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Non-Lucian Sources for Demonax

with a new collection of “fragments”¹

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Practically everything we can be said to know about Demonax comes from the so-called *Vita Demonactis* attributed to Lucian.² The historicity of Lucian's account has often been questioned, although most scholars today would agree with K. Funk's arguments for historicity in his study of the *Vita* published in 1907.³ Yet, there still exists some understandable scepticism in this regard. Diskin Clay, for example, makes the following non-committal statement in a fairly recent article: “My purpose in this treatment of Lucian's *Demonax* is not to mount an argument against the historicity of the great Athenian philosopher. In the course of this discussion it will become apparent that I would not add the name of Demonax to the history of philosophy in the second century AD, nor would I remove it from the histories already written.”⁴ Noting that both K. Funk and C. P. Jones discovered autobiographical features in the work, Clay goes on to ask, “If *Demonax* is a kind of indirect autobiography (Jones' words), we are entitled to ask if it still remains a biography.”⁵ Earlier in his essay, Clay states: “Some of the fifty-five apophthegms Lucian records to fill out his life of the philosopher are known from other sources. The sayings of Demonax belong to a fluid

¹ This article is based on a paper I delivered at the Hellenism in Cyprus Conference Sept. 22-25, 2005. I am grateful to Prof. Ioannis Taifakos for suggesting this topic to me and for inviting me to such an excellent conference. I am also thankful toward the conference participants who patiently listened to my paper and made suggestions. I would especially thank Prof. Bracht Branham for a rewarding conversation and Prof. Martin L. West for the improvements he suggested in my translations.

² The text may be found in *Luciani opera*, vol. 1, ed. M. D. MACLEOD, Oxford 1972 (Clarendon Press), or *Lucianus* vol. 1, fasc. I ed. N. NILÉN, Teubner/Leipzig 1907.

³ K. FUNK, “Untersuchungen über die lucianische Vita Demonactis”, *Philologus* Supplementband 10 (1907) 560-673.

⁴ See page 3426 in D. CLAY, “Lucian of Samosata: Four Philosophical Lives (Nigrinus, Demonax, Peregrinus, Alexander Pseudomantis)” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt (ANRW)* II 36.5 (1992) 3406-3450. Other works relevant to Demonax and not cited elsewhere in these notes are the following: H. von ARNIM, “Demonax” in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1905) 143-144; R. Bracht BRANHAM, “Authorizing Humor: Lucian's Demonax and Cynic Rhetoric” *Semeia* 64 (1994), co-author with M-O. GOULET-CAZÉ of *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (University of California Press 1996); H. CANCIK, “Bios und Logos. Formengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukians Leben des Demonax” pp. 115-130 in *Markus-Philologie; historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum 2. Evangelium*, Tübingen (Mohr) 1984 (*Wiss. Unters. zum N.T.* XXXIII); FRANCIS, J. A., *Subversive Virtue: Asceticism and Authority in the Second-Century Pagan World*, University Park PA, Pennsylvania State University Press 1995; GOULET-CAZÉ, M-O, ‘Démonax de Chypre’ in *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Anciens* (ed. R. GOULET), vol. 2 Paris 1994, pp. 718-719 (no. 74), “Demonax von Kypros”, *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997) 460-461, “Le cynisme à l'époque impériale”, *ANRW* II 36.4 (1990) 2720-2833; G. LUCK, *Die Weisheit der Hunde. Texte der antiken Kyniker in deutscher Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen*. Albert Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 377 ff.; R. SOTO RIVERA, *De Parménides a Demonacte: hilos de una urdimbre textual para una nueva historia de la filosofía*. Bayamón (Puerto Rico) 1999; S. ZETOWSKI, “Demonax-Krates” *Minerva* (1922) 17-39.

⁵ D. CLAY *ANRW* II.36.5 (1992) 3426. The references are to C. P. JONES, *Culture and Society in Lucian*, Cambridge/London 1986, p. 98; K. FUNK, *Philologus* Supplementband 10 (1907), pp. 648 and 672. On Xenophonic models for the *Vita Demonactis*, noted by Clay and other scholars, see now also O. OVERWIEN, “Zwei literarisch-philosophische Vorbilder für Lukian und seinen «Demonax»” *Gymnasium* 110 (2003) 533-550. On the related topic of the genre of *memorabilia*, see E. KÖPKE, *Ueber die Gattung der Ἀπομνημονεύματα in der griechischen Litteratur*. [Programm der Ritter-Akademie zu Brandenburg] (1957) 1-30.

and confused tradition of apophthegms and χρεῖαι attributed to the great with no great respect for either originality or paternity.”⁶

While fully acknowledging that there exists a good deal of confusing fluidity in what I call the Greek gnomological tradition, I would like to present here a more reliable list of non-Lucian “fragments”⁷ of Demonax than has previously been available. Although their content may not be particularly remarkable, I would argue that they at least have a bearing on the question of the historicity of Demonax. There are two immediately striking things about these sayings: first of all, that they exist at all, and second, that they are completely independent of the sayings attributed to Demonax by Lucian. With regard to the first point, I would argue that their very existence tends to corroborate Lucian’s story. The name “Demonax” is not common in Greek literature. Apart from the Demonax in Lucian, there are only a few occurrences of the name in other writers from Theognis and Herodotus down to Plutarch and the Greek Anthology.⁸ However, we know of no other philosopher or sophist by this name apart from Lucian’s Demonax and the Demonax in non-Lucian collections of sayings, and I see no cogent reason against identifying the two. With regard to the second point, the total lack of correspondence between the Lucian and the non-Lucian sayings may seem problematic to some. On the other hand, there are examples of such a lack of correspondence between sayings and anecdotes attributed to certifiably historical individuals in normal literary sources and those found strictly in gnomological sources, such as, for example, the sayings of Aristotle.⁹ Moreover, one must take into account the different nature of each source. The kind of witticisms recorded by Lucian, often with references to specific persons and circumstances, are generally of a different kind than those found in the more sober and moralizing gnomological sources of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. There are, for example, no sexual innuendos in the latter sources as are found in Demonax’s sayings in Lucian. Whatever Lucian’s purpose was in composing his *Demonax*, it was probably not the same as that of the compilers of collections of useful maxims and sayings. The very fact that these sayings derive from a source or sources wholly independent of Lucian argues for independent knowledge of Demonax’ historical existence.

The Greek gnomologies encompass a tradition going back at least to Hellenistic times and probably earlier and continuing down to and throughout the Middle Ages. I use the expression “gnomological tradition” as an aggregate term for the tradition of assembling maxims and sayings of well known persons or character types in collections normally arranged either alphabetically by author’s name or initial word or in thematic chapters.

⁶ D. CLAY *ANRW* II.36.5 (1992) 3425. I would note that the formula used by Lucian to introduce the apophthegms is similar to certain formulas used by Diogenes Laertius. Compare Lucian’s words, Βούλομαι δὲ ἔνια παραθέσθαι τῶν εὐστόχως τε ἅμα καὶ ἀστεῖως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων, (*Vita Demonactis* 12) with Diogenes Laertius 4.47 (πλεῖστά τε καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήματα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα χρεῖώδη πραγματεῖαν περιέχοντα), 5.34 (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται συγγράμματ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα, ἀγράφου φωνῆς εὐστοχήματα) and other like passages. (Text of Diogenes Laertius taken from the *Oxford Classical Texts* edition by Long).

