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Adversaria on Plutarch's Lives

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ADVERSARIA ON PLUTARCH'S LIVES.¹

THESEUS.

3 Θησέως τὸ μὲν πατρῶον γένος εἰς Ἑρεχθέα . . . ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ μητρῷῳ Πελοπίδης ἦν. More probably, I think, ἀνήκει.

6 ἐξῆγεν αὐτόν. See *Solon* 29 below.

23 Theseus picked out two young men, whom he completely changed (ὥς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα κομιδῇ) to pass for girls. ὥς ἔστιν seems unmeaning: ἔστιν ὥς, *he changed in a way completely*, would do.

27 εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὥς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορῆκε, . . . περιῆλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεῦσαι. 'It is difficult to believe *that*,' not '*if*.' ὅτι and εἰ, as elsewhere, have been confused.

ROMULUS.

19 ἡρπάσθημεν <μὲν> ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἔχοντων.

The antithesis demands this.

The Sabine women go on to complain that their relatives, after taking no notice of the abduction for some time, are at last trying to tear them from the husbands and children to whom they are now bound by ties of affection, οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. πικροτέραν βοήθειαν I could understand, not οἰκτροτέραν.

LYCURGUS.

1 ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης κ.τ.λ.

ἐπεὶ καὶ makes no sense, and should apparently be εἰ γὰρ καί, *for though*. εἰ and ἐπεὶ are often confused.

8 δεινῆς οὔσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει. ἐπιφερομένων is really meaningless. φέρω and τρέφω sometimes get interchanged and ἐπιτρεφομένων would make very good sense. D. Hal, *Ant. Rom.* 10. 6. 4 illustrates it exactly: ἡλίκον ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες.

15 ταῦρον ἐκτίνει μέγαν.

The context points in the clearest way possible to ἐκτίσει.

19 In Lycurgus' well-known rejoinder to the man who wanted him to set up a democracy in the State, σὺ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν,

¹ For other *adversaria* on the *Lives* see my *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, p. 236=Class. Rev. 17, 333.

it does not seem to have been noticed that *πρῶτος* must be wrong. It would mean *do you be the first to set up democracy in your household*. Read *πρότερος*. The two words are often confused, e.g. almost, though not quite, certainly in *Comp. Lycurgus et Numa* 4 *περὶ τί πρῶτον (πρότερον) ἦν σπουδάσαι προσήκον ἢ παίδων ἐκτροφὴν*; see *Fabius Maximus* 19 below.

20 *καλὸν ἦν τοι . . . φιλοπολίταν καλεῖσθαι*.

The context proves that we want the comparative here too. Read *κάλλιον*. Cf. Plato *Protag.* 360 A, where the same correction has long been adopted.

27 *κατασχηματίζεσθαι ἰόντας πρὸς τὸ καλόν*.

This is one of several passages not yet—as far as I know—corrected, where hiatus has been introduced by a change in the order of Plutarch's words. Read *πρὸς τὸ καλόν ἰόντας*. In *ἰόντας* I see nothing wrong. [In the *Comp. Lycurg. et Num.* 3 the order should be *αἰσχυνομένη τις αὐτοφία*.]

29 *ὁμωμοκόσι χρήσεσθαι*, not *χρήσθαι*. Cf. *ὄρκους λαβὼν . . . ἐμμενείν καὶ χρήσεσθαι* twenty lines above.

30 *Ἀθηναίους <μέν>*.

NUMA.

1 Madvig's *ἡ φύσει δυνατόν αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ βέλτιον κ.τ.λ.* seems certainly right, but it fails to account for the *καί* which follows *δυνατόν* in the MSS. Did not Plutarch write *δυνατόν καὶ <αὐτόν> αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι*, i.e. of himself, without teaching? *αὐτόν* was lost through similarity to the beginning of *αὐτάρκη*.

12 (end) *ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦνται*. Probably *ἡκρίβωται*.

COMP. LYCURGI ET NUMAE.

4 *ἄγεσθαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἥθεσιν*.

τοῖς ἥθεσιν, I think.

SOLON.

