THE TABULA OF CEBES

by

John T. Fitzgerald

and

L. Michael White

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Society of Biblical Literature

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In keeping with the spirit of the *Tabula*,
this work is dedicated to the Personification of

Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία:

to

Karol and Gloria

and to their daughters,
Kirstin, Kimberly, and Jessica.

71742

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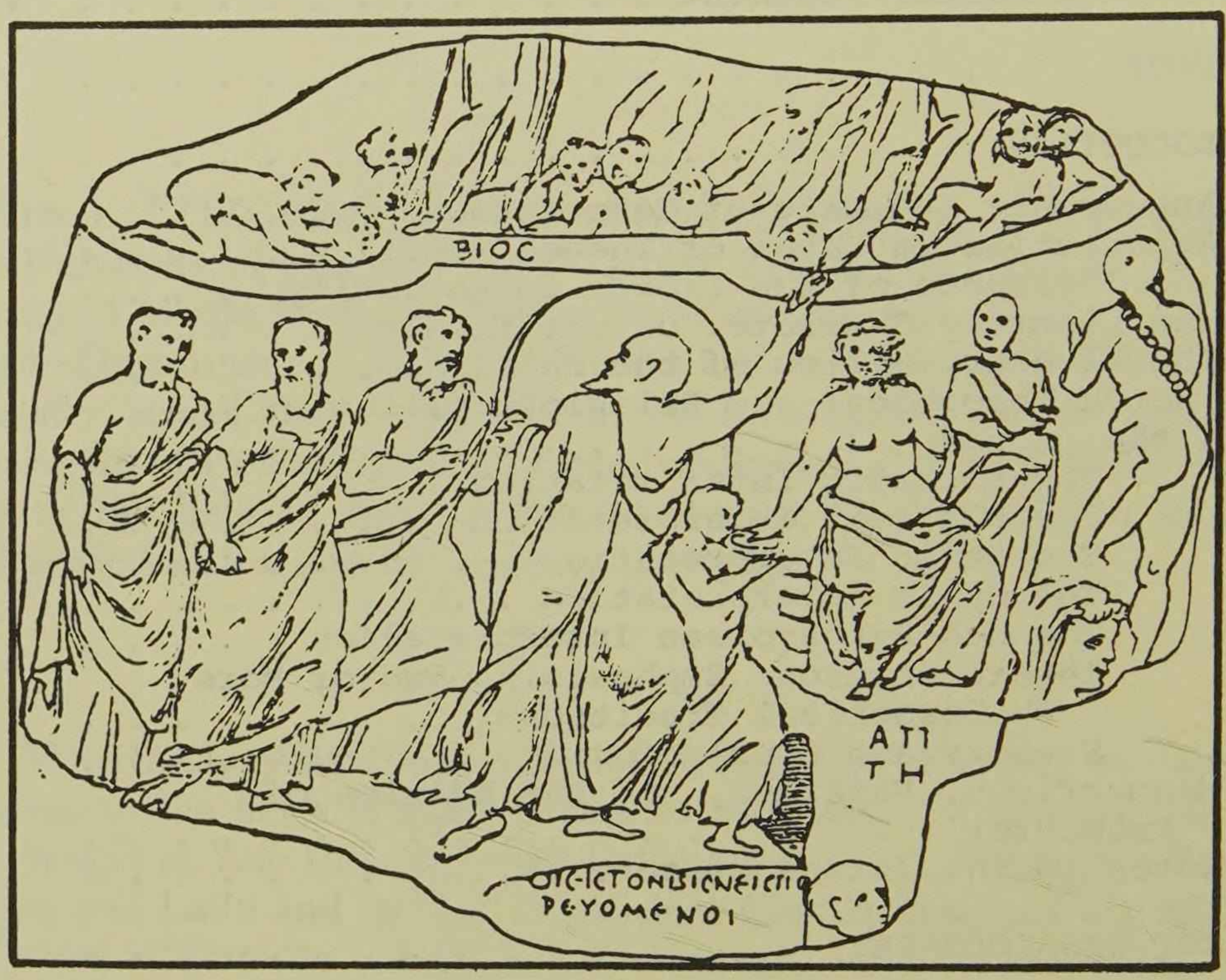
PLATE I: Depiction of the *Tabula*. Drawing of a relief fragment.



The old man in the center is the Daimon. He is giving instructions to those on his left. These are identified by the inscription below the Daimon's feet as "those entering into Life." On the Daimon's right sits Deceit, who is giving her potion of ignorance and error to the young man as he enters into Life. Above Deceit is Tychē standing on a ball. Those on Tychē's left are begging for her gifts, while those on her right have already received them. The identity of the figure standing above the wall, at the place where BIOC (Life) is written, is debated. C. Robert identifies the figure as a male personification of Life. K. K. Müller understands it as a female personification of Paideia, with a socle between her legs. The identity of the other figures is likewise disputed. A full discussion by Müller and Robert is available in the *Archäologische Zeitung* 42 (1884) 115-30, from which this drawing of a relief fragment is taken. The drawing itself is preserved in the Kupfertischkabinet of Berlin.

PREFACE

This project began innocently enough as an exercise for two new graduate students at Yale under the direction of Abraham J. Malherbe of the Divinity School and Heinrich von Staden of the Classics Department. It was intended to provide primary sources for the comparison of early Christian ethical language and literature with that of the Hellenistic moral philosophers. After those initial, crude and unassuming forays into the text we began to recognize the broader value of the *Tabula of Cebes* for current study. It became increasingly apparent to us that only a few scholars today know the *Tabula* firsthand, and there is no modern English translation whatsoever. In part, it seems that the *Tabula* has been perceived as a "common" and therefore uninteresting example of the moralist tradition. Yet it is precisely this feature that makes it interesting to us. Because it consciously employs so many of the commonplaces of the moralist tradition, it is a veritable compendium of popular philosophical morals and ethical terminology from the first century C.E.

We wish to express our appreciation to several people who assisted us in the course of this project, especially Professors Von Staden and Malherbe who started us on the way. Professor Malherbe especially acted as our very own Daimon guiding us at every turn along the way. We also wish to thank those who had a hand in reading the translation at various stages along the way: Wayne A. Meeks, Carl R. Holladay, and Everett Ferguson. A special thanks goes to Miss Cora E. Lutz, who has been working on this literature for a number of years and most recently on the manuscript tradition of the *Tabula*, for her reading of the translation. For the careful editorial work in reading and providing constructive criticism for the final version of the manuscript, we offer our appreciation to Professors Betz and O'Neil. This project has grown and blossomed over

the years (at times it seems that it followed us around like personified Vices out of the *Tabula* itself) thanks to the care and direction of these individuals. Finally, we wish to give special attention to two people whose assistance in putting the manuscript into production has been indispensable: Ms. Maureen Frances Cunningham of the Religious Studies Department at Yale University and Ms. Joann Burnich of Scholars Press.

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October 1, 1982

INTRODUCTION

The *Tabula* was once an immensely popular work. In 1522, less than thirty years after the appearance of the *editio princeps*, the *Tabula* was already popular enough for a woodcut illustrating it to be used for the title page of the third edition of Erasmus' New Testament.[1] In the course of the following centuries its popularity continued to grow as the work was translated into at least ten modern languages.[2] It attracted the attention of authors such as Milton[3] and Leibnitz[4] and of artists such as Holbein the Younger[5] and Bosch.[6] The *Tabula* may even have served as one of the sources of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.[7] Indeed, the *Tabula* itself has often been referred to as a "proto-*Pilgrim's Progress*."[8]

In the 20th century, however, interest in the *Tabula* has dwindled considerably. The work is no longer well-known (except by secondary allusion)[9] and important treatments of it are often inaccessible. For these reasons it will be useful to review briefly some of the major issues that have emerged in the history of the modern study of the *Tabula*.

Authorship and Date of Composition

The *Tabula* traditionally has been attributed to Cebes of Thebes. This Cebes had studied with the Pythagorean philosopher Philolaus before coming to Athens and becoming a member of the Socratic circle (Plato, *Phaedo* 61DE). A man of some wealth (*Phaedo* 78A), he is said to have purchased the slave Phaedo and given him the opportunity to study philosophy (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* II.18.4). He was prepared, moreover, to use his funds to help Socrates escape from prison (Plato, *Criton* 45B). He is characterized in the *Phaedo* as an astute person who is not easily convinced by arguments (63A). Indeed, as "the most obstinately

incredulous of mortals" (77A)[10] Cebes forces Socrates to argue more persuasively for the immortality of the soul. Cebes' own arguments are so incisive that he raises considerable doubt concerning the soundness of Socrates' position (88C). When Cebes is finally convinced by Socrates, the veracity of the latter's thesis is thereby established.

Later antiquity thus remembered him above all as the noble and devoted disciple of Socrates (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I.2.48) with whom he had discussed the soul's immortality (Pseudo-Plato, *Ep.* 13 [363A]; Pseudo-Socratic *Ep.* 14.7). His additional distinction as the author of the *Tabula* was firmly established by the first half of the third century C.E. (Diogenes Laertius II.125).[11] This tradition was reaffirmed in the medieval period by the *Suda*[12] and in the Renaissance by numerous scholars, editors, and scribes.[13]

While generally defended until the end of the 18th century, the authenticity of the document was increasingly called into doubt, first by Hieronymous Wolf in 1561,[14] and then by a series of scholars whose views were summarized and evaluated by Christoph Meiners in 1782.[15]

In the 19th century the debate concerning authenticity continued. The traditional view was reaffirmed in the first edition of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie* by C. F. Baehr.[16] Others who continued to maintain this position included F. Lécluse and A. Frigell.[17] Two variations of the traditional view were also presented. First, Klopfer argued that our present *Tabula* not only contains interpolations but is, in fact, a revision of an older work. This revision, moreover, was accomplished from a Socratic and Platonic perspective.[18] A second variation of the traditional view was the position that the description of the tablet in chapters 1-32 stems from Theban Cebes but that the concluding dialogue (especially chapters 36-41) is by a later hand.[19]

The admission of interpolations and the recourse to theories of revision and addition indicate the difficulty of maintaining the view that Cebes is the author of the

Tabula in its present form. The more important objections to this view are as follows.

(1) The mention of the Peripatetics in 13.2 is an obvious anachronism and cannot derive from a period earlier than Aristotle and his school.

(2) Neither of the two known teachers of Cebes--Philolaus nor Socrates--is cited as an authority in the document. It is only Cebes' fellow-student Plato who is so cited (33.3) and the source of this quotation is apparently *Leges* 808DE. But this work comes from the latest period of Plato's literary activity and it is most dubious that Cebes would have been alive at this time.

(3) The earliest *possible* citation of the *Tabula* that we possess occurs in the orations of Dio Chrysostom in the first century C.E. The earliest *certain* reference to the *Tabula* is made by Lucian of Samosata in the second century. That is, more than four centuries separate Cebes of Thebes from the first allusions to the *Tabula*. It is extremely improbable that such a document would have remained uncited for so long a time if it had been in existence during this period.

These objections and others[20] could, however, only make it unlikely that the *Tabula* is the work of Theban Cebes and indicate that the present work contains interpolations. The convincing demonstration that the work as a whole derives from a time subsequent to Cebes had yet to be given. Such a proof was begun by F. Drosihn, established by K. Praechter, and confirmed by R. Joly. To his 1871 edition of the *Tabula* Drosihn appended a list of nearly seventy words and phrases found in the *Tabula*, with the earliest known instance of their use by an ancient author. His intention in so doing was to call attention to a number of late words and classical words used with nonclassical meanings. This lexical evidence would then point to a period later than the classical for the composition of the *Tabula*.[21]

Karl Praechter in his 1885 dissertation continued this line of investigation, correcting a number of Drosihn's errors and expanding the list of late words and usages. On the basis of the nonclassical vocabulary employed in the *Tabula* Praechter argued that the most likely date of composition was the first century C.E. According to Praechter's analysis, for example, twenty-three words in the *Tabula* occur for the first time after Polybius (second century B.C.E.) and half of these in either the first century B.C.E. or the first century C.E.[22]

Robert Joly has now confirmed Praechter's overall analysis of the language of the *Tabula*. He corrects Praechter at only a few points and supplements Praechter's evidence. On the basis of the vocabulary, syntax, use of the perfect tense, optative mood and particles, Joly shows that the *Tabula* is a good specimen of Koine Greek.[23]

There is then every reason to believe that the *Tabula* is a Hellenistic work and on this point there is virtual unanimity among contemporary scholars. Differences emerge only when a more precise dating is attempted. Praechter, as already noted, preferred the first century C.E. and this is the date most frequently given in the secondary literature.[24] Some scholars, however, prefer an earlier date while others assign it to the second century C.E. Franz Susemihl, for example, considers the linguistic results of Praechter's analysis to be inconclusive owing to the paucity of prose works from the period of Polybius. He assigns the *Tabula* to the third century B.C.E. and appeals to the points of contact with other pseudo-Socratic dialogues of this period.[25] Drosihn and Th. Sinko, on the other hand, prefer a date closer to the *terminus ante quem* of Lucian.[26]

In summary, then, the vast majority of scholars would prefer to assign the work to the period of the early Empire, that is, sometime in the period from Augustus to Domitian. That the author was a disciple of Musonius Rufus or at least contemporary with him is a possibility suggested by several scholars.[27]

Attribution to Cebes of Thebes

If the *Tabula* is a composition of the Hellenistic period,[28] then how is the uncontested attribution to Cebes of Thebes to be explained? At least three theories have been advanced to answer this question. The first and simplest explanation is that the work was intentionally pseudonymous.[29] The *Tabula* would then be one of the numerous compositions written in the name of the various disciples of Socrates. The twentieth pseudo-Socratic epistle, for example, probably depicts Cebes and Simmias writing to Antisthenes in Athens and praising the latter for his perseverance. They are represented as handing on to the Theban youths the words they heard from Socrates. In the twenty-second pseudo-Socratic epistle they are depicted as recipients of a letter of Xenophon. This theory can, therefore, appeal to the pseudo-Socratic writings in general and the pseudo-Cebes correspondence in particular.

The difficulty with this explanation is that there is nothing in the *Tabula* itself that would serve to establish this fiction.[30] The characters are all anonymous, the setting is left unspecified, and no explicit attempt is made to connect the teaching of the *Tabula* with that expounded by Socrates.

For these reasons several scholars reject the theory of intentional or primary pseudonymity and offer an explanation in terms of homonymy. According to this theory the *Tabula* would have been composed originally by a person named Cebes but in the course of time was falsely attributed to Cebes of Thebes.[31] In this connection Cebes of Cyzikos, a second century C.E. philosopher mentioned by Athenaeus (IV.156D), has sometimes been advanced as the most likely candidate. Garnier, for example, made this suggestion and supported it with the conjecture that Lucian's reference to ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος is a corruption of an original Κυζικήνος. Lucian would then originally have been referring to his contemporary and not to Cebes of Thebes.[32]

Garnier's suggestion is ingenious but even most advocates of the homonymous theory reject it.[33] A second but unlikely candidate is a Cebes who is called a friend of Virgil by later writers. According to at least one interpreter, Tertullian considered this Cebes to be the author of the *Tabula*.[34]

A weakness of this explanation is that homonymy does not seem to do justice to the features in the *Tabula* that are used to give the work the appearance of greater antiquity. These features include the dedication of the tablet to Cronus, the mention of Parmenides, and the imitation of Socratic dialectic in the final chapters.[35] The work bears the stamp of antiquity too strongly to be explained by simple homonymy.

A third possible explanation is that the work was originally anonymous but later attributed to Cebes of Thebes.[36] Upon examination the *Tabula* can be seen as filled with Socratic ideas and written in a Socratic spirit. The concluding chapters in particular can be seen as Socratic not only in form but also in content. Chapter two of the *Tabula* identifies the dedicator of the tablet as a person who followed a Pythagorean life-style. The riddle of the Sphinx in chapter three has Theban connections in the tradition. As just mentioned, there are several features in the text which seem to suggest that the *Tabula* derives from a period earlier than the Hellenistic age. These considerations, it can be argued, were recognized in antiquity, and an ancient Socratic was sought as the author. Of the possible candidates the most likely was Cebes of Thebes, who had been a disciple of both the Pythagorean Philolaus and Socrates. The ethical concern of the *Tabula* is certainly consistent with the tradition that Cebes followed Socrates in restricting philosophy to ethics and not extending it to include subjects such as arithmetic, astronomy, and music (cf. *Cebetis Tabula* 13.2).[37] On the basis then of the internal evidence of the *Tabula* and the

tradition about Cebes, it can be argued that an originally anonymous *Tabula* was attributed to the Theban and that this attribution soon became firmly established.

A fourth possibility seems worthy of consideration. It may well be that the "Pythagorean" who erected the temple and dedicated the tablet to Cronus (cf. *C.T.* 2.2) was either intended as or understood to be Cebes of Thebes. The original meaning of "*Tabula* of Cebes" would then be that Cebes was the originator of the story on the tablet, not the author of the present literary composition. The *Tabula* bore his name, not because he composed the dialogue, but because the basic content of it was understood as deriving from him. The suggestion made here is similar to one sometimes made in connection with the fourth gospel.[38] That is, it is sometimes suggested that the latter was originally called the "Gospel of John," not because the apostle John composed the work, but because he was, or was believed to be, the originator of the tradition enshrined in this gospel. Only later was he seen as the actual author of the work. Whether the *Gospel of John* or the *Tabula of Cebes* actually derive from their traditional authors is not the point of the analogy. The point is rather that such a process seems possible in both instances. If this is the case with the *Tabula*, then the understanding of Cebes as the literary author of the *Tabula* would be a later development.

The Influence of the *Tabula* in Antiquity

Once written, the *Tabula* was clearly an influential work. In the second century C.E. Lucian and Tertullian know the work and it is likely that Julius Pollux does as well.[39] In other instances there is uncertainty whether authors are borrowing ideas and images from the *Tabula* or are drawing upon the same *topoi* and genres as "Cebes" had. A case in point is Dio Chrysostom. At least four positions have been taken on the question of their relationship.

Gronovius and Joly argue that Dio knows the *Tabula* and borrows from it.[40] Capelle suggests that Dio is indirectly dependent upon the *Tabula*. Dio himself does not know the *Tabula* but is dependent upon an intermediary who knows it.[41] Praechter and von Albrecht suggest that "Cebes" and Dio are both drawing upon a common source.[42] Finally, Drosihn argues that "Cebes" is imitating Dio.[43] This same question of relationship has also been raised in regard to Favorinus and the *Tabula*. The conclusion of Carlini is that both authors are independently elaborating traditional motifs and themes.[44] The issue becomes more complicated when it is remembered that Favorinus is usually said to be the author of two orations attributed to Dio (Nos. 37 and 64) and may have heard Dio speak in Rome.[45]

Other ancient authors who may know the *Tabula* include the Christian Hermas at Rome in the second century,[46] the author of the pseudo-Plutarchian *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, and the pseudo-Philonian *De mercede meretricis*.[47] The fifth century Christian writer C(h)alcidius, however, clearly knows the *Tabula* and paraphrases material from chapter 13 in his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.[48]

The Literary Character of the *Tabula*

The title and one of the major keys to understanding the document derives from the literary fiction which serves as the base for the composition. The setting and cause for the dialogue is presented as a chance observation of an enigmatic votive tablet bearing a picture (*C.T.* 1.1-2.1). The discussion regarding the contents and meaning of the painted scene, then, provides the occasion for the moralizing dialogue.[49] Recognition of this literary characteristic is important in reading the text since much of the peculiar language and phrasing is in service to the fiction of describing a picture. So, for example, the frequent use of directional adverbs (*C.T.* 4.3, 9.1, 15.1,4, 17.1, 21.2) and prepositions of place (*C.T.* 5.1, 6.1, 8.1, 17.2, 18.1,

20.1) should be understood in light of the fact that the "picture" is being described and explained by an old man who points to each component as he discusses it (*C.T.* 4.2, 30.3). In this vein, too, it should be recognized that the almost annoying use of demonstrative (οὗτος; ἐκεῖνος) and indefinite (τις, τι) pronouns and of interrogatives (τίς, τί) is intentional; it produces the sense of one observing and only slowly comprehending the details of content and meaning of the picture.[50] Our translation has highlighted a number of these features so as to carry the fiction of discussing the "picture" in English as in the Greek.[51] Given this tone and setting for the *Tabula* its contents can be summarized in the following outline.

A. Introduction: The Setting (chaps. 1-3)
   1. Finding the tablet in the temple (chap. 1)
   2. Confusion regarding its meaning and the introduction of the venerable old man, the Senex (chap. 2)
   3. The Senex agrees to explain the picture (chap. 3)
      a. The explanation carries a warning
      b. The riddle of the Sphinx

B. The Description and Explanation of the Picture (chaps. 4-32)
   1. The outer enclosure, the entry into Life, and the Daimon who points the way (chap. 4)
   2. The entrance to Life is guarded by Deceit, whose potion (ignorance and error) causes all who pass through to wander after Opinion and Desire (chaps. 5-6)
   3. Tychē, standing on an orb, gives and takes what she will from all who pass by (chaps. 7-8)
   4. Vices (personified as courtesans) lead those whom Tychē has blessed into the next enclosure (chap. 9)
      a. Here is the abode of Pleasure
      b. (later, in 28.1 and 35.2, it is called the First Enclosure)
   5. After Pleasure has reaped its effects the individual is turned over to Punishment and Unhappiness (10.1-4a)
   6. A way of escape is opened by encountering Repentance (10.4b)
   7. Repentance reorients the traveller by introducing him to new Opinions which in turn lead him either to true Paideia or Pseudopaideia (11)

8. Pseudopaideia and her Enclosure (12-14)
   a. Pseudopaideia described (12)
   b. The deluded lovers of Pseudopaideia (13)
      [They are inside the enclosure which is later (35.2) called the Second Enclosure]
   c. The companions of Pseudopaideia (14)
9. The Path to true Paideia and Happiness (14)
   a. The path through the trackless waste and beginning the ascent (15.1-4)
   b. Scaling the precipitous boulder to reach Self-Control and Perseverance (15.5-16.4)
   c. After a rest, these two women lead him to the easy path which leads finally to Paideia (16.5)
   d. The hidden enclosure [called the Third Enclosure in 35.2] is pointed out and identified as the dwelling place of Happiness and all the Virtues (17)
   e. At the entrance to the enclosure Paideia stands on a secure square rock flanked by her daughters Truth and Persuasion (18.1-2)
      - The rock is a sign that her gifts (Courage and Knowledge) are safe and secure (18.3-4)
      - She stands outside the gate in order to purge the one arriving of his Vices (19) [The medical *topos* (19.2)]
   f. Having thus purified the person, she sends him inside to Knowledge and her sisters, the Virtues (20)
   g. The Virtues then lead him to their mother, Happiness, who sits enthroned at the vestibule of the Citadel (21)
   h. When the individual reaches Happiness, she crowns him as a victor in the contest [*agōn topos*] (22-23)
10. After receiving the reward of Happiness, the Virtues take him back to the First Enclosure to show him the miserable state (in which he used to be) of those who do not seek Paideia and that the cause is ignorance of things good and evil (24-25) [shipwreck metaphor (24.2)]
11. After gaining this insight the educated, virtuous person can go anywhere he wishes; for he is safe from evil and suffering and himself becomes the doctor of others (26) [Corycian Cavern metaphor (26.1); doctor *topos* (26.1); snake-bite metaphor (26.3)]
12. Observation of those who do not persevere to reach Paideia as they are turned back from the mountain (27-28)
13. Observation of Opinions and how they lead one to Paideia but themselves do not enter into the precinct of Happiness (29) [cargo-ship metaphor (29.4)]

14. Conclusion: Discourse on the command of the Daimon (30-32)
    a. Exhortation to have confidence (30)
    b. The commands of the Daimon for the journey to Paideia. The essential element is the injunction against putting one's faith in the gifts of Tychē (31) [Banker *topos* (31.4)]
    c. Instead one is to flee to the gift of Paideia, i.e., the secure knowledge of what is advantageous in Life (32)
    [Final warning against disobeying or misunderstanding the command (32.5)]

C. Concluding discussions on the meaning of the Picture (33-34)

1. A question of clarification on the command of the Daimon regarding the value of disciplines learned from Pseudopaideia (33-35)
    a. They are not necessary, but they are useful in the matter of becoming better (33)
    b. The scholars who spend their time in the Second Enclosure are not really superior if they are hindered by their intellectual pursuits (34-35) [warning directed to the interlocutors as well (35.5)]
2. A reprise on the gifts of Tychē: why are they not to be considered good? (36-39) [shift to Socratic style]
    a. the question of life (36-38)
    b. the question of wealth (39)
3. The Conclusion of the argument (40-43)
    a. The correct attitude toward things good and evil (40-41.4)
    b. The longer ending [Latin only]: continuation of the conclusion in 41.4 and final exhortation (42-43)

It will already be quite clear from the outline that a number of literary conventions have been combined to produce the final form of this work. There are, in fact, at least three genres to be observed. First, in keeping with the attribution to the Theban Cebes and because of the form of the dialogue in chapters 36-41, some have classified the work as a Socratic dialogue.[52] Dialogical forms, of course, dominate the body of the work, but for most of it they are not in the Socratic vein. On the basis of the setting given in *C.T.* 1.1, R. Hirzel has classified the *Tabula* as a "temple dialogue." He sees this type of dialogue as

typically incorporating elements of information and instruction given in the temple setting.[53]

Second, the fiction of describing a work of art (as already mentioned) places the *Tabula* in the category of *ekphrasis*. As a literary device, *ekphrasis* originated in the earliest Greek literature, as in the epic description of Achilles' shield (*Ilias* 18.467f). By the Hellenistic period the motif was widespread, and it was in no way confined to describing in verse works of art.[54] It had been adapted for didactic purposes by Plato (cf. *Criton* 110D, 114E; *Leges* 745B). In this regard *ekphrasis* comes very close to personal description (*eikonismos* and *charaktērismos*) as practiced by the likes of Theophrastus, especially as it began to employ personification and allegory. By the early imperial period *ekphrasis* had evolved into a standard literary device and even into a unique prose genre. The consummate technician of the style was Lucian of Samosata. Three works of Lucian bear special mention in this regard, especially since Lucian has been cited as knowing the *Tabula*.[55] One is Lucian's *Toxaris* which gives a description of a temple plaque. Another is *Navigium*, which uses description in the context of a dialogue to produce an allegory on human wishes. The last (and perhaps the most intriguing) is Lucian's *Eikones*. This work is a dialogue between two men in which each sets out to describe a woman (both in personal appearance and in character) on the basis of known works of art. The *Tabula* of Cebes, in like manner, can be seen to employ *ekphrasis* not only in the literary fiction in which the work is set but also in the descriptive techniques used in personifying and allegorizing the vices and virtues.[56] Given this literary milieu, the formal genre of the *Tabula* should probably be seen as a dialogical *ekphrasis*. These formal elements, then, are in service of the moral paraenesis that is the major concern of the content.

A third literary genre helps to complete this combination of form and function. It has already been noted that

the dialogue of the *Tabula* approaches Socratic style only in chapters 36-41. The dialogue in the first portion is dominated by the explanations of the Senex while the interlocutor only serves to propel the dialogue through leading questions and short responses. The interlocutor, in this section, does not develop an independent argument; instead, he poses questions of the picture's contents that provide the Senex with an opportunity to give more detailed description and explanation and, thereby, more moral exhortation. As such the style of the dialogue is characterized by a number of elliptical and paratactic constructions.[57] One often feels that there is no need for the interlocutor at all except for fleshing out the fiction of the *ekphrasis*. This type of dialogue (as found in chaps. 2-35) fits generally into the genre known as *erotapokriseis*. The name (literally, "questions and answers") denotes a dialogical exchange in the form of question and response in which one of the conversants is usually given an inferior role (as opposed to the Socratic setting which is more or less between equals). The form developed originally in the context of school discussions, especially in the explication of texts.[58] So, for example, in Aristotle (*Frag*. 70) or Plutarch (*Platonicae quaestiones*) the form might begin, "What does *so and so* (Homer, Plato, etc.) mean by the word....?" A more highly developed form of the same approach might take a single topic systematically (thence to serve as *eisagogē*, cf. Epictetus II.19). From the Jewish-Christian side, the best examples of the genre are Philo's works of *Quaestiones et Solutiones* (on Genesis and Exodus) where the initial question of the text serves as the starting point for extended allegorical interpretations. Another kind of *erotapokriseis* may be seen in so-called revelation literature where a suppliant poses a question to the deity (e.g., in the Hermetic oracles).[59] The point of interest for understanding the *Tabula* of Cebes is this: the question-answer form of the dialogue in chapters 2-35 is very much

like that of the classical *erotapokriseis* on a text. In this case, as in the revelation literature, the picture (or vision) serves as the text; it is explicated point by point with the questions of the interlocutor and the descriptions of the Senex leading the discussion. Another point of contact between the *Tabula* and the "gnostic revelation discourse" occurs in the enigmatic warnings given concerning the explanation (*C.T.* 2-3).[60] In the *Tabula* these warnings serve primarily to emphasize the need for a guarded moral decision in regard to one's chosen path in life.

As to the document's contents, it seems at times as if the author has made concerted efforts to accommodate almost all of the standard *topoi* (or commonplaces) of moral literature into what is otherwise a relatively short document. Closer analysis, however, reveals that the underlying structure of the contents is really nothing more than an expanded form of the Prodicus myth. This myth takes its name from the story of Heracles attributed by Xenophon (*Memorabilia* II.1.21-34) to the sage Prodicus.[61] Several points of Xenophon's version may be repeated here to illustrate the basic storyline of the myth: (a) the fable is explicitly presented as a paradigmatic study on virtue (21); (b) the setting of the story included the fact that Heracles was passing into adolescence, "wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or vice" (21); (c) Heracles was in a quiet place pondering this choice when he was approached by two women who are described in detail (22); (d) the two women are identified as Vice, whom some call Happiness (26), and Virtue (30); (e) Vice promises an easy road to pleasure (24) while Virtue warns of a rough road and a toilsome journey leading to good and noble deeds (27); (f) finally, the reward of following the path of Vice is pictured as transient pleasure to be followed by hardship in old age (31), while the path of Virtue leads to ultimate happiness (εὐδαιμονία, 32f).

These components form the basic outline of the story. It enjoyed wide circulation in the moralist literature and was known well enough to be capsuled in rather brief, formulaic allusions.[62] The literary features that one finds most pronounced in all the versions are the choice between easy and hard roads, the personifications in the form of women, and the moral interpretation (by means of metaphor or allegory). It is significant too, that the moral import of the fable is derived largely from the characterization of the women (in physical attributes, actions, and speech) and in the description of the paths (often an *ekphrasis* of the topography and the destination). The content of the picture relies quite heavily on these same literary features.

Each of the basic units of the story could be expanded by the addition of other similar *topoi* from the moralist tradition. For example, the personification of virtue and vice already had a long tradition. It could be elaborated on any particular vice or virtue, or it could treat them in groups in connection with one of the standard procedures for listing or cataloguing vices and virtues.[63] Then, too, Vice is already portrayed in the Prodicus tradition as something of a wanton, so that the more explicit inclusion of elements from the courtesan literature was a natural way of elaborating and dramatizing the characterization.[64] Or again, the characteristic stress on the smooth and rough roads is understandably augmented by the hardship and victory motifs of the *agōn topos*.[65] One further comment should be made on the structural integration of these *topoi* into the basic narrative of the *Tabula*. In almost every case the text moves first through a description of the "picture" to some indication of its moral implication. Then, a *topos* is introduced in keeping with the appropriate symbolism at that point of the narrative in order to illustrate or clarify (for the inquisitive interlocutor) the moral point. So, for example, the "wicked bankers" (*C.T.* 31.4f) serve as a metaphor to reinforce the point already made from the extensive

description of the attributes of Tychē, namely that her gifts are transient and one should, therefore, consider them as nothing more than a temporary trust. Similarly, the medical *topos* (*C.T.* 19.2) follows at that point in the journey to Paideia when she begins to purge the traveller of his noxious vices.[66]

The middle section of the *Tabula* (4-32) forms the core of the work which itself is nothing more than an expanded and elaborated form of the Prodicus myth (but without the figure of Heracles).[67] The basic components of the paths, the women, the choice, and the rewards/punishments remain the same. The entire work is composed so as to emphasize one major point. In this case the major point seems to be injunctions for youth (who are about to enter life) on the proper path to happiness through education and the proper perspective on matters good and evil.[68] The details of the description (especially what is added to the basic story-line) serve to heighten this point by the use of metaphor.[69] The final, "Socratic" dialogue, then, recapitulates the paraenesis. Specifically, the issue is the proper attitude to hold with respect to wealth and those other things which the masses call good and how the proper kind of education (i.e., in philosophy) inculcates this attitude.

The Literary Milieu of the *Tabula*

Both in form and in content the *Tabula* fits well into the general framework of the philosophical moral tradition. The existence of so many common stylistic features and illustrative *topoi* accounts for the variety of literary connections that have been claimed for the work.[70] Its relations with Dio Chrysostom and Lucian of Samosata have already been discussed, but there are other such claimed relationships which deserve some attention here as well. Since the climax of Cebes-studies in the late 19th century the most heated discussions have taken place over the relationship of the *Tabula* to *The Shepherd* of Hermas.

Recognition of the *Tabula* as a product of the first century opened up the possibility that its religious and moral tone might have points of contact with early Christian literature. Some of these possibilities had already been suggested regarding the *Tabula* and Philo; however, Praechter had argued that the similarities were based primarily on a common use of the Prodicus myth.[71]

Apparently the first claims for a connection of the *Tabula* with Hermas came from a statement (made in 1885) by J. M. Cotterill: "To anyone who makes a thorough study of the subject it is plain that there are few passages in Hermas in which the *Tabula* is not in his mind to a greater or less degree."[72] On the basis of the initial observation by Cotterill, C. Taylor set out to prove the literary dependence of Hermas on the *Tabula*.[73] Taylor's hypothesis was predicated on the notions of literary "similarity" and word-borrowing.[74] It must be admitted that anyone who knows the *Shepherd* will likely be caused to think of its imagery and style when reading the *Tabula*. Taylor's method, however, was not well received because he tried to see something from the *Tabula* behind almost every word of Hermas. He admits at points to looking for things in the *Tabula* that "Hermas would have noticed and used." The indebtedness of Hermas, for Taylor, extends to single words or isolated phrases (often taken apart from their context), and he argues that Hermas intentionally "disguised" many of these elements in order to Christianize them.[75] Among those who questioned Taylor both on his conclusion and his method was St. George Stock.[76] Taylor responded by revising the arguments to include Plutarch, but his basic stance remained the same.[77] With the decline of interest in the *Tabula* among classical scholars, the continuing discussion of "Cebes" and Hermas was left to those interested in the early Christian writers.[78]

It should be noted that a number of the similarities pointed out by Taylor are striking and have continued to be

the focus of attention in studies of Hermas. In contrast to Taylor's contention that the *Tabula* lurks behind every turn, the more convincing comparisons are largely to be found at three points in the *Shepherd*, i.e., in *Vis.* iii, *Sim.* vi, and *Sim.* ix.[79] Among the more recent scholars who have dealt with the issue we may consider the divergent conclusions of R. Joly and R. van Deemter. Joly, in his study of the religious and philosophical milieu of the *Tabula*,[80] basically adopts a cautious version of Taylor's dependence theory. Thus, he sees the most profound similarities in *Sim.* vi and ix, where the personifications of Repentance and the Vices and Virtues are most pronounced. By way of contrast, van Deemter sees points of agreement (*Übereinstimmung*) but of such a sort that one can in no way conclude a direct literary dependence.[81] He would rather understand the existence of a common background or a mutual source behind these similarities. He cites, for example, the hypothesis of H. Schultz, according to which both "Cebes" and Hermas borrow from an unknown source related to Galen's *Protrepticus*.[82]

If there is a relation between Hermas and our "Cebes" it may well be in the use of common literary genres and motifs, especially since moral *topoi* and *ekphrasis* were used so widely. But there are further points to consider in the issue of "Cebes" and Hermas. One of the main presuppositions of Taylor's thesis was that the *Shepherd* represented a literary unity, a point which has come into serious question in more recent Hermas-studies.[83] Almost no one, it seems, has brought this structural consideration to bear on the question of how the *Shepherd* (in its final form) might be so thoroughly dependent on the *Tabula*.[84] Again, the possibility of a common literary milieu would seem to be the best explanation.[85] In this vein, too, we should recognize the points of similarity of the *Tabula* with both Philo and Plutarch.

As already noted, similarities with Philo had been suggested by Praechter's time; Praechter had dismissed any

direct connections on the grounds of the common usage of the Prodicus myth.[86] But one element of the Prodicus myth in the *Tabula* bears a striking resemblance to a peculiarity in Philo's use of the same motif. In *C.T.* 27.3 the *Tabula* contains a reversal of the normal typology of the rough and smooth paths. Thus, in the general terms of the myth, after reaching a certain point the smooth path to vice becomes rough and the hard road to virtue becomes smooth and easy.[87] This reversal is not unique as the perils of the road to vice are pictured both in Dio Chrysostom and in the Cynic epistles.[88] But the use of the word ἀνοδία (*C.T.* 15.2, 27.3) as a technical term is somewhat surprising. The word is rarely used in this connection, and yet it is one of the more common features of the Prodicus myth as adapted by Philo. Interestingly enough, the word also appears in Hermas. Similarly, in Philo repentance plays a major role in his allusions to the road to virtue.[89]

There are parallels of this same type in works usually attributed to Plutarch. It is thought by some that *C.T.* 31.3-4 (the metaphor of the "wicked bankers") is virtually a direct quotation from ps-Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 28.[90] Indeed, much of the *Moralia* would have provided a common medium for discussing the same ethical issues.[91] Two other works bear special mention. The curious role of the Daimon in the *Tabula* may be explained in part by two converging traditions. The first is the appearance in some versions of the Prodicus myth of a "divine guide" who shows Heracles the two paths and helps him make the proper decision. Thus, in Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1.66 Hermes is sent by Zeus to assist in the young Heracles' education.[92] The other tradition comes from the common use of the term δαίμων/δαιμόνιον in the traditions about Socrates, perhaps as represented best by Plato's *Phaedo* and Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* (Mor. 575A-598F). The discussion of the δαιμόνιον functions in Plutarch's dialogue as a symbol for the struggle toward virtue and excellence (ἀρετή)

as a way to be free of blind Fate (τύχη).[93] It is interesting, too, that the journey and *tabula* of Trophonius occur in this same treatise.[94]

Finally, with the exception of the *Shepherd*, the relation of the *Tabula* to early Christian literature has hardly been explored. References are usually confined to the shipwreck imagery shared by 2 Tim 1:19 and *C.T.* 24.2 and the two ways motif of Matt 7:13-14 and the *Tabula*.[95] Occasionally a comparison of the banker *topos* of *C.T.* 31.5 with the agraphon of Jesus γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι has been attempted.[96] J. van Wageningen has called attention to the contrasts of the ἀπολλύμενοι and σφζόμενοι in Paul and the *Tabula* and to the role of repentance in each.[97] W. Jaeger has observed a formal similarity between Acts 17 and the *Tabula*. In the former an inscription provides the occasion for the sermon that follows. In the latter the tablet gives rise to the dialogue.[98]

The Philosophical and Religious Milieu of the *Tabula*

A primary issue in Cebes-research has concerned the philosophical standpoint of the work. Although it has sometimes been argued that the author of the *Tabula* was only a philosophically inclined rhetorician,[99] most scholars have claimed him as a representative of one or more of the various philosophical schools. He has been identified as a Socratic, a Platonist, a Stoic, a Cynic, and a Pythagorean. Very frequently a combination of these designations is employed in order to indicate that he is indebted to several philosophical movements. Given this eclecticism, the issue of his basic orientation still remains.

The Socratic Interpretation

The presence of Socratic ideas, sentiments, and style in the *Tabula* is an uncontested fact. Even some of those who reject the Theban as the author still treat the *Tabula* as an essentially Socratic work.[100] Over against this stress on the Socratic elements, however, Praechter

correctly emphasizes that these had become commonplaces in Hellenistic philosophy and thus can not be used to establish the author's philosophical orientation.[101]

But it does not follow from Praechter's observation that the Socratic elements can now be dismissed. Rather the issue must now be raised in a new manner. As to content, it must be asked whether the author employs Socratic ideas in order to foster the impression that the work stemmed from the Socratic circle. Again, the issue becomes a key question in regard to the dialectic style of chapters 36-41. It remains debated whether the author is here employing an older Socratic source or consciously imitating the Socratic method.[102] In either case, it must be asked what this suggests about "Cebes'" purpose in so doing. Or, if the view is correct that these chapters are a late addition to the *Tabula*,[103] the basis and purpose of this addition needs to be clarified. Thus the presence of Socratic lineaments in the *Tabula* remains an issue worthy of investigation.

The Platonic Interpretation

Plato is the only philosopher explicitly cited as an authority in the *Tabula*. Thus there is an *a priori* basis for assuming that the author was at least sympathetic to certain Platonic ideas as well as to more specifically Socratic ones. The most recent advocate of the Platonic inspiration of the *Tabula* is Thaddaeus Sinko. But whereas earlier scholars appealed to Platonic parallels in order to argue for an early date for the *Tabula*, Sinko places it as late as possible, viz., in the second century C.E.[104] This dating would then coincide with the renaissance of Platonism at that time.

The Stoic Interpretation

The standard interpretation of the *Tabula* remains the Stoic-Cynic one. This designation is somewhat unfortunate, for it not only obscures the differences between the two but also fails to allow adequately for the diversity present in

each. Some scholars have sought to be more specific and have expressed themselves in favor of one part of the hyphen. Thus it is possible to distinguish the Stoic and the Cynic interpretations.

The Stoic elements in the *Tabula* were recognized as early as H. Wolf, who pointed to them in support of the doubts he raised in regard to the attribution of the *Tabula* to Cebes. In this he was followed by critics such as Meiners and Dornedden.[105] Gradually in the nineteenth century this Stoic (-Cynic) interpretation became the viewpoint of most of those who rejected the old Socratic interpretation.[106]

The major scholar to argue that the basic orientation of the *Tabula* is Stoic rather than Cynic was K. Praechter. His procedure was to minimize the Socratic elements in the *Tabula* and emphasize the Stoic ones. For Praechter these decidedly Stoic elements included the following theses: (1) external things do not belong to the category of things good; (2) the happiness of the sage is purely internal; (3) happiness depends on the knowledge of good and evil; (4) good can not derive from evil. The conception of δόξα and the lists of virtues and vices were also regarded by Praechter as Stoic.[107] His reasons for regarding the *Tabula* as Stoic as opposed to Cynic were primarily two. First, the author advises people to accept the gifts of Tychē (31.6). Second, while Pseudopaideia is attacked, the arts and sciences themselves are not rejected. These are given a qualified endorsement and some time is to be spent in the acquisition of them (32.4). Therefore, the author views the arts and sciences in the same way as the gifts of Tychē. They are not goods but belong to the Stoic category of preferred, indifferent things. Cynicism, in Praechter's opinion, was more hostile in its attitude toward both these matters, extolling poverty and rejecting the academic disciplines. Therefore, although the author avoids technical terminology, his basic orientation was more Stoic than Cynic.[108]

The Cynic Interpretation

Karl Joël rejected Praechter's distinctions between Stoics and Cynics in regard to their attitudes toward external things and the arts and sciences. He sought to prove that Cynics such as Antisthenes and Diogenes did not reject the gifts of Tychē but acted precisely as the *Tabula* recommends. Similarly the Cynics are said to have rejected the arts and sciences only to the extent that they are not concerned with ethics and making people better. For Joël the sharp distinction between Pseudopaideia and true Paideia is most natural in Cynicism's critique of the arts and sciences.[109]

Joël then proceeded to cite an impressive number of Cynic parallels for the ideas and vocabulary of the *Tabula*. This evidence was adduced as part of Joël's larger thesis that the Cynic Antisthenes was the real author of the Prodicus myth about Heracles. It is this myth which clearly provides the basic construct for the *Tabula*. In Joël's view the variations to this myth found in the *Tabula* are all Cynic. Moreover, Joël even derives the treatment of Paideia in a tablet format from Antisthenes.[110]

A more reserved appeal to the Cynic features of the *Tabula* was made by von Arnim.[111] He pointed to features such as the dispensability of the arts and sciences for the attainment of true Paideia, the use of the Cynic term σύντομος, the comparison of the successful struggle against the vices to the conquest over wild beasts, the return of the crowned victor to men as a physician, and the ideal of ἐλευθερία. At the same time he did not discount Stoic, Socratic and Pythagorean elements entirely. Indeed, von Arnim argued that the author of the *Tabula* not only portrayed his work as Pythagorean but believed himself to be writing as a Pythagorean in recommending abstinence over sensuality, emphasizing the need for ἐγκράτεια and καρτερία, and calling for μετάνοια and κάθαρσις.

