

Theophilus of Antioch: Fifty-five Emendations

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(1) Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum* I. 2 (line 30), ed. Robert M. Grant (Oxford, 1970). *Καὶ σοὶ οὖν ἅπαντα ἐπισκοτεῖ, καθάπερ ὕλης ἐπιφορὰ ἐπὶ γένηται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου· οὕτως καὶ σοί, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐπισκοτοῦσιν αἱ ἀσέβειαί πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σε ὄραν τὸν θεόν.* Read: *Καὶ σοὶ οὖν ἅπαντα <ταῦτα> ἐπισκοτεῖ· καθάπερ <γὰρ> ὕλης ἐπιφορὰ . . . τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου, οὕτως καὶ σοί, . . . τὸν θεόν.* “All these things bring darkness upon you too:” ἅπαντα ταῦτα are the sixteen sins quoted in lines 23–28.

(2) I. 6. 18. *Οὗτος θεὸς μόνος ὁ ποιήσας ἐκ σκότους φῶς, ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ, ταμεῖά τε νότου καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀβύσσου. . . .* Read: *ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ, <ὁ ποιῶν> ταμεῖά τε νότου καὶ . . . = Job 9:9.*

(3) I. 8. 3. *Ἡ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ἀπάντων πραγμάτων ἡ πίστις προηγείται; τίς γὰρ δύναται θερίσαι γεωργός, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον πιστεύσῃ τὸ σπέρμα τῇ γῆ; ἢ τίς δύναται διαπερᾶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν πιστεύσῃ τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ; τίς δὲ κάμνων δύναται θεραπευθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν πιστεύσῃ τῷ ἱατρῷ;* Read: *ἢ τίς <πλέων> δύναται διαπερᾶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν. . . .* Compare line 10 *Εἰ οὖν γεωργός πιστεύει τῇ γῆ καὶ ὁ π λ έ ω ν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὁ κάμνων τῷ ἱατρῷ, σὺ οὐ βούλει ἑαυτὸν πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ . . .*; Xenophon, *Mem.* III. 3. 9 *Καὶ γὰρ ἐν νόσῳ, ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται (sc. οἱ ἄνθρωποι) ἱατρικώτατον εἶναι, τούτῳ μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ ἐν πλοίῳ οἱ π λ έ ο ν τ ε ς, ὃν ἂν κυβερνητικώτατον, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ, ὃν ἂν γεωργικώτατον.*

(4) I. 11. 5. *Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν (sc. ὁ βασιλεύς), ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν . . . Οὕτως οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῳ θεῷ.* Read: *Οὕτως οὐδὲ <νὶ> προσκυνεῖσθαι ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῳ θεῷ.*

(5) I. 13. 3. *Εἶτα πιστεύεις μὲν Ἡρακλέα καύσαντα ἑαυτὸν ζῆν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν κεραυνοθέντα ἐγγεῖρθαι. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σοι λεγόμενα ἀπιστεῖς; ἴσως καὶ ἐπιδείξω σοι νεκρὸν ἐγερθέντα καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπιστήσεις.* Read:

ἐγγεῖρθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σοι λεγόμενα ἀπιστεῖς. ἴσως κ ἄ ν ἐπιδείξω σοι νεκρὸν . . .

(6) I. 13. 15. "Ἐτι μὴν ἐνίστε καὶ στρουθίον ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν πετεινῶν, καταπιὸν σπέρμα μηλέας ἢ συκῆς ἢ τινος ἐτέρου. . . . Read: στρουθίον ἢ <τι> τῶν λοιπῶν πετεινῶν . . .

(7) I. 13. 22. *Εἰ δὲ καὶ θαυμασιώτερον θέαμα θέλεις θεάσασθαι γινόμενον πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἀναστάσεως, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγεῖων πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ, κατανόησον τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σελήνης τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γενόμενῃν, πῶς φθίνει, ἀποθνήσκει, ἀνίσταται πάλιν. ἔτι ἄκουσον καὶ ἐν σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔργον ἀναστάσεως γινόμενον, κἂν ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ ἄνθρωπε.* Read: τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γνομένην and compare γνόμενον twice in the context.

(8) I. 14. 7. . . . ἀλλὰ πιστεύω πειθαρχῶν θεῶ: ᾧ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ ὑποτάγηθι πιστεύων αὐτῷ, μὴ νῦν ἀπιστήσας πεισθῆς ἀνιώμενος, τότε ἐν αἰωνίοις τιμωραῖς. Read: μὴ νῦν ἀπιστήσας <αἰθῖς> πεισθῆς . . . (*isoteleuton*).

(9) II. 2. 1. *Καὶ γὰρ γέλοιόν μοι δοκεῖ λιθοξόους μὲν καὶ πλάστας ἢ ζωγράφους ἢ χωνευτὰς πλάσσειν τε καὶ γράφειν καὶ γλύφειν καὶ χωνεύειν καὶ θεοὺς κατασκευάζειν, οἷ, ἐπὶ γένωνται ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦνται. . . .* Read: οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται and compare line 8 (οἱ ποιήσαντες) ἡγοῦνται θεοὺς αὐτούς.

(10) II. 3. 9 = *Oracula Sibyllina*, Fr. 2 Geffcken.

*Εἰ δὲ θεοὶ γεννῶσι καὶ ἀθάνατοὶ γε μένουσι,
πλείονες ἀνθρώπων γεγεννημένοι ἂν θεοὶ ἦσαν,
οὐδὲ τόπος στήναι θνητοῖς οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ὑπήρξεν.*

ἂν θεοὶ Rzach: οἱ δὲ θεοὶ Venetus 496 s. XI. Read: γεγεννημένοι οἱ {δὲ} θεοὶ ἦσαν with Ioannes Opsopoeus (J. Koch), Paris, 1599, and compare II. 9. 8.

(11) II. 4. 8. *Πλάτων δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῦ θεὸν μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀγένητον καὶ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων εἶναι. εἶτα ὑποτίθενται θεὸν καὶ ὕλην ἀγένητον καὶ ταύτην φασὶν συνηκμακέναι τῷ θεῷ. εἰ δὲ θεὸς ἀγένητος καὶ ὕλη ἀγένητος, οὐκ ἔτι ὁ θεὸς ποιητῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐστὶν κατὰ τοὺς Πλατωνικοὺς. . . .* Grant translates: ". . . next they assume that uncreated matter is also God, and say that matter was coeval with God." I do not think he is right. Read instead: εἶτα ὑποτίθενται <παρὰ> θεὸν καὶ ὕλην ἀγένητον and compare Hippolytus, *Elenchos* I. 19. 4 (Plato) τὴν μὲν οὖν ὕλην ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ σύγχρονον τῷ θεῷ. . . . (The scribe of the Venetus drops a περι at I. 1. 13 too.)

(12) II. 4. 25. . . . οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποιεῖν (sc. τὸν θεόν) καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ὅσα βούλεται καὶ ὡς (Otto: καθὼς Venetus) βούλεται. Read: καὶ ὅσα βούλεται, καθὼς βούλεται and compare Hippolytus, *Syntagma* 8 (p. 249.25 Nautin) πάντα ποιῶν (sc. ὁ θεὸς) ὅσα θέλει, καθὼς θέλει, ὅτε θέλει. 10 (p. 251.14): τὰ γενόμενα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν, ὅτε ἠθέλησεν, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν (and line 19): ὅτε ἠθέλησεν, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν.

Accordingly, *Ad Autolyicum* II. 13. 5: Θεοῦ δὲ τὸ δυνατόν ἐν τούτῳ δείκνυται, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποιῆ τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ὡς (Otto) βούλεται, should read: τὰ γινόμενα, καθὼς (Venetus) βούλεται.

(13) II. 6. 14 = Hesiod, *Theogony* 129 f.

