΔ.
ΠYXx (X omits 486–535; some in Δ).
YX (Π has only 569; none in Δ).
YX (Π has half of these: 578–9, 583, 585–6; only 578 in Δ).
Y (Π has 593, 594, 610; Δ 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.
Scio quia, sicut grex ad vocem proprii pastoris accurrit, ita et religiosus auditor vernaculi doctoris commotionibus gaudet. quia ergo, karissime fili Aproniane, religiosa filia mea, soror iam in Christo tua, poposcerat me ut ei aliquid quod legeret tale componerem, ubi neque laboraret in intellegendo et tamen pro- ficeret 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 versiculis ingentes explicare sensus, tam vehementem ut unius versus sententia ad totius possessio 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 posit recentere totus liber, unius pristini alicuius 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 AWw.
1 proprii om. QP occurrit U. 2 admonitionibus LBMJ.
3 Aproniana L*OPBJSCG religiosa filia mea om. Jc religiosa om. LOPSBCM soror tua in Christo Q.
4 poposceras B me Q a me z.
5 satis om. PSc 7 ipsum om. OPSC.
8 Xystus QO Syxtus LPVBJS 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 PRAEBSBYTERI

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 communio-
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 totumj id tamen U.
ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩ玛I
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI
ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

1 Πιστός ἀνθρώπως έκλεκτός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος.
2 έκλεκτός ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπός ἐστι θεός.
3 θεός ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄνδρας θεοῦ.
4 θεοῦ ἄνδρας ὁ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράττων.
5 ἐπιτειχεύων οὖν πιστός εἶναι μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράξεις.
6 ὅλιγόπιστος ἐν πίστει ἀπίστος.
7a πιστός ἐν δοκιμῇ πίστεως θεός ἐν ἄνθρωπω σώματι [ζῶντι].
7b ἀπίστος ἐν πίστει νεκρός ἄνθρωπος ἐν σώματι ζῶντι.
8 πιστός ἁληθείᾳ ὁ ἀναμάρτητος.
9 μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἑλαχίστων ἀκριβῶς βίου.
10 οὖ γὰρ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν.
11 πάν ἀμάρτημα ἁσθενῆ ήγοῦ.
12 οὖκ ὀφθαλμός οὐδὲ χεῖρ ἀμαρτάνει οὐδὲ τῶν ὦμοιων, ἀλλ’ ὁ κακῶς χρόμενος χειρὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ.
13 πάν μέλος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπείθον σε μὴ σωφρονεῖν βίουν· ἀμείνον γὰρ χωρίς τοῦ μέλους ζὴν σωφρόνως ἢ μετὰ τοῦ μέλους ὀλέθριον.
14 ἀθανάτους σοὶ νόμιζε παρὰ τῇ κρίσει καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας.
15 ὅτι σοι τὸ κόσμου ἔχεις, κἀν ἀφέληται σοῦ τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει.

For notes on Sentences 1–451 see p. 163.
Title Σέθτου γνώμαι Π, om. Υ. Π again inserts Σ. γν. between 190 and 191 and between 276 and 277.

2 τοῦ θεοῦ Ελείρ. 3 ὁ om. Υ.
4 θεοῦ om. Υ ἀνάξιος ὁ μηδὲν ἄξιον Υ. 7a om. ΠΡ.
8 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ Υ (cf. 7) μὴ ἀμαρτάνων ὁ ἀναμάρτητος Π.
9 καὶ ΥΡΧ om. Π. 10 = Clit. 66 γὰρ om. ΠΡ.

Between 10 and 11 X inserts 595. 11 =297a (in Υ alone).
12 ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς δρόμων ἐν χ. κ. ὁ. Υ (τὸ κακῶς δρόμων Χ).
13 μέρος throughout Orig. (in Mt. xv, 3) τοῦ σώματος om. Orig. cf. lat. ἀναπείθον σει ὁ τι ἀνάτην Π σωφρόνως ΥΧ Orig. om. ΠΡ ἢ μετὰ (om. τοῦ) μέλους Π ὀλέθριος ζῆν Υ.
14 =Ρυ. 6a (πίστευε and om. ἔσεσθαι) καὶ om. Υ.
15 =91a where om. R ὅτις τὰ τοῦ κ. ἔχεις ὅταν ἀφαίρηται Υ καὶ] ὅταν Χ apparently, καὶ Υ τίς σοι Π.

I2
Fidelis homo electus homo est.

electus homo homo dei est.

homo dei est qui deo dignus est.

deo dignus est qui nihil indignum deo agit.

studens fidelis esse nihil quod deo indignum est agas.

dubius in fide infidelis.

infidelis in fide homo mortuus in corpore viventi.

vere fidelis est qui non peccat.

etiam in minimis caute age.

non est minimum in vita hominis neglegere minima.

omne peccatum inpietatem puta.

non manus aut oculus peccat aut aliquod huiusmodi membrum, sed male uti manu vel oculo.

omne membrum corporis quod suadet te contra pudicitiam agere, abiciendum; melius est enim sine uno membro vivere quam cum eo puniri.

inmortales tibi crede manere in iudicio et honores et poenas.

quicquid saeculi habes, etiam auferat tibi quis, non indigneris.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

16 σεαυτον ἐπιλήψιμον μὴ πάρεχε τῷ κόσμῳ.
17 χωρίς τῆς ἔλευθερίας πάντα ἀφαιρομένω σε τῷ πέλας ὑπεικε.
18 σοφὸς ἀκτήμων ὁμοίος θεῷ.
19 τοῖς κοσμικοῖς πράγμασιν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαία χρώ.
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, κρίνῃ ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
23 ἀριστον ἡγοῦ καθαρμὸν τὸ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν.
24 ψυχὴ καθαίρεται λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπὸ σοφοῦ.
25 ἀναίσθητον οὐσίαν μὴ πεισθής εἶναι ποτε θεοῦ.
26 ὁ θεὸς καθὸ νοῦς ἐστὶν αὐτοκίνητος, κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὑφέστηκεν.
27 θεοῦ μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις πτεροίς πετόμενοι.

28 θεοῦ δύναμις μή ἥκητε, οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις· πᾶν τὸ δυναμούμενον δυναμάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἵνα τὸ μὲν καλῇ, τὸ δὲ ὑπακούῃ· τίς οὖν τὸ δυνάμας τὸ θεὸν; θεὸς οὐκ δύναμι θεοῦ, ἄλλα δόξα περὶ θεοῦ.

29 μηθέν συν ἐν θεῷ δι’ ἐν ἔστι ζήτητε.
30 θεὸς οὐγή σοφή τοῦ ἐναντίον ἀνεπίδεκτος.
31 ὁ θεὸς δόσα ἑποίησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου αὐτὰ ἑποίησεν.
32 ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς οὐδένα ἄλλον· τιμιότερον οὖν ἀνθρώπος ἄγγελον παρὰ θεῷ.

17 παντὶ τῷ ἰφ. Π (cf. Ρ).
21 τοῦ θεοῦ Π. 22 om. Χ.
23 μηθέν πΧ Μηθέν Y. 25 θεοῦ ΠΧ θεὸν Y.
26 =562 where om. Π. 28 περὶ θεοῦ Π.
31 ο om. Y αὐτὰ αον. Π, cf. lat.
32 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ΠΧ (cf. 31) οὐδέν Π ἄλλον om. ΡΟ οὐδέν ἄλλο Χ.
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

16 te ipsum reprehensibilem mundo non praebas.
17 omnia auferenti abs te cede praeter libertatem.
18 sapiens vir et contemtor 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 invenies, etiamsi pennis volare possis.
28 nomen dei non quaeras, quia nec invenies, 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 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. A Q.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

33 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐεργετοῦν ὁ θεὸς, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εὐεργε-

τούμενον ἀνθρώπος.
34 βίον τοιγαροῦν ὡς ὃν μετὰ θεόν.
35 ἐκλεκτὸς ὃν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὁποῖον θεός· χρῶ

οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὃς ἑρῶ θεοῦ.
36 ἐξουσίαν πιστῷ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν· καθαρὰν

οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἀναμάρτητον.
37 αἴδεισθώ σου τὸν βίον ὁ κόσμος.
38 μηδενὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπιλήψιμον δίδου.
39 κακὸς ζῶντα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐθύνει

κακὸς δαίμων μέχρις οὐ καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀπο-

λάβῃ.
40 μακάριος ἄνηρ, οὗ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐδεὶς ἐπιλήψεται εἰς θεὸν

πορευομένης.
41 ὅ ὁ τιμήσῃς ὑπὲρ πάντα, ἔκεινο σου κυριεύσει.
42 τίμα τὸ ἀριστον, ἵνα καὶ ἄρχῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριστον.
43 ἀρχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριστον αὐτὸς ἀρξεῖς ὃν ἂν προσιρη.

44 τιμὴ μεγίστη θεῷ θεοῦ γνώσεις καὶ ὁμοίωμα.
45 ὁμοιον μὲν οὐδὲν θεῷ, προσφιλέστατον δὲ τὸ εἰς δύναμιν

ἐξομοιούμενον.
46a ἑρῶν ἄγιον θεοῦ διάνοια εὐσέβειος.
46b ἀριστον θυσιαστηρίου θεῷ καρδία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀναμά-

ρητητος.
47 θυσία θεῷ μόνη καὶ προστήνης ἢ ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσία διὰ

θεοῦ.
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 revereatur vitam tuam mundus.
38 nihil admittas quod tibi inurat notam.
39 male viventes cum e corpore exsisterit cruciabit malus daemon, usque quo exigat ab eis etiam ultimum quadrantem.
40 beatus vir cuius animam nemo reprehendit ad deum pergantem.
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 dominaberes omnibus.
44 honor summus deo scire eum et imitari.
45 simile quidem deo per omnia nihil est, gratia 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 SJCcr. 34 post deum secundus A QGJMOPcr.
36 hominibus deus AQ Aug. deus hominibus z.
39 ultimum] novissimum (=Itala, Vulgate) A QJMcr.
45 per omnia om. G.
46 dei Q deo z. 47 deo sola A Q sola deo z.
ÆΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

48 ἀνθρώπους κεχαρισμένα θεοὶ πράττει ὃ σῶν εἰς δύναμιν κατὰ θεόν.
49 ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνον θεοῦ.
50 ζηλοὶ τὸν οὐδενὸς δεόμενον ὁ τῶν ὀλίγων ἀναγκαῖος δεόμενος.
51 ἄσκει μέγας μὲν εἶναι παρὰ θεοῦ, παρὰ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνεπιφθονος.
52 χρηστὸς δὲν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους μέγας δὲν εἰς παρὰ θεοῦ.
53 ἄνδρος σοφοῦ ζώντος μὲν ὀλίγος ὁ λόγος παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸ κλέος ζητεῖ.
54 τὸν χρόνον δὲν ἄν μὴ νοητῆς τῶν θεῶν, τούτων νόμιζε σοὶ ἀποτελέσαι.
55 τὸ μὲν σῶμά σου μόνον ἐπιδημεῖτω τῇ γῇ, ἢ δὲ ψυχή αἰε ἐστὶν παρὰ θεοῦ.
56 νόει τὰ καλά, ἴνα καὶ πράττεις τὰ καλά.
57a ἐννοια ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ οὐ λανθάνει.
57b ἔστω σου ἢ διάνοια καθαρά κακοῦ παντός.
58 ἄριστος ἐστὶν τοῦ ἀξιώσαντος σε εἰπεῖν υἱὸν καὶ πράττει πάντα ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ.
59 θεοῦ πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττεις τούτου μέμνησο.
60 ἀγνὸς ἀνήρ καὶ ἁναμάρτητος ἐξουσίαν ἐχει παρὰ θεῷ ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ.

49 = Clit. 4 (ὁ δὲ σοφὸς), Py. 39 (= Po. ad Marc. 11), θεὸς δείται οὐδενός, σοφὸς δὲ μόνον θεοῦ πιστὸς Ῥ Y X πιστὸς καὶ σοφὸς Π τοῦ θεοῦ Y

50 Cf. Clit. 11, ζήλου τὸν μηθενὸς δεόμενον (rest om.) ὀλίγων] ἐλαχίστων Y.

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

52 δεήσαντος Υ.

53 = Clit. 137, σοφοῦ ζώντος δόξα (cf. Ῥ) μὲν ὀλίγη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτήν τὸ κλέος ζητεῖ σοφοῦ μὲν om. Y ὁ λόγος ὀλίγος Π.


56 πράττεις Π.

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

58 ἐστὶν Π ἐστιν Y καὶ εἰπόντος Υ υἱὸν] υἱὸν θεοῦ Π πράττε om. καὶ) Π πάντα πράττε Y.

59 = 222, om. Y. 60 om. Y ἔχει 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.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

61 ἀγαθὴ διάνοια χῶρος θεοῦ.
62 κακὴ διάνοια χῶρος ἐστὶν κακῶν.
63 τὸν ἄδικοντα τοῦ ἄδικεῖν ἀπαλλάττων κολάζοις ἄν κατὰ θεὸν.
64 ἀσκεῖ μὴ τὸ δοκεῖν ἄλλα τὸ εἶναι δίκαιος· τὸ δοκεῖν γὰρ ἔκαστον τοῦ εἶναι ἀφαίρεται.
65 τίμα τὸ δίκαιον δι᾽ αὐτὸ.

66 οὐκ ἄν λάθοις θεῶν πράττων ἄδικα, οὐδὲ γὰρ διανοοῦμεν.
67 σώφρων ἄνηρ ἁγνὸς παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.
68 ἀκολασίαν φεύγει.
69 εὐλογιστικὰν ἀσκεῖ.
70 κράτει τῶν ἡδονῶν.
71a νίκα τὸ σῶμα ἐν παντί.
71b ἐκ φιλοθείνοις ἀκολασίαν οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ.

72 φιλοθένου δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἀκούει.
73 τρυφῆς πέρας ὀλεθρος.
74 ὁ λόγος σου τῶν ὄρμῶν σου προηγεῖθαν.
75a δεινότατον ἐστὶν πάθεις δουλεύειν.
75b ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται.
76 φιλοχρηματία φιλοσωματίας ἔλεγχος.
77 κτῶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς βέβαια.
78 ἀποτάττοι τοῖς τοῦ σώματος, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον δυνατός εἰ.

79 μόνον οἰκεῖον ἦγοὺ τὸ ἁγαθὸν.
80 ὅποιος θέλεις εὐχόμενος εἶναι, ἀεὶ ἔσο.
81 οὔταν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν κτημάτων εὐλόγως εἰς βόρβορον βίψης, τότε καθαρὸς ὃν αἴτου τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

61-2 χορός Ρ.  63 ἔαν Π.
64 τὸ μὴ Π γὰρ om. Υ.
66 οὐ γὰρ διανοούμενος ἐκφέυξῃ Υ (cf. 71b).
67 σώφρων] σοφὸς Ρ (?) ἁγνὸς Υ ἁγαθὸς Π τῷ om. Υ.
71b Cf. Clit. 10, ἐκ φιλοθείνοις ἀκολασία φύεται.
73 πέλας x.  74 ὄρμῶν σου] πράξεων Π.  75b τῆς ψυχῆς Π.
79 = 593 μόνον] νόμον Χ.  81 el[σ] ὡς Χ τοῦ om. Υ.
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

61 bona mens chorus est dei.
62 mala mens chorus est daemonum malorum.
63 iniustum si inhibeas 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.
76 quanta vitia habet anima, tot et dominos.
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.

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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 dicit Q.
81 praedam Q praedia z in paedom or pro merda conj. Eberhard (ap. Elter) feris praedam Lloyd-Jones velut purificatus Q.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

82 a ὁποίος θέλεις εἶναι παρὰ θεῷ, ἥδη ἔσο.
82 b τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μεταβιβάζοις καταφρόνει.
82 c μέμνησο διὸν μετὰ θεῶν.
82 d ψυχή ἄνθρωπου θεοσεβοῦς θεὸς ἐν σώματι.
82 e μιαίνει τὸν θεόν ὁ κακῶς νοῶν τὸν θεόν.
83 γλῶσσα βλάσφημος διανοίας ἐλεγχος κακῆς.
84 γλῶσσαν εὐφημον κέκτησο, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ θεοῦ.
85 κακῶς μὲν ποιήσαι θεὸν δυνατὸς οὖθεις, ἀσεβέστατος δὲ ὁ
βλασφημὸν· δυνατὸς γὰρ ὃν κἀ̃ν ἐποίησεν.
86 a κρητὶς εὐσεβείας ἐγκράτεια.
86 b τέλος εὐσεβείας φιλία πρὸς θεοῦ.
87 χρόν τό εὐσεβεῖ ὡς σωτῆρ.
88 εὔχοι σοι γενέσθαι μὴ δ' ἄκουει, ἀλλ' δ' ἐστὶ καὶ συμφέρει.
89 ὡς θέλεις χρῆσαι σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς.
90 καὶ ψέγεις, μηδὲ ποιεῖ.
91 a μηδὲς σε πειθὲτω ποιεῖν τι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιον.
91 b καὶ δέδοται σοι, κἂν ἀφέληται σοῦ τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει.
92 καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς, οὖθεις ἀφαιρέται.
93 σκέπτοι πρὸ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ σύ πράττεις ἐξέτασε, ἵνα
μηδὲν ποιῆς ὁ μή δεῖ.

82 c μετὰ θεοῦ Y. 82 d om. R. 82 e μιαίνει P ποιῶν X.
85 ἀδύνατον οὖθεις θεοῦ P δυνατὸς γὰρ κτλ. om. Y γὰρ om. X (?)
κἀ̃ν om. R (?).
86 a Cf. Clit. 13, ἐγκράτεια δὲ κρητὶς εὐσεβείας (cf. 371) κρητὶς]
κρητῆς Y.
88 = Clit. 14 γίνεσθαι Π δὲ] ὃς Π (cf. 141) καὶ] ἢ Y καὶ
συμφέρει om. Clit. R (?)(cf. 141, 153). 89 = 210 a, where om. R.
90 μηδὲ ποιεί om. Y (Y makes 90 and 91 a a single maxim).
91 a ποιεῖν om. Y petere (= oîtrei) R (but facere S, patrare coni. Gild.)
βελτιστοῦν P.
91 b om. R (cf. 15) & δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς (cf. 92) and om. σοὺ τις P.
92 = 404 Clit. 15, & δ. ποιεῖσα τοῦτα οὖθεις σε ὁφ. Cf. Py. 3 b(Po. 12),
διδοὺς γὰρ θεοῦ πάν ἀναφαίρετον.
93 Cf. 153 = Clit. 16 καὶ and ἐξέτασε om. P Y μηδὲν π. δ]' μὴ δις π.
& P Y. ‘Cf. X: ‘Think first and then do your business; reflect and then act
lest you have to do it over again.’

22
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 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 AQ sit PV.
85 est om. O et P.
86 pietatis AP pietatis est z.
88 quae...quae Elter qui...qui A quod...quod z.
90 quod AU culpae AVGU culpae est z.
91 facere (cf. Greek) S patrare conj. Gild.
93 antequam] ne nequam conj. Elter.
σημαίνει τον Θεόν, τούτο μη πράξης.
95 a προ παντος ου πράττεις νοεί τον Θεόν.
95 b φῶς σου τῶν πράξεων προηγεῖτο.
96 μεγίστη ἄσεβεια ελ Θεόν ἀνθρώπου κάκωσις.
97 ψυχή φωτίζεται ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ.
98 αὐτάρκειαν ἄσκει.
99 τῶν ἀτόπων μή ὀρέγου.
100 τῶν καλῶν ἐκπόνει τὰ αἰτία.
101 τὰ τοῦ σώματος μή ἄγάπα.
102 ἀκάθαρτον ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ πράξις αἰσχρὰ.
103 καθαίρει ψυχὴν ἀνοίητον δόξης ἐλεγχὸς.
104 ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων καλῶν πράξεων ἡγεμών ἐστίν.
105 μηδένα ἔχθρον ἤγοου.
106 a ἄγαπα τὸ ὄμοφυλον.
106 b ἄγαπα τὸν θεόν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου.
107 οὐ χαλεπῶν ἀμαρτωλοῦς ἔπι τὸ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι μὴ ἀμαρτάνοντας.
108 a προφαί πολλαὶ ἁγιεῖαν ἐμποδίζουσιν.
108 b ἁκρασία στίων ἀκάθαρτον ποιεὶ.
109 ἐμπύγχων ἀπάντων χρήσις μὲν ἀδιάφορον, ἄποχη δὲ λογικώτερον.
110 οὐ τὰ εἰσίοντα διὰ τοῦ σωμάτου στία καὶ ποτὰ μιαίνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἴδους ἔξιόντα.
111 ὁ ἀν ἴδου ἴδιτόμενος στίον προσφέρη μιαίνει σε.
112 πληθεὶς ἄρεσκειν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε.

94 πράττον om. RX ἐχοις εἶθεναι Y Cf. X: 'Do nothing which you know not to please God.'
95 b Before φῶς Y adds ὅπως γνῶσις ἀνθρώπων κάκωσιν (cf. 96).
96 ἀνθρώπων Π. 97 Clit. 17. 98 = 334, om. Π.
99 ἀτόπων Y ἀπάντου YR. 102 ἁχρεία X. 103 καθαίρει ψυχῆς Π.
104 om. Y ἀνθρώπων ΠX ἀνθρώπωι R X.
108 a ἁγνοίαν Y ἅγνινον Δ.
109 μὲν] μόνον Π ἀδιάφορος Π χρησιμώτερον Y X.
110 καὶ ποτὰ om. R μιαίνει] κοινοῦ Π (Matt. xv. 11) τοῦ κακοῦ ἴδους Υ.
111 Cf. R ('all food by desire for which you are overcome' Χ).
si quid non vis scire deum, hoc ne agas nec cogites.

priusquam agas quodcumque agis, cogita deum ut lux eius praecedat actus tuos.

grandis inpietas in deum hominem affligere.

anima inluminatur recordatione dei.

contentus esse mediocribus stude.

noli omnia concupiscere.

occasiones bonorum perquire etiam cum labore.

noli diligere ea quae corporis sunt.

inmundum hominem facit actus turpis.

purgatur anima insipientis cum arguitur intrinsecus latens sensus eius.

deus in bonis actibus hominibus dux est.

neminem inimicum deputes.

dilige omne quod eiusdem tecum naturae est,
deum vero etiam plus quam animam tuam dilige.

pessimum est peccatoribus in unum convenire cum peccant.

multi cibi inpediunt castitatem,
et incontinentia ciborum inmundum facit hominem.

animantium omnium usus quidem in cibis indifferens,
abstinere vero rationabilius est.

non cibi, qui per os inferuntur, polluunt hominem, sed ea quae ex malis actibus proferuntur.

quicquid cupiditate victus acceperis polluit te.

multitudini placere ne satis agas.

95 ut om. c et conj. Elter.

98 esto. De mediocribus WOPVBr mediocribus A de mediocribus z.

106 omnem qui A hominem qui c.

108 cibi multi V.

110 actibus] affectibus conj. Elter (cf. 102).
"ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ"

113 παντὸς οὗ καλῶς πράττεις αἷτιον ἥγου τὸν θεόν.
114 κακῶν θεὸς ἁναιτίος.
115 μὴ πλέον κτῶ ὡν τὸ σῶμα ἐπισητεῖ.
116 ψυχὴν χρυσὸς οὐ ῥύεται κακῶν.
117 οὗ γέγονας ἐντυρφήσων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευῇ.
118 κτῶ & μηδεὶς σου ᾠφαρεῖται.
119 φέρε τὰ ἀναγκαία ὡς ἀναγκαία.
120 μεγαλομυχίαν ἄσκει.
121 a ὡν καταφρονοῦν ἐπαινή εὐλόγως, τοῦτων μὴ περιέχου.
121 b ἐφʼ οἷς εὐλόγως μεγαλοφρονεῖς, ταῦτα κέκτησο.
122 εὖχου τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἄξια τοῦ θεοῦ.
123 τὸν ἐν σοὶ λόγον τοῦ βίου σου νόμον ποιεῖ.
124 αἴτου παρὰ θεοῦ & μὴ λάβοις ἄν παρὰ ἀνθρώπου.
125 ὡν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτα σοι εὖχον γενέσθαι μετά τοὺς πόνους.
126 εὖχῃ ῥᾳθύμου μάταιος λόγος.
127 ὡν τοῦ σῶματος ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐ δεήσῃ, καταφρόνει.
128 ὁ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἴτου παρὰ θεοῦ.
129 ἔθιζε τὴν ψυχὴν σου μετὰ θεοῦ ἐφʼ ἐσωτὴρ μεγαλοφρονεῖν.
130 μηδὲν ὡν ᾠφαρήσεται σε κακὸς ἀνήρ τίμα.
131 μόνου ἀγαθὸν ἥγου τὸ πρέπον θεῷ.
132 τὸ ἄξιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

113 in omni quod bene agis auctorem esse deputa deum.
114 mali nullius auctor est deus.
115 non amplius possides quam usus corporis poscit.
116 aurum animam non eripit de malis.
117 in deliciis positus corporis certum est quia ignoras illa quae præparata sunt a deo.
118 ea posside quae nullus possit auferre a te.
119 fer quod necesse est sicut necesse est.
120 magnanimus esse stude.
121 a ea quae si contemnas recte laudaris, ne retineas.
121 b in quibus probabiliter magnificus eris, haec optine.
122 haec posce 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.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

133 δ' οὖ συμβάλλεται πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν θεῷ, οὔτε ἀνθρώπῳ.