The Neo-Pythagorean Interpretation

In chapter two of the *Tabula* the founder of the temple and dedicator of the tablet is described as one who had "emulated in word and deed a Pythagorean and Parmenidean way of life." The *Tabula* is then ostensibly Pythagorean. But is it actually Pythagorean in content? On this question scholarly opinion has been divided. Among the first to defend the Pythagorean character of the work were Brucker and Sevin.[112] Twentieth century interpreters to treat the *Tabula* as a Neo-Pythagorean work include Werner Jaeger and Robert Joly.

In a very detailed review of Eduard Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, Jaeger discussed the *Tabula* in connection with Norden's treatment of μετάνοια. Norden had suggested that μετάνοια as an ethical rather than a noetic change was a concept deriving from oriental, specifically Jewish, religion. Jaeger responded by invoking the *Tabula* as evidence that this new notion of μετάνοια was not the result of oriental influence but of an indigenous Greek development. For Jaeger the *Tabula*'s positive concept of μετάνοια reflects its use in Pythagorean moral preaching. The *Tabula* is then a product of the Pythagorean morality-movement and its preaching of the two ways. These two ways are those of ἀρετή and ἀπάτη. The choice between them coincides with the decision made at the crossroad of life, symbolized by the letter Y. The *Tabula* is therefore not Stoic, but Neo-Pythagorean. In fact, the Stoic polemic against μετάνοια is directed against the sort of popular understanding of the term found in the *Tabula*.[113]

Robert Joly has presented the most extensive case for understanding the *Tabula* as a Neo-Pythagorean work.[114] He moves beyond Jaeger to argue for the Neo-Pythagorean origin of this popular understanding of μετάνοια. Not only this but also the concepts of ἀπάτη, κάθαρσις, τιμωρία, the two ways, and πόνος are all viewed from a Neo-Pythagorean perspective. Yet this is a Pythagoreanism that has been

greatly influenced by the mystery religions. The *Tabula*, as a product of this circle of thought, is really an eschatological work. It presents a picture of the hereafter in terms of this earthly life. But only the Neo-Pythagorean would recognize it as such. The noninitiate would see only the Stoic and Cynic banalities that are undeniably present in the work. The initiate, however, given his clue already in the mention of Cronus (the god of the underworld) and told that he must treat the old man's explanation of the tablet as a riddle to be interpreted, would see the true meaning of what is unfolded in the *Tabula*.

An initiate in the mystery religions could not, of course, reveal the content of the mystery. Similarly, the author of the *Tabula* does not reveal openly and directly the content of the Neo-Pythagorean mystery. But he does give the revelation in an allusive and enigmatic manner. Joly does for us what the author of the *Tabula* could not, viz., he gives us the revelation in a clear way. Joly's interpretation will be treated in some detail in the notes. It will suffice here to note that there is some evidence that may suggest that the *Tabula* was interpreted in antiquity in the manner Joly proposes. The note of the *Suda* apparently refers to the *Tabula* when it is stated that ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου διήγησις.[115] A relief fragment may also reflect this understanding of the *Tabula*.[116]

Thus, even when interpreters view the *Tabula* as a product of the Neo-Pythagorean movement, the nature of the document remains disputed. Jaeger follows most interpreters in seeing it as a popular work and adds the nuance that it contains Pythagorean popular preaching. Joly, on the other hand, views it as an esoteric work that can be correctly understood only by the initiate.

Interpretations Emphasizing Two or More Philosophical Traditions

Few modern interpreters, including those just mentioned, would deny that the author of the *Tabula* was

somewhat eclectic. The five interpretations just discussed would hardly have been possible if this were not the case. In view of the presence of various philosophical traditions in the *Tabula*, several scholars have preferred to emphasize this combination. The most common example of this tendency is the Stoic-Cynic interpretation mentioned above. Even Praechter, when pressed about his Stoic interpretation, would concede that the author was neither Stoic nor Cynic but stood on the border between them.[117] But our interest here lies in combinations that we would not anticipate except in a syncretistic period.

Croiset treated the *Tabula* as a Pythagorean-Stoic work.[118] It is said to be Stoic in its conception of life and in its imitation of a composition of Cleanthes. Its Pythagoreanism surfaces in its use of allegory and its desire to summarize and present in one image the axioms necessary for living well. In contrast to Joly, the *Tabula* is not seen as a religious work. The religious idea is absent because the author is making his appeal to outsiders.

Hirzel argued that the author intended to make visible the joining of two philosophical streams. The first is the Parmenidean-Pythagorean stream and the second is the Cynic-Socratic one. In support of this combination of Socratic Cynicism and Pythagoreanism, Hirzel pointed to Varro, the Cynic in Athenaeus IV.157D who knew Pythagorean principles, and Sextius.[119]

Summary and Conclusions

In view of the eclecticism of the author and the diversity of scholarly opinion concerning him, a dogmatic conclusion concerning the basic orientation(s) of the *Tabula* is unwarranted. "Cebes" does not fit easily into any of the usual categories. Indeed, the old categories themselves are presently under discussion and it is premature to say what the new landscape of Hellenistic philosophy will be. Each of the proposed interpretations has its strengths as

well as its weaknesses. We should acknowledge, however, that we have been especially impressed by the Cynic features of the *Tabula*. The author, however he may have understood himself and however we choose to label him, certainly was influenced by Cynic thought.

That he was, in this regard, a person somewhat like Seneca or Epictetus does not seem unlikely. Seneca had been exposed early to various viewpoints, including those of two Sextian eclectics. Later, as a Stoic, he was greatly influenced by the thought of his intimate friend Demetrius the Cynic. Seneca was then a "Cynicized Stoic," that is, a Stoic enamored of certain Cynic ideals. Likewise Epictetus seems to represent a number of strong Cynic tendencies, even giving a treatise on the ideal Cynic (III.22), but he himself was more of a Stoic. He taught in his own school and regularly took in young students for philosophic and moral instruction. The author of the *Tabula* may have been such a person, influenced by Cynics but not personally a Cynic. This question cannot be answered, however, until we have a clearer idea as to the varieties of Cynic life, thought, and self-understanding. At the present time we would emphasize only the fact that "Cebes" was influenced by the Cynics and leave open the issue of his self-understanding.[120]

Manuscripts, Versions, and the Edition of Praechter

The standard edition of the *Tabula* and the one reprinted in this volume is that of Karl Praechter.[121] The text of Praechter's edition is based primarily on twelve Greek manuscripts and two Latin versions (those of Odaxius and Elichmann).[122] In the preparation of his edition, Praechter benefited from the prior work of two men in particular, Hermann Sauppe[123] and K. K. Müller.[124] Reaping the harvest of their labors, Praechter sought to base the text of the *Tabula* as far as possible on the witness of a small number of good manuscripts. This meant that from

1.1.1-23.2.3 Praechter accorded codex A a preferred position in the construction of the text.[125] From 23.2.3 to the ending of the Greek text at 41.4.1 a similar preference was given to the readings of codex V.[126] The concluding section is extant only in an Arabic paraphrase made from a Greek manuscript and a literal translation of this Arabic paraphrase. For this section Praechter printed, with a few minor changes, this Latin translation (made by J. Elichmann and published posthumously in 1640).[127] Praechter's prudence as an editor, his reluctance to emend the text, and his growing reputation as a scholar, won for his edition the renown of being the standard.[128]

While Praechter's edition is justifiably considered the standard one, there is also a pressing need for a new edition of the *Tabula*. New Greek manuscripts and Latin translations unknown to Praechter have been discovered and instances of incorrect citation by him have been published, especially by C. E. Finch.[129] Praechter himself later expressed a preference for alternate readings.[130] Until a new edition is forthcoming, however, it seems expedient to use Praechter's text. But, in the interim, we have sought to be of service to textual critics by supplementing and correcting the critical apparatus where new information has been brought to light or older, pertinent information has been omitted. [An asterisk (*) beside a line of the apparatus indicates that such information has been provided in the supplementary notes. By so doing we disavow any intention of re-editing the text or of constructing a new apparatus. Our desire is merely to make available the information published by others.]

The accompanying translation is thus that of Praechter's text. In only a few instances have we departed from this text, and these exceptions are indicated in the "Notes to the Translation." A complete listing of all the witnesses used by Praechter is given under "Sigla."[131] To this is added a list of Greek manuscripts and Latin versions either not known to Praechter or not utilized by him.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1]S. C. Chew, *The Pilgrimmage of Life* (New Haven, 1962) 206; cf. also note 5 below.

[2]For listings of individual titles, cf. S.F.W. Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der Griechen* (Amsterdam, 1961, a reprint of the second [1838] Leipzig edition) I, 445-48; and the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*, Vol. 35 (1965) cols. 914-18. For facsimilies of the Greek text and various translations, cf. Sandra Sider, *Cebes' Tablet: Facsimiles of the Greek Text, and of Selected Latin, French, English, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Polish Translations* (Renaissance Text Series; New York, 1979).

[3]Milton recommends the *Tabula* in his 1644 tractate *Of Education*. Cf. O. M. Ainsworth (ed.), *Milton on Education* (Cornell Studies in English XII; New Haven, 1928) 55-56.

[4]Cf. Madeleine David, "Leibniz et le 'Tableau de Cébès' (*Nouveaux Essais*, l.IV, chap. III, §20) ou le problème du langage par images," *Revue philosophique* CLI (1961) 39-50.

[5]It was a woodcut by Holbein that Johann Froben used for the title page of the third edition of Erasmus' New Testament. For a reproduction and detailed discussion of the cut, cf. H. Knackfuss, *Holbein*, trans. by C. Dodgson (Bielefeld/Leipzig, 1899) 50, 71-73.

[6]Cf. Sider, 2. For a collection and discussion of numerous woodcuts, paintings, and frescos illustrating the *Tabula*, cf. Reinhart Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis; oder Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens, darin Tugent und Untugent abgemalet ist. Studien zur Rezeption einer antiken Bildbeschreibung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1974).

[7]This is asserted without qualification by Richard Parsons, *Cebes' Tablet* (Boston, 1887) 5, and J. G. Phillips, "The Garden of False Learning," *Bulletin: The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, N.S. 1 (1942/1943) 243-47. W. C. Hazlitt, *Offspring of Thought in Solitude* (London, 1884) 215, is more cautious. Hazlitt gives the *Tabula* as one of six works from which Bunyan "may, with greater or less probability, be supposed to have been a borrower." In the view of J. B. Wharey, however, it is "extremely improbable" that Bunyan had even heard of, much less used, the *Tabula*. Cf. his *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories* (Baltimore, 1904) 99-102.

[8]C. E. Lutz, "Aesticampianus' Edition of the *Tabula* Attributed to Cebes," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 45 (1971) 110-17, esp. 111. This perception has been incorporated in the titles of several works. Cf., for example, Addison Hogue, "A Greek 'Pilgrim's Progress,'" *Union Seminary Magazine*, Richmond, VA, Feb.-March, 1902, pp. 211-24, and K. S. Guthrie, *The Greek Pilgrim's Progress, Generally Known as the Picture by Kebes, a disciple of Sokrates?* (London/Philadelphia, 1910).

[9]Cf., for instance, the brief discussion by A. D. Nock in *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933) 180-81.

[10]The translation is that of H. N. Fowler in the Loeb edition.

[11]Cf. also Lucian, *De merc. cond.* 42; *Rhet. praec.* 6; Tertullian, *De praescr. adv. haeret.* 39; and Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* III.95.

[12]Cf. Robert Joly, *Le Tableau de Cébès et la philosophie religieuse* (Collection Latomus, Vol. LXI; Bruxelles-Berchem, 1963) 67.

[13]Codex Parisinus graec. 1774 (designated as C in the Praechter edition) of the 16th century and Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037 both state in the titles to the *Tabula* that Cebes the Theban is the author. It is likely that this tradition already stood in the title of the archetype of the CK(P) family. Cf. C. E. Finch, "The Translation of Cebes' *Tabula* in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 85 (1954) 79-87, esp. 83.

[14]H. Wolf, *Epicteti Enchiridion..., Cebetis Thebani tabula...* (Basileae, 1561-63).

[15]C. Meiners, "Iudicium de quibusdam Socraticorum reliquiis, inprimis de Aeschinis dialogis, de Platonis eiusque condiscipulorum epistolis, nec non de Cebetis tabula," in *Commentatt. reg. Soc. Scient. Gottingensis hist. et philog. Class.* (1782) Vol. V, pp. 45ff. For the history of the investigation to 1798, cf. J. Schweighaeuser, *Epicteti Manuale et Cebetis Tabula, Graece...* (Lipsiae, 1798) *in loc.* 13.2 and 33.3. For a summary of Schweighaeuser and the history of the investigation to 1813, cf. J. D. Büchling and G.F.W. Grosse, *Des Cebes Gemälde* (Meissen, 1813) v-xlii.

[16]C. F. Baehr, "Cebes," in A. Pauly (ed.), *Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1842) II, 232-33.

[17]F. Lécluse, *Tableau de Cébès lé Thebain* (Paris, 1877), and A. Frigell, *Kebes' Tafla* (Uppsala, 1878). Both these editions of the text we know only by the review of K. K. Müller in *Philologische Rundschau* IV (1884) 1423-24.

[18]F. G. Klopfer, *De Cebetis tabula dissertat. III.4* (Zwickau, 1818, 1820, 1822). The distinctiveness of Klopfer's proposal makes it difficult to classify him. We follow Franz Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litera-tur in der Alexanderinzeit* (Hildesheim, 1965, a reprint of the Leipzig edition of 1891-92) I, 25 n. 66, in viewing him essentially as a defender of the genuineness of the work. Hoffmann, however, classifies him with those who deny the authenticity of the work (cf. Hoffmann, 448).

[19]This position is adopted by David Smith, "Had Our Lord Read the 'Tablet' of Kebes?," *The Expositor*, Sixth Series, 3 (1901) 387-97, esp. 391, and Guthrie (cf. his "Introduction").

[20]Another important objection raised early against the traditional attribution was that it contains Stoic ideas and principles (so already Wolf, followed by Meiners and many others). Since Smith and Guthrie (cf. n. 19 above) saw these influences only in the concluding dialogue, they considered only the dialogue to be spurious. Additional objections concern matters such as the use of allegory as a vehicle of instruction, the language of the *Tabula*, and the presence of anachronisms in the text.

[21]Friedrich Drosihn, *Cebetis Tabula* (Lipsiae, 1871) 37-39. Drosihn intended to discuss this lexical evidence in part four of an article dealing with the date of the *Tabula*'s composition. Unfortunately, Drosihn died before completing this part of the article. The first three parts were published posthumously by Dietlein under the title "Die Zeit des ΠΙΝΑΞ ΚΕΒΗΤΟΣ. Aus den Papieren des verstorbenen Oberlehrer Drosihn vom Prorector Dietlein," in *Programm des fürstlich hedwigschen Gymnasiums zu Neu-stettin* (Neustettin, 1873) 3-15. In undertaking this lexi-cal investigation Drosihn was pursuing observations that had been made earlier in regard to the presence of late words in the *Tabula*. Büchling and Grosse (p. xl) had, for example, pointed to βουνός.

[22]Karl Praechter, *Cebetis Tabula quanam aetate con-scripta esse videatur* (Marburgi, 1885). His results are summarized in a chart on pp. 129-30.

[23]Joly, 13-21.

[24]Cf., for example, H. von Arnim, "Kebes," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* XI.1 (1921) 102-5, esp. 103;

Glanville Downey, "The Pilgrim's Progress of the Byzantine Emperor," *Church History* 9 (1940) 207-17, esp. 210-11; W. D. Ross, "Cebes," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2nd ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard; Oxford, 1970) 218; Lutz, 110; Sider, 1; cf. also H. Dörrie, "Kebes," *Der Kleine Pauly* (Stuttgart, 1969) III, 173.

[25] Susemihl, I, 26 n. 66; II, 657-58. C. S. Jerram, *Cebetis Tabula* (Oxford, 1878) xiii, xxxiii, xxxix, would apparently assign it to either the fourth or the third century B.C.E. Since he considers the *Tabula* to be "classical in style and diction, and a good imitation of the best specimens of Attic prose," he wants to remain as close to the traditional dating as possible. H. Usener also wished to date the *Tabula* early. According to K. K. Müller in *Phil. Rund.* IV (1884) 1423, Usener had for a long time assigned the *Tabula* to the third century B.C.E. In his *Epicurea* (Lipsiae, 1887) lxxi n. 1, Usener claims that the *Tabula* is an imitation of Cleanthes' allegorical tablet. Since Cleanthes was head of the Stoic school from 263-232, Usener probably preferred a date during this period or shortly thereafter.

[26] Drosihn, "Die Zeit," argues that the author of the *Tabula* imitated the fourth oration of Dio Chrysostom and therefore had to be dated subsequent to that oration. It would fall at the earliest in the second half of the first century. Even if this imitation of Dio is denied, Drosihn contends that the work must be assigned to a date no earlier than the first half of the first century C.E. Thaddaeus Sinko, "De lineamentis Platonicis in Cebetis q.v. tabula," *Eos* 45 (1951) 3-31, places it in the second century C.E.

[27] A. T. Phloros, "Ὁ Κέβητος Πίναξ," *Platon* 7 (1955) 287-95, suggests that the *Tabula* is written by a disciple of Musonius Rufus. Earlier, Rudolf Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895) II, 258, had suggested that the author of the *Tabula* was a contemporary of Musonius and went on to suggest that in Musonius one finds the same combination of Cynicism and Pythagoreanism that he claimed for the *Tabula*.

[28] We are using the term "Hellenistic" broadly, so that it includes both the Hellenistic period proper and the early imperial period that followed (the "Hellenistic-Roman" period).

[29] This is the position of Drosihn; cf. "Die Zeit," 15.

[30] The criticism of von Arnim (102-3) is particularly incisive on this point.

[31] Those who favor an explanation involving homonymy include von Arnim (102-3) and Joly (8 n. 2).

[32]J. J. Garnier, "Dissertation sur le tableau de Cebes. I: Conformité de doctrine de l'auteur du tableau avec celle des Stoiciens. II: Examen des raisons, qui ont fait attribuer cet ouvrage à Cebes le Thebain; Conjectures sur le véritable auteur," in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* T.48, p. 455. This is the listing given in Hoffmann, 448. Büchling and Grosse (xxix) give tome 47 and date it to 1808. Joly (8) dates it to 1786. We have not been able to locate a copy to clarify this confusion and are dependent on these secondary discussions.

[33]Von Arnim (103) mentions this theory only to reject it. He is not even prepared to say that this Cebes of Cyzikos is a historical person.

[34]This is the position taken by Stein in his article "Kebes," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, XI.1 (1921) 101-2. He cites Donatus, *Vita Verg.* 9 and Servius, *Verg. Buc.* II.15 as indicating that this Cebes was also a poet. It should be noted, however, that this interpretation of the statement in Tertullian, *De praescr. haeret.* 39 is not uncontested. The standard interpretation is that Tertullian is referring to a relative of his who turned the *Tabula* "into a cento of Virgilian verses" (so T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* [Oxford, 1971] 195). Cf. also the statement by Jean-Claude Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris, 1972) 60, that Tertullian knew our *Tabula* since "un ses parents l'avait interprétée en composant un centon virgilien." Tertullian in chapters 38 and 39 is arguing that the corruption of Sacred Scripture by heretics should not be astonishing since one can witness the same phenomenon transpiring in secular literature. Scripture, just like Virgil and Homer, serves as the source for new literary productions. Virgil has been the source for the production of a *Medea* by Hosidius Geta and of a *Tabula of Cebes* by one of Tertullian's relatives. Homer is the source for numerous "Homerocentons." It seems most likely then that Tertullian is referring to his relative producing out of Virgil a new, poetic version of the *Tabula of Cebes*, just as Hosidius Geta had produced a new version of Euripides' *Medea*. A Latin *Medea* is extant in which the characters speak Virgilian hexameters that have been patchworked together, but it is debated whether it is the version produced by Hosidius Geta.

[35]Cf. the "Notes to the Text and Translation" for details.

[36]G. Downey, "Ekphrasis," in T. Klauser (hrsg.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* IV (1959) 923, refers to the *Tabula* as an "anonyme Traktat" but does not elaborate on this point. Dörrie's position (273) is not completely clear. He explicitly rejects the view that the author wrote under the name of Cebes of Thebes, but he fails to provide an alternate explanation.

[37]Themistius, *Orat.* 34 (447-48). This is said in contrast to Plato, who is said to have made this extension. H. Schneider argues that Themistius is following Sotion's *Diadochoi* in his selection of Socrates' students who held themselves back from foreign influences. If this is correct, then the mention of Cebes in this context is based on a tradition that antedates the writing of the *Tabula*. That is, Themistius is not including Cebes in this list because of his knowledge of the *Tabula*, as Drosihn, "Die Zeit," 5, suggests. Rather, it may be that this tradition is in part responsible for the attribution of the *Tabula* to Cebes. For the text of Themistius' *Orat.* 34 with translation and commentary, cf. H. Schneider, *Die 34. Rede des Themistios* (Winterthur, 1966).

[38]Cf. the collection of views in Robert Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel* (Minneapolis, 1975) 92-96.

[39]Cf. nn. 11 and 34 above.

[40]J. Gronovius, Κέβητος Θηβαίου πίναξ. *Cebetis Thebani tabula, Graece et Latine...* (Amstelaedami, 1689) 105-8; and Joly, 54, 83-85.

[41]G. Capelle, *De cynicorum epistulis* (Gottingae, 1896) 32 n. 2.

[42]Praechter, 96-102; and Michael von Albrecht, Review of *Le Tableau* by Robert Joly, in *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 755-79.

[43]Drosihn, "Die Zeit," 14-15.

[44]Antonio Carlini, "Appunti di lettura," *Maia* 21 (1969) 273-79, esp. 277-79.

[45]Cf. H. S. Long, "Favorinus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*^{2}, 432-33.

[46]Cf. the discussion below.

[47]For discussions of these, see Praechter, 48, 94-96, and Joly, 79-80, 85. Some have thought that the *Tabula* mentioned by Zosimus, the fourth century alchemist, is that attributed to Cebes. But this interpretation involves an emendation of the text from τὸν πίναμα ὃν καὶ Βίτος to either ὃν Κέβητος γράψας (Ruelle in his text) or Κέβης τε ἔγραψε (Ruelle in his apparatus) or τὸν Κέβητος (Ferguson). Since this *Tabula* is said to deal with the *Urmensch*, however, it is extremely unlikely that the *Tabula* of Cebes is intended. For this and other reasons, A. D. Nock correctly rejected such emendations. Cf. A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* (Les Belles Lettres; Paris, 1954) IV, frag. 21, pp. 119-21, and also Walter Scott and A. J. Ferguson, *Hermetica* (Oxford, 1936) IV, 129 n. 1.

[48]Cf. Joly, 79, and Sinko, 11-12.

[49]Some have suggested that the votive tablet actually existed and that it was the source for the literary composition. Schilling, for example, assumed the existence of an actual tablet and conjectured that one of the difficulties in the interpretation of the *Tabula* stems from the artist and the author having divergent understandings of the meaning of the work (see Büchling and Grosse, xxxviii). More recently E. H. Gombrich has asked "whether the claims of the dialogue to describe a real painting have not been somewhat too lightly dismissed by classical scholars" (cf. his "A Classical 'Rake's Progress,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952) 254-56, esp. 256 n. 5). The composition clearly gave rise to artistic attempts at rendering the work pictorially. See Plate I for an example of this and also the discussion by K. K. Müller and C. Robert in the *Archäologische Zeitung* 42 (1884) 115-30. In the present form, at least, the composition is clearly predicated on the fiction of describing the picture by literary means where the fiction serves to propel the dialogue toward its moralizing conclusions.

[50]Note especially *C.T.* 9.1. Here the literary fiction is used not only to create the sense of progressing through the analysis of the painting, but it also begins to draw the observer into the fictional scene. So, for example, the use of παρέλθῃς tends to push the interlocutor (and the reader) into the role of the characters in the painted scene.

[51]It may be that failure to give sufficient weight to the literary fiction of describing and examining the picture has added to a number of confusions regarding the text. For example, as far as we can tell very few scholars (except perhaps Praechter) have given any real attention to the fact that there are actually four walled enclosures identified in the description, of which the *last* three are enumerated in the text as first, second and third (cf. 35.2 and n. 57 in the "Notes to the Translation"). A general discussion of the grammar and syntax of the *Tabula* as an example of Koine Greek may be found in Joly, *Le Tableau*, chap. 1.

[52]Cf. Jerram, xxxiv, and Richard Parsons, *Cebes' Tablet, with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Grammatical Questions* (Boston, 1887) 18.

[53]Hirzel, II, 258; cf. I, 558 n. 3. Hirzel also classes among this type of dialogue Plutarch's *De E apud Delphos* (cf. II, 198). W. Jaeger in discussing this same aspect points also to Acts 17 (Paul's "sermon" on the Areopagus) as deriving from the same sort of formal setting; see Jaeger's review of E. Norden's *Agnostos Theos* now reprinted in the collection of his *Scripta Minora* I, 120-21, 140-41.

[54]For a general discussion with further bibliography see the article on "Ekphrasis" by Glanville Downey cited in n. 36. Cf. also E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (reprint; Leiden, 1958) sv. index and esp. 285, 441.

[55]Cf. n. 11 above. For a general discussion of the ethical features of Lucian's work see H. D. Betz, *Lukan von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (TU 76; Berlin, 1961) esp. 205ff.

[56]See Downey in *RAC* IV, 924, and his "The Pilgrim's Progress of the Byzantine Emperor," 22-34. Downey points out further that Jewish and Christian literature made relatively little use of *ekphrasis* with one fairly consistent exception, i.e., in apocalyptic literature. This point is of further interest when one begins to consider the relationship of the *Tabula* with the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

[57]Cf. especially *C.T.* 10.1, 15.1-2, 17.1, 19.2, 35.3 and note 104 in the "Notes to the Translation."

[58]See the article "Erotapokriseis" by H. Dörrie and H. Dörries in *RAC* VI, 342-70.

[59]There are few parallels in the Jewish-Christian tradition except in apocalyptic and in the so-called "Gnostic Gospels" or "Gnostic Dialogues." Later Christian writers (from the fourth century onwards) would finally begin to develop the more classical forms of *erotapokriseis* both in dogmatic debates and in catechesis, cf. *RAC* VI, 349ff. It is not insignificant that in both classical apocalyptic and the gnostic literature much of the *erotapokriseis* that does occur relies on detailed and vivid visionary description (*ekphrasis*) to provide the content for the questions and answers.

[60]The appeals to antiquity, the transmission of knowledge by venerable elders, and the promises/warnings issued to the hearer (cf. *C.T.* 20.2; 35.5) are similar to the devices used to signify and protect the esoteric gnosis in the *Apocryphon of John* and other such documents. Note especially the first and last paragraphs of the *Apocryphon of John* (cf. the translation by F. Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, ed. J. M. Robinson [New York, 1977] 98-116). Given this kind of similarity, it is not altogether surprising that one could see hints of esoteric religious/philosophical phenomena in the *Tabula*. Cf. the discussion of Joly's Neo-Pythagorean interpretation of the *Tabula* on pp. 24-25.

[61]This line of dependence for our author has long been recognized and was considered in some detail by Praechter in his dissertation, *Quanam aetate*, 99ff. See also Parsons, 15f. The major studies of the tradition are to be found in

K. Joël, *Der echte und xenophontische Sokrates* II.1 (Berlin, 1901), 294ff. and J. Alpers, *Hercules in bivio* (Göttingen, 1912), *passim*. See also the article on "ὁδος" by W. Michaelis in *TDNT* V, 43-48.

[62]Among the ancient authors who explicitly use the storyline or abbreviated allusions to it are the following: Dio Chrysostom, *Or*. 1.66-81 (cf. 4.113); Maximus of Tyre, *Diss*. XIV (p. 17d, Hobein), XXXIX (p. 454, Hobein); ps.-Diogenes, *Epp*. 12, 30, 37 (Hercher/Malherbe); Persius III. 56; Cicero, *De officiis* I.32.118f; Lucian, *Hermotimus* 22f; *Gall*. 6ff; *Bis accusat*. 19f; Quintillian IX.2, 36; Silius Italicus, *Pun*. XV.18f, 96ff; Philo, *De sacr. Cain et Abel* 20ff; *Vita Mosis* 2.138f; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed*. II.10.110.

[63]For description of the Vices in the *Tabula* see *C.T.* 5.1; 9.1; 10.1, 3; 12.2; 29.1; for the Virtues see *C.T.* 16.1; 18.1; 20.2; 21.3. It should be noted that the characteristics of the Virtues are naturally set in direct opposition to those of the Vices. This device of the *ekphrasis* applies equally to physical appearance and to character and actions. For general discussions, see A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen XVI; Münster, 1936), and S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament* (BZNW 25; Berlin, 1959) *passim*. Their personification in Dio, *Or*. 4.113f, said by some to be borrowed from the *Tabula* (cf. n. 66 below), may represent such an independent tradition. The figure of Deceit might have constituted an existing tradition involving the personification of one Vice which the *Tabula* had incorporated into an expanded outline of the Prodicus myth with its multiple "leading ladies."

[64]Cf. especially *C.T.* 9.1-10.3 and our n. 33 in the "Notes to the Translation."

[65]*C.T.* 15-16; 22-23. This connection had already been well established in the use of the Prodicus myth, especially in Cynic circles. Compare, for example, Ps-Diogenes, *Epp*. 30 and 37 (Hercher/Malherbe); cf. n. 74 in the "Notes to the Translation." The other *topoi* to be included in the *Tabula* may be found in the notes to the translation; they include the riddle of the sphinx (*C.T.* 3), medical imagery (19.2), the philosopher as doctor (26.2), shipwreck metaphor (24.2), and the banker *topos* (31.4). Cf. also V. C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif* (Leiden, 1967).

[66]A good example of the way in which the basic storyline could be elaborated is seen in Dio Chrysostom's version of the Prodicus Myth (*Or*. 1.51ff). Here the cast of characters, the detail of the descriptions, and the use of

an old woman (πρεσβύτερα, 53) as the "divine guide" are all elaborations to adapt the story to Dio's own moralizing purpose. Another point of comparison with Dio comes in his description of personified Deceit in *Or.* 4.113ff, sometimes claimed to be a paraphrase of the *Tabula* (cf. p. 8, above). While the similarities may be as well explained on the basis of a common literary milieu, Dio's stated intent to use *ekphrasis* for a moral intent is interesting. For a general discussion of the Heracles traditions in Dio (though the *Tabula* is never mentioned), see P. Tzaneteas, "The Symbolic Heracles in Dio Chrysostom's Orations on Kingship," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1972) *passim*.

[67]In this feature the *Tabula* is perhaps more reminiscent of the two-ways motif as found in Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 287ff. There it is not a Heracles-fable at all but a rather simple pronouncement on the smooth road of vice and the rough road to virtue. W. Michaelis has argued against J. Alpers that the *Tabula* is really based on the tradition from Hesiod rather than on the Prodicus myth. Two features of the storyline in the *Tabula* help to make this point. First, there is the obvious absence of the figure of Heracles as the heroic exemplar, and second, there is the reversal of the rough and smooth roads after one has reached the summit of Virtue, cf. *TDNT* V, 45, nn. 8 and 9. On the other hand, it may be the case that the author of the *Tabula* has combined several "two-ways" traditions into his more elaborate storyline, a possibility suggested by Dio as well. The absence of Heracles from the *Tabula* is striking, but it is interesting to note that in three cases, all very strategically placed within the composition, the expletive Ὦ Ἡράκλεις is used in place of the more common Νὴ Δία/Πρὸς Διός (*C.T.* 4.1, 12.1, 19.1), cf. n. 43 in the "Notes to the Translation." It may be that Heracles has been intentionally omitted for the purpose of drawing the interlocutor(s), and thereby the readers, into the role of travellers on the journey depicted by the picture. That the author could have found the traditions of Hesiod and Prodicus easily compatible is readily understood when one notices that Xenophon recounts this portion of Hesiod along with two verses from Epicharmus in *Mem.* II.1.20 just before he presents the Prodicus myth (beginning in 21).

[68]Thus, we see in the introduction, setting the stage for the dialogue, and carrying throughout the text, that there is an old-young dialectic at work. The Senex was a νεώτερος when he received the interpretation of the picture from its dedicator as a πολυχρονιώτατος (*C.T.* 2.3). The Senex is called a πρεσβύτης in *C.T.* 2.1, and the interlocutor is explicitly called νεανίσκος in 23.4. Finally, the Daimon is portrayed in the picture as a γέρων (*C.T.* 1.3). Therefore, it is logical to consider those who "are about to enter life" (4.2) as young men on the verge of manhood.

This parallelism is given further weight by the reference to Plato in *C.T.* 33.3 which makes the object of education the guidance of νέοι. This dialectic may serve to place the reader in the position of receiving sage wisdom from venerable age, and it reinforces our contention that the author's primary audience was rich young men about to go out into the world. This point is of some interest given the more or less standard interpretation which sees the *Tabula* as a popularization of philosophical paraenesis for the lower classes, as in G. Downey, "The Pilgrim's Progress of the Byzantine Emperor," 210f. The fact is that the entire work is concerned with those who actually receive something from Tychē (*C.T.* 9.2), i.e., those things which the masses call good, such as wealth, fame, honor, children, etc. (cf. 8.4, 36.1f). The final discussion comes down to wealth and the proper attitude to have regarding it (*C.T.* 39f). On the education of "rich young men," compare ps-Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* (Mor. 1A-17C), esp. 5D.

[69]The characterization through *ekphrasis* of each Vice and Virtue is intentionally done so as to create a diametrical opposition (compare the attributes of the Virtues in 18.1, 20.2, 21.3 with those of the Vices in 5.1, 9.1, 10.1ff). In addition, the vices and virtues are picked up throughout the work as part of the larger discussion, e.g., in naming the beasts (23.1-2) vices are drawn from several points in the work as fits the discussion.

[70]See the select bibliography for a general overview of claimed points of contact with other authors ranging from Plato and Thucydides to the *Shepherd* of Hermas and Jesus himself.

[71]Praechter refers specifically to (ps-) Philo, *De merc. meretr.* 2, cf. *Quanam aetate*, pp. 94f. In general, W. Michaelis (*TDNT* V, 60ff) agrees with Praechter's analysis, but he goes on to suggest that (ps-)Philo does not really use the Prodicus myth or a fully developed "two-ways" typology. But the discussion can be carried farther, cf. pp. 18f.

[72]The statement was from an unpublished letter from Cotterill to Taylor and was quoted by Taylor in *J. Phil.* 27 (1901) 319, cf. 276.

[73]Taylor's article was published in three parts under the title "Hermas and Cebes," *J. Phil.* 27 (1901) 276-319; 28 (1903) 24-38; 94-98. Despite the appearance of Praechter's text, Taylor seems to have used only the edition of Jerram.

[74]See, for example, *J. Phil.* 27 (1901) 291-97.

[75]*J. Phil.* 28 (1903) 33-34, 37. We may cite as only one example of his method the connection elicited by Taylor between the riddle of the Sphinx (*C.T.* 3.2-4) and Hermas's "disguised" use of the same imagery in the seats of the woman. In Hermas, *Vis.* i.2; ii.1; iii.2, 10.3-5, the woman appears three times and in different guises. She also sits on a chair, a bench, and a stool, which fact Taylor takes as the equivalent of the questions of legs in the Sphinx's riddle. Taylor adds further that the reversal of the number of legs is an attempt by Hermas to hide the use of a non-Christian tradition, cf. *J. Phil.* 27 (1901) 288-90. Taylor and others have generally placed great stress on the fact that the visions of Hermas are explained by an old woman (γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις) and the *Tabula* by an old man (πρεσβύτης). But it would seem that Hermas could have as easily drawn the imagery from Dio's *Or.* 1.51ff where the gender of the revealer and the wilderness setting are more comparable.

[76]St. George Stock, "Hermas and Cebes--A Reply," *J. Phil.* 28 (1903) 87-93.

[77]J. M. Cotterill and C. Taylor, "Plutarch, Cebes, and Hermas," *J. Phil.* 31 (1908-10) 14-41. Despite the appearance of Cotterill's name as the co-author, the article was published some time after his death. It is possible that Taylor is only giving credit for earlier collaboration and advice. Most of the same conclusions reached in this article had been incorporated into Taylor's text and commentary of *The Shepherd*, cf. C. Taylor, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, 2 vols. (Early Church Classics Series; London, 1903) I, 38-49 and notes *passim*.

[78]See, for example, S. Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs* (Paris, 1963) 279ff; Roelef van Deemter, *Der Hirt des Hermas--Apokalypse oder Allegorie?* (Delft, 1929) 104ff. M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Tübingen, 1923) 579ff. R. Joly, *Hermas, Le Pasteur*^{2} (Sources Chrétiennes; Paris, 1968) 15ff; and H. Schultz, *Spuren heidnische Vorlagen im Hirt des Hermas* (Dissertation; Rostock, 1913) *passim*.

[79]A few comparisons are still drawn from *Vis.* i, i.e., from the setting of the vision/revelation (cf. Joly, *Le Tableau*, 82). But for the most part these seem a bit stretched. In fact, the setting of *Vis.* i.2 is more like that of Dio *Or.* 1.51ff.

[80]Joly, *Le Tableau*, 81ff.

[81]Van Deemter, *Der Hirt*, 106f.

[82]Ibid., 107. Schultz would also claim that both the unknown "Cebes"/Hermas source and Galen were dependent on a common source which may be Posidonius.

[83]A convenient summary of the issues in composition and authorship of the *Shepherd* may be found in the translation and commentary by Graydon F. Snyder in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. by R. M. Grant, Vol. VI (Camden, 1968) 3-18, 22-24. The basic point regarding the text is that *Vis.* i-iv are seen to be an earlier work to which *Vis.* v, the *Mand.* and the *Sim.* were added later. Some have even argued that *Sim.* ix was a later addition still.

[84]The first major proponent of multiple authorship and redaction in the *Shepherd* was Martin Dibelius in his *Der Hirt des Hermas* (1923). It should be noted that Dibelius generally denied any direct dependence of the *Shepherd* on the *Tabula*.

[85]If one wishes yet to maintain a more direct connection in the light of his redactional view of the *Shepherd* it seems that some possibility should be suggested for the author of *Sim.* ix, having recognized generic similarities (i.e., in imagery, style, etc.) between two otherwise independent works, to have drawn the relations more explicitly in his final reworking of the vision of the tower.

[86]See p. 17 and n. 71 above.

[87]See *C.T.* 15.2-16.5, 18.3, 27.1-28.3; cf. n. 85 in the "Notes to the Translation."

[88]As noted above, this reversal was already a feature of the "two-ways" motif in Hesiod, *Op. et Dies* 287ff. See also Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1.77 and ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 37.6 (Hercher/Malherbe).

[89]The best example in Philo is *Vita Mosis* 2.138 (II.156, Cohn-Wendland) but see also *De Abram.* 85f and *De. Agric.*22.110. The term occurs some seventeen times in all in Philo. The first to make specific mention of this point was J. M. Cotterill as cited by Taylor in *J. Phil.* 27 (1901) 303. See also Hermas, *Man.* vi.1.3, cf. *Vis.* iii.7.1. For repentance see Philo, *De Abram.* 17-59. We may mention also Philo's *De gigantibus* 13.60-61 which classifies three types of men. The first two types, the "earth-born" who seek bodily pleasure and the "heaven-born" who are lovers of learning, correspond to the inhabitants of the first and second enclosures of the *Tabula*.

[90]See the discussion of Joly, *Le Tableau*, 79-80. The passage from Plutarch is quoted in n. 92 in the "Notes to the Translation."

[91]For a general discussion of Plutarch's ethics in relation to early Christian literature, see H. D. Betz, *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature* (Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 4; Leiden, 1978).

[92]Much the same role is played by the old woman who tells Dio the story of Heracles (*Or.* 1.51-58), which helps to understand the old-young motif in the passing on of tradition in the *Tabula*. Compare ps-Diogenes, *Epp.* 39.2, 37.4 (Hercher/Malherbe).

[93]See the discussion of D. A. Stoike, in H. D. Betz, *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature* (Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 3; Leiden, 1975) 237-85.

[94]See n. 2 in the "Notes to the Translation."

[95]On the latter, cf. esp. C. F. Georg Heinrici, *Die Bergpredigt quellenkritisch und begriffsgeschichtlich untersucht* (Leipzig, 1900-05) 89f. for the history of the concept, and Hans Windisch, "Die Sprüche vom Eingehen in das Reich Gottes," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 27 (1928) 163-92, esp. 189-92.

[96]Cf. the article by Smith cited in n. 19. For a discussion of the agraphon and a list of the places where it occurs, cf. A. Resch, *Agrapha*^{2} (Leipzig, 1906) 112-28.

[97]Cf. his "Ad Cebetis tabulam," *Album gratulatorium in honorem Henrici van Herwerden* (Utrecht, 1902) 223-26, with specific reference to 1 Cor 1:18.

[98]Cf. n. 53 above. Finally, on the grammar and syntax of the *Tabula* vis-à-vis the style of the New Testament, the best survey remains that of Joly, *Le Tableau*, chap. 1. The extent to which there is a shared vocabulary with early Christian literature is indicated in the *index verborum* at the end of this volume. An asterisk designates those few words from the *Tabula* which are not listed in the lexicon of Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker.

[99]So Susemihl, *Geschichte*, 26 n. 66. The view that the author was a sophist was articulated earlier by an anonymous writer (perhaps Heyne) in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1790, p. 799. This suggestion was also embraced by Grosse in Büchling and Grosse, xl-xlii. Against this position it has been pointed out that the rhetoricians are included among the devotees of Pseudopaideia. Cf. Alfred Croiset and M. Croiset, *Historie de la littérature grecque* (Paris, 1899) V, 416 n. 1.

[100]Jerram, xxvii-xxxiv; Parsons, 13-18; Lutz, "Aesticampianus' Edition," 111, speaks for many when she calls it "Socratic in spirit."

[101]Praechter, 24ff.

