

Pseudo-Iustini Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum

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This is the most puzzling piece of the so-called *Corpus Pseudo-Iustini*.¹ It opens with Ἰουστίνος Ζηνᾷ καὶ Σερήνῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν and closes with Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν (= *Tt* 3:15; *Heb* 13:25).² Back in 1881, Adolf Harnack suggested that an unknown Justin (not Justin Martyr) may be the author of the *Epistle*.³ In his turn, in 1896 Pierre Batiffol suggested Sisinnius, a Novatian bishop of Constantinople and adversary of John Chrysostom († 407), as its author.⁴ But both suggestions are only a shot in the dark.

I have argued elsewhere⁵ that the *Epistle* is a forgery, a προγύμνασμα, an idle exercise in Christian rhetoric. Its author proves to be a mediocre rhetorician stitching together a quilt (or a cento) consisting of Christian, Stoic and Cynic commonplaces in Ethics. Among his many sources the lion's share belongs to Clement of Alexandria (particularly his *Paedagogus*, Book 2).⁶

That means that Zenas, Serenus and Papas (1.4) existed only in the author's imagination. And if the inscription in *A* is authentic (Ἰουστίνος ... χαίρειν), it

¹ On this *Corpus* compare Christoph Riedweg in *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, s.v. Iustinus Martyr II (Pseudo-justinische Schriften), sub prelo.

² The *Epistle* was first published by Robertus Stephanus [*Iustini Opera omnia*], Paris 1551, 1–8. Friedrich Sylburg, *Iustini Opera*, Heidelberg 1593, 388–98, and Prudence Maran, *Iustini Opera*, Paris 1742 (= *P. G.* 6, Paris 1857 = 1884, coll. 1183–1204) have slightly improved the transmitted text (Maran divided the *Epistle* into 19 chapters). The latest edition is by Carl von Otto (*Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi* III.1, Jena 1846; 3rd ed., 1880), 66–99 (I quote Otto's text and his Latin translation by chapter and line.)

³ Adolf Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, T.U. I.1–2 (Leipzig 1882), 160 f.: 'Das wahrscheinlichste ist, nach der unverdächtigen Aufschrift, dass wirklich ein Justin den Brief geschrieben hat, und dass dieser Umstand in späterer Zeit dazu verführte, ihn dem gefeierten Apologeten beizulegen'. The same suggestion in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, I.1 (Leipzig 1893 = Leipzig 1958), 113 f.: 'vielleicht rührt der Brief von einem anderen Justin her'.

⁴ *Revue biblique* 5, 1896, 114–22, esp. p. 119 ff.

⁵ In *Festschrift Fanula Papazoglu*, Skopje, Macedonia, 1997 (sub prelo).

⁶ Compare Paul Wendland, *Quaest. Musonianae* (Diss. Berolin. 1886), 45–47; Otto Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus IV* (Leipzig 1936), 28.

implies that our rhetorician intended to play the role of Justin Martyr (*contra Harnack*).⁷ In such a case the author's reference to his previous work Πρὸς ἄρχοντας (1.7) does not mean 'To the bishops', but rather alludes to Justin Martyr's *Apology*, addressed to the Emperors (Rulers) Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Whatever the case may be, my concern here is with the text of the *Epistle*. It is preserved in two independent manuscripts, both famous: the *codex Arethae*, Parisinus gr. 451 (copied by Baanes in 913–914), fol. 155^r–163^v (= A), and the *codex Iustini*, Parisinus gr. 450 (copied in 1363, most probably in Mistra near Sparta), fol. 6^v–16^v (= P). All other extant manuscripts are apographs either of A or of P, as has been established by Harnack (in 1881).⁸ But Otto (in 1846) did not know that. As a result, he produced an edition which too often *sensu caret*. Unfortunately, this fact remained unnoticed by subsequent scholars. The point is that the text of the *Epistle* as preserved in A and P is lacunose, corrupt, interpolated and dislocated. I present here a few emendations.