⁷ In quotation marks because I regard a fragment as coming from a written work, whereas apophthegms and similar material are closer to the oral tradition. It is better simply to regard these sayings as *testimonia* of some kind.

⁸ Theognis, *Elegiae* 1085; Herodotus, *Historiae* 4.161-162; Plutarch, *Vita Luculli* 9.6; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 8.30.2; *Anthologia Graeca* 11.329 (epigram of Nicarchus). Subsequent references refer either to the Demonax in Lucian or in Herodotus. Andreas Schatzmann, who is currently working on a commentary of the epigrams of Nicarchus, informs me that, despite the name’s infrequent occurrence in literature, the documentary evidence in the papyri shows it to have been not uncommon in the Mediterranean area.

⁹ On this, cf. my dissertation, D. SEARBY, *Aristotle in the Greek Gnomological Tradition*, Uppsala 1998, especially p. 282. The anecdotes and sayings of Aristotle in the strictly biographical tradition do not show up in the gnomological tradition going under his name.

Gnomologies (*gnomologia*) contain normally only gnostic sayings (i.e. γνῶμαι or maxims or *sententiae*) and brief anecdotes (ἀποφθέγματα or χρεῖαι); anthologies (*florilegia*) are more comprehensive and contain choice passages of one or more authors and sometimes also sayings material.¹⁰

The material for Demonax in such sources has previously been collected three times as far as I know: first by Mullach in *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*¹¹, later more completely by Fritzsche¹² and finally by Funk. These scholars do not seem to have carried out much source analysis but simply included any sayings they came across associated with the name of Demonax. The most comprehensive of these collections of so-called fragments is that assembled by Funk. However, not even Funk seems to have made use or perhaps even been aware of the latest research on the gnomological sources available at the time in which he wrote, and therefore gave far too much importance to very inferior sources such as the Melissa of Antonius as well as other sacro-profane florilegia which were already in 1907 known to have derived from an earlier, extant source. Funk also gave little thought to the ease with which marginal lemmas indicating authorship get misplaced in the manuscripts or are simply misinterpreted by the reader, nor to how often sayings beginning with the standard formula ὁ αὐτὸς wind up under the wrong name due to omissions. Today we are in a position to do much better than Funk, Fritzsche and Mullach.

The earliest source for Demonax after Lucian is the anthology attributed to John of Stobi, who is generally assumed to have flourished in the fifth century.¹³ The work of Stobaeus represents the only major pagan thematic anthology to have come down to us more or less intact, despite the complete loss of a considerable number of its many chapters. This invaluable collection is the end result of a long anthological tradition, building on the work of many predecessors, a number of whom are mentioned as sources in the lemmas of the excerpts. It contains both poetry and prose, literary quotations as well as sayings material. Stobaeus was destined to exercise enormous influence on the subsequent history of Greek anthologizing. The edition by Wachsmuth and Hense represents by far the best reconstruction of the arrangement of the original work. There are four excerpts involving Demonax (nos. 1-4 below), two of them apophthegms reflecting themes particularly typical of the Socratic schools (nos. 1 and 3), two of them maxims (nos. 2 and 4), one of which appears to be a gnostic verse (no. 4). This latter has close parallels in the *Aesopica* (see note *ad locum*) as well as in the tradition of the *monostichoi* going under Menander's name, which also turns out to be the case of no. 5 found in a later source. The other gnostic saying from Stobaeus (no. 2) bears the curious heading Δημόνακτος Ὑψαίου καὶ Σωκράτους,¹⁴ and the maxim in question occurs several times in other later sources, generally under the name of Democritus. Nearly the same words are also found in Iamblich's *Protrepticus*. The curious three-author lemma in Stobaeus implies that the source was a collection of maxims connected somehow with at least

¹⁰ On the terminological distinctions, see D. SEARBY *Aristotle* 13-22, and O. OVERWIEN, *Die Sprüche des Kynikers Diogenes in der griechischen und arabischen Überlieferung*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart (2005) 27-35. For more generally accessible treatments, one can simply turn to the authors of the *progymnasmata* on the basic distinction between gnome (maxim, *sententia*) and chreia (apophthegm); see, for one example, Aelius Theon p. 96 ff. (ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1854; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966, 59-130); cf. also Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1394a 19 ff. (περὶ γνῶμολογίας).

¹¹ F. W. A. MULLACH, *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum* (ed. Didot), vol. 2 Paris (1867, repr. Aalen 1968) 351-357.

¹² P. V. FRITZSCHE, *De Fragmentis Demonactis Philosophi* [Universitäts-Programm] Rostock 1866; see also his incomplete edition *Lucianus* (Rostock 1882) II, 1,188; III,2, XI ff. On Mullach's collection, see A. ELTER, *Γνωμικὰ ὁμοιώματα des Socrates, Plutarch, Demophilus, Demonax, Aristonymus u.a.* I [Universitäts-Programm] = *Gnomica Homoeomata*, Bonn (1900) col. 175 (a characteristically harsh treatment); on Fritzsche, see *ibidem* col. 176.

¹³ On Stobaeus, cf. H. GÄRTNER, "Stobaios", *Der Kleine Pauly* 5 (1975), coll. 378-379.

¹⁴ On this title, see A. ELTER *Gnomica Homoeomata* cols. 33-35.

these three authors. We find a very similar phenomenon in the case of the later gnomology entitled simply “Democritus-Isocrates-Epictetus”, which, by the way, contains the same maxim. The saying belongs under the name of Democritus in the *homoeomata* tradition reconstructed by Elter and considered by him to stem originally from the collection of the Hellenistic writer and philosopher Aristo of Chios.

The next major non-Lucian source for sayings of Demonax is the *Corpus Parisinum* (CP), a large gnomological collection named for the principal manuscript, *codex Parisinus graecus* 1168, the only complete manuscript known to Elter and the other scholars of his day. Subsequently, a second complete and independent manuscript was discovered in *codex Bodleianus Digby* 6.¹⁵ There are also a few other related manuscripts, most notably *codex Parisinus supplementum graecum* 690. The crucial fact about the *Corpus Parisinum* in the present context is that it served as the major source for the *Loci Communes* falsely ascribed to Maximus the Confessor and, hence, for the sacro-profane florilegia deriving from pseudo-Maximus. It thus takes precedence over these sources.