γείατο (sc. Γαῖα) δ' οὔρεα μακρά, θεῶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους
Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὔρεα βησσήεντα.

χαρίεντας ἐναύλους Hesiod: χαρίεσσα ἐν αὐτοῖς Venetus. The text is good as transmitted. Read: θ ἔ α ν χαρίεσσα ἐν αὐτοῖς / Νυμφέων, "the beautiful sight (or spectacle) of the Nymphs in the hills." This is the way Theophilus understood *ΘΕΑΝ* in his source.

(14) II. 7. 11 = *F Gr Hist* 631 (Satyrus). Ἀλλὰ καὶ Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν τοὺς δῆμους Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου προσαγορευθέντος, τούτου μηνύει Διόνυσον ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι διὸ καὶ φυλὴν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρώτην κατέστησεν. Read: ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Φιλοπάτορος προσαγορευθέντος, τοῦτου μηνύει Διόνυσον ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι διὸ καὶ <τούτου τῆν> φυλὴν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρώτην κατέστησεν. (Διὸ καὶ τὴν Διονυσίαν φυλὴν Bodleianus [Auct. E. I. 11, between 1541 and 1546] in margine, adopted by Meineke, Jacoby, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, II, p. 120.)

(15) II. 7. 26. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Διονυσίᾳ φυλῇ δῆμοί εἰσιν κατακεχωρισμένοι. Ἀθηναῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης γυναικὸς Διονύσου, θυγατρὸς δὲ Θεστίου, Ἀθηναίας. Δηιανειρὶς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναίας, γυναικὸς δὲ Ἑρακλέους. ὅθεν καὶ τὰς προσωνυμίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς δῆμοι. Ἀριαδνὶς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω, γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου, παιδὸς πατροφίλης τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσω ἐν μορφῇ † Πρύμνιδι †, Θεστὶς ἀπὸ Θεστίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίας πατρὸς. . . .

Read: "Ὅθεν καὶ τὰς προσωνυμίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς δῆμοι {ὅθεν} (huc transposuerunt Meineke et Jacoby), καὶ ἐν τῇ Διονυσίᾳ φυλῇ δῆμοί εἰσιν κατακεχωρισμένοι <οὔτοι> Ἀθηναῖς . . . , Δηιανειρὶς . . . γυναικὸς δὲ Ἑρακλέους, Ἀριαδνὶς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω, γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου,

παιδὸς πατροφίλης τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσω
ἐν μορφῇ <ταύρου,

Πρῦμνις ἀπὸ> Πρῦμνιδος * * *, Θεστὶς ἀπὸ Θεστίου . . . and compare P. Oxy. 2465, Fr. 3, col. II, line 14; Pausanias II. 4. 4; R. M. Grant, *Vigiliae Christ.* 6 (1952), 157 f.

(16) II. 8. 25 = Sophocles, *Oedip. Rex* 978 f.

Πρόνοια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενός,
εἰκῆ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύνατό τις

and II. 8. 49 = Euripides, Fr. 391 N.²

Σπουδάζομεν δὲ πόλλ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων, μάτην
πόνους ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες.

Read: πρόνοια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς <σαφῆς> (= Sophocles) and πόνους ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες <σαφῆς> (= Orion, *Floril.* 5, 7).

(17) II. 8. 43. Καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μυρία εἰπόντες ἀσύμφωνα ἑαυτοῖς ἐξείπον. ὁ γοῦν Σοφοκλῆς ἀπρονοσίαν <εἶρων B. Einarson> ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει: "Θεοῦ δὲ πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπερπηδᾶ βροτός." Πλὴν καὶ πληθὺν εἰσήγαγον ἢ καὶ μοναρχίαν εἶπον. . . . Read: ἀπρονοσίαν <εἰπών> ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει. . . Πλὴν καὶ πληθὺν <θεῶν> εἰσήγαγον and compare the phrase πληθὺν θεῶν at II. 10. 25; 28.5-7 (three times); 33.3; 38. 17.

(18) II. 10. 1. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συμφώνως ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. οὐ γάρ τι τῷ θεῷ συνήκμασεν. Read: ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν <ὁ θεός.> οὐ γάρ τι τῷ θεῷ συνήκμασεν and compare 2 *Mac.* 7:28 ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός.

(19) II. 10. 32. Ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις διδάσκει ἡ θεία γραφή, τρόπῳ τινὶ ὕλην γενητήν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν, ἀφ' ἧς πεποίηκεν καὶ δεδημιούργηκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον. Read: ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν <ἀναφαίνουσα,> ἀφ' ἧς. . . .

(20) II. 12. 8. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγραφῶν ἐμμήσαντο καὶ ἠθέλησαν περὶ τούτων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι, καίτοι λαβόντες ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀφορμάς, ἧτοι περὶ κόσμου κτίσεως ἢ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἕναυσμα ἄξιόν τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξείπον. Read: Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγραφῶν <τὴν γραφήν> ἐμμήσαντο καὶ ἠθέλησαν. . . ποιήσασθαι, <ἀλλ' ἔπταισαν,> καίτοι λαβόντες ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀφορμάς. . . .

(21) II. 12. 25. Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἡσίοδον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκ Χάους γεγενῆσθαι Ἐρεβος καὶ τὴν Γῆν καὶ Ἐρωτα, κυριεύοντα τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μάταιον καὶ ψ υ χ ρ ὸ ν τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλότριον πάσης ἀληθείας δείκνυται. Grant translates: "And as for Hesiod's statement that from Chaos were created Erebus and Earth and Eros, which rules over gods (as he considers them) and men, his discourse is futile and frigid and entirely alien to the truth." Read instead: Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἡσίοδον. . . μάταιον (sc. ἐστὶ), καὶ ψ υ δ ρ ὸ ν τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλότριον πάσης ἀληθείας δείκνυται. Compare Clement, *Strom.* VI. 18. 6 ψυδρὸς Theognis: ψυχρὸς Laurentianus. Hippolytus, *Elenchos* VI. 19. 4 ψυδρὸς Roeper: ψυχρὸς Parisinus.

(22) II. 13. 1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων κάτωθεν ἄρξασθαι {καὶ del. Nautin} λέγειν τὴν ποίησιν τῶν γεγενημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάνν ἀσθενὲς τὸ ἐννόημα αὐτοῦ ὡς πρὸς θεόν ἐστίν. Read: τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων κ α ἰ κάτωθεν ἄρξασθαι λέγειν τὴν ποίησιν. . . ἀνθρώπων (sc. ἐστὶ), καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάνν ἀσθενὲς τὸ ἐννόημα αὐτοῦ. . . .

(23) II. 13. 12. Γῆν δὲ λέγει (sc. *Gen.* 1:1-2) δυνάμει ἔδαφος καὶ θεμέλιον,

ἄβυσσον δὲ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ σκότος διὰ τὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν γεγονότα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔσκεπακέναι καθαπερὶ πῶμα τὰ ὕδατα σὺν τῇ γῆ, πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ζωογόνησιν τῇ κτίσει, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴν. . . . Read: πνεῦμα δέ, “τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος,” <φ ῶ σ, > ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός . . . and compare line 19 ἐν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα φ ω τ ο ς τ ὑ π ο ν ἐπέχον ἐμεσίτευεν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα τρόπῳ τιμὴ μὴ κοινωνῆ τὸ σκότος τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐγγυτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν θεόν. “Γενηθήτω φῶς.”