(1) *Ep.* 1.1–5: Περὶ μὲν τῆς κατὰ πρόλημμά τινων ἀλογίστου παιδείας, μαθήσεώς τε ἀνωφελούς, κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀνθρώπων κληρονομηθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς Φαρισαίοις νοούντων τε καὶ πραττόντων, ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Πάπαν ἐπιστολῇ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἐξεθέμην. This 'senseless education' and 'useless instruction' was not transmitted by *all* men, only by *foolish* men. Thus read κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀνθρώπων <ἀνοήτων>. It is not difficult to see why ἀνοήτων was dropped after ἀπῶν. The word ἀνόητοι recurs at *Ep.* 5.11; 6.16; 8.17.

(2) 2.23–26: Καὶ ἔτι γνώμην ὑμῖν δίδωμι, βλέπειν ἂν προσήκει θεωρεῖν, καὶ παιδεύειν τὸν πλησίον ὡς δέον ἐστίν, αὐτὸν τινα πρῶτον μελετήσαντα πολλάκις τὸ ὑπονοούμενον, μήτι ἄρα ψευδοδοξεῖ· καὶ εἰ δόξειεν εὖ φρονεῖν, βουθετεῖν τότε ... The author speaks of *advising*. Consequently, read βουθετεῖν for θεωρεῖν, which does not make sense (and probably was caused by the preceding βλέπειν).

(3) 3.5–9: Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κεκραγότα σιωπητέον, καὶ τὸν οἰόμενον περιγεγονέναι τινὸς καταγελαστέον, μὴ ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ματαιίας ἀγόμενον διὰ τοὺς παρόντας καὶ ἀκούοντας ταῖς τῶν λόγων ἀνθυποφοραῖς ἐπ' ἴσης καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπανάστασιν κρατύνειν. First, it contradicts the tenet of the *Epistle* to advise that a boaster be openly derided. Consequently, read καὶ τὸν

⁷ *Die Überlieferung*, p. 161: 'Ganz unglücklich wäre die Hypothese, der Verfasser habe für den Apologeten gelten wollen. Hierauf führt geradezu Nichts in dem Briefe'. In his footnote 140, Harnack interprets ἄρχοντες (*Ep.* 1.7) as 'die Gemeindeführer überhaupt'.

⁸ *Die Überlieferung*, pp. 32, 51–53, 68–72, 76–79.

οίόμενον περιγεγονέναι τινὸς <οὐ> καταγελαστέον (and compare No. 10). Second, the verb on which κρατύειν depends is missing. Thus read μη<δὲ> ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ματαιίας ἀγόμενον <δεῖ> διὰ τοὺς παρόντας ... τὴν ἐπανάστασιν κρατύειν (cf. 3.14 προσήκει and 3.21 δεῖ).

(4) 3.24: ... διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν ἀπηλλαγκῶς ἐστὶ (cf. Eph 4:19). A sinner with *unclean* conscience becomes despondent. Thus read διὰ τὴν <κακὴν> συνείδησιν and compare 3.11 διὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν and 6.6 διὰ τὸ δυσσυνείδητον.

(5) 4.7–8: ... τὴν τε ὑπηρεσίαν οὐκ ἐπιτηδευτέον, οὐδ' ὡσπερ κατὰ πρόλημα δουλευτέον ... The expression κατὰ πρόλημα means here *spe lucri* (as in Tatian, *Oratio* 3.7). The author does not reject any service, only the one for profit. Thus read τὴν τε ὑπηρεσίαν <διὰ δόξαν> οὐκ ἐπιτηδευτέον and compare 4.14 τὸ ἐπιτηδευόμενον δόξης ἔνεκα.