The *Corpus Parisinum* is basically a collation of earlier gnomologies. It contains a large section devoted to Judaeo-Christian excerpts, a brief series of Hermetic oracles, and, then, a long section containing maxims and apophthegms as well as some literary excerpts, followed by a substantial block of excerpts from Stobaeus, then a depleted version of the aforementioned *Gnomologium Byzantinum* of selections from Democritus-Isocrates-Epictetus and other philosophers, and then a substantial alphabetically arranged gnomology primarily related to the so-called *Gnomologium Vaticanum*. It is important for our context to note that the basic arrangement of the first series of profane selections proceeds by name of author. The compiler first lists maxims and similes associated with the particular author and then adds anecdotes associated with the same author, usually introducing them with the lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποφθέγματα.¹⁶ This arrangement can be clearly seen in Demonax sayings five to twenty-one below. It is important to note that the compiler had a number of sources at his disposal in compiling these brief gnomologies for each particular author. Among them, of course, are the very collections that appear in depleted recensions in the rest of the *Corpus Parisinum*. Thus we find excerpts from Stobaeus, *Gnomologium Byzantinum* and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* tradition in this first series of pagan sayings. However, our compiler also made use of other sources, such as the aforementioned tradition of *homoeomata*. In fact Anton Elter regarded the Demonax gnomology as evidence for the existence not of a special collection of Demonax sayings but a collection comparable in size to the source of the Socratic *homoeomata* in Stobaeus, that is, a general collection going by the name of Demonax rather than Socrates or Plutarch or Demophilus as in certain other sources.¹⁷ Although I agree in general with Elter’s analysis, I am somewhat sceptical about

¹⁵ On the *Corpus Parisinum*, see D. SEARBY, *Corpus Parisinum* (cf. list of *Fontes* below); on Demonax, see vol. 2, p. 626 f. See also: S. IHM, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor: Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci communes* (Palingenesia LXXIII) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart (2001) vii-x; and J. GERLACH, *Gnomica Democritea. Studien zur gnomologischen Überlieferung der Ethik Demokrits und zum Corpus Parisinum* [Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte] Wiesbaden 2008. Gerlach disagrees with certain aspects of my views about the development and constitution of the *Corpus Parisinum*, but this poses no difficulties for the present edition of the sayings of Demonax.

¹⁶ It is worth noting that the scribes of our three most important witnesses for this part of *Corpus Parisinum* do not know the proper genitive form for Demonax, although some of the mss. of Maximus get it right. I should moreover note that a lemma for Menander is missing in the Parisian ms. (not in the others) so that the short series of Menanders sayings, which follow on Demonax, appear in that ms. to be ascribed to Demonax, a fact noted by H. SCHENKL p. 473 in “Die epiktetischen Fragmente. Eine Untersuchung zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Florilegien”, *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 115 (1888). It is perhaps significant that Menander is placed right after Demonax in this collection: might this be an indication of their proximity in a much older collection?

¹⁷ See A. ELTER *Gnomica Homoeomata*, especially cols. 45 and 175.

the latter claim. As corroborating evidence, Elter cites the three-author lemma mentioned earlier as well as the parallels of sayings of Demonax in the other branches of the *homoeomata* tradition. Little is clear in such muddy waters, but it seems to me important to underline the fact that there are only seven of the Demonax sayings in *Corpus Parisinum* made it into Elter's *Gnomica homoeomata*, so we can assume that the rest came from other traditions. We can at least assume that one of those traditions is Stobaeus, since the first saying occurs in both.

Moreover, on the reasonable assumption that Stobaeus was a source for part of this collection, the exact parallel to *Corpus Parisinum* 3.350 (my numbering) as found in Stobaeus, where it is attributed to Antiphon and offers a more complete text, seems to me evidence enough to make it the first of our rejected sayings (A).¹⁸ Likewise, the fact that the *Corpus Parisinum* was the principal source for pseudo-Maximus and related florilegia means that we must place priority on its evidence. Thus we can easily discard sayings (B) and (C) below from Funk's list of fragments. And, on the same principle, we can add two new sayings (nos. 10 and 15).

An analysis of the contents of the Demonax sayings does not fall within the scope of this paper. However, looking at the sayings from *Corpus Parisinum*, I would again note that some of them are indeed similes and are included in Elter's collection, whether we regard them as intentionally attributed to Demonax as their author or perhaps even their collector or simply as erroneously accruing to him. The first saying (no. 5) recurs among the gnomes of Menander. In passing, I might note that Gregory of Nazianz seems to be playing with this saying in *epistola* 190.6, when he writes: ὅτι ἂν κολάζουσι κρίνοντες, ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦσιν ἀκροώμενοι. There is also a minor parallel for n. 9 from the same time, in one of Libanius' letters (*epistola* 37.4): τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι παιδεύομεν, σὺ δὲ ἂν τοῖς σοῖς ἀκολουθήσῃς, πάνθ' ἡμῖν εὖ κείσεται. In no. 13, we have a typical image of the ignorant like mute fish being easily caught.¹⁹ Some emendment may be necessary in no. 21, for example, the insertion of οὗτοι before γίνονται, in order not to strain the meaning of the final two adjectives.²⁰

Our next source, *Appendix Vaticana I*, is the first of two series of sayings found in *codex Vaticanus Graecus* 1144 (on ff. 215v-225v) which were edited by Leo Sternbach. He published this series of 371 sayings as though it were a single collection. The first 120 sayings, however, belong to the tradition of *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, whereas nos. 231-371 represent one of the main sources for Elter's *Gnomica Homoeomata*. The sayings in-between, nos. 121-230, are a strange mixture, the first fifteen or so of them having parallels in *Gnomologium Byzantinum* and *Corpus Parisinum*, among others. The remainder seem to be quotations that stem from, among other sources, collections of scholia and similar kinds of reference works. There is a close relationship between *Appendix Vaticana I* nos. 1-136 and a

¹⁸ In rejecting certain sayings, I am not claiming authenticity for the others attributed to Demonax. The rejection of sayings is based here on overall manuscript evidence. If the attribution to Demonax is stable within the relevant tradition, it is included among the sayings of Demonax; if the attribution can easily be seen to be caused by scribal error and the like, it gets rejected, provided a better alternative attribution exists within the same tradition.

¹⁹ On this image, see I. M. KONSTANTAKOS, "Riddles, Philosophers and Fishes: Aesop and the θαλάσσιον πρόβατον", *Eranos* 101 (2003) 94-111. I am grateful to Prof. Eva-Carin Gerö (Stockholm) for this reference.

²⁰ There are a few, somewhat distant parallels for this saying, such as the saying attributed to Plato in *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 424 (Πλάτων πλείονα ἔφη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι [μᾶλλον] ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ἀμαρτάνοντι ὀνειδίζοντας δηλοῦν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους πρὸς χάριν λέγοντας εἰς προτροπὴν τῶν κακῶν ἄγειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἔτοιμον ποιεῖν) and more briefly in *Appendix Vaticana I*.107. On the same theme, see also Plutarch, *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate* 89B (ἔθεν ὀρθῶς ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μέλλουσι σφύζεσθαι φίλων δεῖ γνησίων ἢ διαπύρων ἐχθρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νοθεύοντες τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας οἱ δὲ λοιδοροῦντες ἀποτρέπουσι). and even Aristophanes *Aves* 375 ff. On the Plato saying, see K.-H. STANZEL, *Dicta Platonica. Die unter Platons Namen überlieferten Aussprüche*, diss. Würzburg/Darmstadt (1987) 149-150.

series of sayings appearing in *Codex Neapolitanus graecus* II D 22 edited by Sbordone. This latter source is, however, not a gnomology at all, but a text that makes use of a gnomology for the educational purposes. Among other things, the writer in cod. N provides synonyms for words appearing in the sayings. The close relationship between these two sources is easy to see in Demonax sayings 22 to 25 from *Appendix Vaticana*, three of which are also found in cod. N, none of which have any exact parallels elsewhere that I have been able to locate. We can see how no. 23 gets mistakenly placed under the name of Darius in cod. N, which is a good example of how the formulaic beginning ὁ αὐτὸς leads to confusion when taken out of context. Though these sayings are found in manuscripts from the 15th century, they derive from a tradition going back to the time of Diogenes Laertius or earlier.²¹ These should, therefore, be added to our list of non-Lucian sayings, given that there are no other strong contenders for authorship.