8 At the end *ἔχειν* should perhaps be *σχεῖν*.

18 In Solon's famous verse, though the tradition is in favour of the present tense *ἐπ' (ἀπ) ἀρκεί*, I have sometimes thought that the imperfect may really have been used.

22 Through his own fault the father cannot speak freely to his children: *παρρησίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν*.

Should it not be *γεννωμένους*? *οἱ γενόμενοι* is not thus used. In *Lycurgus* 14 *τῶν γεννωμένων* is now read for *τῶν γινομένων*. Cf. *v.l. Laws* 791 E.

24 Something is missing after *τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα κ.τ.λ.*

29 *ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγωδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐπω δ' εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένου κ.τ.λ.*

ἐξηγμένου would in any case be awkward after *ἄγοντος*, but even in sense it is hardly satisfactory. Read *ἐξηρμένου*. Tragedy had not yet been elevated to

the position of an *ἀγών*. So in *Theseus* 6 ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἀνῆρεθιζε ταῦτὰ πράττειν διανοούμενον I have little doubt that we should read ἐξῆρεν. Plutarch is rather fond of the word: see Wytttenbach's *Lexicon*.

PUBLICOLA.

3 τῆς τε βασιλείας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ πολεμοῦντα παύσασθαι. Read παύσεσθαι. He was ready to resign the throne and would cease fighting.

8 τοῦ δ' Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἡδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν. Through the similarity of ΗΔ and ΠΔ the words ἡδιστος and πλείστος are notoriously liable to interchange. So Plutarch's *Moralia* 421 C ἡδιστον δὲ Δελφῶν λόγον εἶχε appears in Eusebius in its true form πλείστον . . . λόγον εἶχε. When we recall this, we shall hardly doubt that τὸ πλείστον is to be read here. Livy 2. 5. 2 says: *ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit (fit?)*, and cf. D. Hal, *Ant. Rom.* 5. 13. Though not quite the same statement, τὸ πλείστον agrees better with this than τὸ ἡδιστον.

17 μὲν should be μὲν.

18 Tarquin answered οὐδένα ποιέσθαι δικαστήν. We need either an ἄν (οὐδέν' ἄν) or ποιήσεσθαι.

21 ἱλασάμενος τῷ Αἰδῷ can hardly be anything but a mistake for τὸν Αἰδῶν. Cf. *Demetrius* 26 below.

COMP. SOLONIS ET PUBLICOLAE.

3 τῇ μὲν ἀρχῇ λαμπρότερος ὁ Σόλων . . . , τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος εὐτυχῆς <μᾶλλον> καὶ ζηλωτός?

THEMISTOCLES.

1 καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

Certainly we should expect ἐδόκει rather than δοκεῖ: *he was thought* at the time. May it be guessed that Plutarch wrote πανούργως ἐδόκει, and that, the order having been, as elsewhere, accidentally changed, hiatus after γενομένου caused the loss of the augment? Cf. C. *Caesar* 20 below.

4 ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν whether Themistocles impaired the purity and perfection of the Athenian system. Perhaps φιλοσοφώτερον, a question for men φιλοσοφώτεροι than Plutarch affects to be.

CAMILLUS.

12 The friends of Camillus, when his trial was impending, told him πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἶσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν.

οἶσθαι is really comic: *that they did not think they would help him*. Is it not a compression into one word of οἶοι τ' ἔσεσθαι, omitting one *οἱ* and one *εσ*? Livy 5. 32. 8 *se collaturos quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse*. There are several well-established examples of such compression in the *Lives*, e.g. only

a few chapters earlier (7) χρηματισάμενος for ἀχρήματος ἄσμενος, *Demetr.* 30 ἐπειγομένῳ for ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ. Cf. *Plato Soph.* 257E ξυμβεβηκέναι for ξυμβέβηκεν εἶναι: *Aristotle Post. An.* 2. 2. 90_Λ 27 μᾶλλον for ἄμα δῆλον, etc.

24 κελεύουσι μὲν <ἂν> ὑπακούειν, as the sense and μηδὲν πολυπραγμονή-σειν show.

28 Read σὺν (for ἐν) νεκρῶν πλήθει. σὺν is probably better in itself, and ἐν νεκρῶν πλήθει . . . ἐν ἐρείπιοις would be clumsy.