[102]Von Arnim (104-5) argues that the author is abbreviating a source that had a Socratic-dialogic form. Carlini goes so far as to suggest that the author is borrowing from the fourth century B.C.E. Socratic Aeschines. Cf. A. Carlini, "Sulla composizione della *Tabula* di Cebete," *Studi classici e orientali* 12 (1963) 164-82, esp. 179-80. Most scholars, however, seem to regard this as a conscious imitation of Socratic style.

[103]See n. 19 above.

[104]See n. 26 above.

[105]Büchling and Grosse, xxviii n. 10, xxxvi. Cf. n. 20 above.

[106]So, for example, Drosihn in his "Die Zeit." By 1901 Karl Joël could say without qualification that no one doubted the Cynic-Stoic character of the *Tabula*. See his *Der echte und der xenophontische Sokrates* (Berlin, 1901) II, 322.

[107]Joly (25-33) lists and criticizes each of these points as to their specifically or exclusively Stoic character.

[108]Praechter, esp. 24-83.

[109]Joël, II, 322-32.

[110]Ibid., 327-32.

[111]See n. 24 above.

[112]J. J. Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae* (1742) Tom. I, p. 577sqq; and F. Sevin, "Examen si le tableau, attribué à Cébès, est veritablement de cet auteur," in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, Th. III. hist. pp. 137ff; ed. 8. Th. II. hist. p. 229. For a summary of Sevin's views, see Büchling and Grosse, xxxii.

[113]Cf. n. 53 above.

[114]See n. 12 above. For an excellent survey of recent scholarship on the Neo-Pythagoreans in general, see David L. Balch, "The Neo-pythagorean Moralists and the New Testament," in H. Temporini and W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der roemischen Welt* (Berlin, 1983) Teil II, Band 26. To the list of translations cited by Balch in this article, add K. S. Guthrie (trans.), *The Life of Pythagoras* and *Pythagorean Library*, 2 vols. in 1 (Alpine, 1919). We are indebted to Balch for this bibliographical addition to his article.

[115]Some scholars, such as Stanley in his *hist. phil.*, have denied that this is a reference to the *Tabula* (cf. Büchling and Grosse, xxv). But it is difficult to believe that the Greek can be interpreted in any other way than as a reference to the *Tabula*. Joly (67) naturally sees this as a confirmation of his proposed interpretation, for the Pythagoreans understood Hades as this earthly life in which sins are expiated. Praechter (11-12) agrees that the *Suda* is referring to the *Tabula*, but he thinks that the *Suda* is simply mistaken. Praechter suggests that the *Suda* has interpreted the *Tabula* in light of Plato, *Republica* 614sqq. and that this is the source of the error. Whereas most scholars would supply either δώματι or πραγμάτων after ᾅδου, I. A. Meyer proposes ἱερέων. Thus the *Tabula* would then be seen by the *Suda* as containing the explanation given by priests in an oracular cave. The old man of the *Tabula* would then be seen as the mystagogue and the visiting strangers as the initiates to whom the explanation is given. See his *Eruditio veterum duplex*... (Hildesheim, 1792), cited by Büchling and Grosse, xxv-xxvi n. 9.

[116]Only a sketch of this relief fragment now survives. It is fully discussed by K. K. Müller in his article, "Relieffragment mit Darstellungen aus dem ΠΙΝΑΞ des Kebes," *Archäologische Zeitung* 42 (1884) 115-28. At the end of Müller's discussion a few dissenting remarks have been appended by C. Robert (127-30). Cf. also Joly, 67-69, and Roger Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (London, 1939) 119-21. For a reproduction of this drawing, see the beginning of this volume (Plate I).

Another bit of archaeological evidence that is frequently cited in support of a Neo-Pythagorean milieu for the composition of the *Tabula* is a tombstone from Alaschehir. It comes from the beginning of the first century C.E. and thus coincides with the most likely date for the *Tabula*. Like the *Tabula* it presents itself as Pythagorean. It contains the Pythagorean Y as well as contrasting images of the good and evil life. See Josef Keil and Anton v. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, ausgeführt 1906 im Auftrage der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse; LIII, 2; Wien, 1909) Num. 55, Abb. 28, pp. 34-35; O. Kern's review of this *Bericht* in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 30 (1909) 1887-88, where the connection with the *Tabula* is first suggested; A. Brinkmann, "Ein Denkmal des Neupythagoreismus," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 66 (1911) 616-25; Carlini, "Sulla composizione," 165-69.

[117]K. Praechter, "Bericht über die Litteratur zu den nacharistotelischen Philosophen (mit Ausschluss der älteren Akademiker und Peripatetiker und von Lukrez, Cicero, Philon

und Plutarch) für 1889-1895," in Bursian's *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 96 (1898) 45-47.

[118] See n. 99 above.

[119] See n. 27 above. For Praechter's critique of this analysis, see the article listed in n. 117 above.

[120] Compare the statement of J. V. Luce that "I would be content to believe of Cebes that the Cynics taught him and Plato inspired him." Cf. his review of Joly in *The Classical Review*, N.S. 14 (1964) 38-39.

[121] Karl Praechter, Κέβητος πίναξ. *Cebetis Tabula* (Lipsiae, 1893).

[122] Also, limited consideration is accorded to the text and variants of a highly debated edition by M. Meibomius. The controversy centers on the sources used for the text and the list of variant readings printed as an appendix to this edition. Some maintain that the readings found here come from a now lost "codex Meibomianus." Others, however, deny that such a codex ever existed and maintain that the readings of codex M are drawn from other manuscripts and represent the conjectures of an unknown scholar. For the circumstances that gave rise to the edition, cf. the *Biographie universelle*, vol. 28 (Paris, 1820) 142-43. For the debate over M, cf. K. K. Müller, *De arte critica Cebetis Tabulae adhibenda* (Virceburgi, 1877) 19-49, and "Zur Kritik des Kebes," *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 30 (1879) 241-52, esp. 246-47, and P. Knöll's review of Müller's work in the journal listed above, 29 (1878) 97-102, in which he defends M against the charges made by Müller.

[123] Hermann Sauppe, Review of Friedrich Drosihn's *Cebetis Tabula* in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1872, 769-77, reprinted in Sauppe's *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin, 1896) 651-56.

[124] Cf. n. 122 above and the select bibliography for references to Müller's work. It is tragic that Müller himself did not live to publish an edition of the *Tabula*.

[125] Codex A is the most reliable of the various manuscripts, but it breaks off at 23.2.3. Its general reliability is reflected in the fact that Praechter frequently adopts readings that are unique to A. See, for example, 1.1.5; 2.1.1; 2.1.5; 5.1.2; 8.2.5; 9.2.7; 10.1.2; 10.3.2; 12.2.3; 15.2.3; 15.4.2; 16.2.3; 19.1.5; 19.2.4; 19.2.5; 22.1.3; 23.1.4. At other times Praechter gives readings that are very close to ones found in A. See, for example, 3.3.3; 4.1.4; 4.3.5-6; 5.1.5; 8.4.6; 10.4.5-6. But

Praechter's use of A is not uncritical. Instances where Praechter reads against A include 2.3.5; 3.1.2; 3.1.5; 7.1.2; 7.3.4; 11.1.1; 11.2.3; 12.3.5; 13.2.4; 16.1.2; 16.3.2; 18.1.4; 20.3.4; 20.4.4. Codex A may also be the earliest manuscript, but there is, in fact a small debate concerning the date of its transcription. Schweighaeuser and Drosihn had dated it to the twelfth century, but Müller in his dissertation (10) assigned it to the eleventh century. In his edition (iv, xii) Praechter followed the eleventh century date given by Müller. It is this early date that is commonly given by contemporary scholars. This may well be the correct date, but it should be noted that in an 1884 article Müller changed the date for A from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. He explained that, when he wrote his dissertation, he personally had not seen codex A but had relied upon the collations of H. Dulac for the readings of this manuscript. But having himself seen the codex, he reached the conclusion that the part of codex A that contains the *Tabula* was written in the fourteenth century. This change in dating, however, did not involve for Müller a lessening of A's reliability. Cf. the *Phil. Rund*. IV (1884) 1419-20. It is interesting to note that Susemihl follows Müller's fourteenth century dating in his 1891 *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 26 n. 66. But in his 1894 review of Praechter's edition he reverts without explanation to the eleventh century date given by Praechter. Susemihl appears simply to have forgotten his reason for assigning A to the fourteenth century in his earlier work. Cf. the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 14 (1894) 1249-51, esp. 1249.

[126] Müller (*De arte critica*, 46-48) had attempted to prove that Codex V is the archetype of all manuscripts of the *Tabula* that have been preserved (with the exception of A). While rejecting this claim and thus giving more weight to the readings of other manuscripts than did Müller, Praechter still accords the readings of V some preference. Praechter's rejection of Müller's thesis and his concomitant distinction of four subfamilies (VL, BR, CK(P), and FEDW) have now been corroborated by the investigations of C. E. Finch. Cf. especially "The Place of Codex Vat. Gr. 1823 in the Cebes Manuscript Tradition," *American Journal of Philology* 81 (1960) 176-85. Finch, however, dissents in part from Praechter (and Müller) as to the relationship of manuscripts within these subfamilies.

[127] C. Salmasius in 1640 published a triglot edition of the Arabic, Latin, and Greek, that had been prepared by Elichmann. On this edition, cf. now the fine article by C. E. Lutz, "The Salmasius-Elichmann Edition of the *Tabula* of Cebes," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 27 (1979) 165-71.

[128] For a collection of Praechter's more important articles and monographs, see Karl Praechter, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. H. Dörrie (Hildesheim/New York, 1973).

[129]Cf. the Select Bibliography for a list of Finch's articles. Already before his death, K. K. Müller had called Praechter's attention to other Greek codices and Latin versions. The 1903 edition of the *Tabula* by Jacob van Wageningen made use of a Codex Neapolitanus. Finch has uncovered even more Greek and Latin manuscripts. In regard to the value of the Latin versions for the establishment of the text, Finch differs from both Müller and Praechter. Praechter utilized only the readings of Odaxius and Elichmann in constructing the text and these only sparingly. Finch, on the other hand, accords greater value to the readings of both of these and those of Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037. K. K. Müller had seen this manuscript (*Phil. Rund.* IV [1884] 1420) but had, in contrast to Finch, judged it to be of no value for the establishment of a critical text. Therefore, while we frequently cite readings from this Latin codex in our "Notes to the Text" the reader should know that the value of this witness is not uncontested.

[130]Cf. his review of van Wageningen's edition in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 25 (1905) 145-56, esp. 149. Van Wageningen's text has remained inaccessible to us, despite diligent efforts to obtain a copy. Therefore we are unable to say with certainty what Praechter would have changed in regard to his edition. The places at which he might have done this, however, are 16.4, 19.2, 34.1, 37.1.

[131]This information is drawn from Praechter's review of van Wageningen in the *Berliner Philolog. Wochen.* 25 (1905) 147-48; Müller's review of Krauss in *Phil. Rund.* IV (1884) 1419-20, and Finch's articles as given in the Select Bibliography.

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ADDENDUM

The recent book by Stephen Orgel (ed.), *Cebes in England: English Translations of the Tablet of Cebes from Three Centuries, with Related Material* (New York/London: Garland, 1980), was brought to our attention too late and has been unavailable to us for use in the present study. We include the reference here for the sake of completeness.

SIGLA

Manuscripts cited in Praechter's apparatus:

Greek Manuscripts

A	Cod. Parisinus graec. 858 membr.	(XI cent? XIV?)
B	Cod. Parisinus graec. 1001 chart.	(XV cent)
C	Cod. Parisinus graec. 1774 chart.	(XVI cent)
D	Cod. Parisinus graec. 2992 chart.	(XVI cent)
E	Cod. Marc. (Venetus) graec. 391 chart.	(XV cent)
F	Cod. Marc. (Venetus) graec. 594 chart.	(XV cent)
K	Cod. Corsin. ex bibl. Nic. Rossii 292 (Coll. 43. D. 30)	(XV cent?)
L	Cod. Laurentianus plut. 57 cod. 45	(XV cent)
M	Cod. Meibomianus	(?)
P	Cod. Palatinus graec. 134 chart.	(XV cent)
R	Cod. Riccard. 25 chart.	(XV cent)
V	Cod. Vaticanus 112 bombyc.?	(XIV cent)
W	Cod. Vindobonensis phil. graec. 167 chart.	(XV cent?)

Latin Versions

A	Arabic version, trans. into Latin by Elichmann	(XI cent Arabic, XVI cent Latin)
O	Latin version of Odaxius	(XV cent Latin)

Manuscripts not used by Praechter but cited in "Notes to Translation"

An	Cod. Vaticanus Latinus 4037	(XV-XVI cent)
Ch	Cod. Vaticanus Chisianus Graecus 17	(XVI cent)
S	Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 1823	(XV-XVI cent)
U	Cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 125	(XV cent)

Additional manuscripts not used by Praechter or cited in the "Notes to Translation"

N	Cod. Neapolitanus	(XV cent)
	Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 1116 (Bibl. de l'école d. chartes 53,366)	
	Cod. Riccard. 766	

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ΚΕΒΗΤΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΞ.

I. *Ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐθεωροῦμεν· ἀνέκειτο δὲ καὶ πίναξ τις ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νεώ, ἐν ᾧ ἦν γραφὴ ξένη τις καὶ μύθους ἔχουσα ἰδίους, οὓς οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα συμβαλεῖν, τίνες καί ποτε ἦσαν. οὔτε γὰρ πόλις ἐδόκει ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον οὔτε στρατόπεδον, ἀλλὰ περίβολος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἑτέρους περιβόλους δύο, τὸν μὲν μείζω, τὸν δὲ ἐλάττω. ἦν δὲ καὶ πύλη ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ ὄχλος ἐδόκει ἡμῖν πολὺς ἐφεστάναι, καὶ ἔνδον δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πλῆθός τι γυναικῶν ἑωρᾶτο. ἐπὶ δὲ [τῆς εἰσόδου] τοῦ [πρώτου] πυλῶνος [καὶ περιβόλου] γέρων τις ἑστὼς ἔμφασιν ἐποίει ὡς προστάττων τι τῷ εἰσιόντι ὄχλῳ.*

II. *Ἀπορούντων οὖν ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς μυθολογίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολὺν χρόνον πρεσβύτης τις παρεστώς, Οὐδὲν δεινὸν πάσχετε, ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη, ἀποροῦντες περὶ*

1 titulum om A *Κέβητος πίναξ Θηβαίου* C *Κέβητος πίναξ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖος καὶ ὠφέλιμος* V ‖ 2 *Κρόνου*] *ἡλίου* C^3 mg M ‖ 4 *ἐνέκειτο* CKP ‖ 5 *ξένη τις* A *τις ξένη* reliqui ‖ 6 *ἐδυνάμεθα* R^2 | *συμβαλλεῖν* CP, in D alterum *λ* erasum | *τίνες τε* F | *ποτ'* M ‖ 8 *αὐτῷ* libri corr Saupp. p. 774 ‖ 11 *πολὺς* om P^1 add *πόλις* P^2 mg | *καὶ* A sscr C^2 om reliqui | *ἔνδον* in rasura V^2 ‖ 12 *ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ*] *τοῦ περιβόλου* KP^2 mg ‖ 13 *καὶ*] *τοῦ* CM | *τῆς εἰσόδου — πρώτου — καὶ περιβόλου* in suspicionem adduxit Sauppeus p. 774 *ad eandem portam* Ά ‖ 14 *ἐφεστὼς* M | *προσ-
* τάττειν* P^1 corr P^2 ‖ 16 *οὖν* A *δὲ* reliqui | *ἡμῶν* e corr V^2 ‖
* 17 *πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἀλλήλους* FDW

THE *TABULA* OF CEBES

I. We happened to be strolling in the temple of Cronus,[1] looking at the many different votive offerings in it. In front of the shrine was set up a tablet,[2] on which there was an unusual painting with peculiar fables, and we were not able to make
2 out what they could possibly be. For what was depicted seemed to us to be neither a walled city nor a military camp; it was, rather, a circular enclosure having within itself two other circular enclosures, one larger and one smaller.[3] There was also a gate in the first enclosure. It appeared to us that a
3 large crowd was standing nearby before the gate, and within the enclosure quite a number of women were visible. Standing in [the entry way of] the [first] gate [and enclosure] an old man looked as though he were giving orders of some sort to the entering crowd.

II. Then, while we were questioning one another at length as to the meaning of the fable, an old man who was standing nearby said, "If you have questions about this picture, O strangers, your reaction is not unusual,

τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὶ
2 οἴδασι, τί ποτε αὕτη ἡ μυθολογία δύναται· οὐδὲ γάρ
ἐστι πολιτικὸν ἀνάθημα· ἀλλὰ ξένος τις πάλαι ποτὲ
ἀφίκετο δεῦρο, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων καὶ δεινὸς περὶ σοφίαν,
5 λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ Πυθαγόρειόν τινα καὶ Παρμενίδειον
ἐξηλωκὼς βίον, ὃς τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὴν γραφὴν
ἀνέθηκε τῷ Κρόνῳ.

3 Πότερον οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα
γινώσκεις ἑωρακώς;

10 Καὶ ἐθαύμασά γε, ἔφη, αὐτὸν πολυχρονιώτατον
νεώτερος ὤν. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ σπουδαῖα διελέγετο.
τότε δὴ καὶ περὶ ταύτης [δὲ] τῆς μυθολογίας πολλάκις
αὐτοῦ ἠκηκόειν διεξιόντος.

III. Πρὸς Διὸς τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἰ μή τις σοι
15 μεγάλη ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὖσα, διήγησαι ἡμῖν· πάνυ
γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι, τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ μῦθος.

Οὐδείς φθόνος, ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη. ἀλλὰ τουτὶ πρῶτον
δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνόν τι ἔχει ἡ ἐξήγησις.

Οἷον τί; ἔφην ἐγώ.

1 οὐδὲ AM οὐ reliqui | ἐγχωρίων M ‖ 2 ἴσασι CKP | δύναται A δύναιτο reliqui | οὐ P^1 οὐδὲ P^2 reliqui ‖ 3 ante ἀνάθημα add τὸ M sscr C rec man | ἀλλὰ om V^1 sscr V^2 ‖ 4 ἔμφρων] ἄφρων M ‖ 5 τε AM δὲ reliqui ‖ 5. 6 λόγῳ . . . βίον] *ex terra peregrina regionis Lacedaemoniorum* 𝔄 ‖ 7 Κρόνῳ] ἡλίῳ C^3 mg M ‖ 8 οὖν] οὖς sed oblit P ‖ 10 γ' B ‖ 10. 11 πολυχρονιωτ****ὤν. πολλὰ γὰρ A πολὺν χρόνον νεώτερος ὤν. πολλὰ γὰρ M πολὺν χρόνον νεώτερος γὰρ ὢν πολλὰ reliqui πολυχρόνιον νεώτερος ὤν Sauppeus p. 772 ‖ 12 τότε δὴ] ἅτε δὴ AM idem sscr C rec man, om reliqui. estne scribendum καὶ δή? δὲ inclusi (om M) ‖ 14 Διὸς om M ‖ 15 μεγάλη ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὖσα K ἡ μεγάλη ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὖσα (τυγχάνουσα P^1) P^2, (post τις) εἴη μεγάλη σχολία (sic) τυγχάνουσα M ἧ μεγάλη ἀσχ. τυγχάνουσα (ἧ ex εἰ corr F) reliqui ‖ 16 γὰρ ex καὶ corr K^2 | ποτ' PM | ἐστι V^1 ἐστιν V^2 ‖ 17 πρῶτον AMC^2 *primum* 𝔄 *prius* O om reliqui ‖ 18 ὑμᾶς δεῖ VLBRF δεῖ erasum C ἡμᾶς A

for many of the local inhabitants do not know
2 what the fable could possibly mean, since it is not a dedication of a citizen. Rather, once long ago, a certain foreigner[4] came here, a sensible man and exceptional in wisdom, who was emulating in word and deed a Pythagorean[5] and Parmenidean way of life, and he dedicated both this temple and the painting to Cronus."

3 "Have you, then, seen the man," I asked, "and do you know him personally?"

"Yes, indeed," he said, "being but a youth, I marveled at the venerable old man,[6] for he used to discourse about many weighty things. At that time I often heard him expound on the meaning of this fable as well."

III. "By Zeus, then," I said, "unless you happen to have some pressing business, tell us, for we desire very much to hear what the fable is about."

"I have no objection, strangers," he said. "But first you must hear this--namely, that the explanation carries with it an element of danger."

"What sort of danger?" I asked.

Ὅτι εἰ μὲν προσέξετε, ἔφη, καὶ συνήσετε τὰ λεγόμενα, φρόνιμοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες ἔσεσθε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄφρονες καὶ κακοδαίμονες καὶ πικροὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενόμενοι κακῶς βιώσεσθε. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἐξήγησις ἐοικυῖα τῷ τῆς 2
Σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματι, ὃ ἐκείνη προεβάλλετο τοῖς ἀνθρώ- 5
ποις. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ συνίει τις, ἐσώζετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ συνίει, ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγός. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἔχει ταύτης. ἡ γὰρ ἀφροσύνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Σφίγξ ἐστιν. αἰνίττεται δὲ τάδε, τί ἀγα- 3
θόν, τί κακόν, τί οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν ἐστιν ἐν 10
τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐὰν μέν τις μὴ συνιῇ, ἀπόλλυται ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς καταβρωθεὶς ἀπέθνησκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφθείρεται καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραδιδόμενοι. ἐὰν δέ τις γνῷ, ἀνάπαλιν ἡ μὲν ἀφροσύνη 15 4
ἀπόλλυται, αὐτὸς δὲ σώζεται καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίνεται ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ. ὑμεῖς οὖν προσέχετε καὶ μὴ παρακούετε.

IV. Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὡς εἰς μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβέβληκας ἡμᾶς, εἰ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει. 20

Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν, ἔφη, οὕτως ἔχοντα.

Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις τοίνυν διηγούμενος ὡς ἡμῶν

1 ἔφη om M ‖ 3 πικροὶ libri (πιαροὶ A?) μιαροὶ coni* Sauppeus p. 775 ‖ 4 ἐοικυῖα om A ἔοικε pro ἔστι ἐοικυῖα M ‖ 5 προεβάλλετο A προυβάλετο RFC¹PM προυβάλλετο C² reliqui ‖ 6 συνιείς EDW sed ς in W oblit συνίη K ‖ 7 συνίη K | ἀπώλετο A ἀπόλετο M ἀπώλλετο VL ἀπόλλυτο BCKP ἀπώλλυτο reliqui | καὶ om L ‖ 8 ἔχει om CKP ‖ 9 ἐστι V¹ ἐστιν V² | καὶ τάδε KP² ‖ 11 μέν om P μὴ CK alterum μὴ oblit C | συνιεῖ A συνίη reliqui ‖ 14 διαφθείρεται sscr κατα E¹ καταδιαφθείρεται W | * καθάπερ . . . . παραδιδόμενοι del Drosihnus ‖ 15 ἐὰν] ἂν K ‖ 20 ἡμᾶς ἔφην BRFEDW | ἔχοι P ‖ 22 φθονοῖς A φθονοίης M φθάνης V idem sed sscr οι L φθανοίος B¹ φθάνοις B²

"Just this," said he. "If you pay attention and understand what is said, you will be wise and happy. If, on the other hand, you do not, you will become foolish, unhappy, sullen, and stupid, and you
2 will fare badly in life. For the explanation is similar to the riddle that the Sphinx used to pose to men:[7] if someone understood it he was spared, but if he did not understand, he was destroyed by the Sphinx. It is just the same in the case of this explanation. You see, for mankind, Foolishness is the Sphinx.[8]
3 Foolishness[9] speaks in riddles of these things: of what is good, what is bad, and what is neither good nor bad in life. Thus, if anyone does not understand these things he is destroyed by her, not all at once, as a person devoured by the Sphinx died. Rather, he is destroyed little by little, throughout his entire life, just like those who are handed over for retri-
4 bution. But if one does understand, Foolishness is in turn destroyed, and he himself is saved and is blessed and happy in his whole life. As for you, then, pay attention; do not misunderstand."[10]

IV. "Heracles, with what desire have you charged us, if this is so!"

"Well," he said, "it is indeed so."

"Then, be quick and explain, since we

προσεξόντων οὐ παρέργως, ἔπείπερ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

2 Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ῥάβδον τινὰ καὶ ἐκτείνας πρὸς τὴν γραφήν, Ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, τὸν περίβολον τοῦτον;

5 Ὁρῶμεν.

Τοῦτο πρῶτον δεῖ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καλεῖται οὗτος ὁ τόπος Βίος. καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς ὁ παρὰ τὴν πύλην ἐφεστὼς οἱ μέλλοντες εἰσπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸν Βίον οὗτοί

3 εἰσιν. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ ἄνω ἑστηκὼς ἔχων χάρτην τινὰ

10 ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὥσπερ δεικνύων τι, οὗτος Δαίμων καλεῖται· προστάττει δὲ τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὡς ἂν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὸν Βίον· δεικνύει δὲ ποίαν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς δεῖ βαδίζειν, εἰ μέλ-λουσι σώζεσθαι ἐν τῷ Βίῳ.

15 V. Ποίαν οὖν ὁδὸν κελεύει βαδίζειν ἢ πῶς; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Ὁρᾷς οὖν, εἶπε, παρὰ τὴν πύλην θρόνον τινὰ κεί-μενον κατὰ τὸν τόπον, καθ' ὃν εἰσπορεύεται ὁ ὄχλος, ἐφ' οὗ κάθηται γυνὴ πεπλασμένη τῷ ἤθει καὶ πιθανὴ φαινομένη, ἢ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει ποτήριόν τι;

20 2 Ὁρῶ. ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν αὕτη; ἔφην.

Ἀπάτη καλεῖται, φησίν, ἡ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσα.

* 1 προσεχόντων sscr ξον M | ἔπείπερ] ἔπεὶ M ‖ 3 οὖν] γοῦν L ‖ 6 οὗτος ὁ τόπος AM ὁ τόπος οὗτος reliqui ‖ 7 articulum ante ὄχλος om V^1 add V^2 | παρὰ] περὶ M ‖ 8 πορεύεσθαι M ‖ 12 ἔλ-θωσιν EW ἐσέλθωσιν K ‖ 13 δεικνύει δὲ] in A videtur scriptum * fuisse δείκνει δὲ vel δεικύει δὲ; καὶ δεικνύει omisso δὲ reliqui ‖ 13—15 εἰ . . . βαδίζειν om M ‖ 13 μέλλωσι σώζεσθαι A σώζεσθαι μέλλουσι reliqui ‖ 15 οὖν om P | αὐτοὺς add ante κελεύει P ‖ 16 σὖν εἶπε A οὖν M εἶπε reliqui ‖ 17 τὸν τόπον AM τὸν τόπον τοῦτον reliqui ‖ 18 τὸ ἦθος B ‖ 19 καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει AM καὶ ἐν (ἐν om V^1 add V^2) τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα ceteri; ἢ — ἔχει Sauppeus * p. 775 | τι om M ‖ 20 post ἔφην add ἐγώ C rec ἔφην om K ‖ 21 φησί V^1 φησίν V^2 | τοὺς om M

shall pay careful attention, not carelessly, especially since the penalty is so great."

2 So, taking a staff, he pointed toward the picture and said, "Do you see this enclosure?"

"We do."

"You must know, first of all, that this place is called Life, and the large crowd standing at the

3 gate consists of those who are about to enter Life. The old man standing up here--who has a scroll in one hand and who appears to be pointing at something with the other--is called Daimon.[11] To those who are entering he prescribes[12] what they must do upon entering into Life; he shows them what kind of path they must take if they are to be saved in Life."

V. "Then, on what kind of path and in what manner does he urge them to go?"[13] I said.[14]

"Do you see, then, alongside the gate," he said, "a throne situated at the spot where the crowd enters? And sitting on it do you see a woman who is counterfeit in character[15] and yet persuasive in her appearance, with a cup in her hand?"

2 "Yes, I see, but who is she?" I said.

"Deceit she is called,"[16] he said, "the one who leads all mankind astray."

Εἶτα τί πράττει αὕτη;

Τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν Βίον ποτίζει τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει.

Τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστι τὸ ποτόν; 3

Πλάνος, ἔφη, καὶ ἄγνοια. 5

Εἶτα τί;

Πιόντες τοῦτο πορεύονται εἰς τὸν Βίον.

Πότερον οὖν πάντες πίνουσι τὸν πλάνον ἢ οὔ;

VI. *Πάντες πίνουσιν, ἔφη, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖον, οἱ δὲ ἧττον. Ἔτι δὲ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ἔνδον τῆς πύλης πλῆθός* 10 *τι γυναικῶν ἑτέρων παντοδαπὰς μορφὰς ἐχουσῶν;*

Ὁρῶ.

Αὗται τοίνυν Δόξαι καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ Ἡδοναὶ 2 *καλοῦνται.* ὅταν οὖν εἰσπορεύηται ὁ ὄχλος, *ἀναπηδῶσιν* αὗται *καὶ πλέκονται πρὸς ἕκαστον, εἶτα ἀπ-* 15 *άγουσι.*

Ποῦ δὲ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτούς;

Αἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι, ἔφη, αἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην.

Ὦ δαιμόνιε, ὡς χαλεπὸν τὸ πόμα λέγεις. 20

Καὶ πᾶσαί γε, ἔφη, ἐπαγγέλλονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βέλ- 3

1 *εἶτα τί*] *διτατὶ* M ‖ 2 *τῇ ἑαυτῆς* (*ἑαυτῇ* V¹ corr V²) *δυνάμει* libri, *τὴν — δύναμιν* Drosihnus approbante Sauppeo p. 769. Cum dativo rei *ποτίζειν* coniungitur a Plutarcho quaest. conv. 6, 2, 5 p. 687 f. ita tamen, fateor, ut sit irrigare. Neque vero contra codicum consensum facere ausus sum ‖ 4 *τουτὶ* M ‖ 5 *πλάνος* AML *πλάν* sscr in ras *ο* V² *πλάνη* BRFEDWCKP ‖ 6 *διατί* M ‖ 7 *πίνοντες* MW² mg ‖ 8 *πότερον οὖν* om M | post *πίνουσι* add *ἔφη* P¹ mg *ἔφην* corr P² ‖ 10 *ἧττον* D in ras, *ἔλαττον* W ‖ 11 *τι* * om M | *ἑτέρων*] *ἑταιρῶν* V²BRFEDWCKP *mulieres diversarum ac variarum formarum* Ă ‖ 14 *εἰσπορεύεται* P ‖ 15 *περιπλέκονται* BM *συμπλέκονται* K *πλέκονται* reliqui *προσπλέκονται* coni Sauppeus p. 773 | *ἕκαστον* in rasura V² ‖ 17 *ποῖ* K ‖ 18 *ἀπόλυσθαι* KC¹ alterum *λ* sscr C² ‖ 20 *πῶμα* P ‖ 21 *ἀπαγγέλλονται* K *ἐπαγγέλλονται ἔφη* CP

"Well then, what does she do?"

"She causes the ones entering Life to drink of her power."[17]

3 "And what is this drink?"

"Error and ignorance," he said.

"Then what?"

"After drinking it, they enter Life."[18]

"Then do all of them drink the error, or not?"

VI. "All drink," he said, "but some more, some less.[19] Then, don't you see, inside the gate a crowd of other women[20] with forms of every kind?"

"I see them."

2 "Now they are called Opinions, Desires, and Pleasures. When the crowd enters they jump up and embrace[21] them one by one; then they lead them away."

"Where do they lead them?"

"Some of these women lead to salvation," he said, "while others by deception lead to destruction."

"Sir, how harsh is the drink you describe!"

3 "And, indeed, all these women," he said, "promise[22] that

τιστα ἄξουσαι καὶ εἰς βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ λυσιτελῆ. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν πλάνον, ὃν πεπώκασι παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης, οὐχ εὑρίσκουσι ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθινὴ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐν τῷ Βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πλανῶνται εἰκῇ, ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς καὶ τοὺς πρότερον εἰσπορευομένους ὡς περιάγονται ὅποι ἂν τύχῃ.

VII. Ὁρῶ τούτους, ἔφην. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐκείνη τίς ἐστιν ἡ ὥσπερ τυφλὴ καὶ μαινομένη τις εἶναι δοκοῦσα καὶ ἑστηκυῖα ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στρογγύλου;

Καλεῖται μέν, ἔφη, Τύχη· ἔστι δὲ οὐ μόνον τυφλὴ καὶ μαινομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωφή.

Αὕτη οὖν τί ἔργον ἔχει;

Περιπορεύεται παντοχοῦ, ἔφη· καὶ παρ' ὧν μὲν ἁρπάζει τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἑτέροις δίδωσι· παρὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀφαιρεῖται παραχρῆμα ἃ δέδωκε καὶ ἄλλοις δίδωσιν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀβεβαίως. διὸ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον καλῶς μηνύει τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς.

Ποῖον τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Ὅτι ἐπὶ λίθου στρογγύλου ἕστηκεν.

1 ἄξουσαι] ἥξουσι M αὔξουσαι FEDW | εἰς om V^1 add V^2 ἐς M | ἄλλον post βίον add M ‖ 3 παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης] παραπορεύονται P ‖ 3. 4 ἀληθινὴ ὁδὸς] ἀλήθεια M ‖ 5 τοὺς .. εἰσπορευομένους sscr οἱ .. οι K^1 | περιάγοντας omnes sed B^1 sscr αι ‖ 6 ὅποι ἂν τύχοι AM ὅπη ἂν αὗται δεικνύουσιν BK ὅπη (ὅποι W ὁπ terminatione foramine abrepta V) ἂν αὗται δεικνύωσιν reliqui. ὅποι ἂν τύχωσι coni Sauppeus p. 775 ‖ 7 τοῦτον KP τούτους reliqui (C ex corr) ‖ 8 ἡ om A | καὶ· μαινομένη del Drosihnus, vid. infra ad vv. 10. 11 | τις om M ‖ 10 οὐ sscr D ‖ 10. 11 τυφλὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινομένη καὶ κωφή libri, corr Gronovius. Nescio an καὶ μαινομένη eiciendum sit: *nec caeca tantummodo est, sed surda etiam* A ‖ 12 post αὕτη inser μὲν F | ἔχει] ἔφη D ‖ 13 μὲν om in textu add in mg D rec ut videtur manu ‖ 14 ὑπάρχοτα V^1 corr V^2 | δίδωσιν B | δὲ om W ‖ 15 ἔδωκε M ‖ 16 βεβαίως V^1 ἀβεβαίως V^2 | διὸς W ‖ 19 λίθου στρογγύλου AM στρογγύλου λίθου reliqui

they will lead them to the best things and to a happy and profitable life. But because of the ignorance and error which they have drunk from Deceit, they do not discover of what kind is the true way in Life. Instead, they wander about aimlessly, even as you see how those who have entered previously wander about wherever they chance to go."

VII. "I see them," I said, "but who is that woman there who appears to be blind and mad[23] and who stands on some sort of round rock?"

"She is called Fortune," he said, "and not only is she blind and mad, but deaf as well."

2 "What then is her task?"[24]

"She makes her way around everywhere," he said. "She both snatches possessions away from some and gives them to others.[25] Yet from the latter in turn she immediately takes away what she has given and gives them to others instead in an aimless and fickle way. Hence, even her sign aptly attests to her nature."[26]

3 "What kind of sign is this?" I said.

"That she stands upon a round rock."[27]

Εἶτα τί τοῦτο σημαίνει;

Οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς οὐδὲ βεβαία ἐστὶν ἡ παρ' αὐτῆς δόσις. ἐκπτώσεις γὰρ μεγάλαι καὶ σκληραὶ γίνονται, ὅταν τις αὐτῇ πιστεύσῃ.

VIII. *Ὁ δὲ [τῶν ἀνθρώπων] πολὺς ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν ἑστηκὼς τί βούλεται καὶ τίνες καλοῦνται;*

Καλοῦνται μὲν οὗτοι ἀπροβούλευτοι· αἰτοῦσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἃ ῥίπτει.

Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἔχουσι τὴν μορφήν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν δοκοῦσι χαίρειν, οἱ δὲ ἀθυμοῦσιν ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας;

Οἱ μὲν δοκοῦντες, ἔφη, χαίρειν καὶ γελᾶν αὐτῶν οἱ εἰληφότες τι παρ' αὐτῆς εἰσιν· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὴν Τύχην αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ δοκοῦντες κλαίειν [καὶ ἐκτετακότες] εἰσὶ παρ' ὧν ἀφείλετο ἃ δέδωκε πρότερον αὐτοῖς. οὗτοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτὴν κακὴν Τύχην καλοῦσι.

Τίνα οὖν ἐστιν ἃ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὕτως οἱ μὲν λαμβάνοντες χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες κλαίουσι;

Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἃ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀγαθά.

Ταῦτα οὖν τίνα ἐστί;

2 ante *οὐκ* add *ὅτι* praeter AM omnes ‖ 4 *αὐτῇ* om B | *πιστεύῃ* M ‖ 5 *ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολὺς ὄχλος* A *ὁ δὲ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος* V¹ *ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς* V²LBRFEDWČKP *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* add C mg M, ignorant 𝔄 et O, del Drosihnus | *ὁ* post *οὗτος* om M ‖ 7 *καλοῦνται* om W | post *μὲν* add *οὖν* B ‖ 9 *οὖν* om L ‖ 10 *δοκοῦσιν αὐτῶν* F | *δοκοῦντες* P ‖ 12 *μὲν*] *δὲ* K ‖ 13 *οἱ*] *εἴη* P | *τι* om B | *παρ' αὐτῆς* A *παρ' αὐτοῦ* M *παρὰ τῆς τύχης* reliqui ‖ 14 *αὐτὴν* om B | *καλοῦσι* F ‖ 14—16 *οἱ — καλοῦσι* om FL add mg L ‖ 14. 15 *καὶ ἐκτετακότες* AMV¹ *καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτετακότες* V² reliqui. *καὶ — ἐκτετακότες* ignorat 𝔄 del Muellerus ‖ 15 *δέδωκεν* BP *ἔδωκε* M ‖ 16 *κακὴν Τύχην αὐτὴν* praeter A omnes ‖ 17 *οὖν* om M ‖ 18 *ἀποβαλόντες* WK | *κλαίουσιν* FE DWP ‖ 19 *ταῦτα οὖν* B *ταῦτ' οὖν* M ‖ 21 *ταῦτ'* M

"Then, what does it signify?"

"That a gift from her is neither safe nor secure.[28] For severe and bitter disappointments ensue whenever someone puts his trust in her."[29]

VIII. "Now this large crowd [of men] standing around her, what do they want and what are they called?"

"They are called those who are without forethought, and each one is begging for what she throws out."

"Then how is it that they are not similar in appearance? Instead, some seem to be rejoicing while others stretch out their hands toward her in despair."[30]

2 "These people here, who appear to be rejoicing and laughing, are those who have received something from her. They call her Good Fortune. But these who appear to be crying [with outstretched arms], are those from whom she has taken back what she had earlier given them. These, in turn, call her Bad Fortune."

3 "What are the things, then, that she gives them, that those who receive are so happy while those who lose are sad?"

"Those things," he said, "deemed good by the majority of mankind."

"And, what are these things?"

Πλοῦτος δηλονότι καὶ δόξα καὶ εὐγένεια καὶ τέκνα καὶ τυραννίδες καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

Ταῦτα οὖν πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθά;

Περὶ μὲν τούτων, ἔφη, καὶ αὖθις ἐκποιήσει διαλέγεσθαι, νῦν δὲ περὶ τὴν μυθολογίαν γινώμεθα.

Ἔστω οὕτως.

IX. *Ὁρᾷς οὖν, ὡς. ἂν παρέλθῃς τὴν πύλην ταύτην, ἀνωτέρω ἄλλον περίβολον καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἑστηκυίας κεκοσμημένας ὥσπερ ἑταῖραι εἰώθασι;*

Καὶ μάλα.

Αὗται τοίνυν ἡ μὲν Ἀκρασία καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ Ἀσωτία, ἡ δὲ Ἀπληστία, ἡ δὲ Κολακεία.

Τί οὖν ὧδε ἑστήκασιν αὗται;

Παρατηροῦσιν, ἔφη, τοὺς εἰληφότας τι παρὰ τῆς Τύχης.

Εἶτα τί;

Ἀναπηδῶσι καὶ συμπλέκονται αὐτοῖς καὶ κολακεύουσι καὶ ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὑταῖς μένειν λέγουσαι ὅτι βίον ἔξουσιν ἡδύν τε καὶ ἄπονον καὶ ἀκηδίαν ἔχοντα οὐδεμίαν. ἐὰν οὖν τις πεισθῇ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν, μέχρι μέν τινος ἡδεῖα δοκεῖ

1 *δηλονότι*] *δηλαδὴ* K | *καὶ* ante *δόξα* om W ‖ 2 *τὰ ἄλλα* F *ἄλλα* M ‖ 4 *ταῦτ'* EDWPM ‖ 5 *ἐκποιήσει διαλέγεσθαι* AM *διαλεξόμεθα* reliqui ‖ 6 *γινώμεθα* A *γενόμεθα* D *γενώμεθα* reliqui ‖ * 8 *παρέλθῃς* sscr *οι* B *παρέλθοις* RFCKP | post *παρέλθῃς* add *ἔφη* V^2L | post *ταύτην* add *ἔφη* BFEDW ‖ 9 *ἀνωτέρω* AM *ἀνώτερον* reliqui | post *περίβολον* AM ex superiore linea repet *ὡς ἂν* ‖ 10 *ἑταῖραι*] *αἱ ἑταῖραι* C^2KF *αἱ ἑτέραι* C^1?P | *εἰώθασιν αἱ ἑταῖραι* F ‖ 12 *αὗται — καλεῖται* om C^1 add C^2 mg | *ἀσωτεία* RFCKP ‖ 13 *ἀπληστεία* A *ἀπλειστία* M ‖ 15 *παρατηροῦσι* F | *ἔφη* om F ‖ 19 *αὐταῖς* A *αὐτὰς* reliqui corr Saupp. p. 774 ‖ * 20 *τε* om omnes praeter A | ante *ἔχοντα* add *οὐκ* EDW ‖ 21 *οὖν* om M

4 "Wealth,[31] of course, reputation, nobility, children, monarchies, kingdoms, and all the other things like these."

"But how can these things not be good?"

"It will suffice," he said, "to discuss the subject later.[32] But for now, let's concern ourselves with the interpretation of the fable."

"Fine!"

IX. "Do you see, then, that when you pass beyond this gate, there is another enclosure higher up, and standing outside the enclosure are women adorned as courtesans usually are?"[33]

"Certainly."

"Now, they are as follows: one is called Incontinence, another Profligacy, another Covetousness, and the other Flattery."

2 "Why are they standing here?"

"They are," he said, "closely watching those who have received something from Fortune."

"What then?"

"They jump up and embrace them, they flatter and coax them to stay with them, saying that they will have a life that is pleasant and painless, with

3 no misery at all.[34] If, then, someone is persuaded by them to enter Luxury,[35] the diversion seems pleasant up to a point,

εἶναι ἡ διατριβή, ἕως ἂν γαργαλίζῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἶτ' οὐκέτι. ὅταν γὰρ ἀνανήψῃ, αἰσθάνεται ὅτι οὐκ ἤσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κατησθίετο καὶ ὑβρίζετο. διὸ καὶ ὅταν ἀναλώσῃ πάντα ὅσα ἔλαβε παρὰ τῆς Τύχης, ἀναγκάζεται ταύταις ταῖς γυναιξὶ δουλεύειν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἕνεκεν τούτων πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶ βλαβερά, οἷον ἀποστερεῖν, ἱεροσυλεῖν, ἐπιορκεῖν, προδιδόναι, ληΐζεσθαι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια. ὅταν οὖν πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐπιλίπῃ, παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ.