No. 22 is characteristic enough of a Cynic philosopher, although I am not sure about the intended meaning of διαίρεσις – is it playing on the grammatical, metrical, logical, medical or some other sense of the word? Sbordone thinks there is an ellipse in saying no. 24 and boldly suggests an emendment. I think he just misunderstood the meaning of τοὺς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ. The writer in cod. N seems to have had no problem with the phrase. According to his usual practice, he merely suggests some synonyms (δόξαζε for τίμα, μὴ ἐκπλήττου for μὴ θαύμαζε) and then paraphrases the last part as τὸ τιμᾶν δίκαιον, τὸ ἐπλήττεσθαι ταπεινόν. Both this saying also fits in well with the Cynic character. Finally, no. 25 offers a standard sentiment that at least agrees with Lucian's portrait of Demonax as prizing friendship.

Standard sentiment is also on display in no. 26, the only saying I have retained from the strictly sacro-profane florilegia. The reason for its inclusion is the complete support it enjoys in these florilegia, coupled with its absence from the *Corpus Parisinum* as we have it today. Its absence is perhaps due either to a simple omission in the extant versions of the corpus or to an interpolation from an independent source. The remaining sayings from the sacro-profane florilegia can be easily discarded by comparing the different sources. Since these sacro-profane sources were so important for the previous collections of the sayings of Demonax, some explanation is necessary.

For centuries scholars had to make do with extremely inadequate editions of the *Loci Communes* falsely ascribed to Maximus the Confessor. It was edited first by Gesner in 1546, then by Combefis in 1675. The latter is the edition reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.²² We are fortunate in possessing Sibylle Ihm's modern critical edition of this widely disseminated thematic sacro-profane florilegium. Before her edition, scholars had either to turn to the edition in PG or to editions of single mss. or to the mss. themselves.²³ Ihm's edition must now become the standard point of reference until its eventual replacement. There are three branches of the Maximus-tradition, which Ihm terms MaxI, MaxII and MaxU. MaxI is represented in ca seventy mss. as well as in the edition in Migne (vol. 91). The second recension, MaxII, extant in ten mss., appears to be an expanded version of MaxI due to the

²¹ There exist a number of unedited mss. containing longer or shorter gnomologies. I have looked through some of them for sayings of Demonax without finding any ones not already included (e.g. cod. Ottob. gr. 192). There are certainly other unedited mss. containing sayings material of which I am ignorant, some of which may contain parallels to Demonax sayings 22-25 or others.

²² There is no need to go into the details of how these editions came about. See S. IHM *Ps.-Maximus*, pp. C-CII; D. GUTAS, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation* [American Oriental Society Series 60] New Haven CT 1975, pp. 25-28.

²³ Coincidentally, Sargologos published an edition of Ps.-Maximus (MaxI) the very same year in which Ihm's edition came out. However, his edition has proven extremely difficult to order either from any library or from the publishers themselves. E. Amato's review of it can at present be found online at the following address: www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2004/rsargologos.html. Dr. Amato was kind enough to lend me his copy of the book for my edition of the *Corpus Parisinum*, but I have made use only of Ihm for the purposes of this article.

large number of additional excerpts drawn from a handful of sources, among them Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius and certain Church Fathers. It was long thought that MaxII simply derives from MaxI, but Ihm argues convincingly that there existed an “Ur-Max” of which both MaxI and MaxII represent independent versions. The “U” in MaxU, the third and least disseminated recension, stands for *Umstellung*, so-called because it is an abridged version of MaxII in which the sequence of chapters has been transposed for much of the collection.²⁴ Curiously, Ihm has produced an edition of this latter branch, which is the least relevant of the three. However, she uses three of the best mss. of MaxI along with the five best mss. of MaxII in order to provide comprehensive information about these other two branches in the critical apparatus. She also includes the selections from MaxI and MaxII not found in MaxU. A glance at her edition suffices in order to be able to purge several sayings from Funk’s earlier collection (e.g. rejected sayings D, E, K).

The *Melissa* of Antonius (Ant.Mel.) is a thematically arranged sacro-profane florilegium similar to ps.-Maximus. It was edited three times by Gesner (1546, 1555, 1560) along with a Latin translation. The only easily available edition is in *Patrologia Graeca* 136, 764-1244. This edition merely reproduces the earlier Latin translation and takes the Greek text from the parallels in ps.-Maximus. In other words, Antonius remains unedited. At any rate, this work was based on ps.-Maximus and the *Sacra Parallela* and holds little interest in the present context. The *Melissa Augustana* (Mel.Aug.) is one of the by now traditional names for a large thematic sacro-profane florilegium primarily based on MaxII. The modern editor, Sargologos, simply calls it a spiritual florilegium from manuscript Patmos 6. The *Gnomica Basileensia* is yet another collection once held in high esteem but now proven by its modern editor (Kindstrand) to derive entirely from the Maximus-tradition (MaxU). Sources such as the *Gnomologium Parisinum* and *Vaticanus Ottobonensis* 192 are in part dependent on Maximus, in part derive from earlier collections. The Demonax saying in *Vaticanus graecus* 96 (ed. Bertini Malgarini) occurs in a series of sayings clearly related to *Gnomologium Parisinum*, but the exact relationship remains unclear. The rejection of sayings attributed to Demonax in any one of these sources is based on a comparison with the overall tradition, giving greatest weight to the attribution in *Corpus Parisinum* and then in pseudo-Maximus. So much for the available Greek sources.

For the record, I should also state that I have searched through some Latin and Arabic collections accessible to me but without finding any mention of Demonax. However, there is at least one Arabic parallel to a saying in Lucian.²⁵ Although the Greek gnomological tradition is one of constant flux during the course of centuries, I hope to have shown in this paper that it is possible to impose some degree of order on the flotsam and jetsam, at least for the sayings of Demonax, and that this in turn strengthens the case for the historicity of Demonax of Cyprus.

In conclusion I would point out that Demonax, like other philosophers of a Cynical bent, may himself have devoted time and effort to collecting apophthegms.²⁶ After all, on the evidence of Lucian, he not only spouted his own apophthegms but also held up Socrates, Aristippus and Diogenes as role models, all of whom are obviously tremendously

²⁴ To be precise, MaxU is both abridged and expanded, in the sense that it lacks a number of excerpts present in MaxII but has also additions not present in MaxII, apart from cod. A, which is a version of MaxII that shows the same additions as in MaxU but also interpolations from MaxI.

²⁵ I could only search the Arabic collections available in translation to one of the European languages I know. See D. GUTAS, *Greek Wisdom Literature* p. 456 for the Arabic parallel to the remark in Lucian *Dem.* 66, “Do not fuss – the stench will get me buried.”

²⁶ See Z. STEWART, “Democritus and the Cynics”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958) 179-191, on Cynics and the tradition of the sayings of Democritus. See also Gutas’ discussion of the influence of Cynic compilations of sayings on the gnomological tradition, directly for the Greek, indirectly for the Arabic (D. GUTAS, *Greek Wisdom Literature* pp. 451-458).

present in the gnomological tradition. It is not far-fetched to suppose him to have collected their sayings and other choice philosophical anecdotes. If so, then perhaps his remains in the gnomologies not only offer us his own *ipse dixits* but even a few fragments from his professional activity as well.