(6) 4.9–11: Πρακτέον δὲ πᾶν τὸ κατὰ πίστιν ὀρθῶ κανόνι· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σχοινίων ὡσπερ βαδίζων ὅσον οὐδέπω καταπεσεῖται ... The word καὶ attests to a lacuna. Thus read πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ τοιοῦτος <ἀβέβαιος> καὶ ... καταπεσεῖται. The simile of σχοινοβάτης (Epict. *Diss.* 3.12.2) was especially dear to John Chrysostom (*P.G.* 56, 114 BC *et saepius*).

(7) 5.8–11: Ἔτι δὲ ὑποληπτέον πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἀλλότριον, καὶ μη<δὲν> ἴδιον πλέον [= πλήν] πίστεως. Οὔτε οὖν φιλίαν ἐπίγειον ζητητέον, οὔτε αὖ πολυτέλειαν ὑπὸ ἀνοήτων μακαριζομένην ... Otto defends the transmitted φιλίαν by translating it with *favor*. This seems to me farfetched. Read instead φιλ<ονεικ>ίαν and compare 5.19 φιλονεικίαν; 5.25 ὁ φιλόνεικος and Musonii Rufi Fr. 3 (p. 10.13 Hense) μηδὲ φιλόνεικον εἶναι, μὴ πολυτελεῖ.

(8) 6.11–14: Γελάσαιμι δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐν παραβύστω μετὰ τίνος τῶν πλησίον συντάπτοντας λόγων κεφάλαια καὶ ὁμιλίας πρὸς μηδὲν εὐθετον ἀνηκούσας, μάχας δὲ διὰ τῶν ψιθυρισμῶν καὶ πολέμους ἐξαρτιζούσας, ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω σκηνοβατοῦντας. The idea is: People who themselves engage in the backstage gossiping raise hell whenever they hear others gossip about them. Consequently, read ... μάχας δὲ διὰ τῶν <ἄλλων> ψιθυρισμούς καὶ πολέμους ἐξαρτιζόντας.

(9) 7.10–12: Οἴνω δὲ χρηστέον, ἐπειδὴν μηκέτι τοῖς ἀναγνώμασι σχολάζωμεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτος οἰνόφυξ τέ ἐστιν καὶ τὴν γνώμην παράφορος καὶ θερμαίνεται συνεχῶς. Obviously we should read ὁ μὲν γὰρ <μὴ> τοιοῦτος and τὴν γνώμην παράφορος, ὡς ('as, since') θερμαίνεται συνεχῶς. As for the warming effect of the wine compare Eurip. *Alc.* 758; *Cycl.* 424 et al.

(10) 7.13–14: Λαλοῦντος δ' ἐ τοῦ πλησίον οὔτε χλευαστέον οὔτε κωλυτέον, ἐατέον δὲ μέχρις ἂν διὰ τὴν σιωπὴν αἰδεσθεῖς παύσηται. Why

would one scoff at somebody's words unless they are offensive? Consequently, read: λαλούντος δὲ τοῦ πλησίον <τὸ μὴ δέον> οὔτε χλευαστέον οὔτε κωλυτέον ... and compare 8.21–22 ὁ ... τὰ μὴ δέοντα λέγων.

(11) 8.5–10 (*Cave feminam*: Καὶ γυναιξιν ὀμιλητέον ἐπιστρεφέστερον):

Otto
Μήτε οὖν αὐτὰς διώκωμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τε θωπεύωμεν· τὸ δ' ὅπερ ἀγάπης ἐστὶν (Maran, Otto: ἀγαπῶμεν, τὸ A P) μὴ κεκινδυνευμένως πράττωμεν. Πολυμερεῖς γὰρ αἱ τῆς κακίας πραγματεῖαι. Διὰ τοῦτο γρηγορητέον, τοῖς λογίοις τοῦ σωτήρος σχολάζοντας, μηδὲν περὶ μηδενὸς φαῦλον λέγοντας ἢ ἀκούοντας· ψωριᾶ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπέπλησται κακομυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὀμιλιῶν.