PERICLES.

2 ἐξέσται (not ἔξεστι) κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

19 τῶν πρώτων ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐκείνων.

Probably προτέρων. Cf. *Lycurgus* 19 above.

Ibid. κινημένην δέ (φησι) τὴν Φαβίου βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρ-κέλλου συνηθείᾳ σωτήριον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

συνηθείᾳ has been thought a mistake for some other word (cf. *Alcib.* 18 beginning). Perhaps the explanation is rather that some descriptive epithet, like δραστηρίῳ, used a dozen lines before, has been lost.

21 αἱ μὲν οὖν πρώται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν καὶ . . . ἀνεπαύετο.

ἦσαν gives but poor sense. Read ἦεσαν, *were passing*. *Soph. O.C.* 618 ὁ μυρίος χρόνος . . . ἰών.

ALCIBIADES.

1 (end) If the optative is right in ὅπως . . . δόξειεν, we need ἂν.

6 (end) ὅσακις ἂν λάβοι.

ἀναλάβοι, or omit ἂν.

35 τοῦτο τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε.

καινῶν has been suggested. No doubt the real word was the third of the three apt to get intermixed, κενῶν.

C. MARCIUS.

4 καὶ τοῖς προτέροις αἰὲ τούς ὑστέρους ἡγεμόνας εἶχε περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς ἐρίζοντας καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

For καί before μαρτυρίας read ὥς = ὥστε, καί and ὥς being often confused. *Plutarch* seems to use ὑπερβάλλω in the uncommon sense of *raising, making greater*. Thus *Tib. Gracch.* 8 ἀρξαμένων τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἀποφοράς: *Cim.* 8 ὁ ἀγών . . . τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. So here μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι is *go farther in testimony*.

7 παρεῖχον αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

The adverb προθύμως is a mistake, familiar in this sort of phrase, for προθύμοις. As the words stand, the zeal is ascribed to the magistrates.

21 οὐτ' εἰς καλὸν <βλέποντα> οὐτε συμφέρον οὐδέν?

COMP. TIMOLEONTIS ET AEMILII PAULI.

2 δύναμιν οὐ ζητεῖν ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὀφείλων.

Read ζητῶν.

MARCELLUS.

24 τῆς νόσου παρακμὴν <τὴν> τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξανάλωσιν ἡγουμένους?

At the end of the chapter something like λέγουσι (ἐνιοι δὲ λέγουσι?) has been lost. So *Cato Maior* 8 (end) οὐδένα δὲ κ.τ.λ. wants an ἔφη, and *Aemilius Paulus* 16 πλήθει . . . περιεῖναι something like λέγοντες (with only a comma at προκινδυνεύοντος).

ARISTIDES.

8 Read ἔχειν (not εἶχε) γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν. See my *Aristophanes and Others*, p. 182.

24 προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὀρίσαι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν.

The assessment was not individual and personal. Read therefore ἐκάστων.

COMP. ARISTIDIS ET CATONIS.

4 I think now that τῆς παρασκευῆς should be ταῖς παρασκευαῖς.

TITUS.

8 ὅτι παντὸς ὅλου τοῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὸν ἰσχύει.

Some such original may be conjectured as παντὸς ὅλου παρ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχύς ἐστι.

PYRRHUS.

22 νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολλύναι θάτερον <οὐ προσήκει> or something similar.

MARIUS.

43 τὴν ἐκβάλλουσιν (ψῆφον) should be ἐκβαλοῦσαν.

LYSANDER.

8 (end) οὐδὲ Λακωνικὸν <ὄν> τὸ χρῆσθαι κ.τ.λ.?

17 ἦν (love of money) οὐκ ἀφῆρει τὸ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ιδιώτην ὡς τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰσεποιεῖτο.

ὡς and some part of ὅσος are apt to get confused, and here we should restore ὅσον. 'It was not so much removed by one thing as introduced by the other.'

23 τοῖς πολλοῖς στρατιώταις ἡγεμονίας πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεις πόλεων διδούς.