Sententiae Demonactis ex aliis fontibus praeter Lucianum haustae

(1) Fons: Stobaeus 2.1.11

= *Corpus Parisinum* 3.348; ps.-Maximus 21.28./31; *Gnomica Basileensia* 284; *Melissa Augustana* 54.18 (Δημόνακτος); Antonius Melissa 1192BC (Demonactis); *Gnomologium Parisinum* 186

Demonax fr. 4 Funk, Demonax fr. 6 FPG II (Mullach)

Δημόνακτος. Δημόναξ ἐξεταζόντων τινῶν, εἰ ὁ κόσμος ἔμψυχος, καὶ αὖθις εἰ σφαιροειδής, Ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, περὶ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου πολυπραγμονεῖτε, περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀκοσμησίας οὐ φροντίζετε;

Inter sententias sub lemmate Δημόνακτος CP | cum lemmate Δημόνακτος Ps.-Maximus || Δημόναξ ἐξεταζόντων τινῶν Stob (Δημόναξ omittunt Stobaei libri FPL) GnPar | Ἄλλων δ' ἐξεταζόντων CP | Ἄλλων ἐξεταζόντων Max Mel.Aug. Ant.Mel. | Δημόναξ ἐξεταζόντων GnBas || ἐμψυχος ante ἔμψυχος addit GnBas et varii mss. Ps.-Maximus, secludit Kindstrand || αὖθις] ἄλλων GnPar, omittit GnBas || ἔφη] εἶπε Mel.Aug | εἶπε Δημόναξ Ant.Mel. || αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Stob (L), CP (codd.) | σαυτῶν Stob (F) | MaxI ἑαυτῶν (in uno codice), Ant.Mel. || ἀκοσμησίας Stob (F P¹ L) ἀκοσμίας Stob cod. P² et ceteri || Rogationem post φροντίζετε indicat Hense, punctum ponunt ceteri.

Anglice: When some people were discussing whether the cosmos had a soul and, again, whether it was spherical, Demonax said, “You are very inquisitive about the cosmic order, but you don’t give a thought to your own cosmic disorderliness.”

(2) Fons: Stobaeus 2.31.53

Demonax fr. 7 Funk, Demonax fr. 16 FPG II (Mullach)

Δημόνακτος Ὑψαίου καὶ Σωκράτους. Τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἀναθήμασι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς μαθήμασι κοσμεῖν δεῖ.

Δημόνακτος] Δημόνακτος Stob (L)

Anglice: From “Demonax, Hysaeus and Socrates”. One should embellish cities with dedications, souls with educations.

= *Corpus Parisinum* 3.181 post lemma Δημοκρίτου γινώμαι; *Appendix Vaticana* I.250 (anonymi); *Gnomologium Byzantinum* (Democriti Isocratis Epicteti) 18 (e Florileio Palatino 18; Florilegio Monacensi 17, Flor. Leidensi 20, Gnomologio Barocciano 21); ps.-Maximus 17.35./44 post lemma Δημοκρίτου; *Melissa Augustana* 38.40 (post Democritum); Antonius Melissa 936A (post Democritum); *Gnomica Homoeomata* 34 (cf. ibidem Appendix 12 ex Iamblichio). Cf. Iamblichi *Protrepticum* 10.4: κοσμητέον ἱερὸν μὲν ἀναθήμασι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μαθήμασιν.

(3) Fons: Stobaeus 3.21.8

Demonax fr. 3 Funk, Demonax fr. 8 FPG II (Mullach)

Δημόναξ ἐρωτηθεὶς πότε ἤρξατο φιλοσοφεῖν· ὅτε καταγιγνώσκειν, ἔφη, ἑμαυτοῦ ἠρξάμην.

Eclogam sine lemmate habunt S Br, addito lemmate δημωνάκτου M A. || Δημόναξ] δημόνακτος A¹ correxit A² || πότε S πινάκα M^d A Br || ἔφη omittit Br

Anglice: Demonax, asked when he had begun to study philosophy, replied, “When I began to judge myself.”

(4) Fons: Stobaeus 3.22.16

= Arsenius 8.91c

Demonax fr. 1 Funk, Demonax fr. 5 FPG II (Mullach)

Δημόνακτος. Θνητοὶ γεγῶτες μὴ φρονεῖθ' ὑπὲρ θεοῦς.

Eclogam cum lemmate habunt Stobaeus (S M A) || δημόνακτος Stobaeus (M^d Tr.)

Anglice: As mortal beings, presume not to think above gods.

Inter poetas tragicos rettulit A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (ed.²) fr. 1 p. 827. Cf. Menandri *Monostichoi* 243 apud Meineke (Θνητοὶ γεγῶτες μὴ φρονεῖθ' ὑπὲρ θεοῦς) et *Monostichoi* 336 apud Jaekel (Θνητὸς πεφυκὼς μὴ φρόνει γ' ὑπέρθεα.) = Corpus Parisinum 7.114 (Θνητὸς γεγὼνὼς ἄνθρωπος μὴ φρόνει μέγα). Vide etiam Vita G 128.7, *Aesopica*, ed. B. E. Perry (University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1952): θνητοὶ γεγονότες ὑπὲρ θεοῦς μὴ φρονεῖτε.

(5) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.332

= Ps.-Maximus 19.33./51 (Δημόνακτος); *Melissa Augustana* 34.81 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 280; cod. Par. gr. 1630 (Anecdota graeca I p. 118, ed. Boissonade)

Demonax fr. 2 Funk, Demonax fr. 2 TrGF I 207 (B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vol. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1971).

Κόλαζε κρίνων ἄλλὰ μὴ θυμούμενος.

Cum lemmate Δημωνάκτου in CP | Δημόναξ ἔφη ante textum addit GnBas.

Anglice: Punish when you are judging but not when you are angry.

= *Gnomologium Byzantinum* 254 (anonymus e Gnom. Barocc. 219); cod. Patm. gr. 263 n. 84 (inter Democritea); Antonius Melissa 1133D (Democriti). Eadem sententia recurrit inter monostichos Menandri (n. 429) apud Jaekel.

(6) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.333

= Ps.-Maximus 1.64./61 (post Demonactem); *Gnomica Basileensia* 173 (post Demonactem); Antonius Melissa 796A (post Demonactem); cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 192 f. 231^r, 2 (post Demonactem)

Demonax fr. 13 Funk, Demonax fr. 2 FPG II (Mullach)

Αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰς ἀρετάς, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δὲ ἔχειν τὰς κακίας.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη ante textum addit GnBas || μὲν post ἄλλοις ponunt MaxU, GnBas

Anglice: It is shameful to accept virtue in others while having vice in oneself.

(7) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.334

= Ps.-Maximus 1.63./59 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 172; Antonius Melissa 796A (post Demonactem); cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 192 f. 231^r, 1 (Δημωνάκτου)

Demonax fr. 12 Funk, Demonax fr. 1 FPG II (Mullach)

Τοσοῦτον εἰς ἀρετὴν προσθήσεις, ὅσον ἂν ὑφέλῃς τῶν ἡδονῶν.

Δημόναξ ἔφη ante textum addit GnBas.

Anglice: You will add to virtue as much as you subtract from your pleasures.