X. Ποία δέ ἐστιν αὕτη;

Ὁρᾷς ὀπίσω τι, ἔφη, αὐτῶν ἄνω ὥσπερ θυρίον μικρὸν καὶ τόπον στενόν τινα καὶ σκοτεινόν;

〈Καὶ μάλα.〉

Οὐκοῦν καὶ γυναῖκες αἰσχραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραὶ καὶ ῥάκη ἠμφιεσμέναι δοκοῦσι συνεῖναι;

Καὶ μάλα. 2

Αὗται τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἡ μὲν τὴν μάστιγα ἔχουσα καλεῖται Τιμωρία, ἡ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχουσα Λύπη, ἡ δὲ τὰς τρίχας τίλλουσα ἑαυτῆς Ὀδύνη.

1 ἕως] ὡς F ἂν om P | γαργαρίζῃ M ‖ 2 εἶτα F | οὐκ ἔτι AM οὐκ ἔστι V^1 οὐκ ἔστιν V^2 reliqui | ἀνανίψῃ AP ἀνάψῃ M | ὅτι] ὅτ' P ‖ 3 κατεσθίετο AK ‖ 5 γυναιξὶν B ‖ 6 ἕνεκεν] ἓκ M ‖ 7 πάντα A πάνθ' MC rec man, om reliqui ‖ 9 ἐπιλίπῃ A ἐπιλείπῃ M ἀπολίπῃ reliqui ‖ 11 ἐστιν ἔφην RFED αὕτη ἔφην B ‖ *12 τι om M | ἔφη αὐτῶν ἄνω A αὐτῶν ἔφη ἄνω LBRFEDW αὐτῶν om M ἄνω om VCKP | τι μικρὸν ἄνω ὥσπερ θυρίον M *Annon vides, inquit, ostiolum parvum in loco angusto et caliginoso?* 𝔄 | θυρίον ABR² θύριον P θηρίον VLR¹FEDK θηρίον sscr *v* W θυρίον corr ex θηρίον C ‖ 14 καὶ μάλα deest in omnibus libris, inser Drosihnus, ὁρῶ B mg. *Video, inquam, eccam* 𝔄 (statim v. 17 καὶ μάλα = *eccas, inquam, video*) ‖ 15—17 οὐκοῦν — καὶ om M ‖ 16 συνεῖναι ex εἶναι corr L δοκοῦσιν εἶναι P ‖ 18 αὗται] τούτων M | μάστιχα E ‖ 20 ἔχουσαν W | ante Λύπη add καλεῖται FEDW | αὐτῆς M

so long as it titillates[36] the individual, but not beyond that. For when he comes to his senses[37] he realizes that he was not doing the eating but was
4 being devoured and violated by her.[38] Therefore, whenever he has squandered all that he has received from Fortune, he is compelled to be a slave to these women, to submit in everything, to act disgracefully, and, for their sake, to commit all that is injurious, such as fraud, desecration, perjury, treason, pillage, and all that is like them. When, then, they have committed all these acts, they are delivered to Retribution."[39]

X. "And what kind is she?"

"Do you see a bit behind them, up above, something like a small door and some sort of dark, narrow place?"

<"Certainly.">

"And don't ugly, filthy women dressed in rags appear to have gathered?"

2 "Certainly."

"Well, these women," he said, "are the following: the one with the whip is called Retribution, the one with her head on her knees is Grief, and the one pulling out her own hair is Sorrow."

3 Ὁ δὲ ἄλλος οὗτος ὁ παρεστηκὼς αὐταῖς δυσειδής τις καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ γυμνός, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τις ἄλλη ὁμοία αὐτῷ αἰσχρὰ καὶ λεπτή, τίς ἐστιν;

Ὁ μὲν Ὀδυρμὸς καλεῖται, ἔφη, ἡ δὲ Ἀθυμία, ἀδελφὴ
5 4 δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη αὐτοῦ. τούτοις οὖν παραδίδοται καὶ μετὰ τούτων συμβιοῖ τιμωρούμενος· εἶτα ἐνταῦθα πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἕτερον οἶκον ῥίπτεται, εἰς τὴν Κακοδαιμονίαν, καὶ ὧδε τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καταστρέφει ἐν πάσῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, ἂν μὴ ἡ Μετάνοια αὐτῷ ἐπιτύχῃ
10 ἐκ προαιρέσεως συναντήσασα.

XI. Εἶτα τί γίνεται, ἐὰν ἡ Μετάνοια αὐτῷ συναντήσῃ;

Ἐξαιρεῖ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν καὶ συνίστησιν αὐτῷ ἑτέραν Δόξαν [καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαν] τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν
15 Παιδείαν ἄγουσαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν Ψευδο-παιδείαν καλουμένην.

2 Εἶτα τί γίνεται;

Ἐὰν μέν, φησί, τὴν Δόξαν ταύτην προσδέξηται τὴν ἄξουσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν, καθαρ-

1 δὲ AM δ' reliqui ‖ 2 καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ λεπτὸς M | μετ' αὐτοῦ AM μετὰ τοῦτον B κατὰ ταῦτα W μετὰ ταῦτα reliqui | ἄλλη A om reliqui ‖ 3. αὐτῷ om EDW | λεπτή] ῥυπαρὰ ex ῥυπαραὶ corr P | ἐστι V^1 ἐστιν V^2 ‖ 4. 5 Ἀθυμία — αὐτοῦ] sic A * ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἀθυμία reliqui (αὐτοῦ ἀθυμία om M) ‖ 6 μετὰ] κατὰ W ‖ 6. 7 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν AM πάλιν ἐνταῦθα VLBRFCP πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν K ἐνταῦθα om EDW ‖ 7 τὸν ante ἕτερον A (sed erasum), M, om reliqui ‖ 8 βίον] τοῦ βίου B τούτου βίου M ‖ 9 μετάνοι V^1 corr V^2 | ἐπιτύχῃ] ἀπὸτύχῃ A ἀπὸ τύχης KM ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης reliqui ἐπιτύχῃ Johnsonus approbantibus Sauppeo * p. 773 et Muellero p. 67 ‖ 10 ἐκ προαιρέσεως del Drohsinus | * συναντήσασα A συναντήσῃ reliqui ‖ 11 εἶτα . . . συναντήσῃ om * WP add W mg | ἡ om AB ‖ 13 ἐξαίρει libri ἐξαιρεῖ Sauppeus p. 775 | ἐκ] ἀπὸ BL | συνίστησι VEDK ‖ 14 καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαν del Drosihnus ‖ 15 „τὴν deest" (in M) Meibomius ‖ 18 φησί] φῇ W ‖ 19 αὔξουσαν CP | αὐτὴν P | ἀλήθειαν P

3 "And this other man who is standing by them, some deformed, emaciated, and naked man, and with him some other woman resembling him, ugly and emaciated, who is he?"

"He is called Lamentation," he said, "and
4 she Despondency, and she is his sister. So, he is being delivered over to them and is living with them while being punished. Next, from there he is once again being thrown into another house here, into Unhappiness, and here he spends the rest of his life in total unhappiness, unless from her own choice Repentance[40] happens to encounter him."

XI. "Then what happens if Repentance encounters him?"

"She releases him from his ills and introduces to him another Opinion [and Desire], who leads him to true Education, and at the same time to yet another who leads to the one called False Education."[41]

2 "Then, what happens?"

"If," he said, "he welcomes this Opinion, the one who is to lead him to true Education, then once he is

θεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς σώζεται καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίνεται ἐν τῷ βίῳ· εἰ δὲ μή, πάλιν πλανᾶται ὑπὸ τῆς Ψευδοδοξίας.

XII. *Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὡς μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος ἄλλος οὗτος. ἡ δὲ Ψευδοπαιδεία ποία ἐστίν; ἔφην ἐγώ.*

Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν ἕτερον περίβολον ἐκεῖνον;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφην ἐγώ. 2

Οὐκοῦν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον γυνή τις ἕστηκεν, ἢ δοκεῖ πάνυ καθάριος καὶ εὔτακτος εἶναι;

Καὶ μάλα. 10

Ταύτην τοίνυν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ εἰκαῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν 3 *Παιδείαν καλοῦσιν· οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδεία, ἔφη. οἱ μέν τοι σωζόμενοι ὁπόταν βούλωνται εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν ἐλθεῖν, ὧδε πρῶτον παραγίνονται.*

Πότερον οὖν ἄλλη ὁδὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν ἄγουσα; 15

〈Οὐκ〉 ἔστιν, ἔφη.

XIII. *Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἔσω τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνακάμπτοντες τίνες εἰσίν;*

Οἱ τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας, ἔφη, ἑρασταὶ ἠπατημένοι 20 *καὶ οἰόμενοι μετὰ τῆς ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας συνομιλεῖν.*

Τίνες οὖν καλοῦνται οὗτοι;

Οἱ μὲν ποιηταί, ἔφη, οἱ δὲ ῥήτορες, οἱ δὲ διαλεκτι- 2 *κοί, οἱ δὲ μουσικοί, οἱ δὲ ἀριθμητικοί, οἱ δὲ γεωμέ-*

2 ante *τῷ* praeter AM omnes add *παντὶ* ‖ 3 *κενοδοξίας* sscr *ψευ* E¹ *ψευδοπαιδείας* P ‖ 4 *ἄλλος*] *καὶ* F ‖ 5 *Ψευδοπαιδεία*] *ψευδοδοξία* M | *ἔστιν* RFE ‖ 9 *καθάριος* A *καθάρειος* M *καθαρὰ* reliqui ‖ 11 *ταῦτα* VL | *οἰκαῖοι* ED *οἱ καλοὶ* MW¹ *καῖοι* W² mg | *ἀνδρῶν*] *ἀνθρώπων* CKP ‖ 14 *πρότερον* P | *παραγίνονται πρῶτον* M ‖ 15 *ἔστι* V¹ *ἔστιν* V² *ἦν* AM ‖ 17 *οὐκ* inser Sauppeus * p. 775 *minime, inquit, non habent viam aliam* 𝔄 ‖ 18 *οἱ* ante *ἔσω* om BR sed add R¹ mg | *εἴσω* EDW ‖ 20 *οἱ* om M ‖ 21 *ἀληθοῦς* F ‖ 22 *καλοῦν* V¹ *καλοῦνται* V²

cleansed[42] by her he is saved and becomes blessed and happy in his life. But if he does not, he is led astray once again by False Opinion."

XII. "Heracles![43] How great this other danger is! But tell me, of what kind is False Education?" I said.

"Don't you see that other enclosure there?"

2 "Certainly," I said.

"Then, don't you see that outside the enclosure at the entrance stands a woman who appears to be altogether pure and neatly adorned?"

"Certainly."

3 "Well," he said, "this woman most rash men call Education,[44] but she is not. Rather, she is False Education. In any case, those who are being saved arrive here first, whenever they wish to enter into true Education."

"Is there, then, no other path that leads to true Education?"

"<No,> there is <not>," he said.[45]

XIII. "Now, who are these people who are walking to and fro inside the enclosure?"

"They are the lovers of False Education," he said, "who have been deceived into thinking that they are consorting with true Education."

"What are they called?"

2 "Poets," he said, "orators, dialecticians, musicians, mathematicians, geometricians,

τραι, οἱ δὲ ἀστρολόγοι, οἱ δὲ κριτικοί, οἱ δὲ ἡδονικοί, οἱ δὲ περιπατητικοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τούτοις εἰσὶ παραπλήσιοι.

XIV. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκεῖναι αἱ δοκοῦσαι περιτρέχειν ὅμοιαι ταῖς πρώταις, ἐν αἷς ἔφης εἶναι τὴν Ἀκρασίαν [καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ μετ' αὐτῶν] τίνες εἰσίν;

Αὗται ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν, ἔφη.

2 Πότερον οὖν καὶ ὧδε εἰσπορεύονται;

Νὴ Δία καὶ ὧδε, σπανίως δὲ καὶ οὐχὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ.

Πότερον οὖν καὶ αἱ Δόξαι; ἔφην.

3 Μένει γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ πόμα, ὃ ἔπιον παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης, καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει [ἐν τούτοις νὴ Δία] καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς γε ἡ ἀφροσύνη, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὔθ' ἡ δόξα οὔθ' ἡ λοιπὴ κακία μέχρι ἂν ἀπογνόντες τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλη-

1 *οἱ δὲ κριτικοὶ* post *περιπατητικοὶ* exhibent libri, ita ut critici pessime disiungantur ab reliquarum sex artium sectatoribus (Sauppeus p. 777); sed malui ordinem mutare quam cum Sauppeo philosophorum nomina eicere; in Ἀ *critici* praecedunt et *musicos* et *peripateticos* ac *ioculatores* ‖ 2 *περιπατικοὶ* AMED *περιπατηκοὶ* P^1 corr P^2 | *τοιούτοις* B ‖ 5 *ὅμοια* F ‖ * 6 *καὶ — αὐτῶν* del Drosihnus, *αἱ* ante *ἄλλαι* om praeter EDK omnes sed W sscr, *αἱ* et ante et post *ἄλλαι* om M | *μετ'*] *κατ'* W ‖ * 7 *αὗται* BRK *αὖται* A *αὗται* reliqui ‖ 9 *οὐχ* F ‖ 11. 12 *ἔφη μὲν γὰρ* AM *ναὶ ἔφη μὲν γὰρ* DW^1C^1 *ναὶ ἔφημεν γὰρ* VLBRFEP * *ναὶ ἔφη ἔτι μὲν γὰρ* W^2C^2K. Recepi quae Muellerus proposuit p. 64 ‖ 12 *καὶ* om L ‖ 12. 13 *τὸ πόμα — τούτοις* om W^1 add W^2 mg sed om *ἐν τούτοις* ‖ 13 *καὶ ἐν τούτοις* M *ἐν τούτοις δὲ* B *ἐν τούτοις* om K | *Καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει* hospiti tribuit Drosihnus; * (*Iamne etiam, quaerebam, versantur isti in ignorantia?* Ἀ); sed hic utique desideraveris interrogandi particulam. Suspicor et *νὴ Δία* et *ἐν τούτοις* (quod etiam Drosihnus delevit) additamenta esse librarii, qui illud *καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει* enuntiatum interrogativum ratus hospiti dabat ‖ 14 *αὐτῆς*] *αὐτῶν* BRFE DW^1 sed *αὐτῆς* W^2 mg ‖ 15 *μέχρι* A *μέχρ* V^1 *μέχρις* V^2 reliqui

astronomers, literary critics,[46] Hedonists,[47] Peripatetics,[48] and all others like them."[49]

XIV. "And who are those women who seem to be running around like that first group, among whom you said was Incontinence [and the others with them]?"

"They are the very same," he said.

2 "Then they are entering here, too?"

"Yes, by Zeus, but rarely, not as in the first enclosure."[50]

"And do the Opinions, too?" I asked.

3 "Yes, for the potion these people drank from Deceit remains in them; likewise, ignorance remains [in them, by Zeus,] and foolishness along with it. And neither opinion nor the remaining evil will depart from them until they renounce False Education, embark on the true

θινὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πίωσι τὰς τούτων καθαρτικὰς δυνά-
μεις. εἶτα ὅταν καθαρθῶσι καὶ ἐκβάλωσι τὰ κακὰ 4
πάνθ' ὅσα ἔχουσι καὶ τὰς δόξας καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ
τὴν λοιπὴν κακίαν πᾶσαν, τότε ἂν οὕτω σωθήσονται.
ὧδε δὲ μένοντες παρὰ τῇ Ψευδοπαιδείᾳ οὐδέποτε 5
ἀπολυθήσονται οὐδὲ ἐλλείψει αὐτοὺς κακὸν οὐδὲν
ἕνεκα τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων.

XV. Ποία οὖν αὕτη ἡ ὁδός ἐστιν ἡ φέρουσα ἐπὶ
τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν; [ἔφην].

Ὁρᾷς ἄνω, ἔφη, τόπον τινὰ ἐκεῖνον, ὅπου οὐδεὶς 10
ἐπικατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔρημος δοκεῖ εἶναι;

Ὁρῶ.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ θύραν τινὰ μικρὰν καὶ ὁδόν τινα πρὸ 2
τῆς θύρας, ἥτις οὐ πολὺ ὀχλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πάνυ
πορεύονται ὥσπερ δι' ἀνοδίας τινὸς καὶ τραχείας καὶ 15
πετρώδους εἶναι δοκούσης;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφην.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ βουνός τις ὑψηλὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ 3

1 τὰς τούτων καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις AM τὴν τούτων καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν reliqui ‖ 2 εἶτα ὅταν καθαρθῶσι om praeter AB MA omnes | καθαρθῶσιν B | ἐκβάλωσι ABK idem sed corr ex ἐκβάλλωσι L ἐκβάλλωσι VRFWC ἐκβάλλωσιν P ἐκβάλλουσι ED ‖ 3 ὁ***χουσι tribus litteris evanidis A ὅσ' ἂν ἔχωσι M ‖ 4 κακίαν πᾶσαν A πᾶσαν κακίαν reliqui | post τότε add γὰρ BRFEDW | *ἂν] δὴ coni Sauppeus p. 775; sed vide quae collegit Kuehnerus gramm. graec. II p. 170 (cf. etiam Marquardtius Galeni script. min. I praef. XLV sq.) | οὕτω VLCKP οὕτως reliqui οὗτοι Sauppeus | σωθήσωνται LRC σωθήσονται sscr ω F¹ ‖ 5. 6 ὧδε . . . ἀπολυθήσονται om FEDW ‖ 5 δὲ] καὶ CP om M | ψευδοποιΐα M ‖ 5. 6 οὐδέποτε ἀπολυθήσονται om M ‖ 6 αὐτοῖς L ‖ 8 ἐστιν αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς M ‖ 9 ἔφην A om reliqui ‖ 10 ἄνω ἔφη A ἔφη ἄνω reliqui | οὐδεὶς CKP οὐθεὶς reliqui ‖ 14 ὀλίγοι πάνυ AMVL πάνυ ὀλίγοι reliqui ‖ 15 δι' ἀνοδίας A ἀνοδίας M δυσανόδου ceteri ‖ 17 ἔφη FC¹ corr C²

4 path, and drink their purifying powers. Then, when they have been purified and have cast out all the evils they possess--such as opinion, ignorance, and the rest--will they be saved. But those remaining here with False Education will never be freed, nor will any evil leave them as a result of these academic disciplines."

XV. "Now what kind of path is this that leads to true Education?" [I said].

"Do you see this place up here," he said, "where no one dwells, but seems instead to be deserted?"

"I see."

2 "Then do you also see a small gate and in front of the gate a path which is not much frequented; very few pass this way, as it were through a trackless waste[51] which seems both rough and rocky?"

"Certainly," I said.

3 "And there seems to be a high hill,[52] and

ἀνάβασις στενὴ πάνυ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔχουσα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν βαθεῖς.

Ὁρῶ.

Αὕτη τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς, ἔφη, ἡ ἄγουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν.

4 *Καὶ μάλα γε χαλεπὴ προσιδεῖν.*

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ ὁρᾷς πέτραν τινὰ μεγάλην καὶ ὑψηλὴν καὶ κύκλῳ ἀπόκρημνον;

Ὁρῶ, ἔφην.

XVI. *Ὁρᾷς οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας δύο ἑστηκυίας ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας λιπαρὰς καὶ εὐεκτούσας τῷ σώματι, ὡς ἐκτετάκασι τὰς χεῖρας προθύμως;*

Ὁρῶ, ἀλλὰ τίνες καλοῦνται, ἔφην, αὗται;

2 *Ἡ μὲν Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται, ἔφη, ἡ δὲ Καρτερία· εἰσὶ δὲ ἀδελφαί.*

Τί οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτετάκασι προθύμως οὕτως;

3 *Παρακαλοῦσιν, ἔφη, τοὺς παραγινομένους ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον θαρρεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδειλιᾶν λέγουσαι ὅτι βραχὺ ἔτι δεῖ καρτερῆσαι αὐτοὺς, εἶτα ἥξουσιν εἰς ὁδὸν καλήν.*

4 *Ὅταν οὖν παραγένωνται ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, πῶς ἀναβαίνουσιν; ὁρῶ γὰρ ὁδὸν φέρουσαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτάς.*

Αὗται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ προσκαταβαίνουσι καὶ ἕλκουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄνω πρὸς αὐτάς, εἶτα κελεύουσιν

1. 2 *ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν* AMB *ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν* reliqui ‖ 2 *βαθεῖς δὲ* C ‖ 7 post *ἄνω* add *γε* omnes praeter A | *ἐπὶ*] *περὶ* CKP | *τὸν βουνὸν* KP | *τινὰ* A om reliqui ‖ 8 *καὶ* ante *κύκλῳ* ignorant praeter AM omnes ‖ 11 *τῆς πέτρας* K *τῇ πέτρᾳ* AM *τὴν πέτραν* reliqui | *εὐτάκτους* M | ante *ὡς* add *καὶ* praeter AM omnes ‖ 13 *καλοῦνται ἔφην*] *φημὶ καλοῦνται* M ‖ 15 *δὲ* om V^1 add V^2 ‖ 16 *οὕτω προθύμως* praeter A omnes ‖ 18 *ὅτι* om AM *λέγουσαι βραχὺ ἔτι δεῖν* coni Muellerus p. 64 ‖ 20 *παραγίνωνται* V^1 *παραγένωνται* V^2 ‖ 21 *αὐτάς* AMC *αὐτήν* reliqui ‖ 22 *προσκαταβαίνουσαι* sscr *σι* K^1 *καταβαίνουσι* M ‖ 23 *αὐτάς*? A *αὐτάς* M *ἑαυτάς* reliqui *αὐτὰς* Sauppeus p. 774

a very narrow ascent with a deep precipice on either side."

"I see."

"Now this," he said, "is the path that leads to true Education."

4 "It most certainly looks difficult."

"And up here do you see on top of the hill a massive towering boulder which has sheer drops all around?"

"I see," I said.

XVI. "So, do you also see how two women, radiant and healthy in body, are standing upon the boulder and are eagerly stretching forth their hands?"

"I see them," I said, "but what are they called?"

2 "One is called Self-Control and the other Perseverance.[53] They are sisters."

"Why are they stretching forth their hands so eagerly?"

3 "They are encouraging[54] the ones arriving at this place to be confident[55] and not to shrink back, saying that they must persevere yet a little longer, and then they will come to a good path."

4 "But when the people get to the boulder, how do they ascend? For I see no path leading up to the women."

"The women descend from the precipice and pull them up to them. Then they bid

αὐτοὺς δ̓ιαναπαύσασθαι. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν διδόασιν ἰσχὺν καὶ θάρσος καὶ ἐπαγγέλλονται αὐτοὺς καταστήσειν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς ἔστι καλή τε καὶ ὁμαλὴ καὶ εὐπόρευτος καὶ καθαρὰ παντὸς κακοῦ, ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς.

Ἐμφαίνει νὴ Δία.

XVII. Ὁρᾷς οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἄλσους ἐκείνου τόπον τινά, ὃς δοκεῖ καλός τε εἶναι καὶ λειμωνοειδὴς καὶ φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμενος;

Καὶ μάλα.

Κατανοεῖς οὖν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ λειμῶνι περίβολον ἕτερον καὶ πύλην ἑτέραν;

Ἔστιν οὕτως. ἀλλὰ τίς καλεῖται ὁ τόπος οὗτος;

Εὐδαιμόνων οἰκητήριον, ἔφη· ὧδε γὰρ διατρίβουσιν αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία.

Εἶεν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὡς καλὸν λέγεις τὸν τόπον εἶναι.

XVIII. Οὐκοῦν παρὰ τὴν πύλην ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι γυνή τις ἐστὶ καλὴ καὶ καθεστηκυῖα τὸ πρόσωπον, μέση δὲ καὶ κεκριμένη ἤδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, στολὴν δ̓ ἔχουσα ἁπλῆν τε καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον; ἕστηκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στρογγύλου λίθου, ἀλλ̓ ἐπὶ τετραγώνου ἀσφαλῶς κειμένου. καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἄλλαι δύο εἰσὶ θυγατέρες τινὲς δοκοῦσαι εἶναι.

2 καταστήσειν AMP καταστῆσαι reliqui sed sscr ειν L ‖ 3 πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν] καὶ ἀληθεινὴν M ‖ 6 ἐμφαίνει] ἐμφαίνεται Drosihnus. Sed nescio an activi forma e Polyb. 3, 23, 5 explicari possit ‖ 7. 8 καὶ om ante ἔμπροσθεν add ante τόπον M ‖ 9—11 καὶ . . . λειμῶνι om L add mg (sed in fine τοῦ λειμῶνος) ‖ 11 οὖν om B | καὶ add ante ἐν K | τοῦ λειμῶνος praeter AM omnes ‖ 16 λέγεις om CKP sed add C rec man | τὸν om C add rec man ‖ 19 καὶ om WM ‖ κεκριμμένη VBRCP κεκρυμμένη L | ἤδη om EDW | δ̓ om P ‖ 20 ἁπλῆν τε καὶ καλλοπισμόν A, * idem sed καλλωπισμόν M ἁπλῆν καὶ καλλωπισμόν (καλωπισμόν K) reliqui ἀκαλλώπιστον corr B² ‖ 22 μετὰ ταύτην P μετ̓ αὐτῆς M |

them to rest a while. Then, after a short time, they give them strength and courage, and they promise to conduct them down to true Education. They show them that the path is beautiful, even, easy to travel,[56] and free of all evil, just as you see it here."

"By Zeus, it is plain."

XVII. "Now do you also see in front of this grove," he said, "a place that appears to be beautiful, grassy, and brilliantly lit?"

"Certainly."

"And can you make out in the middle of the meadow another enclosure and another gate?"[57]

"So there is. But what is this place called?"

"The dwelling-place of the happy,"[58] he said. "For all the Virtues and Happiness spend their time here."

"Very well, go on," I said. "The place is just as beautiful as you say!"

XVIII. "Now," he continued, "do you see that there is beside the gate a woman, who is fair and has a calm face? She is also at an age of maturity and judgment and has a simple, unadorned[59] robe. She does not stand on a round rock but on a square one which is firmly set. With her there are two other women who appear to be her daughters."

Ἐμφαίνει οὕτως ἔχειν.

Τούτων τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Παιδεία ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ Ἀλήθεια, ἡ δὲ Πειθώ.

3 *Τί δὲ ἕστηκεν ἐπὶ λίθου τετραγώνου αὕτη;*

5 *Σημεῖον, ἔφη, ὅτι ἀσφαλής τε καὶ βεβαία ἡ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁδός ἐστι τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις καὶ τῶν διδομένων ἀσφαλὴς ἡ δόσις τοῖς λαμβάνουσι.*

4 *Καὶ τίνα ἐστίν, ἃ δίδωσιν αὕτη;*

Θάρσος καὶ ἀφοβία, ἔφη ἐκεῖνος.

10 *Ταῦτα δὲ τίνα ἐστίν;*

Ἐπιστήμη, ἔφη, τοῦ μηδὲν ἄν ποτε δεινὸν παθεῖν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

XIX. *Ὦ Ἡράκλεις ὡς καλά, ἔφην, τὰ δῶρα. ἀλλὰ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὕτως ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἕστηκεν;*

15 *Ὅπως τοὺς παραγινομένους, ἔφη, θεραπεύῃ καὶ ποτίζῃ τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν. εἶθ' ὅταν καθαρθῶσιν, οὕτως εἰσάγει τούτους πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετάς.*

2 *Πῶς τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ συνίημι.*

Ἀλλὰ συνήσεις, ἔφη. ὡς ἄν, εἴ τις φιλοτίμως

20 *κάμνων ἐτύγχανε, πρὸς ἰατρὸν ἂν δήπου γενόμενος πρότερον καθαρτικοῖς ἐξέβαλλε τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα, εἶτα*

p. 15, 22 *θυγατέραις* L *θυγατέρα* P | *δοκοῦσιν* CKP ‖ 23 post *εἶναι* add *αὐτῆς* F

1 *ἐμφαίνει* libri *ἐμφαίνεται* Drosihnus, vid. supra p. 15, 6 ‖ 6 *ἀφικομένοις* EDW ‖ 8 *εἰσὶν* M ‖ 11 *μὴθ' ἓν* A | *δεινὸν* om M | *παθεῖν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δεινόν* FEDW ‖ 13 *ὦ* F *ὢ* M om reliqui | *ἔφης* M ‖ 14 *οὕτως* (*οὗτος* M) *ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἕστηκεν* AMF *ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἕστηκεν οὕτως* reliqui ‖ 15 *παραγινομένους* AM *παραγενομένους* reliqui ‖ 17 *εἰσάγει τούτους* A *αὐτοὺς εἰσάγῃ* RFC *αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει* reliqui sed sscr *η* K corr *εἰσάγῃ* D ‖ 19 *εἴ τις*] *οὗτος* A | *φιλότιμος* M ‖ 20 *ἂν* om EDWM | *παραγενόμενος* C ‖ * 21 *ἐξέβαλλε* A *ἐξέβαλε* reliqui | *τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα* AML *πάντα νοσοποιοῦντα* V^1 *πάντα τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα* V^2 reliqui

"That appears to be the case."

"Well, the one in the middle is Education, and the others are Truth and Persuasion."[60]

3 "But why is she standing on a square rock?"[61]

"It is a sign," he said, "that for those arriving the path which leads to her is safe and secure,[62] and that of all the gifts bestowed, her gift is safe for those who receive it."

4 "And just what are the gifts that she gives?"

"Courage and fearlessness," he said.

"And what are they?"

"Knowledge," he said, "that they can never suffer anything terrible in life."[63]

XIX. "Heracles," I said, "how beautiful are these gifts! But for what purpose is she standing outside the enclosure in this way?"

"So that she can heal the ones arriving," he said, "and give them her purifying power to drink. Then, when they have been purified she leads them in this way to the Virtues."[64]

2 "How can this be?" I said. "I do not understand."

"Well, you shall understand," he said. "Thus, as it were if someone were to fall critically[65] ill, doubtless he would first go see a doctor,[66] and, by means of purgatives, expel the causes of the disease.

οὕτως ἂν ὁ ἰατρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνάληψιν καὶ ὑγείαν κατέστησεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπείθετο οἷς ἐπέταττεν, εὐλόγως ἂν δήπου ἀπωσθεὶς ἐξώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου —

Ταῦτα μὲν συνίημι, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τοίνυν τρόπον, ἔφη, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν ὅταν τις παραγένηται, θεραπεύει αὐτὸν καὶ ποτίζει τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει, ὅπως ἐκκαθάρῃ πρῶτον καὶ ἐκβάλῃ τὰ κακὰ πάντα ὅσα ἔχων ἦλθε.

Ποῖα ταῦτα;

Τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν πλάνον, ὃν ἐπεπώκει παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης, καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, ὧν ἀνεπλήσθη ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ.

XX. Ὅταν οὖν καθαρθῇ, ποῦ αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει;

Ἔνδον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρετάς.

Ποίας ταύτας;

Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ἔσω τῆς πύλης χορὸν γυναικῶν, ὡς εὐειδεῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ εὔτακτοι καὶ στολὴν ἀτρύφερον καὶ ἁπλῆν ἔχουσιν· ἔτι τε ὡς ἄπλαστοί εἰσι καὶ οὐδαμῶς κεκαλλωπισμέναι καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι;

Ὁρῶ, ἔφην. ἀλλὰ τίνες αὗται καλοῦνται;

1 ὁ ἰατρὸς αὐτὸν A αὐτὸν ὁ ἰατρὸς CKP αὐτὸς ὁ ἰατρὸς reliqui | ὑγίαν M ὑγίειαν K ὑγείαν reliqui sed supra α sscr η W² || 2 κατέστησαν W | ἐπύθετο C¹P ἐπείθετο corr C² || 4 μὲν AMC² om C¹ reliqui || 5 τοίννυν] δὴ M || 6 παραγένηται AM παραγίνηται reliqui | αὐτὴν F || 7 ἑαυτῇ V¹ ἑαυτῆς V²; vid. supra p. 5, 2 || 8 πάντα om M | ἦλθεν CP | ἦλθεν ἔχων FEDW || 10 ὃν] ἃ M || 10. 11 παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης ἐπεπόκει M || 13 πρώτῳ om M || 15 ὅτ᾽ A || 20 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι] δοκοῦσαι M || 21 ἔχουσιν] ἔχουσαι Dros. | ἄπληστοί FEDP || 22 καθάπερ AM ὥσπερ reliqui || 23 ἔφη P

Then, in this way the doctor would put him on the
3 road to recovery and health. But if he did not submit to those things which the doctor prescribed, he would deservedly suffer a setback and would undoubtedly be ravaged by the disease."[67]

"I understand so far," I said.

4 "Well then," he said, "it is just the same whenever anyone arrives here at Education. She cures him and gives him her own power to drink, so that she may first purify and rid him of all the evils which he had when he came."

"What kind are they?"

5 "The ignorance and error which he drank from Deceit; likewise, pretentiousness, desire, incontinence, passion, avarice, and all the rest with which he was infected[68] in the first enclosure."

XX. "So, when he has been purified, where does she send him?"

"Inside, to Knowledge and the other Virtues," he said.

"What kind are they?"

2 "Don't you see," he said, "that inside the gate is a group of women who appear to be attractive and seemly with simple, inexpensive dress, and that they are not at all artificial and in no way adorned, in contrast to the others?"[69]

3 "Oh, yes, I see," I said. "What are they called?"

Ἡ μὲν πρώτη Ἐπιστήμη, ἔφη, καλεῖται, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ταύτης ἀδελφαὶ Ἀνδρεία, Δικαιοσύνη, Καλοκἀγαθία, Σωφροσύνη, Εὐταξία, Ἐλευθερία, Ἐγκράτεια, Πρᾳότης.

Ὦ κάλλιστε, ἔφην ἔγωγε, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐλπίδι ἐσμέν.

Ἐὰν συνῆτε, ἔφη, καὶ ἔξιν περιποιήσησθε ὧν ἀκούετε.

Ἀλλὰ ποσέξομεν, ἔφην ἔγωγε, ὡς μάλιστα.

Τοιγαροῦν, ἔφη, σωθήσεσθε.

XXI. *Ὅταν οὖν παραλάβωσιν αὐτὸν αὗται, ποῦ ἄγουσι;*

Πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, ἔφη.

Αὕτη δὲ τίς ἐστιν;

Εὐδαιμονία, ἔφη.

Ποία δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη;

Ὁρᾷς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐκεῖνο, ὅ ἐστιν ἀκρόπολις τῶν περιβόλων πάντων;

Ὁρῶ.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ προπυλαίου γυνὴ καθεστηκυῖα εὐειδής τις κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ κεκοσμημένη ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀπεριέργως καὶ ἐστεφανωμένη στεφάνῳ εὐανθεῖ πάνυ καλῷ;

1 ἐπιστήμη ἔφη AK ἔφη ἐπιστήμη reliqui | δ' B ‖ 2 ταύτας P | ἀδελφαὶ om P | καὶ δικαιοσύνη CKP ‖ 3 πρᾳότης] πρώτως A πρώτης VLREDW¹C¹P πρῶτον γ' ρ ρώτης F¹ πραότης BW²C²K ‖ 4 κάλλισται K ‖ 5 περιποιήσησθε AVLRE περιποιήσεσθε FCKM περιποιήσεσθαι P πεποιήσησθε D πεποιήσοισθε W ‖ 7 προσέξω- * μεν B | ἔφην ἔγωγε ὡς μάλιστα] ἔφην ὡς ἐγὼ μὴ μάλιστα A ἔφην ἔγωγε μάλιστα B ἔφην ὡς ἐγ' ὦμαι (sic) μάλιστα M ἔφην καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ (add sec man) κάλλιστα L ὡς μάλιστα ἔφην ἔγωγε K ἔφην ὡς ἔγωγε μάλιστα reliqui (sed litt. ὡς ἔγω in rasura D) ‖ 10 ἄγουσι A ὑπάγουσι L ἀπάγουσιν BCPM ἀπάγουσι reliqui (in D *ν* erasum) ‖ 11 πρὸς] εἰς M ‖ 13 εὐδαιμονία γε F ‖ 14 δ' AM δέ reliqui ‖ 15. 16 τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐκεῖνο] τὸν ὑψηλὸν τόπον M ‖ 19 τις] τε F | καὶ κεκοσμημένη F ‖ 20 περιέργως M ‖* * 21 καλῷ A καὶ ποικίλῳ M καλῶς reliqui

"The first is called Knowledge," he said, "and the others are her sisters, Courage, Justice, Goodness, Moderation, Propriety, Freedom, Self-Control,[70] and Gentleness."

4 "Excellent sir," I said, "how great is our hope!"

"If you understand," he said, "you will also make a habit of doing what you are hearing about."[71]

"Well, we shall pay attention!" I said, "as closely as possible."

"Then you will surely be saved," he said.

XXI. "Now, when these women have received him, where do they lead him?"

"To their mother," he said.

"But who is she?"

"Happiness," he said.

"And what kind is she?"

2 "Do you see that path there leading to this high place, which is the high citadel of all the enclosures?"

"I do."

3 "Then is there not stationed at the vestibule sitting on a high throne, an attractive woman who is adorned nobly and simply[72] and crowned with a very beautiful and flowery wreath?"

Ἐμφαίνει οὕτως.

Αὕτη τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ Εὐδαιμονία, ἔφη.

XXII. *Ὅταν οὖν ὧδέ τις παραγένηται, τί ποιεῖ;*

Στεφανοῖ αὐτόν, ἔφη, τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει ἥ τε Εὐδαιμονία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι ὥσπερ τοὺς νενικηκότας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας.

Καὶ ποίους ἀγῶνας νενίκηκεν αὐτός; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Τοὺς μεγίστους, ἔφη, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα θηρία, ἃ πρότερον αὐτὸν κατήσθιε καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ ἐποίει δοῦλον, ταῦτα πάντα νενίκηκε καὶ ἀπέρριψεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἑαυτοῦ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνα νῦν τούτῳ δουλεύουσι, καθάπερ οὗτος ἐκείνοις πρότερον.

XXIII. *Ποῖα ταῦτα λέγεις θηρία; πάνυ γὰρ ἐπιποθῶ ἀκοῦσαι.*

Πρῶτον μέν, ἔφη, τὴν Ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν Πλάνον.

Ἦ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα θηρία;

Καὶ πονηρά γε, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Εἶτα τὴν Λύπην καὶ τὸν Ὀδυρμὸν καὶ τὴν Φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀκρασίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν Κακίαν. πάντων τούτων κρατεῖ καὶ οὐ κρατεῖται ὥσπερ πρότερον.

Ὦ καλῶν ἔργων, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ καλλίστης νίκης.

1 *ἐμφαίνει οὕτως* AMR¹ *ἐμφαίνει οὖν οὕτως* V *ἐμφαίνει οὕτως ἔχειν* CKP *ἐμφαίνει εἶναι οὕτως* BR²FEDWC² mg *ἐμφαίνεται οὕτως* Drosihnus; vid. supra p. 15, 6 ‖ 2—5 *ἔφη — Εὐδαμονία* om W ‖ 3. 4 *ὅταν — ἔφη* om ED ‖ 3 *παραγίνεται* M ‖ 4 *τε* A om reliqui ‖ 5 *ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι* A *πᾶσαι ἀρεταί* reliqui sed add (*στεφανοῦσι*) W ‖ 6 *νενικότας* AC¹ *νενικηκότας* C² reliqui sed obliteravit articulum erasit ς B² ‖ 9 *αὐτὸς* ED ‖ 10 *νενίκηκεν* BEDCP ‖ 11. 12 *δουλεύουσιν* EWP ‖ 12 *ἐκεῖνος* P ‖ 13 *ποῖα ταῦτα λέγεις θηρία* AM *ποῖα λέγεις ταῦτα τὰ θηρία* reliqui ‖ 13. 14 *ἐπιθυμῶ* BK ‖ 16 *ταῦτα θηρία* A *θηρία ταῦτα εἶναι* reliqui ‖ 18 post *ὀδυρμὸν* add *καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν* M ‖ 20 *πρότερον* ABM *τὸ πρότερον* reliqui ‖ 21 *καλίστης* B *καλῆς τῆς* M *καλλίστης* reliqui *καλλίστης τῆς* corr C²

"So it seems."

"It is she, indeed, who is Happiness," he said.

XXII. "When someone arrives here what does she do?"

"Happiness crowns him with her power,"[73] he said, "as do all the other Virtues, in the same way that one crowns those who have been victorious in the mightiest contests."[74]

"Well, what kinds of contests has he won?" I said.

2 "The mightiest," he answered, "overcoming even the mightiest beasts, which previously used to devour, abuse, and enslave him. All these he has overcome and cast from himself; he has mastered himself so that these beasts are his slaves just as he was once theirs."

XXIII. "What kinds of beasts do you mean? For I really want to know."

"In the first place," he said, "Ignorance and Deceit,[75] or don't you think that they are beasts?"

"Yes, and base ones at that," I said.

2 "Next come Grief, Lamentation, Avarice, Incontinence, and every other Vice. All these he masters and is not mastered as before."

3 "What noble feats," I said, "and what a glorious victory!

ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἔτι μοι εἰπέ· τίς ἡ δύναμις τοῦ στεφάνου, ᾧ ἔφης ... στεφανοῦν αὐτόν;

4 Εὐδαιμονική, ὦ νεανίσκε. ὁ γὰρ στεφανωθεὶς ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει εὐδαίμων γίνεται καὶ μακάριος καὶ οὐκ ἔχει 5 ἐν ἑτέροις τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ.

XXIV. Ὡς καλὸν τὸ νίκημα λέγεις. ὅταν δὲ στεφανωθῇ, τί ποιεῖ ἢ ποῖ βαδίζει;

2 Ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπολαβοῦσαι αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πρὸς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, ὅθεν ἦλθε πρῶτον, καὶ δεικνύουσιν 10 αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντας ὡς κακῶς διατρίβουσι καὶ ἀθλίως ζῶσι καὶ ὡς ναυαγοῦσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ πλανῶνται καὶ ἄγονται κατακεκρατημένοι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ Ἀκρασίας, οἱ δὲ ὑπ᾽ Ἀλαζονείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλαργυρίας, ἕτεροι δὲ ὑπὸ Κενοδοξίας, οἱ 15 3 δὲ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων Κακῶν. ἐξ ὧν οὐ δύνανται ἐκλῦσαι ἑαυτοὺς τῶν δεινῶν, οἷς δέδενται, ὥστε σωθῆναι καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ταράττονται διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου. τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἐνθάδε ὁδὸν εὑρεῖν· ἐπελάθοντο γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου 20 πρόσταγμα.

XXV. Ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἀπορῶ, διὰ τί δεικνύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον αἱ Ἀρεταί, ὅθεν ἥκει τὸ πρότερον.