134 ταῦτα θέλει ἡ θέλοι δὲν καὶ οὗ θεός.

135 υἱὸς θεοῦ δ' ὁ ταῦτα μόνα τιμῶν & καὶ οὗ θεός.

136 ἐφ' ὀσον ποθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ ψυχή τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοεῖ.

137 ὀρέξεις 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 φιλόν & μή δεῖ οὖ φιλήσεις & δεῖ.

142 σπουδάζοντά σας περὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ λήσεται τὰ καλὰ.

143 σοφοῦ διάνοια ἄεὶ παρὰ θεῷ.

144 σοφοῦ διανοία θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ.

145 σοφὸς ὀλίγοις γινώσκεται.

146 ἀπλήρωτος ἐπιθυμία, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπόρος.

147 τὸ σοφὸν ἄεὶ θεσθῇ ὁμοίων.

148 αὐτάρκες πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῦ γνώσις καὶ ὁμολογία.

149 κακοὶ κολακευόμενοι κακίους γίνονται.

150 ἀφόρητον γίνεται κακία ἔπαινουμένη.

151 ἢ γλώσσα σοι τῷ νοῦ σου ἐπέσεθω.
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 agnitione 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.

29
ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΕΓΚΗ ΒΑΔΛΕΙΝ Η ΛΟΓΟΝ.

ΣΚΕΠΤΟΥ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΗΝΑ ΜΗ ΛΕΓΗΣ Α ΜΗ ΔΕΙ.

ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΔΙΕΙΝ ΝΟΙ ΨΩΦΟΙ.

ΠΟΛΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΚΦΕΥΓΕΙ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ.

ΒΡΑΧΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ.

ΜΑΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΤΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΑΜΑΘΙΟΣ.

ΤΟ ΔΛΗΘΕΣ ΑΓΑΠΑ.

ΤΩ ΨΕΥΔΕΙ ΧΡΩΝ ΏΣ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΩ.

ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΠΗΓΕΙΣΘΩ.

ΛΕΓΕ ΌΤΕ ΣΤΙΓΑΝ ΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔΑΣ ΣΙΩΠΑ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΟΙΔΑΣ, ΌΤΕ ΔΕΙ ΛΕΓΕ.

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΚΗΣ.

ΌΠΟΤΕ ΔΕΙ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ, ΛΟΓΩΜ ΜΗ ΧΡΩ.

ΕΝ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΩ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΜΗ ΕΠΙΤΙΘΕΙΝ.

Η ΑΥΤΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΙΜΗ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΩΠΑΝ.

ΩΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΗΤΤΑΘΕΙ ΤΑΛΗΘΗ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΑΠΑΤΗΣ.

ΩΝ ΒΙΚΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΠΑΤΑΝ ΒΙΚΑΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΗΘΕΙ.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΚΑΙΡΩΝ ΓΙΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΨΕΥΔΕΙΣ.

ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΣΙΣ Ή ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ.

ΩΠΟΤΕ ΑΜΑΡΤΑΝΩΝ ΕΙ ΤΑΛΗΘΗ ΛΕΓΩΝ, ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΨΕΥΔΗ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΟΥΧ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΣΕΙΣ.

ΜΗΘΕΑΝ ΑΠΑΤΑ, ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΔΕΘΕΝΩΝ.

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΟΝ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΘΕΙ ΤΑ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ.

152 Clit. 28 (εική λίθου) βαλείν Y.
153 Clit. 29 (λέγης εική) πρίν ή λέγειν Y ἑνα μη λέγησ μη δης λέγης Y (cf. 93); X = Π.
154 Clit. 30 ψόφοι Clit. ψόφος ΠΡ φόβος Y.
155 πολυλογία ούκ εκφεύξει (cf. R) άμαρτιαν Y X X.
156 Clit. 31 βραχύλογία σοφία ΠΡ (cf. 155); X = Y Clit. άκολουθεί Π.
157 Clit. 32, om. Y. 159 Clit. 34 (δέ ϕ. χρώ) φαρμάκηι (sic) Π.
162b Clit. 36 (δ' δεί). 163a Clit. 37 (δυολας κ. and om. κακής).
163b om. ΠΡ, Clit. 35. 164a Clit. 39, ι.
164b Clit. 38, Χ om. ΠΥΡ. 165b-g om. ΠΡ. 165c-e om. Χ.
165d Clit. 40 (μεγάλη περιστάσει πρ. ψ.). 165e εἰς Y.
165f Clit. 41 (μαλλιστα δεί).
165g Clit. 39, 2 (μετα πλείους λ. θει μάλλουν τα σ.); X = Y.

30
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

152 melius est lapidem frustra iactare quam verbum.
153 deliberas antequam dicas, ne quae non expedit dicas.
154 verba sine sensu obprobria.
155 verbositas non effugiet peccatum.
156 brevis est in sermonibus sapiens.
157 indicium 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 convenitu 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 PSTGcr erit z.  \[157\] longa PVT est longa z.
\[165a\] melius WLB melius est z.
ΖΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

166 πίστις ἀπασών καλῶν πράξεων ἥγεμών ἦστιν.
167 σοφία ψυχῆς ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς θεόν.
168 οὐδέν οἰκειότερον σοφία ἀληθείας.
169 οὐ δυνατόν τὴν αὐτήν φύσιν πιστήν τε εἶναι καὶ φιλοσευδῆ.
170 δειλῇ καὶ ἀνελευθέρω φύσει πίστις οὐκ ἢν μετείη.
171 a τὸ λέγειν ἢ δεῖ τού ἄκουειν πιστὸς ὡς μὴ προτίμα.
171 b ἐν πιστοῖς ὡς μᾶλλον ἄκουε ἢπερ λέγε.
172 φιλήδονος ἀνήρ ἄχρηστος ἐν παντὶ.
173 ἀνεθύνος ὡς λόγοις μὴ χρώ περὶ θεοῦ.
174 τὰ τῶν ἀγνοοῦντων ἀμαρτήματα τῶν διδαξάστων αὐτοῦ ἀνείδη.
175 νεκροὶ παρὰ θεῷ δὲ οὖς τὸ δύναμα τοῦ θεοῦ λοιδορεῖται.
176 σοφὸς ἀνήρ εὐεργετὴς μετὰ θεοῦ.
177 τοὺς λόγους σοῦ δ Ἰησοῦς βεβαιοῦντο παρὰ τοῖς ἄκουοσιν.
178 ὃ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδ' ὑπονοοῦ ποιεῖν.
179 ἐ μὴ θέλεις παθεῖν, μηδὲ ποιεῖ.
180 ὃ ποιεῖν αἰσχρόν, καὶ προστάττειν ἐτέρῳ αἰσχρόν.
181 μέχρι καὶ τοῦ νοῦ καθάρευε τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.
182 ἄρχων ἀνθρώπων μέμνησο ἄρχεσθαι παρὰ θεοῦ.
183 ὁ κρίνων ἀνθρώπων κρίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

166 πίστις ΡΧ πιστὸς ΠΥ καλῶν ΥΧ τῶν ΠΡ.
167 παρὰ θεῷ πρὸς θεόν Π. 168 Clit. 42 (. . . ἡ ἀληθεία).
169 Clit. 43 (φιλόσοφον τε) αὐτήν om. ΥΡ τε om. ΥΡ καὶ
mη 9. Π καὶ ψευδῆ ΥXx. 170 om. Χ.
171a Clit. 44 (τοῦ λ. κ. δεί τὸ ἀκ. προτίμα, cf. R) καὶ δεὶ] δεῖ Π.
171b om. Ρ; Χ=X. 172 ἀπιστὸς Υ.
173 μη om. ΥΧ.
174 Clit. 45 (τὰ τ. πατεισευμένων (cf. R) α. τ. πατευόντων ὅν.) X=Π
tῶν μη διδαξάστων Υ.
177 Clit. 48 (om. παρὰ τ. ἅκ.).
178 υποτεύνω τ. μήτε υπονοεῖ Π and evidently Χ υπονοεῖ Χ and Py. Syr.
179 om. Χ μήτε Π.
180 ἀλλὰ αἰσχρότερον ἦστιν Π (Ρ?); X=Y.
181 τοῦ νοῦ Ρο. 9 τῷ νῷ Π τοῦ λαλεῖν Υ τῶν om. Υ.
182 νομίζει Π ὑπὸ Π. 183 om. Υ.
fides omnes actus tuos praecedat.

sapientia animam perducit ad deum.

nihil autem tam vernaculum sapientiae quam veritas.

numquam potest bona effici anima mendacium diligens.

pravo et pessimo ingenio fides aliena est.

fidelis homo audire quae oportet amat magis quam dicere quae non oportet.

* * * * * * * * *

vir libidinosus ad omnia inutilis.

inreprehensibilis autem verbis utitur de deo.

peccata discentium obprobria sunt doctorum.

mortui sunt apud deum per quos nomen dei maledicitur.

sapiens homo beneficus post deum.

sermones tui vitam custodiant auditoribus.

quod fieri non debet, nec in suspitionem venias quasi facias.

da quae pati non vis, neque facias.

quae tibi facere turpe est, haec et alii inperare facienda turpissimum.

etiam in cogitationibus mundus esto a peccato.

cum praees hominibus, memento quia et tibi praeest deus.

et iudicans homines scito quia et ipse iudiceris a deo.

166 animam A cr animas z.
168 autem om. G U (cf. Greek) tabernaculum A.
173 verbis G U w in verbis z unitur deo cr (Elter conj.: inreprehensibilis ne verbis utitor deo).
177 sermones tuos vita custodiat auditoribus conj. Elter.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

184 μείζων οί κλίνουσι δικαζομένου δικαστή.
185 ἀπασὶ μᾶλλον ἦ λόγῳ βλάπτε ἀνθρώπων.
186 δυνατὸν ἀπαστήσαι λόγῳ ἀνθρώπου, θέον μέντοι ἀδινατὸν.
187 οὗ χαλεπτον ἐπίστασαθαί καὶ ἐν λόγῳ νεικῆσαθαί.
188 κακοδοξίας αἰτιώτατον ἡ ἐν πίστει φιλοδοξία.
189 τίμα τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι διὰ τοῦ εἶναι.
190 σέβου σοφὸν ἄνδρα ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ ζῶσαν.
191 σοφὸς ἄνήρ καὶ γυμνὸς δὲν δοκεῖτο σοι σοφὸς εἶναι.
192 διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν χρήματα ἡ τιμήσης μηδένα.
193 χαλεπτὸν ἔστιν πλουτοῦντα σωθῆναι.
194 χέσειν ἄνδρα σοφὸν καὶ θεὸν ἰσον ἀμάρτημα.
195 λόγου χειρίζων περὶ θεοῦ παραθήκην σοι δεδόθαι νόμιζε 
     τὸς υψιχὸς τῶν ἁκουόντων.
196 οὐκ ἐστιν βιώναι καλῶς μὴ πεπιστευκότα γυνῆσις.
197 μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἁγαθὸν ἠγοῦ καὶ καλὸν μόνον τὸ πρέπον 
     θεῷ.
198 ποιει μεγάλα μὴ μεγάλα ὑπισχυόμενος.
199 οὐ γενήσησοι σοφὸς οἰόμενος εἶναι πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι.
200 μεγάλη περίστασις πιστῶν ἄνδρα δεῖκνυσί.
201 τέλος ἠγοῦ δὲν τὸ ζῆν κατὰ θεόν.
202 μηδὲν ἠγοῦ κακὸν, ὡς ἐστὶν αἰσχρόν.
203 κόρον πέρας ύβρις, ύβρεως δὲ ὀλέθρος.
204 οὐκ ἀναβήσεται πάθος ἐπὶ καρδίαν πιστοῦ.
205 πᾶν πάθος ψυχῆς λόγῳ πολέμιον.
206 ὃ ἄν πράξεις ἐν πάθει ὃν, μετανοήσεις.

185 πάσι Υ  ἀνθρώπων om. Υ. R.
186 Clit. 53 (ἀνθρ. μὲν ἀπατ. δυν. λόγῳ, θ. δὲ ἀδύν., ἀνθ. Υ. ι om. Π. R.
     Between 190 and 191 Π inserts Σέστου γνώμαι.
191 οὐν om. Υ εἶναι om. Π. R. 192 ἡ τιμήσεις Π. Y.
193 παρὰ θεοῦ Υ σοι om. Υ περὶ θεοῦ added at end Π (read perhaps
     παρὰ θεοῦ, cf. R X a deo).
196 ἐστιν Π ἄλογοι Π. 197 = 131, μόνον Α om. Y.
199 γενήσης Π εἶναι1 om. Υ. 202 om. X.
203 κόρον X κακοῦ ΠΥR (cf. 73).
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

184 maius est periculum iudicantis quam eius qui iudicatur.
185 levius est omne vulner 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 salvari.
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 ratione eius inimica est.
206 quicquid feceris, dum in passione est anima, poenitebis.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

207 πάθη νοσημάτων ἀρχαὶ.
208α κακία νόσος ψυχής.
208b ἀδικία ψυχής θάνατος.
209 τότε δόκει πιστῶς εἶναι, ὅταν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν ἀπολα-

λαγῆς.
210a ἀνθρώποις χρῶ τοῖς ἀπασιν ὡς κοινῷ ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργεῖτις.
210b ὡς θέλεις χρὴσασθαι σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς.
211 ἀνθρώποις κακῶς χρῶμενος σεαυτῷ κακῶς χρῆσθη.
212 οὐδένα κακῶς ποιήσει ὁ πιστός.
213 εὖχοι τοὺς ἐξήνους δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖτειν.
214 φαύλοις φαίνεται ἀχρῆστος σοφὸς ἄνηρ.
215 οὐκ ἂνει θεοῦ καλῶς ζήσεις.
216 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν πάντα ὑπόμενε.
217 εὐχής οὐκ ἂκουεί θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων δεομένων οὐκ ἂκούοντος.
218 φιλόσοφος φιλοσόφῳ δώρου παρά θεοῦ.
219 τιμῶν φιλόσοφον τιμήσεις σεαυτόν.
220 πιστὸς ὄν ἰσθι.
221 ὅταν ύλὸν σε λέγῃ τίς, μέμνησο τίνος σε λέγει ύλὸν.
222 θεὸν πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττες τοῦτο μέμνησο.
223 τὰ ῥήματά σου [τὰ πιστά] πολλῆς εὐσεβείας μεστά ἐστώ.
224 ἐν οἷς πράττες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχε τῶν θεῶν.
225 δεινὸν ἐστὶν θεὸν πατέρα ὁμολογοῦντα πράξαι τί ἀσχημον.

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207 om. X ἀρχῇ Yx. 208a om. Y.
210a Cf. 260, ἐπιτίθεμεν κοινῷ ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργεῖτις εἶναι, and 478 (where
om. Y), ἀνθρώποις χρῶ ὡς κοινωνίας καὶ πολίταις θεοῦ ὡς...
210b πΧ, om. R; after 212 Y πέλας] παιδᾶς Y σὺ τοῦ π. χρῆσ. Π.
211 om. YX. 212 οὐδένα κακῶς ποιήσει R? ποιήσῃ Π.
214 Clit. 63 (φ. ἄχρηστος δοκεὶ σοφὸς α.) ὁ σοφὸς Π.
216 πῶν Π.
217 οὐκRED om. Y τοῦ om. Π(cf. 482, 594) τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δεόμενον R?.
218 θεὸ Y. 220 Cf. 82 c.
221 ύλὸν (θεοῦ) Lloyd-Jones ύλὸν λέγῃ τίς σε Π τίνος λέγει σε ύλὸν
εἶναι Y ύλὸ Π.
222 = 59 where om. Y.
223 τὰ πιστά (πολλῆς) om. R εὐλαβείας ἤτοι μεστά Y ἔστωσαν Π.
225 πατέρα θεὸν Π.
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

207 passiones aegritudinum initia.
208 malitia aegritudo est animae,
    animae autem mors iniustitia et inpietas.
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.
ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

226 σοφῶν ὁ μὴ φιλῶν, οὐδὲ ἔαυτόν.
227 μηδὲν ἰδίον κτήμα νομιζέσθω φιλοσόφῳ.
228 ὃν κοινὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ, τούτων μὴ κοινὰ εἶναι τὰ κτήματα οὐκ εὐσέβεις.
229 ἀχαριστεὶ θεῷ ὁ μὴ περὶ πολλοὺ ποιοῦμενος φιλόσοφον.
230α γάμον γὰρ διδωσίν σοι παρακητεῖσθαι ἵνα ζήσης ὡς πάρερδος θεῷ.
230β γάμει καὶ παιδοποιοῖ χαλεπῶν εἰδῶς ἐκάτερον: εἰ δὲ καθάπερ εἰδῶς πόλεμον ὁτι χαλεπῶν ἀνδρίζοι, καὶ γάμει καὶ παιδοποιοῖ.
231 μοιχὸς τίς ἐαυτὸν γυναικὸς πᾶς ὁ ἄκολαστος.
232 μηδὲν ἐνεκα ψυλῆς ἡδονῆς ποιεῖ.
233 τοιθα μοιχὸς εἶναί καὶ νόησις μοιχεύσαι· καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἀμαρτήματος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστώ σοι λόγος.
234 πιστὸν εἰπὼν σεαυτὸν ὀμολόγησας μηδὲ ἀμαρτείν θεῷ.
235 πιστὴ γυναίκι κόσμος σωφροσύνη νομιζέσθω.
236 ἀνὴρ γυναίκα ἀποτελέστων ὀμολογεῖ μηδὲ γυναίκος ἄρχειν δύνασθαι.
237 γυνὴ σώφρων ἀνδρὸς εὐκλεία.
238 αἰδοῦμενος γαμετὴν αἰδουμένην ἔξεις.
239 ὁ τῶν πιστῶν γάμος ἄγων ἐστώ περὶ ἐγκρατείας.
240 ὡς ἃν γαστρός ἄρξης, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἄρξεις.

226 οὕτε Π.
227 = 594 (μ. Ι. κτ. ν. φιλοσόφου) μηδὲν κτήμα ἰδίον Ἐ. ‘Reckon no other possession better (ἡδιον?) than true wisdom’ Χ.
228 om. Υ.Χ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ om. Χ.
230α γὰρ om. Π.Ρ. ζήσεις Π ὡς om. Υ. αἰ R.?
230β γάμει... ἐκάτερον om. Υ.Χ καὶ om. Υ. καὶ ποιεὶ Υ.
231 Clit. 71 (μοιχὸς ἐστὶ κτλ.) ὡς om. Υ.
232 μηδὲ Π.
233 μοιχὸς ὃν ἃν ίσθι εἶναι (cf. 220) καὶ νοσεῖς τῷ μοιχεύειν Π ὡς om. Υ. ὁ λόγος Υ. 234 καὶ ὀμολογήσας μηδὲν ἀμαρτήσω Υ μῆτε Π.
236 μῆτε Π. δύνασθαι om. RX (cf. 293).
238 Clit. 72 (τὴν γυναίκα).
240 Clit. 73 (ἐφ’ ὅσον ἃν κτλ.) ὅταν γαστρός ἄρξεις καὶ ὑπογαστρίων ἄρξεις Π.

38
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 inpuudicus.
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 fidelium coniugium certamen habeat continentiae.
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 PBJ sit deus JSU cr.
230b vis cr non vis W O PBJ.
235 ornatum W O S ornatus P cr ornatu B ornatus J w.
236 regere Gild. gerere MSS. 238 habebis w r.
ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

241 φυλάττου τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἄπιστων ἔπαινον.
242 ὁ προϊκο λαμβάνεις παρὰ θεοῦ, καὶ δίδου προϊκα.
243 πλήθος πιστῶν οὐκ ἂν ἔξευροι· σπάνιον γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
244 σοφὸν τίμα μετὰ θεόν.
245 ἐλεγχόμενος ἵνα γένη σοφὸς χάριν ἰσθι τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν.
246 ὁ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸ ἀγαθόν οὐ δύναται φέρειν.
247 πιστὸς εἶναι θέλων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἀμάρτης, εἰ δὲ τι, μὴ δισοῦστο τὸ αὐτό.
248 ὁ μὴ ἔστι μάθημα θεοῦ ἄξιον, μὴ μάθης.
249 πολυμαθεία περιέργεια ψυχῆς νομίζεσθω.
250 ὁ τῷ θεῷ ἄξιος εἰδῶς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
251 χωρίς μαθήματος οὐκ ἔστι θεοφιλῆς· ἐκεῖνον περιέχου ός ἀναγκαίοι.
252 φείδεται χρόνου σοφὸς ἀνὴρ.
253α παρρησίαν ἄγε μετὰ αἰδοὺς.
253β ἐστὶν σοφοῦ καὶ ὑπόνος ἐγκράτεια.
254 ἀνιάτῳ σε μᾶλλον τέκνα κακῶς ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ ζῆν.
255 τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔρ ήμιν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν καὶ ἔρ ήμιν.
256 τέκνα μὴ πιστά ὑ' τέκνα.
257 πιστὸς ἀνὴρ εὐχαρίστως φέρει τέκνων ἀποβολήν.
258 μὴ κρίνῃς φιλόσοφον οὐ μὴ πάντα πιστεύεις.
259 διαβολῶς κατὰ φιλοσόφου μὴ παραδέχοι.

241 = 570 where om. Π  t. π. τοῦ (?) ἀνθρώπων ε. Π.
242 προϊκα καὶ δίδου Y.  243 εὐροῖς Π.  247 om. Π.
248 δ μὴ ἔστι θεοῦ ἄξις μάθης μὴ θῆς Y.  249 πολυμαθεία Y.
250 εἰδῶς ἄξιος Y ἀνὴρ om. Π.
251 μαθήματος χωρίς οὐκ Ῥ? μαθήματον Y ἀσόφου μὴ περιέχου Y ός ἀναγκαῖον Π (R?).
252 ὁ σοφὸς Π (cf. 214).  253a ἄγει YX.
253b om. ΡX  εἰ τι σοφοῦ καὶ ὑπόνοα [254] ἀνιάτῳ σε. μᾶλλον κτλ. Y
256 after 254 X.  257 om. X (and S).
259 ϕιλοσόφων Y.
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 praeципue quidem nitere, ne pecces; quod etsi forte acciderit, saltim 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 parcit ne perdat tempus.
253 viduciam 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 ingrate fert abiectionem liberorum.
258 non iudices esse philosophum cui non de omnibus credis.
259 crimationes adversus philosophum noli recipere.

242 et VT om. z. 243 omne om. J. 244-7 om. G U.
248 discas PJSGU dicas WOVBrw.
250 sapiens WOPw sapiens est z.
251 specialiter et om. G.
257 om. S.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

260 ἐπιτίθετες κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις εὐεργέτης εἶναι.
261 ἀπευκτῶν ἤγον καὶ τὸ δικαίως τινὰ κολάζειν.
262 μετ᾽ εὐθυμίας εἰ θέλεις 37η, μή πολλὰ πράττε τοποπραγμονῶν γὰρ κακοπραγμονῶν ἔσῃ.
263 ὃ μὴ κατέθου, μηδὲ ἀνέλης, οὗ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτάρκη πολιτεία.
264 ἀφεῖς ἄ κέκτησαι ἀκολούθει τῷ ὅρθῳ λόγῳ.
265 ἀπαλλάττου τροφῆς ἐτί θέλων.
266 τροφῆς παντὶ κοινῶνει.
267 ὑπὲρ τοῦ πτωχῶν τραφὴν καὶ χειλεύσαι καλῶν.
268 ποτὸν σοι πάν ἡδὺ ἔστω.
269 μέθην δὲ ὅμως μανὶς φιλάττου.
270 ἀνθρώπως γαστρός ἡπτώμενος ὁμιοὶς θηρίων.
271 οὐδὲν φύεσαι ἐκ σαρκὸς ἀγαθὸν.
272 αἰσχρὰς ἡδονῆς τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ ταχέως ἀπεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος παραμένει.
273 ἀνθρώποις ἰδιοῖς ἀν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σῶματος ἔχειν ἐρρωμένου ἀποκόπτοντας ἑαυτῶν καὶ ῥίπτοντας μέλη· τὸ σῶμα θέλτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωφρονείαν;
274 μεγάλην νόμισε παιδείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖν σῶματος·
275 φιλόσοφον οὐδέν ἔστιν ὁ τῆς ἑλεύθερας ἀφαίρεται.
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 tmoneris.
263 quod non posuisti, non tollas,
sed sufficienti 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 inperti.
267 pro reficiendo paupere etiam ieunare 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, probara 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,
nunquam enim compescit desiderium desideratorum.
275 non est sapiens factum, in quo libertas aufertur.

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262 moneris WPB moveris OSw et caute praemoneris VT et comptus bene non eris GU minor eris cr noceris conj. Gild. ⟨cacoprag⟩mon eris Lloyd-Jones.
264b enim om. S.
265–6 lacuna Elter.
274 corporalibus VT enim om. GU.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

276 ἡδονᾶς ἤγου τόσο ἀναγκαίας ὡς ἀναγκαίας.