(8) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.335

= Ps.-Maximus 40.24./47.32 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 312

Demonax fr. 17 Funk, Demonax fr. 9 FPG II (Mullach)

Τοῖς ὠσὶ πλέον ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ χρῶ.

Anglice: Use your ears more than your tongue.

(9) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.336

= Ps.-Maximus 2.27./27 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 181; Antonius Melissa 801B (Demonactis); Arsenius 7.16g (Δημόνακτος)

Demonax fr. 10 Funk, Demonax fr. 4 FPG II (Mullach)

Ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι παίδευε σεαυτόν, καὶ ἀπαθὴς τῶν κακῶν ἔσῃ.

Δημόναξ ἔφη ante textum addit GnBas || σαυτὸν Ant.Mel.

Anglice: Educate yourself by the examples of others, and you will be insensible to tribulations.

(10) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.337

Οἱ πολλῶν παρὰ καιρὸν ἐφιέμενοι κινδυνεύουσι μηδὲ τῶν ὀλίγων τυγχάνειν.

Anglice: People with many inopportune goals run the risk of attaining not even a little.

(11) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.338

= Ps.-Maximus 18.42./42 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 274; *Melissa Augustana* 31.30 (Δημωνάκτου); Antonius Melissa 984A (Demonactis)

Demonax fr. 25 Funk

Οὔτε οἱ ἄμουσοι τοῖς ὀργάνοις οὔτε οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι ταῖς τύχαις δύνανται συναρμόσασθαι.

Anglice: Like unmusical men with instruments, uneducated people do not know how to adapt harmoniously to their fortunes in life.

= Stobaeus 3.4.58 (post Socratem = Socratis fr. I C 230 apud G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae*, Napoli 1990) et *Gnomica Homoeomata* 12.

(12) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.339

= Ps.-Maximus 15.41./53 (Δημόνακτος)

Demonax fr. 22 Funk

Ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πλάστης ἀγαθὸς τῇ ψυχῇ περιτίθησι σχῆμα.

Anglice: Like a good sculptor, reasoning shapes the soul.

= *Gnomica Basileensia* 261 (ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη post Democritum); Stobaeus 2.4.14 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ post Socratem); *Gnomica Homoeomata* 47a; *Gnomologium Byzantinum* (Democriti Isocratis Epicteti) n. 104 in cod. Ath. 1070; *Appendix Vaticana* I.133 (anonymi) et 258 (anonymi). Praeter GnBas addunt ceteri fontes καλὸν ante τῇ ψυχῇ.

(13) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.340

= Ps.-Maximus 17.40./49 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 271

Demonax fr. 6 Funk, Demonax fr. 10 FPG II (Mullach)

Οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι καθάπερ οἱ ἀλιευόμενοι ἰχθύες ἐλκόμενοι σιγῶσιν.

Δημόναξ ἔφη ante textum addit GnBas.

Anglice: Like fish being caught, the uneducated have nothing to say while they are being reeled in.

= *Melissa Augustana* 38.44 (ὁ αὐτὸς post Socratem) cfr sententiam (N) infra; *Gnomica Homoeomata* 61.

(14) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.341

= Ps.-Maximus 15.42./54 (post Demonactem); Arsenius 1.60 (Δημόνακτος).

Demonax fr. 11 Funk

Αἱ μὲν χελιδόνες εὐδίαν ἡμῖν προσημαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγοι ἀλυπίαν.

Anglice: As swallows are a sign of fair weather to come, so too philosophical discourse of freedom from sorrow.

= *Gnomica Basileensia* 262 (ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν post Democritum); Antonius Melissa 929C (post Clitarchum); *Appendix Vaticana* I.330 (anonymi); *Gnomica Homoeomata* 128.

(15) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.342

Ἐν μὲν εὐδίᾳ σπάνιον τὸ ναυαγῆσαι, ἐν δὲ εὐβουλίᾳ τὸ ἀτυχεῖν.

Anglice: With fair weather shipwreck is rare, with good counsel failure.

= *Gnomica Homoeomata* 146

(16) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.343

= Ps.-Maximus 28.20./20 (Δημόνακτος); *Melissa Augustana* 15.103 (Δημόνακτου)

Demonax fr. 30 Funk

Δεῖ ὥσπερ φορτίον τὴν λύπην ἀναθέμενον μὴ στένοντα φέρειν.

Anglice: One must bear sorrow like a load one has taken upon oneself, without groaning.

= *Gnomica Homoeomata* 154a

(17) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.344

= Ps.-Maximus 18.43./43 (post Demonactem); *Gnomica Basileensia* 275 (post Demonactem); *Melissa Augustana* 31.31 (post Demonactem); Antonius Melissa 984A (post Demonactem).

Demonax fr. 15 Funk, Demonax fr. 15 FPG II (Mullach)

Δείκνυσιν ἡ μὲν τροπὴ τὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἀνδρεῖον, ἡ δὲ ἀτυχία τὸν φρόνιμον.

Ὁ αὐτὸς φησι ὅτι ante textum addit GnBas. || κατ'] κατὰ Ps.-Maximus GnBas Mel.Aug. Ant.Mel.

Anglice: A rout reveals the truly brave, and misfortune the truly wise.

= *Gnomica Homoeomata* 154b

(18) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.345 (post lemma Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποφθέγματα)

= Ps.-Maximus 10.26./29 (Δημόνακτος); *Melissa Augustana* 30.47 (Δημωνάκτου); Antonius Melissa 945B (Demonax)

Demonax fr. 16 Funk, Demonax fr. 7 FPG II (Mullach)

Τινὸς δὲ σοφιστοῦ αἰτιωμένου αὐτὸν καὶ φήσαντος· διὰ τί με κακῶς λέγεις; ὅτι μὴ καταφρονεῖς, ἔφη, τῶν κακῶς λεγόντων.

δὲ omittunt Ps.-Maximus Mel.Aug. Ant.Mel. || φήσαντος] λέγοντος AM || ἔφη ante ὅτι transposuerunt MaxU MaxII Ant.Mel., omittit MaxI || τῶν ... λεγόντων] τὸν ... λέγοντα AM

Anglice: When a sophist asked him accusingly, “Why do you speak badly of me?”, he replied, “Because you do not scorn those who speak badly of you.”

= *Gnomica Basileensia* 234 (ὁ αὐτὸς post Demosth.).

(19) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.346

= Ps.-Maximus 1.65./61; *Gnomica Basileensia* 174 (post Demonactem); cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 192 f. 231^r, 3 (post Demonactem).

Demonax fr. 14 Funk, Demonax fr. 3 FPG II (Mullach)

Τοὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἐπιμελουμένους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἀμελοῦντας ὠνείδιζεν, ὥς τῶν μὲν οἴκων ἐπιμελουμένους, τῶν δ' ἐνοίκων ἀμελοῦντας.

ὁ αὐτὸς ante textum addit GnBas || τοὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν] τοὺς Ps.-Maximus, GnBas, Ottob. || ὠνείδιζε(v) ante τοὺς ponit GnBas.

Anglice: He used to reproach those people who took care of their bodies but were negligent with their own selves as taking care of the houses while neglecting the residents.”