1 ἔτι om M | post μοι add ἔφην M ‖ 2 ᾧ] ὃν M | στεφανοῦν libri στεφανοῦσθαι vulg., sed excidit, nisi fallor, τὴν Εὐδαιμονίαν vel τὰς Ἀρετάς | ἑαυτὸν M ‖ 4 ἔχει οὐκ M ‖ 5 αὐτῷ WM ‖ 6 ὡς] πῶς M | νίκημα] κίνημα K ‖ 7 ἢ ποῖ om P ‖ 8 ἄγουσαι B ‖ 9 ἦλθεν WP | πρῶτον] πρότερον K ‖ 10 ἐκεῖ VK κακῶς reliqui | κακῶς] ἐικῇ M | διατρίβουσι om K ‖ 11 ἐν om K ‖ 13 ὑπ᾽ ante Ἀκρασίας B ὑπὸ reliqui ‖ 13. 14 οἱ δὲ — κενοδοξίας om W¹ add W² mg ‖ 13 ὑπὸ ἀλαζ. M ‖ 14 οἱ (alt.)] ἕτεροι K ‖ 16 αὐτοὺς M ‖ 17 τοῦ βίου om P ‖ 18 ἐνθάδε] ἐνταῦθα M ‖ 21 δοκεῖ C¹P δοκεῖς corr C² δοκεῖ C³ mg | καὶ om M

*

But tell me still this: What is the power of the crown with which you said...[76] crowns him?"

4 "It is the power that makes happiness possible, young man.[77] For the person who has been crowned with this power becomes happy and blessed, and he places his hopes for happiness not in others but in himself."

XXIV. "How noble is the victory you recount! But when he is crowned, what does he do or where does he go?"

2 "The Virtues take him in hand and lead him to that place from which he first came. They show him how those who spend their time there spend time wickedly and live wretchedly; how they are shipwrecked in life, wander aimlessly, and are led about in submission as if by enemies, some by Incontinence, others by Pretentiousness, Avarice, Vanity, and the other

3 Vices. From these terrors, to which they are bound, they cannot free themselves and so be saved and arrive here. Rather, they are troubled throughout their lives. They suffer this lot because they are unable to find the path here. For they have forgotten the command of the Daimon."[78]

XXV. "You seem correct in what you say. But I am still puzzled regarding this point: Why do the Virtues show him that place from which he had come previously?"

Οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἤδει οὐδὲ ἠπίστατο, ἔφη, οὐδὲν τῶν 2
ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν πλά-
νον, ὃν δὴ ἐπεπώκει, τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἀγαθὰ ἐνόμιζεν
ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα κακὰ κακά. διὸ καὶ ἔζη 3
κακῶς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες. νῦν δὲ 5
ἀπειληφὼς τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν συμφερόντων αὐτός τε
καλῶς ζῇ καὶ τούτους θεωρεῖ ὡς κακῶς πράσσουσιν.

XXVI. *Ἐπειδὰν οὖν θεωρήσῃ πάντα, τί ποιεῖ ἢ*
ποῦ ἔτι βαδίζει;

Ὅπου ἂν βούληται, ἔφη. πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτῷ 10
ἀσφάλεια ὥσπερ τῷ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἔχοντι, καὶ
πανταχοῦ, οὗ ἂν ἀφίκηται, πάντα καλῶς βιώσεται
μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας. ὑποδέξονται γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀσμένως
πάντες καθάπερ τὸν ἰατρὸν οἱ πάσχοντες.

Πότερον οὖν κἀκείνας τὰς γυναῖκας, ἃς ἔφης θηρία 15 2
εἶναι, οὐκέτι φοβεῖται, μή τι πάθῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

Οὐ μὴ διοχληθήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε ὑπὸ Ὀδύνης
οὔτε ὑπὸ Λύπης οὔτε ὑπ' Ἀκρασίας οὔτε ὑπὸ Φιλαρ-
γυρίας οὔτε ὑπὸ Πενίας οὔτε ὑπὸ ἄλλου Κακοῦ οὐδενός. 3
ἁπάντων γὰρ κυριεύει καὶ ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν 20

1 *οὐκ*] *οὐδὲν* M | *ἔφη* om EDWM ‖ 4 *εἶναι ἀγαθὰ* F | alterum *κακά* om C¹ add C² ‖ 5 *οἱ* post *ἄλλοι* om V¹B corr V² ‖ 6 *ἀνειληφὼς* M ‖ 7 *πράσσοντας* P *πράττουσιν* D sed sscr *σσ* prima ut vid. manu, *πράσσουσιν* reliqui ‖ 9 *ποῦ* M *ποῖ* reliqui, sed statim optimi codd. *ὅπου* v. 10 et *οὗ* v. 12 | *ἔτι* om CKP ‖ 10 *ὅποι* WKM | *βούλονται* P ‖ 11 *τῷ* om BK *τὸ* om FEDW *CP | *κηρύκιον* V *κωρύκειον* BEDWR¹CP *κωρύκιον* R²FK *κύριον* M. Herodoti locum VIII 36 attulit Sauppeus p. 770 ‖ 12 *οὗ* VBRFCKP *ὅπου* ED *ὅποι* W | *πάντως* BRFEDW ‖ 13 *μετὰ*] *κατὰ* W | *αὐτὸν* om M ‖ 14 *τῶν ἰατρῶν* M | *πάσχοντες*] *κάμνοντες* M ‖ 16 *πάθῃ* sscr *οι* E¹ *πάθοι* DW ‖ 17 *οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ διοχληθήσεται* libri, ante *οὐδὲν* add *διὸ* M unde *νὴ Δία* coni Schweighaeuserus ‖ 18 *ὑπ' Ἀκρασίας*] *ὑπὸ ἀκρ.* K *ὑπὸ κακοῦ* M ‖ 19 *ὑπ' ἄλλου* B | *οὐδενός* VBRDECKPM ‖ 20 *γὰρ* om M

"He did not have precise knowledge of it," he said, "nor did he understand any of the things there. Rather, he was confused, and, owing to his ignorance and error, which, of course, he had already imbibed, he considered things that are not good to be good and things that are not evil to be evil. Therefore, he also lived wickedly, just like the others who spend their time there. But now that he has received the knowledge of what is advantageous, he lives nobly and perceives how poorly they are doing."

XXVI. "After he has perceived all these things, then what does he do or where does he go next?"

"Wherever he wishes," he said. "For every place is as secure for him as the Corycian cavern[79] is for the one taking refuge there. No matter where he arrives, in every place and in every way he will live nobly with all security. For all will welcome him gladly just as the sick welcome the doctor."[80]

"Does he no longer fear that he will suffer anything at the hands of these women whom you called beasts?"

"He will not be troubled in the least either by Pain or by Grief, Incontinence, Avarice, Poverty,[81] or by any other Vice. For he is master of all things and is superior to everything

πρότερον αὐτὸν λυπούντων καθάπερ οἱ ἐχιοδεῖκται. τὰ γὰρ θηρία δήπου τὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους κακοποιοῦντα μέχρι θανάτου ἐκείνους οὐ λυπεῖ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀντιφάρμακον αὐτούς. οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον οὐκέτι οὐδὲν λυπεῖ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀντιφάρμακον.

XXVII. Καλῶς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς λέγειν. ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦτό μοι εἰπέ. τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι οἱ δοκοῦντες ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ παραγίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστεφανωμένοι ἔμφασιν ποιοῦσιν εὐφροσύνης τινός, οἱ δὲ ἀστεφάνωτοι λύπης καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τὰς κνήμας καὶ 2 τὰς κεφαλὰς δοκοῦσι τετρῖφθαι, κατέχονται δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τινων.

Οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανωμένοι οἱ σεσωσμένοι εἰσὶ πρὸς 3 τὴν Παιδείαν καὶ εὐφραίνονται τετυχηκότες αὐτῆς. οἱ δὲ ἀστεφάνωτοι οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνωσμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς Παιδείας ἀνακάμπτουσι κακῶς καὶ ἀθλίως διακείμενοι· οἱ δὲ ἀποδεδειλιακότες καὶ οὐκ ἀναβεβηκότες πρὸς τὴν Καρτερίαν πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσι καὶ πλανῶνται ἀνοδίᾳ.

* 1 ἐχιόδηκτοι libri *viperarii (prehendunt manibus suis serpentes)* A; de virorum doctorum coniecturis refert Drosihnus praef. p. XII; ἐχιοδεῖκται Is. Casaubonus approbante Sauppeo, qui praeterea proponit ἐχιοδαῖται (p. 776). An fuit apud veteres opinio eos qui serpentis morsui supervixissent, ab eius bestiae impetu immunes esse? Quod si testimoniis confirmetur, ut ἐχιόδηκτοι sic statim (v. 4) τοῦτο (ex ἐχιόδηκτοι intell. τὸ δεδῆχθαι) servari possit ‖ 2 δήπου om F | τὰ (alterum) M om reliqui ‖ 4 αὐτοὺς ἀντιφάρμακον F ‖ 4. 5 αὐτούς — ἀντιφάρμακον om W¹ add W² mg ‖ 4 οὕτω] coni Schweighaeuserus τούτους* W² supra versum, τοῦτο reliqui | οὐκέτι om CKP ‖ 5 οὐθὲν libri omnes | ante ἀντιφάρμακον add τὸ M ‖ 6 καλῶς ἐμοὶ] οὕμοι M ‖ 8 αὐτῶν om B αὐτὸν P ‖ 10 λύπης καὶ ταραχῆς VM ἀπεγνωσμένοι τε BRFEDW οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνωσμένοι CKP ‖ 11 δὲ καὶ BRFEDW ‖ 13—15 εἰσὶ — ἀπεγνωσμένοι om P ‖ 16 ἀνακάμπτουσιν P ‖ 17 δὲ] γὰρ W | οὐκ] μὴ W om reliqui *neque ascenderunt* A οὐκ inseruit Sauppeus p. 775 ‖ 18 ἀνακάμπτουσιν P ἀνακάπτουσιν B

that formerly caused him distress, just like those who have survived snakebite.[82] For indeed, those snakes[83] which cause fatal injury to everyone else, do not harm these people at all, since they have an antidote. In the same way, no longer does anything cause distress to this man because he has an antidote."

XXVII. "I think you are correct in what you say, but answer this further question for me: Who are these people who appear to be arriving from the hill over there? Some of them are wearing crowns and present an appearance of exultation, while others are without crowns and give the appearance of grief and confusion. They appear to have been battered in head and limb,
2 and are being restrained by some women."

"These wearing crowns are people who have arrived safely[84] at Education, and they are rejoicing
3 at having found her. Of those without crowns, some, having been rejected by Education, are turning back in a sad and wretched state. Others of them, cowering and failing to ascend to Perseverance, are also turning back and wandering in a trackless waste."[85]

Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθοῦσαι τίνες 4
εἰσὶν αὗται;

Λῦπαι, ἔφη, καὶ Ὀδύναι καὶ Ἀθυμίαι καὶ Ἀδοξίαι καὶ Ἄγνοιαι.

XXVIII. *Πάντα κακὰ λέγεις αὐτοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν.* 5

Νὴ Δία πάντα, ἔφη, ἐπακολουθοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ οὗτοι παραγένωνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον περίβολον πρὸς τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀκρασίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς 2
αἰτιῶνται, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Παιδείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε βαδίζοντας, ὡς ταλαίπωροι καὶ ἄθλιοί 10
εἰσι καὶ κακοδαίμονες, οἳ τὸν βίον τὸν παρ' αὐταῖς ἀπολιπόντες κακῶς ζῶσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρ' αὐταῖς ἀγαθῶν.

Ποῖα δὲ λέγουσιν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι; 3

Τὴν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν, ὡς εἴποι ἄν τις 15
ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου. τὸ γὰρ εὐωχεῖσθαι βοσκημάτων τρόπον ἀπόλαυσιν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι.

XXIX. *Αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι γυναῖκες αἱ ἐκεῖθεν παραγινόμεναι ἱλαραί τε καὶ γελῶσαι τίνες καλοῦνται;*

Δόξαι, ἔφη, καὶ ἀγαγοῦσαι πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν τοὺς 20 2
εἰσελθόντας πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετὰς ἀνακάμπτουσιν, ὅπως

1 μετ'] κατ' W ‖ 5 πάντα τὰ BRFEDW | καλὰ ED καλὰ sscr κ FW ‖ 6 καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦσιν M ‖ 6. 7 οὗτοι δὲ ὅταν M ‖ 7 παραγίνωνται FM, in D utrum ε scriptum fuerit an ι cognosci nequit ‖ 8 τὴν ante Ἀκρασίαν om M | οὐχὶ αὑτοὺς C οὐχὶ αὐτοὺς VKP ‖ 11 εἰσι om M | αὐτοῖς K et (ex αῖς corr) RC² αὐτοῖς repetit C mg rec ‖ 12 καταλιπόντες M ‖ 13 αὐταῖς F αὐτοῖς reliqui *recedere ab huiusmodi vita deliciarum plena in qua nos sumus* A ‖ 14 δὲ] γὰρ M ‖ 15 εἴπη V | τις ἂν B ‖ 16 τρόπον] sscr υ supra ν W² τρόπῳ M ‖ 17 ἀπόλαυσιν . . ἀγαθῶν] καὶ ἀπολαύειν μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ M idem sed om καὶ F ‖ 18. 19 παραγιγνόμεναι K παραγενόμεναι BM | αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν παραγενόμεναι ἕτεραι γυναῖκες M | post τίνες add αὗται B ‖ 20 ἀγοῦσαι C sed mg rec man ἀγαγοῦσαι ‖ 21 ἀνακύπτουσιν M

4 "But the women following them, who are they?"

"Griefs," he said, "Pains, Despondencies, Dishonors, and Ignorances."

XXVIII. "You are saying that all evils[86] follow them!"

"Yes, by Zeus," he said; "they all follow. And when these people arrive at the first enclosure
2 to Luxury and Incontinence, instead of blaming themselves,[87] they all at once slander both Education and the ones approaching her. The latter, they say, are miserable, wretched, and unhappy. Since these have abandoned the life with them[88] they live wickedly, they say, and do not enjoy the good things with them."

3 "And what kinds of things do they call good?"

"Profligacy and incontinence, as one might say by way of summary. For they suppose that feasting in the manner of cattle[89] is the enjoyment of the greatest goods."

XXIX. "Now those other women coming from over there, cheerful and laughing, what are they called?"

2 "Opinions," he said. "Once they have led to Education those who then proceed to the Virtues, they come back here

ἑτέρους ἀγάγωσι, καὶ ἀναγγέλλουσιν, ὅτι εὐδαίμονες ἤδη γεγόνασιν οὓς τότε ἀπήγαγον.

3 Πότερον οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, αὗται εἴσω πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετὰς ⟨οὐκ⟩ εἰσπορεύονται;

5 [Ἔφη οὔ.] Οὐ γὰρ θέμις Δόξαν εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῇ Παιδείᾳ παραδιδόασιν

4 αὐτούς. εἶτα ὅταν ἡ Παιδεία παραλάβῃ, ἀνακάμπτουσιν αὖται πάλιν ἄλλους ἄξουσαι, ὥσπερ αἱ νῆες τὰ φορτία ἐξελόμεναι πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσι καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν γε-

10 μίζονται.

XXX. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφην, ἐξηγεῖσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο οὐδέπω ἡμῖν δεδήλωκας, τί προστάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸν Βίον ποιεῖν.

15
2 Θαρρεῖν, ἔφη. διὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς θαρρεῖτε· πάντα γὰρ ἐξηγήσομαι καὶ οὐδὲν παραλείψω.

Καλῶς λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ.

3 Ἐκτείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν, Ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην, ἣ δοκεῖ τυφλή τις εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ λίθου

20 στρογγύλου ἑστάναι, ἣν καὶ ἄρτι ὑμῖν εἶπον ὅτι Τύχη καλεῖται;

Ὁρῶμεν.

XXXI. Ταύτῃ κελεύει, ἔφη, μὴ πιστεύειν καὶ βέβαιον μηδὲν νομίζειν μηδὲ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν

1 *ἀγάγωσιν* EDW | *ἀναγγέλουσιν* V¹W *ἀναγγέλλουσιν* V²B RFEDM *ἀναγγέλωσιν* CP *ἀναγγείλωσιν* K ‖ 4 *οὐκ* inserui | * *ἐκπορεύονται* M ‖ 5 *ἔφη οὔ* libri, delevit Drosihnus, *veniam roga dominum tuum* Ä ‖ 6 *παραδίδωσιν* F ‖ 7 *αὐτοὺς* M ‖ 8 *αὐταὶ* F ‖ 9 *ἐξελούμεναι* M | *ἀνακάμπτουσιν* CP *ἀνακάπτουσιν* B ‖ 11 *ἔφην* om M ‖ 11.12 *ἐξηγῆσθαι* P ‖ 15 *ἔφην* P | *ἡμεῖς* CK idem sed sscr *υ* B *ὑμεῖς* sed *υ* in ras P ‖ 16 ante *ἐξηγήσομαι* add *ὑμῖν* M | *παραλείψω*] *ἀποκρύψω* M ‖ 20 *ἐφεστάναι* P | *εἶπον ὑμῖν* B ‖ 23 *αὕτη* M ‖ 24 *νομίζειν*] *πιστεύειν* CK del. Sauppeus p. 776 | * *εἶναι*] *ἔχειν* CK

to lead others. Moreover, they announce that those whom they led away before have already become happy."

3 "Do they, then, <not> go in to the Virtues?" I said.

["No," he said.] "For it is not right for Opinion to enter to Knowledge,[90] but they deliver

4 their charges to Education. Then, when Education has received them, the Opinions go back again to lead others, just as cargo ships after unloading return again to take on other cargo."

XXX. "I think you have explained these matters very thoroughly," I said, "but you have not yet made clear to us this point, namely what the Daimon commands those entering Life to do."

2 "To be confident," he said. "Therefore, you also be confident,[91] for I will explain everything and omit nothing."

"Very well," I said.

3 So he stretched forth his hand once again and said, "Do you see that woman there who seems to be blind and is standing on a round rock, who is called Fortune, as I told you just a moment ago?"

"Yes, we see her."

XXXI. "He gives them the following injunctions," he said: "not to place any trust in this woman, neither to regard whatsoever one might receive from her as safe or secure,

παρ αὐτῆς τις λάβῃ μηδὲ ὡς ἴδια ἡγεῖσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ 2
κωλύει πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι.
πολλάκις γὰρ εἴωθε τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ ταύτην οὖν
τὴν αἰτίαν κελεύει πρὸς τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς δόσεις ἴσους
γίνεσθαι καὶ μήτε χαίρειν ὅταν διδῷ μήτε ἀθυμεῖν 5
ὅταν ἀφέληται καὶ μήτε ψέγειν αὐτὴν μήτε ἐπαινεῖν.
οὐδὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ μετὰ λογισμοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς 3
ἔτυχε πάντα, ὥσπερ πρότερον ὑμῖν ἔλεξα. διὰ τοῦτο
οὖν τὸ Δαιμόνιον κελεύει μὴ θαυμάξειν, ὅ τι ἂν πράττῃ
αὕτη, μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ὁμοίους τοῖς κακοῖς τραπεζίταις. 10
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὅταν μὲν λάβωσι τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ 4
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, χαίρουσι καὶ ἴδιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι,
ὅταν δὲ ἀπαιτῶνται, ἀγανακτοῦσι καὶ δεινὰ οἴονται
πεπονθέναι, οὐ μνημονεύοντες, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλαβον
τὰ θέματα, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐδὲν κωλύει τὸν θέμενον πάλιν 15
κομίσασθαι. ὡσαύτως τοίνυν κελεύει ἔχειν τὸ Δαι- 5
μόνιον καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς δόσιν καὶ μνημονεύειν,
ὅτι τοιαύτην φύσιν ἔχει ἡ Τύχη, ὥστε ἃ δέδωκεν ἀφε-
λέσθαι καὶ ταχέως πάλιν δοῦναι πολλαπλάσια, αὖθις
δὲ ἀφελέσθαι ἃ δέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ 20

* 1 τις ignorant libri omnes, editores vulgo inserunt post λάβῃ | λάβοι FEDW ‖ 2 πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφελέσθαι VP π. ἀφ. * ταῦτα BREDW π. ἀφ. αὐτὰ F ταῦτα π. ἀφ. CK | διδόναι CK ‖ 3 γὰρ om K | τοῦτο εἴωθε CK | οὖν CK om reliqui ‖ 4 παρ' om CK | ἑαυτῆς CK | ἴσους VBRFEDP ὕσουν W ἥττους CK * ἥττω M cf. quae attuli in dissertatione 'Cebetis Tab. quanam aetate conscr. esse vid.' Marb. 1885 p. 49 ‖ 5 post γίνεσθαι add οἷον πῶς ἴσους γίνεσθαι VBR | καὶ CK om reliqui ‖ 7 ἀλλὰ RF * EDWPM ‖ 9 πράττοι EDWCM πρα sscr ττ' F ‖ 12 χαίρουσιν B ‖ 13 δεινὰ οἴονται] δεινὸν βίον τε P ‖ 14 τοῦτο M | ἐλάμβανον M sed ἔλαβον mg ‖ 15 κωλύει VBRFEDWCM κωλύειν KP. Estne scribendum κωλύσει? ‖ 16 ἔχειν] ἔφη BRFEDW ‖ 17 καὶ (alterum) om VBRFEDWP ‖ 18 ἔχει φύσιν CK ‖ 20 ante ἀφελέσθαι add μόνον CKM, οὐ μόνον deleto δὲ ante ἃ δέδωκεν transponit Anonym. Litter. Centralbl. 1871 p. 1111

nor to consider it private property. For there is nothing to prevent her from taking her gifts back again and giving them to another; she is in the habit of doing this often. Consequently, he urges them to become indifferent toward her gifts, neither rejoicing when she gives nor being despondent when she takes, neither blaming nor praising her. For she does nothing rationally, but everything randomly and in haphazard fashion, as I told you before. As a result, therefore, the Daimon urges them not to be surprised at whatever she does, and not to be like the evil bankers.[92] For the latter, when they receive money from people, rejoice and consider it their own. But when they are called upon to give it back, they are annoyed and think they have suffered a terrible loss, not recalling that they had received the deposit on the condition that nothing prevents the depositor from recovering it again. So then, the Daimon is urging them to respond in like manner also to the gift of Fortune and to remember that she has such a nature that she takes back what she has given, only to give it again quickly many times over. Moreover, she takes away not only what she has given but even

προϋπάρχοντα. ἃ γοῦν δίδωσι, λαβεῖν κελεύει παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ συντόμως ἀπελθεῖν βλέποντας πρὸς τὴν βεβαίαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ δόσιν.

XXXII. Ποίαν ταύτην; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Ἣν λήψονται παρὰ τῆς Παιδείας, ἣν διασωθῶσιν ἐκεῖ.

Αὕτη οὖν τίς ἐστιν;

Ἡ ἀληθὴς ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων, ἔφη, καὶ ἀσφαλὴς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμεταμέλητος. φεύγειν οὖν κελεύει συντόμως πρὸς ταύτην, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθωσι πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκείνας, ἃς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον ὅτι Ἀκρασία καὶ Ἡδυπάθεια καλοῦνται, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κελεύει συντόμως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν μηδὲ ταύταις μηδέν, ἕως ἂν πρὸς τὴν Ψευδοπαιδείαν ἀφίκωνται. κελεύει οὖν αὐτοῦ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνδιατρῖψαι καὶ λαβεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται παρ' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ἐφόδιον, εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν συντόμως. ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ προστάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον. ὅστις τοίνυν παρ' αὐτά τι ποιεῖ ἢ παρακούει, ἀπόλλυται κακὸς κακῶς.

XXXIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μῦθος, ὦ ξένοι, ὁ ἐν τῷ πίνακι τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι προσπυθέσθαι περὶ ἑκάστου τούτων, οὐδεὶς φθόνος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν φράσω.

1 διδῶ CK | κελεύει λαμβάνειν CK κελεύειν λαμβάνει M || 2 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς M | βλέποντας] ***ποντας P ἔχοντα CK || * 5 παρὰ τῆς] παρ' αὐτῆς W | supra ἣν sscr ἐὰν W² || 7 τίς] τί F || 8 ἔφη τῶν συμφερόντων CK || 9 ἀμετάβλητος CK || 11 ἐκείνας om P || 12 εὐκρασία V || 13. 14 καὶ . . . μηδέν eiec. Dros. || 14 ταύτας FEDW¹ αι sscr W² | ἕως κτλ. *Ubi etiam perveniant . . . ., ut incumbant in eam aliquo spatio temporis* A || * 15 αὐτοῦ coni Sauppeus p. 776 αὐτῆς P αὐτοῖς reliqui || 15. 16 κελεύει—βούλωνται om M || 17 ἐπιέναι K || 18 ταῦτ' CK ταυτά P | προστάσσει C || 20 κακός om M || 22 καὶ τοιοῦτος W | ὑμῖν C εἰμῖν W | δὲ] δὴ P | τι om P

6 what they possessed before. Accordingly, he is urging them to accept what she gives and to go away at once turning toward the safe and secure gift."[93]

XXXII. "What kind of gift is that?" I asked.

"The one they will receive from Education, if they make it there safely."

"And what is it?"

2 "True knowledge of what is advantageous,"[94] he said, "is the gift that is safe and secure and

3 which will not be regretted.[95] So the Daimon urges them to flee at once to this gift. When they come to those women, who are called, as I said before, Incontinence and Luxury, he urges them to place no trust at all in them and to depart quickly from here as well, going on until they reach False

4 Education. He urges them to spend some time there with her and to take from her whatever they wish as provisions for the journey; then to leave there

5 and go quickly[96] to true Education. These are the commands that the Daimon gives. Whoever, therefore, does anything contrary to these directions or ignores them is a wretch who perishes in wretched misery."[97]

XXXIII. "There you have it, strangers. Such is the fable on our tablet. But if you need to inquire further concerning each point in detail, I have no objection. I will explain to you."

Καλῶς λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ τί κελεύει αὐτοὺς 2
τὸ Δαιμόνιον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας;

Ταῦτα ἃ δοκεῖ εὔχρηστα εἶναι.

Ταῦτ' οὖν τίνα ἐστί;

Γράμματα, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἃ καὶ 3
Πλάτων φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς νέοις, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἕτερα περισπῶνται.

Πότερον δὲ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα λαβεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις 4
ἥξειν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν; ἢ οὔ;

Ἀνάγκη μὲν οὐδεμία, ἔφη, χρήσιμα μέντοι ἐστὶ 10
πρὸς τὸ συντομωτέρως ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται ταῦτα.

Οὐδὲν ἄρα, ἔφην, λέγεις ταῦτα χρήσιμα εἶναι πρὸς 5
τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι ἄνδρας;

Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων βελτίους γενέσθαι, 15
ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἄχρηστα κἀκεῖνά ἐστιν. ὡς γὰρ δι' ἑρμη- 6
νέως συμβάλλομεν τὰ λεγόμενά ποτε, ὅμως μέντοι γε οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἦν ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν φωνὴν εἰδέναι, ἀκριβέστερον γὰρ ἄν τι συνήκαμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων οὐδὲν κωλύει ⟨βελτίους⟩ 20
γενέσθαι . . . .

2 *παρὰ τῆς*] *παρ' αὐτῆς* P ‖ 3 *ταῦθ'* CK ‖ 4 *ταῦτ'* VCK *ταῦτα* reliqui | *ἔστιν* B ‖ 6 *πλάττων* E. Laudatur Plat. leg. p. 808 de | *χαληνοῦ* FEW | *ἔχει* W ‖ 8 *δὲ* om P | *εἰ*] *ἢ* P | *μέλλοι* K ‖ 10 *μὲν οὐδεμία* om P | *χρῆμα* VRFEDW¹P *χρήματα* *B¹ *χρήσιμα* B²W²CK ‖ 11 *συντομώτερον* BRFEDW¹P | *πρὸς . . . ἐλθεῖν* om CK oblit W² | *τὸ* (alterum) om P ‖ 12 *συμβάλλει* VB REDW¹P *συμβα* sscr *λλ'* F *συμβάλλεται* CKW² ‖ 13 *οὐδὲν* KW² *οὐθὲν* W¹ reliqui | *ἄρα ἔφην* VP *εἶναι ἔφην* RFEDW *ἄνδρας ἔφην* (v. 14) B *ἔφην* om CK ‖ 18 ante *ἦν* inser. *ἂν* Sauppeus | *αὐτοὺς* CK *αὐτὴν* P *αὐτῶν* reliqui ‖ 19 *ἀκριβεστέραν ἔχειν ἄν τι συνήκαμεν* omisso *εἰδέναι* CK | *οὕτως* VCKP ‖ 20 *οὐθὲν* V BREDW | *κωλύει* BDW *κωλύσει* reliqui | *βελτίους* inserui ‖ 21 post *γενέσθαι* nonnulla exciderunt, quorum sententia haec erat: neque tamen inutilia haec sunt, cum viam ad morum

2 "Very well then," I said, "what does the Daimon urge them take from False Education?"

"Whatever seems to be useful."

"Such as?"

3 "Literature," he said, "and those of the other studies which even Plato[98] said have for youth the force of a bridle, so that they are not diverted to different pursuits."

4 "Then is it necessary, or not, to take these things if one intends to go to true Education?"

"None of these things is necessary," he said; "however, they are useful for the purpose of going more quickly. Yet they contribute nothing toward becoming better."[99]

5 "Then are you saying that these things are not useful in any way for the purpose of becoming better men?" I said.

"Well, it is possible to become better even without them; nevertheless, they are not useless.

6 For just as we sometimes surmise what is being said through an interpreter, nevertheless, it would not be useless for us to know the language ourselves, since we would then understand somewhat more accurately. In the same way then, nothing prevents one from becoming <better>[100] even without these academic disciplines...."

XXXIV. *Πότερον οὖν οὐδὲ προέχουσιν οὗτοι οἱ μαθηματικοὶ πρὸς τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων;*

2 *Πῶς ⟨γὰρ⟩ μέλλουσι προέχειν, ἐπειδὰν φαίνωνται* 5 *ἠπατημένοι περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ* 3 *ἄλλοι καὶ ἔτι κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ πάσης ἀκακίας; οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει εἰδέναι μὲν γράμματα καὶ κατέχειν τὰ μαθήματα πάντα, δμοίως δὲ μέθυσον καὶ ἀκρατῆ εἶναι καὶ φιλάργυρον καὶ ἄδικον καὶ προδότην καὶ τὸ πέρας* 10 *ἄφρονα.*

4 *Ἀμέλει πολλοὺς τοιούτους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.*

Πῶς οὖν οὗτοι προέχουσιν, ἔφη, εἰς τὸ βελτίους ἄνδρας γενέσθαι ἕνεκα τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων;

XXXV. *Οὐδαμῶς φαίνεται ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου.* 15 *ἀλλὰ τί ἐστιν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ αἴτιον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περιβόλῳ διατρίβουσιν ὥσπερ ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν;*

2 *Καὶ τί τοῦτο ὠφελεῖ αὐτούς, ἔφη, ὅτε πολλάκις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν παραγινομένους ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου* 20 *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκρασίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κακίας εἰς τὸν τρίτον περίβολον πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν τὴν ἀληθινήν, οἳ τούτους τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς παραλλάττουσιν; ὥστε πῶς ἔτι προέχουσιν ἄρα, εἰ ἀκινητότεροι ἢ δυσμαθέστεροί εἰσι;*

correctionem muniant; ultimum vocabulum litteris *σθαι* videtur terminatum fuisse; fort. *ἀφικέσθαι* cf. v. 11. Sauppeus p. 776 post *οὕτω καὶ* (v. 19) add *ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἄχρηστά ἐστι πρὸς τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ*

1 *οὖν* om CKV | *οὐδὲ* VBRFEDP *οὐδὲν* reliqui ‖ 4 *φαίνονται* M ‖ 5 *περὶ τῶν* W ‖ 12 *προσέχουσιν* M ‖ 13 *ἄνδρες* BR FEP ‖ 14 *τὰ ἐκ* P ‖ 15 *τὸν αἴτιον* P ‖ 18 *ἔφην* VBRFEDP *ἔφην οὐδὲν ἔφη* W | *ὅτε* R sed ε in rasura *ὅτι* W *ὅταν* reliqui *ὅτε* Sauppeus ex coni p. 775 ‖ 19 *παραγιγνομένους* C ‖ 23 *εἰ*] * *ἢ* CK | *εὐκινητότεροι* VBFEDW *ἀκινητώτεροι* P *ἀκινητότεροι* * reliqui | *ἀμαθέστεροι* P

XXXIV. "Do these scholars, then, have no advantage over the rest of mankind in the matter of becoming better?"[101]

2 "How could they conceivably have any advantage since it is quite evident that they, just like all the rest, are deceived about good and evil and

3 are still dominated by every vice?[102] For nothing prevents one from knowing literature and mastering all the academic disciplines and yet at the same time being drunken, incontinent, avaricious, unjust, treacherous, and, in short, foolish."

4 "Of course, one can see many such people."

"How then," he said, "in the matter of becoming better men are these people superior by virtue of these scholarly pursuits?"[103]

XXXV. "Not at all, as is apparent from this argument. But why is it, then," I said, "that these people stay here in the second enclosure as though they were drawing near true Education?"

2 "And what advantage does staying there have for them," he said, "when one can often see, coming out of the first enclosure, from Incontinence and that other Vice, and arriving in the third, at true Education, those who pass by these scholars? So then, how are they really still superior, seeing that they are more intractable than slow witted?"

Πῶς τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ. 3

Ὅτι οἱ ⟨μὲν⟩ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ . . . . . ., ⟨οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περιβόλῳ,⟩ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὃ προσποιοῦνταί γε ἐπίστασθαι οὐκ οἴδασιν. ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχωσι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν, ἀκινήτους αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ὁρμᾶν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν. εἶτα τὸ ἕτερον οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ αἱ Δόξαι ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου εἰσπορεύονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως; ὥστε οὐδὲν οὗτοι ἐκείνων βελτίους εἰσίν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τούτοις συνῇ ἡ Μεταμέλεια καὶ πεισθῶσιν, ὅτι οὐ παιδείαν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ ψευδοπαιδείαν, δι' ἣν ἀπατῶνται. οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθεῖεν. καὶ ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖτε καὶ ἐνδιατρίβετε τοῖς λεγομένοις, μέχρι ἂν ἕξιν λάβητε. ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεῖ ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ διαλείπειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάρεργα ἡγήσασθαι. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ὑμῖν ἔσται ὧν νῦν ἀκούετε. 4

XXXVI. *Ποιήσομεν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐξήγησαι, πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθά, ὅσα λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ τῆς Τύχης, οἷον τὸ ζῆν, τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, τὸ πλουτεῖν, τὸ*

1 τοῦτ' F | ἔφην τοῦτο ἐγώ CK ‖ 2 οἱ om CKM | μὲν ignorant libri | πρώτῳ] δευτέρῳ K | lacunam non indicant libri; * οὐ προσποιοῦνται ἐπίστασθαι, ἃ οὐκ οἴδασιν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περιβόλῳ suppl Drosihnus ‖ 3 εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο] μηδὲν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ W ‖ 4 γε om EDW ‖ 8 οὐθὲν libri ‖ 9 ἡ om libri ‖ 11 δι' ἧς R | δὲ om K ‖ 12. 13 ἔφη ὦ ξένοι K | οὕτω . . . ἐνδιατρίβετε * Wolfius ex coni, ἐὰν μὴ οὕτως ποιῆτε καὶ ἐνδιατρίβητε K ἐὰν μὴ οὕτω ποιῆτε καὶ μὴ ἐνδιατρίβητε W (prius μὴ supra versum 1. an 2. m.?) ἐὰν οὕτω (οὕτως VCM) ποιῆτε καὶ ἐνδιατρίβητε reliqui. *Vos igitur . . . insistite hanc viam ac vosmet ipsos . . . multopere exercitote* A *vos . . . ita facite et . . . attendite* O ‖ 14 μέχρι V^1 μέχρις V^2 reliqui | λαβεῖν libri ‖ 15 δὲ CK ‖ 16 ἡγεῖσθαι F | ὑμῖν om CK add C mg ‖ 16. 17 ἔσται ὑμῖν M ‖ 18 ποιήσωμεν VP ὅτω ποιήσομεν K

3 "How can this be?" I asked.

"Because those in the first enclosure..... <while those in the second enclosure> if for no other reason than the latter do not know what they falsely claim to understand.[104] But as long as they hold this opinion they are of necessity inert in
4 their start toward true Education. Then do you not see the other reason, namely, that the Opinions from the first enclosure are entering to them here as well? So, they are no better than those in the first enclosure, unless Repentance[105] is also with them, and they are persuaded by her that they do not have Education but False Education,[106] through
5 whom they are deceived. But since they are in such a state of mind they can never be saved. Now, you too, strangers," he said, "act like this and dwell on these words until you make them your habit.[107] And concerning these words you must attend to them often, not neglecting them, and consider all the rest as secondary. If you do not, there will be no advantage for you in what you now hear."

XXXVI. "We will do it. But explain this: How are all those things that men receive from Fortune not good[108]--things such as living, being in good health, having wealth,

εὐδοκιμεῖν, τὸ τέκνα ἔχειν, τὸ νικᾶν καὶ ὅσα τούτοις
2 παραπλήσια; ἢ πάλιν τὰ ἐναντία πῶς οὐκ ἔστι κακά; πάνυ γὰρ παράδοξον ἡμῖν καὶ ἄπιστον δοκεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον.

5 Ἄγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, πειρῶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ φαινόμενον περὶ ὧν ἄν σε ἐρωτῶ.

3 Ἀλλὰ ποιήσω τοῦτο, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Πότερον οὖν, ἐὰν κακῶς τις ζῇ, ἀγαθὸν ἐκείνῳ τὸ ζῆν;

Οὔ μοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ κακόν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

10 Πῶς οὖν ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ ζῆν, ἔφη, εἴπερ τούτῳ ἐστὶ κακόν;

4 Ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακῶς ζῶσι κακόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ καλῶς ἀγαθόν.

Καὶ κακὸν ἄρα λέγεις τὸ ζῆν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι;

15 Ἔγωγε.

XXXVII. Μὴ οὖν ἀπιθάνως λέγε. ἀδύνατον τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ βλαβερὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ αἱρετὸν καὶ φευκτὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ἀεί.

20 2 Ἀπίθανον μέν. ἀλλὰ πῶς οὐχὶ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν, ᾧ ἂν ὑπάρχῃ, κακόν τι αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει; οὐκοῦν εἰ κακόν τι ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ, κακὸν αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν ἐστιν.

1 *εὐδοκεῖν* V¹RFEP *εὐδοξεῖν* CK *εὐδοκιμεῖν* V² reliqui | * *τὸ* ante *τέκνα* in ras V² *δὲ* add P | ante *ὅσα* add *τὰ λοιπὰ* CK || 2 *ἔστιν* P || 3 *ἡμῖν παράδοξον* CK | *τὸ* om K || 5 *πειρῶ ἔφη* CK *ἔφη* om W || 6 *σε* om B || 8. 9 *πότερον . . . ἐγώ* om B || 8 *ἐὰν*] *κἂν* CK | *τις* om K || 10 *τοῦτο* VR¹C *γ' ρ τούτω* R² mg || 12 *ζῶσιν* B || 16 *οὖν* om P | post *ἀδύνατον* add *γὰρ* CK || 17 ante *κακὸν* add *καὶ* CK | *τοῦτο*] *οὕτω* CK || 19 *τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα*] *ἅμα* CK || 20 *οὐχὶ*] *οὐκ εἰ* CKM sed in C *κ* rec man et *εἰ* in rasura | *κακῶς*] *κακὸν* P || 21 *ὑπάρχῃ*] *ὑπάρχοι* (*οι* in rasura) K *ὑπάρχει* P | *αὐτοῦ* P | *ὑπάρχει*] *ὑπάρχῃ* P || 21. 22 *αὐτῷ . . . τι* om CK || 22 *αὐτὸ* ante *τὸ ζῆν* VBRCP *αὐτὸ* sscr *ῶ* K¹ *αὐτῷ* sscr *ὸ* F

having good reputation, having children, winning
2 victories, and all things like these? Or again, in what way are the opposite things not evil? For what you are saying strikes us as being quite contradictory and incredible."

"Come, then," he said, "try to express your opinion about whatever questions I put to you."[109]

3 "I shall indeed do so," I said.

"Now, if someone lives wickedly, is living a good thing for that person?"

"I wouldn't think so; rather it seems bad," I said.

"Then, how is living a good thing at all," he asked, "if indeed it is bad for this person?"

4 "I suppose that for those living wickedly it is a bad thing, while for those living nobly it is good."

"Then do you mean to suggest that living is both bad and good?"[110]

"I certainly do."

XXXVII. "Don't speak implausibly, now. It is impossible for one and the same thing to be both bad and good. For otherwise the same thing might be simultaneously useful and harmful, to be desired and to be avoided."

2 "Indeed, that is implausible. But surely living wickedly constitutes something bad in the person in whom it exists, doesn't it? So if it constitutes something bad in him, then living in and of itself is a bad thing."

Ἀλλ' οὐ ταὐτό, ἔφη, ὑπάρχει τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν. ἢ οὔ σοι φαίνεται;

Ἀμέλει οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ταὐτὸ εἶναι.

Τὸ κακῶς τοίνυν ζῆν κακόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ζῆν οὐ 3 *κακόν. ἐπεὶ εἰ ἦν κακόν, τοῖς ζῶσι καλῶς κακὸν ἂν* 5 *ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κακόν.*

Ἀληθῆ μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν.

XXXVIII. *Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τὸ ζῆν, καὶ τοῖς καλῶς ζῶσι καὶ τοῖς κακῶς, οὐκ ἂν εἴη οὔτε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν οὔτε κακόν· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ* 10 *τέμνειν καὶ καίειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρρωστοῦσίν ἐστι νοσερὸν καὶ ὑγιεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς τέμνειν, οὐκοῦν οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστι κακὸν αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν.*

Ἔστι ταῦτα. 15 2

Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ⟨ἔχει⟩, θεώρησον, πότερον ἂν βούλοιο ζῆν κακῶς ἢ ἀποθανεῖν καλῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως.

Ἀποθανεῖν ἔγωγε καλῶς.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κακόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ 3 *αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι πολλάκις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν.* 20

Ἔστι ταῦτα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ 4

1 *ταυτὸν* F *τὸ αὐτὸ* CK | ante *ὑπάρχει* add *κακὸν* CKM | *καὶ τὸ*] *τῷ* CK *καὶ* om M ‖ 2 *ὑπάρχει* post *ζῆν* transp EDW ‖ 3 *οὐδὲ* K | *τὸ αὐτὸ* CK ‖ 4 *κακῶς* om K | *κακὸν* om F | *κακὸν . . . ζῆν* om CK ‖ 5 post *κακόν* add *ἐστιν* CK | *εἰ* om C | ante **τοῖς* inser *καὶ* Sauppeus p. 776 | *τοῖς . . . κακὸν* om M | *καλῶς* * solus K om reliqui | *ἂν*] *δεῖ* M *δὴ* reliqui libri, corr Sauppeus * *p. 776 ‖ 7 *μοι δοκεῖς* VCK *δοκεῖς μοι* reliqui ‖ 9 *κακῶς ζῶσι καὶ τοῖς καλῶς* CK ‖ 12 *ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς τέμνειν* om CK ‖ 13. 14 * *οὐκ . . . κακῶς ζῆν* om CK ‖ 16 *εἰ*] *σὺ* CK *considera nunc* A | *οὕτω* RP | *ἔχει* inserui ‖ 17 *βούλῃ* P ‖ 20 *πολλάκις* om B

"But living and living wickedly are not the same thing," he said. "Or is that not apparent to you?"[111]

"Of course I don't think they are the same."