277 τὰ ἀγαθὰ μὲν ἔχειν πάντες εὐχοῦνται, κτῶνται δὲ οἱ γνησίως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ μετέχουντες.

278 φιλόσοφος δὸν σεμνὸς ἐσο μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσκόπτης.

279 σπανιόν σου ἐστώ σκόμμα καὶ τὸ ἕυκαρον.

280 οἱ μέτροι γέλως σημείων ἀπροσέξιος.

280b σεαυτὸν διασχείονται πέρα τοῦ μειδίαν μὴ ἐπιτρέψης.

281 σπουδῇ πλείον ἢ διαχύσει χρόν.

282 ἀγὼν ὁ βίος ἔστω σοι περὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ.

283 ὁ ἄριστον μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτεῖν, ἁμαρτάνοντα δὲ γινώσκειν ἢ μην αὐτοῖν ἢ ἁγυνεῖν.

284 ἀλαζὼν φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν.

285 μεγάλην σοφίαν νόμιζε δι’ ἥς δυνήσθη σφέειν ἀγνοοῦντων ἀπαίδευσιν.

286 αἰσχρῶν ἠγοῦ λόγον ἔχον διὰ στόμα ἐπαινεῖον.

287 σοφῶν ψυχαὶ ἀκόρεστοι θεοσεβεῖοι.

288 ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ θεοῦ πράττει δ ἀν πράττεις.

289 συνεχέος τοπίον νοεῖ τὸν θεόν ἢ ἀνάπνει.

290 ὁ μαθῶντα δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἀνευ τοῦ μαθῆν μὴ ἐπιπειρέιπε.

291 σαρκός μὴ ἔρα.

292 ψυχῆς ἁγαθῆς ἔρα μετὰ θεόν.

293 οἰκεῖον ὁργὰς δύνασθαι σφείειν κατὰ φιλόσοφον.

294 πιστοῦ πλοῦτος ἐγκράτεια.

276 Preceding 274 Y ἀναγκαῖος ἀναγκαίας Y.

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

277 πάντες μὲν ἔχειν Π (R=Y) θεοῦ Y μετασχέοντες Y.

278 φιλοσκόπησις Π. 279 om. Π. 280b μηδιὰν Π.

282 = 573 where om. Π ἀγνῶν R ὁ βίος om. Y τοῦ X R 573 (Y) βίου ΠΥ.

283 = 595 where om. Π (ἀμαρτάνειν, ἁμαρτάνοντα δὲ ἢ ἀμεινοὺν μην ἡ κρύπτειν—X inserts it in this form between 10 and 11).

285 δ’ ἤν Πχ.

286 ἢγου[ι] αἴδου Π λόγον ἔχον om. R X στόμα] σῷμα YΧ.

287 φιλοσοφοῦν Π. 288 om. Χ ὑπὸ Π δ’ πράττεις Π.

289 ἀνάπτεε Π. 290 ἐγχεῖτι Υ. 292 ἁγαθῆς om. Π.

293 αἰκίῶν Π oikeioς conj. J. Kroll (ap. Hennecke, p. 638) δύνασαι Y φιλοσοφοῦ Υ σοφῶν Π σοφῶν Elter.

294 φιλοσοφοῦ Elter φιλοσόφω Π φιλοσόφων R.

44
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

276 libidinem necessariam tamquam necessariam ducito.
277 bona quidem habere omnes optant, optinent autem hi qui semetipsum ex integro verbo dei manciparunt.
278 philosophus et honestus esto et non obtructator.
279 rara sit obtructatio 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 agnoscre quam ignorare melius est.
284 iactans non est philosophus.
285 magnam scito esse sapientiam per quam ferre potes ineruditorm 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 prior MSS.


ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

295 διπέρ μεταδιδοὺς ἀλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἦξεις, μὴ κρίνῃς ἄγαθὸν εἶναι.
296 οὐδὲν ἀκοινώνητον ἄγαθὸν.
297a μὴ νόμιζῃ μικρότερον ἀμάρτημα ἄλλο ἄλλου.
297b τὰν ἀμάρτημα ἀσέβημα ἡγοῦ.]
298 ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν τιμᾶσθαι θέλεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμάρτημασιν ἑγεμόνες ἄνέχου.
299 ὅν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τῶν ψόγων ὑπερῶς.
300 θησαυρὸν κατατίθεσθαι μὲν οὗ φιλάνθρωπον, ἀναίρεσθαι δὲ οὗ κατὰ φιλόσοφον.
301 ὥσα ποιεῖς διὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν πονέσας σοφὸς ἄν εἴης.
302 σοφὸν οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὁ βλάπτει.
303 ὅν ἂν πράττῃς θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦ μάρτυρα.
304 ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωποι βεβαιοὶ καλὰς πράξεις.
305 κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμον ἡγεμών ἐστιν.
306 οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις σοφὸν πράξαι ὁ μὴ βούλεται μᾶλλον ἂπερ θεόν.
307 σοφὸς ἄνὴρ θεὸν ἄνθρωπος συνιστᾶ.
308 ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἱδίων ἔργων μέγιστον φρονεῖ ἐπὶ σοφῶ.
309 οὐδὲν αὐτῶς ἐλεύθερον μετὰ θεοῦ ὡς σοφὸς ἄνήρ.
310 ὥσα θεοῦ κτήματα, καὶ σοφοῦ.
311 κοινωνεῖ βασιλείας θεοῦ σοφὸς ἄνηρ.

295 par' ὅσον μὴ μεταδιδοὺς [i.e. μεταδιδοὺς] ἀλλοις αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦξεις Y
(which joins μὴ κρίνῃς κτλ. to 296), cf. Clit. 105.
297a μὴ νόμιζῃ ἀμάρτημα μικρὸν ἄλλο ἄλλο Y.
297b (=11) om. PR.Xx.
298 ἐπισκευαῖς καὶ τιμᾶσθαι Y ἀνέχου καὶ εὐ κακοῖς ἑγεμόνεος Y.
299 om. X. 300 μὲν καταθέσαι Y κατὰ Y R om. P.
301 ποιεῖs Elter ποιέσας ΠY.
303 πράττῃς Y* πράττεις ΠY*.
304 ὁ om. Y (cf. Po. 16) ἄνθρωποι Y.
306 δ μὴ β. πράξαι Y ἂπερ] περὶ Π (cf. 403).
308 ὁ om. Y (cf. 304) ἱδίων] ἤδη Π ἐργῶν om. Y.
310, 311 ΠX, supported by two MSS. of Rufinus, W T. Almost all other MSS. of Rufinus have them in the reverse order, 311, 310. Both om. Y.
311 om. two MSS. of Rufinus (G U); its position varies (after 312 J, after 315 S) κοινωνοὶ βασιλεία Π.

46
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 WOP. 300 est² om. J.
299 laborares U esses U.
301 quod Elter qui MSS. (sapiens est qui non nocet G sap. non est qui non docet S).
302 omnium VT omnia z.
309 tam liberum Elter tale verum MSS. vir Elter post verum J post virum WOPBSGW om. cr.
310–11 in reverse order in all MSS. except WT.
311 om. GU, after 312 J, after 315 Scr.
312 ἄνθρωπον πρόνοιαν θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ θέλει.
313 ψυχή κακή θεὸν φεύγει.
314 πᾶν τὸ φαύλον θεὸ πολέμιον.
315 τὸ ἐν σοί φρονοῦν τοῦτο νόμιζε εἶναι ἄνθρωπον.
316 ὅπου σου τὸ φρονοῦν, ἐκεῖ σου τὸ ἀγαθόν.
317 ἀγαθὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μὴ ἔπιστήτει.
318 ὁ μὴ βλάπτει ψυχήν, οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον.
319 φιλόσοφον ἄνθρωπον ὡς ὑπηρέτην θεοῦ τίμα μετὰ θεόν.
320 τὸ σκῆσωμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου βαρύνεσθαι μὲν ὑπερήφανον, ἀποθέοσθαι δὲ πραέως ὅποτε χρὴ δύνασθαι μακάριον.
321 θανάτου μὲν σαυτὸν παραίτησιν μὴ γένη, τοῦ δὲ ἀφαιρομένῳ σε τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἄγανάκτει.
322 σοφόν ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιρομενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ εὐεργετεῖ, λύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν.
323 ἄνθρωπον θανάτου φόβος λυπεῖ ἀπειρία ψυχῆς.
324 σιδήρου ἄνθροφον ἁριστὸν μὲν ἢν μὴ γενέσθαι, γενόμενον δὲ σοὶ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι.
325 οὔδεμία προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνει, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν πίστει.
326 οἶον ἢν ἢ σου τὸ ἢδος, τοιοῦτος ἔσται σου καὶ ὁ βίος.
327 ἢδος θεοσέβῃς ποιεῖ βίον μακάριον.
328 μὴ σε παύσῃ τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος.
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 inuiste si quis extrudat, iniquitate sua beneficium ei praestat, absolvitur enim tamquam de vinculis.
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 est\(^3\) om. BS.
321 causa\(^{[}\) auctor U om. G.
324 sit J U cr sit factum z.
325 fide A finem J fine z.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

329 μηθὲν δὲν παραξηγῆμα ἀπούμενος δῆς, πλείονος ἡξιον κρίνης τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.
330 κάλλιστα οὕσις χρήση τοῖς δεσμένοις προθύμως μεταδί-
δοσ.
331 ἀδελφὸν ἀγνωμονοῦντα πείθε μὴ ἀγνωμονεῖν καὶ ἀνιάτως ἔχοντα συντηρεῖ.
332 εὐγνωμοσύνη πάντας ἀνθρώπους νικᾶν ἀγωνίζου.
333 νοῦν ὧν πρότερον ἔχεις πρὶν ἢ γνῶς σὺν ἔχων.
334 αὐτάρκειαν ἄσκει.
335 τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῖς οὐ χρωμένοις φορτία.
336 ὑπηρετεῖν κρείττον ἐτέροις ἢ πρὸς ἄλλους ὑπηρετεῖσθαι.
337 οὖν σὺ ἀπαλλάττει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σώματος μὴ βαρυνθοῦ.
338 δόγμα ἀκοινώνητον σὺ μόνον ἔχειν ἄλλα καὶ ἀκούειν χαλεπῶν ἤγου.
339 ὁ διδός ὠτιούν μετ' ὀνείδους ὑβρίζει.
340 κηδόμενος ὄρφανῶν πατήρ ἔστι πλειώνων τέκνων θεοφιλής.
341 ὃ ἄν ὑποουργήσῃς ἐνεκα δόξης, μισθοῦ ὑποουργήσας.
342 ἢν τι δῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γνωσθῆναι, ὦκ ἀνθρώπωφ δέδωκας,
idendic ãde ἡ λοιπῇ.
343 ὀργῆν πλῆθους μὴ παρόξυνε.
344 μᾶθε τοῖςν τι δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὐδαιμονήσωτα.
345 κρείττον ἀποθανείν λιμῷ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμασρώσαι.
346 ἐκμαγευτὸν τὸ σῶμα σου νόμιζε τῆς ψυχῆς· καθαρόν σὺν
τίτηρει.

329 παρασχήμα om. R δώσεις Π πλεονεξίαν κρίνεις Π.
330 παρα Π τῆς περιουσίας Π.
331 332 cf. 332.
333 334 om. Y Yβαρύνθεςαι Π.
335 ὑβρίζεω Π. 336 ὑβρίζην ὧον τοῖςν τι δεῖ Π. 337 om. Y βαρύνθεςαι Π.
338 339 διὰ τοῖςσι τοῖςσι P R.
340 341 τοῖςσι om. Y Y X τι δῶς Elīer 342 διὸς Π.
341 342 Clit. iio. 343 toīnun om. P R 344 Χρῆ Y εὐδαιμονήσωτα Y R
345 Clit. 114 (om. λιμῷ).
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 intelleixeris 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 emitit ex corpore, non graviter ferat.
338 sententiam quae misericordiam vetat, non solum tenere
sed et audire refugie.
339 qui dat aliquid et inputat, contumeliam magis quam benefi-
cicium 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 praestististi.
343 iracundiam multitudinis ne provocos 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 VT petitus WW poteris S
petitur z.
343 in te om. S.
ΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

347 ὀποία δ' ἂν ἐπιτιθέμενη ψυχή ἐνοικοῦσα τῷ σώματι,
τοιαύτα μαρτύρια ἔχουσα ἀπείσαν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν.
348 ἀκάθαρτον ψυχῆς ἀκάθαρτοι δαίμονες ἀντιποιοῦνται.
349 πιστὴν ψυχήν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐν ὅδε θεοῦ κακοὶ δαίμονες οὐκ ἐμπόδισον.
350 λόγου περὶ θεοῦ μὴ παντὶ κοινώνει.
351 οὐκ ἄσφαλές ἀκούειν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρ-μένοις.
352 περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τάληθη λέγειν κίνδυνος οὐ μικρός.
353 περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲν εἴπης μὴ μαθὼν παρὰ θεοῦ.
354 ὥθεω δὲ περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲν εἴπης.
355 περὶ θεοῦ λόγον ἄληθῆ ὡς θεὸν τίμα.
356 μὴ καθαρεύων ἀνοσίων ἔργων μὴ φθέγξῃ περὶ θεοῦ λόγον.
357 λόγος ἄληθῆς περὶ θεοῦ λόγος ἔστιν θεοῦ.
358 πεισθεὶς πρότερον θεοφιλής εἶναι πρὸς οὐς ἂν πεισθῇς λέγει περὶ θεοῦ.
359 τὰ ἔργα σου θεοφιλῆ προηγείσθω παυτὸς λόγου περὶ θεοῦ.
360 ἐπὶ πλῆθους λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιτιθέμενε.
361 λόγου περὶ θεοῦ φείδου μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς.
362 ψυχῆς αἱρετώτερου ἢ λόγου εἰκῇ προέδοθαι περὶ θεοῦ.
363 α θεοφιλοὺς ἀνδρός σώματος μὲν ἄρξεις, λόγου δὲ οὐ κυ-ριεύσεις.
363 b σοφοῦ σώματος καὶ λέων ἄρξει, τούτου δὴ μόνου καὶ τύραννος.

347 δ’ om. YRX. 348 ἀκάθαρτον ψυχῆς Π.
349 = 591 (ψ. ἂ. καὶ π. ἐν ἐννοιαίς θ. οὐσιαῖ).
350-4 om. X 350 λόγου Elter λόγῳ ΠΥ.
352 τάληθης Π Orig. τάληθες Υ. 354 δὲ om. Π.
355 after 356 X περὶ θεοῦ om. R ὡς θεοῦ YX (cf. 357).
358 For the whole sentence Υ has πιστοῖς λέγει περὶ θεοῦ (R = Π) πρὸς οὐς ἂν πεισθῆς om. x πεισθῆς] εἴπης conj. Elter θέμις ἢ or πεισάι θέλης Lloyd-Jones. 359 τὰ om. Π. 360 πληθεὶς Υ. 361 μᾶλλον φείδου Υ ἢ περὶ ψ. ΠΥ. 362 προθέσθαι περὶ Π.
363 αρξεῖ Π τούτου δὴ μόνου κ. τ. as beginning of 364 Υ.
ENCHIRIDION SEXTI

347 qualia gesserit studia anima corpus inhabitans, tales habebit testes in iudico.
348 inmundam animam inmundi daemones sibi vindicant.
349 fidelem animam et bonam in via dei mali daemones non impediant.
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 honoras.
356 si inmunis non es a flagitiosis operibus, de deo nihil discipetes.
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 amans 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.
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).
364 ὑπὸ τυράννου γινομένης ὁπειλής τίνος εἰ τότε μᾶλλον μέμνησο.
365 λόγου οἷς οὐ θέμις ὁ λέγων περὶ θεοῦ προβότης θεοῦ νομίζέσθω.
366 λόγον περὶ θεοῦ σιγᾶν ἀμεινον ἢ προπετῶς διολέγεσθαι.
367 ὁ λέγων ψευδὴ περὶ θεοῦ κατασφείδεται θεοῦ.
368 ἀνθρωπὸς μηδὲν ἔξων λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθὲς ἔρημος ἐστὶν θεοῦ.
369 θεῶν οὐκ ἔστιν γινώσκειν μὴ σεβόμενοι.
370 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄδικῶν τις ἀνθρωπὸν σέβοι τὸν θεὸν.
371 κρητῆς θεοσεβέισας φιλανθρωπία.
372 ὁ προνοοῦν ἀνθρωπῶν εὐχόμενος τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων οὖς ἄλληθες θεοῦ νομίζέσθω.
373 θεοῦ μὲν ἰδίον τὸ σώζειν οὗς ἄν προσαρκητία.
374 εὔσεβοὺς δὲ τὸ εὐχεσθαι θεῷ σώζειν.
375 ὅπτότοι εὐξαμένοι σοι γένηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἔξουσίαν ἔχειν ἥγου παρὰ θεῷ.
376a δόξος ἀνθρωπὸς θεοῦ θέσ τι ἄνθρωπος.
376b θεὸς καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀρίστον, τὸ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ἀρίστου.
377 ἀκτήμωνα κρέιττου ἢ ἀκοινούντοι εἶναι πολυκτήμων.
378 μὴ διδοὺς δεομένοις δυνατός ὃν οὐ λήψῃ δεόμενος παρὰ θεοῦ.
379 τροφῆς δεομένῳ μεταδιδόντως ἐς ὀλῆς ψυχῆς δόμα μὲν τι βραχύ, προδομία δὲ μεγάλη παρὰ θεῷ.

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364 γενομένης Y τινὸς ΠΥ εἴποτε Y μάλιστα om. Π.
365 λόγου attached to 364 Y. 368 περὶ θεοῦ λέγειν Y.
369 σεβόμενος Π. 370 om. Π. 372 θεοῦ (ὑιὸς) Lloyd-Jones.
372 om. Π. 374 τοῦ om. Y. 375 τοῦ om. Y.
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 εἰς ὀλῆς om. Π (cf. R) ψυχῆ Π παρὰ θεῷ om. R At μεγάλη
Π passes straight into 488–9 thus: προδομία δὲ μεγάλη δουλεύου τοῖς γονεῦσιν, [489] οὖκ ἔστιν εὐσεβέστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς.
cum minatur tyrannus, cuius sis tunc maxime memor esto.

verbum qui loquitur de deo his quibus non licet, proditor
dei putandus est.

verbum de deo reticere praestat magis quam temere pro-
ferre.

qui dicit de deo ea quae non sunt, contra deum falsum
loquitur.

homo qui nihil habet quod dicat de deo vere, desertus est
a deo.

deum non cognovit qui non colit.

non est verum quod deum colat qui hominem laedit.

fundamentum et initium est cultus dei amare homines.

qui hominum curam gerit et orat deum pro eas, iste vere
a deo esse putandus est.

dei proprium est salvare quos dignos iudicat.

cultoris autem dei est orare deum pro salute hominum.

cum oranti tibi praestitum fuerit, quod poposcisti a deo,
tunc tibi potestatem permissam a deo intellege.

dignus deo homo deus est in hominibus.

melius est non habere quam multa habentem nemini
inpertire.

si non das egentibus cum possis, non accipies a deo cum
poposceris.

qui ex animo dat cibum indigenti, parum quidem est quod
dat sed magna fiet ei bonae voluntatis retributio.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

380 θεον οὐ νομίζοντος ὁ νομίζον καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος οὐχ ἦττον ἄθεος.
381 τιμᾷ θεον ἄριστα ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐξομοιώσας θεῷ εἰς δύναμιν.
382 θεός δεῖται μὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδενός, χαίρει δὲ τοῖς μεταδιδοὺσι τοῖς δεχομένοις.
383 πιστῶν ὄλγοι μὲν ἐστῶσαν οἱ λόγοι, ἐργά δὲ πολλά.
384 πιστὸς φιλομαθῆς ἐργάτης ἀληθέας.
385 ἀρμόζου πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἵνα εὐθυμῆση.
386 μηδένα ἀδικών οὐδένα φοβηθῆσῃ.
387 τύραννος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται.
388 οἱ δεὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκών ποιεῖ.
389 a ὁ μὴ δεὶ ποιείν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ποιεῖ.
389 b πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σοφὸς εἶναι ὑπισχύνοι.
390 οὐ καλῶς πράττεις τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνάφερε εἰς θεον.
391 οὔτεις σοφὸς ἀνὴρ κάτω που βλέπων εἰς γῆν καὶ τραπέζας.
392 τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἔλευθεροιν δεῖ, ἄλλα τὴν ψυχῆν.
393 ψευδεσθαί φυλάττων. ἔστω γὰρ ἀπατῶν καὶ ἀπατᾶσθαι.
394 τὶς θεὸς γνώθι· μάθε τὸ νοσῶν ἐν σοί.
395 θεὸν καλὸν ἐργὸν ἄγαθος ἀνθρώπος.
396 ἄθλιοι διὸ οὐς οἱ λόγοι ἀκούει κακῶς.
397 ψυχῆν θάνατος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄλλα κακὸς βίος.

381 after 385 Y, om. X.
382 οὐδαμῇ om. X οὐδενός om. R.
383 οἱ om. Y πολλά δὲ τὰ ἐργα Π.
385 Clit. 120 ἀρμόττων Y ἀγωνίζου Χ.
386 = 608 where om. Π φοβήσῃ Y.
387 Clit. 121, περιστάσεις (cf. 385) εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδαμῶς ἀφαιροῦνται.
388 om. Y (cf. 471). 389 a δεὶ μὴ Y.
389 b τὸ om. Π. 390 ἀνάφερε τὴν αἰτίαν Y.
391 ἀνὴρ om. Y κατώττων Υ τραπέζαν Π (Υ = R X).
392 οὐ τῶν] αὐτὸν Π ἔλευθερον Π ἔλευθερον δεί εἶναι conj. J. Kroll.
394 μάθε ΥΧ τι Π (cf. R) ἐστὶν εὐ σοι Π σοι] add τὸν θεὸν R X.
396 ἄθλιοι ΠΥΧ ἄθεοι R κακὸς 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 paucia 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 auferit.
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 maledicitur.
397 animam mors non perdit, sed mala vita.

380 credederit A credit z.
384 habet doceri A doceri OTV docetur P docet z.
387 aufer 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.
πρὸς δὲ γέγονας εἰδῶς γνώσῃ σαυτόν.
οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ẓῆν ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνου καὶ καλῶς καὶ
dικαίως πράττειν.
ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων βίος ὁνείδος.
mήποτε λάθης σαυτόν ἁγενεὶ φύσει μεταδιδοὺς λόγου θεοῦ.
ψυχὴν ἀπὸ γῆς πίστις ἀνάγει παρὰ θεόν.
σοφοῦ ψυχῆς μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις μᾶλλον ἦπερ καὶ θεοῦ.

ὅσα διδοσιν ὁ θεὸς οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται.

διαρέχει κόσμος βεβαιός οὐ τηρεῖ.
θεία σοφία ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσις.

ἀκαθάρτω ψυχῇ μὴ τόλμα λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ.
ἀνθρός πείραν πρότερον ἔργων ἢ λόγων ποιεῖ.

τὰ ὥτα σου μὴ παντὶ πίστευε.

οἱ ἑσθαί μὲν περὶ θεοῦ εὐμαρέσ, λέγειν δὲ ἀληθὲς μόνοι τῷ
dικαίῳ συγκεκριμένῃ.

μὴ βασανίσῃς σου τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σώμα μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν σου

βασανίσῃς ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς.

ἐθισε σαυτόν τῷ μὲν σώματι παρέχειν τὰ τοῦ σώματος
σωφρόνος, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ θεοσεβῶς.

τρέφε σου τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν λόγῳ θείῳ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα σιτίοις

λιτοῖς.

χαίρειν ἑθισε σου τῇ ψυχῇν ἐφ᾽ οἷς καλὸν χαίρειν.