(20) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.347

= Ps.-Maximus 28.21./21 (post Demonactem); *Melissa Augustana* 47.61 (Δημόνακτος)

Demonax fr. 26 Funk

Ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τάφους μὲν κατασκευάζονται καὶ ἐντάφια ὥσπερ μέλλοντες αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, ἀφοβίαν δὲ καὶ ἀλυπίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἢ χρήσονται οὐ παρασκευάζονται.

ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι omittunt Ps.-Maximus Mel.Aug.

Anglice: He used to say that people get their graves and funeral expenses ready as if they themselves were going to need them, but they do not equip themselves with fearlessness and freedom from sorrow in the face of death which they will be needing.

Corpus Parisinum 3.348 = (1) supra

(21) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.349

= Ps.-Maximus 6.83./118 (Δημόνακτος); *Gnomica Basileensia* 206; Antonius Melissa 853B (Demonactis)

Demonax fr. 18 Funk, Demonax fr. 11 FPG II (Mullach)

Ἐλάσσω οἱ ἄνθρωποι κακῶς πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς δεδιότες φυλάσσονται, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ἀνεωγμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ γίνονται σφαλεροὶ καὶ ἐπιβούλευτοι.

Δημόναξ εἶρηκεν ante textum addit GnBas || οἱ ... πάσχουσιν] κακὰ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι Ps.-Maximus GnBas Ant.Mel. || ἐχθρῶν ... φίλων CP MaxI (in uno codice) Ant.Mel. | φίλων ... ἐχθρῶν cett. codd. Ps.-Maximus, codd. GnBas || ἐπιβούλευτοι] εὐεπιβούλευτοι AM

Anglice: People suffer less ill-treatment from their enemies than from their friends, because, in their fear of their enemies, they are on their guard, but leave themselves open for their friends and become vulnerable to supplantation and plotting.

Cfr. *Appendix Vaticana* Ser. I n. 107 et *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 424 (Platonis).

Corpus Parisinum 3.350 = A infra

(22) Fons: *Appendix Vaticana* ser. I n. 58

Δημόναξ ὁρῶν πλῆθος ἐπόμενον ἐταιριζούσῃ γυναικί· διαίρεσις, ἔφη, ἀνθρωπίνη ἐστὶ τόδε τὸ γύναιον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄγονται, οἱ δὲ παράγονται, οἱ δὲ ἐξάγονται.

Anglice: Upon seeing a crowd following a professional courtesan about, Demonax said, “This little woman is a human divider: some men are being led on, some led astray, and some led off the scene.”

(23) Fons: *Appendix Vaticana* ser. I n. 59

Οὗτος ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί ἐστὶ μνήμη· μήτηρ, ἔφη, μαθημάτων.

Anglice: Asked to define memory, he said, “the mother of learning.”

= cod. Neapol. gr. II D 22 f. 43^v (n. 70 apud Sbordone) ubi verba ὁ αὐτὸς (pro οὗτος) post Δαρειὸς vitiose ponuntur.

(24) Fons: *Appendix Vaticana* ser. I n. 60

= Codex Neapolitanus graecus II D 22 f. 44^r (n. 71 apud Sbordone)

Οὗτος ἔφη· τίμα τοὺς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ μὴ θαύμαζε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ νόμιμον, τὸ δὲ ταπεινόν.

Verba δι’ ἀρετῆς ἀριστεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τύχης seu alia similia post τίμα τοὺς inserere vellet Sbordone.

Anglice: He said: “Show honour to those in authority but do not stand in awe of them, for the former attitude conforms to custom, but the latter is abasing.”

(25) Fons: *Appendix Vaticana* ser. I n. 61

= Codex Neapolitanus graecus II D 22 f. 44^r (n. 72 apud Sbordone)

Οὗτος, πειρῶ, ἔφη, ποιεῖν τὰς μὲν ἔχθρας ὀλιγοχρονίους, τὰ δὲ φιλίας πολυχρονίους.

Anglice: He said, Try to make your enmities short-lasting and your friendships long-lasting.”

(26) Fons: Ps.-Maximus 6.30./38

= *Gnomica Basileensia* 198; *Melissa Augustana* 11.82 (Δημωνάκτου); *Gnomologium Parisinum* 103

Demonax fr. 21 Funk

Αἰτιωμένου τινὸς τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτὸν καὶ φήσαντος· οὐκ ἐχρῆν σε τῷ ἐχθρῷ μου φίλον εἶναι· σὲ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐχρῆν τῷ φίλῳ μου ἐχθρὸν εἶναι.

Eclogam habunt MaxII, MaxU; omittit MaxI. || Δημόναξ ante textum addit GnBas | Δημόνακτα ante textum addit GnPar || αἰτιωμένου MaxII GnPar καταιτιωμένου MaxU GnBas || αὐτὸν MaxII, omittit GnPar | αὐτῷ MaxU (inter cruces ponit Ihm) GnBas (in αὐτὸν emendat Kindstrand) || σὲ μὲν ... εἶναι] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σὲ ἔφη τῷ φίλῳ μου ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι GnPar

Anglice: When one of his companions said to him accusingly, “You ought not to be a friend to my enemy”, he said, “No, it’s you who ought not to be an enemy to my friend.”

(27) Fons: Cod. Vat. gr. 96 n. 2

= *Gnomologium Parisinum* 1

Δημόναξ, ἀξιούντων τινῶν προτιμᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων εὐγένειαν, γελοῖον ἔφη ἀλεκτρυόνας μὲν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων δοκιμάζεσθαι γενναίους ἢ ἀγεννεῖς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀξιοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζεσθαι.

γενναίους ἢ ἀγεννεῖς] [εἰ εὐγενεῖς] εἰ γενναῖοι GnPar

Anglice: When some people were expecting to be preferred because of their noble ancestry, Demonax said, “It would be ridiculous not to assess the excellence of cocks by their parentage rather than their own qualities, yet to presume to judge people by their ancestry rather than their personal qualities.”

SENTENTIAE REIECTAE

(A) Fons: Corpus Parisinum 3.350

= Ps.-Maximus 12.98./105

Demonax fr. 5 Funk, Demonax fr. 14 FPG II (Mullach)

Εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὸν μὲν παρόντα βίον οὐ ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζονται πολλῇ σπουδῇ ὥς ἕτερον βίον βιωσόμενοι, οὐ τὸν παρόντα.

= Stobaeus 3.16.20: Ἀντιφῶντος. Εἰσὶ τινες ... οὐ τὸν παρόντα· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραλειπόμενος ὁ χρόνος οἴχεται.

Anglice: There are people who do not live in the present but prepare themselves assiduously as though they were to live some other life, not the present one.

(B) Fons: Ps.-Maximus 6.90./125 post lemma ad Ps.-Maximus 6.89./124

Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Δημωνάκτος (sic)

Demonax fr. 8 Funk

Ἡ τῶν περιστάσεων ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φίλους δοκιμάζει, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐλέγχει.

= Corpus Parisinum 5.49 (*Gnomologium Byzantinum*, Democriti Isocrati Epicteti); *Gnomica Basileensia* 453b (Epicteti); *Melissa Augustana* 11.116 (post lemma “Democriti Isocratis Epicteti”); Antonius Melissa 852A (post Epictetum).

Anglice: Trying circumstances prove who our friends are and show us our enemies.