3 "So, living wickedly is a bad thing, while living is not. For if it were bad, it would be a bad thing <even>[112] for those who live nobly, for living, which then would be a bad thing, exists for them as well."

"I think what you say is true."

XXVIII. "Thus, since living applies in both cases--both for those who live nobly and those who live wickedly--surely it follows then that living would be neither good nor bad.[113] Just as for those who are sick, surgery and cautery[114] neither impair nor impart health, but how the surgery is performed; so also then in the matter of living, it is not living itself that is wicked, but a wicked manner of living."

2 "That is so."

"If then <this is> so, consider whether you would rather live wickedly or die nobly and courageously."

"For my part, I would rather die nobly."

3 "Then not even dying is a bad thing, if indeed dying is often preferable to living."

"That is so."

4 "Then the same argument also holds true concerning being healthy and

νοσεῖν. πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ συμφέρει ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, ὅταν ᾖ περίστασις τοιαύτη.

Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

XXXIX. *Ἄγε δὴ σκεψώμεθα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πλουτεῖν οὕτως, εἴγε θεωρεῖν ἔστιν — ὡς πολλάκις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν — ὑπάρχοντά τινι πλοῦτον, κακῶς δὲ ξῶντα τοῦτον καὶ ἀθλίως.*

Νὴ Δία, πολλούς γε.

2 *Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν τούτοις ὁ πλοῦτος βοηθεῖ εἰς τὸ ξῆν καλῶς;*

Οὐ φαίνεται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ φαῦλοί εἰσιν.

3 *Οὐκοῦν τὸ σπουδαίους εἶναι οὐχ ὁ πλοῦτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἡ Παιδεία.*

Εἰκός γε.

Ἐκ τούτου ἄρα τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ οὐ βοηθεῖ τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βελτίους εἶναι.

Φαίνεται οὕτως.

4 *Οὐδὲ συμφέρει ἄρα ἐνίοις πλουτεῖν, ὅταν μὴ ἐπίστωνται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι.*

Δοκεῖ μοι.

Πῶς οὖν τοῦτο ἄν τις κρίνοι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὃ πολλάκις οὐ συμφέρει ὑπάρχειν;

5 *Οὐδαμῶς.*

2 *τὸ ἐναντίον* B | *ᾗ*] *ἡ* CM ‖ 5 post *ὡς* add *οὐ* praeter BK omnes, *ὡς . . . ἰδεῖν* eicit Anonym. Litter. Centralbl. 1871 p. 1111, nescio an recte ‖ 6 *ὑπάρχοντι* M | *τοῦτον* om EDW ‖ 9 *οὐδὲν*] * *οὐδὲ* C mg rec ‖ 11 *οὐ* om M | *αὐτοὶ*] *οὗτοι* K ‖ 13 *ἀλλὰ* VRKP *ἀλλ'* reliqui ‖ 15 *ἐκ . . . λόγου* cum Sauppeo (p. 776) seni tribui | * *οὐδὲ*] *ποῦ δὲ* CM *ποῦ* K ‖ 19 *ἄρα* om W ‖ 19. 20 *ἐπίστωνται* V^2 * *ἐπίστανται* V^1 reliqui ‖ 22 *κρίνοι* V^2BRFEDW (D *οι* in rasura) *κρινεῖ* C *κρι* sscr *ν'* V^1 *κρίνει* P *κρίνει* sscr *οι* K^1 *κρίνειε* coni Sauppeus p. 775

sick. For often it is not advantageous to be healthy, but the opposite, depending on the situation."[115]

"What you say is true."

XXXIX. "Come now and let us inquire also into the matter of being wealthy, in this manner: whether it is possible to see--as often is the case--if a man is wealthy and yet lives wickedly and wretchedly."[116]

"By Zeus, one can see many many such cases."

2 "Then wealth is of no help to them for living nobly, is it?"

"Apparently not, since they themselves are base."

3 "Then it is not wealth but Education that makes them good."

"In all probability."

"On the basis of this argument, then, wealth is not a good thing, since it does not help those who possess it to become better."[117]

"Apparently so."

4 "Then, it is not even advantageous for some people to be wealthy when they do not understand how to use their wealth."

"So it seems."

"Then how could anyone judge that to be good which is often of no advantage to possess?"

5 "Impossible!"

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μέν τις ἐπίσταται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως, εὖ βιώσεται, εἰ δὲ μή, κακῶς.

Ἀληθέστατά μοι δοκεῖς τοῦτο λέγειν.

XL. *Καὶ τὸ σύνολον δέ, ἔστι τὸ τιμᾶν ταῦτα ὡς ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἢ ἀτιμάζειν ὡς κακά, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ταράττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ βλάπτον, ὅτι ἐὰν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰ καὶ οἴωνται διὰ τούτων μόνων εἶναι τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, [καὶ] πάνθ' ὑπομένουσι πράττειν ἕνεκα τούτων καὶ τὰ ἀσεβέστατα καὶ τὰ αἰσχρότατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι οὐ παραιτοῦνται. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἄγνοιαν. ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ ὅτι οὐ γίνεται ἐκ κακῶν ἀγαθόν. πλοῦτον δὲ ἔστι πολλοὺς κτησαμένους ἰδεῖν ἐκ κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἔργων, οἷον λέγω ἐκ τοῦ προδιδόναι καὶ ληΐζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδροφονεῖν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἀποστερεῖν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ μοχθηρῶν.*

Ἔστι ταῦτα.

XLI. *Εἰ τοίνυν γίνεται ἐκ κακοῦ ἀγαθὸν μηδέν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, πλοῦτος δὲ γίνεται ἐκ κακῶν ἔργων, ἀνάγκη μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν τὸν πλοῦτον.*

1 *εἰ* om P | articulum ante *πλούτῳ* om CK ‖ 2 *ἐμπείρως*] *εὐπόρως* M ‖ 3 *λέγειν τοῦτο* sed transp. litteris *β—α* superscr. F^1 ‖ 4 virgulam post *δὲ* ponunt Saupp. Muell. Jerram. | *ἔστι* om K ‖ 5 *ἀγαθὰ — ὡς* om C add mg rec man | *δὲ* om K *δ'* M ‖ 6 *ταράττον*] *παρατάττων* M | *ὅταν* libri *ὅτι ἐὰν* Muell. Jerram.; *et istud quia, ubi* A | *τιμῶσιν αὐτὰ* K *τιμῶνται* reliqui *τιμῶσι* Muellerus ‖ 7 *οἴονται* V^1CKP *οἴωνται* V^2 reliqui | *τοῦτον* CP *μόνον* VCP | *εἶναι μόνων*, sed transpos. superscr. *β—α* K^1 ‖ 8 *καὶ* inclusi | *ὑπομένουσι*] *ἑπομένως* libri *ὑπομένοντες* Hemsterhusius, *ὑπομένουσι* Saupp. (p. 771), Muell. (p. 57), Jerram.; *perseverant iuxta cum iis agere omnia* A | *πράττουσιν* K ‖ 9 *αἰσχρότατα* om CM *καὶ τὰ αἰσχρότατα* om K ‖ 10 *οὐ*] *μὴ* F | *οὐ παραιτοῦνται* om CK del Saupp.; *et ita transeunt ad omnia illicita adque perpetrandum res turpes* A ‖ 12 *ἐστιν* B ‖ 13 *ἔργων καὶ * αἰσχρῶν* V ‖ 18 *μηθὲν* libri

"So, if someone understands how to use wealth nobly and expertly, he will live well; otherwise he will live wickedly."

"I think you are most correct in what you say."

XL. "So, it all comes down to this: it is possible to honor these things as being good or to disdain them as bad. But it is just this notion that harasses and harms men, namely, that if they honor these things and suppose that happiness exists through them alone, [then] they dare for their sake to do anything--even things that seem to be most profane and utterly shameful they do not avoid.
2 But they suffer these things because they are ignorant of what is good. They are ignorant of the
3 fact that no good thing comes from evils. And it is possible to see many people who have obtained their wealth by means of evil and shameful deeds, I mean by things such as treachery, pillage, murder, extortion, fraud, and many other vicious acts as well."[118]

"Granted."

XLI. "Now then, if nothing good comes from evil, as is likely, and if wealth comes from evil deeds, then of necessity wealth is not a good thing."

Συμβαίνει οὕτως ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου.

2 *Ἀλλ οὐδὲ τὸ φρονεῖν γε οὐδὲ δικαιοπραγεῖν οὐκ ἔστι κτήσασθαι ἐκ κακῶν ἔργων, ὡσαύτως δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀφρονεῖν ἐκ καλῶν ἔργων, οὐδὲ ὑπάρχειν*
3 *ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ δύναται. πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὸ νικᾶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια οὐδὲν κωλύει ὑπάρχειν τινὶ ἅμα μετὰ κακίας πολλῆς. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν εἴη ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακά, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρονεῖν μόνον ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ ἀφρονεῖν κακόν.*

4 *Ἱκανῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ἔφην.*

2 οὐκ om V¹ add V² ‖ 3 δὲ om R ‖ 4 καλῶν] κακῶν P ‖ 5 τῷ αὐτῷ] τὰ αὐτὰ libri, corr Schweigh. | δύνανται P ‖ 7 ἅμα] ἀλλὰ * libri, corr Schweigh. | μετὰ] κατὰ W ‖ 8 εἴη W εἰ P ἦ reliqui ‖ 9 φρ*νειν V¹ ἀφραίνειν sscr ε supra αι V²

"Yes, it follows from this argument."

2 "Rather, neither prudent thought nor just action can be acquired from evil deeds, even as injustice and foolishness cannot from good deeds, nor can they exist together in the same person.

3 Yet nothing prevents wealth, reputation, victory, and the like from existing, together with much evil, in someone. So then, these things would be neither good nor bad, but being prudent is alone good while being imprudent is bad."[119]

4 "I think you have spoken adequately," I said.[120]

Et profligavimus eam opinionem, qua illa a pravis actionibus esse creduntur.

XLII. (Senex:) Utique multum hoc est et idem atque illud, quod diximus talia neque bona neque mala esse, idque eo magis, quod si ea ex solis actionibus pravis provenirent, essent mala tantummodo. Sed ab utroque genere omnia proficiscuntur, ideoque 2
diximus ea nec bona esse nec mala, sicuti somnus et vigilia nec bona sunt nec mala. Et similiter mea 3
quidem sententia ambulare et sedere et reliqua, quae accidunt unicuique eorum, qui aut intellegentes sunt aut ignorantes. Quae autem propria sunt alterutri, eorum alterum bonum alterum malum est, sicuti tyrannis et iustitia, quae duae res accidunt uni aut alteri; idque quia iustitia perpetuo adhaeret intellegentia praeditis, et tyrannis nullos nisi ignorantes comitatur. Nec enim fieri potest, id quod supra diximus, ut uni eidemque uno eodemque temporis momento res duae 4
ad istum modum se habentes accidant, ita ut homo unus idemque eodem temporis momento sit dormiens et vigilans utque sit sapiens et ignarus simul aut aliud quidlibet eorum, quae parem rationem habent.

(Hospes:) Ad haec ego: Toto hoc, inquam, sermone rem omnem te iam absolvisse autumo.

XLIII. (Senex:) Haec autem omnia, inquit, ego dico procedere ab illo principio vere divino.

"And we have given up that opinion, since those things are admittedly derived from evil deeds."

XLII. "In any case this conclusion is very important and, indeed, it is the same as what we said before, that is, that such things are neither good nor bad. Moreover, if these things came solely from evil deeds, then they would be altogether bad.
2 Yet, all such things derive from both kinds of action. Consequently, we said that they are neither good nor bad, even as slumber and insomnia are
3 neither good nor bad. Furthermore, my judgment is similar in matters of walking, sitting, and the like, since they pertain to each and every individual no matter whether they are educated or ignorant. Some things, however, are appropriate to one or the other, some being good and others bad. Such are tyranny and justice, two things which pertain to one or the other type of individual. That is the case because justice is the constant companion of the one possessed of understanding, while tyranny accompanies none except the ignorant.
4 For, as we said before, it is in no way possible at any one moment for two things in such opposition to pertain to the same individual in such a way that one person might be, at the same moment in time, both asleep and awake, or wise and ignorant, or any other such things reckoned in pairs."

"As far as I am concerned," I said, "with this entire preceding discussion I think you have now brought to a fitting completion all these matters."

XLIII. "However," he said, "I would add that all these things really derive from that divine first principle."

(Hospes:) At quidnam illud est, inquam, quod tu innuis?

2 (Senex:) Vita et mors, inquit, sanitas et aegritudo, divitiae et paupertas ac cetera, quae et bona et mala esse dixisti[1]), accidunt plerisque hominibus a non malo.

(Hospes:) Plane conicimus, inquam, id necessario ex hoc sermone sequi, talia nec bona nec mala esse, ita tamen, ut haud firmus sim in iudicio de istis.

3 (Senex:) Hoc fit, inquit, ideo, quod longe abs te abest habitus ille, quo eam sententiam animo con-
* cipias. Itaque rerum usum, quem paulo ante vobis indicavi, toto vitae vestrae curriculo persequimini, ut ea quae vobis diximus infigantur animis vestris eaque
4 re vobis accedat habitus. Si autem dubitaveritis de aliqua re, revertimini ad me, ut explicem vobis ea de re, quibus dubitatio a vobis discedat.

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1) Sic vertendum esse, non, ut vulgo fit, *quae nec bona nec mala esse diximus*, humanissime me docuit vir clarissimus Steckius theologiae professor. Cogitatur de c. 36, 4.

"But to which principle are you referring?" I asked.

2 "Life and death," he said, "health and sickness, wealth and poverty, which you claimed to be both good and bad, happen to the vast majority of people from no evil act."

"Obviously," I said, "we deduce from this argument the necessary conclusion that such things are neither good nor bad. As a result, however, I am in no way confident of my judgment regarding these matters."

3 "You find yourself in this predicament," he said, "because missing from you is that habit by which you might adopt this very disposition of soul.[121] Therefore, throughout your course of life strive to put into practice these things which I have briefly set before you, so that my words may be etched on your minds and become a habit for you.

4 However, if you are still perplexed about anything, return to me that I may give you an explanation that will dispell your doubts."

NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1]The opening line is probably an imitation of the beginning of the Pseudo-Platonic *Eryxias:* Ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου. Some have classified the *Tabula* as a "Temple Dialogue" on the basis of this similarity, cf. Introduction, pp. 11f.

Another parallel to the opening is to be found in Longus' pastoral romance, *Daphnis et Chloe*. Longus may have some relationship to the work of Alciphron, whose courtesan literature also has similarities to the symbolism of the *Tabula* (cf. *C.T.* 9.1f and n. 33 below). Datable perhaps to the second or third centuries C.E., Longus' romance is introduced by a proem which gives the occasion for the writing--the author's chance observation of a painting in the sacred grove of the Nymphs at Lesbos. The story that follows, then, is supposedly based on the content of the picture and its interpretation. It will be sufficient here to quote only a few lines of the English translation by Thornley and Edmonds to indicate the similarities to the fiction behind the *Tabula*.

> 1. When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw in the grove of the Nymphs a spectacle the most beautiful and pleasing of any that ever I cast my eyes upon. It was a painted picture, reporting a history of love (εἰκόνα γραπτήν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος). The grove indeed was very pleasant, thick set with trees and starred with flowers everywhere, and watered all from one fountain with divers meanders and rills. But that picture, as having in it not only an excellent and wonderful piece of art but also a tale of ancient love, was far more amiable. And therefore many, not only the people of the country but foreigners also, enchanted by the fame of it, came as much to see that, as in devotion to the Nymphs. There were figured in it young women....
>
> 2. When I had seen with admiration these and many other things...I had a mighty instigation to write something as to answer that picture. And therefore, when I had carefully sought and found an interpreter of the image (ἀναζητησάμενος ἐξηγητὴν τῆς εἰκόνος), I drew up these four books.... (Cf. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. by G. Thornley, rev. by J.M. Edmonds [Loeb Classical Library; London, 1916] 6-7.)

The setting of the *Tabula* in the temple of Cronus has been interpreted in various ways, depending on the view adopted of the work as a whole. Joël (II, 326) for example, in arguing for the Cynic character of the *Tabula*, notes

that the Cynics viewed the ideal life as standing under the aegis of Cronus (cf. Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 32; Lucian, *Fugitivi* 17; compare the discussion of these passages by F. Duemmler, *Akademika* [Giessen, 1889] 242-43). This interpretation thus appeals to the myth which equates the rule of Cronus with the Golden Age. Joly (59), on the other hand, invokes the myths about Cronus' rule in the islands of the Blest and in Hades in support of his understanding of the *Tabula* as an enigmatic revelation of Neo-Pythagorean eschatology. From this perspective the mention of Cronus is placed at the very beginning of the work so as to alert Neo-Pythagorean initiates to the idea of the Hereafter contained in the work. Von Albrecht, however, thinks that these same myths suggest the other-worldly perspective from which the tablet is to be viewed (758). Other scholars, such as Jerram (25) and Parsons (68), appeal to the common equation of Κρόνος with Χρόνος and suggest the appropriateness of the name "Time" for an allegory dealing with human life. Whatever the merits of this non-eschatological interpretation, the equation itself is both ancient and widespread. It occurs at least as early as the pre-Socratic philosopher Pherecydes (cf. the relevant texts and discussion in G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* [Cambridge, 1963] 54-57) and is often repeated (cf. Aristotle, *De mundo* 7; Cornutus 6; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 266EF, *De Iside et Osiride* 363D; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II.25.64; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.8.6-7; 22.8).

It is precarious to place undue emphasis on this reference to Cronus. Indeed, the myths about Cronus are as diverse as the interpretations which appeal to them. In the *Tabula* the references are confined to 1.1 and 2.2, and these sections function to provide the setting for the work and to attest the religiosity of the founder of the temple and tablet. A deeper significance is possible but by no means certain. The issue is complicated, moreover, by the fact that this is a *temple* of Cronus. As Nilsson points out, Cronus is primarily a mythological figure, not a cultic one (*Geschichte der griechischen Religion* [Munich, 1967] I, 510). There is some evidence for a cult of Cronus but this is meager (cf. the discussions by L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* [Oxford, 1896] 23-34, and by M. Pohlenz, "Kronos," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, XI:2, col. 1982-86). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I.35.5) there were temples (ἱερά) dedicated to Cronus in many parts of Italy, and Pausanius (I.18.7; VI.20.1; IX.39.4-5) and Macrobius (I.4.7; 7.37; 10.22) provide some evidence for cultic activities elsewhere that were associated with the name of Cronus. But usually the interest in Cronus is confined to the attempt to link the Roman Saturnalia with the Greek Κρόνια festivals. The obsolescence of the cult of Cronus is admitted by Plutarch (*De Defectu Oraculorum*

421CD) and the paucity of evidence confirms this admission. In view of this obsolescence it seems preferable to understand the mention of Cronus as the author's attempt at placing the founding of the temple in a period when (it was believed) the worship of Cronus was more prevalent and thus give the work the appearance of greater antiquity. The setting in antiquity would fit with the reference to Parmenides in 2.2. Thus, if the references to Cronus are intended to promote the antiquity and/or pseudonymity of the work, it is a mistake to try to relate these references to a particular myth or to connect them to the adherents of a particular philosophical school. Cronus at any rate was not the exclusive property of the Cynics or the Pythagoreans but was invoked even in Mithraic circles (cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I.76). Cronus is common property and the fact that he is not the special god of a particular group is in keeping with the lack of technical school language found in the document. For the Cronus=Helios equation, cf. Pohlenz, 2000-1, and M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* (1887) 71.

[2]For a somewhat similar opening with a following discussion inspired by a γραφή, see Achilles Tatius I.1.2ff. Tablets as votive offerings were quite common, especially in temples of Isis (Tibullus I.3.27; Juvenal 12.27) and of Asclepius (Herodas IV.19; Pausanius II.27.3; 36.1; Strabo VIII.6.15 [374]; cf. the collection of inscriptions on tablets found in *IG* IV^2.1.121-122, reproduced and translated by E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* [Baltimore, 1945] I, 221-37). See also Horace, *Car.* I.V.13-16; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* III.37.89ff; Ovid, *Fasti* III.268, and compare also Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 36 (Hercher/Malherbe). Since such tablets normally were dedicated to Isis for deliverance from shipwreck and to Asclepius for healing of disease, the erection of this tablet may be intended to indicate that the dedicator (2.2) had himself escaped from the moral shipwreck (24.2) and sickness (19) which are depicted in the painting. That is, the allegory that follows is perhaps intended to be understood as a generalization based on the personal experience of the dedicator of the tablet. Another possibility, however, is that the dedicator erected the tablet subsequent to a vision in a place such as the shrine of Trophonius. This possibility is not considered by Joly, but it is one that is readily compatible with his views. Pausanias IX.39.14 says that "those who have descended into the shrine of Trophonius are obliged to dedicate a tablet (πίναιι) on which is written all that each has seen or heard" (trans. by W.H.S. Jones in the Loeb edition). The myth of Timarchus recounted in Plutarch's *De Genio* (cf. n. 19) comes after he has taken such a descent. Timarchus' descent was known to Cebes (590A) and at the site there was, according to Pausanias IX.39. 4-5, a temple with an image of Cronus and a building sacred to the good Daimon (cf. *C.T.* 4.3) and to Good Fortune (cf. *C.T.* 8.2).

[3]The stress on the particular type of construction depicted seems inconsequential at first. It may be intended to demonstrate the puzzlement of the observers and their attempts to interpret the picture. A short but helpful discussion of the similarities and differences between city walls and gates and those of a military camp (*castrum*) is found in R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1967) 39-41. The statement here that the picture contains three enclosures has produced a good bit of confusion in interpreting the movement of the text as well as in illustrating the text. In fact there are four enclosures, the fourth of which is apparently not visible to the viewers here at the beginning. Cf. n. 51 to the "Introduction" and n. 57 below.

[4]In Plutarch's *De Facie* a myth is related to Sulla by a stranger (942B). Note especially the similarity of *C.T.* 2.3.5-6 to the statement made by Sulla at 945D: ταῦτα...ἐγὼ μὲν ἤκουσα τοῦ ξένου διεξιόντος. Cf. also Plato's *Sophista* in which a stranger, who is a follower of Parmenides, leads a philosophical discussion after stating that he has no objection (οὐδεὶς φθόνος) to Socrates' request that he do so (cf. *C.T.* 3.1.1-4).

[5]Plato, *Republica* X.3 (600B) is an early reference to those who have adopted the Pythagorean way of life (τρόπον τοῦ βίου). For the *Tabula* it may serve more as a literary device to give an air of antiquity, cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 61D and Joly, *Le Tableau*, 51 n. 5.

[6]The text derives ultimately from Plato's *Theaetetus* 183E. Here Socrates recalls that as a youth he met the quite elderly Parmenides, who deserved to have Homer's word δεινός applied to him (*Il.* III.172; *Od.* VIII.22, XIV.234; cf. also *C.T.* 2.2.3). For the old man as the mediator of ancient wisdom as a conventional literary device, cf. Niels Hyldahl, *Philosophie und Christentum* (Kopenhagen, 1966) 160-61, and J.C.M. van Winden, *An Early Christian Philosopher* (Leiden, 1971) 53ff, both with reference to the old man of Justin, *Dial.* 3.

[7]The riddle of the Sphinx was a widely used metaphor in the dramatic and moralist literature. We may cite for the sake of contrast its use in Anaxilas (Kock II, 270) and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII.558d. In the latter passage, courtesans are equated with the Sphinx. It is of interest for our purposes because the courtesans appear in *C.T.* 9 as agents of destruction.

C.T. 3.2-4 is Joly's chief exegetical argument for the explanation of the *Tabula* as an enigmatic, allusive work containing a hidden Neo-Pythagorean teaching. Since the explanation is a riddle, Joly argues that this explanation must itself be interpreted. This he proceeds to do

from a Neo-Pythagorean perspective. But as von Albrecht (758-59) notes, Joly has overinterpreted this comparison. The comparison functions to confront the hearers (and the readers) in their entire being with the seriousness of finding the solution to the riddle. The riddle to be solved is that of human life (cf. also J. Moreau, *Revue des etudes anciennes* 65 [1963] 432-33) and, as the parallel text in Dio Chrysostom 10.31-32 shows, the riddle is to be answered existentially and not with mere words (cf. n. 8). For Dio the true answer to the Sphinx's riddle is not "man" but the "nature of man." Thus Oedipus did *not* solve the riddle but only deluded himself into believing that he had. As a result he too was destroyed, and most miserably at that. It should also be noted that in this respect the lovers of Pseudopaideia appear as types of this deluded Oedipus figure. Just as Dio's Oedipus erroneously considered himself to be exceedingly wise and to have escaped from the Sphinx, these learned devotees think that they have attained to true Paideia and as a result claim to understand what they in fact do not know (35.3-5). As a result they will not be saved, and, like Oedipus, will perish most miserably (32.5).

[8]Compare Dio Chrysostom 10.31: ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσά του λέγοντος ὅτι ἡ Σφίγξ ἀμαθία ἐστιν: "I have heard someone say that the Sphinx stands for stupidity" (trans. by J. W. Cohoon in the Loeb series). Joly (54, 83-84) considers this passage in Dio to be a citation from the *Tabula*. This possibility gains some credence from the similarities of Dio 4.114-15 with *C.T.* 5-6. Yet in view of the differences between Dio and "Cebes" the confidence of Joly is unwarranted. The more cautious assessment is that of Praechter (*Cebetis Tabula quanam*, 102) who assumes both "Cebes" and Dio are following a common source. This view is approved by von Albrecht (759). Cf. p. 7 for other views. The conception of the Sphinx as a symbol of human folly recurs in Zenobius, the *Suda*, and Photius, where the ancient proverb of the "Cadmean victory" is applied to the Oedipus-Sphinx confrontation (cf. Lesky, "Sphinx," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Second Series, 6, col. 1725).

[9]The most logical candidate for the subject of αἰνίττεται would seem to be ἀφροσύνη, the same word being the antecedent of ὑπ' αὐτῆς in the following sentence. Several editors have even capitalized ἀφροσύνη here and in *C.T.* 3.4 as the beginning of the personification of vices and virtues in the text. Joly (*Le Tableau*, 53 n. 5) suggests ἡ ἐξήγησις as the subject and cites the translation of M. Meunier which gives ὁ πίναξ as the subject. The latter seems highly unlikely. But the former is perhaps possible as part of the ambiguity of the analogy being employed. Yet, in our view, the grammatical subject of

αἰνίττεται must remain ἀφροσύνη, and ἡ ἐξήγησις can be more properly equated with the object, τάδε, etc. This reading of the passage serves to point to the real subject of the riddle and of the *Tabula* itself, i.e., τί ἀγαθόν, τί κακόν, τί οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Βίῳ. This phrase was a philosophic axiom widely used in the Hellenistic period by Stoics, Cynics, and others. Its axiomatic character can be seen in Seneca, *Ep*. 89.14 (cf. 88.28); Cicero, *De fin*. IV.5f, 15., Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math*. XI.2-4. It is especially prominent among the Stoic and Cynic moralists as the logical premise for their respective ethics. Among the Stoics it is accompanied by the notion that some things are subject to human control and some are not (cf. Diogenes Laertius, VII.93, 104f; Epictetus III.22.13, 38). From these premises are derived the Stoic ideals of "indifference" (ἀδιάφορα) and "moral purpose" (προαίρεσις) (cf. Musonius Rufus, *Diss*. IX [ed. O. Hense, pp. 41ff]; Epictetus, II.16, II.19.13ff, II.21.2ff, II.22.1-3). Among the Cynics the axiom stands behind the renunciation of worldly needs as idealized in the term "freedom" (ἐλευθερία). Cf. Ps-Diogenes, *Ep*. 36.2, 6 (ed. Hercher); Ps-Crates, *Epp*. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15 (ed. Hercher); but also Epictetus, III.22.42ff. The connection of this axiom with ἀφροσύνη is made by a standard Stoic definition to be found in Diogenes Laertius VII.92 (cf. VII.111): καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων ("wisdom, they say, is the knowledge of things good and evil and what is neither good nor evil"). By extension, then, we may expect that ἀφροσύνη is ignorance (ἄγνοια) with respect to these same matters. It will be seen quite quickly that ἄγνοια (the result of personified Ἀπάτη) is the chief cause of vice in the *Tabula*, cf. 5.1ff; 14.3. Moreover, the entire discussion of the final chapter concludes with a reprise of this initial axiom in terms of φρόνησις and ἀφροσύνη, cf. 41.3. See also introduction p. 16, and n. 7 above (re. *C.T*. 3.2-4).

[10]Cf. 20.4 for the constellation of paying attention, understanding, and salvation, and 32.5 for the linking of misunderstanding and destruction. Compare the frequent admonition in the Gospels to give heed to the parables of Jesus. Although the word is not used, these also are understood as αἰνίγματα (Matt 13:10-18, 34-35; Mark 4:10-12; cf. also Sir 39:2-3).

[11]The translation "up here" for ἄνω is intended to reflect the fiction of the Senex pointing to and describing the picture. For discussion of the use of directional adverbs, demonstrative adjectives, etc., see the Introduction, p. 8 above.

We have chosen to transliterate the Greek term Daimon/Daimonion as part of the personification of the *Tabula* (cf. 6.2; 24.3; 30.1; 31.3, 5; 32.5; 33.2). The term was part

of the common parlance of the Graeco-Roman world and had a highly complex variety of meanings and uses, no one of which seems quite right for this text. Among the meanings are: demon, genius, fate, or deity, equivalent to Latin *numen*.

[12]For the content of the Daimon's commands, see *C.T.* 30-32. In 33-35 these commands are elaborated and defended by the Senex.

[13]It is not quite correct to say, as Joly does (31 n. 2), that this is a question without an immediate response. The question is never answered in terms of a simple direct statement. Like the γέρων, the πρεσβύτης *shows* (δεικνύει, 4.3.5) the temple visitor the way. This description begins immediately and continues through chap. 23. Once the goal of the journey has been attained, the question shifts to one concerning the where and why of future journeyings (24.1; 26.1).

[14]The dialogue shifts here from a group of interlocutors to a single spokesman, the author of the text. The singular will predominate in the text, but the plural is interspersed from time to time to reinforce the fictional setting given in chaps. 1-4. The plural is also used to direct the reader's attention to the moral point of the allegory, as in 20.4-5 and 30.3. Cf. n. 91.

[15]Cf. Aristaenetus I, *Ep.* 2: αἱ μείρακες..ἦθος οὐ πεπλασμένον ἐμφαίνουσαι. For the general description of the woman compare the Prodicus myth in Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1.78.

[16]Cf. Dio Chrysostom 4.114-15: "Let his steps also be guided by Delusion (Ἀπάτη), a very beautiful and enticing (πιθανή) maid, decked out in harlot's finery, smiling and promising a wealth of good things and making him believe that she is leading him to the very embrace of happiness, till unexpectedly she drops him into the pit, into a morass of foul mud, and then leaves him to flounder about in his garlands and saffron robe. In servitude to such a tyrant and suffering such tribulation those souls wander through life which, craven and impotent in the face of hardships, enslaved to pleasure, pleasure-loving, and carnally-minded, go on living a disgraceful and reprehensible life, not from choice, but because they have drifted into it" (trans. by Cohoon in the Loeb edition). Dio's description coincides with the *Tabula*'s depiction of life in the "first" enclosure. Dio's Ἀπάτη combines the functions of Ἀπάτη and the Δόξαι, Ἐπιθυμίαι, and Ἡδοναί. Joly (36) would see her role as analogous to that played by Λήθη in eschatological texts. On the relationship of "Cebes" and Dio, see n. 8. Here it should be added that the similarity between Dio 4

and *C.T.* 5ff was noted prior to that of Dio 10 and *C.T.* 3. Gronovius (105-8) argued that Dio had imitated "Cebes." Drosihn, "Die Zeit," 14-15, on the other hand, in arguing for a second century date for the *Tabula*, reverses the relationship and has "Cebes" imitate Dio. Regarding the complex of ideas surrounding Ἀπάτη (e.g., πλανᾶν) and its role in human life see also *C.T.* 6.3, 19.5, 25.2, 40.1. For the same ideas seen together, cf. Plato *Phaed.* 81a; *Rep.* VI.505c.

[17] Praechter is virtually alone in retaining the dative δυνάμει of the manuscripts. Not only Drosihn and Sauppe but also Müller ("Relieffragment," 117), Jerram (3), and Parsons (24) change the construction to the accusative δύναμιν (cf. 19.1.4, all manuscripts). Yet δυνάμει is also the reading of all the manuscripts at 19.4.2-3, and Praechter is probably correct in resisting this modern attempt at standardization. The possibility of interpreting the dative as "by her own power she makes them drink" is excluded by a comparison of 19.1 and 19.4, where it is clear that δύναμις is what is imbibed. Finally, it should be added that the contrast to this δύναμις of Deceit is found both in the δύναμις of Paideia's drink and in the δύναμις of the wreath bestowed by Happiness (22.3-4).

[18] Compare the statement of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* III.I.2: "As soon as we come into the light of day...we at once find ourselves in a world of iniquity amid a medley of wrong beliefs, so that it seems as if we drank in deception with our mother's milk" (trans. by J. E. King in the Loeb edition). Cf. also Dio Chrys. *Or.* 30.36sq.

[19] Joly (33, 36, 38) correlates the varying quantities imbibed with the various degrees to which souls mix with the flesh in Plutarch's *De Genio* XXII (591Dff). The amount imbibed by those reincarnated would thus depend on the number of faults to be expiated. The varying degrees of ignorance and error cannot, in his opinion, be reconciled with the Stoic paradox of equal faults. Cf. n. 2.

[20] Dio states (4.114) that Deceit is dressed in the finery of a harlot (πορνικοῖς). Whether Dio is quoting "Cebes" or both are depending on the same source, the idea of courtesans is present in the tradition. The fact that a different Greek word is used is not significant, since different words are employed by them for the same idea. To cite only one example, "Cebes" uses ἐπαγγέλλονται (6.3.1) for "promise" whereas Dio uses ὑπισχνουμένη. Again, the fact that Dio uses this imagery of Deceit and "Cebes" of the Opinions is not a valid objection, since Dio's Deceit performs the same role as Opinions in the *Tabula*. In view of these considerations it might be possible to follow the

majority of manuscripts, taking ἑταιρῶν as the original reading and regarding ἑτέρων as the result of an early scribal error.

[21]On these actions (ἀναπηδῶσιν, πλέκονται) as characteristic of personified vices see Dio Chrys., *Or.* I,80; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 28.6 (Hercher/Malherbe). Compare also the courtesan literature, e.g., Lucian, *Dial. Court.* 308 (11.1), cf. n. 33 below (on *C.T.* 9.1ff).

[22]The language of promise (ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ὑπνισκνεῖσθαι) is a common feature of the Prodicus myth (cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 4,114; Xenophon, *Mem.* II.1.23) as well as the courtesan literature. Cf. n. 33 below.

[23]Tychē's blindness was proverbial. Cf. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* II.22; Cicero, *De Amicitia* 15.54; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* IV.8.16 (but contrast III.1.125-26); Ammianus Marcellinus 25.5.8, 31.8.8. Cf. also the references given in n. 27 below. Tychē's blindness, insanity, and placement on a globe are all mentioned in *Rhetor. ad Herenn.* II.22.36. The latter two features are found in Dio 65.12.

[24]For the word ἔργον used to describe Tychē's task, see Plutarch, *De Fortuna Romanorum* 319D; also Dio 64.5. The word ἔργον/ἔργα is sometimes used in aretalogies as the equivalent of the ἀρεταί of the deity, i.e., the miraculous manifestations characteristic of divine power. Cf. Aelius Aristides II, 357 (Keil), and the so-called "Delian Aretalogy of Serapis," line 31 and p. 26 (ed. H. Englemann).

[25]Cf. especially Dio 64.27; Ovid, *Tristia* III.7.42; Horace, *Car.* III.29.49-52; Juvenal, *Sat.* III.38-40.

[26]Dio, on the other hand, attributes the change in Tychē's action to human nature, not her own (*Or.* 65.6, 8-9), but note Dio's characterization in his version of the Prodicus myth in *Or.* 1.80-81.

[27]Tychē's portrayal as situated on a spherical object is older than the imperial period but was especially popular at this time. In addition to the references given in n. 23, see Dio 63.7; Plutarch, *De Fortuna Romanorum* (317E-318A); Galen, *Protrepticus* 2; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneirocrit*, II.37; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* IV.3.31-33; *Tristia* V.8.7; Ammianus Marcellinus 26.8.13, 31.1.1. The fact that "Cebes" uses the description "round rock" (λίθος στρογγύλος) instead of the more customary word "globe" (σφαῖρα) is connected with his portrayal later of true Paideia as standing on a "square rock" (λίθος τετράγωνος, 18.1-3). Since both rocks are interpreted as signs of their respective natures, the use of antonyms serves to emphasize the contrast. Hermas, *Sim.* IX, also uses these same terms antithetically.

[28]Cf. especially Dio Chrys., 65.4, 7, 10, and *C.T.* 18.3.

[29]Cf. 31.1ff. Dio, on the other hand, attributes disappointments and calamities to the failure to trust Tychē (64.25-26; 65.1).

[30]Cf. especially Dio Chrys., *Or.* 63, for the difference in emotions depending on the presence or absence of Tychē. See also Dio Chrys., *Or.* 1.81, of the personified vice herself.

[31]Wealth is given a detailed discussion in chap. 39. Its placement at the beginning of the list is in keeping with the statement of Juvenal X.23ff that petitions for riches are the most frequent heard in temples. Wealth was doubtless a special concern of the social class in which the author of the *Tabula* moved. Cf. "Introduction," n. 68. For these components in similar lists, cf. Philo, *De Abram*.

[32]Cf. 36ff.

[33]The use of the courtesans as the personification of the vices of Incontinence, Profligacy, Covetousness, and Flattery constitutes a *topos* based on the courtesan literature. The common literature descriptive of the dress and appearance of courtesans (Lucian, *Piscator* 11ff; *Dial. Court.* 6.2f(294), 7.1(296); Alciphron, *Ep. Court.* 9.1-2, 4.4, 10.1, 13.3, 12.1; Dio 4.114f) seems to be behind the description of all the female personifications in the *Tabula* (cf. *C.T.* 4.1; 9.1; 10.1, 3; 12.2; 16.1; 18.1; 20.2; 21.3; 29.1). On the Christian side compare Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* III.2. Compare Philo, *Leg. Spec*, III.51, 64f, 80. The faithlessness, trickery and deceit of courtesans was also a commonplace (cf. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII, 558d, 568a, 569c, 571c; Lucian, *Dial. Court.* 2.4(283), 4.1(286), 7.4(298); Alciphron, *Ep. Court.* 11.3-8, 16.6).

[34]A common depiction of the "ideal life" as conceived by the masses. Compare the formulation by Cicero, *De Senectute* XXIII.82: *nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem sine ullo labore et contentione traducere?*

[35]Luxury is here both a place and a person (cf. 28.1, 32.3). In the latter capacity she seems to be portrayed here as the madame of a bordello to whom business is brought by Incontinence and the other street courtesans. Reference should also be made to Dio 4.84, where the first of Dio's three types of lives is characterized as luxurious (ἡδυπαθής) in regard to bodily pleasures. Compare also Philo, *De sacr. Cain et Able* 32ff.

[36]The term γαργαλισμός was employed by Epicurus (cf. H. Usener, *Epicurea* [1887] frag. 411-13) and became renowned in antiquity as an Epicurean word (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* I.XL.113; Athenaeus XII.546E; cf. also Plutarch, *Amatorius* 765C, 766E; *An Seni* 876D; *An Recte Dictum* 1129B; Cicero, *De Sen*. XIV.47). Hence the word is closely connected with the idea of pleasure (ἡδονή, cf. Philo, *Legum Allegoria* III.160; *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* 110; *De Specialibus Legibus* IX.XVII.100). For γαργαλίζειν as the transient lure of pleasure, compare Ps-Diogenes, *Ep*. 28.5 (Hercher/Malherbe): χαρισάμενοι γὰρ τούτοις ὀλίγον ἐγαργαλίσθητε χρόνον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μεγάλας καὶ ἰσχυρὰς ἐναποδεικνυμένης ἀλγηδόνας. See also Seneca, *Ep*. 75.6f. For a discussion of γαργαλίζειν in connection with the moralist sickness-health *topos*, see A. J. Malherbe, "Medical Imagery in the Pastoral Epistles," *Texts and Testaments: Critical Essays on the Bible and Early Church Fathers*, ed. by W. Eugene March (San Antonio: Trinity University [1979] 19-35. Two forms of medical *topoi* occur later in *C.T*. 19.2 and 26.1.

[37]The term ἀνανήφω is often used metaphorically to indicate conversion. As such it is closely related to the word μετάνοια (2 Tim 2:26; Ignatius, *Sm*. 9.1; Ps-Lucian, *De Saltatione* 84). The statement of Philo (*Legum Allegoria* II.60) is particularly revealing: the wise man, if he should sin, ἀνανήφει, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνει ("he comes to his senses and recovers as from an illness"). In the *Tabula* μετάνοια and ἀνάληψις occur at different stages. Repentance encounters people in either the "first" (10.4-11.1) or "second" (35.4) enclosure, whereas healing and recovery result from the action of true Paideia (19.1-5). Moreover, a person's full perception of the true nature of life with Madame Luxury comes only after the return to the "first" enclosure (24-25).

An instructive example of this return to sobriety is found in Lucian's account of the conversion of Polemo in *Bis Accusatus*. The young and impressionable Polemo is corrupted by Incontinence and Pleasure, so that he lives a life of dissipation with courtesans. The unhappy Polemo (16; cf. *C.T*. 10.4) is brought to his senses (17) and converted by the discourses of the Academy. Finally, the term (ἀνανήφω) probably comes from anti-Epicurean polemic. Cf. 1 Cor 15:32-34 (ἐκνήφω) and the discussion by A. J. Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (1968) 71-80, esp. 77-78.

[38]We are reading ἐσθίειν, ὑβρίζειν, and κατεσθίειν in a sexual sense. For the latter in this sense, compare Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* VIII.582f.

[39]The subject of "retribution" has already appeared in connection with the riddle of the Sphinx (*C.T*. 3.4), but it

is not personified. There seems to be an intentional connection between the warning as to the gravity of the picture and its interpretation and what happens to the deceived "traveller" in the picture. For the personification of τιμωρία here and below in *C.T.* 10.2, compare the description in Ps-Crates *Ep.* 29.1 (Hercher/Malherbe) and Philo, *De Abram.* 104.

[40]As part of his minimization of the Stoic background of the *Tabula*, Joly (32-33) argues that the important and positive role played by Repentance in the *Tabula* is irreconcilable with the negative Stoic view of repentance as a form of λύπη (cf. *S.V. Fr.* III.414). While repentance may not play a positive role in most Stoic texts, it does occur in Seneca (*paeniteat*, *De Benefic.* VII.2.2) and in Epictetus (*Ench.* 34) as the result of indulgence in pleasure. In both cases the discussion is heavily influenced by Cynic ideas. *Metanoia* functions positively as a turning point following hardship in some strictly Cynic texts, cf. Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 47 (Hercher/Malherbe). Compare also Philo, *De Abram.* 26 (which incorporates the sickness-health *topos*).