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398-9 are put between 328 and 335 in x. 398 om. Π oυ R?
399 Clit. 123, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκλεῶς ẓῆν κτλ. καὶ καλῶς Clit. R om. ΠΥ
dικαίως καὶ σωφρόνος Υ καὶ δικαίως ἀνευ τοῦ σωφρόνος Χ.
401 λάθη Π ἀπηνει Y. 402 ἀπὸ γῆς om. X ἄγει Y.
403 ἦπερ] περ ἂ Π (cf. 306). 404-5 in inverse order R.
405 om. X (and two MSS. of R) After 405 Π has 336-61, and places
406-27 between 454 and 455. 406 ὥ τοῦ om. Y του θεοῦ om. R.
407 = 451 (ἀκολαστῷ) where om. ΠΧ X omits 407.
408 πρότερον πείραν Π ποιοῦ Π.
409 Clit. 126a (μὴ πάσιν ὑπεξε). 410 om. Y δικαίῳ Π.
411 μὴ βασανίζου τῷ ψ. Y μήτε Π.
412 om. Y τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς θεοσεβῶς Lloyd-Jones.
413 is put after 356 by Χ (which transposes 359-412 to fall in the middle of

483) τρέφε] ἀρχὴ τρέφε Π μὲν om. Y θείῳ λόγῳ Π ὁλγος Υ.
414, 415a om. Υ, 414 om. X.
si scis a quo factus es, et te metipsum agnoscis.
non est secundum deum vivere nisi pudice et bene et iuste quis agat.
hominum infidelium vita obprobrium est.
ne te praetereat et malo ingenio verba dei committas.
animam de terra fides elevat ad deum.
animae sapientis magnitudinem non reperies, sicut nec dei quidem.
quaecumque dat mundus, nemo firmiter tenet.
quaecumque dat deus, nullus auferre potest.
divina sapientia est scientia.
inmundae animae ne audeas loqui deo.
viri periculum in operibus primo et sic in verbis facito.
aures tuas non omnibus committas.
opinari quidem deo facile ab omnibus est, dicere autem veritatem de deo soli iusto permittendum est.
non cruciet anima tua corpus tuum neque animam tuam cruciet libido corporis.
insuesce te ipsum corpori quidem praebere quae sua sunt caste, et animae quae sua sunt pie.
pasce animam tuam verbo dei, corpus vero simplicibus cibis.
in illis insuesce gaudere animam tuam, in quibus recte gaudet.

note inverted order in R MSS.  om. S U.
vere est scientia Jcr.
inmundae anima WOBSw loqui OGU loqui experimentum z.
opinari Pcorr. S operari z est1 om. w.
ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

415a ψυχὴ χαίρουσα ἐπὶ μικρὸις ὀτιμοὶς παρὰ θεοῦ.
415b σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἀκούει θεοῦ.
416 σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἀρμόζεται πρὸς θεοῦ ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
417 σοφοῦ ψυχή αἰεὶ θεοῦ ὀρῇ.
418 ψυχὴ σοφοῦ σύνεστιν αἰεὶ θεοῦ.
419 καρδία θεοφιλῶν ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ ἱδρυται.
420 ψυχῆς ἄνωθεν πρὸς θεοῦ διὰ λόγου θεοῦ.
421 σοφὸς ἐπεται θεὸ καὶ θεός ψυχὴ σοφοῦ.
422 χαίρει τῷ ἄρχομένῳ τῷ ἄρχον, καὶ θεὸς οὐν σοφὸς χαίρει.

423 ἀγαριστῶν ἔστιν τοῦ ἄρχομένου τῷ ἄρχον, καὶ θεὸς οὐν
tοῦ σοφοῦ προνοεῖ καὶ κηδεται.
424 ἐπιτροπεύεται σοφὸς ἄνηρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μα-
κάριος.
425 ψυχὴ σοφοῦ δοκιμάζεται διὰ σώματος ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
426 οὐχ ἢ γλώττα τοῦ σοφοῦ τιμία παρὰ θεοῦ, ἄλλ' ἢ φρόνησις.
427 σοφὸς ἄνηρ καὶ σιγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμίᾳ [εἰδῶν διὰ τίνα σιγά].
428 γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα [ὅ] μὴ κρατῶν οὐδείς πιστὸς.

429 ἀνθρωπός ἄκρατῆς μιαίνει τὸν θεόν.
430 ἀνθρώπον θεοῦ γνώσις θραχύλωγον ποιεῖ.
431 πολλοὺς λόγους περὶ θεοῦ ἀπειρία ποιεῖ.
432 θεὸν ἀνθρωπός εἰδῶς οὐ πολλὰ κοιμάζει.
433 ἐκλεκτὸς ἀνθρώπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεοῦ, εἰναι δὲ
οὐχ ὑποσχεῖται.

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 ἕστιν Y. 419 ἱδρυται is attached to 420 by Y.
420 θεοῦ Y. 421 καὶ θεὸς σοφοῦ ψυχὴ χαίρει (cf. 422) Y.
422-4 om. X. 422 δ om. Y οὖν om. Π.
423 ἕστιν[α] ἐι Y θεὸς οὖν σοφοῦ καὶ προνοεῖ καὶ Κ. Y.
424 Cf. Clit. 135, μακάριος οὗ ο θεὸς κηδεμῶν ἔστιν ὑποτροπεύεται Y
tοῦ θεοῦ Y. 425 διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Y.
426 οὐχ ἢ γλώττα σοφοῦ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τίμιον κτλ. Y.
427 = 589 where om. Π; here om. Y εἰδῶς διὰ τίνα σιγά om. RXx
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 peri θεοῦ om. Χ. 431-43 om. Π.
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.

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415 a nullis AVTGU vanis S iniquis Jcr illis WOPB.
415 b om. A
417 A alone, om. z.
420 est om. S.
422 hos A his z ergo om. SU (cf. 423).
423 est om. Jc.
424 est om. c.
425-6 Text as in A; om. GU anima sapientis probabilis est apud deum sed et mens z.
431 dei om. Jc.
ΣΕΣΤΟΥ ΓΝΩΜΑΙ

434  *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *
435  ἀνθρώπως δις ἐμπιπτόμενος τροφή καὶ μηδέποτε μόνος κοιμώμενος νύκτωρ συνουσίας οὖ φεύγει.

436a  εἰμαρμένη πιστῶν οὐ ποιεῖ.
436b  εἰμαρμένη θεοῦ χάριτος οὐκ ἄρχει· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ θεοῦ.
437  *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *
438  πιστῶς ἄνὴρ τρέφεται ἐγκρατείᾳ.
439  γνώθι βῆματα καὶ κτίσματα θεοῦ καὶ τίμα κατ’ ἀξίαν τὸν θεόν.

440  *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *
441  ψυχὴν πιστὴν ἀγνὴν καὶ σοφὴν καὶ προφήτισσα ἄλθειας θεοῦ.
442  οὐκ ἀγαπηθέσις κύριον τὸν θεόν οὐκ ἔχων ἐν έστιν οἶον ὁ θεὸς θέλει.

443  φίλον ἤγοι τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὅμοιῳ.
444  οὐκ ἀγαπηθῶν τὸν θεόν οὐκ ἔστη παρὰ θεοῦ.
445  ἔθεισε σεαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἀφοράν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.
446  ὀρῶν τὸν θεόν ὑψη σεαυτῶν.

447  ὀρῶν τὸν θεόν ποιηθέσις τὸ ἐν σοί φρονοῦν ὁποῖον ὁ θεὸς,
448  σέβου τὸ ἐν σοὶ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ καθυβρίας.

449  ἀστιλωτόν σου τὸ σῶμα τήρηε ὡς ἐνδυμα τῆς ψυχῆς παρὰ θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν χιτωνά σου τηρεῖς ἀστιλωτόν ἐνδυμα ὄντα τῆς σάρκος.

450  σοφοῦ διάνοια θεοῦ ἐνοπτηρον.
451  ἀκολάστῳ ψυχῇ μὴ τόλμα λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ.

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437 om. Y.  439 τίμα ἐκαστον κατ’ ἀξίαν μετὰ θ. RX.
440 om. Y.  441 καὶ om. R.
443 = 592 where Π also omits.  444 Π resumes to 450.
445 ἀφοράν Y.  446 om. Y  αὐτῶν RX.
447 om. X  ὁ om. Π.  448 om. Y  καθυβρίαις Π.
449 ἀστιλωτόν twice Π  ἐνδυμα ψυχῆς παρὰ θεοῦ Y  τηρήσεις Y.
450 σοφῆ Y  After 450 Π has 569, 579, 578, 580–6, 591, 593–4, 610, 452–4, etc.  451 = 407 (ἀκαθάρτω) om. Π X.

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62
fidelis homo semper in metu est, usquequo eat ad deum.

homo, qui secundo satiatur cibo nec dormit noctu, concubitum non effugit, sed ne apud deum quidem dignus est.

sapientem fatum non facit; gratia enim dei fato non subiacet, alioquin et deus.

graviter accipit libidines corporis vir fidelis.

fidelis vir continetia pascitur.

agnosce qui sunt filii dei in creaturis eius, et honora unumquemque pro merito post deum.

nihil proprium dei ducas quod malum est.

fidelis anima casta et sapiens propheta veritatis dei est.

non amabis dominum deum si non habueris in te aliquid simile dei.

amicum deputa similem simili.

tantummodo non diligis deum, non ibis ad deum.

consuesce te ipsum semper respicere ad deum.

intuendo deum videbis eum.

videns deum facies mentem tuam talem qualis est deus.

excole quod intra te est, nec ei ex libidine corporis contumeliam facias.

incontaminatum custodi corpus tuum, tamquam si indueris a deo, sicut et vestimentum corporis tui inmaculatum servare studes.

sapientis mens speculum est dei.

inmundae autem animae nihil audeas dicere de deo.

434 fidelis autem homo GU '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. GU. 435 nec AV non z nocte AJ.

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

442 dominum om. GU.

444 tantummodo WP si tantummodo V in quantum GU quoad w tantummodo attached to 443 (and si non diligis) Br.

447 fac GU qualis om. PVS. 448 om. GU.

451 non mundae A autem om. S.
3. THE GREEK APPENDICES TO SEXTUS

APPENDIX I

452 (ΠΧ.Χ) Ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ οὗ ἀδίκως ἐπραξας δις ἀδικήθη-σεις.
453 (ΠΧ.Χ Α) ἀρχών μὲν ἐπιτήδευε πραξῆ εἶναι, ἀρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρον.
454 (ΠΥ Χ) βασιλεῖ συμβούλευε τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ ἀρχῇ.
455 (ΠΧ.Χ Α) βασιλεῖ μὴ ἐπιχείρει συγγίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος δυσώπετιν βασιλέα.
456 (ΠΧ.Α) βασιλεῖ καλῶς χρώμενος ἀρξεις βασιλέως.
457 (ΠΥ Α) βασιλέα φρόνησις οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ.
458 (Υ) νοῦς ἐστι τὸ ἀρχον.
459 (ΠΥ) ὃ βασιλεύων ἀνθρώπων καλῶς βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
460 (ΠΥ) βασιλεὶ πιστὸς ὁν βασιλεὺς ἔστη.
461 (ΠΧ.Χ) κυνικοῦ ἄνδρος ἀσκησις μὲν ἄγαθή, βίος δὲ οὐ προηγούμενος.
462 (ΠΥ Χ) κυνικὸν μὴ τὸ σχῆμα ἀποδέχου ἄλλα τὴν μεγα-λοψυχίαν ζῆλου.
463 (ΠΧ.Χ) κυνικὸς ἄληθὴς βασιλεὺς ἀνεπίθεονος.
464 (ΠΧ.Χ) κυνικὸς ἄληθὴς τὸν κόσμον οἶκον ἠγεῖται.
465 (ΠΧ.Α) φίλη καὶ μὴ χρὴ πράττε τὰ ἀκόλουθα.
466 (Π) πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτάρκης ἀρετῆ.
467 (ΠΥ Χ) πλούσιον μόνον νόμιζε τὸν σοφὸν.

452-4 after 610 in Π. 452 Clit. 54 ἐπραξας ἀδίκως Π.
453 Clit. 55 (πράως).
454 Clit. 56 After 454 Π has 406-27, then 455-88. 455 Clit. 57.
457-9 Clit. 58-60, Ρυ. 13 νοῦς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀρχών Clit. Ρυ.
459 ὁ om. Ρυ. βασιλ. γὰρ τις α. κ. οὗτος ὑπὸ θ. βασιλεύεται Ρυ.
460 τοῦ θεοῦ Clit.
460 ὃν καὶ Υ. 461 οὐ om. Π. 462 = Ρυ. 54.
465 (μ)ακρόβιοι προηγούμενοι φίλη καὶ κτλ. Π. 466 Cf. 148.
467 μόνον om. Π.
THE GREEK APPENDICES

468 (ΠΥΧ) δὖν ἄρετῆ αἰτία, τούτων οὐδενὶ φαύλον πρόσεστιν.
469 (ΠΥΧ) δὖν κακία αἰτία, τούτων καθαρεύεισι σοφὸς ἀνήρ.
470 (ΠΧ) τὰ καλὰ ποιεῖν μὲν καλὸν, ὑπισχυεῖτο δὲ αὖθαδες.
471 (ΠΧ) αὐτοὶ πράττειν ἐν περιστάσει, μὴ πράξῃς προηγούμενος.
472 (ΠΥΧ) ὑπὲρ δὲν θελεις γην, ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ ἀπόθανε.
473 (ΠΥΧ) οὐχ ὁ θάνατος κακὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι γενναῖος ἀποθανεῖν.
474 (ΠΧ) μηδὲν τῶν μεταξὺ ἄρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἄγαθὸν ἡγοῦ.
475 (ΠΧ) οὐδὲν κακῶν, ὃ μὴ αἰσχρὸν.
476 (ΠΥΧ) ὁ ἄγιός ἡ λογισμὸν ἐκπλήττει.
477 (ΠΥΧ) ὁ φθινόν ἔαυτον ζημιοῦ.
478 (ΠΧ) άνθρώποισ χρό ὡς κοινωνοῖς καὶ πολλαίς θεοῦ.
479 (ΠΥΧ) μᾶλλον τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις σε ἀμείβεσθαι χαρίζου.
480 (ΠΧ) οὐδεῖς ἀν γένοιτο εὐλογος, ὅπου λογισμὸς τοῦ ποιήσαι αἰσχρόν.
481 (ΠΧ) ἀρχὴ πατρίδος ἐπιμελείας ἀρίστη ἡ ἔαυτον ἐπιμέλεια.
482 (ΠΧ) μεγάλως εὑρεγεῖτε πατρίδα ὁ σπουδᾶσας ἄγαθὸς εἶναι πολύτις.
483 (ΠΧ) ἀναθημάτων ἀριστῶν ἐν πόλει πολιτῶν ἄνθρωπος.
484 (ΠΧ) πατρίδος εὑρεγεῖτις ἄνήρ σοφός.
485 (ΠΧ) οὗ σώζεται μέρος ἄνευ τοῦ ὅλου.
486 (ΠΥ) ἀριστα τιμᾷ γονεῖς ὁ μάλιστα γονέων ἐπιμελοῦμενος.
487 (ΠΥ) εὐχαρίστων γονέων ἀνθρώπων θεοφίλης.
488 (ΠΥ) θεραπεύει θεόν ὁ θεραπεύων γονεῖς.

468 οὐδὲν Y.
469 καθαρεύει YΧ ἀνήρ om. ΠΧ.
470 Cf. 198.
471 Cf. 388 προηγομένος at the beginning of 472 Y.
472 Py. 123, Po. 34.
473 Cf. 202. 478 om. ΠΧ.
475 Py. 61.
476 In the middle of 483 X inserts 355, 359–412 (cf. introd. p. 6) δριστα Π.
478 ΠΧ om. Y.
484 ΠΧ om. Y.
486–535 lacking in Χ.
488 θ. θ. ὁ θεραπεύων κακοπραγμόνων ἥθη κτλ. = 262–379, then after ἐπιθυμία δὲ μεγάλη (see on 379) follows δουλεύων τοῖς γονεύσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐσεβ. κτλ. Π.
489 (PY) οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐσεβέστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς.
490 (PY, Α) ὁποίοις ἂν ἄξιοις σοὶ παῖδας εἶναι, τοιούτος ἦσος τοῖς γονεῦσι.
491 (Π) ἀχαρίστος γονεύσιν ἀνθρώπος ἁσεβῆς.
492 (PY) εὔχησις οὐκ ἀκούει θεὸς γονέων οὐκ ἀκούοντος.
493 (PY, Α) γονέων δργάς φέρειν εὐσεβεῖς.
494 (PY, Α) γονέων πείθου μὲν μᾶλλον τῷ πατρί, θεράπευε δὲ τὴν μητέρα.
495 (PY) γονεύσιν ἁποτιμπλασί τὸν θυμὸν καλὸν υπείκειν.
496 (Y) ἀναγκαϊότατον τὸ φιλάδελφον ἡγοῦ.
497 (PY) αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι φιλίαι φθονοῦνται, ἄδελφος δὲ ἄδελφόν εὐθύνεται μὴ φιλῶν.
498 (PY) καλὸν ἄδελφο καὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἰσομοιρεῖν.
499 (PY, x) οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον σωφροσύνης γάμῳ.
500 (PY) δρα τὴν γυναῖκα ὡς μέρος σεαυτοῦ.
501 (PY) αἰδοῦμενος τὴν γαμητὴν σύζεις [ἀνήρ].
502 (PY) ἄνηρ καὶ γυνὴ ἐνὸς ζύον τελείου μέρη.
503 (PY) τιμάτω μὲν ὁ ἄνηρ τῇ γυναῖκα ὡς προστάτιν, ἢ γυνὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς κηδεμόνα.
504 (PY) μηδὲν κτήμα ἔστω τοῦ ἄνδρος, δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔστιν.
505 (PY, x) ἀμαρτήματα γυναικῶν ἄνδρων ἀπαθευσίαι.
506 (PY, x) ἄνηρ ἀρχέτω γυναικός, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖτω.
507 (PY) ἄνδρός ἀκρασία γυναίκα ἀπόλλυσιν.

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489 Clit. 68 ἀνάλωμα τού] ἂν ἄλλο τι Π.
490 ὁποίοις ἂν ἄξιοις ὑπὲρ παῖδας εἶναι Y* ὁποίοις ἂν ἄξιοι σοὶ παῖδες εἶναι Y corr. ἄξιος Elter εὔξη Π ἦσος] γίνοι Y τοῖς γονεῖσιν σου Π.
492 Cf. 217, 584 ἀκούοντος Π ἄκοιουσιν Y.
494 μὲν μᾶλλον πείθου Y.
495 ἁποτιμπλάσι Y ἁπατιμπλάσιν Π υπῆκειν Π υπενεγκεῖν Y.
498 Py. 53.
499 σωφροσύνη Y γάμῳ x γάμου PY (cf. 168, 235).
500 μέλος Y (cf. 13) τελειοῦ Π.
501 Cf. 238 οἰδοὺμενος ἄνηρ γυναίκα οὐ σώζεται Π.
502 τελείου om. Π.
503 ὁ om. Π προστάτιν π παραστάτιν Elter ἢ ἔν γυνη Y.
504 Py. 62 ἔστιν om. Υ. 505 ἀμάρτημα Y (x = Π).
506 Py. 63 τυραννεῖτω γυνή Y. 507 ἄνδρος om. Π.
THE GREEK APPENDICES

508 (ΠΥ x) γυναικὸς ἄρχειν ἰκανός ὁ σώφρων ἄνήρ.
509 (Π) οἱ δὲ ἡδονὴν παιδοποιούμενοι ύβρίζουσι τὰς παιδο-

poiásas.
510 (Π) λαγνεία κόρου περίσσεμα.
511 (Π) προῖξ πολλή τέκνα βελτίωνα οὐ ποιεῖ.
512 (ΠΥ x) χαλεπώτερον πλουσιώτερος ἄρχεις.
513 (ΠΥ x) γυνὴ φιλόκοσμος οὐ πιστῇ.
514 (ΠΥ x) γυνὴ τὸν ἑαυτής ἄνδρα νόμον ἤγεισθο τοῦ βίου.
515 (ΠΥ x) ὁ ἄνήρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ ποιεῖτω.
516 (Π) ὁ ἐπιγαμὸν τέκνοις μὴ εὐδοκιμεῖτω.
517 (ΠΥ) ὅταν ἄρκη τέκνοις, ἄρκου καὶ ἀφροδισίους.
518 (Π) ὡμότατος τεκνοκτόνος ὁ τὰ μηδὲν ἤδικηκότα τέκνα ἀναίρετον.
519 (ΠΥ x) τοὺς παῖδας τρέφε ὡς ὑπηρέτας θεοῦ ἐσομένους.
520 (ΠΥ x) εὐχοῦ σοι μὴ γίνεσθαι τέκνα ἢ κακά γίνεσθαι.
521 (ΠΥ x) ὅποια ἄν ἢ σου ἢ γυνῆ, τοιούτους ἔσται σου καὶ ὁ οἶκος.
522 (ΠΥ x) οὐ σεαυτῷ μόνῳ τέκνα γεννήσας μέμνησο ὅτι ἤθητα

γεννᾶς.
523 (ΠΥ x) μὴ δυνόμενος φέρειν τέκνων ἀποβολὴν μὴ παιδο-
pioiοῦ.
524 (ΠΥ x) φύσις μεγάλη ἐπιμελουμένη βελτίων γίνεται, ἀμελου-

μένη δὲ χείρων.
525 (ΠΥ x) μεγάλη φύσις μεγάλης δεῖται καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας.
526 (ΠΥ x) μεγάλη φύσις ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ περικυκλία.
527 (ΠΥ x) ἢ ἔπτ’ άκρον εὐφυὴς σφαλερά.

508 ἰκανότατος σωφρονότατος (om. ἄνήρ) Y (x = Π) (cf. 555).
510 λαγνεία Elter ἀγνεία Π. 511 Clit. 74.
513 Clit. 75. 514 μόνων Π.
515 αὐτῷ ΠΥ ποιεῖτω Π. πειθέτω Π. 516 ἐπιγαμῶν Π.
517 ὅταν ἄρχης τέκνων ἄρχει καὶ ἀφροδισίοις Y (cf. 240).
520 γενέσθαι (twice) Y τέκνα μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς γενέσθαι Π (cf. 254).
521 σου om. Π ἔσται] ἔστω Y οἶκος] βίοσ Π Πx (cf. 326a).
522 γενέσθαι (twice) Π.
523 Cf. 257 τέκνων φέρειν Π παιδοποιεῖ Y.
524 φύσις μεγάλη μικρὰς ἀμελουμένη γίνεται χείρων Πx (μικρὰς om. x).
525 καὶ τῆς om. Πx. 526 εὖ περικυκλία] εὐφυὴ (cf. 527–8) Y.
527 Hippocrates, Aphor. 1, 3, αἱ ἔπτ’ άκρον εὐφυὴς σφαλερά.
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528 (ΠΥ x) ὁ κακῶς εὐφυῖς χρησάμενος ἀχάριστος τῇ φύσει νομιζέσθω.
529 (ΠΥ x) ἁσφαλῆς φύσις μεγάλων οὔτε ἁγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν αἵτια.
530 (Π x) χαλεπώτερον σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὸ διαφθείραι νέον ψυχήν ὄχλος ἐπαινῶν.
531 (ΠΥ Α) φιλάττου φαύλων ἐπαίνους.
532 (Π) οὐδὲν ὁμιλοῦν μέγα ανάθημα.
533 (ΠΥ Χ) λόγος ὅρθος ὁμοίως θεῶ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπρατός.
534 (ΠΥ Χ) ὁ τοῖς πολλοῖς πειρώμενος ἀρέσκειν πολλοῖς ὁμίοις.
535 (Π) πλῆθος φιλοσοφικῶν οὐκ ἦν ἐξεύροις.
536 (ΠΥ Χ x) γονέων διδάσκαλοι μείζους ευεργέται.
537 (ΠΥ Χ) ἐν παντὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὸ εἶναι λυσιτελέστερον.
538 (ΠΧ) ὃν οὐκ ὁδας πτως ποτ’ ἔχει παιδείας, τούτον μήπωτε τολμήσεις λέγειν εὐθαίμων.
539 (ΠΧ x) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐγενής φιλοσοφεῖν πόνων μὴ καταφρονήσατα.
540 (ΠΥ Χ x) παίδευε σαυτὸν, εἴτε τοὺς ἄλλους.
541 (ΠΥ Χ α) ἄνευθυνος οὖν μὴ ἐπιχείρει νέων ἄρχειν.
542 (ΠΥ Χ Α) παιδευτικός ἄνηρ οὗτος ευεργέτης μετὰ θεῶν.
543 (ΠΥ Χ x) ἐλέγχων σεαυτόν ὑπ’ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔλεγχθησθε.
544 (ΠΥ) ἀνεξάτατος βίος οὐ βιωτός ἀνθρώπῳ.
545 (ΠΥ Χ Α) παιδευτικὸς θέλων εἶναι ἄσκει πραῤῥητητα.

528 ὁ κακῶς εὐφυῖς χρησάμενος Π (x = Y).
529 οὐκ ἁγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν ἁγγεῖα Π.
530 σοφιστοῦ...όχλος ἐπ. Lloyd-Jones σοφιστῆς...όχλος ἐπαινῶν Π.
531 Cf. 241 = 570.
532 ὀνόματος Π ἄναθημα Π.
533 διὸ καὶ πρακτικὸς Υ. 534 Cf. 112. 535 Cf. 243.
536 Clit. 78. 537 Cf. 64.
538 = Clit. 46. For 536–8 Π ἔστιν γονέων διδάσκαλοι μείζους ευεργέται,
539 εν παντὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι. λυσιτελέστερον οὖν ἔστιν τὸ ποτὲ παιδείας ἔχειν.
540 τοῦτον μηδὲ ποτε τολμήσῃς εὐθαίμων λέγειν.
541 ἀναξίος Χ x ὑπὸ om. Y (cf. 544, 173).
542 Cf. 176 οὗτος om. Y. 543 σαυτὸν Υ ὑπὸ Π.
544 Plato, Apol. 38 τοῦ ἀνεξάτατος Π βιωτότας ἀνθρώπων Π.
545 Py. 81 εἶναι θέλων Υ (cf. 247) πραῤῥητῃ Υ.
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546 (ΠΥXx) ὁ βίος σοῦ τοῖς παιδευμένοις ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων σοῦ ἔστω.
547 (ΠΥXxΔ) τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἐργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω.
548 (ΠΥXx) πλεονεκτεῖ τῶν ἄρχομένων ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς πόνοις.
549 (ΠΥXx) αἰσχρὸν προστάττετεν ἡ μὴ ποιεῖς.
550 (ΠΥXxΔ) σαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν ἀλλον μὴ θέλε κρατεῖν.
551 (ΠΥXx) κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχὴν τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἕαυτοῦ.
552 (ΠΧx) ἀρχῆ ἑκόντων.
553 (ΠΥXx) χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν νέων ἄρχειν ἡ λεόντων.
554 (ΠΥXx) ἐπιστάμενος ἄρχειν καὶ γυμνὸς ὁν ἄρξεις.
555 (ΠΧx) ἐν παντὶ ἄρχικώτατος ὁ φρονιμώτατος.