(24) II. 14. 22. Καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτὰ νῆσοί εἰσιν ἕτεροι πετρώδεις . . . ἐν αἷς περιπέριεται τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐξαπόλλυνται ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ κατερχόμενοι, οὕτως εἰσιν αἱ διδασκαλίαι τῆς πλάνης, λέγω δὲ τῶν αἰρέσεων, αἱ ἐξαπολλύουσιν τοὺς προσιόντας αὐταῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὁδηγοῦνται ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ πειραταί, ἐπὶ π λ η ρ ῶ σ σ ι ν τὰς ναῦς, ἐπὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους περιπέιουσιν, ὅπως ἐξαπολέσωσιν αὐτάς, οὕτως συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς πλανωμένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πλάνης. Grant translates: “but just as pirates, when they have filled ships, run them on the places mentioned above, in order to destroy them, so it happens that those who stray from the truth are destroyed by error.” But pirates do not *fill* ships before destroying them: they incapacitate (disable, maim) them. Thus read: πηρώσωσιν for the transmitted πληρώσωσιν and compare Hippolytus, *Elenchos* VIII. 14. 6 τοῖς μὴ πεπηρωμένοις παντελῶς τὴν διάνοιαν, where Parisinus has πεπληρωμένοις.

(25) II. 17. 14. Θηρία δὲ ὠνόμασται τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τοῦ θ η ρ ε ὑ ε σ θ α ι, οὐχ ὡς κακὰ ἀρχῆθεν γεγενημένα ἢ ἰοβόλα· οὐ γάρ τι κακὸν ἀρχῆθεν γέγονεν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καλὰ καὶ καλὰ λίαν, ἢ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἢ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κεκάκωκεν αὐτά· τοῦ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου παραβάντος καὶ αὐτὰ συμπαρέβη. “Ὡσπερ γὰρ δεσπότης οἰκίας ἐὰν αὐτὸς εὖ πράσῃ, ἀναγκαίως καὶ οἱ οἰκέται εὐτάκτως ζῶσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κύριος ἁμαρτάνῃ, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι συναμαρτάνουσιν, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ γέγονεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κύριον ὄντα ἁμαρτήσαι, καὶ τὰ δοῦλα συνῆμαρτεν. In the first sentence read: Θηρία δὲ ὠνόμασται τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τοῦ θηριούσθαι (J. C. T. Otto) for the transmitted θηρεύεσθαι: “The animals have got the name ‘beasts’ from their *becoming* brutal (malignant),” and not: “Wild animals are so called from their being hunted,” as Grant has it. As for the idea of *apostasy* from God by the original sin of man, compare II. 28. 28: Δαίμων δὲ καὶ δράκων καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἀποδεδρακέναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἄγγελος γὰρ ἦν ἐν πρώτοις. As for the palaeography, compare III. 5. 5 and 10 κατεσθέσθαι J. C. Wolf: κατεσθέσθαι (both times) Venetus. In the second sentence read: τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ γέγονεν καὶ τὰ <ζῶα κακά, καὶ> π α ρ ἄ (“through, because of,” LSJ, s.v., C III 7) τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κύριον ὄντα, ἁμαρτήσαι, καὶ τὰ δοῦλα συνῆμαρτεν.

(26) II. 18. 7. “Ἐτι μὴν καὶ ὡς βοηθείας χρήζων ὁ θεὸς εὕρισκεται λέγων·

“Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν.” οὐκ ἄλλω δέ τινη εἶρηκεν. “Ποιήσωμεν,” ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ. ποιήσας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλογήσας εἰς τὸ ἀυξάνεσθαι καὶ πληρῶσαι τὴν γῆν, ὑπέταξεν αὐτῷ. . . .

In the first sentence read: “Ἐπι μὴν καὶ <ὄτε,> ὡς βοηθείας χρῆζων, ὁ θεὸς εὐρίσκειται λέγων. “Ποιήσωμεν . . . ὁμοίωσιν,” οὐκ ἄλλω δ’ ἢ τινη εἶρηκεν . . . ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ . . . and compare line 3 ἐν τῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν . . . , “When God said . . .” In the second sentence read: εἰς τὸ ἀυξάνεσθαι <καὶ πληθύνεσθαι> καὶ πληρῶσαι τὴν γῆν = Gen. 1:28, and Theophilus II. 11. 54; 23. 7; 32. 23.

(27) II. 19. 20. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πλάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο αὐτῷ χωρίον ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς, διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγές ἀέρι λαμπροτέρῳ, φυτοῖς παγκάλοις, ἐν ᾧ ἔθετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Read: διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγές ἀέρι λαμπροτέρῳ, <διέχον> φυτοῖς παγκάλοις . . .

(28) II. 24. 2. Ἐν γὰρ πρώτοις μόνα ἦν τὰ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γεγενημένα, φυτὰ καὶ σπέρματα καὶ χλόαι· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐγενήθη διάφορα καλλονῇ καὶ ὠραιότητι . . . Καὶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ φυτὰ ὅμοια καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἔσχηκεν· τὰ δὲ δύο ξύλα, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως, οὐκ ἔσχηκεν ἑτέρα γῆ. . . . Read, first: διάφορα καλλονῇ (and compare No. 27: διάφορον φωτὶ); second, ὅμοια καὶ <ᾶ> ὁ κόσμος ἔσχηκεν (or ὅμοια <οἶα> καὶ ὁ κ. ἔσχ.).

(29) II. 24. 9. “Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν” (Gen. 2:8–9). τὸ οὖν ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς σαφῶς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἢ θεία γραφὴ τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν οὐρανόν, ὑφ’ ὃν καὶ ἀνατολαὶ καὶ γῆ εἰσιν. Read: τ ᾧ οὖν “ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς” καὶ “κατὰ ἀνατολὰς” σαφῶς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἢ θεία γραφὴ τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὸ τοῦτον <ὄντα> τὸν οὐρανόν, ὑφ’ ὃν. . . .

(30) II. 25. 18. Ἄλλως τε ἐπὶ νόμος κελεύσῃ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τίνος καὶ μὴ ὑπακούῃ τις, δηλὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ νόμος κόλασιν παρέχει, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἀπειθεία καὶ ἡ παρακοή. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἰδίῳ τέκνῳ ἐνίοτε προστάσσει ἀπέχεσθαι τίνων, καὶ ἐπὶ οὐχ ὑπακούῃ τῇ πατρικῇ ἐντολῇ, δέρεται καὶ ἐπιτιμίας τυγχάνει διὰ τὴν παρακοήν· καὶ οὐκ ἤδη αὐτὰ τὰ π ρ ἄ γ μ α τ α πληγαὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ παρακοὴ τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι ὕβρεις περιποιεῖται. Read: καὶ οὐκ ἤδη αὐτὰ τὰ πρ<οστ>άγματα πληγαὶ εἰσιν and compare ὁ νόμος and προστάσσει in the context; II. 15. 28 τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καταλιπόντων τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ.

(31) II. 26. 1. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ὁ θεὸς μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν παρέσχεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ μὴ διαμεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντα. ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἐξορισμοῦ ἐξέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου. . . . Read: τὸ μὴ διαμεῖναι αὐτὸν <φθαρτὸν> εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντα and ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν. . . . Compare lines 8 τὴν ἀνάστασιν, 12 ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὑγιῆς εὐρεθῇ, λέγω δὲ ἄσπιλος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀθάνατος, and II. 27. 19 καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τυχῶν “κληρονομήσαι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν” (1 Cor. 15:50).

(32) II. 28. 8. . . . μήπως οὖν ὑπολημφθῆ ὡς ὅτι ὁδε μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, διὰ τοῦτο {οὖν} ἐποίησεν τοὺς δύο ἄμφω· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ <ἔπλασεν τὸν ἄνδρα μόνον ἐκ γῆς ἵνα> διὰ τούτου δειχθῆ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ <ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ> ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἢ ἡ εὐνοια εἰς αὐτήν. Grant adopts both supplements suggested by P. Nautin (*Vigiliae Christ.* 11, 1957, 218–224). But I think the first one is unwarranted. The mystery of the divine unity (μοναρχία) is demonstrated by the fact that God has created both Adam and Eve *together* (τοὺς δύο ἄμφω) and *at the same time* (ἅμα). And Adam's love for his wife is being guaranteed by the fact that she was made out of his rib. Thus read: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ <ὡς> καὶ διὰ τούτου δειχθῆ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, <λαβὼν τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, = Gen. 2:21–22> ἵνα πλείων ᾖ ἢ ἡ εὐνοια εἰς αὐτήν. For such a δὴ see Denniston, *Greek Particles*,² p. 225.