It is inconceivable that Agesilaus gave these important functions to most soldiers. Who then served in the ranks? Applying τοῖς πολλοῖς, as οἱ πολλοί is applied four lines above, to most of the applicants for posts, we may conjecture στρατιωτικῶν ἡγεμονίας πραγματων. πράγματα indeed needs some limitation; otherwise διοικήσεις πόλεων would hardly have been mentioned separately.

SULLA.

10 οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες ᾤοντο λυπεῖν ἐκείνον.

The meaning is *thought to annoy*, and this requires ἄν to be added (μάλιστ' ἄν?) or λυπήσειν.

COMP. LYSANDRI ET SULLAE.

4 Read ὁ μὲν γε for ὁ μέντοι γε.

CIMON.

8 ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον, where we certainly want some form of ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἓνα, is an unusually pronounced instance of adjacent words exchanging the terminations of case, person, or whatever it may be, that belong to the two respectively. See my *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, p. 303. The example before us is unusually noticeable, because of the forms μιᾶς and ἓνα being so very distinct. It argues almost a confusion of thought rather than a mere *lapsus calami*; but the error should, I think, be put down to a copyist, not to Plutarch himself.

LUCULLUS.

9 ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων.

κατὰ is not used in this way. Read καὶ τ. ὁδῶν . . . καὶ τ. χωρίων, like Thucydides' καλῶς παράπλου κείται, etc.

14 πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεόμενον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, εὐπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἂν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ βασιλέως, <ὡς> ἀναγκασθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ.

20 ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον.

Read τό for the meaningless τοῦτο.

22 (end) καὶ κεῖσθαι περὶ Σάφαν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον <ὄν> οὕτω καλούμενον?

27 καταφανὴς ἦν <ὁ> πρῶτος αἰετός?

37 ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον.

The sense requires ἔπειθεν, *he urged them*, for they did grant it.

NICIAS.

11 ὕστερον δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνάξιον γεγενέσθαι νομίζοντες (the ostracism of Hyperbolus).

The construction is very halting until we restore καθυβρισμένοι. The people, though a large part of them must (if the story is true) have joined in the understanding, thought themselves outraged by it.

18 οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἔσχε προσπλέοντος οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο καθαρὰν.

καθαρὰν is unintelligible and has been corrected in various ways. Possibly καὶ φρουράν.

28 Timaeus affirms that Demosthenes and Nicias were not put to death by the Syracusans, ἀλλ' Ἑρμοκράτους πέμψαντος . . . καὶ δι' ἐνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

παρέντων has been corrected to παρέντος, but even this gives no clear meaning. I should guess something like παραινέσαντος or παραινούντος.

CRASSUS.

2 ὥστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

Rather ἐπ' αὐτῷ, in his hands, at his disposal. So in 14 read πᾶσαν ἐφ' (not ὑφ') ἑαυτοῖς ποιείσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

3 παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγον μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρεῖῳδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἥσκησε.

Does not μάλιστα κ.τ.λ., point to λόγων? If it were λόγων, the art of speaking, τὸ ῥητορικόν would hardly be put as only a part of it. Of course λόγος may sometimes be appropriate, e.g. *Anatus* 3 ἐνδεέστερον ἴσως . . . περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐσπούδασε.

9 μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν.

Read ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι.

COMP. NICIAE ET CRASSI.

3 χώραν οὐ δοτέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ' ἀρχὴν μὴ ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ πίστιν ἀπιστουμένοις.

I cannot make any sense of ἄρχουσιν. Should it be ἄρξουσιν, men who will not exercise authority?

4 προσεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Πομπηῖος ἐπῆλθε καὶ Λούκουλλος ἀντέσχευ.

οἷς ἐπῆλθε does not mean 'the regions that Pompey invaded.' It is the idiomatic use of the neuter pronoun and verb together as equivalent to a substantive: 'the expeditions of Pompey and the resistance of Lucullus.' There is therefore no reason for doubting the soundness of the words.

SERTORIUS.

2 γένος ἦν οὐκ ἀσημότατον.

ἄσημον?