APPENDIX 2A

556 (ΥΧ) ἐν τῷ σοφῶτατον ἐν τοῖς οὐσὶ καὶ ἄριστον· εἰς οὖν καὶ θεὸς.
557 (ΥΧ) τῷ μοναρχοῦν δεύτερον εἶναι οὐ πέρευκε.
558 (ΥΧ) μόνον αὐτῆς μονάδος ἐστίν ὁ θεὸς.
559 (ΥΧ) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς αὐτοκίνητος καὶ οἰκίκητος.
560 (ΥΧ) θεὸς ἐστιν οὐσία δίδιος, μακάριος θεὸς, ἐστὶ τε πρὸ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ πάσης γενέσεως μακάριον.
561 (ΥΧ) πηγὴ πάντων καλῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐστιν.
562 (ΥΧ) ὁ θεὸς καθό νοῦς ἐστιν αὐτοκίνητος, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ύφεστηκεν.

546 Py. 73 τῶν παιδευμένων Πχ Py. τῷ λόγῳ Π σου at om.
547 Clit. 49, Po. 8, τὰ γὰρ ἐργα τῶν δογμάτων ἐκάστου φέρειν πέρευκε τὰς ἀποδείξεις τὰ om. Π.
548 ἐν ἀπασί at om. Πχ ἐν πάθεσι καὶ πόνοις Χ.
549 Cf. 180 αἰσχρὸν προστάττετεν Ισα καὶ ποιεῖν Υ.
550 Py. 93 (σεαυτοῦ) ἑαυτοῦ Π ἄλλων Π.
551 Py. 100, τὸ ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἄρχειν σεαυτοῦ Π. 552–3 ἄρξαι ἑκόντων χαλεπώτερον κτλ. Π.
553 Clit. 51 = Χχ χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν (with 552) at om. Υ ἡ γερόντων Π.
555 Clit. 52 (cf. Py. 109) ἐν πάσῃ ἄρχῃ ἱσώτατος οἱ φρ. Π With 555 both Π and X cease, ΥΧ continue without break.
560 μακάριον om. Χ. 562 = 26 (om. δή).
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563 (YX) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς ὁ πρὸ πάντων σοφὸς.
564 (YX) τὸν αἰματοὺς καὶ κνίσης δεόμενον μὴ τόλμα λέγειν θεον.
565 (YX) θεοῦ γνώμη σφεται τὰ σύμπαντα, θεοῦ δυνάμει δυνατὰ πάντα.
566 (YX) οὕσια θεοῦ δύναμις τῶν δυτῶν τοῦ παθεῖν ἀνεπιδεκτος.
567 (YX) ἀπειρία θεοῦ πλήθος ἐποίησε θεον.
568 (YX) βλαξ ἀνθρώποις θεῶν ἄγνοις ἥλια καὶ λίθους τιμᾷ.
569 (ΠΥΧ) ἀδικοῦντα μὲν λαβέιν δυνατόν, πίστιν δὲ λαβέιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἄδυνατον.
570 (YX) φυλάττου τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ἔπαινον.
571 (YX) ἐπιταχθέντες πόσοι ἀπώλοντο.
572 (YX) κρίνε σεαυτόν ὡς μηδὲν ἀμαρτείν καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῇς.
573 (YX) ἀγών ὁ βίος ἐστὶν σοι πέρι τοῦ σεμνοῦ.
574 (YX) οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμα δουλεύειν ἢδονῇ καὶ θεῷ.
575 (YX) κατ’ ἄξιαν δουλεύων ἄρξεις τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.
576 (YX) ὀποῖον ἂν θεῷ τῷ ἄρχον, τοιοῦτος ἔστι.
577 (YX) γνωθί θεόν, ἵνα γνῶς καὶ σεαυτόν.

APPENDIX 2B

578 (ΠΥΧΑ) τιμὴ μεγίστη θεοῦ γνώσις ἐν σιγῇ.
579 (ΠΥΧ) ὁμοίωσις θεοῦ παντὸς τοῦναυτίου ἀποφυγῆ.
580 (YX) ἐσωτέραν αἴδου μετὰ θεον.
581 (YX) εὐκαίρει τῷ θεῷ.
582 (YX) δικαίου διανοίᾳς θεοῦ ἡγεμῶν ἔστιν.
583 (ΠΥΧ) τιμῶν τὸν θεοῦ τίμα δ καὶ ὁ θεός.

564 Cf. anonymous Pythagorean ap. Orig. c. Cels. vii, 6.
569 Placed after 450 Π ἀδικομενοῦν μαθεῖν ἄδυνατον, πίστιν δὲ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἄδυνατον Π περὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Υ.
570 =241 (where X attaches 571) τῶν τῶν Υ.
573 =282 (περὶ βίου σεμνοῦ). 574 Clit. 136.
575 θεῷ κατ’ ἄξιεν conj. Elter. 576 ἐπο Χ.
577 Cf. 394.
578 Cf. 44 Placed after 579 Π θεῷ om. Υ γνώσις ὁμοίωσις Π.
579 θεῷ π. τοῦ ε. Π πάντως ΥΧ. (Cf. Plato, Theaet. 176 b.)
582 δικαίου διανοίας Χ Elter δεῖ καὶ οὐ δεῖ ἄνοιας Υ.
583 τὸν and ὁ om. Υ τίμα] τοῦτα μόνον τίμα Π.

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THE GREEK APPENDICES

584 (ΥX) εὐχῆς οὓς ἀκούει θεὸς σπουδαῖως δειμένων οὐκ ἀκούοντος.

585 (ΠΥX) σεαυτῷ δεῖ πίστιν ἐπιφέρειν μετὰ θεόν λόγον θεοῦ.

586 (ΠΥ) ὡς πρέπει λέγει περὶ θεοῦ.

587 (ΥX) πιστὸς ἄνηρ ἐνι λατρεύει τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι.

APPENDIX 3

588 (Υ) γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα μὴ κρατῶν οὐδὲ εἰς πιστὸς.

589 (Υ) σοφὸς ἄνηρ καὶ σιγῶν θεὸν τιμᾷ.

590 (Υ) καθάραν τήν ψυχὴν ἐξων ἀνοσίων ἐργῶν λέγει περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἄκουε.

585-6 διά τινι τούτῳ σε ὁμολογεῖ καί τούτῳ οὖσαν κακοὶ δαιμόνες οὕς ἐμποδίζουσιν.

592 (Υ) φίλον ἦγον τῷ ὁμοίῳ τῷ ὁμοίῳ.

593 (ΠΥ) μοῦν οἰκεῖον ἦγον τῷ ἰγαθῶν.

594 (ΠΥ) μηδὲν ἰδίου κτήμα νομίζεθων φιλοσόφου.

595 (Υ) ἀριστον μὲν τῷ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτὸντα δὲ ἀμεινον μηνύειν ἢ κρύπτειν.

596 (Υ) νομίζεθων σοι ἀμάρτημα εἶναι καὶ τὸ διανοηθῆναι ἀμαρτεῖν.

597 (Υ) πᾶν ὃ ἐν διανοηθῆς ὡστε ποιῆσαι, πεποίηκας αὐτὸ τῇ ψυχῇ.

598 (Υ) οὗκ ἔκφευξῃ ἀμαρτίαν ἀναλώμασι.

599 (Υ) πολύθεος ἀνθρώπως ἄθεος.

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584 = 217 (cf. 492) εὐχῆς ἀκούει θεὸς σπουδαῖως δειμένων, σοῦ μὴ ἀκούοντος σεαυτῷ δεῖ [585] Y Text as X (Elter).

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 νομίζεθων κτήμα Π νόμιζε and om. φιλοσόφου Y.

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

597 ἐάν Y. 598 Cf. 155.
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600  (Y) ὁ̂ν ἐν ἑπιθυμήσης, τούτων νόμιζε δούλος εἶναι.
601  (Y) αἰσχρόν νόμιζε τὸ διανοηθήναι τὸ αἰσχρόν.
602  (Y) μὴ πλείονα κτῶ ὅν τὸ σῶμα ἐπιζητεῖ.
603  (Y) οὐ γέγονος ἐντρυφήσων τῇ τοῦ κόσμου παρασκευῇ.
604  (Y) ἀνθρώπος δουλεύων ἡδονή δουλεύει κακῶ δαιμονί.
605  (Y) κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους μένει ὁπόσα οὐ προσδοκήσουσι.
606  (Y Α) δικαιοσύνην ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ ἀσκεῖ.
607  (Y Α) τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁδικεῖν σε πειρωμένους.
608  (Y) μηδὲνα ἁδικῶν οὐδένα φοβηθῆσθαι.
609  (Y) ὑπὸ τῶν πλησίον ἀνέχου ψευδόμενος.
610  (ΠΥ) οπτουθή πλείονων ἐπιμεμφῆς γίνεται.

603 =117 (θεοῦ for κόσμου).
608 =386.       609 Cf. 298.
After 610 Π has 452–4 etc. Y 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 ἐπού θεῖος, 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. 232v, which contains fifty-nine maxims likewise beginning ἐπού θεῖος, under the title Κλειτάρχου πραγματικῶν χρειῶν συναγώγη. 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 ἐπού θεῖος, under the heading παραϊνετικά. 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 ἀρχηγὸν μὲν ἐπιτίθενε... 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 (Θb), containing five out of the twenty-three; Coislinianus 249 (Θc) containing twelve sentences in the same order as in Θ; and lastly Parisinus gr. 1630, fol. 189, quotes Clit. 55 alone (Θd).

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 i, 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 ἀγάπη. 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), ἀρχεόθα τοι ἀρχεῖν ἐπιστήμην (= Stobaeus, iii, 1, 172).


61 Cf. Sextus 462.

62 63 From Py. 43, θεοὶ θείοιν ἔχει άνθρωπός τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἓκα τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν μή κατηλευθή. 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), φιλοὺς μὴ τοιχύ κτῶ, οὔς δ’ ἄν κτῆσι, μὴ τοιχύ ἀποδόκιμως. 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 ἄριστους θησαυροὺς τοὺς φίλους ἤγου. 115 Cf. Sextus 283.
122 Cf. Sextus 404-5.
125 Cf. Clit. 17.
128 Cf. Py. 12, βουλευσάμενος πολλὰ ἦκε ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔζεις ἐξουσίαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὰ πρακτέντα ἢ λειτεντα.
135 and 136 are conjoined by Σ.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΧΡΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ

1 (ΛΦΣ) Ἑπτοῦ θεῷ.
2 (ΛΦ) γνώδη σαυτόν.
3 (Λ) πατρίδα τὸν κόσμον ἤγου.
4 (ΛΦΣ) ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδὲνος δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σοφὸς μόνου θεοῦ (Sext. 49).
5 (Λ) ἄσκει μέγας εἶναι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, παρὰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀνεπίφθονος (Sext. 51).
6 (ΛΦΣ) εὐσέβης οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ θύων, ἀλλ’ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν (cf. Sext. 47).
7 (ΦΣ) ἡ ψυχή σου ἀεὶ ἐστώ παρὰ θεῷ (Sext. 55b).
8 (ΦΣ) διάνοια ἄνθρωπον θεόν οὐ λαυθάνει (Sext. 57a).
9 (ΦΣ) δίκαιος άνήρ εἰκόνι θεοῦ (cf. Sext. 190).
10 (Λ) ἐκ φιληθοῦσας ἀκολοῦθα φύεται (Sext. 71b).
11 (ΛΦΣ) ζητοῦ τὸν μηδενὸς δεόμενον (cf. Sext. 50).
12 (Λ) όν ἐπίθυμεί τις δούλος ἐστιν (Sext. 600, Υ only).
13 (Θ) ἐγκράτεια δὲ κριτῆς εὐσέβειας (Sext. 86a).

4 σοφὸς δεῖται ΦΣ (χ) τοῦ θεοῦ ΦΣ (Υ).
5 μέγας μὲν Sext. παρὰ θεῷ Sext. 6 μηδένα Λ.
7 σου also Υ (cf. Sext. 55a) τοῦ θεοῦ Σ.
8 ἐννοεῖ Sext. (διάνοια Sext. 57b). 10 ἀκολοῦθαν οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ Sext.
12 όν ἐπιθυμήσῃς, τούτων νόμισε δούλος εἶναι Sext.
13 κριτῆς εὐσ. ἐγκρ. Sext.
CLITARCHUS

14 (Λ) εὐχόν σοι γενέσθαι μὴ & βούλει ὀλλ' & δεῖ (Sext. 88).
15 (Λ) & δίδωσι παιδεία, ταῦτα οὖδείς σε ἄφαιρήσεται (Sext. 92).
16 (ΦΣ) σκέπτον πρὸ τοῦ πράττειν καὶ δράττεις ἔξεταζε, ἵνα μηδὲν ποιῆσι ὅ μη δεῖ (Sext. 93).
17 (ΦΣ) ψυχή καθαίρεται ἐννοία θεοῦ (Sext. 97).
18 (ΦΣ) παντὸς οὖ καλὸς πράττεις θεον ἡγού αἴτιον (Sext. 113).
19 (ΦΣ) κακών θεῶν ἀναίτιος (Sext. 114).
20 (Φ) μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀσκεί (Sext. 120).
21 (Λ) δὲν ἕγεμόνες οἱ πρόνοι, ταῦτα εὐχόν σοι γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους (Sext. 125).
22 (Φ) ὁ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἴτοι παρὰ θεοῦ (Sext. 128).
23 (ΛΘ) ὁρεῖς κτήσεως ἀρχῆ πλεονεξίας (Sext. 137).
24 (Θ) ἐκ γὰρ φιλαργυρίας ἀδικία φύεται (Sext. 138).
25 (ΛΦΣΘ) φιλίου & μὴ δεῖ οὗ φιλήσεις & δεῖ (Sext. 141).
26 (Θ) ἀπήλητων γὰρ ἡ ἐπίθυμία, διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπορον (Sext. 146).
27 (Λ) κακοὶ κολακεύομενοι κακίους (Sext. 149).
28 (ΦΣ) αἱρετῶτερον εἰκῇ λίθον βάλλειν ἢ λόγον (Sext. 152).
29 (ΦΣ) σκέπτον πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγης εἰκῇ (Sext. 153).
30 (ΛΦΣ) βρήματα ἀνευ νοῦ ψυφοί (Sext. 154).
31 (ΛΦΣ) βραχυλογία σοφία παρακολουθεῖ (Sext. 156).

14 γίνεσθαι Π δεῖ καὶ συμφέρει Sext.
15 δ Ἀ παιδεία, ὁ θεὸς Sext. ταῦτα and σε om. Sext.
16 See codd. of Sextus (above, p. 22).
17 φωτίζεται Sext. καθαίρεται cf. Sext. 24, ψυχή καθ. λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπὸ σοφοῦ, Po. 11, καὶ καθ. μὲν ἀνθρωπος ἐννοία θεοῦ.
18 = Po. 12 αἴτιον ἡγοῦ τῶν θεῶν Sext.
19 = Po. 12 (after 18). 21 = Po. 12 σοι εὐχόν Sext.
20 = Po. 12; Py. 3 (ἄ) κτώμονος Υ τοῦ θεοῦ Π.
24 = ἐκ φιλαυτίας (om. γάρ) Sext. κακία Π γίνεται Υ.
26 = ἀπήλητωτος ἐπιθυμία [ἀπασα παντὸς add. ΠΧ], 8. τ. κ. ἀπορος Sext.
27 = Po. 14, Py. 7 λίθον εἰκῇ Sext. Po. Py.
30 = X ψόγος ΠΡ φόβος Υ. 31 ἀκολουθεῖ Υ.
TEXTS

32 (ΛΦΣ) μακρολογία σημείον ἄμαθίας (Sext. 157).
33 (Φ) ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς.
34 (ΦΘ) τῷ ψεύδει ός φαρμάκῳ χρῶ (Sext. 159).
35 (ΦΣ) ὅπωτε δεὶ πράττειν, λόγῳ μὴ χρῶ (Sext. 163a).
36 (ΦΣ) περὶ οὖν οἶδας, σιώπα,

perὶ οὖν οἶδας, δ δεὶ λέγε (Sext. 162).
37 (ΦΣ) λόγος παρὰ καιρὸν ἄνωθα ἐλέγχος (Sext. 163).
38 (ΦΣ) ἢ αὐτῇ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ σιωπᾶν (Sext. 164a).
39 (ΦΘ) εν συλλόγῳ πρῶτος λέγειν μὴ ἐπιτίθενε· (Sext. 164)

metὰ γὰρ πλείονας λέγων ὑπεὶ μᾶλλον τὰ συμφέροντα
(Sext. 165b).  
40 (ΦΣΘ) μεγάλῃ περιστάσει πρέπει ψεύδος (Sext. 165c).
41 (ΦΣ) μηδένα ἀπάτα, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ συμβουλίας δεδεμένου
(Sext. 165e).
42 (Φ) οὐδὲν οἰκείοτερον σοφία ἢ ἀληθεία (Sext. 168).
43 (ΦΣ) οὐ δυνατόν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν φιλόσοφον τε εἰναι καὶ

φιλωσοφή (Sext. 169).
44 (Λ) τοῦ λέγειν ἡ δεὶ τὸ ἄκουειν προτίμα (Sext. 171).
45 (Λ) τὰ τῶν παιδευόμενων ὄμαρτήματα τῶν παιδευόντων

ὄνειδη (Sext. 174).
46 (Φ) οὐκ οὖν ὁδὸς πῶς ποτ' ἔχει παιδείας, τούτων μήποτε

tολμήσῃ λέγειν εὐδαιμόνα (cf. Sext. 538).
47 (Φ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐγενῶς φιλοσοφεῖν πόνων καταφρονήσαντα
(Sext. 539).
CLITARCHUS

48 (Φ) τοὺς λόγους σου ὁ βίος βεβαιοῦτω (Sext. 177).
49 (Φ) τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω (Sext. 547).
50 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἄρχεσθαι μὴ μαθῶν ἄρχειν μὴ ἐπιχείρει.
51 (ΛΦΣ) χαλεπώτερον εὐγενῶν νέων ἄρχειν ἢ λεόντων (Sext. 553).
52 (Λ) ἐν παντὶ ἄρχικότατος ὁ φρονιμότατος (Sext. 555).
53 (ΦΣ) ἀνθρώπον μὲν ἀπατήσαι δυνατόν λόγο, θεῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον (Sext. 186).
54 (ΛΘ) ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπέρ οὗ ἀδίκως ἐπιράξας, δίς ἀδικήσεις (Sext. 452).
55 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἄρχων μὲν ἐπιτίθεντες πρῶτος εἶναι, ἄρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρον (Sext. 453).
56 (ΦΣ) βασιλεῖ συμβουλέυει τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ ἁρχῇ (Sext. 454).
57 (Λ) βασιλεῖ μὴ ἐπιχείρει συγγίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος δυσωπεῖν βασιλέα (Sext. 455).
58 (ΦΣΘ) βασιλέα φρόνησις, οὔ διάδημα ποιεῖ· (Sext. 457)
59 (Θ) νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων (Sext. 458).
60 (ΦΣ) ὁ βασιλεύων ἀνθρώπων καλῶς βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (Sext. 459).
61 (Λ) όταν ἐπὶ μικρὸς παύσῃ μέγα φρονεῖν, τότε ἁρξὴ μέγα φρονεῖν.
62 (ΛΦ) οὐχ ὁ θάνατος κακῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι γενναίως ἀποθανεῖν (Sext. 473).
63 (Φ) ἀνθρώπως δομοῖον ἕχει θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν.
64 (Θ) φαύλος ἁχρῆματος δοκεῖ σοφὸς ἀνήρ (Sext. 214).
65 (Λ) ὑπέρ πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν εὐτυχές.

48 παρὰ τοῖς ἄκοουσιν 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 ἁρχῇ ἱσότατος Π.
53 δυνατῶν ἄπτ. λόγον ἢ Π. ἄνθρ., θ. μέντοι ἄδ. Sext.
55 μὲν] δὲ and om. ἄρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρον Σ.
57 δυνάμενον Λ.
58-9 βασ. φρόνιμον τὸ διάδημα οὐ ποιεῖ κτλ. Θ νοῦς ἐστί τὸ ἁρχὸν
Sext. (Υ), Clit. = Py. 13.
62 οὗ θάνατος Y κακῶς Π. 64 φ. φαίνεται ἁχρ. Sext.
TEXTS

66 (Φ) οὖ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν (Sext. 10).
67 (Φ) οὐ σφεταὶ μέρος ἀνευ τοῦ ὄλου (Sext. 485).
68 (Λ) οὖκ ἔστιν εὑσεβεστερον ἀνάλωμα τοῦ εἰς γονεῖς (Sext. 489).
69 (Λ) γάμει δυνατός ὄν ἄρχειν.
70 (Λ) ὥρες ἀφροδισίαν παιδοποιία.
71 (Λ) μοιχός ἐστι τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς πᾶς ὁ ἀκόλουθος (Sext. 231).
72 (Λ) αἰδούμενος τῆς γυναῖκα αἰδομένην ἔξεις (Sext. 238).
73 (Φ) ἔφ᾽ ὀσον ἂν γαστρὸς ἀρξης, καὶ ἀφροδίσιων ἄρξεις (Sext. 240).
74 (Θ) προιξ πολλή τέκνα βελτίονα οὐ ποιεῖ (Sext. 511).
75 (Λ) γυνὴ φιλόκοσμος οὐ πιστή (Sext. 513).
76 (Λ) τέκνα ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔφ᾽ ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν ἔφ᾽ ἡμῖν (Sext. 255).
77 (Λ) διδασκάλους τίμα.
78 (Λ) γονέων διδάσκαλοι μείζονς εὐεργεταί (Sext. 536).
79 (ΛΦΣ) φιλοπονία φύσιν διορθοῦται.
80 (ΛΦΣ) ἀφθονία φύσιν ἀπόλλυσιν.
81 (Λ) ὅμοιαθες γίνου ἢ ἁμαθῆς.
82 (Λ) πᾶν ἀμάρτημα χρόνου ζημία.
83 (Λ) φιλοπόνον χρόνος περισσεύει.
84 (Λ) τὸν ἔπι σχολῆς λόγων ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεις μέμνησο.
85 (ΦΣ) ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται (Sext. 75 b).
86 (ΦΣ) οὐκ ἔστιν ἔλευθερον εἶναι κρατούμενον ὑπὸ παθῶν.
87 (Φ) ὑπνοὶ προσεῖσο διὰ τὸ ἄναγκαίον.
88 (ΦΣΘ) μὴ ταχέως τοὺς φίλους κτῷ.
89 (Θ) οὖς ἄν κτήσῃ φίλους κτῶ.
90 (Θ) σεαυτοῦ τα ἀτυχήματα τῶν φιλῶν ἤγοι, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων εὐτυχημάτων κοινώνει τοῖς φίλοις.
CLITARCHUS

91 (Θ) τελευτησάντων τῶν φίλων θρηνεῖν μὲν οὐκ εὐγενές, προνοεῖν δὲ τῶν οἴκειων ἐπιμελέσ.
92 (ΦΣΘ) περιστάσεις δοκιμάζουσι φίλους.
93 (Φ) τίνε μετὰ τὸ διψῆν.
94 (Φ) ἔσθιε μετὰ τὸ πεινῆν.
95 (Φ) ἀνθρωπος γαστρὸς ἥσσων όμοιος θηρίῳ (Sext. 270).
96 (Φ) μὴ ἐπιτείχισε τῇ ψυχῇ σου τὸ σῶμα.
97 (Φ) ὁρὸς σῖτίων ἔστω σοι τὸ μὴ πεινῆν.
98 (ΦΣ) ἀκρότολις ἐστὶ σοφοῦ μεγαλοψυχία.
99 (ΛΦΣΘ) ἀφετήρι μὲν ἔχων πάντα ἔξεις, κακίαν δὲ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν.
100 (Φ) ἵσχυν σώματος πόνοι καταναγκάζουσι σιτίων μάλλον.
101 (ΦΘ) ἢ ἵσχυς τοῦ σώματός σου μὴ γινέσθω τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσθένεια.
102 (ΦΣ) ἀφροῦ τῇ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σώματι ἵσχυειν.
103 (ΦΣΘ) ἵσχυν δὲ ψυχῆς φρονήσων νόμισε.
104 (Φ) εἰς ἄνθρωπον περιγίνεται τῇ φρονήσει.
105 (Φ) τούτῳ σὸν κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ παρόνων μεταδίδως τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις (Sext. 295).
106 (ΦΣ) ὃς ἂν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονῇ, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ψόγων καταφρονεῖ (Sext. 299).
107 (Φ) ἢ [...] τοὺς φίλους Ἰηγοῦ.
108 (Φ) τὰ δικαία μετὰ πείθοις αἵρετώτερον ποιεῖν ἢ μετὰ βίας.
109 (Λ) οὐ πρότερον γνώσθη ὁ μὴ οἴσθα, πρὶν ἂν γνώσθησι οὐκ εἰδώς (Sext. 333).
110 (Φ) ὃς ἀργῆν πλήθους μὴ παρόξυνε (Sext. 343).
111 (ΦΣ) ἐπαίνων πλήθους μὴ θαύμαζε· μὴ ἀτίμαζε.