Read
Μήτε οὖν αὐτὰς διώκωμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τε θωπεύωμεν· τὸ δ' ὅπερ ἀγαπῶμεν <αὐτάς>, <τοῦ>το μὴ κεκινδυνευμένως πράττωμεν. Πολυμερεῖς γὰρ αἱ τῆς κακίας <αὐτῶν> πραγματεῖαι. <*> Διὰ τοῦτο γρηγορητέον, τοῖς λογίοις τοῦ Σωτήρος σχολάζοντας, μηδὲν περὶ μηδενὸς φαῦλον λέγοντας ἢ ἀκούοντας· ψωριᾶ γὰρ ἡ γνώμη καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπέπλησται κακαμυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλ<οτρι>ων ὀμιλιῶν.

I think the suggested emendations are self-evident. Maran's change of the transmitted ἀγαπῶμεν τὸ into ἀγάπης ἐστὶν is violent, and κακαμυχία squares with ψωριᾶ. But the point is that the transition from the topic 'Beware women' to the topic 'Do not speak evil' is too brusque. That is why I posit a lacuna before Διὰ τοῦτο.

(12) 9.6–11 (Rebuking your adversary by reading the Psalms):

Otto
Ἕμνους τε καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ ψῆδὰς καὶ αἶνον ῥητέον· μὴ ὡσπερ τὸν διαμαχόμενον αὐτῷ κατακρίνοντα παρακολουθεῖν ἐνίοις αἰνιγματωδῶς, διὰ ψαλμῶδίας τὸν πλησίον λυπεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲ δοκῆ διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ πως τιτρώσκειν (Maran: γινώσκειν A P) ὡσπερ διὰ τέχνης νομίζων (A P) ἐκείνον ἀκατηγόρητον ποιῆται τὴν φιλο-νεικίαν.

Read
Ἕμνους τε καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ ψῆδὰς κατ' αἶνον (sc. τῷ θεῷ, cf. Lc 18:43) ῥητέον· μη<δὲ δεῖ> ὡσπερ τὸν <τὸν> διαμαχόμενον αὐτῷ κατακρίνοντα παρακολουθεῖν ἐνίοις <ρητοῖς> αἰνιγματωδῶς <καὶ add. Maran> διὰ ψαλμῶδίας τὸν πλησίον λυπεῖν, ἵνα μη δοκῆ διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ πως τιτρώσκειν ὡσπερ διὰ τέχνης κομίζων (Arцерius ap. Fr. Sylburg) ἐκείνον ἀκατηγόρητον ποιῆται τὴν φιλο-νεικίαν.

'Ρητά are the sayings of Scripture. And Arcerius's κομίζων ('achieving, bringing about') gives an excellent sense. Incidentally, the transmitted

γινώσκειν for Maran's τιτρώσκειν should serve as a warning sign: A and P are heavily corrupt manuscripts.

(13) 9.11–14: Ἀκουστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμβουλευόντος, οὐ μόνον διδασκτέον. Πειστέον δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ βουλομένῳ συγκαταινοῦντα αὐτῷ τὸν πλησίον γίνεσθαι. This text cannot yield the sense required by Otto: 'Qui proximum sibi adsentiri cupit is pariter se ad adsentendum facilem praebere debet'. Read instead Πειστέον δὲ <τῷ πλησίον> κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον τὸν βουλούμενον συγκαταινοῦντα αὐτῷ τὸν πλησίον γίνεσθαι.

(14) 10.18–21: Πᾶς δὲ πιστός (i.e. Christianus), ἐπειδὴν διαπαίξεσθαι νομίζεται ὑπὸ τινος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένου σύνεσιν ἀντιβουκολεῖ τὴν ἐκείνου κακίαν ἐν τῷ γινώσκειν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης τὴν διάθεσιν. The expression κατὰ ... σύνεσιν does not make sense. Read κατακλέγων > τὴν τοῦ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένου σύνεσιν ..., 'A man blunts his enemy's ridicule by reciting (repeating) how intelligent the latter is'.