10 καίτοι δοκεῖ . . . ὁμότητος καὶ βαρυθυμίας τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους πραχθὲν ἔργον ἐπιδείξαι τὴν φύσιν οὐχ οὖσαν ἡμερον.

It has been proposed to insert μεστόν or γέμον to govern the genitives.

I conjecture ἡμερον to be a miswriting of ἔρημον, on which the genitives depend. ἔρημος has sometimes merely the meaning of *without, devoid of*, e.g. Plato *Laws* 862 E. ποιούντες ἀνδρῶν κακῶν ἔρημον τὴν πόλιν.

22 (end) δι' αἰτίας seems, if the words are themselves right, to need some addition, e.g. τινάς or an epithet.

EUMENES.

13 συνεπορεύοντο βουλευ<σ>όμενοι.

14 ἤλπιζεν <ἀν>εἶναι, if it means *hoped to be*. So Solon 15 ἤλπιξε . . . χρήσασθαι should be χρήσεσθαι.

AGESILAUS.

11 κάλλιστον υἱὸν μὲν ἔχων . . . καλὴν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα.

Presumably κάλλιστον μὲν υἱὸν ἔχων.

At the end of the chapter read ἄν for αὖ (instead of adding it, as I formerly suggested).

23 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ταῦτα <οὐ> δοκεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ (ταῦτα referring to the preceding praise of justice) ?

30 ξυρῶνται <μὲν> μέρος τῆς ὑπῆνης, μέρος δὲ τρέφουσι.

μὲν lost before μερ.

36 Another ἄν seems lost in κεῖ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. οὐ πάμπαν ἄμεμπτον <ἄν> εἶναι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. 'Even in that case it would have been liable to censure in so old a man.'

POMPEIUS.

1 In the first line (ἔοικε τοῦτο παθεῖν . . . ὅπερ κ.τ.λ.) write ταῦτό.

8 οὐδένης ἄν προσδοκήσαντος . . . κοινώσεσθαι, not -σασθαι. Cf. on *Eumenes* 14 above.

32 Is ἐκβαλεῖν φρέαρ the right expression ? It is odd in itself and, seeing that Plutarch says ἐμβαλεῖν ταφρόν three or four times, we may think ἐμβαλεῖν more likely here.

58 οὐκ ἔφη λόγων ἀκροάσεσθαι καθήμενος, ἀλλ' ὄρων ὑπερφαινόμενα τῶν Ἀλπεων ἥδη δέκα τάγματα βαδίζειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψειν τὸν ἀντιταξόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

Like others, I failed formerly to see that the change needed here is that of βαδίζειν to βαδίζων. βαδίζων is contrasted with καθήμενος.

80 ἦν δὲ <ῆ> γλυφὴ λέων ξιφῆρης.

COMP. AGESILAI ET POMPEII.

1 τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδοξε λαβεῖν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ἄμεμπτος οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους.

Read ἀμέμπτως.

ALEXANDER.

42 μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οἷα γράφει παῖδα . . . κελεύων ἀναζητῆσαι.

Is οἷα grammatical ? οἷας ?

C. CAESAR.

4 οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν πράγματος ἡγητέον μικρὰν ἢν οὐ ταχὺ ποιεῖ μεγάλην τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς κ.τ.λ.

No doubt οὕτω is to be added to μικράν, as has been suggested. But ought not ποιεῖ to be ποιήσει ? 'No beginning of an affair is to be accounted so small that it will not (or cannot) be soon made great.' 'Is not' fails to give good sense. So in *Alexander* 6 (end) Μακεδονία γὰρ σε οὐ χωρήσει would perhaps be more suitable than οὐ χωρεῖ, and in *Crassus* 11 εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχοι

πολλοὺς ἵππους . . . , ἡττώμενος δὲ οὐ δέεται, if we are to substitute ἔξοι for ἔχοι, as seems necessary, we should probably change δέεται also to δέησεται. At the end of *Cato Minor* μιμήσεσθαι has been restored by Cobet and Madvig for μιμῆσθαι.

11 ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον πρῶτος ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερος. Not 'I could have wished,' for that would imply that he already was, or knew himself fated to be, the second man at Rome. ἐγὼ μὲν <ἂν> βουλοίμην seems wanted.