95 ἤπτωμενος Sext.
101 ἢ om. Thc ἢ Φ σον om. Th. 103 δἐ om. ΦΣ.
105 δ] φ Φ ὅπερ μεταδίδοις ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις, μὴ κρίνῃς ἄγαθον εἶναι Sext. (Π) παρ’ ὅσον μὴ μεταδίδοις ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις Υ.
106 ὃς τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τῶν ψόγων ὑπεράφα Sext. Ρυ. 111 b (at the end καταφρονεῖ) τοῦ ψόγου Σ.
107 ἢ(δὲλφοὺς εἶναι) Boissonade ἀρίστους θησαυροὺς τοὺς φίλους Ἰηγοῦ Sententiae Philosophorum 66 ed. Schenkl.
109 νοῦν οὐ πρότερον ἔξεις πρὶν ἢ γνώσις οὐκ ἔχων Sext. ὃς οἴσθα at the end Λ γνώσις ὃς οὐκ οἴσθα conj. Elter.
111 ἐπαίνων Σ.

6 81 cs
112 (Φ) θόρυβον τ[.....]μάτων ἔχον.
113 (Φ) ψυχήν σιτίοις μή ἐπιθολοῦ μηδὲ ἀμέτροι[.....].
114 (ΛΦΘ) κρείττων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ διὰ γαστρός ἀκρασίαν ψυχήν ἐμμαυρώσαι (Sext. 345).
115 (Λ) ἄμεινον εἰδέναι ἄγνοοντα ὅτι ἄγνοει ἢ δοκεῖν μή γινώσκοντα γινώσκειν.
116 (Λ) μέθης καιρός οὐδὲ εἰς οὐδενὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοῦ ληρεῖν.
117 (ΛΦ) νέος εὐφυέστατος μή παιδαγωγίς συζών διαφερόντως γίνεται κακός.
118 (Λ) ἀνόητος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν προτιμᾷ τοῦ κοινῆς συνοίσουτος.
119 (Λ) νέας ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀπαλαῖς μεγάλους κινδύνους καὶ πόνους μὴ ἐπιβάλλει.
120 (Φ) ἄρμόζου πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἵνα εὐθυμήσῃ (Sext. 385).
121 (Φ) περιστάσεις εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδαμῶς ἀφαιροῦνται (Sext. 387).
122 (Λ) δεδομένα τύχη, τοῖς περιστάσεις ἀφαιροῦνται.
123 (ΦΣ) οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκλεῶς τὴν ἀνευ τοῦ σωφρόνου καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικᾶς ὁ πράττειν.
124 (Φ) [.....] βίαιον μάθημα.
125 (ΦΣ) ψυχή καθαίρεται κακίας ἀπολλαγῇ.
126a (Φ) τὰ ὡτὰ σου μὴ τᾶσιν ὑπεχε (cf. Sext. 409)
126b (Φ) λόγος γὰρ κακῶς κακῶν ἡγεμόν ἔστιν.
127 (Φ) δύναμιν μεγ[.....] φρονήσεως οὐκ ἄν εὔροισ.
128 (Φ) πολλὰ βουλεύομενος ἐπείτα πράττε ὡς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχουν ἐπανορθοῦσαί τα πραξθέντα.
129 (ΛΦ) φύσεως ἀντιπραττούσης πάντα κενά.

114 ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ Sext. (cf. Py. 103, Po. 35) ἀ' ἀκρασίας Θ.
115 δοκεῖ Λ.
117 νέος εὐφ[.....] τοῖς τυχόν Φ. 119 νέος Λ.
121 τύραννος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται Sext.
123 οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεοῦ τὴν Sext. καὶ καλῶς om. ΠΥ (δικαιῶς καὶ σωφρ. Υ), Clit. = x R πράττειν (deficient in Φ) om. Σ.
126a τὰ ὡτὰ σου μὴ deficient in Φ μὴ παντι πιστεῦε Sext.
126b = Py. 49, κακῶν πράξεων κακῶς δαιμόν ήγεμῶν (cf. Sext. 305).
127 μεγ (ἀλήν ἀνευ) Boissonade.
CLITARCHUS

130 (Φ) τρίχας τὰς τοῦ σώματος μή δυνάμενος φέρειν τῶς οἴσεις παντοπλιάν;
131 (Φ) τρίβουν καὶ κόμη καὶ γένειον ἀγαθὸ ἦν ἄνδρὶ οἰκεία, κακὸ δὲ στίγματα.
132 (Φ) οὐδεμία προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λαυθάει (Sext. 325).
133 (ΛΦ) μακαρίη ἄνδρὸς σοφοῦ εὐβουλία.
134 (Λ) εὐφρενούντα σε ἄνθρωπον ὡς ὑπηρέτην θεοῦ τίμα μετὰ θεόν (Sext. 319).
135 (ΦΣ) μακάριος οὖ ὁ θεὸς κηδεμὼν ἐστίν (cf. Sext. 424).
136 (ΛΦΣ) οὐκ ἐστιν ἄμα δουλεύειν ἡδονή καὶ θεῦ (Sext. 574).
137 (ΛΦ) σοφοῦ ζῶντος δόξα μὲν ὀλίγη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτην τὸ κλέος ἄδεται (Sext. 53).
138 (Θ) μὴ τὸ ἔχειν ἀρετὴν καλὸν νόμιζε, ἄλλα τὸ ὡς δει καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅν δει.
139 (Θ) ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ιὸν τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως τοὺς φθονεροὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδίου ἡθοὺς κατεσθάεσθαι.
140 (Θ) οφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπὸ ὀλίγων 3ην, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰλοχρόν ἐνεκεν χρημάτων πράττειν μάθωμεν.
141 (Θ) κρείττον ἕνα φίλου ἔχειν πολλοῦ ἀξίου ἢ πολλοὺς μηδενός ἀξίους.
142 (Θ) τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐπιμελεῖ, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ὡς στρατιώτου προνόει.
143 (Θ) πάν τὸ πλεῖον ἄνθρωπος πολέμιον (Sext. 140).
πολλὸν ὁ μὴ δεῖ [sic] λήσεται σε τὰ καλὰ σπουδάσουτα περὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ (Sext. 141-2; Clit. 25).
144 (Θ) ὁ μὴ θέλεις ἄκουειν μηδὲ εἶπτης·
ὁ μὴ θέλεις λέγειν μηδ' ἄκουε.
ότων καὶ γλώττης μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος.

136 ἡθονὴ δουλεύειν Λ. 138 ἔχειν] ἀφχειν Θε. 140 ἑαυτοὺς om. Θε. μάθομεν Θε.
143 =Sextus 141-2 πολέμιον Υ λήσῃ Π λήβεται Χ.
144 εἶπτης] ἄκουε Θε. μηδ' ἄκουε Θε. γλώσσης Θε.
5. THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

Π = Patmos cod. 263, saec. x (transcribed by Mr Lloyd-Jones).

Γνώμαι των Πυθαγόρεων

1 Ανανεούσθω σοι ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λόγος καθ’ ἡμέραν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς στιόις.
2 ἄπταιδευσία πάντων τῶν παθῶν μῆτηρ. ἐπὶ δὲ παθὸς ψυχής εἰς σωτηρίαν πολεμιώτατον. ὁ δὲ πεπαιδεύθηκαί οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθείᾳ ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν θεωρεῖται.
3 δὲ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ. ὃς ἐπὶ πάν ἀναφάρετον. ὡστε οὐ δώσει ὁ μὴ καθέξεις.
4 ἄξιος ἀνθρώπως θεοῦ ἔτος ἐν εἴη ἐν ἀνθρώποις.
5 ἄγρυπνος ἐσο γιατά νοῦν: συγγενής γὰρ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θανάτου ὁ περὶ τῶν νοῶν ὑπνος.
6 δὲ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπνοοῦντο ποιεῖν.
6α ἀθανάτους σοι πιστεύει παρὰ τῇ κρίσει καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας.
7 αἱρετότερον σοι ἑστω λίθον εἰκῇ βάλλειν ἢ λόγον ἄργον.

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Title D Ἱέτου γνώμαι κατὰ στοιχεῖον Π Sayings of Pythagoras X.
1 soi om. Π μ. ἢ τὰ στίτα καθ’ ἡμ. D.
2 = Po. *Ad Marc.* 9, *reappears independently as* 116 τὸν1 om. Π 86]
te 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. τῶν νοῶν Π περὶ τούτων Π. 6 Sext. 178.
6α Sext. 14, om. DX. 7 Cf. Po. 14, Sext. 152, om. Π.

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8  βλάπτει θεός οὐ χολωθείς, ἀλλ’ ἀγνοθείς· ὡρή γὰρ θεοῦ ἄλλοτριον· ἐπ’ ἀθουλήτῳ γὰρ ἢ ὡρή, θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀθουλήτον.

9  βουλείς γνωσθήναι θεοίς· ἀγνοθητὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις.

10  ὁ ὑπεραυλομένος περὶ ἄλλου κακός φθάνεις σκέτος πάσχοις υπὸ σεαυτοῦ κακοῦ· καὶ σκέτος δὲ μὴ θῇτε παρὰ κακοῦ παθεῖν καλὸς· ὥς γὰρ τὸ ἡδὸς ἐκάστου, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ οἱ δόσεις· ὡς γὰρ ἐστὶς ταμεῖον, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν ἀγάθων, κακοῦ δὲ κακῶν.

11  βουλευόμενος πολλὰ ἦκε ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξεῖς ἐξουσίαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὰ πρακτήτα ἢ λεγόντα.

12  βασιλέα φρόνησις οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ· νοῦς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀρχον· καὶ βασιλεύων γὰρ τις ἀνθρώπων καλὸς, οὕτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλεύεται.

13  γλῶττα σοφοῦ οὐ προηγουμένως τίμιον παρὰ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα· σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ σταγών τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ.

14  γλώττας ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀμαθῆς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύσων τὸν θεὸν μαίνει· μόνος οὖν ἑρεύς ὁ σοφὸς, μόνος θεοφιλῆς, μόνος εἰδώς εὐδοκεῖ·

15  γνώσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ βασιλεύον.

17  γινομένος ἀποσταλείς σοφὸς γυμνητεύως καλέσει τὸν πέμπταντα· μόνον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις περιπτεσμένου ἔπεικεος ὁ θεός.

8 Po. 18  μελέτουσι θεοὶ οὐ χολωθέντες (om. ἀλλ’ ἀγν.) D  θεῷ D ἀθουλ. (sic) Π  θεῷ...ἀθουλήτον 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  ἐκαστοῦ Π  κακοῦ 2 om. Π  τοιοῦτοι] τοιὸς D  καὶ αἰ...κακῶν om. Π.

12  Cf. Clit. 128  οὐ] καὶ D ἐξουσίαν om. Π  λεγόμ. οἱ πρ. Π.

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

14  Po. 16, Sext. 426–7  ἀλλ’ ἔργα Π  b om. Π.


16  Po. 20, cf. Sext. 430–2.

17  Po. 33  ἀποσταλής D.

85
18 γινώσκειν σε χρή, ώς παντελῶς στάνιον τὸ φιλοσοφοῦντι σοι ἄκρως δυνάμενον ἢθος συγκράθηναι.
19 δῷρον ἄλλο μείζον ἄρετῆς οὐκ ἐστὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαβεῖν. a δώρα καὶ θυσιολαῖα θεόν οὐ τιμῶσιν, ἀναθήματα θεόν οὐ κοσμεῖ· b ἄλλα τὸ ἐνθέου φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἠδρασμένον συνάπτει θεό· c χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον.
21 δουλεύειν πάθεσι χαλεπώτερον ἢ τυράννοις.
22 διαλέγεσθαι ἁμείνον ἐαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς πέλασ.
23 ἔλευθερον ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸν πάθεσι δουλεύοντα καὶ ὑπὸ παθῶν κρατούμενον.
24 ἔρμαιον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἢ προφήτης.
25 εἰ τις τὸν θεόν τιμᾷ ὡς προσδέομενον, ἱλῆθην ἔαυτὸν δοξάζων τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κρείττονα.
26 ἐάν δεί μηνημονεύῃς ὅτι, ὅπου δὲ ἢ ψυχή σου καὶ τὸ σώμα σου ἐργὸν ἐπιτελῆ, θεός παρέστηκεν ἐφορός, ἐν πάσαις σοι ταῖς βουλαίς καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αἰδεύσθην μὲν τὸν θεοροῦ τὸ ἀδιάληπτον, ἔξεστι δὲ τὸν θεόν σύνοικον.
26a ἐν νοτὶ τὸν θεόν ἥξων ἀνεπιλήστως καὶ πιστεύων ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾷ, τῇ αἰδής τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακόπησε πάσης ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐργοὶς διαμαρτῆσεως.
27 ἐρ' ὅσον σεαυτόν ἄγνοεις νόμιζε μαίνεσθαι.
28 ζητεῖν δεῖ καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τέκνα τὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τοῦτον παραμέλουτα.
29 ζῆν κρείττον ἐπὶ στιμβάδος κατακείμενον καὶ θαρρεῖν ἢ ταράττεσθαι χρυσῆν ἥξουτα λίμνην.

18 φιλοσοφοῦν π δυνάμενον om. π.
21 Po. 34 χαλεπόν π ἢ] ὑ D.
22 πέλειν ἕπερ τὸν D. 23 Po. 34, Clit. 86 τὸν om. π.
24 Cf. Plato, Tim. 71 c; om. X.
26 Po. 20, cf. 12, om. π ἐπιτελεῖ D.
26a om. D πάσης Lloyd-Jones πάν τῆς Π.
27 σεαυτόν DX τὸν θεόν π. 28 om. π.
29 Po. 29 λίμνην π κλίνειν DX.
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30 a ἧς ἄληθὸς θεὸς ὑμίως ὁ αὐτάρκης καὶ ἀκτήμων καὶ φιλόσοφος b καὶ πλούτων ἤγειται μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀναγκαῖων. c οὐ γὰρ παύσει ποτέ ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἐπίκτησις. d αὐτάρκεσις δὲ πρὸς εὐζωίαν τὸ μηδὲν ἄδικείν.

31 ἢ τῶν δυντῶν δυντών κτῆσις διὰ ῥαστώνος οὐ παραγίνεται.
32 ἡγού μάλιστα ἁγαθὸν εἶναι, ο καὶ ἐτέρῳ μεταδιδόμενον σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀξιότατον.
33 ἡγοῦ μάλιστα σκληρὸν εἶναι τοὺς εἰς σομαίαν ὡς ὕψιστον.
34 ἢ τῶν περιστάσεων ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν σκληροῦς δοκιμάζει, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς ἐλέγχει.
35 a ἡγοῦ παντὸς ἀνοίγτου καὶ τὸν ψόγον καὶ τὸν ἐπαινοῦν καταγέλαστον b καὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶν δειδοὺς εἶναι τῶν βιῶν.

36 The Greek is deficient; only the Syriac version (Gilde- meister, Hermes iv, 1870, p. 90) preserves a remnant of the lost sentence.

37 ἢ κακὴ κρίσις παντὸς αἰτία κακοῦ.
38 θαυμάζειν οὔτε δύναμιν ἀσύνητον χρῆ οὔτε συνέσεως ἀδυνάτου καταφρούειν.
39 a θέος δεῖται ωὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ. b διὸ οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοηταί.
40 θεοῦ ἄξιος ἀνθρώπως ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων.
41 θυηπολίαι ἀφρόνου πυρὸς τροφῆ· τὰ δ' ἀναθήματα ἱεροσύλα⟩ χορηγίᾳ.
42 θέλε τοὺς συνόντας σοι αἰδείσθαι σε μᾶλλον ἢ φοβεῖσθαι· αἰδοὶ μὲν γὰρ πρόσεστι οὐκ, φόβῳ δὲ μίσος.

30 a = Sext. 18, c = Sext. 274b θεό om. D καὶ om. P τῶν... ἀναγκαῖων] τῶν περιττῶν Π χρημάτων Π μηδένα Π.
31 Po. 5.
32 Cf. Sext. 295, Clit. 105 εἶναι ἄρετὴν Π ἐτέρῳ] ἄλλοις Π.
34 Cf. Clit. 92.
35 ἐπαινόν...ψόγον Π b = Sext. 400; cf. Py. iii.
38 Cf. Clit. 111, om. D ἀδυνάτου Lloyd-Jones ἀδύνατον Π.
39 a Po. 11, Sext. 49, Clit. 4 δεῖται3 om. Π b om. Π.
40 Sext. 4 θεοῦ ἄξιον σε ποιεῖ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοὺ εἴπειν ἢ πράξαι Π, cf. Po. 15.
43 θεός δομοιον ἔχει ἀνθρωπος τὸ εὗ ποιεῖν, ἕαν τὸ εὗ ποιεῖν μὴ κατηλεύῃ.
44 The MS. is deficient; the Syriac reads: 'He offers sweet incense to God whose words are full of goodness.'
45 ἵσχυειν τῇ ψυχῇ αἵροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σώματι.
46 ἵσχυς καὶ τείχος καὶ ὀπλον τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ φρόνησις.
47 ἵσθι ὁς οὐδεμία προστοίχισις πολλῷ χρόνῳ λαυθάει.
48 ἵσθι ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀκόλαστον εἶναι τίνα κακῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἀκολάστοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι.
49 κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμών.
50 κενὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλοσόφου λόγος ύφ᾽ οὗ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπου πάθος θεαπεύεται· ὅστερ γὰρ ιατρικῆς μηδὲν ὀφέλος μὴ τὰς νόσους ἐκβαλλούσης ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων, οὕτως οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας εἰ μὴ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κακῶν ἐκβάλοι.
51 κρητικὴς εὐσέβειας ἢ φιλανθρωπίας σοι νομίζεσθω.
52 κακὰ μείζων πάσχει διὰ τὸ συνειδός ὁ ἄδικῶν βασανιζόμενος ἢ τῷ σώματι ταῖς πληγαῖς μαστιγούμενος.
53 καλὸν ἀδελφός καὶ τιμᾶτόν ἰσομοιείν.
54 κυνικόν μὴ τὸ σχῆμα ἀποδέχου ἄλλα τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἔσθε.
55 a λόγου περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρµένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς· b καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἁληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψευδή κίνδυνον φέρει.
56 λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγεῖσθω τὰ θεοφιλῆ ἔργα.
57 λόγῳ ἡγεμόνι ἐν παντὶ χρόνων οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεις.

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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 λαυθάεται D.
48 ὅτι οὐ] μὴ D εἶναι τινα] αὐτὸν εἶναι Π.
49 Po. 16, Sext. 305, cf. Py. 59 ἡγεμόνι ἐστιν Π.
52 ὁ ἄδικων κτλ.] ὁ ἄδικος διὰ τ. σ. ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ βασ. ὕπ᾽ 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 τούτων D.
56 Po. 15, Sext. 359 τοῦ θεοφιλῆ D.
57 Cf. Isocrates, III, 93; Plato, Gorgias 527ε.
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58 Λυποῦντα τὸν πλῆθον οὐ βάδιον αὐτὸν άλποπο εἶναι.
59 λόγος κακός κακῶν έργων ήγεμών.
60 μάθε δέχεσθαι τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθά άθορύβως, καὶ 
πεφράξαι πρὸς τὰ παρ’ αὐτῆς κακά’ ἐφήμερον γὰρ τὰν 
τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ κακὸν, σοφία δὲ οὐδαμῶς κοινωνεῖ.
61 μεγάλως εὔεργετείς τὴν πατρίδα ὁ σπουδάσας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι 
πολίτης.
62 μηδὲν κτήμα ἰδίων ἐστίν τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὃ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς 
ἔστιν.
63 μὴ τυραννεῖτω ἄλλ’ ἀρχέτω ὁ ἄνηρ τῆς γυναικὸς.
64 μεγάλην παιδείαν νόμισε δι’ ἣς δυνήθη σέσει ἀποδεισάν.
65 μὴ τὴν γλυώτταν σου χραινέτω τις ἀνικρός καὶ βλάσφημος 
λόγος: μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔλειοί τὸ τοιοῦτος: μὴ τὴν ένθεξη 
τοῖς ἀθέοις καὶ εἰκάοις θεάμαι καὶ ἀκουσμαί ὀμοίως καὶ 
τοῖς δημώδεσιν. [διὸ ἔξορισέσας σοί τα τοιαύτα θέαματα.]
66 a νεῶς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς, b ὅν οὐκ ἐφειμένως ἄλλ’ αἰεί 
χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν εἰς παραδοχὴν θεοῦ.
67 νοὺς σάμα ψυχῆς λογικῆς θετέον ἦν τρέφει ὁ νοῦς τῆς ἀρετῆς, 
διδάσκαλος αὐτὸς καὶ τροφεύς καὶ σωτήρ καὶ φύλαξ γινό-
μενος, μετὰ σιγῆς φθεγγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐμφανίζον 
αὐτῆς.
68 νόμου θείου τὸ φαῦλον ἀνήκοον: διὸ καὶ παρανομεῖ.
69 ξένος ἄνηρ δικαιος οὐ μόνον πολίτου, ἄλλ’ οὕδε πυγγενοῦς 
τι διαφέρει.
70 a ξένοις μεταδίδου καὶ σοφοῖς ἄνδραί καγαθοῖς: b ὁ γὰρ

59 Clit. 126b.
60 Po. 30 peri D δοκουντα ἀγ. D ἐφ’ ἡμέραν Π σοφία 
δὲ οὐδαμῶς τύχῃ κοιν. Π. 61 Sext. (App. 1) 482, om. Π τῆς D.
63 Sext. (App. 1) 506, om. Π. 64 Sext. 285 δι’ ἡν Π.
65 σου om. Π ἄνειρος D μήτε αἱ αλλαὶ αἰσθήσεις τ. ἀθ. κ. εἰκῇ 
θεάματι κ. ακ. χραινεσθοσαν ύλικος οὕδι μικαμοις D διδ. ... θεάματα om. Π.
66 Po. 19 (cf. 11). a = Sext. 46 ὁ σοφοῦ νοὸς Π ύποδοχὴν Π.
67 Po. 26 νοῦ ... τρέφει ὁ om. Π τῆς ἀρετῆς D αὐτός] οὕτος D 
ἐμφανών αὐτήν Π.
68 Cf. Hierocles, in Carm. Aur. p. 42, 1 Gaisford, ... ὅτε τῶν θείων νόμων 
ἀνήκοος ἐστιν....
70 b = Sext. 378, ad = Sext. 382 ἄνδραίν ἀγαθοὶς εκ τῶν ἐννοτων Π

89
μὴ μεταδίδοις ἀγαθοῖς δεομένοις οὐ λήμεται δεόμενος παρά θεῶν. "ἐπεὶ καὶ λέγεται ὄρθως δεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδαμή οὐδαμῶς τὸ θείον οὐδενός, "χαίρειν δὲ τῷ μεταδίδοντι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ διὰ θεῶν πενωμένους.

71 οὐσα πάθη συχῆς, τοσούτοι καὶ ωμοὶ δεσπόται.
72 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δι’ ἥδουνς βεβιακῶτων αἰς θεοὺς ἀναδρομαί, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα πεπονηκτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐνεγκεῖ ἡμαθηκότων.
73 ὁ βίος σου τῶν παιδευμένων ὑπόθεσις τῶν λόγων ἔστω.
74 ὁ ός ἄληθῶς [-ὴς MS.] ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ ἄπττός καὶ τῇ ἀισθήσει ὑποπτωτός, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεστικῶς τοῦ σώματος, ὁ ἄχρωματος καὶ ἀσχηματιστός καὶ χερσὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄπττός, διανοῖς δὲ κρατητός.
75 οὐ τὸ μεμνήσθαι μόνον οὖν ἡκουσας αὐτάρκεις εἶναι νομίζειν δεῖ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνατρέχειν εἰς ὁ δὲ δι’ ὅ πνὲ ἡκουσας μελετῶν.
76 οὐ καὶ ἡ δοκιμάσθης φίλον εἶναι, ἔχθρὸν ποιῆσαι πεφύλαξα.
77 οὐδεὶς ἑλεύθερος ἑστυν οὐχ ὁ κρατῶν.
78 παντὸς καλοῦ κτήματος πόνος προηγεῖται ὁ κατ’ ἐγκράτειαν.
79 τὰς ἀνθρωπος τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσον ἄξια γινώσκει ἤ φρονεῖ.
80 πέτειος μὴ εἶναι σὸν κτήμα δὶ ἡ ἐντὸς διανοῖς ἐχει.
81 παιδευτικός ἀνθρωπὸς θέλων εἶναι ἀσκεῖ πράοττητα.
82 "ποιεὶ δὲ κρίνεις εἶναι καλά, κάν ποιῶν μέλλης ἀδοξήσειν· ἢ φαύλος γὰρ κριτὴς καλοῦ πράγματος ὁχλος.
83 "πείρας ἀνθρώπων εἰκ τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον λάμβανε ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων· ἢ πολλοὶ γὰρ βίῳ μὲν εἰς κακοὶ, λόγῳ δὲ πιθανώτατοι.