(33) II. 30. 6. Τῷ δὲ Ἐνῶχ ἐγενήθη υἱὸς ὀνόματι Γαιδάδ· ἐγέννησεν τὸν καλούμενον Μεήλ, καὶ Μεήλ τὸν Μαθουσάλα, <καὶ Μαθουσάλα Gesner> τὸν Λάμεχ. Read: Γαιδάδ· <καὶ Γαιδάδ = Gen. 4:18> ἐγέννησεν. . . .

(34) II. 30. 20. Τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις καὶ φιλομαθέσιν καὶ περὶ πασῶν τῶν γενεῶν εὐκόλον ἔστιν ἐπιδειξαι διὰ τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ μέρους ἡμῖν γεγένηται ἤδη λόγος ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, ὡς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, τῆς γενεαλογίας ἢ τάξις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ τῇ περὶ ἱστοριῶν. Read: Τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις . . . καὶ περὶ πασῶν τῶν γενεῶν <γνώαι = II. 35. 45> εὐκόλον ἔστιν <ἡμῖν> ἐπιδειξαι διὰ τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ μέρους ἡμῖν γεγένηται ἤδη λόγος ἐν ἐτέρῳ {λόγῳ}, ὡς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, <καὶ ἔστι πάσης> τῆς γενεαλογίας ἢ τάξις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ . . . and compare III. 3. 23 ἀκριβέστερον πεποιηκότων ἡμῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον.

(35) II. 30. 25. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμᾶς διδάσκει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, ὥστε. . . . Read: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν <λαλοῦν,> ὥστε . . . and compare II. 33. 13 οὔτινες ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου διδασκόμεθα, τοῦ λαλήσαντος ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις . . . ; II. 10. 12 Οὗτος οὖν (sc. ὁ Λόγος), ὃν πνεῦμα θεοῦ . . . , κατήρχετο εἰς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλει. . . .

(36) II. 31. 2. Πρώτη πόλις Βαβυλῶν, καὶ Ὀρέχ καὶ Ἀρχάθ καὶ Χαλάνη ἐν τῇ γῇ Σενναάρ. καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Νεβρώθ. ἐκ τούτων ἐξῆλθεν ὀνόματι Ἀσσοῦρ· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀσσύριοι προσαγορεύονται. Read: ὀνόματι Νεβρώθ. ἐκ τούτων ἐξῆλθεν {ὀνόματι} Ἀσσοῦρ = Gen. 10:11.

Line 25: Σίβυλλα μὲν οὕτως σεσήμακεν . . . *Oracula Sibyllina*, III. 102 f. Geffcken:

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον
ρίψαν καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἔριν ὤρσαν.

Read: Σίβυλλα μὲν <τοῦτο> οὕτως . . . and ἐπ' ἀλλήλους (Rzach): cf. *Or. Sib.* III. 119 and XI. 13 ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὤρσαν.

Line 67: ἔπειτα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐφρων καὶ ὁ Χετταῖος ἐπικληθείς. Read: "Ἐφρων ὁ καὶ Χετταῖος. . . ."

(37) II. 33. 1. Τίς οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα ἴσχυσεν τῶν καλουμένων σοφῶν καὶ ποιητῶν <ἧ> ἱστοριογράφων τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, πολὺ μεταγενεστέρων αὐτῶν γεγενημένων . . . ; ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μεμνησθαι πάντων καὶ τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων, περὶ τε κτίσεως κόσμου καὶ ποιήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τά τε ἐξῆς συμβάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐξειπεῖν τοὺς παρ' Αἰγυπτίους προφῆτας ἢ Χαλδαίους τοὺς τε ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς. . . . Read: Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μεμνησθαι πάντων (καὶ τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ . . . τά τε ἐξῆς συμβάντα), <ἧ αὐτοῖς> ἀκριβῶς ἐξειπεῖν τοὺς . . . προφῆτας . . . and compare III. 2. 1 Ἐχρῆν γὰρ τοὺς συγγράφοντας αὐτοὺς αὐτόπτας γεγενῆσθαι περὶ ὧν διαβεβαιοῦνται, ἢ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκέναι ὑπὸ τῶν τεθεαμένων αὐτά. III. 17. 5 Ἐτι μὴν μάντεις καὶ προγνώστας γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς, καὶ <τού>τους (sc. "the historians" ego: τοὺς Venetus, "people" Grant) παρ' αὐτῶν μαθόντας ἀκριβῶς συγγεγραφέναι φασίν.

(38) II. 36. 26 = *Oraacula Sibyllina*, Fr. 1 Geffcken

- 23 Τύφῳ καὶ μανίῃ δὲ βαδίζετε, καὶ τρίβον ὀρθὴν
εὐθεῖαν προλιπόντες ἀπήλθετε, καὶ δι' ἀκανθῶν
25 καὶ σκολόπων ἐπλανᾶσθε. βροτοὶ παύσασθε μάταιοι
ῥεμβόμενοι σκοτίνῃ καὶ ἀφεγγεῖ νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ,
καὶ λίπετε σκοτίνῃ νυκτός, φωτὸς δὲ λάβεσθε.
ο ὕ τ ο σ ἰδοὺ πάντεσσι σαφῆς ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει.
ἔλθετε, μὴ σκοτίνῃ δὲ διώκετε καὶ γνόφον αἰεῖ·
30 ἡελίου γλυκυδερκές ἰδοὺ φάος ἔξοχα λάμπει.

What does 28 οὗτος refer to? Clement (*Strom.* V. 115. 5–6) understood it as God. But God is not likely to bear the epithet ἀπλάνητος, "unerring, not going astray." Now, since οὗτος cannot refer to the neuter 27 φῶς, G. W. H. Lampe (*Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. ἀπλάνητος) referred it to 23 τρίβος. This is unlikely, too. For, first, 23 τρίβος is too far from 28 οὗτος. And second, τρίβος is used by Sibyl as feminine in 23 f. I think 28 οὗτος refers to 30 ἡλιος, the line being displaced. Thus read:

- 27 καὶ λίπετε σκοτίνῃ νυκτός, φ ω τ ὀ σ δὲ λάβεσθε.
29 ἔλθετε, μὴ σκοτίνῃ δὲ διώκετε καὶ γνόφον αἰεῖ·
30 ἡ ε λ ί ο υ γλυκυδερκές ἰδοὺ φάος ἔξοχα λάμπει,
28 ο ὕ τ ο σ ἰδοὺ πάντεσσι σαφῆς, ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει.

Helios is known as "unswerving, unerring" *par excellence*. Sibyl may have in mind Heraclitus Fr. 52 Marcovich (= B 94 Diels): "Ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα, "Helios will never overstep his path;" and in the

Orphic hymn to Helios (8.9 Quandt) we read: κόσμου τὸν ἐναρμόνιον δρόμον ἔλκων.

(39) II. 36. 39 = *Or. Sib.*, Fr. 3 Geffcken. Καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενητοὺς λεγομένους ἔφη (sc. Σίβυλλα).

- 7 τῶν τ' ἐνύδρων πάλι γεννᾶ (sc. θεὸς) ἀνήριθμον πολὺ πλῆθος,
8 ἔρπετὰ δ' ἐ γαίης κινούμενα ψυχροτροφεῖται . . .
28 καὶ πετεηνὰ σέβεσθε καὶ ἔρπετὰ θηρία γαίης
29 καὶ λίθινα ξόανα κ α ἰ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα . . .

Read, first: Καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενητοὺς λεγομένους <θεοὺς> ἔφη. Second:

8 ἔρπετὰ δ' <αὐ> γαίης κινούμενα ψυχροτροφεῖται

and compare line 28 ἔρπετὰ θηρία γαίης. δ' αὐ in the same position is to be found at *Or. Sib.* I. 17; 173; 197; 211; 231; 297; 308; 388, et passim. (Auratus, Rzach, Geffcken read instead: δ' [or τ'] ἐν γαίῃ, Turnebus δ' ἐκ γαίης, Wolf δὴ γαίης). Third, read:

29 καὶ λίθινα ξόαν', εἰκαῖ' ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα

and compare *Or. Sib.* IV. 28–28^a (Clem. *Protrept.* 62. 1):

καὶ βωμούς, εἰκαῖα λίθων ἀφιδρύματα κωφῶν,
{καὶ λίθινα ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα.}

(40) II. 36. 73 = *Or. Sib.*, Fr. 3:

- 34 ὅς δ' ἔστι ζωὴ τε καὶ ἄφθιτον ἀέναον φῶς,
καὶ μέλιτος ∞ — γλυκερώτερον ἀνδράσι χάρμα
ἐκπροχέει ∞ — τῷ δὴ μόνῳ αὐχένα κάμπτειν,
καὶ τρίβον αἰώνεσσι ἐν εὐσεβέεσσ' ἀνακλίνουσι.

34 ὅς δ' Geffcken: οὐδὲ Venetus: οὐ δ' Castalio (1546)
δεῖ Ven. 37 ἀνακλίνουσι Rzach: ἀνακλινοὶ Ven.

36 δὴ Gesner (1546):

Read:

- 34 Ὁς δ' ἐστὶν ζωὴ τε καὶ ἄφθιτον ἀέναον φῶς,
καὶ μέλιτος <γλυκεροῦ> γλυκερώτερον ἀνδράσι χάρμα
ἐκπροχέει, <τοῦ> τῷ <δὴ> δεῖ μόνῳ αὐχένα κάμπτειν
καὶ τρίβον αἰώνεσσι ἐν εὐσεβέεσσ' ἀνακλίνει<ν>.

35 γλυκεροῦ Opsopoeus (1599) = *Or. Sib.* III. 746; *Odyssey* 20. 69; 24. 68.

(41) II. 38. 7. Τοῖνυν Σίβυλλα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφήται, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ κρίσεως καὶ κολάσεως· ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ προνοίας, <ὅτι> φροντίζει ὁ θεὸς οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ζώντων ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων, καίπερ ἄκοντες (Humphry, 1852: ἅπαντες Ven.) ἔφασαν· ἠλέγχοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. Read: ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ

προνοίας, <ὅτι> φροντίζει ὁ θεὸς οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ζώντων {ἡμῶν} ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων, καίπερ <οὐχ> ἅπαντες, ἔφασαν.

II. 38. 34. Πειράθητι οὖν πυκνότερον συμβαλεῖν, ὅπως καὶ ζώσης ἀκούσας φωνῆς ἀκριβῶς μάθης τάληθές. Read: συμβαλεῖν <ἡμῶν> and compare III. 1. 6 ἡμῶν δὲ συμβαλὼν ἔτι λήρον ἡγή. . . .

(42) III. 7. 5. Πυθαγόρας δέ, τοσαῦτα μοχθήσας περὶ θεῶν καὶ τὴν ἄνω κάτω πορείαν ποιησάμενος, ἔσχατον ὀρίζει φύσιν καὶ αὐτοματισμὸν εἶναι φησιν τῶν πάντων· θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν φροντίζειν. Read: ἔσχατον ὀρίζει φύσιν <ἄϊδιον> καὶ αὐτοματισμὸν εἶναι φησιν τῶν πάντων, θεοῦς <τε> ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν φροντίζειν and compare II. 4. 3 "Ἐτεροι δέ φασιν αὐτοματισμὸν τῶν πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀγένητον καὶ φύσιν ἄϊδιον, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πρόνοιαν μὴ εἶναι θεοῦ ἐτόλμησαν ἐξεῖπειν. II. 8. 9 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγένητον αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν κόσμον) καὶ ἄϊδιον φύσιν φάσκοντες . . . III. 26. 20 Οὐδὲ ἀγένητος ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶν καὶ αὐτοματισμὸς τῶν πάντων, καθὼς Πυθαγόρας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πεφλυαρῆκασιν, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν γενητὸς καὶ προνοία διοικεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα θεοῦ. This φύσις ἄϊδιος of "Pythagoras" is his *Μονάς*. Compare Hippolytus, *Elenchos* I. 2. 2 μονάδα μὲν εἶναι ἀπεφήνατο τὸν θεόν. Actius I. 7. 18.

(43) III. 7. 28 = A. Meineke, *Fr. com. Gr.*, I (Berlin, 1839), pp. IX f.:

- Θάρσει, βοηθεῖν πᾶσι <μὲν> τοῖς ἀξίοις
εἴωθεν ὁ θεός, τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις σφόδρα.
εἰ μὴ πάρεσται προεδρία τις κειμένη
τοῖς ζώσιν ὡς δεῖ, τί πλέον ἐστὶν εὐσεβεῖν;
- 5 — Εἴη γὰρ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὀρῶ
τοὺς εὐσεβῶς μὲν ἐλομένους διεξάγειν
πράττοντας ἀτόπως, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ
τὸ λυσιτελές τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς μόνον,
ἐντιμότεραν ἔχοντες ἡμῶν διάθεσιν.
- 10 — Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος· ἀλλὰ δεῖ πόρρω βλέπειν
καὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἀναμένειν καταστροφήν.
οὐχ ὄν τρόπον γὰρ παρ' ἐνόις ἰσχυρὴ τις
δόξα κακοήθης τῷ βίῳ τ' ἀνωφελής,
φορὰ τις ἔστ' αὐτόματος ἢ βραβεύεται
- 15 ὡς ἔτυχε· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα κρίνουσιν ἔχειν
ἐφόδια πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον οἱ φαῦλοι τρόπον.
ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ζώσιν ὀσίως προεδρία,
καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ὡς προσήκ' ἐπιθυμία·
χωρὶς προνοίας γίνεται γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν.

Read: (1) Line 3 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔσται προεδρία (Meineke) and compare line 17 ἔστιν . . . προεδρία. (2) Line 8 τὸ λυσιτελές <ὀρᾶν> τὸ κατ' <ἐ>αυτοὺς μόνον (the infinitive ὀρᾶν depends on line 6 ἐλομένους). (3) Line 9 ἔχοντας (Meineke). (4) Lines 14 f.:

φορὰ τις ἔστ' αὐτόματος, ἢ βραβεύεται
ὡς ἔτυχε πάντα· ταῦτα γὰρ κρίνουσ' ἔχειν

(Grotius). Finally (5), ἐπιθυμία, “desire,” in line 18, is nonsensical. Evidently, read: ἐπιτιμία, “punishment” (Meineke).

(44) III. 7. 50. Τὸν οὖν συνετὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις δεῖ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Σιμύλος ἔφη· (Meineke, *Fr. com. Gr.*, I, pp. XIV f.)

Κοινῶς ποιητὰς ἔθος ἐστὶν καλεῖν,
καὶ τοὺς περιττοὺς τῇ φύσει καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς·
ἔδει δὲ κρίνειν.

καθάπερ ἐν τόπῳ τινί (Grant: ἐξ οὗ τινι Venetus) καὶ ὁ Φιλήμων· (Fr. 143 Kock)

Χαλεπὸν ἀκροατῆς ἀσύνητος καθήμενος·
ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀνοίας οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μέμφεται.

χρὴ οὖν προσέχειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα κριτικῶς ἐξετάζοντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν εἰρημένα.