20 οὐδεὶς ἂν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι.

Not 'it is thought' but 'it was thought' (ἐδόκει) that no one would have survived. Cf. *Themistocles* 1 above.

PHOCION.

10 ὥσπερ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ μόνον . . . <ἄλλα οἱ καὶ> οὐχὶ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.

16 τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δεόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες μολὶς ἔπεισαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ Φωκίῳ τὴν πόλιν.

I would now read λέγοντες for ἔχοντες. The confusion occurs elsewhere.

26 καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἦται τὸ μένοντα κατὰ χώραν ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.

The emphasis of τοῦτο τό seems pointless. Read τοῦτον πρῶτον ἢ τέτο μένοντα.

28 Adopting ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀτυχήμασι, not ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐτυχήμασι (oddly expressed and not appropriate), and the conjecture ἐπισκοπεῖν for ἐπισκοπεῖν, I would read τοῖς θεοῖς. Formerly (they said) in their greatest disasters (e.g. the Persian occupation of Attica) the mystic sights and sounds had encouraged them and dismayed their foes (Herod. 8. 65?): now at the mysteries the gods there celebrated were thrown into the shade by the Macedonian garrison, and joy was turned to humiliation and mourning.

32 οὐδὲν ἡλπιζε περαίνειν.

Read περανεῖν, a correction that has certainly been made in *Cato Minor* 10 (οὐδὲν ᾤετο . . . περαίνειν) and may already have been made here. Cf. on *Eumenes* above.

CATO MINOR.

9 μικρὸν ἔργον ἡγείτο καὶ οὐ βασιλικόν.

This makes no sense. The conjecture οὐκ ἀνύσιμον makes fair sense, but the corruption is unaccounted for. Did Plutarch write καίτοι βασιλικόν, though regal?

17 προσκαλούμενος ἕκαστον <τὸν> ἔχοντα δημόσιον ἀργύριον.

The words can hardly stand as they are.

24 εἶναι τινὰς τοὺς κινουμένους καὶ κελεύοντας should certainly be read and made dependent on λέγεται. We must then add a καί or δέ to τὸν Καίσαρα, unless εἶναι <γάρ> . . . τὰ γεγραμμένα is preferred. At the beginning of the next chapter I would write καθαπερ <γάρ> rather than <καὶ> καθάπερ.

27 ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα παρήκαν, ἣ μόλις ἐπισπάσας τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Κάτων τὸν Μουνάτιον ἀνήγαγε.

For ἣ should we write εἰ μή? It seems hardly possible that the words can mean οὐδένα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Μουνάτιον, ὃν μόλις . . . ἀνήγαγε.

55 οὕτως ἔσται τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὡς κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps ἔσται should be ἔσχε or εἶχε. παρέσχε in *Nic.* 22 has been corrected with something like certainty to παρέστη.

69 ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἡλικία (for ἡλικίας) προήκοντα, as in *Alcib.* 18, seems likely, or <εἰς> τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας.

AGIS.

7 For ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, where the emphasis seems wrong, read ὁ μὲν Ἀ. ταῦτα, or possibly ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἀ.

CLEOMENES.

4 μάτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθάνονται κ.τ.λ.

μάτην is absurd with πυνθάνονται, as the editors have of course seen. Can it have strayed from a few lines above, οὐκ εἶασε διακινδυνεύσαι . . . ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε <μάτην>?

31 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ <καὶ> ζῆν μόνοις ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, dying as well as living.

34 πυνθανόμενος . . . τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐκείνον.

The difficulty is not in ἐκείνον and αὐτὸν referring to the same person, which is quite legitimate, but in the fact that only one pronoun is wanted. τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν suggests strongly by its personification that αὐτόν should be αὐτά.

35 εἰ μή . . . <μή> μετρίως ἐζημιούτο.

The cause of the loss is clear.

DEMOSTHENES.

2 οἷσινσι πλείων τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

ἐπιχωρεῖ lacks an accusative. We might think of reading προσέτι for ἔτι πρὸς, but probably a word, e.g. σπουδὴν or ἰσχύν, has been lost before ἔτι.