(15) 11.9–14: Ὡσπερ δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς πατὴρ ἄσωτευόμενον τὸν υἱὸν βαστάζειν φησίν, ... οὕτως καὶ γὼ συμβουλεύω τοῖς ἄγαν ἔσκληραγωγημένοις τοὺς φρονιμωτέρους ἐμφαίνειν ὅτι μήτε ἅ πράττουσιν ἐπίστανται, μήτε ἅ λέγουσι γινώσκουσιν. Otto translates: 'Quemadmodum comicus pater intemperantem filium a se ferri dicit ..., ita et ego auctor sum prudentioribus ut iis, qui maiorem in modum obduruerunt, neque ea quae isti agunt scire, nec quae dicunt intelligere videantur'. But the verb σκληραγωγέω means 'to bring up (a son) hardy; to give him an austere education; to train and discipline him' (cf. Lampe, *Patrist. Lex.*, s.v.). Consequently, we must read τοῖς <μὴ> ἄγαν ἔσκληραγωγημένοις, 'to those *without* a strict discipline', in order to match 'the prodigal son' (ἄσωτευόμενον τὸν υἱόν) of the simile. One should disregard their words and actions, advises the author.

(16) 11.17–19: Διὰ τοῦτο παρέχωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀλήπτους, μὴ τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτοῖς μόνον πράττοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσιν. Obviously, one should read μὴ τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτοῖς μόνον <καλὸν> πράττοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἵνα σωθῶμεν.

(17) 11.26–27: Τὸ δὲ τοῦ κινήματος (sc. τῆς ὀργῆς) αὐτός τις καθ' ἑαυτὸν γινόμενος καταμαθεῖν δυνατός. The author has already defined the anger (ὀργή) as the typical example of madness (11.20 μανίας ... εἶδος). Accordingly, read Τὸ δὲ τοῦ κινήματος <σθένος> αὐτός τις ... καταμαθεῖν δυνατός.

(18) 12.4–7: Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γλώτταν δεσμεόμενος, πῦρ δὲ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λάμπων, τρέμων δὲ καὶ τὰς βάσεις καὶ ἀναισθητῶν, φάρμακον προσίεται θανάσιμον ... The words Ὁ δὲ must refer to *the wine* in the preceding sentence (ὁ δὲ οἶνος βοθητίας χάριν τοῦ σώματος γέγονεν), which is nonsensical. Read Ὁ δὲ <μεθύων> πρῶτον μὲν ..., since

the author clearly describes a *drunk man*, and compare 12.1 τὸ μεθύειν and 12.15 τὴν δίψαν εἰς τὴν μέθην ἔλκοντας.

(19) 12.9–13: Ὁ γὰρ οἰνοποτῶν, δέον τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος διὰ τὸ κρύος πίνειν μέχρι τοῦ μὴ ῥιγοῦν, τοῦ δὲ θέρους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐντὸς θεραπείαν, παραχρῶμενος δὲ αὐτῷ ληραίνει καὶ δίκην κυνῶν ἢ συῶν, ρέυματι τῆς θεραπείας ὑπερζέων, ἀσχημονεῖ. The second *θεραπεία* was induced by the first one while ousting the correct reading—τῆς θερμοσίας, a traditional trademark of wine (cf. ad No. 9). Otto's interpretation will convince no one ('copia curatio-nis effervescens', 'h.e. alimenti'). Incidentally, our author is copying from Clement, *Paed.* 2.29.2 Ἀρέσκει τοίνυν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὀρθῷ χειμῶνος μὲν διὰ τὸ κρύος πίνειν (sc. τὸν οἶνον) μέχρι τοῦ μὴ ῥιγοῦν, οἷς εὐχερὲς τὸ ῥιγοῦν, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου καιροῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐντοσθιδίων θεραπείαν.