First, read: κοινῶς ποιητὰς <πάντας> ἔθος ἐστὶν καλεῖν (Meineke). Second, the transmitted ἐξ οὗ τινι cannot yield, palaeographically, ἐν τόπῳ τινί, as Grant prints. Read instead: καθάπερ ἐξουθενεῖ καὶ ὁ Φιλήμων <λέγων>, “as Philemon too rejects it with contempt while saying.” As for the confusion θ: τ (ἐξουθενεῖ for the transmitted ἐξ οὗ τινι), compare No. 43: ἐπιτιμία for the transmitted ἐπιθυμία. Finally, read the last sentence as follows: Χρὴ οὖν <τὸν συνετὸν> προσέχειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, κριτικῶς ἐξετάζοντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων <καὶ> ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰρημένα. The words συνετός and ἀσύνητος appear in the context. In addition, compare III. 8. 10 καὶ γὰρ ἱστορούμενα τοῖς συνετοῖς καταγέλωτα φέροι. As for the transposition, compare II. 8. 2 “Ὡστε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐμπαίζονται οἱ συγγραφεῖς πάντες καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι λεγόμενοι, ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ προσέχοντες αὐτοῖς. II. 3. 36 “Ἐλθωμεν τοῖνυν ἐπὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ποιητῶν. In our passage οἱ λοιποὶ are the historians, οἱ συγγραφεῖς.

(45) III. 14. 1. Καὶ τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἡμᾶς εὐνοεῖν τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις (Clauser, 1546: ἀλοφύλοις Venetus), ὡς οἶονται τινες, Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ἔφη· (follows *Isaiah* 66:5). Grant translates: “And concerning the good will which we exercise not only toward our own people, as some suppose, Isaiah the prophet said.” But the word order of Greek is strange. Read instead: Καὶ <περὶ> τοῦ μὴ μόνον <ἡμῖν> ἡμᾶς εὐνοεῖν, ὡς οἶονται τινες, <ἀλλὰ καὶ> τοῖς ἀλ(λ)οφύλοις. . . . Compare line 10 “Ἐτι μὴν καὶ π ε ρ ἰ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι. . . .

(46) III. 15. 10. Μακρὰν δὲ ἀπέιχεν χριστιανοῖς ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι τοιοῦτο πράξειν, παρ’ οἷς σωφροσύνη πάρεστιν, ἐγκράτεια ἀσκέιται, μονογαμία τηρεῖται, ἀγνεία φυλάσσεται, ἀδικία ἐκπορθεῖται, ἁμαρτία ἐκρίζυται, δικαιοσύνη μελετᾶται,

νόμος πολιτεύεται, θεοσέβεια πράσσεται, θεὸς ὁμολογείται, ἀλήθεια βραβεύει, χάρις συντηρεῖ, εἰρήνη περισκέπει, λόγος ἅγιος ὀδηγεῖ, σοφία διδάσκει, ζωὴ β ρ α β ε υ ε ι, θεὸς βασιλεύει. In this elaborate rhetorical enumeration no verb is being repeated except βραβεύει (“truth controls, . . . life controls”), which is unlikely. The second βραβεύει is a dittography which had ousted the true reading: ζωὴ θρ<ι>α<μ>βεύει, “life triumphs.” Life triumphs through Christ: compare *Col.* 2:15 θριαμβεύσας (and, of course, *John* 14:6).

III. 15. 18 . . . τὰ νῦν ἀνάρκως ἠγούμεθα ἐπιμεμνήσθαι, εἰς τὸ καὶ σε ἐπιστήσαι μάλιστα ἐξ ὧν ἀναγινώσκεις ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, ἵνα ὡς φιλομαθῆς ἐγενήθης ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο οὕτως καὶ φιλομαθῆς ἔσῃ. Read: εἰς τὸ καὶ σε ἐπιστήσαι μάλιστα ἐξ ὧν ἀναγινώσκεις {ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, a dittography}, ἵνα, ὡς φιλομαθῆς ἐγενήθης ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, οὕτως καὶ φιλομαθῆς ἔσῃ.

(47) III. 16. 10. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Πολιτείαις αὐτοῦ (sc. Πλάτωνος) ἐπιγραφομένης ῥητῶς κείμεναι: “Πῶς γὰρ ἄν (Otto: λέγοντος Venetus), εἴ γε ἔμμεν τάδε οὕτως πάντα χρόνον . . .” Read: ῥητῶς κείμεναι λέγοντος: “<Πῶς>, εἴ γε ἔμμεν . . .” Compare Plato, *Leg.* III, 677 c 7 πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ὦ ἄριστε, εἴ γε ἔμμεν . . .

III. 16. 16. Καὶ πολλὰ φήσας (sc. Πλάτων) περὶ πόλεων καὶ κατοικισμῶν (B. Einarson: κατακοσμῶν καὶ οἰκήσεων Venetus) καὶ ἔθνων, ὁμολογεῖ εἰκασμῶ ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι. Read: περὶ πόλεων <καὶ> κατοικισμῶν καὶ οἰκήσεων καὶ ἔθνων. . . . As for κατοικισμῶν, compare Plato, *Leg.* III, 683 a 4; as for οἰκήσεων, 681 a 7.

(48) III. 18. 12. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος προφήτης καὶ θεράπων τοῦ θεοῦ Μωσῆς περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου ἐξιστορῶν διηγήσατο τίνι τρόπῳ γεγένηται ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ᾧ τρόπῳ γέγονεν. . . . Read: τίνι τρόπῳ γεγένηται ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ <μ ε τ ἀ> τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ᾧ τρόπῳ γέγονεν and compare II. 31. 1 Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἐγένετο πόλεων καὶ βασιλείων τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. III. 23. 20 οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ κατακλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρό κατακλυσμοῦ. 24. 9 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν. . . .

(49) III. 21. 7. Παραγενόμενοι γὰρ (sc. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν (Grant: Ἱεροσόλυμα Venetus), ἔνθα καὶ μεταξύ κατώκησαν. Read: τὴν γῆν τὴν καλουμένην Ἰσραήλ . . . ἸΗΛ = Ἰσραήλ was misread by the scribe of the Venetus as ἸΛΗΜ = Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(50) III. 22. 10. Ἐν γὰρ προβλήμασι ἀλλήλους συνεχῶς ἐγύμναζον (sc. Hieromos, king of Tyre, and Solomon): τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου, καὶ ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν αὐτῶν φασιν μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πεφυλαγμένα: γράμματά τε ἀλλήλοις διέπεμπον. Read: Ἐν γὰρ προβλήμασι ἀλλήλους συνεχῶς ἐγύμναζον γράμματά τε ἀλλήλοις διέπεμπον: τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν αὐτῶν, (ὡς) φασιν, μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πεφυλαγμένων.

Compare Josephus, *c. Apionem* I. 111 προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀνταπέστελλον λύειν κελεύοντες . . . σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔγραψαν.

(51) III. 23. 10. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νομοθεταὶ πάντες μεταξὺ εὐρίσκονται νομοθετοῦντες. εἰ γὰρ τις εἶποι Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, οὗτος γέγονεν . . . κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προειρημένου προφήτου, μεταξὺ γεγεννημένου (sc. τοῦ Μωσέως) πάνυ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤτοι καὶ περὶ Λυκούργου ἢ Δράκοντος ἢ Μίνω τῶν νομοθετῶν, τούτων ἀρχαιότητι (Otto: γράφων λέγει τοῖς Venetus, Bodleianus) προάγουσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι. . . . Read: ἤτοι καὶ περὶ Λυκούργου ἢ Δράκοντος ἢ Μίνω τῶν νομοθετῶν <τῶν συγ>γραφέων λέγοι τις, <πάλιν> προάγουσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι. . . .