In regard to the translation of the word μετάνοια we have retained the traditional rendering "Repentance." But as von Albrecht (758) emphasizes, the meaning of the term is objective rather than subjective. He prefers the terms *"umdenken"* and *"Umstellung des Denkens"* to the more subjective words *Busse*, *Reue*, and *Repentir*. Note that in Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 42 (Hercher/Malherbe), προαίρεσις designates a deliberate choice for the Cynic life, and thus is appropriate here in the context of Repentance. Finally, it is interesting to note that Philo, *De spec. leg.* III.51 uses ἐπιτυγχάνειν of the courtesan's approach to those passing by.

[41]A person is thus once again placed before the Heraclean decision. The "other Opinion" that leads to true Paideia (cf. also *C.T.* 29.2-3) is one of those mentioned in 6.2.6 which lead to salvation. The Opinion that leads to Pseudopaideia is identified at 11.2.6 as False Opinion and is among those that lead to destruction (6.2.6-7). This False Opinion consists in thinking that one is associating with true Paideia when one is not (13.1.4).

[42]For the development of this theme, cf. chap. 19.

[43]This exclamation might be seen in contrast to νὴ Δία (s.v. index, Ζεύς). Whereas the latter (both for the Senex and the interlocutor) seems to have only an exclamatory function, the three occurrences of ὦ Ἡράκλεις seem to have an additional function. In all three cases (*C.T.* 4.1, 12.1,

19.1) it is an exclamation of the interlocutor placed at those points where the content of the expression seems to point toward the Prodicus myth.

[44]Dio 4.29-30 distinguishes divine and human education. The latter is called by most people (οἱ πολλοί) "education" since they (erroneously) posit a direct correspondence between wisdom and the reading and knowledge of literature. Compare Lucian, *Piscator* 13 for ἡ ἀληθὴς Φιλοσοφία. For the expression οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ εἰναῖοι, see Epictetus, II.12.13.

[45]Praechter's insertion of the οὐκ into the Senex's response reflects the consensus of that period. Conjectured by Sauppe, it was endorsed by Müller (*De arte critica*, 78), Krauss (10, 32), Jerram (48), and Parsons (89). In support of the conjecture are the following considerations: (1) the reading of Elichmann's translation of the Arabic offers versional support: *minime, inquit, non habent viam aliam*; (2) those who are saved are said to come to Pseudopaideia *first* (12.3.3-4); (3) the Daimon *commands* (κελεύει) men to spend some time with Pseudopaideia and to take what she offers (32.3-4); (4) if the answer were an affirmative, the interlocutor would presumably be expected to ask concerning the other route. Since this is not the case, the following questions assume a negative answer to this question.

Joly (31-32), however, has raised serious objections to this emendation. In his view, the failure of the interlocutor to query the Senex about the other route is owing to the author's intention of reserving this issue for later treatment (compare 8.4). Positively, he points to 33.4 and 35.2 as prohibiting this emendation. In these passages the absolute necessity of a brief sojourn with Pseudopaideia is denied and a direct passage from the "first" enclosure to the "third" is affirmed. To introduce the οὐκ is then to involve the author in a self-contradiction of which he is not guilty. His guilt is that of literary imprecision.

It seems possible to offer a third solution to an apparently hopeless confusion. Textually, the insertion of οὐκ has no basis and, as Joly points out, *C.T.* 33.4 and 35.2 seem to make a sojourn *in* the "second" enclosure unnecessary. But contextually, it is still possible to assert with Praechter that the only path that leads to Paideia goes first to Pseudopeideia (12.3). If we note that Pseudopaideia stands *outside* the "second" enclosure (12.2) and that the question of the interlocutor (in 12.3) refers primarily to the path (ὁδός), it is possible to maintain both the consistency and the integrity of the text. If the οὐκ is not inserted, the Senex's response can be read, not as an affirmation that there is another route, but as an affirmation of the interlocutor's deduction, viz., that this is indeed the only path to true Paideia, cf. 14.3. Such a reading is perhaps made more plausible if the reading

ἦν (in A and M) is accepted in 12.3.5, making the clause a so-called "imperfect of a truth just recognized" (cf. Smyth, sec. 1902; Goodwin-Gulick, sec. 1260) as taken by Jerram (31) and Parsons (70f). Thus, in *C.T.* 33.4 and 35.2 the crucial point is not the selection of a different path but the decision to *stop* along the way at Pseudopaideia and the relative merits of this decision. Other passages in the *Tabula* further support this conclusion that the Heraclean choice of the *Tabula* concerns how one follows the path to Paideia. Thus, in 11.1-2 one is forced to choose between the ἑτέραν Δόξαν which leads to true Paideia and the ψευδοδοξίαν by which one is again led astry. Or again, in 32.4-35.2 the real issue is whether and how much time to spend in acquiring the μαθήματα of the "second" enclosure. Thus "Cebes" believes there to be only one path that leads to true Paideia, but that there are several ways it may be traveled.

Theoretically, it should be possible in the scheme of "Cebes" for someone to imbibe so little of Deceit's potion that he does not completely forget the Daimon's command and to choose an Opinion that leads to salvation (6.2.6) and thus never enter the "first" enclosure. But either "Cebes" is not interested in treating this possibility or his working assumption is that this never or seldom happens. Similarly, his interest lies in those who enter the "second" enclosure, i.e., those who pursue the various arts and sciences. His concern is that of preventing them from an extended sojourn there. Those who go directly from vice to virtue are never treated in their own right. They are mentioned only for the purpose of demonstrating the dispensability of such studies and the consequent folly of devoting an inordinate amount of time to them. Those whom "Cebes" would influence run the danger of prolonging their studies, not of omitting them entirely. As for the Daimon's *command* that people should spend some time in the "second" enclosure, this is not intended by "Cebes" as unconditionally binding.

[46] Κριτικοί is the older term for grammarians (Dio 53.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* I.16 [79,3]; Bekker, *Anecd.* III.1140; cf. the discussion by Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll XI.2 [1922] 1912-15). The choice of this term rather than the more current γραμματικοί is probably due to the author's desire to give the work the appearance of having been written at an earlier period (cf. n. 1). The κριτικοί and the poets represent the branch of study known as grammar (so H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* [1937] 216 n. 3). The list given by "Cebes" thus comprises the seven liberal arts and sciences known in antiquity as the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία or the ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα. For a general discussion of this curriculum of pre-professional studies, cf. Marrou, 211-35, and also his later work, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. G. Lamb [1964] 243-55, 527-30), where certain statements in the former work are modified.

[47]The ἡδονικοί are usually identified as either Cyrenaics or Epicureans. The Cyrenaic identification is given by Liddell-Scott-Jones (764) with Athenaeus XIII.588A cited as another instance of this name being applied to them. An additional piece of evidence for this interpretation is the statement of Galen in *Histor. Philos.* 4 (Diels, 602=Kuehn, 230) that connects the ἡδονικὴ φιλοσοφία with Aristippos. On the other hand, Marrou (*Saint Augustin*, 216 n. 3) identifies them as Epicureans. Unfortunately he does not cite any supporting evidence for this identification. Appeal may be made, however, to the use of the Epicurean word γαργαλίζειν at 9.3.3 (cf. n. 36) and to the Epicurean writing mentioned in Galen, *Libr. Propr.* XVI. The designation could, of course, be less specific than the two identifications given above. Archestratus, for example, a contemporary of Aristotle and author of a Ἡδυπάθεια of gastronomical delights, is called ὁ ἡδονικὸς φιλόσοφος by Athenaeus (VII.312F; cf. also 310A). Yet the following reference to the Peripatetics suggests that a philosophical school is intended. Since Epicurus and Aristippus were often mentioned together (e.g., Lucian, *Piscator* I) and since "Cebes" may well have in mind both the Cyrenaics and the Epicureans, we have followed a neutral course and translated the word with "Hedonists." For the view that οἱ δὲ ἡδονικοί is an interpolation, see the following note.

[48]Schweighaeuser (1806, p. 67) prefers the reading περιπατικοὶ (AMED) and understands this as a reference to *"Doctores Scholastici,"* thus denying that the Peripatetics are intended. But this is in keeping with his defense of the traditional authorship of the *Tabula*. The reference is clearly to the followers of Aristotle and is thus an obvious anachronism. In view of this, most defenders of traditional authorship sought to explain this reference to the Peripatetics as an interpolation (so, for example, Bähr in the first edition of Pauly [1842], II.232). But even many of those who deny the *Tabula* to Theban Cebes believe this reference and also that to the ἡδονικοί to be glosses that have crept into the text (so, for example, Sauppe, 777; Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* II [1892] 658). Even Praechter in his dissertation (21f) concurs in this judgment, although he prints them in the text. The Hedonists and Peripatetics (along with the κριτικοί) are omitted in Chalcidius' reference to this passage and the fact that they occur in all the manuscripts between the ἀστρολόγοι and the κριτικοί makes them especially suspect. But the fact that members of the pre-professional disciplines are mentioned here together with philosophers is not as objectionable as many seem to think. It should be recalled that Posidonius (c. 135-c. 51/50 B.C.E.) sought to claim a place for the ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα in philosophy (cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 88.21f), and Seneca (*Ep.* 88.42ff) refers to philosophers engaging in many of the

studies that were the domain of the arts and sciences. This would certainly be true for the Peripatetics, who, following Aristotle, regarded the general studies as serviceable (εὔχρηστα) for the attainment of virtue (Diog. Laert. V. 31). The same sort of engagement in the arts and sciences may have been true in practice for certain of the Hedonists, even if this devotion was not in keeping with the official position of their schools (cf. n. 47).

[49]For a collection of texts attacking some of the individual arts and sciences listed here, see A. Otramare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine* (1926) 44-45.

[50]This is the first use of the numbering of the enclosures which becomes standard for the rest of the text, cf. *C.T.* 17.2 and n. 57.

[51]Cf. n. 85 below.

[52]On the steep rocky hill to virtue, cf. Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 289-92; Simonides 41; Xenophon, *Mem.* II.1.20; *Cyrop.* II.2.24; Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 21; Silius Italicus, *Punica* XV.101ff; Ps-Diogenes 37.4ff.

[53]Cf. 27.3. The combination of terms here in conjunction with the symbolism of the steep, rough road to virtue is quite similar to the Cynic usage, cf. Ps-Crates, *Ep.* 15 (Hercher/Malherbe); Ps-Soc., *Ep.* p. 20, 22 (Hercher/Malherbe); Ps-Diogenes, *Epp.* p. 30; 31.4f; 39.5 (Hercher/Malherbe). In these texts ἐγκράτεια and καρτερία become the watchwords of the Cynic life-style in contrast to the life of pleasure and luxury. But see also Epictetus II. 16.14, 19f; III.22.100. The Stoic interpretation of the *Tabula* stresses the similarity of this to the slogan of Epictetus: ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, "bear (hardship) and forbear (pleasure)." Joly (63), on the other hand, would see Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία as constituting one of the three types of daimons, *viz.*, the δαίμονες σωτηρικοί. The δαίμονες τιμωροί are found in chap. 10 whereas Paideia and certain of the Opinions belong to the class of the δαίμονες καθαρτικοί. In line with this is his view (46-47) that the admonition to take courage (θαρρεῖν, 16.3.2) is to be taken as reassurance concerning the immortality of the soul and the afterlife.

[54]Exhortation to strive and endure with a promise of future reward is characteristic of a *topos* derived from the literary convention of the general's speech before going into battle. For discussion of the genre, see Josef Albertus, *Die* παραινητικοί *in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1908).

[55]For confidence as a Cynic ideal, cf. Ps-Crates, *Ep.* 19 (Hercher/Malherbe), but compare Epictetus II.8.24f; Dio Chrys., *Or.* I.71.

[56]In contrast to the standard picture of the rough road to virtue (cf. *C.T.* 15.2-3), note the reversal indicated here. Compare Seneca, *De Benefic.* VII.1.7 (*planum*). We may compare also the form of the Prodicus myth found in Dio Chrys., *Or.* 1, 66ff where the road to Royalty (=Virtue) is safe and broad (ἀσφαλῆ καὶ πλατεῖαν). See also n. 85 below.

[57]The *fourth* enclosure is not visible to the observer until the Senex points to it. This fact has generally been missed because the numbering of the enclosures makes a shift from 14.1 on. Chapter 35 makes it quite clear that the second enclosure of 1.2 and 9.1 is hereafter called the "first" enclosure (35.2; cf. 14.2, 19.5, 28.1). At this point, then, the third enclosure of 1.2 and 12.1, that of Pseudopaideia, is quite clearly the "second" enclosure of 25.2 (cf. 19.2), and the hidden (fourth) enclosure of 17.2 is called the "third." Cf. also n. 51 to the "Introduction."

[58]The similarity in the description of the dwelling place of the Happy to that of the islands of the Blessed and the Elysian Fields has been noted for some time. Joly (57) naturally sees in this similarity a great support for his interpretation. But he pushes his thesis much too far when he suggests (63) that the εὐδαίμονες are those humans who have been stripped of body and soul and have become δαίμονες in the hereafter. An entirely different interpretation of the "eschatological" imagery found in chap. 17 is given by Büchling-Grosse (55). In their view the author uses this imagery to suggest the excellence of the happiness that can be achieved even in this life by means of following the instructions found in the *Tabula*.

[59]The word ἀκαλλώπιστον, though appearing in the fragments of Heraclitus (no. 92; cf. Plutarch, *De Pyth. Or.*, 397A) is found almost exclusively in writers of the first and second centuries of the common era. (Indeed, even the Heraclitus reference is debated; the word may well be that of Plutarch himself. Cf. Kirk and Raven, 212.) The two most important texts are Lucian, *Piscator* 12 and 16, and Galen, *Protr.* 10. In Lucian a woman with apparently disheveled hair, who represents the various contemporary philosophical schools, is depicted as talking like a courtesan. However, the seeming disorder of her hair was neither accidental nor ἀκαλλώπιστον (12). That is, her seeming lack of adornment *was* her adornment. Ἀλήθεια, on the other hand, is depicted as truly unadorned (ἀκαλλώπιστον) (16). In Galen an unadorned woman in her natural beauty is contrasted to women with rouge and other makeup. Cf. also *C.T.* 20.2.

[60]In Lucian's *Piscator*, Παιδεία and Ἀλήθεια are mentioned together with three others as the friends (φίλαι) of

(true) philosophy. In the *Tabula* they are mother and daughter (18.2.1; compare Hermas, *Vision* III.8). Ἀλήθεια does not appear again, but Paideia is later characterized as being true (ἀληθινήν, 32.4) and her gift is described as true (ἀληθής) knowledge (32.3). Πειθώ, the other daughter of Παιδεία, is also mentioned only here in the *Tabula*. Joly (45) arbitrarily claims that her function is the dispensing of faith. This is most dubious. In whom would this faith be placed? "Cebes" is concerned that people *not* place any faith in Tychē (7.3, 31.1), Incontinence or Luxury (32.3). Thus, if we are to seek a function for Πειθώ, it is probably indicated in 19.2-4. Just as a physician is able to cure a sick person only if the latter is persuaded to obey (ἐπείθετο) the former's instruction, so Παιδεία can only heal when people are persuaded to drink her medicine. Only then can she give the knowledge that is true. Thus Πειθώ has the function of persuading men to attain to (cf. 16.3ff) and obey (19.2-4) Παιδεία. Compare 9.3.

[61]Cf. 7.3 and Hermas, *Vision* III.13.3.

[62]See 7.3. Compare Philo, *De Abram*. 269; cf. 263 (cf. *C.T.* 18.3, 31.1, 32.2). See also Dio Chrys., *Or*. 1.67.

[63]The positive dimension of Paideia's gift is given in 32.2 as the true knowledge of what is advantageous. Here the emphasis is on the certainty of Paideia's gift as opposed to that of Tychē (chap. 7). The gift of θάρσος mentioned above (18.4.2, 16.5.2) is appropriate in this context, for in Cynic thought θάρσος is the opposing force to Tychē (Diogenes Laertius VI.38; Ps-Diogenes 29.102 (Hercher/Malherbe); Epictetus, *Enchir*. 14; cf. von Albrecht, 759). The idea of suffering nothing terrible in life, not even death, is stated as one of the things taught by Socrates to Cebes in Ps-Soc., *Ep*. 14.7.

[64]On the close connection between truth (18.2), purification, and virtue, cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 69B-C. Joly (36-37, 44), sees in the concept of κάθαρσις the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine of purgation. An important text for him in this regard is Plutarch's περὶ ψυχῆς (see Vol. 15 of the Loeb edition, pp. 316ff), where the soul of the deceased comes to a country that is pure and converses with pure men while observing the unpurified crowd on earth. That the idea of κάθαρσις could be used eschatologically is then clear. What is not so clear, however, is whether "Cebes" is using the term eschatologically here. There is, in fact, nothing in the text that *necessitates* such an interpretation (so Jerram, xxiii-xxiv). The comparison of Paideia with the doctor in 19.2 suggests rather the widespread conception of the philosopher-physician who treats the morally infirm. Vices are understood as diseases which

must be eradicated if the sick soul is to recover. Health, on the other hand, is the work of virtue (Maximus of Tyre 7.12-13 Duebner). But health can only be attained by following the philosopher's instructions. As Cicero puts it, "souls which have been ready to be cured and *have obeyed the instructions of wise men* are undoubtedly cured" (*Tusc. Disput.* III.III.5; trans. by J. E. King in the Loeb edition; cf. *C.T.* 19.3). Unfortunately, however, "those who are sick in soul avoid philosophers, for they think they are doing well in those very matters where they are at fault" (Plutarch, *Anime an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 501B; trans. by Helmbold in the Loeb edition). That is, signs of health are often confused with symptoms of disease. Avarice (φιλοπλουτία) is the most deceptive illness of all, cf. Plutarch, *De cupiditate divitiarum* 3f (Mor. 524A-525A) and Teles, pp. 38-40 (ed. Hense), trans. by E. N. O'Neil (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977) 38ff. Θύμος (cf. *C.T.* 19.5.3), for example, is mistaken for ἀνδρεία. These moral maladies are therefore more serious than bodily diseases and just as deadly (Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* III.III.5; Plutarch, *Anime*; Maximus of Tyre 7). In the *Tabula* Paideia functions as the physician who expels the diseases which infect the soul by giving an antidote. It is ignorance and error which are thereby eliminated, not the body. On the medical background of the term κάθαρσις, see the material discussed by W. Schadewaldt, *Hellas und Hesperien* (Zurich/Stuttgart, 1906) esp. 365-88.

[65]The word φιλοτίμως is usually interpreted contextually here, meaning "exceedingly" (Parsons, 71), "seriously" (Jerram, 35), "extremely" (Hogue, "A Greek 'Pilgrim's Progress,'" *The Union Seminary Magazine* [1902] 218), "gravement" (P. Commelin, *Pensees de Marc Aurèle Antonin... suives...du Tableau de Cébès* [n.d.] 333). This translation finds some support in Odaxius' rendering *graviter* and the use of the comparative adverb φιλοτιμώτερον in Lucian, *Timon* 10, and Polybius 4.32.1 may also give some linguistic basis for this rendering (cf. Drosihn, 17). The reading of M, φιλότιμος, is preferred by Guthrie, who translates it as "an ambitious man" (*The Greek Pilgrim's Progress* [1910] loc. cit.). Several translators follow a conjecture made by Corais and read φιλόθοινος ("a glutton"). Advocates of this reading include Krauss (13, 32) and Meunier (*Marc-Aurele...suives...du Tableau de Cebes* [1960] 269).

[66]This is the first of two separate medical images used in the *Tabula* which are usually part of one larger medical *topos* in the moralist literature. In one the philosopher/moralist is pictured as the doctor of the soul (cf. *C.T.* 26.1.7 and note). Here and in the following sections the image is of philosophy (Paideia, 18.3, 19.1) imparting virtue which brings health and purification to those sick with vice. This complex of images was widespread and appears in various forms. The form which appears beginning in 19.1

(cf. n. 64 above) equates the healing (θεραπεύειν) with purification (καθαίρειν) from the diseases of vice (cf. Ps.-Crates, *Ep.* 10; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 28.5; 29.5; 49 (Hercher/Malherbe); Ps-Anacharsis 9 (Malherbe); Dio Chrys., *Or.* 77/78; Epictetus II.15.5). Special notice should be taken of Philo, *De Abram.* 26 where μετάνοια is equated with the healing process. In this light, then, many of the images of the vices in earlier portions of the *Tabula* lead into this medical imagery, cf. 9.3 (γαργαλίζῃ), 10.4f (μετάνοια), 11.2 (καθαρείς), 14.3f (καθαρθῶσι καὶ ἐνβάλωσι τὰ καθά). But note how these same elements play into the other *topoi* of these sections.

[67]Compare Plutarch, *Anime an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 500E-501D: "For the beginning of the riddance of disease is awareness which leads the ailing part to the use of what will relieve it; but the man who through disbelief in his ailment does not know what he needs, refuses the remedy, even if it be at hand" (trans. by Helmbold in the Loeb edition). If, in addition to the metaphor of physician, one wishes to follow Joly's eschatological interpretation, a text worthy of consideration is Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* 594A. Here, those who have become daimons give assistance to and encourage those who are "straining every nerve" (φιλοτιμουμένη) to reach the upper world. Those who hear the daimon's encouragement are saved (σώζεται). But if the soul pays no attention to the voice, it is forsaken by the daimon and comes to an unhappy end. Cf. also Epictetus II.21.20f.

[68]For the use of ἀναπίμπλημι to describe the condition from which one must be cleansed, cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 67a: μηδὲ ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτου [τοῦ σώματος] φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Cf. also Iamblichus, *De mysteriis liber* V. 15.

[69]The description of the women as εὐειδεῖς, εὔταντοι and στολὴν...ἁπλῆν places them in continuity with Paideia. The description of them as ἄπλαστοι contrasts them with Deceit (chap. 5) and οὐδαμῶς κεκαλλωπισμέναι contrasts them with the courtesans of chap. 9.

[70]While the items in this virtue list are not unexpected, the inclusion of ἐλευθερία and ἐγκράτεια at this point serves an additional literary function. It ties together the various figures along the path of virtue by repeating ἐγκράτεια (for the last time, cf. 16.2) and by anticipating the characterization of Εὐδαιμονία (cf. 21.3). For this reason the deletion of Ἐγκράτεια here (as suggested by "P.C." [*Rev. de phil.*, 96] on the grounds of consistency) should not be accepted.

[71]Praechter's punctuation indicates that he views περιποιήσησθε as future indicative active in form, and an

orthographical variant for περιποιήσεσθε (the reading of mss. FCKM). This is possible and we have so translated. It is also possible, however, to read περιποιήσησθε as aorist subjunctive middle in form. In this case 20.4.2-3 would form the protasis of a conditional sentence, and 20.4.5 would serve as its apodosis. 20.4.4 would then need to be set off by dashes as the interlocutor's interruption.

[72]The characterization here is most directly related to the description of virtue in the Prodicus myth. For ἐλευθέρως, see Xenophon, *Mem*. II.1.22. For the γυνὴ εὐειδής...ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ on a mountain, see Dio Chrys., *Or*. I.70ff, 74, 78f.

[73]Joly's interpretation (44, 56, 61) of this section of the *Tabula* is as follows: the vision of the Virtues (20.2-3) corresponds to the vision of the Elect and the ascent to them involves a two-part escort (παραπομπή). Paideia leads the travellers to the Virtues (19.1) and they in turn conduct them to Happiness (21.1), who receives them and bestows on them the crown of immortality. This astral immortality is indicated by the fact that Happiness is located on the highest point of all the enclosures (21.2). Such an interpretation, however, is not necessary, and strains the text at several points. First, Joly's two-stage "παραπομπή" is in fact a three-stage one. The first stage involves Opinion leading people to true Paideia (6.3; 11.1, 20; 29.3). This is accomplished with assistance by Self-Control and Perseverance toward the end of this stage of the journey (16.2-4). Thus the παραπομπή does not commence at chapter 19; only a new stage in the journey is begun here.

Second, the presentation of "Cebes" is not as precise as Joly's reconstruction. For instance, "Cebes" does not say explicitly that Happiness *receives* the person arriving, as Joly (61) claims. It is only the Virtues who are said to receive (παραλάβωσιν); Paideia's reception is at best implied. Again, Paideia is said both to lead (εἰσάγει, 19.1) and to *send* (ἀποστέλλει, 20.1) the travellers to the Virtues. Joly notes only the former. Yet if the idea of a παραπομπή is as central to the depiction as Joly would have us believe, why does he use the word ἀποστέλλει at 21.1?

Third, a simpler background for many of the details of the *Tabula*'s presentation is the Prodicus myth. In the version of this myth by Silius Italicus (XV.68-120), for example, triumph wears a crown of laurel (XV.100; cf. *C.T.* 21.3.3) and raises Virtue to heaven (cf. *C.T.* 16.4). Virtue's *domus* is pure (cf. *C.T.* 19-20) and set on a lofty hill with a steep track and rocky ascent leading up to it (cf. Dio Chrys., *Or*. I.66ff; *C.T.* 15.4, 20.2). Those who ascend are persons who refuse to reckon as good anything which fickle fortune can take away (cf. *C.T.* 7.2-3; 31).

Those who reach the top are awarded victory and its laurel (cf. *C.T.* 22) and look down on mankind below (cf. *C.T.* 24-25). Such persons are a benefit and help to their society (cf. *C.T.* 26.1). In Silius Italicus' version the final result is victory over the Carthaginians, but in Prodicus' version it is "the most blessed happiness" (Xenophon, *Mem.* II.1.33: τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν). That "Cebes" has earlier (chap. 6) made use of the beginning of this myth is undeniable. It is only reasonable to believe that he is now drawing upon it once more in this section and adapting it to his own purposes.

Fourth, given this background of the Prodicus myth, it is not surprising that many of the things said about the victor in the *Tabula* were said of Diogenes as well. For example, according to Dio (IX.11-12), at the Isthmian games Diogenes crowns himself and is reprimanded for this deed because he has not won any contest. To this he replied, "Many and mighty (μεγάλους) antagonists have I vanquished, not like those slaves who are now wrestling here, hurling the discus and running, but more difficult in every way--I mean poverty, exile, and disrepute; yes, and anger, pain, desire, fear, and the most redoubtable beast (θηρίον) of all, treacherous and cowardly, I mean pleasure..." (trans. by Cohoon in the Loeb edition). Moreover, he goes about in complete safety and acts as a physician to sick souls whom he sees (cf. nn. 66 and 80).

[74]The so-called *agōn topos* (*C.T.* 22.1-23.4, 26.2-3) was, like the medical imagery and the catalogues of vices and virtues, standard fare in moralist literature (cf. esp. Ps-Diog., *Ep.* 37.4f; 39.4f; 46; Ps-Heracl., *Ep.* 4.3 (Hercher); Epictetus II.19.20ff, III.22.52ff. Its usual form relates the attainment of virtue to the conquest of vice (often characterized as a beast). Hence, the athletic imagery of training and exercise for the contest is quite prominent in Stoic notions of ἄσκησις (cf. Epictetus III.15; Plutarch, *De genio Socr.* 593D-594A; Plato, *Phaedo* 114C; Musonius Rufus, *Dis.* VI [ed. O. Hense] pp. 22ff). The other standard component of the metaphor, especially in Cynic literature, is the overcoming of hardships. The metaphor is often accompanied by *peristasis* catalogues containing the very elements seen earlier in the *Tabula* at work in other contexts but now brought to bear in this new metaphor (*C.T.* 22.2, 23.1f; cf. 9.3f, 10.2ff). It should be noted, too, that for the Cynics Heracles was the prototypical victorious athlete (cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 8.30, 1.62f; Ps-Diog. 36.1; 6).

[75]For the personification of ἄγνοια and its use in ancient religion and philosophy, cf. K. Lehmann, "Ignorance and Search in the Villa of the Mysteries," *Journal of Roman Studies* 52 (1962) 62-68. With regard to the fact that in the shift of metaphors the vices personified as courtesans (9.1) are now depicted as beasts, note Athenaeus,

Deipnosophistae, 558d. Thus there is a conquest not only of the vices which accompany luxury (*viz.*, Avarice and Incontinence) but also of those which are connected with Retribution (*viz.*, Grief and Lamentation).

[76]The lacuna, as indicated by Praechter's apparatus, is best resolved by the insertion of Happiness based on the scene in *C.T.* 22.1. The other alternative might be just to insert the feminine pronoun as the accusative of reference for the active infinitive: "with which you said *she* crowns him." The variant suggested by some of the common manuscripts, but which Praechter rejected, would be to read the passive infinitive with αὐτόν as the accusative of reference rather than the object: "with which you said *he is crowned*."

[77]This is the first indication that the old-young transmission motif (cf. 1.3, 2.3, 4.3) is to be applied to the explanation now being given to the stranger, who is here for the first time specifically called a "young man" (cf. 33.3) by the πρεσβύτερος (cf. 2.1).

The thought of the following sentence seems to derive ultimately from Plato, *Menexenus* 247E-248A: "For that man is best prepared for life who makes all that concerns his welfare (εὐδαιμονίαν) depend upon himself, or nearly so, instead of hanging his hopes on other men...; because he puts his trust in himself, he will neither be seen rejoicing nor yet grieving overmuch" (trans. by Bury in the Loeb edition). For a citation of this text by an author from the same general period as "Cebes," cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* V.12.36 (cf. the discussion by Joly, 27-29). On this goal of absolute self-sufficiency, cf. also Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* V.14.42 and *Parad. Stoic.* 17, and Seneca, *Ep.* 92.2 Epictetus (III.22.45ff and 26.34f) places it in the context of the Cynic ideal of freedom (ἐλευθερία); cf. *C.T.* 20.3.

[78]For the description and πρόσταγμα of the Daimon, see 4.3 and 30-32. Note the change from Δαίμων to Δαιμόνιον, perhaps as a result of a change in the mss.; see also 30.1, 31.3, 31.5, 32.5, 33.2.

[79]Two Corycian caves were known in antiquity. One was located in Cilicia and was famous for its saffron (cf. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XXI.17.31; Quintus Curtius, III.4.10; Horace, *Satirae* II.4.68). Typhon is said to have deposited Zeus in this cave (cf. Apollodorus, *Lib.* I.6.3; compare Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* I.15ff), and Zeus is known to have been worshipped there (cf. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* [3rd ed., 1961] Book I, 152-61). For a full description of the Cilician Corycian cave, see Strabo, *Geog.* 14.5.5 and Pomponius Mela, *Chronogr.* I.13. The other Corycian cave was located in Phocis on Mt. Parnassus. According to one legend, it received its name from the nymph Corycia (Pausanias, X.6.3; X.32.2). In addition to this particular

derivation, the association of the Parnassian cave with nymphs is widely attested (cf. for example, Aeschylus, *Eumen*. 22; Sophocles, *Antigone* 1128). Owing to the association with nymphs, the cave and the whole mountain were considered sacred (*Strabo*, *Geog*. IX.3.1; Pausanias X.32.7). This may have been one of the reasons why most of the male inhabitants of Delphi took refuge in the cave and peaks of Mt. Parnassus when the Persians marched against their city (cf. Herodotus VII.36). In any case, the author of the *Tabula* seems to have regarded the cave as an inviolable sanctuary, and the brevity of the reference suggests that it was commonly regarded as such. The literary texts of Pausanias have recently been borne out by excavation of the cave on Mt. Parnassus. See M. E. Caskey, "News Letter From Greece," *American Journal of Archeology* 75 (1971) 395f.

[80]There is a double metaphor here. The first part of the Senex's response should be seen in the light of the Cynic ideal of freedom (ἐλευθερία), cf. *Ps-Socratic Epp*. 1.2ff; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep*. 36; 37.3; 38.4; 39 (Hercher/Malherbe); Epictetus III.22.23, 45, 69ff. In connection with ἀσφάλεια see also Dio Chrys., *Or*.4.8 (Diogenes) and the speech of Cebes and Simmias to Socrates in Plato's *Criton* 45C. The second element of the metaphor turns once again to medical imagery (cf. 19.2), but now the philosopher himself is the physician of sick souls, cf. Epictetus II.13.12, 14.21; III.10.12ff, 16.11f, 21.20, 22.72, 23.27; Musonius Rufus, *Dis*. I (ed. O. Hense) p. 1, 9ff; V, p. 20, 6f; VI, p. 23, 18; Dio Chrys., *Or*. 77/78; Seneca, *Epp*. 22.1, 27.1, 40.5, 72.5; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep*. 28; 39.4 (Hercher/Malherbe); Diogenes Laertius VI.30, 36. We may take special note of Dio Chrys., *Or*. 9.2, in which Diogenes the Cynic is pictured as physician; he looks upon mankind and its folly as one who has overcome that folly and now offers aid to the rest. It should be emphasized, however, that for the *Tabula* the stress seems to be on the personal victory.

[81]The word occurs only here in the *Tabula*. It was a technical term in the Cynic literature, and it served to oppose the Cynic life-style to the life of pleasure and wealth. Poverty was often portrayed as one of the hardships which accompanied the Cynic life so that he might attain endurance and indifference. The fact that πενία occurs here in connection with vices personified earlier in the text, tends to change somewhat the perspective on the function of the vices. It is not atypical for the *Tabula* to introduce unique readings for such a purpose; cf. Introduction, n. 69.

[82]For ἐχιοδεῖται (as printed by Praechter), we read ἐχιόδητοι as attested in all the Greek manuscripts, implied by the reading of Odaxius: *qui a vipera morsi aliquando fuerint*, and recorded in the margin of Odaxius (cf. Finch, "Value of Odaxius' Translation," 28). There has

been a reluctance on the part of many scholars to accept this reading and most have chosen to emend the text so as to secure a reference of some sort to "snake-handlers" or "snake-charmers." But the proposals are quite numerous. In addition to the two cited by Praechter they include: (1) ὀφιογενεῖς (Caselius and Drosihn; cf. Strabo 13.1.14); (2) ἐχιολέκται (Coray); (3) ἐχιοδῆκται or (4) ἐχιοδηγοί (Schneider); (5) ἐχιοθῆροι (Salmasius, on the basis of the Arabic); (6) ἐχιοδιῶκται (M. Casaubon); (7) ἐχιοδέκται (Johnson); (8) ἐχιοθέλκαι (Hertlein; Krauss). If Praechter's emendation is accepted, it is necessary to read the sentence as does A. D. Nock: "...and is superior to all that formerly distressed him, as those who exhibit snakes (are to their snakes). Nothing distresses him any more because he has a remedy" (*Conversion*, 180). In this way the basis of the analogy is restricted to the idea of superiority, since snake-handlers presumably would have had an antidote, making the possibility of being bitten of little concern. The received reading ἐχιόδηκτοι, however, should be accepted for the following reasons. First, the word ἐχιόδηκτοι is known and occurs in writers from the period of "Cebes" (Joly, 15). These include Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 1.13) and Strabo, 13.1.14 (588). Moreover, the meaning of the term is quite clearly "bitten by a snake" (cf. also Theognostus, *Canones* 96). Second, the proposed emendations fail to take the πρότερον with sufficient seriousness. The importance of a "then...now" context is suggested by *C.T.* 25.2f; the same notion is apparent here in the resolution of the comparison using οὐκέτι. The ἐχιόδηκτοι serve as a valid point of comparison only if they had formerly suffered distress (cf. 22.2), but no longer. Such a reading has the additional advantage of incorporating both the ideas of superiority and of former condition. Third, the idea of the body forming an immunity against poisons is not unknown in antiquity. It is related of Mithridates that, following a military defeat, he tried to commit suicide by taking a poison. Whereas his daughters died from the poison, Mithridates did not because he had become immune, owing to the drugs he habitually drank as a protection against poisoners (Appian, XII, 16.111). In line with this, "Cebes" quite clearly believes that the person who survives snakebite develops an immunity and is safe from the effects of a new bite. (This third point is that of Gruebler, 98). Therefore, like such people, the victor is immune from the stings inflicted by the metaphorical snake.

[83]On θηρία as a designation for snakes, see Hermas, *Shep.*, *Sim.* IX.26.7; cf. IX.1.9. For the sequence ἐχιόδηκτοι...θηρία...κακοποιοῦντα, compare Acts 28:3-5: ἔχιδνα... θηρίον...ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν. See also Philo, *De spec. leg.* III.104; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep.* 29.4 (Hercher/Malherbe). For snakes as θηρία, cf. Aelian, *H.A.* 17.37.

[84]For the idiom σῴζειν πρός ("to arrive at"), see Xenophon, *Cyrop*. V.4.16. Compare *Anab*. VI.4.8 (with εἰς) and VI.5.20 (with ἐπὶ). Cf. also *Anab*. III.1.6; *Hellen*. I.6.7; and Euripides, *Phoenissae* 725.

[85]The use of ἀνοδία here represents an interesting element in moralist literature. The term does not seem unusual in the context of the Prodicus myth as used in 15.2. The road to virtue is customarily pictured as rough and rocky while the road to vice is smooth. But here in 27.3 an unusual shift in that polarity occurs. Now the ἀνοδία is the course of those who fail to ascend to Perseverance. Cf. 16.3ff for the beginnings of this reversal at the point when the summit is reached and Virtue is attained. This same use of the term is found also in Philo, *Vita Mosis* 2.138 (II.156, ed. Cohn and Wendland) referring to the rough road of vice and the smooth road of virtue. See also Philo, *De agricultura* 22.101 (I.316, ed. Cohn and Wendland). Compare this usage to Hermas, *Man*. VI.1.3. See also Hermas, *Vis*. III.7.1 for the use of ἀνοδία in conjunction with πλανᾶν referring to those who fail to come to repentance. J. M. Cotterill noted some of these similarities and suggested that Philo was the first to use ἀνοδία in the context of the Prodicus myth. See J. M. Cotterill and C. Taylor, "Plutarch, Cebes, and Hermas," *Journal of Philology* 31 (1910) 20. This exact phrase is employed by Hermas (*Vision* I.1.3; cf. also *Vision* VI.3.1) to describe the district through which a spirit took him. It is said to be a precipitous (κρημνώδης; cf. *C.T*. 15.3.2) place through which it is impossible to walk.

[86]There is a variety of editorial decisions that must be made at this point; at stake is whether the dialogue in 28.1-2 continues the allegorical personification or not. We have followed Praechter in adopting the usual reading (since Drosihn) without capitalization, "all evils" (πάντα κακά). Taken in this way the point of reference is in direct contrast to ἀγαθά (28.3.1; cf. 34.2, 36.1, 3.3, 8.3). In this vein Praechter sees no need to capitalize ἀσωτίαν, ἀκρασίαν (28.3.2), or ἀγαθά (28.3.1) even though these terms are part of the personification in the preceding sections. Another possibility seems to have been generally accepted to the time of Schweighaeuser. The latter capitalized ἀγαθά, ἀσωτίαν, and ἀκρασίαν in 28.3, thereby returning the dialogue to the allegory of the picture. Following Schweighaeuser's logic it might be asked whether κακά (28.1.1) should be capitalized as well. The insertion of the definite article in a number of the Mss. (cf. Praechter's apparatus) gives some credence to this suggestion. Moreover, it would not be totally out of place to take the neuter κακά as a reference to the personified vices. On two previous occasions the author has concluded a list of personified (feminine) vices with the neuter

κακόν (in the singular, 26.2, in the plural, 24.2). In either case it is important to notice that the word-play on ἀπολουθεῖν (and its cognates) provides the continuity for the section.

[87]Compare Epictetus II.19.26, 21.2f; III.22.48; cf. especially Ps-Heraclitus, *Ep*. 4.4 (Malherbe). For an extended dramatization of this kind of indictment see Lucian, *Bis accus*. 16 (with ἄθλιος and κακοδαίμων).

[88]Praechter has taken the minority reading παρ' αὐταῖς on the basis of 9.2, understanding it with τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀκρασίαν (cf. 9.1, 32.2). But the majority reading παρ' αὐτοῖς is quite possible. In this case the logical antecedent for αὐτοῖς would be οὗτοι (28.1.3) which is resumed with λέγουσι (28.2.1). The clause, ὡς... ἀγαθῶν, is the indirect statement (λέγουσι) of the ones who have returned to the first enclosure.

[89]For the idea, cf. Plato, *Republica* IX.586A, where people πλανῶνται διὰ βίου and "with eyes ever bent upon the earth and hands bowed down over their tables they feast like cattle (βοσκημάτων δίκην) grazing and copulating" (trans. by P. Shorey in the Loeb edition). Aristotle (*Eth. Nic*. I.V.1-3) says that the majority love the enjoyable life (τὸν βίον ἀγαπῶσι τὸν ἀπολαυστικόν) and thereby reveal themselves as utterly servile, since they prefer the life of cattle (βοσκημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι). Pleasure, according to Seneca, is the good of cattle (*Ep*. 92.6). Dio 77/78.29 suggests that the person who envies the feasting of a Sardanapalus is envious of the happiness of goats and asses. Compare also Sallust, *Cat*. I.1-II.19; *Jug*. I.1-II.4.

[90]The distinction between knowledge and opinion is in keeping with the thought of Parmenides, but the positive role here accorded Opinion is neither Parmenidean nor Stoic. The view is essentially Platonic, as both Jerram (xxvi) and Joly (30) indicate.

[91]The shift in person here seems stark at first glance, yet it appears to be intentional. Since the initial section (5.1) there has been a single interlocutor with the exception of a similar shift in 20.4. While the fiction of the setting is heightened by such a shift, there is another function as well. For in both 20.4 and 30.2 the structural shift occurs precisely at those points where the moral of the allegory is being proffered to the reader. In 20.4 the point of understanding the allegory is heightened further by the interlocutors' interruption of the conditional paraenesis. Here in 30.2 it should be noted that θάρσος is not only a command but also a gift. Apparently an individual must first show sufficient courage to achieve self-control and perseverance (16.3) and then he is fortified for the rest of the journey (16.5, 18.4). The exhortation to the

interlocutors is not merely a stylistic device to maintain the reader's attention. Rather, the interlocutors' own weariness and lack of perseverance parallels that of the pilgrims in the picture. Like them, they too must be exhorted (cf. 16.3) so that they can reach the end of the explanation. In chaps. 36-41 (43) they are given the knowledge of what is advantageous in life--the gift of Paideia. To reach the end of the explanation is tantamount to arriving at Paideia. Now the decision rests on the interlocutors whether to obey the instructions and move on to virtue and happiness or to disobey and suffer the consequences.

[92]The "wicked banker" had become proverbial and there had developed a literary *topos* with its own technical vocabulary, which is fully employed here. For the vocabulary and discussion, see Maurer's "παρατίθημι" article in *TDNT* VIII (1972) 162-64, and C. Spicq, "Saint Paul et la loi des Depots," *Revue Biblique* 40 (1931) 481-502. The most striking parallel to the analogy made by "Cebes" is found in the pseudo-Plutarchian *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 28 (116 AB): "We ought not, therefore, to bear it with bad grace if the gods make demand upon us for what they have loaned us for a short time. For even the bankers, as we are in the habit of saying frequently, when demand is made upon them for the return of deposits (ἀπαιτούμενοι τὰ θέματα), do not chafe at the repayment, if they be honourable men. To those who do not make repayment with good grace one might fairly say, 'Have you forgotten that you accepted this on condition that (ἐπὶ τῷ) you should return it?' Quite parallel is the lot of all mortals. For we hold our life, as it were, on deposit from the gods, who have compelled us to accept the account, and there is no fixed time for its return, just as with the bankers and their deposits, but it is uncertain when the depositor will demand repayment" (trans. by F. Babbitt in the Loeb edition). For Ps-Plutarch's thought, cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* I.39.93. Cf. also Philo, *Spec. leg.* IV.30; Plato, *Leg.* VII.42C; Teles, 36f (ed. Hense). For the technical use of the term λαμβάνειν/λαβεῖν in this context, meaning "to receive on deposit," cf. Conon, *Diegesis* 38 (in Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* I, 203f).