(C) Fons: Ps.-Maximus 2.26./26 (Κλειτάρχου ante Δημόνακτος)

Demonax fr. 9 Funk

Ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ σώματος μὴ γινέσθω τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσθένεια· ἰσχὺν δὲ ψυχῆς φρόνησιν νόμιζε.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.219 (Clitarchi).

Anglice: Do not let the strength of the body become the weakness of your soul. Regard practical wisdom as the soul’s strength.

(D) Fons: Antonius Melissa 853BC (post Demonactem)

Demonax fr. 19 Funk, Demonax fr. 12 FPG II (Mullach)

Μυστήριον ἐν φιλίᾳ ἀκούσας ὕστερον ἐχθρὸς γενόμενος μὴ ἐκφάνῃς· ἀδικεῖς γὰρ οὐ τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλίαν.

= Ps.-Maximus 6.95./130 (Σέξτου); *Melissa Augustana* 11.120 (Sexti).

Anglice: If you have learnt someone's secret when you are friends, do not reveal it later if you become his enemy, for you wrong not your enemy: you wrong friendship.

(E) Fons: Antonius Melissa 853C (post Demonactem)

Demonax fr. 20 Funk, Demonax fr. 13 FPG II (Mullach)

Μὴ κτῆσαι φίλον, ᾧ μὴ πάντα πιστεύεις.

= Ps.-Maximus 6.96./131 (post Sextum); *Melissa Augustana* 11.121 (post Sextum).

Anglice: Do not become friends with someone to whom you cannot entrust everything.

(F) Fons: Demonax fr. 23 Funk

Πλοῦτος ἀπὸ κακῆς ἐργασίας ἐπιγιγνόμενος ἐπιφανέστερον ὄνειδος κέκτηται.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.193 (Democriti); Ps.-Maximus 22.21./24 (Democriti); *Melissa Augustana* 10.56 (Democriti); Antonius Melissa 885A (post Chilonem apud Migne, cum lemmate Demonactis apud Gesner) et 900C (Democriti).

Anglice: Wealth gained from wrongdoing earns a man but a manifest burden.

(G) Fons: Demonax fr. 24 Funk

Χρήματα πορίζειν μὲν οὐκ ἀχρεῖον, ἐξ ἀδικίας δὲ πάντων κάκιον.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.201 (inter Democritea); ps.-Maximus 22.22./25 (post Democriti); *Gnomica Basileensia* 286 (Democriti); *Melissa Augustana* 10.57 (post Democritum); Antonius Melissa 877D (post dictum Thespidae) et I.35 900C (post Democritum)

Anglice: Money-making is not unsuitable, but unjust money-making is worse than anything.

(H) Fons: Demonax fr. 27 Funk

Ἔνιοι πόλεων μὲν δεσπόζουσι, γυναῖξί δὲ δουλεύουσιν.

= Corpus Parisinum 4.38 (Democriti) e Stobaeo 3.6.26 (Democriti); ps.-Maximus 3.39./36 (Democriti); *Gnomica Basileensia* 188 (Democriti)

Anglice: Some rule over cities but are slaves to women.

(I) Fons: Ps.-Maximus (PG) 828D (Δημόνακτ.)

Demonax fr. 28 Funk

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλος γεγωνὼς εἶπεν· τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔφη, βῆμα· ἐμφαίνων ὅτι ἡ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπειρία κρείττων πάσης σοφιστικῆς διδασκαλίας ἐστίν.

= Corpus Parisinum 4.120 (Demadis) e Stobaeo 3.29.91 (eiusdem); ps.-Maximus 18.70./82 (eiusdem); *Gnomica Basileensia* 273 (eiusdem).

Anglice: The same man, asked who his teacher was, said: "The Athenian courtroom", emphasizing thus that practical experience is better than any sophistical education.

(J) Fons: Ps.-Maximus (PG) 853A (Δημόνακτ.)

Demonax fr. 29 Funk

Ὑγιαίνων νοσεῖ πᾶς περίεργος ὁ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονῶν.

= Corpus Parisinum 6.199 (anonymi); ps.-Maximus 21.27./30 (post Euclidum); *Gnomica Basileensia* 407 (Euclidi); *Melissa Augustana* 54.17 (post Aristot.); Antonius Melissa 1192B (Euclidi ante Demonactis sententiam 1 supra).

Anglice: Sick while healthy is every inquisitive type who sticks his nose into other people's business.

(K) Fons: Ps.-Maximus (PG) 949A (Δημόνακτ.)

Demonax fr. 31 Funk (brevius)

Τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδαις μείζων ὀφείλεται χάρις ἐπερχομένην ἀναστέλλουσι νόσον ἢ παραπεσοῦσαν ἰασαμένοις, τοῦ γὰρ ἀπηλλάχθαι κακοῦ τὸ μὴ πάσχειν αἰρετώτερον.

= ps.-Maximus 43.-/50.19 (Demadis); Antonius Melissa 953A (eiusdem).

Anglice: Greater thanks is due the physicians (Asclepiads) who prevent a disease from coming on than to those who heal a disease already contracted, for not suffering is preferable to being relieved of pain.

(L) Fons: Antonius Melissa 796A (Demonactis)

Βούλου τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰκόνας ὑπομνήματα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ σώματος καταλιπεῖν.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.134 (Isocrat.) ex Isocratis Ad Demonicum 24; ps.-Maximus 1.54./51; *Gnomica Basileensia* 527.

Anglice: Leave behind as memorials images of your virtuous character rather than of your body.

(M) Fons: Antonius Melissa 945BC

Πελοπίδου ἀνδρείου στρατιώτου διαβληθέντος τῷ Δημόνακτι [al. αὐτῷ], ὡς βλασφημοῦτος αὐτόν, Ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἔργα, ἔφη, αὐτοῦ βλέπω, τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐκ ἤκουσα.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.543 (Pelopidas de milite incognito); ps.-Maximus 10.30./33; *Melissa Augustana* 30.51.

Anglice: When accusations reached him about a courageous general on the grounds that he had spoken evil of him, Pelopidas said, "I have seen his deeds, but I have not heard his words."

(N) Fons: Melissa Augustana 38.45 (lemma Δημόνακτος haud recte addit Sargologos, cfr 13 supra)

Τί ἢ γῆ βαρύτερον βαστάζει; ἔφη· Ἄνθρωπον ἀπαίδευτον.

= Corpus Parisinum 3.421 (fortasse Diogenis); = Ps.-Maximus 17.41./50, Διογένης; = Stob 2.31.75, post Diogenem. Post hoc dictum sequitur aliud (cum ὁ αὐτὸς incipiens) apud Sargologos quod in ceteris fontibus ad Cleanthem tribuitur (= Corpus Parisinum 4.23 = Stobaeus 3.4.89 = Ps.-Maximus 17.44./53.)

Anglice: Asked what the heaviest thing on earth was, he said, "An uncultivated human being."

(O) Fons: Arsenius 18.41d cum lemmate Δημόνακτος

Χρόνος δὲ φευγέτω σε μηδὲ εἰς ἀργός.

= Stobaeus 3.29.42 (Hipponactis).

Anglice: Let not even a single idle moment escape you. (cf. *Loeb Classical Library, Theophrastus Characters. Herodes, Cercidas, Choliambic Poets*, J. M. Edmonds, A. D. Knox, Cambridge MA 1967, introduction to Hipponax and Ananius, p. 6).

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