(52) III. 23. 19. Ἴνα δὲ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσωμεν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων, θεοῦ ἡμῖν παρέχοντος οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ κατακλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ εἰς τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, νυνὶ ποιησόμεθα, ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνεκαθεν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως, ἣν ἀνέγραψεν Μωσῆς ὁ θεράπων τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Read: εἰς τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων <ἐτῶν> κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν ἡ μ ἄ σ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, <τὴν ἀρχὴν> νυνὶ ποιησόμεθα ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνεκαθεν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως . . . and compare line 26 ἐσημανεν (sc. Μωσῆς) καὶ τὰ πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔ τ η γενόμενα, line 30 ἄρξομαι δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων γενεαλογιῶν, λέγω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου τ ἡ ν ἄ ρ χ ἡ ν ποιησάμενος.

(53) III. 25. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κριτὰς ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς, πρῶτος ὀνόματι Σαοὺλ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κ', ἔπειτα Δαυὶδ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν ἔτη μ'. γίνεται οὖν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Δαυὶδ βασιλείας τὰ πάντα ἔτη υῤῥη'. Read: γίνεται οὖν <ἀπὸ τῆς Μωσέως τελευτῆς> μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Δαυὶδ βασιλείας . . ., "The total from the death of Moses to the reign of David, then, is 498 years." Compare Theophilus' *Summary*, III. 28. 5 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωσέως τελευτῆς, ἀρχῆς Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ, μέχρι τελευτῆς Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔτη υῤῥη' and III. 24. 23 ὃ καιρῶ τοῦ Μωσέως τελευτήσαντος διεδέξατο ἄρχειν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, ὃς προέστη αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν κζ'.

(54) III. 26. 1. Ἐντεῦθεν ὄραν ἔστιν πῶς ἀρχαιότερα καὶ ἀληθέστερα δέικνυται τὰ ἱερά γράμματα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήνας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους, ἢ εἰ καὶ τινες ἐτέρους ἱστοριογράφους. ἤτοι γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἢ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἢ ὅπως οἱ ἄλλοι ἱστοριογράφοι, οἱ πλείους ἠρξάντο σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀναγράφειν. . . . Read: Ξενοφῶν ἢ ε<τ> πως οἱ ἄλλοι ἱστοριογράφοι and compare ἢ εἰ καὶ τινες ἐτέρους ἱστοριογράφους in the context.

(55) III. 27. 36. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῆς Κύρου ἀρχῆς μέχρι τελευτῆς αὐτοκράτορος Οὐῆρου, οὗ προειρήκαμεν, ὁ πᾶς χρόνος συνάγεται ἔτη ψμα'. The words ἀρχῆς μέχρι τελευτῆς are Grant's emendation: the Venetus has instead: τελευτῆς

‘Ρωμαίων δὲ ἀρχῆς Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου μέχρι τελευτῆς. Thus read: Ἀπὸ οὖν τῆς Κύρου <ἀρχῆς> {τελευτῆς} ‘Ρωμαίων τε ἀρχῆς Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου μέχρι τελευτῆς αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήρου . . . , “From the reign of Cyrus [i.e., 28 years] and the reign of Tarquin the Superbus over the Romans [i.e., 25 years] to the death of the already mentioned emperor Verus, the total is 741 years.” Compare III. 27. 1–15 and 28. 9 f.

APPENDIX: ΑΘΗΝΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΟΛΠΟΣ (III. 3. 22)

(1) After condemning Greek gods (Cronos for devouring his own children, his son Zeus for swallowing his wife Metis, Hera for marrying her own brother, etc.), Theophilus concludes (III. 3. 21): “But why should I go on listing the stories about Poseidon and Apollo, or about Dionysus and Heracles, or about the φιλόκολπος Athena and the shameless Aphrodite, when we have already given a more precise account of them in another place?” Τί μοι λοιπὸν καταλέγειν τὰ περὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους, <ἢ addidi> Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς φιλοκόλπου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἀναισχύντου, ἀκριβέστερον πεποιηκότων ἡμῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον;

The other place is I. 9. There the mention is made of Cronos the consumer of his own children, and of Zeus who slew the very goat which nourished him, only to make himself a garment; who engaged in incest, adultery, and pederasty. Then Theophilus uses the same rhetorical device while asking: “But why should I go on listing the stories about his (Zeus’) children: Heracles who burned himself up; Dionysus the drunkard and madman; Apollo who feared Achilles and took flight; who fell in love with Daphne, and was ignorant of the fate of Hyacinthus; or Aphrodite who was wounded, and Ares, ‘the plague of men’?” (I. 9. 9). In addition, Poseidon is rebuked at II. 7. 1: “Why should I mention the Greek myths . . . Poseidon submerging under the sea, and embracing Melanippe, and begetting a cannibal son . . . ?”

Consequently, Athena ἢ φιλόκολπος and Aphrodite ἢ ἀναισχύντος (from III. 3. 22) are mentioned nowhere else. Now, it is not difficult to see why Aphrodite could be called “shameless, impudent:” she, a married woman, was caught with Ares *in flagranti delicto* (*Odyssey* 8. 266–366; compare especially 269 f. λέχος δ’ ἤσχυνε καὶ εὐνήν | Ἐφάιστοιο ἄνακτος). But what is the meaning of Athena’s derogatory epithet—and *hapax legomenon*—φιλόκολπος?

(2) ΦΙΛΟΚΟΛΠΟΣ. (a) The translation *Minerva sinus amans* persists since the *editio princeps* of Theophilus (by Joannes Frisius, Zurich, 1546; Latin version by Conrad Clauser). It stands in the important edition of

J. C. Wolf (Hamburg, 1724), and J. C. T. Otto, in his critical edition (Jena, 1861) comments: “*nimirum epitheton φιλοκόλπου (sinum amantis) egregie quadrat ad impudicitiam (paullo supra: πορνείας καὶ μοιχείας), de qua sermo est.*” This interpretation, however, must be discarded. First, why the epithet “bosom-loving” should imply impudence or be derogatory? Second, what has “fornication and adultery” to do with the image of Athena, the *παρθένος αἰδοίη* (*Hymn. Hom.* 28.3), *par excellence*?

(b) A. Ardizzoni¹ was right when rejecting the sense “bosom” of *κόλπος* (LSJ, I. 1) in *φιλόκολπος*. But his own interpretation, built upon LSJ, s.v., II, “fold of garment,” is no better. According to Ardizzoni, Theophilus has in mind the standard statue of Athena Promachos (at I. 10. 6 Phidias’ Athena on the Acropolis is mentioned), with her typical dress falling in many and deep folds (cf. *βαθύκολπος*). Athena is then being criticized for her fashionable and elegant garment. And Ardizzoni concludes: “In fondo, per un intransigente cristiano dei primi secoli, anche la tendenza a vestire con raffinata eleganza poteva costituire una macchia” (p. 104). But, again, to be an “amante delle vesti dalle ampie pieghe” (*φιλόκολπος*) need not imply “moral fault,” nor is it characteristic for Athena’s way of dressing only.

(c) In his turn, A. Barigazzi² keeps the sense suggested by Ardizzoni but gives it a strange twist: Theophilus uses here an ironical sneer while hinting at Athena’s *loss of virginity*, according to the myth of Athena as mother of Apollo by Hephaestus (Cicero *De natura deor.* 3. 55 and 59; Arnobius 4. 14; Clement *Protrept.* II. 28. 2). Barigazzi then concludes: “. . . anche Atena, che è sempre ben coperta perché gelosa del suo pudore, è vituperabile come la svergognata Afrodite; non è vero che sia rimasta vergine” (p. 381). This interpretation, too, must be dismissed, for the simple reason that *φιλόκολπος*, in the sense of “loving her garment’s folds,” cannot imply that much as *ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ* (as Clement has it).

(d) In a more recent article, M. B. Keary³ chooses the sense of LSJ, I. 2: *membrum muliebre*, esp. *vagina*; *sinus genitalis*, *womb* (which was mentioned but discarded by Ardizzoni, p. 100), reinterpreting Barigazzi’s hint at Athena’s loss of virginity. According to the myth of the birth of Erich-

¹ A. Ardizzoni, “Atena *φιλόκολπος*; un incompreso *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* in Teofilo di Antiochia,” *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 3 (1961), 99–104.