CICERO.

15 The decree authorising the consuls to act for themselves : δεξαμένους δ' ἐκείνους ὡς ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σφῆζειν τὴν πόλιν.

If ὡς ἐπίστανται is a complete expression = *to the best of their judgment*, it suggests the possibility of understanding Aesch. *P.V.* 374 σεαυτὸν σφῆζ' ὅπως ἐπίστασαι and *Eum.* 581 ὅπως τ' ἐπίστα τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην in a corresponding manner.

23 τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρχόντων (ἀρξόντων?). In *Dion* 29 προσείλοντο . . . αὐτοῖς συνάρχοντας εἵκοσιν and *Publ.* 1 ἡρέθη . . . συνάρχων I think the

present participle may stand, though earlier Greek would probably have used the future. Cf. *Comp. Nic. et Crass.* 3 above.

33 ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν προέμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα.

Do we not require προέμενον?

38 χρησιμώτερον <ἂν> ὄντα . . . εἰ μένων . . . ἡρμόζετο.

44 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτία γεγονέναι.

The context points to δοκεῖ. In *Tib. Gracch.* 8 the same error has been corrected.

47 καὶ τᾶλλα παραχῶδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλευματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων. τᾶλλα is probably a corruption of πολλά, which gives much better sense. In *Alex.* 52 on the other hand εἰς πολλὰ χαννότερον has been altered very plausibly to εἰς τᾶλλα.

The last sentence of this chapter with the two imperfectly contracted clauses θηρία δέ (instead of καὶ θηρία μὲν) αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ and αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνουσιν is very remarkable and probably in some way wrong. We might think of θηρία γάρ, as δέ and γάρ get interchanged, but then the clauses would naturally be in the infinitive.

DEMETRIUS.

2 συνεκέκρατο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἱταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἡρωική τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλική σεμνότης.

Read δυσμιμήτως. That is better in itself and supported by the position of τις, which would otherwise naturally follow the first adjective. Cf. *Antonius* 23 below, *Comp. Ages. et Pomp.* I above.

16 ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔχη.

No doubt σύντασιν. An ἀγὼν is always a σύστασις.

26 ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς Ἀγραν.

τὸν Δημήτριον? In τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηρίωνος ἐτελοῦντο half a dozen lines earlier ἐτελοῦντο is personal, as ἐπώπτευνον shows. Cf. *Publicola* 21 above.

ANTONIUS.

23 τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἄτοπος οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συνηνέχθη.

Read ἀτόπως and φορτικῶς, comparing *Demetrius* 2 above.

46 (end) ἵστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένης (ἐκδεχομένης?).

54 ὥς οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι καλόν, εἰ . . . κατέστησε.

The past tense κατέστησε may be defended, but on the whole I should prefer καταστήσει.

66 We seem to need something like ἢ προσπέσοιεν σκάφεσιν <ἐκ> τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ δεδεμένων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνηρμοσμένοις.

79 ᾧ προστετάκτο <τοῦ> ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον τᾶλλα . . . ἐνδιδόναι.

τοῦ lost after το.

DION.

31 ἐπισκήψεις τε δειναὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ τὸ μάλιστα κινήσαν αὐτὸν ἀξιούντος μὴ καθαιρεῖν κ.τ.λ.

Reading κινήσον or μάλιστ' <ἄν> κινήσαν, I now think that a participle in the genitive parallel to ἀξιούντος has been lost before καί, e.g., δεομένου.

BRUTUS.

36 Read καὶ (for ἢ) τί βουλόμενος.

37 Either <ὁ> ἡμέτερος οὗτος λόγος or possibly ἡμέτερος οὗτος . . . <ὁ> λόγος.

ARTAXERXES.

7 οὐ δεῖ φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ <οὐ μόνον> Μηδίας ἐκστάντα καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀλλὰ καὶ Σούσων ἐνδύεσθαι τῇ Περσίδι.

GALBA.

29 In the last words read οἰκτίροντας for οἰκτίραντας.

HERBERT RICHARDS.