καίτοις [διδοῖς (sic) Π] οὐδενὸς 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 τῶν μεμ. μ. οὖν ἦκ. αὐτάρκης εἶναι νόμιζε, τῶ δὲ δι’ οὖν ἦκ. ἀνατρέχειν εἰς ἄφετην Π δὲ δεῖ Po. (32) ὁ ἦκ. D.
78 Po. 7 προηγεῖσθω σὺν ταπεινώσει (om. ὁ κατ’ ἐγκ.) Π.
79 ἢ φρονεῖ om. Π. 81 Sext. (App. 1) 545, om. Π.
82 = Py. 111 ποίει D καὶ π. μέλλεις Π. 83 = Sext. 408.
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84 πολλοὶ ἀμείνων μὴ ἄμαρτάνειν, ἄμαρτάνοντα δὲ ἀμείνων γινώσκειν ἢ ἀγνοεῖν.
85 a παρὰ τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε μὴ εἰσπράττον δίκας. b τι γὰρ τοσοῦτον δύναται ἢ μοχθηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν;
86 πράττε μεγάλα, μὴ ὑπισχύομαι μεγάλα.
87 ρίζωθέντες ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ψυχοὶ τῆς ζωτῶν ρίζης ἐχώμεθα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀδάτων προχοαὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φυτὰ ἀποκοπέντα τῆς ἐαυτῶν τηνηγῆς καὶ ρίζης αὐαίνεται καὶ σήμεται.
88 ρώμη ψυχῆς σωφροσύνη· αὕτη γὰρ ψυχῆς ἀπαθοῦς φῶς ἐστίν.
89 ρώμην μεγίστην καὶ πλούτων τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κτήσαι.
90 δύννυσι μὲν οἶνοι τῶν δειμών τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ ὡστά, τὸ οἰκείστατον τοῦ σώματος, ψυχῆ δὲ πολεμιώτατος· διὸ καὶ σφαλερῶν πίνουτι παντὶ, έξει γὰρ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ καὶ ἄκρασιας ὑπέκαυσα.
91 ὢδίως μὴ μακαρίσης ἀνθρώπων σαλεύοντα ἐπὶ φίλους ἢ τέκνοις ἢ τινι τῶν ἐφήμερον τήν σωτηρίαν ἐχόντων· ἐπισφαλῆ γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὸ δὲ ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ ὀχείσθαι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον βέβαιον.
92 a σοφῶς ἀνθρώπως καὶ θεῶν σεβόμενος γινώσκεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· b διὸ οὖδέ ἐπιστρέφεται καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄγνοιται.
93 σεαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν ἰόλλων μὴ θέλε κρατεῖν.
94 σοφίαν ὀσκῶν ἐπιστήμην τὴν περὶ θεοῦ ὀσκεῖ.

84 Sext. 283. 86 Sext. 198 ὑπισχυοῦ D.
87 θεοῦ...αὐτοῦ Π ἐχώμεθα Vat. gr. 743 ἐχώμεθα ΠΔ αἱ om. Π
88 αὕτη γὰρ συνεκτικὴ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλῶν πέρυκεν Π.
89 Cf. Sext. 294 κάτισμο Π.
90 τοῦ...οἰκείστατον] τὸ ἁπθανός Π πολεμιώτατον Π ἐξει γὰρ]
pασι δὲ D (cf. Plato, Laws 666λ).
91 σαλεύοντα...ἐχόντων] γαυρομένων (ἀλωρομένων Lloyd-Jones) ἐπὶ
tινι τῶν βεόντων Π πάντα, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ βέβαια (om. τὸ δὲ...βέβαιον) Π.
92 Cf. Po. 13, Sext. 145, b = Py. 39 σ. ἄ. τοις ἐργοῖς τὴν πίστιν
φαινόμενον γινώσκειται κτλ. Π.
93 Sext. (App. 1) 550, cf. Clit. 50, Py. 100, om. Π.
94 Po. 17, cf. Sext. 406, om. Π.

91
The Greek is deficient, and the Syriac has only an unintelligible fragment.
THE PYTHAGOREAN SENTENCES

καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ χορῷ σημεδόνος, τὸ
δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἔξιον κεκαθαρμένον· οὐδ’ αὐτὸς οὖν ἐκαστὸς
τὸ μετὰ σῶματος ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς κυοφοροῦμεν, τὸ
δὲ ἔξιον καὶ ἀναχωροῦν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν σπείραντα καὶ
καταπέμψαντα πατέρα.

107 ὑπομιμήσθηνε σαυτὸν ὅτι πάντες ἀνθρώποι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν
τὴν φρόνησιν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅλιγοι δὲ εἰσίν οἱ τὸ μέγιστον
ἀγαθὸν τούτο κτήσασθαι εὐτονήσαντες.

108 ὑπεράνω τῆς σαρκὸς μὴ γενόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν θάψεις ἐν
σαρκὶ.

109 φρονύμος τις ὃν ἐν παντὶ ἄρχικώτατος ἔσται.

110 "φιλήδονοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι καὶ φιλόθεου τὸν αὐτὸν ἄδυ-

νατον εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος: ὁ δὲ

φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος: ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος εξ

ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀδίκου: ὁ δὲ ἀδίκος εἰς μὲν θεὸν ἀνόσιος, εἰς

δὲ ἀνθρώπους παράνομος: ὁτα καὶ ἐκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ

τοιοῦτος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνοσιώτερός τε ἐστι καὶ ἀσβησί καὶ

ἀθέος καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἰερόσυλος: διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλήδονον

ὡς ἀθέοι καὶ μιριάν ἐκτρέπεσθαι χρή.

111 "φαῦλος κριτής κολοῦ πράγματος ὄχλος· διότερ ὃν τῶν

ἐπαύνων καταφρονεῖς καὶ τὸν ψόγου καταφρόνει.

112 φυγοδευτέον πάση μηχανῇ καὶ περικοπτέον· ἀπὸ μὲν

σῶματος νόσου· ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἁμαθίαν· κοιλίας δὲ πολυτέλειαν·

πόλεως στάσεως· σίκου διχόνοιαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντων ἀμετρίαν.

113 "χαῖρε τοῖς ἔλεγχοις σε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κολακεύσουσιν·

ὡς δὲ ἐξήρων χείρονος ἐκτρέπου τοὺς κολακεύσουτας.

106 τὸν D ὁπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁπ’ τοῦ D.

107 οἱ τοῦτο κτησάμενοι Π.

108 ὑ. τ. σ. γινόμενος τ. ψ. περίωσεις (sic) πρὸς θείων ἔρωτα Π.

109 Cf. Clit. 52, Sext. 555, om. Π.

110 Po. 14, "Sext. 76, d=Sext. 138 καὶ φιλοσώματον om. Π

ἐκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος] διαφίλται πολλὰ Π τε om. Π ἀσβησί καὶ

ἀθέος om. Π.

111 "Cf. Py. 82, b=Sext. 299, Clit. 106 ὃν] ὃν Π τῶν ψόγων

δῆλον ὅτι (om. καταφρόνει) Π. IIIa om. DX.

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


TEXTS

114 χαλεπῶν πολλὰς ὄδους ἄμα τοῦ βίου βαδίζειν.

115 ψυχὴν νόμιζε αἱρετώτερον εἶναι προέσχαι ἢ λόγον βλάσφημον περὶ θεοῦ.

116 ψυχὴς πάν πάθος εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς πολεμιώτατον.

117 ψυχὴ ταμείδων ἦστι, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, κακοῦ δὲ κακῶν.

118 ψυχὴς γάμος ὁ πρὸς τὸν νοῦν ἱερός τε ἄμα καὶ ἐν φωτὶ ἀληθινῷ μυσταγωγοῦμενος. ὁ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων δι’ ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ σκότους.

119 ψυχὴς καθαρᾶς τόπτον οἰκεῖότερον θεοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς ὅπως ἔχει.

120 ὁ δὲ τύχη κυρία καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι οὐ δεῖσθαι οὐδενὸς.

121 ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐ δεῖσθῃ, ἐκεῖνον καταφρόνει πάντων. ὁ δὲ ἄκουσμένος τοὺς θεοὺς παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτορας.

122 ὁ δὲ ἄλλος πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀγνεύουσι παρήγγελται ἀπέχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀνεμπόδιστον τῆς πρὸς θεοῦ ὠμίλιας, τούτων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἀφεκτέον τῷ τοῖς θεοῖς πάντα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ βίον ἀνατιθέμενι.

123 ὁ δὲ κεκαθαραὶ πάντων χάριν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ κατ-όκυνε.

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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.
120 Cf. Po. 12 ὁ μη ψυχὴ Π.
121 Po. 12, cf. Sext. 127 δεῦσειν τις Π καταφρονεῖτο Π τὸν θεοῦ συλλήπτορα Π.
122 θεῶς] θεὸν Π τοῦ σοῦ βίου ἀφεκτέον σοι πάντα τὸν σαυτοῦ ὑλὸν 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.
STUDIES

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
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 com-
petitive 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 mar-
riage 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
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.\footnote{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.’} He emphasises the benefit and positive virtue of love for other men in general and for other sages in particular. Recognition of
MORAL TEACHING OF SEXTUS

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). 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). 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
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). 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

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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.
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. 95 b), 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 reverenced as the Lord himself. To criticise him is to criticise God (194). He is ‘God in the body’ (7a, 82 d), ‘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 (18 f., 49 f., 306, 309, 382). God is pure goodness and his punishments have the remedial intention of delivering the wrong-doer 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 sumnum bonum is likeness to God as far as possible (381, cf. 45, 48).
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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. 679ff.; cf. Caligula’s question to the Jewish dignitaries in Philo, Leg. ad Gaium 361—a μέγιστον καὶ σπουδών 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). I 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.
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.
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!’

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

(a) ἣ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀναγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς Σέξτου γνώμαις ἐντυγχάνουσιν (C. Cels. viii, 30).
(b) Σέξτου ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις, βιβλικὸς 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. 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.’

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...
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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'.

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.'

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

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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.’

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’. 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, 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 fidele viro dictam sententiam, quam saepe suscio: 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.


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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. 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’.

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

2 Epiphanius, Panarion LXIV, 7, 3 (Holl, ii, 416).
Sextine maxims as a Christian work. 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’. 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 deuxieme tiers du IIIe siècle’.

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?*

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. 119ff.

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.
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. 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.

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. Int. 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 uxor(em) amator ardentior.’

3 Jerome, Comm. in Ez. vi (Vallarsi, v, 206–7): ‘pulchre in Xysti Pytagorici sententiolis dicitur: Adulter est uxor(em) propiae amator ardentior. quem librum quidam in latinam linguam transferens, martyr(iris) Xysti nomine voluit illustrare, non considerans in toto volume, quod in duas partes frustra diviserat, Christi nomen et apostolorum omnino reticeri. nec mirum si gentilem philosophum in martyr(em) et roman(ae) urbis episcopum transtulerit, quem Eusebii quoque Caesariensis primum pro Origene librum Pamphili martyr(is) vocabulo commutavit, ut facilis tali laudatore libros impiissimos πρωτούχος Romanis concilliaret auribus.’ Rufinus' version of 231 is ‘adulter etiam propiae uxor(is) omnis inpu- dicus’. Jerome disdains to use it.
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 Evagrian 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 incomitantiam praedican.’

² This is the view of Georges de Plinval, *Pelage, 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 Gracia* 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


\(^2\) 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 1 (P.L. lxxxiii, 1084): ‘Xystus episcopus Romanae urbis et martyr composit ad instar Salomonis librum proverbiorum tam brevi eloquio ut in singulis versibus singulae explicentur sententiae. cui quidem opusculo haeretici quaedam contra ecclesiasticam fidem inseruuerunt, quo facilius sub nomine tanti martyris perversorum dogmatum reciperetur assertio. sed is qui catholicum se se meminit, probando legat et ea quae veritati contraria non sunt recipiat. quidam autem putant eundum librum ab haereticis, non a Xysto,uisse 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. 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 Masai): ‘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

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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 Riwle* (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* 11, 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, *Decreta Isidoriana 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, 17ff. 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, i¹, 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 credebat 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 cognitionem esse dicebat et animorum commercium in alias atque alias formas transseuntium. nulla, si illi credas, anima interit, ne cessat quidem nisi tempore exiguus, dum in alius corpus transfunditur.’ The translation cited above is that of E. P. Barker (Oxford, 1932).
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.' The original wording of the Greek text of Eusebius may be found preserved in the late Byzantine chronicle of George Syncellus: Σέξτος φιλόσοφος Πυθαγορικός ἠκμαζεν. 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. 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.

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2 Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, p. 599.
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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 Neo-pythagorean 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 1, 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
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 Sextine 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 Ζέγτου ῬΩμ.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.


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...’ 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, the archdeacon Lawrence following him shortly afterwards. Damasus commemorates his heroism:

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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
palamam, seq: suumq: caput prior optulit ipse,
inpatiens feritas posset ne laedere quemquam.
ostendit Christus, reddit qui praemia vitae,
pastoris meritum, numerum gregis ipse tuetur.
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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, 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. 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

ΞΥΣΤΕ
EN ΘΕΩ META ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΖΗΧΗ

Or even in Graeco-Latin

ΒΙΒΑΚ ΣΕ 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

1 Cf. the sermons of Maximus of Turin on the Feast of St Lawrence (Migne, P.L. lvi, 675-82), where this motif is prominent.
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 Märtyrergräfte* (Berlin, 1935), i, p. 91.
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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, and in the
present century it has been urged by F. C. Conybeare (a man
of varied learning who never seems to have been reluctant to
adopt adventurous hypotheses). He was also reputed a martyr;

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.

Another conceivable candidate is Sextus Julius Africanus who

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. Inl. 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, and the entry in that encyclopaedia appears as 'Αφρικανός, ὁ Σέκτος χρησματίσσος, φιλόσοφος, Λίβως, ὁ τοὺς Κεστούς γεγραφώς ἐν βιβλίοις κ.ά'. 

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. 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, 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). It is equally certain that some Greek

1 Suidas, ed. Adler, i, p. 433.
3 They are read, he says, by 'even the multitude of Christians'.
4 Origen, Hom. in Jerem. xx, 4.
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. Since other saints in this calendar suggest that it is based upon the fourth-century calendar of the church of Nicomedia, 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. 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’ (Σεξτος ακλησιαστικος φιλοσοφος). The description is surely apt. It

1 Conveniently in Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* (Kleine Texte 2).
4 Migne, *P.G.* IV, 429 B; σημειωσαν δε ηι ουτε η θεσης ουδε εις του θεου, διοτε ουδε ειν τι των ελεημονων ουδε των έναντιων αυτως· διο ουδε αυτων εντιν. ου γαρ εστι ταυτα
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.

οὔσια αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ δέξα περὶ αὐτῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ Σίξτος ὁ ἡκατηστικὸς φιλόσοφος εἶπε καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν θεολογικῶν αὐτοῦ [Orat. Theol. IV, 17-18], ὡς οὗτε θεότης οὗτε τὸ ἀγέννητον οὗτε ἡ πατρότης οὕσιαν σημαίνουσιν θεοῦ. How did Gildemeister (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.
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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 εἰσόντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος σιτία καὶ ποτά μιανει τὸν ἐνθρωπον ἄλλα τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἡθῶς ἔδωκε) is almost entirely a reproduction of the Matthaean text (κεφ. 11). But even so it is not an exact transcription, and the penultimate word ἡθῶς 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.)
A believing man is always in fear until he goes to God.
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

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

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 αὐτὸν 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.

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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 Πυθαγόρειων ὄμων ἡ βίον θεοτεκνία and, since the first printed edition of Lukas Holste (1639), has been ascribed to Demophilus. 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).

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, 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
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 Por-
phyry 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 delibera-
tions 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 ἐγένετο παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν [i.e. the Church]. διὰ δὲ τὸς ἐπενεχθένσας
αὐτῷ, ὡς ἵστορεσαν διγιοι, ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Πολιτείας πληγάς ἐν
ἰδιωτικοῖς πράξεσιν ἀπέστη ὁ μήτηρ. ἐναχρήσις δὲ ὡς πλουσιόν ἔγημε γυναῖκα πέντε
παιδῶν μητέρα, γενηρακίας ἡδί καὶ Ἑβραίαν.

² Porphyry, Ad Marc. 4 (275, 19 Nauck): καλούσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρέας.

³ Lactantius, Div. Inst. v, 2, 3 ff., discussed by J. Bidez, Vie de Porphyre (1913),
p. 112 n. 2.
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 un lucrative 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 74 Cf. Po. 34 (296, 11-13 N.), om. Py.
S 75 a = Py. 21, Po. 34 (296, 13-14 N.).
S 75 b = 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).
Most of these parallels show minor differences of wording. For example

S 4 θεοῦ ἄξιος ὁ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ πράττων.
Py. 40 θεοῦ ἄξιος ἀνθρώπως ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων (Vienna text).
Po. 15 ἄξιον σε ποιήσῃ θεοῦ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ μήτε λέγειν μήτε πράττειν μήτε πάντως εἰδέναι ἄξιοῡ.

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 ἄξιος ἄνθρωπως θεοῦ θεός ἐν ἀνθρώπωσι.
Py. 4 ἄξιος ἄνθρωπως θεῶν θεός ἐν εἴῃ ἐν ἀνθρώπωσι.
Po. 15 ὁ ἄξιος ἄνθρωπως θεοῦ θεός ἐν εἴῃ.
Cf. S 3 θεοῦ ἄνθρωπως ὁ ἄξιος θεοῦ.
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Here again Sextus agrees with the Pythagorean maxims against Porphyry in having ἐν ἀνθρώποις at the end, 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 46 a λέον ὄγιον θεοῦ διάνοια εὐσεβοῦς.
Py. 66 νεῶς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς, ἐν οὐκ ἐφειμένως ἄλλῃ δὲ χρή παρασκευάζειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν εἰς παραδοχὴν θεοῦ.
Po. 19 νεῶς ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ὑπὸ σοὶ νοῦς. παρασκευαστέον δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ κοσμητέον εἰς καταδοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτήδειον.

Here Sextus is only akin in the general idea.

S 49 ὁ μὲν θεός οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνου θεοῦ.
Py. 39 θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενὸς· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ· διὸ οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοηται.
Po. 11 θεὸς μὲν γὰρ δεῖται οὐδενός, σοφὸς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ.

Py. and Po. agree against S in having σοφὸς. Clearly Sextus has changed σοφὸς to the Christian πιστὸς. 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 ἄποθανεῖν λιμῷ ἢ διὰ γαστρός ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρώσαι.
Py. 103 τεθνάναι πολλῷ κρεῖττον ἢ δι’ ἀκρασίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρώσαι.
Po. 35 πολλῷ γὰρ κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἢ δι’ ἀκρασίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρώσαι.

S 351–2 οὐκ ἄσφαλές ἀκούειν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις. περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τάληθη λέγειν κίνδυνος οὐ μικρός.
Py. 55 λόγον περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἄσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἁληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ψευδή κίνδυνον φέρει.

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

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Po. 15 λόγον γὰρ θεοῦ [sic MS.] τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τάληθη λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ψευδή κόντινον ἵσον φέρει.

S 359 τὰ έργα σοι θεοφιλή προηγείσθω παντός λόγου περὶ θεοῦ.
Py. 56 λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγείσθω τὰ θεοφιλή έργα.
Po. 15 προηγείσθω οὖν τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ θεοφιλή έργα.

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 λᾷθε βιώσος of Epicurus as so wise and excellent a saying that it could naturally be attributed to his own revered master. At an earlier period Philostratus ascribes its minting to his hero, Apollonius of Tyana. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἴτου παρὰ θεοῦ.} \\
\text{b} & \text{ δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον,} \\
\text{c} & \text{ ὥστε οὐ δώσει δ μὴ καθέξεις.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 μᾶλιστα ἡ 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. Tyan. 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. ὑπερτειν ἐλευθερίας τῷ ἄλλῳ κακώς φθάνεις αὐτός πάσχον ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ κακώς.
b. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ζήτει παρὰ κακοῦ παθεῖν καλῶς.
c. οἶον γὰρ τὸ ἱδρόν ἐκάστου, τοῖς καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ αἷ δόσεις.
d. ψυχῇ γὰρ ἐστὶν ταμείον, ἀγάθῳ 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. 11, 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 Σέκστον by the late Byzantine compiler Georgides, edited by Boissonade, Anecd. 1, 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. γλῶτταλγος δυνάτως καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύου τὸν θεὸν μιαίνει.
b. μόνος οὐν ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφός, μόνος θεοφιλής, μόνος εἰδώς εὐξασθαι.

Both a and b occur together in Po. 16. Sextus has nothing corresponding to b, but gives a in the modified form (429) ἀνθρωπος ἀκρατῆς 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. τιμῆσεις τὸν θεόν ἄριστα ἐάν τῷ τιθῇ τῇ διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσῃ.
b. ἢ δὲ ὁμοιώσῃ ἢτοι διὰ μόνης ἀρετῆς.
c. μόνη γὰρ ἄρετῇ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνώ ἐλκεῖ πρὸς τὸ συγγεγένε.

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:

\[ a \] φιλήδουνον καὶ φιλοσώματον καὶ φιλόθεουν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι.
\[ b \] ὅ γὰρ φιλήδουος καὶ φιλοσώματος.
\[ c \] ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος.
\[ d \] ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄδικος.
\[ e \] ὁ δὲ ἄδικος εἰς μὲν θεὸν ἀνόστιος, εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους παράνομος.
\[ f \] ὅστε καὶ ἑκατόμβας θύη ὁ τοιοῦτος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνοσιώτερός τε ἔστι καὶ ἀσθῆσι καὶ ἄθεος καὶ τῇ προσαρέσει ξέρων. διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλήδουον ὡς ἄθεον καὶ μιαρὸν ἐκτίθεσθαι 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:

\[ a \] φαύλος κριτής καλοῦ πράγματος ὅχλος.
\[ b \] διόπερ ὃν τῶν ἐπαίνων καταφρονεῖς, καὶ τῶν ψόγου 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:

\[ a \] ὃν τὸ σῶματος ἀπολλαγεῖς οὐ δεῖσι, ἐκεῖνων καταφρόνει πάντων.
\[ b \] καὶ ὃν ἀπολλαγεῖς δεῖσι, πρὸς ταῦτα σοι ἄσκουμεν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτορος.

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 $b$. 151
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. 121b (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:

\[ \begin{align*}
    a & \ \text{ἀπαιδευσία πάντων τῶν παθῶν μήτηρ} \\
    b & \ \text{πᾶν τε πάθος ψυχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν πολεμώτατον} \\
    c & \ \text{τὸ δὲ πεπαιδευτόθαι οὐκ ἐν πολυμεθεῖας ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν θεωρεῖται.}
\end{align*} \]

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, I, 41) has \( b \) alone, within his alphabetical series, while S 205 has a maxim obviously derived from \( b \) alone (πᾶν πάθος ψυχῆς λόγῳ πολέμου). 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 πολλῷ κρείττον ἢ δι’ ἀκρασίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρώσαι, is a maxim which Po. 35 gives as πολλῷ γὰρ κρεῖττον τεθνάναι... in a word order akin to S 345 κρεῖττον ἀπο-θανεῖν... (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
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, 56, 97.
Po. 12 contains S 303, 113, 114, 122, 124, 125, 126.
Po. 34 contains S 274, 273, 472, 74, 75a, 75 b.
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. 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 = 297 a where it is attested only in Y.]
59 = 222. At 59 Y omits it; but Rufinus has both.
92 = 404.