(20) 13.1–4: Παραιτητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν λιχνεῖαν, ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μεταλαμβάνοντα (= Clem *Paed.* 2.10.1). Καθάπερ γὰρ σῶμα νοσοῦν πολλῶν καὶ μυρίων δεῖται φαρμάκων, οὕτως καὶ ἡ δι' αὐτὴν ἀτυχοῦσα ψυχὴ μονονουχὶ καὶ δερμάτων ἐμπίπλασθαι βούλεται. Who eats hide ('tantum non pellibus quoque impleri cupit')? Read instead μονονουχὶ καὶ <ἔως> δέρματος ἐμπίπλασθαι (sc. τῆς τροφῆς) βούλεται, 'to fill oneself to the point of bursting'.

(21) 13.5–11: Κἂν πύθηταί τις τὸ αἴτιον (sc. τῆς λιχνεΐας), πάθος ἀναπλάττει σωματικόν. Πρὸς οὓς ῥητέον: Οὐ πᾶν ἐπιτήδευμα δόγματι τῆς ἐννοίας κρατυνόμενον εὐαπολόγητον ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ...; Ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος δόγμα πάνυ θαυμαστῶς ἐξεφώνησεν. The second sentence is lacunose. Read Ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν <τὸ πάθος> (sc. σωματικόν) πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ κακοῦ [καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος] <τὸ τῆς ἐννοίας> δόγμα πάνυ θαυμαστῶς ἐξεφώνησεν.

(22) 13.11–16: Τροφαῖς ἄρα χρηστέον ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ πεινᾶν. Ὁ δὲ τοιούτος ἑκατοντάχειρ, τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, βούλεται περιπατεῖν καὶ πεντηκοντακέφαλος, Γηρυόνας τρικεφάλους καὶ ἐξάχειρας ζητῶν, πολλαῖς χερσὶ καὶ πλείοσι στόμασι λαιμαργεῖν ἐπιτηδευκῶς. At the opening of the sentence read Ὁ δὲ <μὴ addi suad. Otto in *Addendis*, III.2, p. 426> τοιούτος <ὦς> ἑκατοντάχειρ. And at its closing read Γηρυόνας τρικεφάλους καὶ ἐξάχειρας ζηλῶν ('imitating', not 'looking for') and πολλοῖς στόμασι καὶ πλείοσι χερσὶ ..., since Briareus (*Il.* 1.402) has fifty heads (so we learn from our author) and twice that many hands.

(23) 15.5–12: Φυλακτέον δὲ πρὸ πάντων τὰς ἐν παραβύστῳ κωμικὰς αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν γυναικῶν) ἐπιτηδεύσεις, αἵτινες κρύφα γινόμεναι καταγινώσκονται μὲν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, γίνονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς πλησίον καταπίνειν. Συμβαίνει γοῦν ἐνιαῖς κλεπτούσαις ἐαυτάς, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ προδῆλου τολμᾶν

καλλωπίζειν τὰς ὄψεις, διὰ τέχνης τοῦτο πράττειν· εἰς ὕδωρ γὰρ ἢ ἔλαιον κατακύπτουσαι κρίνουσιν ἑαυτάς, εἰ πρὸς τὴν σωφροσύνην δύναιντ' ἄν πολεμεῖν. The author *brevi esse studet, obscurus fit, and librarius stupidus* omits words. In order to seduce men, women secretly do things they disapprove of whenever they see them done openly. Thus read τὰς ... ἐπιτηδεύσεις, αἴτινες <οὐ> κρύφα γινόμεναι καταγινώσκονται μὲν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν γυναικῶν), where <οὐ> κρύφα corresponds to ἐκ προδήλου in the second sentence.