² A. Barigazzi, “Atena *φιλόκολπος* in Teofilo di Antiochia,” *La parola del passato* 16 (1961), 379–381.

³ M. B. Keary, “Note on Ἀθηνᾶ *φιλόκολπος* in Theophilus of Antioch,” *Revue des études grecques* 84 (1971), 94–100.

thonius (Apollodorus *Bibl.* III. 14. 6), Athena succeeds in defending her virginity against Hephaestus' advances, and Erichthonius is born from Hephaestus' seed fallen to the ground. Hence, believes Keary, φιλόκολπος "means something like 'caring for (cherishing, holding dear, protecting) her κόλπος (sense I. 2)' and that it refers to the Athena-Hephaestus-Erichthonius myth" (p. 100).

Keary does not seem to be aware of the fact that already Tatian (*Oratio ad Graecos* 8) had used the Hephaestus myth against Athena. However, his interpretation must be rejected on the ground that φιλο- cannot yield the sense "caring for," "protecting," but only "loving, be fond of." Out of over 800 compounds with the first member φιλο-, there is no one single example of such a meaning, the basic sense being always: "qui aliquem (or aliquid) amat," "süchtig, -gierig, -lustig, -freundlich, liebend, gern, geneigt, begehrend," as M. Landfester⁴ has well pointed out.

(3) ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ. Consequently, as φιλόκολπος cannot give a satisfactory sense it seems preferable to consider it a textual corruption. Apparently, the first to do so was J. H. Nolte,⁵ who in 1856 conjectured φιλοπολέμου instead. His conjecture, however, cannot be palaeographically explained and must be dismissed. Unfortunately, it still lives in Jean Sender's *en face* translation ("Athéna la belliqueuse") to Gustave Bardy's Greek text (where, however, φιλοκόλπου is kept).⁶

(4) ΦΙΛΟΜΟΛΠΟΣ. M for K has been suggested first by Gb. Galliccioli, in 1804,⁷ then (independently) by W. H. Roscher,⁸ with reference to Nonnus *Dionys.* 24. 36 φιλόμολπος Ἀθήνη.⁹ Unaware of Roscher's reference, E. Degani¹⁰ repeated it in 1964, while supporting Galliccioli's φιλομόλπου by other references to Athena as patroness of singing, dancing and music (compare Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον at Aristophanes *Thesm.* 1136).

⁴ M. Landfester, *Das griechische Nomen 'philos' und seine Ableitungen* (Spudasmata, 11, Hildesheim, 1966), 109 ff.

⁵ J. H. Nolte, "Coniecturae et emendationes ad Theophili Libros ad Autolyicum," in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 6 (1856), col. 1168.

⁶ *Théophile d' Antioche, Trois livres à Autolycus. Texte grec et introduction de Gustave Bardy, traduction de Jean Sender* (Sources Chrétiennes, 20, Paris, 1948).

⁷ *Teofilo, Libri tre ad Autolico*. Trad. di Gb. Galliccioli (Venice, 1804), 183. Quoted by Enzo Degani (*infra*, note 10), 93.

⁸ In O. Gross, *Die Gotteslehre des Theophilus von Antiocheia* (Chemnitz, 1896), 8. Quoted by R. M. Grant (*infra*, note 11), 158.

⁹ Earlier instances of φιλόμολπος are: Stesichor. 16.10 Page; Pindar *Nem.* 7.9; Callimachus *In Delum* 197. Cf. φιλησίμολπος at Pindar *Ol.* 14.14 and Landfester (*supra*, note 4), 123 and 129-131.

¹⁰ E. Degani, "Atena Philokolpos?," *Rheinisches Museum* 107 (1964), 92-94.

Finally, Robert M. Grant, who earlier retained *φιλοκόλπου*,¹¹ prints *φιλομόλπου* in his Oxford edition of Theophilus (1970), with reference to Roscher (in lieu of Galliccioli), while translating “the dance-loving Athena.” Here, again, I am at a loss to see how Athena’s epithet *φιλόμολπος*, “dance-loving,” could yield a derogatory sense required by the entire context.¹²

(5) *ΦΙΛΟΚΟΜΠΟΣ*. That is why I would like to suggest the reading *φιλοκόμπου*, “boastful, vaunting, ostentatious, arrogant.” The confusion of the uncial *Λ* and *Μ* (after some fading of the ink) seems to be likely enough (cf., e.g., Aeschylus *Eum.* 881 *καμοῦμαι* *Μ*: *καλοῦμαι* *Φ* Tri). The word *φιλόκομπος* is not listed in LSJ (it is missing in E. A. Barber’s *Supplement* of 1968, too), but it does exist in G. W. H. Lampe’s *Patristic Greek Lexicon*. It is used by Justin the Martyr (*ob. ca.* A.D. 165; Theophilus writes *post* A.D. 180) at 2 *Apol.* 3.1, then by Cyril of Alexandria (*Habacuc* 8:3, p. 523 E ed. J. Aubert). In addition, *ὑπέρομπος* occurs in Aeschylus *Persae* 827 and 831; *Septem* 391 and 404; *ὑψικόμπως* in Sophocles *Ajax* 766; *κομπός* in Euripides *Phoenissae* 600, etc.

Now, why Theophilus should have censured Athena as “vaunting, arrogant”? Because the Apologists were fond of dismissing Athena on the ground of her role as *warrior*: the place of a woman is in house, not on battlefield. So Tatian (*ob. post* A.D. 172) rejects Athena as *ἄνθρωποκτόνος* καὶ *πολεμοποιός*, along with Aphrodite as *γάμου πλοκαῖς ἦδεται* (*Oratio ad Graecos* 8. 3). In his turn, Ps.-Justin writes (*Oratio ad Graecos* 2):¹³ Ἀθηνᾶς γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρικόν σιγῶ, καὶ Διονύσου τὸ θηλυκόν, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης τὸ πορνικόν. Ἀνάγνωτε τῷ Δί, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τὸν κατὰ πατραλῶν νόμον, καὶ τὸ μοιχείας πρόστιμον, καὶ τὴν παιδευαστίας αἰσχρότητα. Διδάξατε Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα, καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἀνδρῶν. Τί σε μὲν ὄν ἐπιδείκνυται γυνὴ ὄπλοισι κέκοσμημένη, ἀνὴρ δὲ κυμβάλοισι καὶ στέμμασι καὶ ἐσθῆτι γυναικεῖα καλλωπιζόμενος, καὶ ὄργων σὺν ἀγέλῃ γυναικῶν;

In conclusion, in calling Athena *φιλόκομπος* Theophilus only follows the established apologetic practice. Probably, he was inspired by such Homeric passages about the mannish “vaunting” Athena as this one (*Iliad* 21. 408–411). After smiting and felling Ares, Athena breaks into a

¹¹ R. M. Grant, “The Textual Tradition of Theophilus of Antioch,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 6 (1952), 146–159, p. 158.

¹² *Contra*, e.g., Degani’s reference to Tertullian *De spect.* 10.8 f.: *Quae vero voce et modis et organis et litteris transiguntur, Apollines et Musas et Minervas et Mercurios mancipēs habent. Oderis, christiane, quorum auctores non potes non odisse.*

¹³ P. 635.18–24 ed. A. von Harnack (*SB Berlin*, 1896). Ps.-Justin writes between A.D. 180 and 240 (Harnack, p. 646).

laugh, and vaunting and exulting over him (καί οἱ ἐπευχομένη) she says: “You fool, not even yet have you learnt how much superior to you I avow me to be, that you dare match your strength with mine!” No wonder then that Ares should complain to Zeus about Athena as “that mad and baneful maid” (ἄφρονα κούρην | οὐλομένην, *Iliad* 5. 875 f.).

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