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, σεαυτόν ἐπιλήψιον μὴ πάρεξε τῷ κόσμῳ,
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looks like a Christian version of the maxim preserved in its original pagan form at S 38, μηδενι σεαυτον ἐπιλήψιμον δίδου. Again S 15, ὅπόσα τοῦ κόσμου ἔχεις, κἀν ἀφέληται σοῦ τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει, is in all probability a Christian adaptation of S 91a, & δέδοται σοι, κἀν ἀφέληται σοῦ τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει. Similarly S 33-4, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνεργετοῦν ὁ θεὸς, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐνεργετούμενον ἀνθρωπος· βίον τοιγαροῦν ως μετὰ θεόν, looks like a Christian form of the simple pagan saying preserved at S 176, σοφὸς ἄνηρ ἐνεργήτης 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. 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, ἔξουσίαν πιστῶ ο θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν· καθαρὰν οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἰαμάρτητον (so the text in Π Rufinus, but in the first clause Υ reads πίστεως and omits τὴν κατὰ θεόν, probably from a sense that the existing text was rather strong meat). The term ἔξουσία occurs in a comparable aphorism

1 See Origen, Contra Celsum iv, 77–99.
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in S 60, ἀγνὸς ἀνήρ καὶ ἀναμάρτητος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει παρὰ θεῷ ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ (Y omits the whole sentence this time), and again in S 375, ὑποτάτων εὐζημένω σοι γένηται ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦ παρὰ θεῷ (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 σοφῷ θεῶς θεοῦ διδωσίν 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. 11, 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 ὁυ αἱ πιστὸς ὁυ (35, cf. 171a, 460).

S 166, πίστις ἀπασῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἦγεμών ἐστίν, is probably a Christian coinage minted as an antithesis to the pagan aphorism at 305, κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἦγεμών ἐστίν, paralleled in Py. 49, Po. 16, and Clitarchus 126a (below, p. 176).

S 189, τίμαι τὸ πιστὸς εἶναι διὰ τοῦ εἶναι, is the transmutation of S 65, τίμαι τὸ δίκαιον δι’ αὐτό.

S 368, ἀνθρώπος μηδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθείς ἐρημῶς ἐστιν θεοῦ, is probably adapted from the maxim Py. 50, κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγου ύφ’ οὗ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπου πάθος [ψυχής] θεραπεύεται κτλ. (= Po. 31).1

S 433, ἐκλεκτὸς ἀνθρώπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δὲ σοφὸς ὑποσχεῖται, is paralleled by the quite neutral saying S 389a, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σοφὸς εἶναι ὑποσχεῖν.

An interesting problem is presented by S 92 (= 404), δὲ διδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐδεὶς ἀφαίρεται. This appears among the aphorisms of Clitarchus (15) in the form δὲ διδωσιν παρείδηκα, ταύτα 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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ἄφαρεῖτα. 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 πάν ἄναφαρσέτον.

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, ὃ μὲν θέος οὐδένος δεῖται, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς μόνοι θεοῦ, has substituted 'believer' for 'wise man' which is given in Clitarchus 4, Py. 39, Po. 11. S 97 reads ψυχὴ φωτίζεται ἐνυόις θεοῦ, whereas Clit. 17 and Po. 11 agree in reading the verb καθαίρεται (reminiscent of S 24). S 171, τὸ λέγειν ὥς τοῦ ἀκούειν πιστὸς ὃν 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 ὥς τοῦ ἀκούειν προτίμα. The difference is often quite slight, as when S 399 writes οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεοῦ ἥν... in contrast with Clit. 123, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλεώς ἥν κτλ. In S 325, οὐδέμια προσποίησις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνει, μόλιστα 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 ἵσθι ὡς... Clit. 132 agrees with Sextus against Py. in omitting this imperative, but agrees with Py. in omitting the last four words. (For the ἵσθι 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 ὡςα πάθη ψυχῆς τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι κρατοῦμενον ὑπὸ πάθος (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 τῶν λόγων σου ὃ βίος βεβαιοῦτω. τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξεν 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, 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. 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. It may be that something of this sort is the motive underlying the compilation of Sextus.

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. The ethics of Clement of Alexandria are presented

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2 Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* xx, 5 (pp. 184–5 Klostermann).

3 The point is already taken by Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* iii, 14, 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.’

almost entirely in the terminology of the Greek schools.¹ And indeed why not?² 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?'³ He takes it for granted (Origen remarks) that man has an innate capacity to know both right and wrong. 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

² Origen, Contra Celsum 1, 4; 11, 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.
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’ name\(^1\) 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.
5. **NOTES ON SEXTUS 1–451**

3 Cf. 132, 376.

4 =Py. (D) 40, θεοῦ αξίου ἀνθρώπου ὁ θεοῦ αξία πράττων. Porph. 15, θεοῦ αξίων σε ποιήσει τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτοῦ πράττειν (this is the frequent form in Byzantine collections).

7a Cf. 82d; Seneca, *Ep.* 31, 11, 'quarerendum est quod non fiat in dies eius quoi non possit obstari. quid hoc est? animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitandum?'


11 Cf. 96, 102.

13 Cf. 273.

14 = Py. 6 a, ἄθανάτους σοι πίστευετορά 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. 91 b; Luke xii. 33.

16 Cf. 38, 130.

17 Cf. Py. 97, συγγενεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντί καὶ φίλοι πάντα έίκε πλήν ἐλευθερίας.

18 Cf. Py. 30 (also in Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* iii, 470), ἡ ὡς ἀληθὸς θεός δυσόλος ὁ αὐτάρκης καὶ ἀκτήμον καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ πλούτου ἡγεῖται μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀπαντῶν καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι 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 ἀκροάσθαι τὸν περὶ θεῶν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ.

23 Cf. 102; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii, 27, 4, τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ ἄγνεία οὐκ ἄλλη τις ἐστιν πλὴν 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... οὔ γάρ ἐστιν ταῦτα οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἄλλα δόξα περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὕτω καὶ Σέξτος ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν θεολογικῶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐτε [ἡ] θεότης οὔτε ἡ ἄγνείνητον οὔτε ἡ πατρότης οὐσίαν σημαίνουσι 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 quaeerendum 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 Rupefucidinus (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): Βαβυλάς εἶπε· θεοῦ ὄνομα μὴ ζητεῖ· οὗ γὰρ εὐρήσεις. πάν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἄλλον ὃτα τούτου κρείττονον ὄνομαζεται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν καλῇ, τὸ δὲ ὑπακούῃ. τίς οὖν ὁ ὄνομας θεοῦ; θεὸς οὖκ ὄνομα ἄλλα δόξα περὶ θεοῦ (Migne, P.G. cxvi, 533 a). A remnant of this survives even in the Metaphrast, P.G. cxiv, 972 a: θεοῦ μὲν φύσιν, οὔδε ἀν
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πολλά κάμοι ευρήσεις. έστι γάρ ἀρητόν, ἀλητόν, λογισμός ἀθρωπώνιος ἀνεξερέυνητος, 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 Eel. 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.


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 ὃν ταῖς ἡκουσίαις ὑψίστα. 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, τοσοῦτον ἄξιος ἓκαστός ἔστιν, ὃσον ἄξια ἔστι ταύτα περὶ ἐσπούδασκεν (much like Py. 79, πᾶς ἀνθρώπως τοσοῦτον ἄξιος ὃσον ἄξια γινώσκει ἡ 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.
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).


47 Cf. 176.

48 Cf. 381–2.

49 =Py. 39 (Po. 11), θεός δείται οὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δείται θεοῦ.

50 Cf. 18; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 105, 3, ὃ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτῆς, ὃς ἐν τοῦ ἀνυδεοῦς ἑραστῆς, ὁλιγοδεής. Similarly *Strom.* ii, 81, 1; vii, 18, 2; etc.


55 Cf. 143, 418; Plato, *Theaet.* 173e.

58 Cf. 135, 221–2, 225.


65 Cf. 189.

66 Ascribed to Thales *ap. Diog. Laert.* 1, 36.

72 Cf. 136.

74 Cf. Sirach xxxvii. 16, ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου λόγος καὶ πρὸ πᾶσι πρᾶξεως βουλῆ. *Po.* 34 ἡγεῖσθω τοίνυν πάσης ὀρμῆς ὁ λόγος. 

75a =Py. 21 (Po. 34), δουλεύειν πάθειν χαλεπώτερον ἡ τυράννοις.
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75b =Py. 71 (Po. 34), δοσα πάθη ψυχής, τοσούτοι καὶ ὁμοί δεσπόται. 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 φιλόδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος.

77 Cf. Origen, C. Cels. III, 72, μόνον τῶν δυτικῶν βέβαιον ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἀλήθεια ἀπερ ἐκ σοφίας παραγίνεται. See also Py. 91.

79 Cf. 294.

82 c Cf. 34, 129.

82 d Cf. 7a, 376.


83 is ascribed to Plutarch in the Byzantine florilegia (Maximus, P.G. xci, 784 D).


88 is included in the Byzantine florilegium Φιλοσόφων λόγοι edited by Schenkl (Progr. d. akad. Gymnas., Vienna, 1886), no. 21, which omits δὲ καὶ.

89 =210 b (where Rufinus omits it, and its placing varies in Π and Υ); cf. Matt. vii. 12.

90 Cf. e.g. Epict. Ench. 5, ἀπαιδεύτοιν ἔργον τὸ ἄλλοι ἐγκολείν ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτὸς πράσσει κακός. Cf. 121 a below.

91 b Cf. 15.

92 =404; cf. 128; Py. 3 (Po. 12), δῶρου γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀνασφαίρετον.

93 Cf. 153. The true text is preserved only in Clitarchus here.

96 Cf. II, 23, 102.

97 Cf. 24. Porphyry (11) has καθαιρετοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωπὸς ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ (cf. Clitarchus 17).

98 =334; cf. 120.

99 Cf. 128.

102 Cf. 23.
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107 Elter proposes to omit οὐ, to which it may be objected (a) that no other gnome in this collection begins with the word χαλεπών, 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 μη, 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 οὔτω χαλεπών 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’ (γνωστικότερον).


111 The Greek appears to have lost ἡδονή before ἡττώμενος (cf. Rufinus and Syriac).

112 Cf. 534.


118 Cf. 128.

119 Cf. 276 (and 19).

120 ‘Greatness of soul’ is defined by Plotinus as a ‘scorn of earthly things’ (Enn. 1, 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 καὶ μὴ λάβοιμεν ὅν παρ' ἐπέρου (after 122).

125–6 = Po. 12, καὶ ὅν ἡγεμόνες οἱ μετ' ἀρτέτης πόνοι, τοῦτο εὖχωμεθα γενέσθαι μετά τοὺς πόνους· εὐχὴ γὰρ δειθύμου 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), ὡν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλαγεῖς οὐ δεήσῃ, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει πάντων κτλ. (= Stobaeus, III, 1, 43).

128 Cf. 92, 99; Py. 3 (Po. 12), καὶ κτησόμενος οὐ καθεξῆς, μὴ αἴτιον παρὰ θεοῦ (= Stobaeus, vol. iv, p. viii ed. Hense).

129 Cf. 34, 82e.

130 Cf. 17.

131 = 197; cf. 29.

134 = Po. 13, ταύτ' οὖν θέλε καὶ αἴτιον τῶν θεῶν (cf. 128) ἄθέλει τε καὶ ἔστιν αὐτός.

135 Cf. 58–9.

136 = Po. 13 (after 134), εὖ ἐκείνῳ γινώσκουσα ὡς ἐφ' ὅσον τις τὸ σῶμα ποθεῖ καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος σύμφωλα, ἔπι τοσοῦτον ἀγνοεῖ τὸν θεὸν 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 ITY.

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 ἑπιστρέφεται καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἄνθρωπων ἀγνοῖται (cf. Po. 13, σοφὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὁλίγος γινωσκόμενος, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἄγνοουμένους, γινώσκεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ).

148 Cf. 44, 466. For God's eudaimonia, cf. 133.


152 = Py. 7 (Po. 14; Stobaeus, III, 34, 11), οἱ τρέτων ὁ οἵτων ἐκείνην ἐξ οὗ λέγει ἄνθρωπον ἐκ λόγου ἄργον. 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, πληγή μάστιγος ποιεῖ μώλωπα, πληγή δὲ γλώσσης συγκλάσει δότα. πολλοὶ ἔπεσαν ἐν στόματι μακράρος, καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ πεπτωκότες διὰ γλώσσαν.
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153 Cf. 93, 382.

155 = Prov. x. 19, ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἀμαρτίαν. Cf. 598, οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἀμαρτίαν ἀναλώμασιν.

157 Cf. 430–2.

159 Cf. 165 d (YX only). For the doctrine of the medicinal lie cf. Plato, Rep. 382 c; 389 b; 459 c, d; Epict. iv, 6, 33; Stobaeus, ii, 7, 11 m, 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 φορμακῷ 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 κωλύσῃς λόγον ἐν καιρῷ χρείας.

162 Cf. Sirach xx. 7, άνθρωπος σοφός σιγήσει ἐως καιροῦ.

164 a is lacking in Rufinus and in ΠΥ; but it is attested in the Syriac, and the Greek original can be restored from Clitarchus 38.


165 b–165 g are omitted by Rufinus and Π, but included by YX; x has only 165 b and f, Clitarchus attests 164 a, 165 f, 165 c, 165 e (in that order). Porphyry has 165 a, 165 b, 165 c. In Clitarchus 164 a and 165 g 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, 229 c): 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 δει οὕτως βιοῦν δότις ἐπιστευσεν ἵνα καὶ οὕτως
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πιστὸς ἢ μάρτυς περὶ ὤν λέγει τοῖς ἁκρωμένοις. 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), ἕ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπονοοῦ ποιεῖν. This recurs in several Byzantine collections.

180 Cf. 549.

181 =Po. 9, μέχρι τοῦ νου [Elter; νῦν cod.] καθαρέως δεὶ τῶν παθῶν τε καὶ τῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ἀμορφημάτων.

182 Cf. Py. 13, βασιλεύων γὰρ τις ἀνθρώπων καλῶς, οὕτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλεύειν. 


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), πράττε μεγάλα, μὴ ὑποσχούμενος μεγάλα. (Π joins μὴ μεγάλα ὑποσχούμενος 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 πάθος οἰσχρὸν (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 ἐπευν ἔλεγεν αἰς τὰς πόλεις πρὸ τὸν τρυφήν, ἐπειτα κόρον, ἔτσι ὑβριν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὀλέθρον. 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 ἐλς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς πολεμικότοτον.

207, 208a =Po. 9, πάθη δὲ νοσημάτων ἀρχαί· ψυχῆς δὲ νόστιμα κακία (202 follows).

210a Cf. 260, 478; Clem. Strom. vii, 86, 2.
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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).


229 Cf. 118.

230a The γάρ, omitted by ΠΙΡ, is difficult and therefore original. No doubt the compiler found it so in his source.

The wording (διδωσιν) 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. Melanias 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 Ezch. vi. 18. For the idea cf. Plutarch, Mor. 142c; Clement, Paed. ii, 99, 3; Strom. ii, 143, 1.

232 Cf. Po. 35, ψυριάς δὲ ἐνκα ἴδουνης μηδέποτε χρήσι 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.


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”’.


243 (cf. 535) See on 145.

244 Cf. 319.

245 Cf. 298; Py. 113, χαίρε τοῖς ἑλέγχουσί σε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κολα-κεύουσι.

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247 Cf. 234, 283; Sirach vii. 8, μη κατοδεσμευστης δις ἀμορτίον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μιᾷ οὐκ ἄθροις ἔση. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii, 56 ff. (Y joins πιστὸς εἶναι θέλον 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 νομιζόθω 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 φείδου καὶ κολόν); 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’.


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.


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 πολυπροσγυμνῶν γὰρ καλὴ πορὰ θέω. Elter thinks that the
unintelligible moneris in some manuscripts of Rufinus (WPB only) is the original text, and is an attempt at translating κολῆ; 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 913 c, quotes the proverb & 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. 18 B (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 κόπτουσι τινα μέρη ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τῶν λοιπῶν, οὗ δ’ ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἄτομος ἐσο τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἐποκόπτειν. (The supplement is by Nauck.)

274a =Po. 34, μεγάλη οὖν ποιδεία ἔρχειν τοῦ σώματος.

274b =Py. 30, οὗ γὰρ παύει ποτε ἐπίθυμιαν 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; Porph. De abstinentia iv, 6; Iamblichus, Vita Pythag. 17.

280a 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, 962 B), ‘It is not unseemly to reveal merriment to the extent of a cheerful smile’ (tr. Clarke).
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282 (=573) Cf. 239.

283 (=595) Cf. 247; Py. 84, πολλάκις ἀμείνον μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀμαρτάνοντα δὲ ἀμείνον γινώσκειν ἡ ἀγνοείν. Clem. Alex. Paed. ii, 81, 3, καλὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτεῖν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμαρτώντα μετανοεῖν.

285 Cf. Py. 64, μεγάλην ποιεῖσθαι νόμισμα δὴ ἡς δυνήσθη σφένει ἀπαθευσίαν (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), δόμημα μεγίστης καὶ πλούτου τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κτίσασα.

295 Cf. Py. 32 (in positive form), ἠγοῦ μάλιστα ἀγαθὸν ἐνοι δ καὶ ἐτέρῳ μεταδίδομεν σοι μᾶλλον σοφεῖς (reminiscent of Prov. xi. 24, ‘There is that scattereth and increaseth yet more’).

296 Cf. 228.

297 is orthodox Stoicism.

297b =II.

298 Cf. 245.

299 Cf. Py. iii (Stobaeus iv, 5, 42), φαύλος κρίτης καλοῦ πράγματος δύνας. διόπερ δέν τῶν ἑπαίνων καταφρονεῖς καὶ τὸν ψόγον καταφράνει.

300 Cf. 263.

301 =Py. 95 (Po. 32), συνετός δυνάμεως καὶ θεοφιλῆς, ὅσα οἱ άλλοι μοχθοῦσι τοῦ σώματος ἐνεάς, τοσοῦτοι σπουδάσαι αὐτός ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς πνοήσαι.

303 Cf. Po. 12, πάσης πράξεως καὶ παντὸς ἐργοῦ καὶ λόγου θεός ἐπόπτης παρέστως καὶ ἐφορός.

304 Cf. 104; Po. 16, θεός δὲ ἄνθρωπον βεβαιοί πράσσοντα καλά. 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 δύνας ἡγεμόν. Cf. Clitarchus 126a. For the form contrast 166 above. In Porphyry the maxim immediately follows 304. Po. and Py. (Π) agree against Sextus and Py. (Π) in omitting the final ἐστιν.
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308 Cf. 395.

312–14 Cf. Po. 16 (after 305), ψυχή οὖν πουπρᾷ φεύγει μέν θεον, πρόνοιαν δὲ θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ βουλετοί, νόμου τε θείου τοῦ πάν τὸ φαύλον κολάζουτος ἀποστατεῖ πάντως.

315 For this use of ‘man’ cf. Plotinus 1, 4, 14.

317 Cf. 271.

319 Cf. 244, 259; Py. 105, τὸν εὐεργετοῦντά σε εἰς ψυχὴν ὡς ὑπηρέτησαν τό θεοῦ μετὰ θεοῦ τίμη.

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, 136 f.; 76 ff.). The via media between cowardice and provocation is similarly taught by Origen, C. Cels. 1, 65; viii, 44; John Chrys. Hom. in ev. Jo. lxxxv, 2.

320 is an aphorism that a Stoic could have accepted. Seneca, Ep. 24, 22 ff., 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, 18 ff. (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. ii, p. 94):

τὸ ξίφος ἄμφιβαλον μὴ πρὸς φόνον ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ὀμνυν ·
ἦθε δὲ μὴ χρῆσοις μήτε ἐκνομοῖς μήτε δικαιοῖς.

325 Cf. Py. 47, ἰσθι ὡς οὐδεμία προσποίησις πολλᾶος χρόνως λαυθάνει. (Clitarchus 132 agrees with Sextus against Py. in omitting ἰσθι ὡς.)

326a Cf. Py. 11 c, οἶνοι γὰρ τὸ ἱθὸς ἐκάστου, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ βίος καὶ οἱ δόσεις. See p. 138 n. 1, above.
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328 =Py. 104, τοῦ εὐρευτέτων μὴ ποτὲ σε ποιφῇ ἀχάριστος ἄνθρωπος. For the thought cf. Seneca, Ep. 81.

330 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’.

345 =Py. 103 (Po. 35; Stobaeus III, 17, 26; frequent in Byzantine collections), ἐπιθυμάναι πολλῷ κρείττον ἢ δι’ ἀκαριστίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαρώσαι.
346 Cf. 449; I Cor. vi. 19.
347-8 Cf. 39-40.
351-2 =Py. 55 (Po. 15), λόγου περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλληθ' λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ψευδὴ κίνδυνον φέρει. For Origen’s quotations of 352 cf. above, p. 114.
356 Cf. 590; Po. 15, οὕτε αὐτὸν τινα προσθήκην ἀνασίων ἔργων μὴ καθαρέυοντα φθέγγεσθαι περὶ θεοῦ.
358 Cf. 540.
359 =Py. 56 (Po. 15), λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγείσθω τά θεοφιλή ἔργα (in Po. after 356).
360 Cf. Po. 16, καὶ σιγάσθω ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. θεοῦ] λόγος ἐπὶ πλήθους (after 359).
362 =Py. 115 (Po. 15), ψυχήν νόμισε αἰρετῶτερον εἶναι προέσθαι ἢ λόγου βλάσφημον περὶ θεοῦ.
368 Cf. Py. 50 (Po. 31), κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος ύφ' οὖ μηδὲν 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), κρητῖς εὐσεβείας ἢ φιλοσοφία σοι νομίζεσθω. Cf. 86 above.
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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 ἀφράτου θεοῦ θεωρητικὸν with θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζῶντα.
378 (cf. 217) = Py. 70, δ’ γὰρ μὴ μεταδίδοντι ἁγαθῷ δεομένῳ οὐ λήψεται δεόμενος παρὰ θεὸν.
378a (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 ἀφράτου θεοῦ θεωρητικὸν with θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ζῶντα.
381 (cf. 44) = Py. 102 (Po. 16; Hierocles, in Carm. Aur. p. 24, 12 Gaisford), τιμήσεις τοῦ θεοῦ ἀριστά τα ἐὰν τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν διοικήσῃς. 
382 (cf. 49) = Py. 70 (after 378), ἐπει καὶ λέγεται ὀρθῶς δεῖσθαι μὲν οὐδεμι PageSize.png 
383 Cf. 152 ff.; Maximus Tyr. xxv, 2, ἢ σαν δὲ που καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρου λόγοι οἰκότες τοὺς νόμοις, βραχεῖς καὶ ἐπίτομοι· τὰ δὲ ἐργα μακρὰ καὶ διηνεκῆ . . .
386 = 608.
387 Cf. 363 b, 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. l.x, 473). 
389a Cf. 178.
389b Cf. 432, 433.
390 Cf. 113; Bias ap. Diog. Laert. 1, 88, δ’ τι ἐν ἁγαθῷ πράττεις, εἰς θεοὺς ἀνάπτειτε.
394 Cf. 577.
395 Cf. 308.
396 Cf. 175.
398 Cf. Py. 27, ἐὰν δέουσα σεαυτὸν ἁγυνείς νόμιζε μαίνεσθαι. Clement, Strom. v, 23, 1, describes the content of self-knowledge as an awareness εἰς τί γέγονας . . . καὶ πίνοις εἰκὼν ὑπάρχεις, τίς τέ σοι ἢ οὐσία καὶ τίς ἢ δημιουργία καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὀικεῖσθαι τίς, καὶ τὰ τούτοις δομια (similarly the Valentinian view in Exc. Theod. 78, 2).
400 Cf. Py. 33, ἡγοῦτο παντὸς ἀναίττου καὶ τῶν ψόγων καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων καταγέλαστον καὶ τῶν ἁμαθῶν δωδεις εἶναι τῶν βίων (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).
This looks like a Christian version of Py. 102 (Po. 16), μόνη γὰρ ἀρετή τὴν ψυχῆν δινὼ ἔλκει πρὸς τὸ συγγενέως. 

404 =92.
407 =451.
408 =Py. 83, πείραν ἀνθρώπου έκ τῶν έργων μᾶλλον λάμβανε ἢ έκ τῶν λόγων.
409 Cf. 338.
416–18 Cf. Po. 16, ψυχῆ δὲ σοφοῦ ἀρμόζεται πρὸς θεόν, οὐ κηδεμονέων ἐπιστήμην ὡς θεόν.
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), έλ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἐργοῦ, καὶ θεὸς σοφοῦ κηδεμονεῖ καὶ προνοεῖ καὶ διὰ τούτο μοιασμὸς σοφοῖς, ὡς ἐπιτρεπτέον ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Cf. Clitarchus 135, μοιασμὸς οὔ ὁ θεὸς κηδεμονέων ἐστιν.
426–7 =Py. 14 (Po. 16, after 424), γλώττα σοφοῦ οὗ προσγυμνοῦσας τίμιον παρὰ θεὸν ὄλλα τὰ ἔργα τοῖς σοφοῖς γὰρ καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν τιμῇ. Porphyry and Sextus agree against Py. in omitting προσγυμνοῦσας. 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. (It’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 philosophorum 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. xiII (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, γλώτταλαγος ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύων τὸν θεὸν μιαίνει.
NOTES ON SEXTUS 1-451

430 Cf. Py. 10 (Stobaeus, vol. v, p. vii ed. Hense), βραχύλογον μάλιστα ἢ θεοῦ γνῶσις ποιεῖ, and Py. 16 (Po. 20), γνῶσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ βραχύλογον.

431 =Py. 10 (after 430), πολλῶν δὲ λόγων περὶ θεοῦ ἢ πρὸς θεοῦ 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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