What do they do? Unnoticed by men (read κλεπτούσας αὐτούς = τοὺς πλησίον), they bend over a basin with hot water or hot oil, in order to make their face *blush*, ἵνα ἐρυθραίνωσιν. Consequently, read εἰς ὕδωρ γὰρ ἢ ἔλαιον <θερμὸν> κατακύπτουσαι and compare διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ προδήλου τολμᾶν καλλωπίζειν τὰς ὄψεις.

(24) 15.12–16: Ἄλλα τις καὶ ἕτερος τρόπος τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν γυναικῶν) πραγματεύεται· κρύφα γὰρ κεφαλῆς ἐπιψάουσαι τῶν πλοκάμων, τοὺς πλησίον ὡσπερ κλέπτουσαι διακοσμεῖν τὰς ἐθείρας περιέργως, καὶ τῶν παρειῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπῆνης ἄκροις δακτύλοις ψάουσι. Seductresses devise a casual *physical contact* with their prospective victims. First they covertly bring their hairdress in disorder. Then they try to bring it back to order, and while so doing they artfully touch either the cheeks or the chin of the male sitting close to them with the tips of their fingers. Accordingly, read κρύφα γὰρ κεφαλῆς ἐπιψάουσαι τῶν πλοκάμων, τοὺς πλησίον κλέπτουσαι ὡσπερ διακοσμεῖν τὰς ἐθείρας περιέργως <πειρῶσαι>, καὶ τῶν παρειῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπῆνης <αὐτῶν = τῶν πλησίον> ἄκροις δακτύλοις ψάουσι.

(25) 16.1–2: Γυνὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀδελφὴ μὲν πᾶσα, τοῦ δὲ πλησίον εἴρηται γυνή ... Read τοῦ δὲ πλησίον εἴρηται γυνὴ <ἀγνή> and compare 16.5–6 παρθένον ἀγνήν (= 2 *Cor* 11:2).

(26) 17:10–11: Αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει μὴ τις ἄρα διὰ τὴν αὐτουργίαν ἀθλίου ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀβοηθήτους ὑπολάβη ... Read οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει <ὁ δεδιδῶς> μὴ τις ἄρα ...

(27) 18.3–8: Πρὸ πάντων δὲ γινώσκωμεν ὅτι καὶ νόσος ἀπόκειται τοῖς σαρκίσις ἡμῶν καὶ ζημία καὶ ἔνδεια, καὶ ὁ χαριστήσων (Parisinus gr. 174, s. XII, an apograph of A, agn. Maran, Otto [*'atque praesto adesse qui grates nobis persolvat'*]: ὁ ἀχαριστήσων A P) ἐγγύς. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρή προμελετᾶν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον, ἵνα μὴ συμβαῖνον θαῦμα καὶ ἔκπληξιν παρέχη ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν. Ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐρεῖ πρὸς τὸ συμβεβηκὸς πάθος: "Ἴδιδεν ὅτι <ε>μελλεῖς (Sylburg: μέλλεις A P, Otto) ἐπιέναι ... Keep the transmitted ὁ

ἀχαριστήσων as referring to ὁ θάνατος (a euphemism), and compare τὸ συμβεβηκὸς πάθος in the context.

(28) 19.4–8: Ὁ γὰρ λέγειν μὲν ἐπιτηδεύων ὅτι Οὐκ ἄρχων εἰμὶ καὶ δικαστής, πράττων δ' ἀγαθὸν μηδέν, οὗτος, ὡς ὑπὸ τυράννων πολλῶν κρατούμενος, λανθάνει τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ δουλεύων καὶ ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς ὁδῶ βαδίζειν σπεύδοντας. Read τοὺς ὁδῶ <ὁρθῇ> βαδίζειν σπεύδοντας and compare *Past. Hermae* mand. 6.1.2; *Iustini Dial.* 8.2; *Clem. Strom.* 7.94.6; 7.103.7 τὴν ὁρθὴν οὐ βαδίσαντες ὁδόν: *Prv* 4:26.

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