[93]The same attitude is enjoined with respect to the gifts of Tychē and Pseudopaideia. Neither poverty nor lack of education is a necessary precondition of virtue and happiness. Wealth and education fall into the category of the Stoic ληπτά, i.e., things which are not to be regarded as the end of action but are not to be rejected if offered (von Arnin, 104). This attitude on the part of "Cebes" is what causes Praechter to regard Cebes as more Stoic than Cynic. But both Joël (322-33) and Joly (30) think that Praechter has exaggerated Cynic intransigence on these issues.

[94]Seneca's *De benefeiciis* VII.1.7 contains a similar statement by Demetrius the Cynic concerning the person who has attained the Cynic goal. After dedicating himself to Virtue and following the smooth road to her, he arrives at a safe retreat and attains a "perfect knowledge of what is useful and essential" (*consummavitque scientiam utilem ac necessariam*). He attained this goal with only a few maxims of philosophy.

[95]Compare Athenaeus, *Deip*. XII.6 (quoting Antisthenes). For ἀμεταμέλητος as the gift of which God does not repent (hence understood as the "irrevocability" of God's gifts), cf. Rom 11:29 and Athanasius, *Orationes adversus Arianos* III.25. The term is discussed fully by C. Spicq in *Revue Biblique* 67 (1960) 210-19; for the passage in the *Tabula*, cf. 213.

[96]The word probably reflects the Cynic slogan related to the ideal of renouncing all concern with luxury and wealth in order to move directly to virtue through training in endurance. See Ps-Crates, *Epp*. 13, 16, 21; Ps-Diogenes, *Ep*. 30 (Hercher/Malherbe).

[97]ἀπόλλυται κακὸς κακῶς: The person thus dies as he has lived--wretchedly. This combination, rendered wonderfully by Odaxius' *miser miserrime moritur*, is a favorite of Lucian. Drosihn (27) cites *Dial. mort*. 15(5).2; *Icarom*. 33; *De Parasito* 57; *Philopseudes* 20; *Piscator* 44.

[98]Cf. *Leges* 808DE: "With the return of daylight the children should go to their teachers, for just as no sheep or other witless creature ought to exist without a herdsman, so children cannot live without a tutor, nor slaves without a master. And, of all wild creatures, the child is the most intractable; for insofar as it, above all others, possesses a fount of reason that is as yet uncurbed, it is a treacherous, sly and most insolent creature. Wherefore the child must be strapped up, as it were, with many bridles (διὸ δὴ πολλοῖς αὐτὸ οἷον χαλινοῖς τισὶ δεῖ δεσμεύειν)--first, when he leaves the care of nurse and mother, with tutors, to guide his childish ignorance, and after that with teachers of all sorts of subjects and lessons (μαθήμασιν), treating him as becomes a freeborn child" (trans. by Bury in the Loeb edition); cf. also Xenophon, *Mem*. IV.I.3-4; Isoc., *Pan* 10. For the relevance of this quotation in regard to the issues of authorship and date of the *Tabula*, see the Introduction. This section of the *Leges* may have inspired other thoughts and images found in the *Tabula*. Compare, for example, *Leges* 807A (ἐν τρόπῳ βοσκήματος) with *C.T*. 28.3 (βοσκήματων τρόπον).

[99]The ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία was commonly viewed as preparatory to philosophical study. At debate was the issue whether this general education was an essential or a

dispensable prerequisite for philosophy. The Academy tended to view such studies as a necessity (Diogenes Laertius IV.10, 36; Stobaeus, *Flor. app.* 16.26.27), as did the Peripatetics (Diog. Laert. V. 31). The Epicureans, Sceptics and Cynics, on the other hand, adopted a critical perspective concerning them. Epicurus argued that none of the subjects is of any assistance in the perfection of wisdom (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* I.1; for Epicurus' position, cf. also Diog. Laert. X.6; Plutarch, *Non posse suav. viv. sec. Epic.* 1092D-1096E). Torquatus in Cicero's *De finibus* (I.21.71-72) adds that Epicurus considered as education only that which schools us in happiness (*nullam eruditionem esse duxit nisi quae beatae vitae disciplinam iuvaret*) and rejected the general education as contributing nothing toward making life pleasanter and better (*nihil afferent quo iucundius, id est quo melius viveremus*). This rejection naturally led to the accusation that the Epicureans attracted the uneducated (Cicero, *De fin.* II.4.12). This charge they, of course, shared with the Cynics. The Cynics rejected the customary subjects of instruction because of the danger of being distracted and perverted (διαστρέφοιντο) by them (Diog. Laert. VI.104). Indeed, the fact that the professors were no paragons of virtue (Diog. Laert. VI.27-28) served to confirm the danger. The Sceptics based their opposition to general studies on the same ground as they did their criticism of philosophy, *viz.*, the impossibility of finding the truth known or taught by them (Sextus Empir., *Adv. Math.* I.6).

The question seems to have been a topic of debate for Stoics. According to Diogenes Laertius VII.32, Zeno accused the general education of being useless (ἄχρηστον). Chrysippus, on the other hand, is said (VII.129) to have adopted the diametrically opposite view that this course of studies was useful (εὐχρηστεῖν). In keeping with this is the statement by Quintilian (I.10.1f, 15) that even the Stoics granted that the wise man might devote some of his attention to such studies as music. This ancient debate *among* Stoics has now become one *about* the Stoics' views on this subject. Praechter (*Die griechisch-römische Popularphilosophie und die Erziehung*, Programm-Nu. 553. Bruchsal, 1886, pp. 23ff) argues that the Stoics assigned the ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα to the category of preferred (προηγμένα), indifferent (ἀδιάφορα) things. Marrou, on the other hand, believes that it was especially the post-Chrysippean Stoics who insisted upon the essentiality of such studies (*History of Education*, 244).

This debate is carried over into the question of the philosophical background of "Cebes." With which of the philosophical schools does the *Tabula* have the greatest affinities? Praechter can accommodate it within his understanding of the Stoics' position whereas Marrou assigns this aspect of the *Tabula* to the author's Cynic tendencies (cf. also his *Saint Augustin*, 215-16). Joël, of course, would see not only "Cebes'" views about the general studies but

his whole thought as Cynic. The author comes closest to a Cynic view when he affirms that people *frequently* (πολλάκις) go directly from the "first" to the "third" enclosure, thereby bypassing the general education. But the author's distance from Cynicism is revealed in the statement that the various disciplines assist people in going more rapidly (συντομωτέρως) to true Paideia (33.4). Cynicism was known as the "shortcut to virtue" (σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν, Diog. Laert. VI.104) precisely because it *rejected* the arts and sciences as a requisite preliminary to the attaining of virtue. The μαθήματα are among the things that add polish, not strength, to the one who has attained to a perfect knowledge of what is useful and essential (Seneca, *De benef.* VII.I.7). "Cebes" affirms, on the contrary, that the quickest way to the Virtues is via general education. He borrows the term σύντομος from Cynicism but he uses it in a non-Cynic way (also Joly, 34). "Cebes" may agree with the Cynics that such studies are dispensable--indeed, they belong to Pseudopaideia!--and acknowledge that many arrive at virtue without the benefit of these disciplines. But for all these utterances he is not prepared to deny them a place. He maintains their utilitarian value and is not afraid that the wise man will be perverted by them. He does not, however, go so far as Dio and claim that it is *necessary* (ἀναγκαία) for those who have acquired divine (=true) education to add to it frail, human education (*Or.* 4.29).

Joly (75-77) attempts to demonstrate that "Cebes" is best understood as a Neo-Pythagorean even in his views about the arts and sciences. This is no small task, especially when one recalls the Pythagorean devotion to the sciences and that some of the Pythagoreans were known as the μαθηματικοί. Joly makes some valuable observations but it cannot really be said that he overcomes what he himself regards as the most serious objection to his interpretation. The fact remains that the author who most closely approximates the viewpoint of "Cebes" is a Stoic, *viz.*, Seneca. And Seneca's perspective (*Ep.* 88) has obviously been influenced by his contact with Demetrius the Cynic (*De benef.* VII.1.7). Similarly, other Stoics who show strong "cynicizing" tendencies are found frequently to recommend the acquisition of a few philosophic maxims which are immediately put into practice (cf. Epictetus II.21.15f, IV.21.8f; *C.T.* 19.3). To be sure, "Cebes" is more negative than Seneca in his assessment of ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα--a fact recognized by Joly (32) as well. But the concerns and issues that give rise to their discussion are the same and the solutions they give are remarkably similar. Such similarities should not be minimized for the sake of establishing an alternative interpretation.

Finally, it should be added that "Cebes" is Socratic to the extent that he accords a limited place to the general studies. Socrates recommended the study of geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic as an appropriate enterprise, but

he restricted involvement to the learning of the basics of these disciplines. After a rudimentary knowledge in each had been acquired, one was to move on to other useful studies (Xenophon, *Mem*. IV.7.2-8). Thus what Socrates recommended in regard to the individual μαθήματα, "Cebes" recommends for them as a whole.

[100]<βελτίους> γενέσθαι.... Clearly an elliptical expression as Praechter suggests. The addition of βελτίους, if only in sense, is given support by the readings of the Latin of Odaxius (*meliores*) and An (*meliorem*). The ellipsis is probably resolved on the basis of 33.4 as follows: οὕτω καὶ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων οὐδὲν κωλύει <βελτίους> γενέσθαι <ὅμως μέντοί γε χρήσιμα ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ συντομωτέρον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν>. The point of the comparison is then as follows: Just as the knowledge of a foreign language is useful for increasing the accuracy of one's understanding of what is said, so also the knowledge of the general studies is useful for increasing the rapidity of one's journey to true Paideia. But just as one, without knowing the language, can grasp the meaning of a statement with the help of an interpreter, so also one can arrive at true Paideia without knowing the μαθήματα. Apparently all that one needs is the help of a few short maxims (cf. the speech of Demetrius in Seneca, *De ben*. VII.1.7). For another instance showing the superiority of personal knowledge over the use of an interpreter, see Xenophon, *Cyrop*. I.VI.2.

[101]Cf. Seneca, *Ep*. 88.2.

[102]Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or*. 4.30.

[103]Cf. *C.T*. 14.5.

[104]The passage is highly enigmatic and, by all accounts, hopelessly corrupt. It is impossible to conceive how the subject of οἴδασιν and ἔχωσι (35.3.4) could be anything but a reference to those in the second enclosure (cf. the reading of K). Almost all editors have assumed a lacuna in the text and have supplied it in various ways. Drosihn's proposal (see Praechter's apparatus), which was quite similar to one made by Schweighaeuser, won the commendation of H. Müller (268). Other editors, however, take εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο with οἱ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ (cf. K. Müller, *De arte*, 80f). It should be noted that actually there is no lacuna in any of the Mss. It may be the case, then, that the key to understanding is the ellipsis precipitated by the question (πῶς τοῦτο;) of the interlocutor. Use of ellipsis in service of the dialogue is not uncommon to the author of the *Tabula*. Πῶς τοῦτο; may be seen in a similar construction in 19.2. In the latter case it is instructive to note that the question of the interlocutor serves to continue the dialogue by focusing the attention of the Senex

on one part of his foregoing remarks. Thus, following a general statement the main point is underscored, using the πῶς τοῦτο; of the interlocutor as the bridge. In 19.2, then, the point being picked up is really the penultimate statement of the Senex in 19.1, i.e., regarding the purifying potion. The necessity of this draught is emphasized by the medical imagery of the Senex's response. By analogy we may expect a similar function of πῶς τοῦτο; in 35.3. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the response is introduced by ὅτι (cf. 3.1). The focus of the section in 35.3ff is on those in the second enclosure and why they do not progress beyond that point while others (from the first enclosure) pass by. It seems that the proper referent for πῶς τοῦτο; is the phrase οἳ τούτους τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς παραλλάττουσιν (35.2), or more specifically just παραλλάττουσιν. Thus, by ellipsis the question of the interlocutor may be understood in the following way: "How can this be--*they pass by?*" Understanding the ellipsis in this way would also seem to resolve the problems in the "hopelessly corrupt" following lines. Rather than the elaborate emendations proposed by Drosihn or Praechter, we would propose to resolve the ellipsis by supplying the sense of παραλλάτουσιν with its implied object αὐτούς. Thus, both of the referents necessary for the comparison by the Senex are present: "Because those in the first enclosure *pass them by* if for no other reason than the latter do not know what they falsely claim to understand."

The source of the thought is obviously Socratic. Cf., e.g., Plato, *Apol*. 21C-D, 22CD, 23C-D (προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν), 29A (δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἔστιν ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν), 29B (καὶ τοῦτο πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ ἐπονείδιστος, ἡ τοῦ οἴεσθαι εἰδέναι ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν) and Xenophon, *Mem*. III.9.6 (ἃ μὴ οἶδε δοξάζειν τε καὶ οἴεσθαι γιγνώσκειν).

In the contemporary period we may note the same sort of charges being levelled at those who claim knowledge but who in fact do not put their knowledge to work, cf. Ps-Heraclitus 4.5 (Malherbe); Epictetus II.15.13f, 21.15ff.

For the use of εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο in a similar context, compare Isocrates, *Pan*.10.

[105] In Chapter 11, Repentance is connected with delivery from Pseudodoxia, here with escape from Pseudopaideia. In the former case Μετάνοια is used, here Μεταμέλεια, with no apparent difference in meaning. Cf. n. 40.

[106] We read παιδεία and ψευδοπαιδεία with capitals as the personifications common to the text. Drosihn, Schweighaeuser, and most others read thus, in contrast to Praechter. For the notion of recognizing Pseudopaideia for what she really is, see 13.1.

[107] On the thought, cf. Seneca, *De Ben*. VII.II.1: "These are the things that my friend Demetrius says the tiro in

philosophy must grasp with both hands, these are the precepts that he must never let go, nay, must cling fast to, and make a part of himself, and by daily meditation reach the point where these wholesome maxims occur to him of their own accord, and are promptly at hand whenever they are desired, and the great distinction between base and honourable action presents itself without delay" (trans. by J. W. Basore in the Loeb edition). Cf. also Lucian, *Nigrinus* 6-7; and Heb 5:14. Cf. *C.T.* 20.4.

[108]"Cebes" now proceeds to treat this question, which was raised and postponed in 8.4. Life, health, and victory are not mentioned in the list in 8.4. Life is inserted here at the beginning since it is the first topic to be discussed.

[109]At this point there is a stylistic shift in the form of the dialogue; the author has the old man interrogate the youth in typical Socratic fashion (cf. Plato, *Meno* 77B-78C; *Criton* 48E-49A; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 69.4).

[110]This an exceedingly common *topos* in ancient philosophy. Cf., for example, Pseudo-Plato, *Eryxias*, for the argument of Critias and Prodicus that things are good to the good but evil to the evil. Here, in regard to riches, Socrates reports that Prodicus affirmed that "they were a good to good men and to those who knew in what way they should be employed, while to the bad and the ignorant they were an evil. The same is true, he went on to say, of all other things; men make them to be what they are themselves" (397E; trans. by B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* [New York, 1937] Vol. II, 812).

[111]Compare Plato, *Criton* 48B and Ps-Crates, *Ep.* 6 (Hercher/Malherbe).

[112]Sauppe conjectured καὶ before τοῖς, which now receives some support from An (*et bene viventibus*). Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82. On this basis we assume its presence for our translation.

[113]Thanks to a suggestion by Professor E. N. O'Neil one might consider whether to emend Praechter's punctuation of this sentence to make it a question: οὐκ ἂν εἴη...οὔτε κακόν; ("is it not then true that living can be neither good nor bad?").

[114]For the use of τέμνειν and καίειν in connection with the medical imagery, see Ps-Diogenes, *Epp.* 28.7, 29.5 (Hercher/Malherbe); Dio Chrys., *Or.* 77/78, and nn. 66, 80 above.

[115]The two pairs, life and health, death and sickness, treated here first, also occur first in the list of Stoic neutral (οὐδέτερα) things in Diog. Laert. VII.101.

116 The premise of this and the following discussion of wealth (so central to the purpose and theme of the entire *Tabula*) is very similar to that of Plutarch's *De cupiditate divitiarum* (Mor. 523C-528B). Note especially 523D: "Nevertheless many cases could be cited of men who would rather be rich though miserable (κακοδαιμονοῦντες)....Having wealth is not the same as being superior to it, nor possessing luxuries the same as feeling no need of them" (trans. by De Lacy and Einarson, Loeb Classical Library). For discussion of Plutarch's treatise, see E. N. O'Neil, "De cupiditate divitiarum (Moralia 523C-528B)," in *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature* ed. H. D. Betz (Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 4; Leiden, 1975) 289-362.

117 Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* IV.2.9 where Socrates commends Euthydemus because νομίζεις ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲν βελτίους ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. For a discussion about wealth as a good or evil, cf. Ps-Plato, *Eryxias*. Note especially 403. For a more general statement, see Terence, *Heaut.* 194-95.

118 Seneca, *Ep.* 87, gives several syllogisms that seek to establish that wealth is not a good. Of particular interest is 87.22: "Good does not result from evil. But riches result from greed; therefore, riches are not a good" (trans. by R. M. Gummere in the Loeb edition). Moreover, Seneca gives the argument of Posidonius that wealth, as a gift of Tychē (cf. *C.T.* 8.4, 36.1), cannot be a good since it leads to evil practices (*Ep.* 87.35; cf. also Epictetus, II.16.3, 19.13f). Even more stringent attacks on wealth based on the same logic can be found among the Cynics; see Ps-Diogenes, *Epp.* 28.5, 50 (Hercher/Malherbe); *Ps-Socratic Epp.* 6.6, 12; Ps-Anacharsis, *Ep.* 9 (Malherbe); Ps-Crates, *Ep.* 7 (Hercher/Malherbe). Note that 40.2 prepares for the conclusion of 41.3. Confusion and ignorance concerning what constitutes the good is the root of all evil.

119 The thought is ultimately Socratic; cf. Diogenes Laertius II.31; Plato, *Euthydemus* 281E. But here as a conclusion it serves as a reprise of the discussion in 3.3. Cf. n. 9 above.

120 The Greek text preserved in the extant Greek mss. used by Praechter breaks off at this point. The longer Latin ending which follows is based exclusively on Elichmann's rendering of an Arabic paraphrase, cf. Introduction, p. 28 above. Generally, the Latin ending has not been regarded as genuine. In more recent work on manuscripts unknown to Praechter, however, C. E. Finch has found a longer ending in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037, which has strong similarities to *C.T.* 43.3. Finch thinks there must have been a longer ending in the Greek original from which

both the Arabic and the Anonymous (Codex An; cf. Sigla) borrowed. Cf. C. E. Finch, "The Translation of Cebes' *Tabula* in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," *TAPA* 85 (1954) 84-87. Cora Lutz concurs that some such hypothesis is necessary to account for the similarity; cf. C. E. Lutz, "The Salmasius-Elichmann Edition of the *Tabula* of Cebes," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 27 (1979) 165-71. For the text of Cod. Vat. Lat. 4037 at this point, see the Supplemental Notes *ad loc*. *C.T.* 43.3.

[121] Cf. Plato, *Philebus* 11D.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO THE TEXT AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

2.1.1: οὖν. A's reading of οὖν is now supported by An, which has *igitur*. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 81.

2.1.2: πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολὺν χρόνον. To those mss. with the variant reading πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, add E. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 181 n. 17.

2.3.3: πολυχρονιώτατον. As Praechter's apparatus indicates, the text of A is mutilated at this point. Scholars' assessment of what is still legible and of A's original reading, however, is debated. Schweighäuser (1806, pp. 61-62) gives only πολὺ χρονίω, stating that this is mutilated from πολυχρονιώτερον. The reading given by Müller in *De arte critica* (29, 59, 61) and "Zur Kritik" (248) is πολυχρονιώτ...ος ων [*sic*]. Müller was dependent here on H. Dulac's collation of A. Dulac argued that the lacuna was too small to have contained νεώτερος and suggested that the original reading of A was πολυχρονιώτατος ὤν. Müller, however, in his 1884 article in the *Philologische Rundschau* states that he himself has now seen codex A and is convinced that its original reading was πολυχρονιώτερος ὤν. From a consideration of this reading and that of V (πολὺν χρόνον νεώτερος ὤν), he decides that the reading of the archetype was what Sauppe had proposed in 1872: πολυχρόνιον νεώτερος ὤν (cf. Praechter's apparatus). The textual decision involves a basic choice between the speaker's amazement at the man's advanced age and his amazement for a great length of time (cf. also 2.1.2). In addition to Sauppe and Müller, those who prefer the latter alternative include Drosihn, Jerram, and Parsons. In favor of Praechter's understanding, however, is the ultimate derivation of the text from Plato's *Theatetus*. See n. 6 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

3.1.9: καὶ πικροὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς. These words have occasioned much debate among critics. As early as 1561 Wolf conjectured πονηροί for the πικροί of the mss. Drosihn (3) printed καὶ πικροὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς in the text but indicated in his apparatus that they were a gloss to ἄφρονες. Krauss (30) followed Drosihn and pointed to the resulting balance of φρόνιμοι-ἄφρονες and εὐδαίμονες-κακοδαίμονες. Sauppe (774-75) agreed with Drosihn that ἀμαθεῖς was a gloss to ἄφρονες but argued that πικροί could not be. In its place he conjectured μιαροί (cf. Praechter's apparatus). This conjecture was regarded as certain by H. Grübler (*Revue des études grecques* 7 [1894] 98). Jerram (26) retains πικροί but understands it as equivalent to πικρόχολοι.

3.3.6-7: καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραδιδόμενοι. Drosihn's deletion of these words is based on his view that this is an anticipatory gloss introduced from 9.4. In this he is followed by Jerram, Krauss, and Parsons.

4.1.4-6: Οὐκ...ἐστιν. E. N. O'Neil suggests that the οὐκ here serves to introduce a question, so that a question mark needs to be placed after the ἐστιν (4.1.6).

4.3.3-5: προστάττει...δεικνύει. Praechter in his apparatus gives either δείκνει δὲ or δεικύει δὲ as the reading of A. According to M. Schanz, however, the reading of A is probably δεικνυσί (cf. Müller, "Zur Kritik," 248). Müller (*De arte critica*, 61-62) and Krauss (6, 30) delete the verb entirely, making the following words dependent on προστάττει (4.3.3).

5.1.5: ἤ. Müller (*De arte critica*, 18) supports Sauppe's conjecture here by the suggestion that an original ἤ was mistaken for an abbreviation of καί in the ms.

6.1.3: ἑτέρων. The reading ἑτέρων (AV^1) is also printed by Jerram (3, 48) and Parsons (24, 88), whereas Krauss (30-31) changes it to ἑτέρας. The variant ἑταιρῶν (printed by Drosihn) is considered by Sauppe (775) as a gloss deriving from 9.1.3. Müller (*Phil. Rund.* 4

[1884] 1420-21) concurs in this judgment about ἑταιρῶν, yet he also rejects ἑτέρων as meaningless. Editors seem to have neglected the relevance of Dio Chrys., *Or.* 4.114, for deciding the textual problem here. Cf. n. 20 in the "Notes to the Text and Translation."

6.3.7: ὅποι ἂν τύχῃ. Praechter is incorrect in stating that ὅποι ἂν τύχωσι is Sauppe's conjecture. Sauppe mistakenly gives this as the reading of A and M.

7.1.1: τούτους. To Praechter's apparatus add the variant τοῦτο, after the reading *hoc* of Odaxius and An. This is probably the reading of the archetype of the CK(P) family (cf. Finch, "Odaxius," 28, and "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 83). The reading τοῦτο was preferred by Wolf and printed by Thieme (14) and others.

7.1.5: ἀλλὰ καὶ κωφή. As Praechter's apparatus indicates, there are primarily two ways in which editors have resolved the textual difficulty of 7.1.1-5. Praechter's solution is that of moving the ἀλλά from its location in the mss. after τυφλή and placing it after μαινομένη (cf. 7.1.4-5). The alternative solution is to leave 7.1.4-5 intact and delete the καὶ μαινομένη in 7.1.2. This solution, advocated by Drosihn, was followed by Jerram (48), Krauss (31), Parsons (89), and Müller ("Relieffragment," 118).

8.4.6: γινώμεθα. According to Schweighäuser (1806, p. 65), Drosihn (8), and Müller ("Zur Kritik," 248), the reading of A is γινόμεθα, not γινώμεθα.

9.2.6: αὐταῖς. The reading of An (*secum*) provides some support for Sauppe's emendation (cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82). The reading αὑταῖς is given by Praechter as unique to A. But according to Schweighäuser (1806, p. 65), Drosihn (8), and Müller ("Zur Kritik," 249), this is also the reading of M.

10.1.2: ἄνω. Both on p.vi and in the apparatus Praechter states that the word ἄνω is absent in V. This is

incorrect. As Müller's collation indicates (*De arte critica*, 24) and as Finch ("Notes on Codex V," 240) confirms, ἄνω is present in V. The combined witness of AV all but eliminates the opinion of "P. C." that ἄνω should be deleted (cf. *Revue de philologie* 19 [1895] 96).

10.3.5: αὕτη. Schweighäuser (1806, p. 66) and Drosihn (10) give αὐτή as the reading of A whereas Müller (*De arte critica*, 25; *Phil. Rund.* 4 [1884] 1421) gives it as αὕτη. Sauppe (773) corrects it to αὕτη and this is probably the source of Praechter's reading. But see also Schweighäuser (1806, p. 66).

10.4.5: ἐπιτύχη. The conjecture of Johnson (ἐπιτύχῃ for ἀποτύχῃ) has been widely adopted. In support of it Müller (*De arte critica*, 67 n. 1) appeals to 9.4.7, where most manuscripts read ἀπολίπῃ rather than ἐπιλίπῃ.

10.4.6: ἐκ προαιρέσεως. Drosihn's (10) deletion of these words as a gloss may find some support from the fact that they do not appear in V (cf. Finch, "Notes on Codex V," 240). But προαίρεσις is not inappropriate in this context. See n. 40 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

11.1.1: Εἶτα τί γίνεται, ἐάν. An alternative in punctuation is found in Gronovius and others. It involves ending the Senex's response with γίνεται and beginning the Senex's response with ἐάν (cf. 11.2.1-2). To the mss. which entirely omit the words of 11.1.1-2 through parablepsis involving συναντήσῃ, add S (cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 177).

12.3.7: <Οὐκ> ἔστιν. See n. 45 to the "Notes to the Text and Translation."

14.1.3: [καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ μετ' αὐτῶν]. To Praechter's apparatus add the reading of O: *reliquas* (cf. Jerram, 49).

14.1.4: Αὗται ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν. In support of Praechter's text add the reading of O: *illae ipsae sunt* (cf. Drosihn, 10). Cf., however, the criticism of "P. C." (96).

14.2.2: Νὴ Δία. Odaxius omits the words from Νὴ Δία (14.2.2) to νὴ Δία (14.3.2). This omission was explained by Müller (*De arte critica*, 72) as an oversight on the part of Odaxius or the typesetters. But Finch shows that the omission is almost certainly traceable to a gap in the Greek text used by Odaxius (cf. "Odaxius," 27).

14.2.4-14.3.1: ἔφην. Μένει.... Both in the apparatus and on p.x of his edition, Praechter incorrectly gives E as reading ναὶ ἔφημεν. The reading of E is the same as that of DW^1C^1: ναὶ ἔφη μέν. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 181 n. 17.

14.3.2: Ἀπάτης, καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει [ἐν τούτοις νὴ Δία]. As Praechter's apparatus indicates, the alternate punctuation of Drosihn is to end the Senex's response with Ἀπάτης and to make καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια ἐν τούτοις the question of the interlocutor. In this way the Senex's response once again begins with Νὴ Δία (cf. 14.2.2; 28.1.2). This alternative is supported by Sauppe (769-70), Krauss (11), and "P. C." (*Revue de phil.* 19 [1895] 96). The reservations of Boll (*Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 31 [1895] 471) to Praechter's text are based on the reading of the Arabic (cf. apparatus).

14.4.3: ἂν. Sauppe (775) had conjectured δή for the ἄν of the manuscripts. This conjecture is supported by the reading of O: *tum demum ita* (cf. esp. Jerram, 49).

15.3.1-3: Οὐκοῦν...βαθεῖς. In view of "Cebes'" tendency to use οὐκοῦν to introduce questions (cf., for example, 15.2.1 and 15.4.2), the punctuation here should probably be changed to a question mark.

18.1.4: ἀκαλλώπιστον. In preferring ἀκαλλώπιστον, Praechter is following Drosihn (16), Krauss (12), and Müller ("Relieffragment," 122). The appeal of this solution is that it has the noun στολήν followed by two adjectives, as is the case in 20.2. But the reading of almost all the mss. is the noun καλλωπισμόν. The latter is printed by Schweighäuser (1806, pp. 27, 69) and others, who understand a supplied ἁπλοῦν (derived from the ἁπλῆν) as modifying the noun. In this case there is a statement made about the simplicity of both the garment and the adornment (cf. Horace, *Carm.* I.5.5). Cf. n. 59 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

19.2.3: γενόμενος. The reading of C^1 is γενόμενος and thus supports Praechter's text. Only C^2 has παραγενόμενος (cf. Finch, "Cod. Gr. 1823," 181 n. 18).

20.4.4: Ἀλλὰ ποσέξομεν, ἔφην ἔγωγε, ὡς μάλιστα. A printer's error has resulted in the omission of the ρ from προσέξομεν in Praechter's text. At least two scholars have expressed dissatisfaction with the final four words of this line in Praechter's text. "P. C." (96) proposes ἔφην, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, μάλιστα. Radermacher ("Varia," *Rheinisches Museum* 55 [1900] 149) conjectures ἔφην, ὡς ἐγῷμ᾽ ἤ μάλιστα.

21.3.3: ἐλευθέρως. H. van Herwerden ("Ad Cebetis Tabulam," *Mnemosyne* II:22 [1894] 263) would emend the text to read ἐλευθερίως. While Praechter himself considers this emendation as "probably correct" (cf. his "Bericht über die Literatur zu den nacharistotelischen Philosophen," in Bursian's *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 26 [1898] 45), Boll (471 n. 1) considers this a superfluous conjecture.

21.3.4: καλῷ. Praechter's apparatus incorrectly gives A as the only manuscript containing καλῷ. According to Finch ("Notes on Codex V," 241), ms. V also reads καλῷ, not καλῶς.

22.2.4: καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἑαυτοῦ. H. van Herwerden (263) suggests the deletion of these words on the ground that they are supposedly inappropriate for the context. But neither Praechter ("Bericht," 45-46) nor Boll (471 n. 1) commend this proposal. Moreover, the words prepare for 23.2 and serve as a contrast to those in 24.2 who are subjugated (κατακεκρατημένοι) by vices.

23.2.3: ὥσπερ πρότερον. The best manuscript of the *Tabula*, codex A, breaks off at this point. For the remainder of the text we are dependent on less reliable manuscripts. See the "Introduction" (pp. 27-28) for a short discussion of the various manuscripts and attendant problems.

23.3.3: ἕφης...στεφανοῦν. E. N. O'Neil makes the attractive suggestion that ἐκείνην has been omitted because of the ἐκεῖνο in the preceding line. In this case the lacuna would be the result of a simple case of haplography. See n. 76 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

24.2.3: ἐκεῖ. The manuscript support for this reading is, unfortunately, not as strong as Praechter's apparatus indicates. Codex V, cited erroneously by Praechter as evidence for ἐκεῖ, reads κακῶς. Only K reads ἐκεῖ, and since K is either a direct (Müller and Praechter) or an indirect (Finch) copy of C from a relatively late date, it is obvious that K introduced the ἐκεῖ in an attempt to relieve the redundancy (a twofold "live wretchedly") of the text it had received. It achieved this by substituting ἐκεῖ for the first κακῶς and omitting διατρίβουσι. Another attempt to relieve the redundancy is seen in codex M, where εἰκῇ is substituted for the second κακῶς. While the textual support for ἐκεῖ is thus extremely weak, its adoption does serve to bring the text of 24.2.3 into conformity with the οἱ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες of 25.3.2.

26.1.4: Κωρύκιον. To the list of mss. that have the correct spelling of "Corycian," delete F and add the margin of Odaxius. Cf. Finch, "Odaxius," 27-28.

26.3.2: ἐχιοδεῖται. See n. 82 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

26.3.5: οὕτω. Although most manuscripts read τοῦτο, Praechter adopts the conjecture of οὕτω proposed by Schweighäuser. This reading provides the appropriate resolution of the comparison made above with καθάπερ. It is supported by the readings of Odaxius (*ita*) and An (*igitur*). Moreover, as Jerram (50) points out, the manuscripts vary at 37.1.2 between οὕτω and τοῦτο. Cf. also Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82, and "Odaxius," 28.

29.3.2: <οὐκ>. Praechter's insertion of οὐκ is criticized by "P. C." (96).

31.1.2: νομίζειν. Sauppe's deletion (cf. apparatus) is based partially on the erroneous assumption that ἔχειν is the reading of all manuscripts. Sauppe was following Drosihn's edition at this point, and Drosihn mistakenly cites ἔχειν (31.1.2) as the reading of manuscripts B and D.

31.1.3: τις. The insertion of τις receives some support from the *quis* contained in An. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82.

31.2.2: πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφελέσθαι. Manuscript S may now be added to VP as supporting this order. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 182.

31.2.4-5: ἴσους γίνεσθαι. In support of this reading, Praechter in his dissertation (*C.T. quanam aetate*, 48-49) cites Diogenes Laertius VII.117, Tel. apud Stob., *Flor.* p. 125, 17 Meincke, and other passages. He thus rejects the contention of Müller (*De arte critica*, 56; *Phil. Rund.* 4 [1884] 1421-22) that the words are a gloss deriving from V. Also, Praechter fails to cite a conjecture by Wolf that has been accepted by many

editors. This is ἀηττήτους γίνεσθαι ("become invincible"), emended from ἥττους/ἥττω. Cf. Plato, *Repub.* II.15 (375B) and Epictetus, I.18.21.

31.2.5: καὶ. The retention of καί in the text receives additional support from the *additque* in An (cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 81). Nevertheless, Finch is correct in arguing that it should be deleted and the sentence punctuated with a dash after γίνεσθαι. Thus the reading should be ...ἴσους γίνεσθαι--μήτε χαίρειν.... Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 184.

31.6.2: βλέποντας. Finch explains the reading of P in the following manner. The scribe of S wrote π for β when transcribing and thus produced πλέποντας. The scribe of P naturally failed to make any sense of this and thus left blank spaces for three letters (= the three stars of Praechter's apparatus) and wrote only ποντας (cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 178). The variant ἔχοντα (or ἔχοντας), supported also by Odaxius' *acceptis*, is sometimes preferred (in the sense "with it"). Compare 31.6 and 32.4.

32.4.1: αὐτοῦ. Most of the mss. read αὐτοῖς, whereas Praechter adopts the conjecture of Sauppe. The latter's conjecture of αὐτοῦ in place of αὐτοῖς was based primarily on the observation that κελεύειν takes an accusative object in 16.4.4-5 and 33.2.1. One would thus expect the accusative rather than the dative here in 32.4.1 as well. Sauppe's conjecture is supported by both O (*ibi*) and An (*ubi*). Cf. Finch, "Odaxius," 28.

33.4.4: συντομωτέρως. The only ms. that has this reading is V. Since S may now be added to the list of those with συντομώτερον, this is the reading that should be adopted (so Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 184).

33.5.1: ἄρα, ἔφην. Add S to those mss. that support Praechter's text. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 182.

33.6.3-4: οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἦν...ἄν τι συνήκαμεν. See the discussion of the mss. by Jerram (51), who notes that

εἰδέναι looks suspiciously like a gloss to explain ἔχειν (cf. the apparatus). In fact, the text printed by Praechter seems to rest on and represent a conflation of two very similar text traditions. Compare, for example, the readings of mss. C and V. Praechter's apparatus, moreover, may be supplemented as follows: (1) the reading of P (αὐτήν) is to be understood in relation to the reading of S (αὐτόν); cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 179; (2) for Saupe's conjecture of ἄν before ἦν, compare An (*esset*); (3) for the reading of C (αὐτούς), compare An (*ipsos*); (4) for the reading of C (ἀκριβέστερον ἔχειν ἄν τι συνήκαμεν), compare An (*vocem diligentiorem habere si quid perceperimus*). Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 81-82.

33.6.4: οὔτω. The variant οὕτως must now be taken with greater seriousness since this is also the reading of S. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 182.

33.6.5: κωλύει. To the mss. that have this reading add V and An (*prohibet*). Cf. Finch, "Notes on Codex V," 241, and "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82.

33.6.5-6: <βελτίους> γενέσθαι.... See n. 100 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

35.2.5: παραλλάττουσιν. After παραλλάττουσιν, An gives the following addition: *Iu<venis>: Quos mathematicos stultos intelligis? Se<nex>: Non esset breve admodum opus quales sint dicere. Tamen, ut rem breviter perstringam, paucis accipe: qui infinita serie numerorum eademque non necessaria in rebus haud laude dignis nimium opere ponunt; qui terre, maris, celique dimensionibus infinita prope modum mendacia quotidie cudunt, astra metiri conantes cum ipsi se ipsos quales sint in terris prorsus ignorent; qui aurium pruritus secuti ac mollis sono vocis delectati virilem illam atque valentem animi beneformati harmoniam depravarunt, corruperunt, effeminarunt, idque non inscitia minus ex qua mala omnia*

ferme oriuntur quam huius temporis infelicis ac miseri corruptis moribus; qui denique ventoso cerebro syderum planetarumque influxibus humane vite cursum referunt effectusque subiiciunt. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 82-83, who also refers to Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV.7.5 in connection with the preceding addition.

35.2.6: εἰ ἀκινητότεροι. The combination εἰ ἀκινητότεροι is found only in R and S, but it is preferred also by Finch (cf. "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 183).

35.3.2-3: περιβόλῳ....., <οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περιβόλῳ,>. See n. 104 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

35.5.3-4: οὕτω ποιεῖτε...ἔξιν λάβητε. Praechter's reading of οὕτω ποιεῖτε is an alteration (following Wolf) of the received Greek text. Some support for this solution is provided by the versions (cf. apparatus). A second solution to the textual problems is offered by K. K. Müller. In his view, there is a lacuna in the text following ἔξιν, which he supplies in the following way: ἔξιν <λάβητε, σωθήσεσθε. οὐκ εἰσάπαξ δὲ ἔστιν ἔξιν> λαβεῖν. Cf. *Phil. Rund.* 4 (1884) 1419. A third possible solution involves the assumption of an ellipsis in the author's text/thought. The text may be understood as follows: καὶ ὑμεῖς τοίνυν <οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθεῖτε>, ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη, ἐὰν (μὴ) οὕτω ποιῆτε καὶ ἐνδιατρίβητε τοῖς λεγομένοις, μέχρι ἂν ἔξιν λάβητε (cf. 35.5.2).

36.1.4: τὸ τέκνα ἔχειν. For a discussion of the reading of V at this point, cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 183.

37.3.2: τοῖς ζῶσι καλῶς κανὸν ἄν. See n. 112 in the "Notes to Text and Translation" for the insertion of καί in the text before τοῖς ζῶσι. In support of καλῶς, one may now add S^2 (cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 177). Both here with ἄν and in 35.2.1 with ὅτε, Praechter credits Sauppe with these proposals. But Porson had

already proposed these same emendations in 1815. Cf. Jerram (49, 52) and Müller (*De arte critica*, 55 n. 1).

37.3.4: μοι δοκεῖς. On the basis of S's variant (δοκοῖς μοι) Finch inclines toward the order δοκεῖς μοι. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823," 184-85.

38.1.5: οὐκοῦν. In "Codex Vat. Gr. 1823" (176), Finch states that S breaks off after the οὐκοῦν of 38.1.5. This is incorrect, for the text actually breaks off after the οὐκοῦν of 38.3.1. We are grateful to Professor Finch for supplying us with this corrected information in a private letter of 21 November 1979.

39.2.3: Οὐ. Müller (*De arte critica*, 41) emends οὐ to οὕτως. Jerram (21, 52) follows this suggestion, but he prints οὕτω.

39.3.4: ἐκ τούτου ἄρα τοῦ λόγου. Sauppe (cf. apparatus) is not the first to attribute these words to the Senex. Gronovius (81), for example, had already chosen this option. Schweighäuser (1806, p. 53), however, attributed these words to the interlocutor and many prefer this alternative. 35.1.1 and 41.1.4 would confirm this attribution were it not for the fact that ἄρα is absent in both these instances. But as Müller (*De arte critica*, 50-51, and *Phil. Rund.* 4 [1884] 1422) points out, ἄρα does not have a fixed position in all the manuscripts. V, our best manuscript for this section of the *Tabula*, has the ἄρα before the ἐκ. Müller makes the very plausible suggestion that ἄρα was omitted by a scribe and then reinserted at a different and incorrect point in the manuscript. Given the uncertainty concerning the original position of ἄρα, he would prefer to delete it and print Εἶκος γε ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου as the response of the interlocutor. To have the Senex's response begin with οὐδέ would be striking but not unusual (cf. 39.4.1). Perhaps the original place of the ἄρα was at some point after the οὐδέ and before the εἴπερ (compare 35.2.6: ἄρα εἰ).

But, given the use of ἄρα in the Hellenistic period, it could just as easily have begun the Senex's response (cf. LSJ, 233).

39.4.1: ἐπίστωνται. Schweighäuser (1806, p. 79) had already conjectured this reading before codex V was discovered.

40.2.2: ἄγνοιαν. Manuscripts C and K break off at this point. The Latin codex An, which is a translation of a Greek ms. of the CK(P) family, has a short ending appended here. Finch has suggested that there is a great deal of similarity between the ending of An and that of the Arabic in Elichmann's Latin at 43.3.3-43.4.3. The text of the ending of An is given in the note to 43.3.3.

41.3.3: ἅμα. Schweighäuser's conjecture of ἅμα receives some support from the reading of Odaxius: *multa cum pravitate*. Cf. Jerram, 52, and Finch, "Odaxius," 28.

43.3.3-43.4.3: *Itaque...discedat*. The Latin ms. An gives (at 40.2.2 sqq.) a conclusion which, according to Finch, is similar in content to the conclusion found in Elichmann's translation of the Arabic paraphrase and printed here by Praechter. The text of An reads as follows: *Quod ut tandem vos assequamini, studiosi iuvenes, cunctis viribus contendite eo animo ac mente, ut nihil unquam virtute potius, nihil excellentius, nihil homine libero dignius, nihil denique beatius esse putetis. Valete.* Finch sees in this similarity evidence for a longer ending in the Greek text tradition from which An derives. Cf. Finch, "Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037," 84-87. Cf. also n. 120 in the "Notes to Text and Translation."

INDEX VERBORUM

References are to chapter and section. Asterisk (*) indicates that a word is not cited in Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker.

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